

from this appropriations measure, neither did the administration. But the overall product is a good one, and I hope it will be enacted. I do not believe that closure on further issues of concern will be easier if the bill is vetoed.

Among the highlights of this conference report are these:

Funding for the National Park Service remains a priority. The recommendation includes an operational increase of \$79 million over the fiscal year 1997 level. Other significant park increases are provided for construction and land acquisition.

A significant initiative to focus attention on the operational requirements and habitat restoration and maintenance backlogs of our national wildlife refuges is supported, with increased funding of \$40.8 million above fiscal year 1997.

As to our Nation's energy research and development programs, the investment in those programs is continued. Fossil energy research and development is funded at \$362.4 million, which is \$2.3 million below the fiscal year 1997 enacted level. Increases above the budget request are provided to sustain technology development programs intended to produce environmental benefits while improving energy efficiency.

On another matter, the conference agreement fully funds the President's request for tribal priority allocations at \$757.4 million, an increase of \$76.5 million over fiscal year 1997 levels.

As to the National Endowment for the Arts, the conference agreement includes \$98 million to continue the National Endowment for the Arts. A package of reforms is included in the bill to address concerns over the use of Federal funds in support of the arts. These reforms include an increase on the amount of funds allocated directly to the States; a cap on the amount of funds that can be awarded to each State from the competitive grants pool; changes in the structure and composition of the National Council on the Arts; prohibitions regarding grants to individuals; and an emphasis on arts education.

With reference to land acquisition, this bill provides a special land acquisition account as recommended in the budget resolution. The account is funded at a level of \$699 million, which includes \$315 million for the Headwaters Forest, CA, and New World Mine, MT; \$22 million in special payments for affected local areas in California and Montana; and the balance is available for priority land acquisitions, exchanges, and maintenance to be identified by the Department of the Interior and the Forest Service, and for which the committees on appropriations will have final approval. The conference agreement includes legislative language establishing initial parameters for the completion of the two large exchanges.

Mr. President, it is my privilege and great pleasure to serve as the ranking member at the side of our very able

chairman, the senior Senator from Washington, Mr. GORTON. We have worked closely, as we always have, on the product that we present to the Senate today. In his stewardship of this bill as chairman of the committee, Senator GORTON has been very fair, he has been bipartisan in his handling of the many programs and issues which were negotiated in the conference. I commend this conference report to the Senate and urge Senators to support its approval.

Mr. President, I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum. I ask unanimous consent that the time be charged against both sides.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, for how long does the distinguished Senator wish to speak? I have no objection. I just think we should know how long he expects to speak.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I ask for 20 minutes to speak.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I have no objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin is recognized.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Thank you, Mr. President. I thank the Senator from West Virginia.

HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHINA

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I also rise today, as did the Senator from Minnesota, to discuss the visit of the President of the People's Republic of China, Mr. Jiang Zemin, who arrives in Washington tonight for a state visit.

That Mr. Jiang and President Clinton will meet is not in itself extraordinary. The promotion of dialog between the United States and China can be a constructive use of our own diplomatic energies. Indeed, President Clinton has already met Mr. Jiang several times at various international fora.

What strikes me is the kind of visit that is about to take place. It is a state visit that involves champagne toasts and 21-gun salutes—all the trappings of honor and prestige. While I do not oppose high-level contact, I feel strongly that the pomp and ceremony of a state visit is inappropriate at a time when the human rights situation in China and in Tibet remains such a serious obstacle to good relations.

Simply put, it is my view that an official state visit is premature, absent a stronger commitment from China to

improve human rights. I fear that this state visit will actually boost the legitimacy of a regime that brutalizes its own people and jails anyone who dares to complain.

In other words, Mr. President, while dialog is important, you don't need champagne toasts and red carpets to have a dialog.

Is the memory of the Tiananmen Square massacre so distant that we are willing to clink glasses with China's leaders as though nothing happened in Tiananmen Square? For me, the answer is no. When Jiang is given a 21-gun salute tomorrow, the South Lawn will sound much like the streets of Beijing did on the night of June 4, 1989.

