

tarnished by the Suharto government's brutal occupation of East Timor, the grave human rights abuses committed by the Indonesian military in East Timor and in Indonesia, its lack of respect for democracy and the corrupt cronism that enabled the economy to grow but disenfranchised large portions of the population.

Thousands of brave Indonesians took the streets last year calling for an end to the Suharto regime and the beginning of truly democratic political system which allowed for multi-party participation. They were tired of President Suharto's administration and its corruption. They demanded free and fair elections. They deserve to have them. It is their right to have them.

This is an opportunity for Indonesia to follow the way of Taiwan, South Korea, and the Philippines, Asian countries who have successfully transformed themselves into pluralistic, multi-party democracies.

President Habibie has every incentive to make the June elections as free and as fair as international standards dictate. If he does so and continues to take steps to resolve the crisis in East Timor in a manner that respects the wishes and views of the people of East Timor, Indonesia's reputation will be enhanced and the international community will have great incentive to embrace the new government. There are many good benefits that can come from this—both for the Indonesian government and for the Indonesian people. The key is in the hands of the Habibie government. By the manner in which they conduct the June elections, they hold the key to the future stability and prosperity of Indonesia.

I commend Mr. BEREUTER and Mr. LANTOS for sponsoring this resolution. I urge my colleagues to support it.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BEREUTER) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, House Resolution 32.

The question was taken.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX and the Chair's prior announcement, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed until tomorrow.

SENSE OF CONGRESS URGING
CRITICISM OF PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
OF CHINA FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
ABUSES IN CHINA AND TIBET AT
ANNUAL MEETING OF UNITED
NATIONS COMMISSION ON
HUMAN RIGHTS

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution (H.Con.Res. 28) expressing the sense of the Congress that the United States should introduce and make all efforts necessary to pass a resolution criticizing the People's Republic of China for its human rights abuses in China and Tibet at the an-

nual meeting of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. CON. RES. 28

Whereas the Government of the People's Republic of China has signed two important United Nations human rights treaties, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights;

Whereas the Government of the People's Republic of China recognizes the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which calls for the protection of the rights of freedom of association, press, assembly, religion, and other fundamental rights and freedoms;

Whereas the Government of the People's Republic of China demonstrates a pattern of continuous, serious, and widespread violations of internationally recognized human rights standards, including violations of the rights described in the preceding clause and the following:

(1) restricting nongovernmental political and social organizations;

(2) cracking down on film directors, computer software developers, artists, and the press, including threats of life prison terms;

(3) sentencing poet and writer, Ma Zhe, to seven years in prison on charges of subversion for publishing an independent literary journal;

(4) sentencing three pro-democracy activists, Xu Wenli, Wang Youcai, and Qing Yongmin, to long prison sentences in December 1998 for the announced effort to organize an alternative political party committed to democracy and respect for human rights;

(5) sentencing Zhang Shuangui to prison for ten years for giving Radio Free Asia information about farmer protests in Hunan province;

(6) putting on trial businessman Lin Hai for providing e-mail addresses to a pro-democracy Internet magazine based in the United States;

(7) arresting, harassing, and torturing members of the religious community who worship outside of official Chinese churches;

(8) refusing the United Nations High Commissioner on Human Rights access to the Panchen Lama, Gendun Choekyi Nyima;

(9) continuing to engage in coercive family planning practices, including forced abortion and forced sterilization; and

(10) operating a system of prisons and other detention centers in which gross human rights violations, including torture, slave labor, and the commercial harvesting of human organs from executed prisoners, continue to occur;

Whereas repression in Tibet has increased steadily, resulting in heightened control on religious activity, a denunciation campaign against the Dalai Lama unprecedented since the Cultural Revolution, an increase in political arrests, the secret trial and sentencing of former Middlebury College Fulbright Scholar and Tibetan ethnomusicologist Ngawang Choephel to 18 years in prison on espionage charges, and suppression of peaceful protests, and the Government of the People's Republic of China refuses direct dialogue with the Dalai Lama or his representatives on a negotiated solution for Tibet;

Whereas the annual meeting of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, Switzerland, provides a forum for discussing human rights and expressing international support for improved human rights performance;

Whereas during his July 1998 visit to the People's Republic of China, President Clinton correctly affirmed the necessity of ad-

ressing human rights in United States-China relations; and

Whereas the United States did not sponsor a resolution on China's human rights record at the 1998 session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring). That it is the sense of the Congress that the United States—

(1) should introduce and make all efforts necessary to pass a resolution criticizing the People's Republic of China for its human rights abuses in China and Tibet at the annual meeting of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights; and

(2) should immediately contact other governments to urge them to cosponsor and support such a resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN).

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I want to thank the chairman and the ranking minority member of the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights and the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific for acting expeditiously on H. Con. Res. 28, a resolution expressing the sense of Congress that our Nation should introduce and make all efforts necessary to pass a resolution criticizing the People's Republic of China for its human rights abuses in China and Tibet at the next annual meeting of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

In a December 22, 1998 speech commemorating the 20th anniversary of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Communist Party Central Committee, China's President and Party Secretary Jiang Zemin stated that China needed to "nip those factors that undermine social stability in the bud, no matter where they come from." In that very same speech Jiang emphasized, "the Western mode of political systems must never be copied." Soon after those remarks, arrests were made of key dissidents. To this very day, the crackdown on China's fledgling democracy movement continues.

The Democracy Wall movement in the late 1970s and the Hundred Flowers Campaign in the late 1950s were periods when citizens were first encouraged to express their beliefs, and then subsequently they were severely persecuted for their criticism of the Communist Party and their desire for democracy. Similarly, the period before President Clinton visited China in June also saw an easing of political repression by the authorities, though some of us were concerned that this was only a temporary change and that the government would, as it has, indeed, revert to form.

