

National Science Foundation:

Earmarks and directive language:

\$40 million to support a competitive, merit-based initiative, which may include one or more university-based research center, to enable the development of a U.S.-led public/private research initiative supporting research into plant genomes

\$25 million earmarked for an incoherent scatter radar, which the Committee directs be used only to construct the radar collocated with the Department of Defense ionospheric research site (i.e., the HAARP project in Alaska)

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, what concerns me most is the growing practice of earmarking funds for a myriad of projects in the report language but then incorporating that report language by reference in the bill itself. For example, on pages 32 and 33, the bill language states:

Of the amounts made available under this heading, \$40 million for the Economic Development Initiative (EDI) to finance a variety of efforts, including those identified in the Senate committee report, that promote economic revitalization that links people to jobs and supportive services.

The report identifies 17 separate projects, in specific amounts and at specific locations, totaling nearly \$30 million. The effect of this bill language is to require HUD to spend three-fourths of this economic development money for these particular projects without any assessment of the relative needs of the communities which would benefit from these projects compared with many other American communities. This is a very bad practice, Mr. President. It is one of the worst that I have seen in a long time.

Another section of the bill incorporates a similar list of earmarks into the bill language. On page 62, the bill reads:

... \$82 million for making grants for the construction of wastewater and water treatment facilities and groundwater protection infrastructure in accordance with the terms and conditions specified for such grants in the report accompanying this Act. . . .

It just so happens that the only terms and conditions contained in the report are earmarks for particular projects for the entire \$82 million set aside in the bill. Again, this is backdoor earmarking and it's the worst form of pork barrel spending that I have seen in a long time.

As I have said, this bill also contains earmarks for museums, particularly, \$7.1 million for the Jazz Museum and the Negro Leagues Baseball Museum in Kansas City, MO.

The bill also earmarks \$150 million for water and wastewater facilities along the United States-Mexico border. While this earmark could conceivably benefit my own State of Arizona, I cannot understand why we cannot, instead, provide funding based on need and established criteria, rather than setting aside millions of dollars for certain States or areas of the country.

The report is replete with earmarks. One of the most interesting reads as follows:

\$600,000 for the final year of funding for the solar aquatic wastewater treatment dem-

onstration in Burlington, VT, to be cost-shared by the participants.

Get this, Mr. President:

The Committee does not intend to recommend funding for additional solar aquatic wastewater treatment demonstrations in view of EPA's assessment that this technology does not appear to offer any economic advantages over conventional technologies.

So we are going to spend \$600,000 more on a project where, in EPA's assessment, the technology doesn't offer any economic advantages over conventional technologies. It seems a little bit ridiculous to me.

Mr. President, I won't go through the nine-page list I mentioned, but there are some fascinating earmarks in here. I will tell you, it's really interesting. Here is \$1 million for renovation of the Paramount Theater in Vermont. It urges or encourages the Veterans' Administration to consider establishing or expanding community-based outpatient clinics in Vermont, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and southern and western Maryland. You are going to have to help me out here, Mr. President. Why not in Maine, California, or Texas? Instead, it is encouraging the VA to establish expanding community-based outpatient clinics in Vermont, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, southern and western Maryland. The only thing I can say is in common there is that they are low-growth States. Why would we not want to establish or expand outpatient clinics in high-growth States—Nevada, California, Texas, or Arizona? I don't know. I don't understand.

Mr. President, we don't want to do these things. I think, as I have said on many different occasions, it doesn't help us with the American people, and we waste millions of taxpayer dollars on projects that serve our own narrow interests rather than those of the Nation at large. It makes it harder for us to whittle away at the \$5.3 trillion debt.

I yield the floor.

Mr. BOND. Mr. President, I know the order was for the Senate to adjourn at 12:30. I now ask unanimous consent that there be a period for morning business, in which Senator ASHCROFT be permitted to speak for 5 minutes.

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

The Senator from Missouri is recognized.

Mr. ASHCROFT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to proceed as in morning business until the completion of my remarks.

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

THE RIGHTS OF MAN

Mr. ASHCROFT. Mr. President, last week, my friend TIM HUTCHINSON, the Senator from Arkansas, took the floor to lend his voice to a growing chorus of disapproval over the state of United States-China relations. I commend him for his actions. While his efforts to pass a sense of the Senate resolution

against most favored nation status for China were unsuccessful, his actions were the very essence of what it means to be a leader. He set out to achieve noble aspirations, and then dedicated his energies to achieve those objectives. Leadership is ascertaining noble objectives and working hard, intently and sacrificially. Such efforts push us toward our highest and best. The highest and best to which Senator HUTCHINSON called us is an end to which we must all aspire.

Teddy Roosevelt said it this way:

Far better is it to dare mighty things, to win glorious triumphs, even though checked by failure, than to take rank with those poor spirits who neither enjoy much nor suffer much because they live in the gray twilight that knows neither victory nor defeat.