By agreeing to this state visit without receiving any kind of concession in the area of human rights, the administration may be squandering perhaps its strongest source of leverage with Beijing. Nevertheless, if the administration insists on hosting Jiang Zemin right now, the least that can be done is to accord discussion of human rights the same priority as the myriad other issues that confront our bilateral relations with China. Unfortunately, I don't think that is going to be the case.

As we all know, there are many areas of disagreement between the United States and China, aside from human rights. The United States' trade deficit with China will likely reach \$50 billion this year. China has a long and well-known record of assisting the nuclear programs of Iran and Pakistan and, as always, the sensitive issue of Taiwan remains a trouble spot.

Arguably, there are some positive signs. China has agreed to make significant cuts in tariffs as a part of its bid to join the World Trade Organization, and Beijing has promised to tighten controls on nuclear exports. It is widely reported that an agreement to restart United States-China cooperation on nuclear power will be the centerpiece of the summit.

Mr. President, on human rights there are few, if any, positive signs. Despite China's announcement on Saturday that it will sign the United Nations' Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, I see no evidence of real human rights improvement on the ground. The fact that human rights conditions in China are growing worse, not better, indicates that human rights needs to be given top priority.

Three years after the President's decision to delink most-favored-nation status from human rights, a decision that I have always said was a mistake, we have seen the reimprisonment of dissidents and increased repression in Tibet. The State Department human rights report makes this very clear. According to the report covering the calendar year 1996:

The Government continued to commit widespread and well-documented human rights abuses, in violation of internationally accepted norms, stemming from the authorities' intolerance of dissent, fear of unrest,

and the absence or inadequacy of laws protecting basic freedoms . . . Abuses included torture, and mistreatment of prisoners, forced confessions, and arbitrary and lengthy incommunicado detention. Prison conditions remained harsh. The Government continued severe restrictions on freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association, religion, privacy and workers rights.

Just one year ago, we were witness to yet another example of these policies when Wang Dan, one of the leaders of the 1989 pro-democracy demonstrations in Tiananmen Square, was sentenced to 11 years in prison. Also last December, a Beijing court sentenced activist Li Hai for collecting information on those jailed after the 1989 Tiananmen massacre.

The situation is just as bad in Tibet.

Last year, China arrested Ngawang Choepel, a Tibetan musicologist and Fulbright scholar, and sentenced him to 18 years in prison on trumped-up spy charges. China has also intensified its campaign to smear the Dalai Lama, the spiritual leader of the Tibetan people and a Nobel laureate. Tibetans are not even free to display a photo of the Dalai Lama, much less show reverence for him. There have been numerous reports of Tibetan monks and nuns suffering torture at the hands of Chinese authorities. The State Department human rights report cites three recent cases of Tibetan monks who died while in jail.

Mr. President, despite signing two formal agreements with the United States on prison labor, Chinese prison-labor products continue to appear on our shores. Tong Yi, who worked as an assistant to Chinese dissident Wei Jingsheng, knows the prison labor system first hand. Released just last year after serving a 2½-year sentence of re-education through labor—a sentence she received, by the way, without the benefit of any kind of trial—Ms. Tong says she was forced to work endless hours making products for export.

In the rush to reach agreements with China on WTO and proliferation, the United States cannot shove human rights aside. While the United States can and does talk tough on issues such as trade and intellectual property protection, we must do the same when the conversation turns to Tiananmen and Tibet.

In the run-up to the summit, Mr. Jiang has given several interviews during which he made some disturbing comments on human rights.

When Time magazine asked Jiang Zemin about the plight of political dissidents Wang Dan and Wei Jingsheng, Jiang responded that Wang and Wei are criminals, not dissidents. Indeed, it is a crime in China to publicly and peacefully criticize the Government as Mr. Wang and Mr. Wei have done.