Some so-called China experts would have us believe that this is a cyclical historical process. But having seen it done so many times, it appears to us to be a method to flush out dissidents and to be able to preserve power.

In the last 8 months, the Communist government in China has carried out the most symptomatic crackdown on democracy activists since the Tiananmen Square massacre of 1989. Scores of democracy activists have been arrested, hundreds more have been detained, and three leaders, Xu Wenli, Wang Youcai and Qin Yongmin have been sentenced to long prison terms.

I ask, is the administration certain that it still wants a strategic partnership with such a government?

In December, our Select Committee on U.S. National Security and Military/Commercial Concerns with the People's Republic of China released their report stating that China has been stealing weapons designs from American nuclear laboratories and obtaining sensitive computer missile and satellite technologies. A select committee confirmed Pentagon and State Department findings that two American companies not only helped the Chinese space industry, but also may have helped improve the reliability of China's missiles. Yet, every year, billions of dollars of more goods from Chinese sweatshops and from their labor camps come into our Nation adding to our growing trade deficit with China.

In a few months, flush with foreign currency reserves, the PLA, the Chinese military organization, will be receiving SS-N-22 Sunburn missiles that they bought from Russia. Those missiles are designed to destroy our most sophisticated naval ships. If in the future China blockades democratic Taiwan, I ask how effective will our Seventh Fleet be? We question what the administration has done to prevent the Chinese from obtaining such deadly missiles.

We have now learned that Beijing stole nuclear weapon technology from our labs. The New York Times reported that the administration knew that this was going on since 1997. Last weekend in Beijing, Secretary Albright met with the Chinese leaders, and we were pleased that she raised the issue of the ongoing crackdown of the democracy movement there and in occupied Tibet. Regrettably, years of words not backed up by any action has gone on much too long, through too many administrations, and has permitted our Nation's security and our economy to be weakened and our moral stand to be questioned.

If the administration seriously supports a resolution in Geneva, as H. Con. Res. 28 recommends, then it would give some help to those brave Chinese and Tibetan democracy advocates who are struggling against the brutal dictatorship in Beijing, and it would give the American people some hope that perhaps this administration has started to reformulate a China policy that we feel has been misguided and has been a disaster.

Accordingly, I urge my colleagues to support H. Con. Res. 28.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume and I rise in strong support of this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I listened to the distinguished chairman of the Committee on International Relations, and there are many observations that he made with which I agree. He has been an effective champion of human rights in China, and I pay tribute to him for his human rights efforts as they relate to China and other countries.

But I need to correct the historical record as it comes to administration policy. As one who has opposed administration policy with respect to China under both Republican and Democratic administrations because I believe they both have been ill-advised, as the most recent spying episode so dramatically underscores, it is important to keep the record straight and to keep the bipartisan voice of Congress honest.

Our Republican colleagues are in no position to be surprised that China has been spying on the United States. That spying has been going on during the last many years. It did not originate last year or the year before, and the previous 2 Republican administrations bear their full share of the responsibility as we now see the chickens coming home to roost.

So the historical record must be made clear. China's human rights record is abominable. We have spent untold hours in committee and on this floor denouncing China's human rights record, ranging from forced abortion to the restriction of the right of individuals to practice their religion, from the lack of press freedom to the lack of political freedom, and recent developments in China clearly indicate that the human rights condition has deteriorated in recent months. It is now reaching a new low. There is not much dispute on this floor about the abominable human rights record of China.

What this resolution calls for is for our administration to introduce and support at Geneva at the United Nations Human Rights Commission meeting a powerful resolution denouncing China's human rights record, and to lobby and lead the way so we will have enough friends and allies in that organization so that our resolution will, in fact, prevail. I think it is important for this administration to understand that the other body passed a similar resolution urging the administration to denounce China's human rights policy in Geneva by a vote of 99-to-nothing.

When this debate is over, I will ask for a recorded vote in this body, and I suspect we will have a similar overwhelming vote calling on our administration to introduce and to lead the fight to denounce China's human rights record.

□ 1400

We speak powerfully when we speak on a bipartisan basis. I am critical of our administration for not having introduced this resolution at last year's

meeting, and I expect my Republican colleagues to be equally critical of previous Republican administrations for their attempt to sweep China's abominable human rights policy under the rug.

Human rights transcend parties and differences. We should be demanding human rights for the people of China, and we should demand, whether we have a Republican or a Democrat in the White House, that the United States stand up for our own principles.

I call on all of my colleagues to join me in urging our State Department to introduce and to lead to a successful vote a resolution denouncing China and China's abominable human rights policies.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield such time as she may consume to my friend and neighbor, the gentlewoman from San Francisco, California (Ms. PELOSI) someone who has been a leader in the fight for human rights in China.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I thank our colleague for yielding time to me. I again applaud him for his great leadership on human rights throughout the world. I associate myself with the remarks in his statement, both in support of human rights and in clarifying the record about the bipartisan nature of the security issues that were raised by the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN).

I also want to salute the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), the distinguished chairman of the committee. He has been a champion on human rights throughout the world. He has worked tirelessly for human rights in China and Tibet, and he has been an articulate voice that should be a comfort for all of those who fight for freedom throughout the world.

Mr. Speaker, this is a particularly significant year for us, the U.S., to take the lead on the U.N. resolution in Geneva. It has been 40 years since the Dalai Lama fled Tibet. It has been 20 years since the democracy wall repression in China, where those who dared speak out for freedom in 1979 were arrested for very long prison terms.

It has been, can we believe it, Mr. Speaker, 10 years since the tragedy of Tiananmen Square, since the massacre of those young people who dared to take as their symbol our statute of liberty, and as their clarion call the words of our Founding Fathers.

So it behooves the United States of America in this particularly significant anniversary year that commemorates serious repression in China and Tibet to take the lead, as our colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) said, not only to introduce a resolution but to urge other countries to support it, too.