Twenty-two Members of the Senate had the courage to say that the tainted flow of Western currency into China must end, not because the exchange of goods between sovereign nations is injurious, but because we have in China today a ruthless regime that does not deserve unfettered access to United States markets, a regime whose brutal repression at home betrays its intentions abroad.

America is a place that has cared always for what Thomas Paine called the "rights of man." The United States has always been a country that gave no quarter to tyranny or tyrants. Teddy Roosevelt put it a bit differently, cautioning that America must not become "an assemblage of well-to-do hucksters who care nothing for what happens beyond."

But, Mr. President, does not the vote on the Hutchinson amendment suggest that Teddy Roosevelt's worst fears are being realized? For the message being sent from China today is as unmistakable as it is disturbing. Beijing believes that life is cheap and cheaper still when that life opposes the authoritarian rule of the Communist Party.

The State Department, in its most recent human rights report, states that "all public dissent against the party and government was effectively silenced" in China. "No dissidents were known to be active at year's end." Beijing has used imprisonment, exile, and summary execution to quiet the voices of those who cry for freedom.

China's 1982 Constitution guarantees the freedom of speech, the press, and religious belief. And yet, the hollowness of that document becomes more apparent with every passing day. Chinese authorities routinely resort to torture, the denial of due process, forced confessions, prison labor, and extrajudicial killings to crush Chinese citizens who stand up for liberty and defy Beijing.

As Nina Shea notes in "The Lion's Den," China has more Christians in prison because of religious activities than any other nation. This morning's New York Times detailed a State Department report due to be issued today—and I have a copy of it here—which is sharply critical of Beijing's efforts to suppress religious worship. The

report, which is entitled, "U.S. Policy in Support of Religious Freedom," says, "The Government of China has sought to restrict all actual religious practice to government-subsidized religious organizations and registered places of worship."

The report goes on to detail the story of four underground Roman Catholic bishops who have been imprisoned or detained. They are not alone. Many other Catholic priests, the Times notes, "have been searched by government agents and their religious articles have been seized."

Consider the case of Bishop Su. Hung from the ceiling by his wrists, Su was battered time and again about the head until all but unconscious. He was then placed in a cell filled with water where he was left for days unable to sit or to sleep. His high crime? His treason? A fidelity to God and a desire to exercise that devotion.

It is true that the official Catholic Church in China is registered with the Government and claims as many as 4 million members. However, the official church does not recognize the authority of the Pope, so all Vatican-affiliated Catholics are viewed by Beijing as unregistered. Moreover, as the State Department report suggests, "Communist Party officials state that party membership and religious belief are incompatible," placing a serious limitation on believers.

And who, Mr. President, will denounce the mounting persecutions of Christians in China? The administration has not made a sound. Well, I would respectfully remind them that to sin by silence when one should protest makes cowards out of all men.

America must not trade civil liberty for the false idol of foreign commerce. We must be willing not just to sound historic, but we must pursue policies which are historically sound. We must be willing to condemn religious persecution both in China and around the world.

The disturbing trends revealed in the State Department report due today are not without precedent. In June 1996, the Far Eastern Economic Review reported that "Chinese police had destroyed at least 15,000 unregistered temples, churches and tombs" in the Zhejiang province alone in just 5 months. Those church leaders who dared to resist were tortured, beaten, and killed.

Is it any wonder then that the future of Hong Kong has been the subject of great concern. At the beginning of this month, all eyes were turned toward the British colony as it reverted to Chinese control. I sincerely hope that our eyes will remain focused there, for constant vigilance is the key to exposing and resisting Chinese encroachment on freedom in the former colony.

Although China wants Hong Kong to remain a vibrant financial center and serve as an example for unification with Taiwan, Beijing has not hesitated to undermine Hong Kong's political au-

tonomy in spite of its pledge in the 1984 joint declaration to honor one country, two systems.

China has declared the elected Hong Kong Legislature invalid and has appointed a hand-picked provisional legislative body. China's appointed chief executive of Hong Kong, Tung Chee-hwa, promises that new elections will be held in 1998 but has drawn the electoral districts to limit the influence of Martin Lee's Democratic Party.

Mr. Tung has recently unveiled new measures to restrict civil liberties in Hong Kong. Public protests will have to receive prior approval and could be banned to protect so-called "national security." Political organizations will be required to register with the government and prohibited from seeking or receiving funds from overseas sources. Under Tung's definition, international organizations that expose China's human rights abuses will also be banned from receiving foreign funds.