Mr. Jiang is willing to dismiss questions about human rights because he likely thinks U.S. concerns extend to only a few high-profile dissidents. But, in fact, Wei Jingsheng and Wang Dan are merely symbols of the hundreds, if not thousands, of people in the People's

Republic of China who are thrown into prison cells for demanding democracy, organizing prayer meetings, or for simply displaying loyalty to the Dalai Lama. These people might not be as famous as Mr. Wang and Mr. Wei, but they show the same type of courage, and they are every bit as important.

Mr. President, there are three key messages on human rights that Jiang Zemin must hear loud and clear while he is in Washington.

First, Jiang Zemin must realize that people who care about conditions in China seek more than the release of a token dissident or two. China likes to play a game where people like Wei Jingsheng are used as bargaining chips in the PRC's effort to curry favor with the international community at key moments. We saw this in 1993, when China tried to win a bid to host the year 2000 Olympic Games. Just a week before the International Olympic Committee was to vote on the matter, China released Wei Jingsheng. As we all know, Beijing lost the bid and, a few months later, Wei Jingsheng was back in prison, on charges of subversion.

We saw this again in 1995 when China suddenly decided to release Chinese-American human rights activist Harry Wu shortly before the First Lady was to arrive to address the U.N. women's conference.

But, the United States should not get caught in this cynical game.

For there to be true friendship between the United States and China, China must implement across-the-board and institutional changes such as strengthening the rule of law and allowing citizens to question government policy without fear. Jiang Zemin and other Chinese leaders must realize that United States-China relations will never reach their full potential so long as hundreds, if not thousands, of dissidents languish behind bars; so long as Tibetan Buddhists are subject to arrest and torture; and so long as citizens are not free to select their rulers.

Second, the United States must make clear to Jiang Zemin that the United States will not allow China to redefine the concept of "human rights" in a way that makes the term meaningless.

China's leaders have stated numerous times that the Peoples Republic of China is committed to upholding the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This document affirms the right of every human being to enjoy freedom of expression, freedom of religion, and freedom of peaceful assembly. There is no special exception for China or any other country, nor should there be.

Furthermore, article 35 of China's own Constitution states that "Citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of association, of procession, and of demonstration."

China's late paramount leader Deng Xiaoping was found of saying "seek

truth from facts." Well, the fact is that China denies its citizens the very rights that the Government has vowed to protect.

I would like to ask Mr. Jiang if his government ever intends to grant its citizens the rights that, according to his country's own Constitution, Chinese citizens should already enjoy. Or will China's article 35 remain a meaningless provision, subject to endless caveats about the need for state security, social stability, and the rights of the collective? Will China continue to say it upholds the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, even though it systematically violates so many of the declaration's principles?

If the United States can demand that China fulfill its obligations under the international arms control regime, then the United States should be able to demand just as strongly that Beijing keep its obligations under international human rights agreements.

Third, Jiang Zemin should know that those of us—in the United States and around the world—who demand improvements in human rights are not trying to impose American or Western values on China, nor are we demanding that China be perfect according to some kind of American ideal. That would not be appropriate.

China does often point to many flaws in American society: The high crime rate and the lingering problems of poverty and drugs. China's official media often refers to the United States political system as a "money bags democracy." Indeed, proponents of campaign finance reform, like myself, find some validity in that Chinese assessment.

But what Chinese leaders do not seem to understand is that being open about your problems is a sign of strength, not weakness. China lacks even the ability to acknowledge its severe human rights problem. Those of us that wish to promote human rights improvements want to encourage China to establish the tools—a free press, open debate, and respect for political and religious minorities—that will ultimately make China a stronger society and nation.

Mr. President, protecting human rights, respecting free speech, and tolerating dissent will bestow more legitimacy on China than any summit or White House photo-op could ever do.

This is what Jiang Zemin needs to hear.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1998—CONFERENCE REPORT

The Senate continued with the consideration of the conference report.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, may I inquire whether or not there is a time allocation under the standing orders of the Senate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has been allocated 15 minutes.