In the absence of our leadership brave Denmark, in which the United States is so ably represented by the son-in-law of the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) and his family as our distinguished ambassadors there, brave Denmark introduced the resolution.

China's response? China said this resolution, at the U.N. commission, will be the rock which smashes Denmark's head. How distinguished of them to frame it in that way. But let us show the bravery of Denmark. It is the very least, I think, that we can do.

Some of our allies, the Brits, for example, said they were not going to introduce the resolution because they were going to give China this year to demonstrate an improvement in human rights, and then make an evaluation this year. Well, what did they see in that year but increased repression?

Sure, there was a show when President Clinton went to China, and there was just enough done on both sides for domestic consumption, both in China and in the United States. But the fact is, and as the record shows, it was not real.

I have been an ardent supporter of human rights in China, and foe of the failed policy of both the Republican and the Democratic administrations. The irony of it all is that we are diminishing our voice in human rights for trade purposes, and ha, ha, ha, the Chinese regime has the last laugh there, because they have refused to open their markets to our products.

Our reward for ignoring their human rights violations and their repression is a \$60 billion trade deficit with China; \$60 billion for the Chinese regime to buy more weapons for their military and more money to consolidate their position in power, and to continue to repress those who speak out for democratic reforms, the same democratic reforms, by the way, which they, in theory, signed up to support when they signed the U.N. Technician resolution, which they have not ratified and which they have not implemented.

Mr. Speaker, what is it that will happen if this resolution passes? If this resolution passes on the Floor, we will be giving the Clinton administration the leverage that they need, the leverage that they need to go in to the U.N. Commission and say, the Congress of the United States, speaking for the people of the United States, wants us not to ignore the human rights violations in China any longer.

If we win, and if we are serious about our leadership there we will win, because our failure will be indicative of our lack of enthusiasm there, and we have to get moving soon, but if we win there, it will make a serious difference to the pro-democratic reforms in China. We lose all moral authority to talk about human rights anyplace in the world if we refuse to speak up on it in a place because there are some trade deals involved. Our ideals and our deals are important. We cannot ignore our ideals.

So let us hope that when the President and the administration boast of having a consensus for their trade policy with China, which they do boast, that they will now also recognize the vote in Congress; as the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) indi-

cated, 99 to nothing in the Senate, and congratulations to them in the other body, and hopefully we will have a unanimous vote in this House of Representatives. When we do, we will be sending a very clear message to the Chinese regime that we know what is going on there.

My colleague, the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) very generously named many of the prisoners there. They say, Mr. Speaker, the most excruciating form of torture to a prisoner of conscience is to tell him or her that nobody in the world knows that they are there or cares that they are there.

Today this Congress has the opportunity to say, we know you are there, we salute your fight for freedom, we want to associate ourselves with your aspirations, we want to live up to the legacy of our Founding Fathers, and we are not going to be a prisoner, ourselves, of any trade relationship; one, of course, that does not even advantage us. Because what would it profit a country if it gained the whole world in terms of money, but suffered the loss of its soul?

Today we have an opportunity, because of the leadership of the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BEREUTER), and the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. GEJDESON) to make our message a very clear one, and urge the administration, in the strongest possible vote, to support and take the lead on the resolution in Geneva.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I want to first thank the gentlewoman from California for her supporting remarks. As the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) indicated earlier, she has been a long-term fighter for human rights around the world, and particularly in China. We are grateful for her strong advocacy of this measure.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRABACHER), a member of our committee.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of House Concurrent Resolution 28. This resolution is right on a number of counts. It is right philosophically, it is right practically, it is right in terms of trying to get the American people to think about the defense and technology policies that bind us to the People's Republic of China.

First of all, in terms of the principle of House Concurrent Resolution 28, the principle is that we are asking the United States, and I commend the chairman, the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) for the strong leadership he has always had, and my good friends on the other side of the aisle, the gentleman from California (Mr.

LANTOS), the gentleman from Vermont (Mr. SANDERS), the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI) and others who have long fought the battle that human rights and democracy should mean more to the people of the United States than just platitudes on the Fourth of July.

The fact is that human rights and democracy are the foundation of what makes us, as Americans, different from people elsewhere in the world. The United States of America, unlike other countries, is not composed of a single religion or a single culture or a single ethnic group. We are people who are made up of various races and various religions. The one thing that binds us together is a love of liberty and justice, and a sense of human decency and honor that is not found as the basis of other societies.

This is the glue that ties together the United States of America. When that glue is in some way loosened, or in some way becomes unaffixed, it is a threat, it is a dire threat, not only to ourselves but to people around the world that depend so dearly on the commitment of our country to the founding principles.

In fact, the United States of America, without our commitment to human freedom and democracy, there is no freedom and democracy anywhere in the world that is not threatened by our own lack of commitment.

Today this resolution underscores that. It insists that even though in other countries, for pragmatic reasons, they may be afraid of what is going on in China, afraid to make the Communist Chinese regime in Beijing mad at them, they are not willing to vocalize those concerns about human rights abuses that are going on in the mainland of China, this resolution insists that the United States take the principled stand in these international bodies and officially oppose the degeneration of the human rights situation in Communist China.

I know it has already been stated, but on February 26 the State Department issued its human rights report and found that over the last year, in terms of human rights, China's record has "sharply deteriorated." This is unfortunate, because the policies of the United States have not kept pace with the deterioration of human rights that is going on in China. At least this resolution will put us, in principle, where we should be in terms of this vital issue.

There is a symmetry in this world. If we are not right on the issues of human rights and democracy, if we base our principles on something other than those principles that George Washington and Thomas Jefferson laid out, no matter how imperfect we were in those days, and how we have struggled to overcome our imperfections over these many decades and into this century, those principles hold firm, and trying to use those principles as a guiding light has served our country well, and has served the world well.