Unfortunately, the administration's Hong Kong policy has been about self-preservation rather than promoting self-government. Political activist Martin Lee got a hero's welcome on Capitol Hill, but the administration met only reluctantly with Lee. Vice President GORE conveniently forgot Hong Kong on his recent trip to China, and much to the dismay of Martin Lee and other Hong Kong Democrats, Consul General Richard Boucher attended the inaugural ceremony of China's hand-picked legislature—the legislature which replaced the freely elected body that Martin Lee had worked so hard to preserve.

Mr. President, the preservation of liberty for the 6.3 million people in Hong Kong is about more than the immediate fate of its residents. The battle for civil liberty in Hong Kong could very well be the battle for civil liberty in China. As George Will has written, China has just swallowed "a radioactive isotope" of Western culture in taking over Hong Kong. Hong Kong serves as a shining example of democracy and free market economics, and the effective removal of that model would set back the march of freedom in China.

In a world that is increasingly open and free, there still exist totalitarian governments which cling to political repression and deny their people the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and property. Beijing claims that the Chinese people are more concerned about social cohesion and domestic order than the growth of civil liberty—that Western democracy is a Western phenomenon and not necessarily applicable to China, that it is somehow foreign to Far Eastern culture.

But what does Beijing think about the growth of democracy in Taiwan, Japan, and South Korea? How do China's leaders explain away the deaths of perhaps thousands of students who were willing to risk everything for liberty in Tiananmen Square? How does Beijing respond to heroes like Wei

Jingsheng and Harry Wu who continue to fight against oppression in spite of intimidation, imprisonment, and torture? Troublingly, Beijing cannot answer these questions. Tragically, these are questions that the West is often afraid to ask.

Mr. President, I look forward to a U.S. foreign policy that calls the community of nations to their highest and best. America for her part must be willing to stand for freedom as she has since her first days. When the Chinese people eventually rid themselves of Beijing's tyrannical leadership and embrace democracy, just as South Korea, Japan, and Taiwan have done before them, let it be said that America stood with them, stood with them and for them in their cause for freedom.

Despite the troubling revelations of the State Department report and the defeat of the Hutchinson amendment last week, I believe that we must continue to press on. Teddy Roosevelt was right; it is hard to fail but it is worse never to have tried to succeed. The right of man to strive, to seek, to find and not to yield is at the core of what individual liberty and dignity means, and it is at the core of the values we regard highly in America. It is a message of hope and calls this country to its highest and best. It is a message that America must proclaim if the coming century is to be defined by the growth of liberty and not surrendered to those who would stifle freedom.

China has been abusive to its own citizens and signals an ominous cloud over the Far East, a cloud whose poison could spread well beyond its own borders and taint the opportunity for freedom around the world. China's total disregard for religious liberty, China's contempt for the liberty of individuals in the political system, and China's willingness to require the registration of religious groups whose members would worship God freely without subservience to the government, signals to us the need for America to stand up clearly—not as an enemy to the Chinese but as a friend of those people who seek liberty from tyrants.

I believe the Chinese people seek liberty and will respond constructively to freedom just as people around the world have wherever the grace of freedom has been made available to them. The United States can no longer suggest that we might cease to be the city on a hill whose light is a beacon for freedom. We have a responsibility to maintain the commitment to freedom that those who began this Nation had, and I submit that it is time for us to signal our commitment to freedom clearly and unmistakably to those who would enter the community of nations. China seeks and wants to enter that community, and the United States must speak clearly to China about the rights of man we have always defended. I think it is time for the United States to have its voice heard and to be a contributor to the cause of liberty and freedom around the globe.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate now stands in recess until the hour of 2:15 p.m.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 12:43 p.m. recessed until 2:15 p.m.; whereupon, the Senate was called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. COATS).

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Montana.

Mr. BURNS. Mr. President, due to a time commitment made by one of the speakers on the military construction bill, I ask unanimous consent at this time to proceed for 5 minutes as in morning business.

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

FRICITION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

Mr. BURNS. Mr. President, I watched the news last night with a great deal of distress. Our Nation is in a situation that is intolerable with our long and faithful friend to our North. I don't quite understand the crux of the situation but I will become familiar with it and the history that has brought us to this inexcusable and terrible confrontation, that now exists on the west coast of British Columbia.

I have been occupied with the death of my mother and have been somewhat out of the loop of events and the deterioration of the relationship on our west coast. I knew there were circumstances which was causing friction among the fishing fleets of both the United States and Canada. The salmon runs have been of historic proportions in our Alaskan waters but as one works to the south toward the coast of Canada and the lower west coast of the United States, the runs are not as good.

A year ago, when the American-Canadian Inner-Parliamentary Meeting was held on the Alaskan coast while traveling from Prince Rupert, British Columbia, to Skagway, Alaska, there were discussions of the situation but there was no resolution. Both the Members of the Canadian Parliament and the Members of the American Congress were reluctant to dig deeper into the situation. Now we have a full-fledged crisis on our hands and it is separated from this Nation or Canada by an ocean. It is here and it is serious.

