

This issue is not going to go away. If the Clinton administration does not deal with it, I hope and pray that at least this Republican Congress will deal with it.

CHINA STEPS UP RELIGIOUS REPRESSION

DECEMBER 22, 1995.—The Chinese government is subjecting unauthorized Catholic and Protestant groups to intensifying harassment and persecution as social tensions in the country increase, says Human Rights Watch/Asia in "China: Religious Persecution Persists," released today.

"During the last two years, the Chinese government broadened its drive to crush all forms of dissent. In addition to targeting prominent dissidents such as Wei Jingsheng, who last week was sentenced to fourteen years in prison, all religious believers, and especially Christians, are seen as potential security risks," said Mickey Spiegel, research consultant for Human Rights Watch/Asia.

Chinese authorities have issued new directives requiring all congregations to register with religious authorities, stepped up pressure on evangelists, and tightened controls on contact with foreigners and on distribution of religious materials. Individuals suspected of linking religion to political activity have received the harshest treatment. The extensive crackdown on Protestants and Catholics violates both the Chinese constitution and freedom of religion as guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

As Communist ideology has lost public support, interest in religion, particularly evangelical Protestantism, has spread rapidly in China. But since the early 1990s, a new development has emerged which the country's leaders consider even more "subversive": a growing alliance between underground Christian churches and pro-democracy activists, many of whom have converted to Christianity in recent years. Dissident groups such as the League for the Protection of the Rights of Working People (LPRWP), some of whose members are Protestants, have been particularly targeted for official repression, with President Jiang Zemin describing the LPRWP as "the most counterrevolutionary organization in China since 1949." After witnessing the role of the Catholic Church in undermining Communist power in Eastern Europe, the authorities have renewed their determination to eradicate all autonomous religious activity in China.

For example, Xiao Biguang, a thirty-three-year-old former professor of literature at Beijing University, was one of the main drafters of the charter for the LPRWP. He was arrested on April 12, 1994, and put on trial this past April 1995 on criminal charges including "swindling" and creating a "negative atmosphere" among his students at a theological seminary. As of mid-December 1995, he had not been sentenced and was still being held in a Ministry of State Security lockup in Beijing. Meanwhile, Xiao's wife, Gou Qinghui, has been continually harassed, subjected to periodic surveillance, and forbidden to continue seminary teaching or to meet with co-religionists at home. She has been detained at least four times in May 1994 and May 1995.

The most recent crackdown began in January 1994, when Premier Li Peng signed new regulations tightening the existing requirement that all church groups in China register with the state-controlled Religious Affairs Bureau. This policy, which violates international standards on freedom of expression and association, has forced Chris-

tians and other religious believers to choose between registering their congregations lawfully, which often exposes their services to intrusive surveillance and official control, or continuing to operate underground, thereby risking fines, arrests, and even prison terms. The January 1994 regulations also reiterate China's ban on proselytizing and other public religious activities by foreigners, depriving Chinese believers of their right to associate with their co-religionists from overseas.

Local authorities seeking to suppress unauthorized church groups have often violated China's own laws and regulations, acting even more brutally than the national religious policy allows. Christians in many rural areas are routinely and often repeatedly harassed through arbitrary detentions, beatings, and confiscations of property. Those considered "ringleaders," especially Protestant preachers with a large popular following, are at risk of arrest and imprisonment.

In one case, Huang Fangxin, a twenty-nine-year old seminarian from Yongkang County, Zhejiang Province, was sentenced without trial to three years of "re-education through labor" in April 1994, after organizing a group of young people from the country into a "gospel team" to recruit new members to the local church. Several of his followers have since faced further harassment, including mandatory "study classes" at which they are lectured, fined, and sometimes physically abused.

Similar abuses against underground Protestant groups, including raids on churches and mass arrests, have been reported throughout China, particularly in Henan and Anhui provinces where the evangelical movement is especially strong. Roman Catholic bishops who maintain ties to the Vatican have also faced harassment and arbitrary detention.