One note. If it was not for the commitment of the people of the United States to democracy and freedom, the Nazis and the Japanese militarists would undoubtedly dominate this planet at this time. Undoubtedly the millions of people who died under the genocide of the Nazis, there would be millions more people who would have died under the genocide of communists and Nazis and other dictatorships.

So it was our commitment, it was the Saving Private Ryan generation, that not only saved Private Ryan but saved the world and provided us, provided us with a message. It is now our job. They have done their duty. We must do ours. So this goes a long way in establishing that principle.

But there are practical issues when we set this principle down. Although this is not dealt with specifically in this resolution, I will mention them only in passing. We must, when setting down this principle, that human rights counts, democracy counts, and that if a country is the world's worst human rights abuser and is expanding its military power, that that is a concern for us; that we must then look at our policies and say, is it indeed right that we treat the People's Republic of China, the world's worst human rights abuser, in the same way that we treat Belgium or Italy or other democratic countries?

This is a national debate that we need to have. We need to know what we should do in situations like this. Congress does not have all the answers, but we do know that in the last 10 years, as the human rights situation in China has continued to decline, as there has been more and more repression, as there has been genocide, genocide in Tibet and murders in the Muslim areas in the far reaches of China, as well as the repression of people of religion in China, we have not changed our trade policies or some of our other policies to deal with this.

We condemn those policies or actions today, but we need to have a discussion, an honest and open discussion of what our trade policies should be. As it is, our trade policy has provided the Communist Chinese regime with billions of dollars worth of surplus which they are using to upgrade their military capabilities and to increase the control over their own people.

By the way, this trade policy is done at the expense of our own people. Quite often we are subsidizing the investment of manufacturing units in China which are then used to manufacture goods to put our own people out of work. This may be a policy that we might not want to have with a democratic country; but to a dictatorship, for a country that is the world's worst human rights abuser, to a country that is expanding its military power, I do not think so.

□ 1415

Finally, we have to confront the issue as has become more evident this weekend when, finally, word leaked out

about the technology transfers, the awesome technology transfers that have taken place over these last few decades.

The Communist Chinese, not only have been able to obtain military technology, sophisticated military technology, but they have obtained technology that will permit them to produce weapons of mass destruction that put in jeopardy the lives of millions of Americans.

Then we hear about American companies trying to keep down the cost of putting in satellites by increasing the reliability and the efficiency of Communist Chinese rockets to deliver those very same weapons of mass destruction possibly to the United States if we are ever in a confrontation.

These are items that can no longer be ignored. These are things that should be on our agenda to discuss as a free and democratic people, a people of goodwill on both sides of the aisle.

Today we express our concern for the principle, for the underlying principle of human rights and democracy. We express this to reconfirm our commitment to what George Washington and Thomas Jefferson and our Founding Fathers talked about. But we should also reaffirm it as the foundation of practical policy.

So today, as I rise in support of H. Con. Res. 28, I would also call on my colleagues to begin a debate, a sincere debate on how this positive stand for human rights should be interpreted in our trade and technology and defense policies that guide our country.

I thank the gentleman from New York (Chairman GILMAN) and for the leadership he has provided, the leadership that the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) has provided on human rights throughout the years.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to yield 3 minutes the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE), my friend and colleague.

(Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I would like to associate my words with those stated by the gentleman from New York (Chairman GILMAN) and the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI), and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), the ranking member. Let me acknowledge again the very dedicated, committed, and consistent voice that the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) has been on this issue.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today with a little repentance and a question as well, because I think, if the American people understand why we are here on the floor of the House, there may be a wave of support for having this resolution under our name in the United Nations, this resolution to condemn the human rights abuses in China.

I say that because, as the weekend approaches, whether it is Friday evening, whether, for Muslims, it is

throughout the week at different times, whether it is a Sabbath Saturday or a Sabbath Sunday, we are unfettered by our ability to worship our God or our beliefs or express those beliefs.

If there are those that would interfere with religious beliefs, we can be assured that we have access to grievance and to a response. How would we like to have a country, a Nation that we live in that continues to turn up its nose on the issue of mere, simple and obvious rights for their people?

China has continued to do this in a very arrogant manner, to the extent that when Denmark offered to have this resolution presented to denounce their human rights, they indicated that they would be crushed.

Where are our principles? Yes, I believe in trade. In fact, I have been convinced on one or two occasions that China should be constructively engaged. So my repentance is such that I have offered them an olive branch. I have said, "If we engage with you, will you understand that Tiananmen Square meant something to Americans, that the Dalai Lama means something to Americans? The Dalai Lama means something to us. The people of Tibet need to be able to respect and acknowledge their leader. Forced abortions mean something to us."

So I think it is more than appropriate for a nation who has, time after time, received from Republican administrations and Democratic administrations the push for Most Favored Nation, of which it seems that we have not benefited. My own city of Houston has just recently returned officials from a trade mission because we are looking to engage.

Now I believe, Mr. Speaker, is the time that we follow the other body and unanimously engage with China and have this motion before the United Nations, using every ounce of strength that the United States has. We will not tolerate the human rights abuse. We will stand up and be counted for all of the tragedies and the incarcerated persons and the elimination of religious freedom. Now is the time.

Let me say on the floor of the House, I have repented. It is a time now to address the question of human rights abuse for China to hear us loudly and clearly before we go one step of the way.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of House Resolution 28, which urges the introduction and passage of a resolution on the human rights situation in the People's Republic of China at the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

I know that physically the United States can do very little to relieve the suffering of people in other nations at the hands of their own governments. However, we as members of this representative body on the behalf of the American people and those without voices can advocate our concerns regarding human rights policies which are inconsistent with our own interest and values.

In its annual report on human rights, the State Department stated that the human rights

situation in China has continued to "deteriorate sharply." The government in Beijing continues to commit "widespread and well documented human rights abuses."