Canadian subjects held an American flag ship by barricading it. That is a vessel that sails a regular schedule from Seattle to the coastal ports of Canada and Alaska. It was held along with all passengers, cargo, and United States mail aboard. I am outraged any action of this kind was allowed to exist in this hemisphere. If it were any other place on this planet, this Government and all Americans would have been outraged. No other place would this Nation allow this kind of action to happen.

I was outraged when I saw the American flag burned by one, I assume, barricading the vessel. I, for one in this body, demand the Government of Canada deal with this situation and with those who would have a complete disrespect for the flag of this Nation. It is the single most powerful symbol of the free world. I would hope no citizen in this country would ever do any repulsive act to the national colors of our friends in Canada. We should not nor shall not retaliate in such fashion. We should, however, focus on this situation and get it settled as honorable nations do.

I cannot believe this administration has not taken action earlier to defuse this confrontation. I live in Montana and the relationship between Alberta and Montana has been one of great respect and friendship. Yes, that relationship is strained from time to time. But, that is to be expected among neighbors. But, never has our respect for each other ever been reduced to the actions now being displayed at Port Rupert, British Columbia, as we speak.

I plead with the President to get personally involved with the leaders of Canada and work it out and not let this wound fester and become uncontrollable. Our long and deep friendship with Canada is at stake and it is serious.

I plan to appeal to the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate to look into this and would hope there is resolve within this body to deal with it and find a solution acceptable to Canada and the United States.

I appeal to both the Foreign Relations Committee and the President. Please do not stand idly by while someone burns my flag and barricades my ship. I do not plan to take this lightly and I also appeal strongly to the leaders of Canada to take actions that would defuse the confrontation and deal harshly with those who show no respect for either their own country or the United States of America.

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1998

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 2016) making appropriations for military construction, family housing, and base realignment and closure for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1998, and for other purposes.

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Appropriations, with amendments; as follows:

(The parts of the bill intended to be stricken are shown in boldface brackets and the parts of the bill intended to be inserted are shown in *italic*.)

H.R. 2016

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in

Congress assembled, That the following sums are appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1998, for military construction, family housing, and base realignment and closure functions administered by the Department of Defense, and for other purposes, namely:

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION, ARMY

For acquisition, construction, installation, and equipment of temporary or permanent public works, military installations, facilities, and real property for the Army as currently authorized by law, including personnel in the Army Corps of Engineers and other personal services necessary for the purposes of this appropriation, and for construction and operation of facilities in support of the functions of the Commander in Chief, **[\$721,027,000]** *\$652,046,000*, to remain available until September 30, 2002: *Provided*, That of this amount, not to exceed **[\$71,577,000]** *\$77,646,000* shall be available for study, planning, design, architect and engineer services, and host nation support, as authorized by law, unless the Secretary of Defense determines that additional obligations are necessary for such purposes and notifies the Committees on Appropriations of both Houses of Congress of his determination and the reasons therefor.

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION, NAVY

For acquisition, construction, installation, and equipment of temporary or permanent public works, naval installations, facilities, and real property for the Navy as currently authorized by law, including personnel in the Naval Facilities Engineering Command and other personal services necessary for the purposes of this appropriation, **[\$685,306,000]** *\$605,756,000*, to remain available until September 30, 2002: *Provided*, That of this amount, not to exceed **[\$46,659,000]** *\$46,489,000* shall be available for study, planning, design, architect and engineer services, as authorized by law, unless the Secretary of Defense determines that additional obligations are necessary for such purposes and notifies the Committees on Appropriations of both Houses of Congress of his determination and the reasons therefor.

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION, AIR FORCE

For acquisition, construction, installation, and equipment of temporary or permanent public works, military installations, facilities, and real property for the Air Force as currently authorized by law, **[\$662,305,000]** *\$662,305,000*, to remain available until September 30, 2002: *Provided*, That of this amount, not to exceed **[\$45,880,000]** *\$48,880,000* shall be available for study, planning, design, architect and engineer services, as authorized by law, unless the Secretary of Defense determines that additional obligations are necessary for such purposes and notifies the Committees on Appropriations of both Houses of Congress of his determination and the reasons therefor.

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION, DEFENSE-WIDE (INCLUDING TRANSFER OF FUNDS)

For acquisition, construction, installation, and equipment of temporary or permanent public works, installations, facilities, and real property for activities and agencies of the Department of Defense (other than the military departments), as currently authorized by law, **[\$613,333,000]** *\$690,889,000*, to remain available until September 30, 2002: *Provided*, That such amounts of this appropriation as may be determined by the Secretary of Defense may be transferred to such appropriations of the Department of Defense available for military construction or family housing as he may designate, to be merged with and to be available for the same purposes, and for the same time period, as the