Foreigners suspected of promoting Christianity among Chinese citizens have become a major target of the new crackdown, especially those caught bringing Bibles and other religious literature into the country illegally. During the Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in September 1995, foreign participants were warned to bring in no religious materials other than those for personal use. Leaders of Protestant "house churches" in Beijing were warned to avoid contact with conference delegates arriving from overseas, and one Catholic leader. Bishop Jia Zhiguo, was removed from his home and detained until the day after the conference ended.

The presence of foreigners was in part responsible for a mass arrest in Hubei Province on April 18, 1995, in which security officials, armed with electric batons, broke up a theological training class for new pastors and arrested at least sixty-seven Chinese and three overseas Protestants. The detainees were interrogated, some of them were badly beaten, and some of the men had their heads shaved.

Human Rights Watch calls on the Chinese authorities to lift all official controls on religious activities, including the compulsory registration of church groups, and to thoroughly investigate all reports of illegal mistreatment of religious believers, including beatings, ill-treatment, and torture. All those held for participating in religious activities outside the official churches should be unconditionally released, including those convicted of violating state security laws or the laws on counterrevolution.

Human Rights Watch also urges the international community to exert pressure on the Chinese government to allow greater religious freedom. The U.S., European Union, Japan, and other governments should sponsor and vigorously promote a resolution censuring China at the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva next March.

Among other abuses, the measure should specifically call for an end to religious repression. In addition, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Religious Intolerance should be invited to make a second visit to China early in 1996, following his previous visit to Beijing and Tibet in November 1994; he should seek to visit those Chinese provinces where the persecution of Christians is most severe. Human Rights Watch/Asia urges delegations of parliamentarians and trade delegations to China to make specific inquiries about cases of religious activists still in custody and those detained, ill-treated then released. They should call for the immediate repeal of all official restrictions on free expression of religious belief and practice.

Copies of the report are available from the Publications Department, Human Rights Watch, 485 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10017 for \$6.00 (domestic) and \$7.50 (international).

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH/ASIA

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CAMPAIGN REFORM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Colorado [Mrs. SCHROEDER] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Well, Mr. Speaker, one of the reasons I ran for this office was I did not really do a great job of housekeeping. When I was a young housewife many, many years ago, housekeeping was supposed to be your specialty. We had dust kittens under the bed that probably weighed about 10 pounds. But now I must say as I look around this House, we got some housekeeping we need to do that actually by comparison would make my dust kittens under my bed look small, because there are some big clumps of dirt in this place, and it really all gravitates around campaign finance reform.

I think that Common Cause on the outside has been doing a great job of

pointing out how, if we do not move to do some campaign finance reform, the people who ran against Washington have become the Washington they ran against. And we all know how rapidly that happens to people. Voters have moved from being disillusioned with that to now being flat-out cynical about it, and they have every right to be.

When I first ran for office, my average campaign contribution was \$7.50. Now, as an incumbent who has been around for 23 years, my average campaign contribution, PAC's and individuals, is \$50. There are not many people that could say that, but that is exactly what Jefferson had in mind.

Tonight, as we know, there is a huge Republican dinner, one more time, where people are paying a gazillion dollars for whatever. You know, I hate to tell those people, but in my district you can get a chicken dinner, a really good chicken dinner, for \$5 to \$10. So obviously they are not going there for the chicken. They are going there for some other reason.

This is one of the very few countries in the world that pretends someone would give you \$10,000 because they believe in good government and did not want anything for it. Having finished today the Armed Services Committee bill and looking at all of the stuff that got jammed in that bill that the President did not want, the Joint Chiefs did not want, the Pentagon did not want, but some special interests wanted that had given people a lot of campaign money, and guess what? They got it. They got it. They got their B-2's, they got their whole laundry list of whatever it was they wanted, although generals did not want it and the President did not want it, and what does that say?

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I think that it is so important for this bipartisan group who has introduced the bipartisan Clean Congress Act to get this moving. I hope every American holds Members' feet to the fire to discharge this bill and get it on the floor.

What are some of the things in this bill? Doing away with political action committees, so you go back to individual contributions. That is what it is supposed to be about, not big, huge groups.

It also asks that we collect 60 percent of what we get from the State that we run in. If you are getting 100 percent of your money from a State that you are not representing, you have got to wonder who is calling the tune and whose tune the Member is dancing to.