Despite China's recognition and signature on two United Nations human rights treaties, China's government continues to commit widespread violations of internationally recognized standards. These violations include torturing prisoners, forcing confessions, restricting non-governmental political and social organizations, and restricting the press.

The Chinese government has continued its repression of religious freedom outside of the official Chinese church. This religious crackdown has manifested itself in Tibet, with the continued denunciation of the Dalai Lama. Tibet continues to see an increase in the number of political arrests and the Chinese suppression of peaceful protests.

With these human rights abuses in mind this body must and should encourage the Administration to support and make all efforts necessary to pass a resolution at the annual meeting of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights criticizing the People's Republic of China for its human rights abuses in China and Tibet.

In the past the Government of China has made some modest improvements in human rights just before the annual Human Rights Commission consideration of a China resolution. For example, we know that conditions for political prisoners improve when the resolution is being debated and they deteriorate when the resolve of the United States weakens.

China in the past has shown a willingness to respond to the concerns of the United States regarding human rights, and I believe that this resolution will prompt the attention of the Chinese government.

The Senate has already signaled its frustration and displeasure with the Chinese government's human rights record by passing a similar resolution to the one now being debated by a unanimous vote. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I strongly encourage my colleagues to support House Concurrent Resolution 28.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE) for her very powerful and eloquent statement.

Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to yield as much time as he might consume to the gentleman from Vermont (Mr. SANDERS), my friend, who has been a champion of all human rights causes globally and will now speak on the issue of China.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) very much for yielding me this time, and I appreciate the fact that he is perhaps the conscience of this Congress in terms of human rights. We thank him very much for his work, and we applaud the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) for his leadership as well.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution which addresses the horrendous record that China has on human rights, both within their own borders and within Tibet as well.

Under the 50 years of the Chinese occupation, the Tibetan people have been denied most rights guaranteed in the universal declaration of human rights,

including the rights to self-determination, freedom of speech, assembly, movement, expression, and travel.

In the 20 years after the 1959 Tibetan uprising, 1.2 million or 20 percent of Tibet's population was killed. Today the Chinese are further undermining Tibet with a massive influx of ethnic Chinese into Tibet. In some areas, Chinese outnumber Tibetans by two or three to one. With this influx, the Chinese are controlling the cultural, economic, and religious life as well as the political and military structure in Tibet.

Religious repression is one of the cruelest aspects of the Chinese regime in Tibet. Over 6,000 monasteries and sacred places have been destroyed by the Chinese who are making a concerted effort to wipe Tibetan Buddhism off the face of the Earth.

Interestingly, and one of the reasons I became involved in this issue, is that the horrendous human rights record in China struck home to the people of the State of Vermont, and specifically the people of Middlebury College Community when the Fulbright scholar and former Middlebury College student Ngawang Choephel was seized by the Chinese authorities in 1995 for the crime of doing videotaping in Tibet.

He was charged for this horrendous crime of using a videotape to record the culture of Tibet. He was charged with espionage, and the result is that he was tried in secret. No evidence has ever been made public to support the charges of espionage, which most of us think is absolute nonsense.

Ngawang Choephel was sentenced to 18 years in jail for videotaping cultural activities in Tibet. His frail elderly mother, Sonam Dekyi, who I had the privilege of meeting in Middlebury, Vermont, is spending all of her energy, not only trying to get her son out of jail, but trying to visit him, to see what is going on, and she has up to this point not been successful.

In July of last year, Ngawang Choephel was transferred to Puatromo Prison, which is a high security facility in a remote isolated area. Unlike other prisons, inmates are denied visitation rights. This is a brutal treatment for an innocent young man. Yet it is treatment of Tibetans, and worse occurs regularly under the Communist Chinese rule.

My friend, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH), chairman of the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights, recognizes the plight of Ngawang Choephel and was kind enough to insert an amendment into the resolution specifically citing Choephel's unjust imprisonment as an example of China's violation of basic human rights.

I thank the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) as well as the gentlewoman from Georgia (Ms. MCKINNEY) who is the ranking member, for their attention to the plight of this young man. I would also like to thank the committee chairman, the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) and the

gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. GEJDENSON) the ranking member, for their commitment for human rights and for bringing this resolution forward.

I would simply conclude, Mr. Speaker, by saying that, as the gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRBACHER) mentioned a moment ago, I think, as important as this action is, we have got to go further and ask ourselves why we continue to provide Most Favored Nation status to China, why we continue to sit back while major corporation after major corporation throws American workers out on the street, runs to China where people are paid 20 cents and hour and have no basic democratic rights.

So I think that whole issue of trade and responsibility of an element of corporate America to perpetuate and strengthen the regime in Peking has got to be addressed as well.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, how much time do we have remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. KINGSTON). The gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) has 30 seconds.

Without objection, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) will control the time allotted to the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN).

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) has 4½ minutes remaining.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that we have 6 additional minutes equally divided between us.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS).

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), one of the most effective and successful champions of human rights in this body.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I thank my very good friend, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) for yielding me this time. I want to thank also the gentleman from New Jersey (Chairman SMITH) for his graciously asking for additional time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H. Con. Res. 28 and urge my colleagues to do the same. We must make it clear to the government of China that it will not be business as usual with the United States if they continue to abuse their own citizens. Some of us frankly have been voting that way consistently on MFN.

The government of China rhetorically recognizes the universal declaration of human rights and, indeed, its own constitution and laws provide for fundamental rights. That is, of course, on paper. Obviously, and tragically, these laws are honored more in the breach than in the practice. In fact, according to the recently released State

Department Country Report on Human Rights Practices in China, the situation has substantially deteriorated since President Clinton's visit in July of last year.

Beginning in the fall, dozens of political activists were arrested for attempts to register a political party and engage in other political activities which we believe to be fundamental to the rights of individuals.

Over 30 members and supporters of the China Democracy Party were detained, and three of its leaders were sentenced to lengthy jail terms in closed trials that flagrantly violated due process.

The State Department report also reveals that the government of China continues to commit widespread and well-documented human rights abuses, including extrajudicial killings, torture, and mistreatment of prisoners, forced concessions, and arbitrary arrests and detention.

At a minimum, Mr. Speaker, our government should take the steps called for by H. Con. Res. 28 and formally rebuke the government of China before the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

Mr. Speaker, the Statute of Liberty stands at the gateway of America and says, "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, the wretched refuse of your teeming shores, send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed, to me." Millions have come seeking freedom, seeking justice, seeking fundamental human rights.

□ 1430

Mr. Speaker, we know that America cannot take all of the homeless, all of those tossed by tempest within our borders. But what we can do, and what we must do, as the leader not just of the free world but as the leader of the world committed fundamentally to human rights, we need to speak up, speak out, and act upon our principles, and make it clear to the rest of the world that we will not do business as usual with those who undermine human rights in this world.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time, and I urge strong support of this resolution.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

(Mr. SMITH of New Jersey asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Speaker, I am very proud to be a cosponsor of H. Con. Res. 28, the Gilman-Gephardt resolution which urges the United States to sponsor a human rights resolution regarding Chinese violations at the U.N. Human Rights Commission in Geneva and, equally important, to work vigorously for the resolution, not just to introduce it, but to work very hard with other member states to secure its passage.

Mr. Speaker, on January 8, the Committee on International Relations held

a hearing on the ongoing and very deplorable state of human rights in China today. Each of our witnesses was a prisoner of conscience who had recently managed to get out of China. All of them called for the United States to be far more forceful in responding to the human rights violations in China than we had been in recent years. The following week we heard from human rights organizations, and each and every one of them agreed that our policy of constructive engagement has been a failure.

I would remind my colleagues that last year, and the year before, and the year before that, and even when the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) was chairman of the subcommittee that I now chair, we held hearing after hearing—matter of fact, in the last 4 years alone, about a dozen hearings—on the deplorable state of human rights in China. We heard from Harry Wu, that great leader who spent years in the laogai, who got out and actually went back to try to bear witness to the ongoing oppression that comes the way of religious and political prisoners in China.

We heard from Wei Jingsheng, and many other political prisoners, who had been tortured, who had suffered unspeakable atrocities, both psychological and physical. And they said that we need to know the true nature of this regime; that it is oppressive.

We have heard about Tibet, and we heard from the representatives of the Dalai Lama. Richard Gere came to one of our hearings on refugees and spoke very eloquently about how the Buddhist nuns and priests are routinely tortured.

I will never forget when we heard from survivors of the laogai, the gulag system. Six of them came before us: Catherine Ho, Palden Gyatso, and many others. Palden Gyatso, a Buddhist monk, came in with some of the implements routinely used to torture people. He could not even get through security downstairs in the Rayburn Building. We had to escort him through. And he told of the agony that is routinely visited upon these individuals.

We heard from Mrs. Gao, a woman who used to run a forced abortion, forced sterilization program in Fujian Province. She got out, with the assistance of Harry WU, and she told story after story about how women as late as in the ninth month of their pregnancy would be forcibly aborted.

We heard from women who had escaped on the Golden Venture at another hearing, and how one woman, when 6 months into her pregnancy, was forcibly aborted by the dictatorship, to comply with the one child per couple policy.

We heard from another woman who found a baby girl who had been abandoned, because very often girls are abandoned in China, when couples are only allowed one child. She scooped up that child, like the good samaritan

that she was, only to have the family planning cadres come knocking at her door to say that now that she had her one child, she must be forcibly aborted and she needed to be sterilized.

These are the every day realities of what goes on in the People's Republic of China: Religious persecution of the house church movement and the Catholic church. All of them suffer unbelievable cruelty at the hands of the Chinese dictatorship.

Amnesty International recently issued a report card, and they made it known at our hearing on China. They listed a number of concrete benchmarks and said let us look at these areas and determine whether or not constructive engagement has indeed borne any fruit. In each one of those categories, they found total failure.

For example, they spoke of the release of the Tiananmen Square prisoners and other prisoners of conscience. Their verdict: Total failure.

Review all counterrevolutionary prisoners terms. Bottom line, total failure.

Allow religious freedom. Their bottom line: Continued strong repression.

Prevent coercive family planning and the harvesting of organs: They said, no improvement.

Amnesty then went on to speak of the implementation of the so-called the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which the Chinese government milked for all it was worth. They have not even implemented it yet, as we all know. They signed it and got all these accolades in the west, including the United States, with perhaps no intention of following through on the rights that were enumerated in there.

Let us be mindful of this flimflam game they play. They sign a scrap of paper here, an important treaty there, and then they do not follow through, and there is no implementation.

Also, Amnesty International raised the issue of police and prison brutality. We know—and the Country Reports on Human Rights Practices clearly documents this, as do report after report from the human rights community—that torture is routinely used against dissidents and prisoners of conscience and religious individuals. Routinely.

Mr. Speaker, the resolution that is before us today urges the administration to do the very least it can do to try to rectify this egregious situation. Indeed, in 1994, when President Clinton delinked human rights from Most Favored Nation status for China, an annual resolution at Geneva was going to be, by his own reckoning, the centerpiece of what he would do to try to thwart the human rights violations in that country.

As of today, the administration apparently still has not decided whether or not it will proceed with a resolution this year. The Human Rights Commission begins on March 22. And as we all know, the other body has already gone on record unanimously—my hope is we will as well—saying bring this resolution to Geneva, let us vote on it and, hopefully, let us prevail.