There are other things in here that ban tax-funded taxpayer mailings during election years and many other of these areas that we really need to clean up, too.

This is what is wrong here. This place looks like a coin-operated legislative machine. The average American feels they do not have the coins to put

in, and they do not. So they feel they will never be heard here, and many are not. That is why when you look at your priorities you scratch your head and say, Wait a minute, how did these priorities get here?

Well, they got here because of this ridiculous funding process. I think it is so important we clean this House of that special interest money. It is more important than probably anything else we do, because that is the only way we get to real priorities, the people's priorities, and not the fat cat priorities.

So I encourage every American to take some time and think about this, and say we want our Government back as we start to close this century out and this decade out, and ask every Member to move on this bipartisan bill that will clean this House and correct this great injustice, I think. Finally we will be able to have real priorities and not big money priorities.

TRIBUTE TO DR. AND MRS. BILLY GRAHAM

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HUTCHINSON). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. BROWNBACK] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. Speaker, yesterday in this House we voted to give and grant to two people, well deserving, the Congressional gold medal, and that was to Dr. Billy and Ruth Graham, and that motion passed overwhelmingly in this House. It is going to the Senate and hopefully will be passed by a similar margin there and signed by the President of the United States.

I just wanted to recognize these two extraordinary Americans and what they have done, for their extraordinary service they have committed to this country and the people of this planet. Dr. Graham has evangelized to more people on this globe, on this effort, than any human in history that he has witnessed to during the time period of his service, and it continues.

Many writers, both political and religious, in this country are saying we as a Nation are entering a period of a fourth awakening, a time period of moral and spiritual renewal in America, where we look at ourselves and say, Are we doing the rights things? Are we doing the things that will last, not just for this lifetime, but for a further period of time on into eternity?

They are saying we are entering into a period of moral and spiritual renewal, a reassessment of our values as a country. That is going to do a great deal to solve our true problems in America.

Mr. Speaker, as I travel my district in eastern Kansas and talk to people back home, I ask them, do they think the biggest problems we face as a Nation, are they moral or are they economic? Are they the problems associated with the economy or problems associated with values? And I will get in almost every crowd 8 or 9 to 1 that will

say the problems are moral rather than they are economic we are facing. They are problems with family and a disintegration of the family. They are problems with drugs. They are problems with crime. They are problems with people not willing to work. They are problems with people willing to do things that if they would think about it or if their own moral compass was a little better set, they would not do at all.

The problems we are facing are moral, and the decline is taking place there. Yet I am optimistic in looking to the future, because I think we are finally starting to address the fundamental problems we have as a society, the value problems we have, and one does not address them in Congress. One addresses them in the individual community, in the individual family, in the individual person and what he does.

That is how we change the culture, the society of this America. That is how we make ourselves better. That is how we solve our problems of family, that is how we solve our problems of crime. That is how we solve our problems dealing with drugs, problems dealing with welfare. We change ourselves and our own values and moral and spiritual outlook.

Mr. Speaker, I think we need to get back to the basics and get back to the basic values, values of family, values of work, and recognition of a higher moral authority. When we as a society do that, we will solve many, many of our problems. That is what Dr. Graham and his wife Ruth have been about for a lifetime, is dealing with that, looking at the internal person and what they are doing and their personal relationship with a higher moral authority.

So that is why I voted in favor of that. I was very strongly in support of it. And I hope that when Dr. and Mrs. Graham get this, if it passes the Senate and is signed into law by the President, I hope that he and Mrs. Graham will be invited to this Chamber to address a joint session of Congress and address the Nation, calling for moral and spiritual renewal in America.

GOVERNMENT SHUTDOWN OUTSIDE THE CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia [Ms. NORTON] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, with the talk now about whether we shall have clean or, shall we say, dirty CR's or debt limit bills, I would like to offer some views that go to the intent of the Framers. We need to think through this process, for we are engaged in something that has never happened in 200 years, or more than 200 years of the Constitution, and it looks like we are headed toward some recidivism in trying to attach things to the debt limit