Mr. Speaker, the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights of the Committee on International Relations, which I chair, did add the amendment of the gentleman from Vermont (Mr. SANDERS), at his request. And let me say there are many others that could be added as well. But that just underscores the extent of the Chinese government's barbaric behavior.

Last week, for example, 10 Uighur political and religious prisoners were executed. We have heard from people who have talked about the Uighur minority and how they are discriminated against. Everywhere we look, the Tibetans, the Han Chinese themselves, and the Uighurs are all singled out whenever they have a different religion, because, obviously, China is an atheistic state, and those believers do not conform to the very, very carefully circumscribed limits of the officially recognized churches. Step across that line, and the full weight of the Chinese dictatorship will be brought to bear against you.

Just so all Americans understand, one individual was given an 11-year prison sentence for giving an interview, an interview, to Radio Free Asia. He talked to the press. And for that he was yanked by the dictatorship, by their cronies, and thrown into prison. He is now serving an 11 year prison sentence.

This barbaric behavior has to stop. The minimum we should do is to try to raise the issue rhetorically at the U.N. Human Rights Convention. Not to do that would be an outrage. I hope the Clinton administration will hear us, and I urge support for this resolution.

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H. Con. Res. 28, a resolution urging the United States to cosponsor a resolution condemning China's human rights record at the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. I commend Chairman GILMAN for introducing this resolution and moving it through the committee so quickly. A similar resolution passed the Senate by a vote of 99-0. That should set an example for this body. I hope H. Con. Res. 28 will pass the House unanimously today.

The United Nations Human Rights Commission is the forum within the United Nations system established for the express purpose of examining and voicing concern about the human rights practices of member countries. Its resolutions are not binding in any way, but they do have the effect of raising awareness and holding countries accountable to their international human rights commitments. China, as a member of the United Nations, has agreed to the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. It has also signed the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, a treaty-like document which obliges it to uphold certain basic freedoms of its citizens. Among these are the freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention; freedom of thought, conscience and religion; freedom from torture; freedom of expression; freedom of peaceful assembly, and the right to fair and speedy trial.

It agreed to sign this covenant last year at this time and doing so enabled China to avoid

criticism at the 1998 Commission. The Clinton administration cited China's willingness to sign the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights as the reason why it did not go forward with a resolution in 1998.

Mr. Speaker, this year there is no excuse. China's human rights record is as bad as ever.

Since July 1998, the Chinese government has arrested over 100 prominent democracy activists, giving many long prison sentences in unfair trials. Their crime was expressing their views—acting on their conscience. An intense crackdown earlier this year coincided with the start of talks between U.S. and Chinese officials in a so-called—and much touted—"human rights dialogue." The crackdown was a message—we are willing to talk about human rights but we know we don't have to take any action. Thousands of political prisoners remain in jail.

Religious believers in China have continued to suffer persecution. Catholic bishops and priests continue to be jailed and tortured. The Vatican reported earlier this year that Chinese authorities tortured a 31-year-old priest by subjecting him to physical and psychological pressure. They brought in prostitutes to tempt him and then video-taped his ordeal as a way to break his spirit.

Protestant house church leaders are on the run, fearful for their lives and freedom. Reports indicate that almost all the leaders of China's largest house churches—the name given to the vast network of underground churches—are forced to move from place to place to avoid arrest.

Though persecution of house churches varies from region to region, it is Chinese government policy to crack down on China's underground churches. A number of documents smuggled out of China in recent years have revealed the local communist party's plans to eradicate the underground church. For example, such a document revealed last year that in July 1998, municipal authorities in Hua Shen complained to their superiors about the activities of an "illegal missionary" whose preaching has begun to attract more and more followers. "He has been arrested and educated many times, and yet his heart has not died and his nature has not changed" party officials report. His religious gatherings draw people from neighboring towns—sometimes as many as 1,000 at a time—and has "become the largest illegal religious group * * * It has created an interference effect," the report says. It calls on all local municipal units to coordinate their activities in order to "effectively crack down illegal religious activities and create favorable conditions for the stability and development of our town."

That is not religious freedom, Mr. Speaker. This is religious persecution.

In Tibet where the Buddhist religion is a deep part of the culture, the communist party has begun a campaign to encourage Tibetan Buddhists to become atheists. This is only the latest anti-religion campaign waged by the PRC against the Tibetan Buddhists.

The Chinese Government has closed monasteries and nunneries and expelled monks and nuns. Since 1996, some 9,977 monks and nuns have been expelled from their monasteries—7,000 in 1998 alone. A reported 492 monks and nuns have been arrested since May, 1996—135 in 1998. Of these, 13 died in prison from torture. Many others were re-

leased just before they died. Torture is rampant in Tibetan prisons. Hundreds of Tibetans continue to flee across the treacherous Himalayan Mountains to reach freedom in Nepal and India. Some even send their children—fearing there is no future left for them in Tibet.

Amnesty International reported that a group of young Uighurs were sentenced to death recently on political charges. Uighurs are Muslim people living in the Northwest province of Xinjiang. They have reported severe persecution, the closing of mosques, and overall discrimination against their population by the Chinese Government. It has also been reported that Chinese nuclear weapons are tested in areas populated by Uighurs—leading to birth defects and other problems.

But, Mr. Speaker, despite all these facts, the Clinton administration sits on their hands when it comes to exerting multi-lateral diplomatic effort to end China's human rights abuses. We dilly-dally and postpone our decision about sponsoring a resolution at the U.N. Human Rights Commission, making it almost inevitable that any such resolution will be defeated.

China is not sitting on its hands. It is probably already lobbying its friends hard against such a resolution. Human Rights Watch documented China's efforts to defeat a resolution in 1997—by dangling millions of dollars worth of contracts in front of governments willing to vote with them.

But the Clinton administration is not even willing to exert diplomatic leadership to generate support for a resolution of condemnation.

This is not leadership and it does illustrate a commitment to human rights on the part of U.S. Government.

We talk tough, then appease the PRC. We look the other way while China steals American technology to enhance its military capability and then appease the PRC by giving Chinese leaders state and high-level visits to the United States. We say we care about human rights, but we don't use multi-lateral frameworks to advance them.

Our policy is a failure.

I hope my colleagues will support H. Con. Res. 28 and I hope the administration will not let China off the hook in Geneva.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, this Member rises in strong support of H. Con. Res. 28, expressing the sense of the Congress that the United States should introduce and seek to secure passage of a resolution criticizing Chinese human rights abuses at the annual meeting of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

There is no question that the recent actions by the Chinese authorities to criminalize the activities of individuals seeking to organize a new political party are in direct contradiction to China's stated commitment to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and its signature last year of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The prosecution of some Chinese citizens for their contacts with foreign individuals and their alleged passing of "state secrets" in some instances also appear to be serious breaches of China's obligation to respect universally recognized human rights standards. Such efforts to control freedom of expression are deeply disturbing, and reflect a government that is unsure about its legitimacy.

Mr. Speaker, China's internal situation clearly remains a complex mixture of positive and negative developments. The resolution correctly refers to other areas of ongoing concern

with respect to China's human rights performance, including family planning practices, the situation in Tibet, freedom of religion and the penal system. At the same time, this Member believes it is important not to lose sight of some of the progress being achieved, for example, in the area of multi-candidate elections at the village level in certain regions and in the continued trend toward increased personal freedom of Chinese citizens to pursue their economic betterment.

While not discounting improvements where they are discernible, this Member also believes that when China takes steps that are clearly retrograde in the area of human rights, the Administration must condemn such actions forthrightly, both bilaterally and in appropriate multilateral settings. The Administration's decision not to introduce a resolution on human rights in China at the 1998 meeting of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights was a serious error, and was correctly criticized at the time by a number of Members of this body. This Member welcomes the clear statements by the Secretary of State during her visit to China last week. The Administration must now reverse the mistake it made last year in Geneva by introducing and advocating strongly for a resolution critical of China's human rights violations.

Mr. Speaker, this Member urges all of his colleagues to support H. Con. Res. 28.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. KINGSTON). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution, House Concurrent Resolution 28, as amended.

The question was taken.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX and the Chair's prior announcement, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on the subject matter of House Concurrent Resolution 28.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

PROVIDING FOR USE OF CATAFALQUE IN CRYPT BENEATH ROTUNDA OF CAPITOL IN CONNECTION WITH MEMORIAL SERVICES FOR THE LATE HONORABLE HARRY A. BLACKMUN, FORMER ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker I ask unanimous consent that the Commit-

tee on House Administration be discharged from further consideration of the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 45) providing for the use of the catafalque situated in the crypt beneath the rotunda of the Capitol in connection with memorial services to be conducted in the Supreme Court Building for the late honorable Harry A. Blackmun, former Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the concurrent resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, and I have no intention of objecting, but I will ask the chairman if he has any comments he wants to make with reference to the legislation.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOYER. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague, the ranking member, the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), for yielding.

This is a serious occasion when an Associate Justice of the United States, after 24 years of service, passes away, and it is entirely appropriate that the catafalque reserved in the basement of the Capitol, known as the Lincoln catafalque, since he was the first to use that catafalque, be provided for the Supreme Court for this occasion.

It is always a sad time when the catafalque is used, but the memories and the history of this country, intertwined with the catafalque, I believe, carry with it the appropriate seriousness and ceremonial nature of recognizing one of America's finest former Justices of the Supreme Court.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. HOYER. Reclaiming my time, I echo the chairman's comments, Mr. Speaker. I believe that it is appropriate in this instance for us to authorize the use of the catafalque by the Supreme Court, as the gentleman from California (Mr. THOMAS) has said, to honor someone who has given such long and honored service to the country.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the concurrent resolution, as follows:

H. CON. RES. 45

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the Architect of the Capitol is authorized and directed to transfer to the custody of the Chief Justice of the United States the catafalque which is situated in the crypt beneath the rotunda of the Capitol so that such catafalque may be used in the Supreme Court Building in connection with services to be conducted there for the late honorable Harry A. Blackmun, former

Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The concurrent resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

SPECIAL ORDERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 1999, and under a previous order of the House, the following Members will be recognized for 5 minutes each.

INFRASTRUCTURE IMPROVEMENTS AT DULLES AND NATIONAL AIRPORTS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from the District of Columbia (Ms. NORTON) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I have just come from a markup where a unanimous vote was taken for an historic breakthrough similar to what this body achieved last year with the highway trust fund monies.

We voted H.R. 1000 in the House Subcommittee on Aviation of the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure to allow the gasoline taxes to go for what the taxpayers intended them for, and that is to pay for infrastructure improvements in our airports. We hope to break a stalemate that developed last year.

My interest is very special, because the National Capital region, through which most Members travel, has been the subject of a special spotlight. The trust fund will undoubtedly do for other airports what it will do for National and for Dulles. For example, to triple the amounts that would be forthcoming for these two airports, if this bill passes.

□ 1445

I do not need to remind Members that 25 million people come through these airports, many of them your own constituents, so you have surely the same kind of concern and interest I do, that these funds be released.

Some of my colleagues may wonder why the new terminal is completed but the historic old terminal is as it was, and that is because our funds have been held up quite apart from the reauthorization but because National and Dulles have been caught in the slot and perimeter controversy; that is to say, in the controversy over how many take-offs and landings will be there. Republican and Democrat, Maryland, Virginia and the District, we have stood side by side saying no more slots at National, no more slots, because despite economic benefits for the District which I would ordinarily be for, there are such significant safety hazards, insufferable noise and increased ground and air pollution that it made no sense to crowd overcrowded National. At the same time we would seriously hurt