

have the courage to say we can move forward, we can win on the issues, we can lose on the issues. We can win on whether we want a bigger government and higher taxes, or whether we want a smaller government and fewer taxes. We can win on the things and engage in the type of debates that Americans expect us to engage in.

I think if that happens, then this horrible exercise of personal destruction that started in 1987 with Judge Bork, continued with Justice Thomas, and continued through this decade with Republicans and Democrats alike, maybe, just maybe, we can go into the next millennium and really talk about the future. Maybe we can talk about the future of education, talk about the future of Social Security and how to save Social Security, how to make Medicare stronger, how to protect ourselves against the dangers that continue to explode across the world.

If we do that, and if Mr. Lewis will step forward and attack the moral absolutism and the extremism that has come from the extreme left over the past year, then I think maybe America has a chance to have a representative government in Washington over the next century that they can once again be proud of.

#### THE ADMINISTRATION'S COMMITMENT TO INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM: ALL TALK AND NO ACTION

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 1999, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, recently, the Clinton administration submitted its budget proposals for the year 2000 to Congress. The President's budget included many important requests, but one thing it did not include was funding for the Commission on International Religious Freedom created by the International Religious Freedom Act passed overwhelmingly by the Congress last year. Mr. Speaker, I am concerned that the administration may be all talk and no action when it comes to promoting international religious freedom.

A brief lesson is in order. In the closing days of the 105th Congress, the Senate passed the International Religious Freedom Act by a unanimous vote of 98 to nothing. Several days later, the House endorsed the measure by a voice vote. It had already endorsed an earlier version of the bill several months before by a vote of 375-to-41. Republicans and Democrats alike endorsed the International Religious Freedom Act. So did a broad coalition of religious and civic groups representing millions of Americans of all faiths concerned with regard to human rights.

One important part of the act was the International Religious Freedom Commission, a 10-member, independent commission established to monitor

persecution around the world and make policy recommendations to the President. The Speaker of the House, the majority leader of the U.S. Senate, and the President were each given 3 appointments to the Commission. To ensure that it remains independent, Congress authorized \$3 million for the Commission in fiscal year 1999 and the year 2000.

The bill was passed, thanks to the tireless efforts over a 2-year period by a broad coalition of religious and civic groups dedicated to this issue. The groups in support of the bill included, among many, the U.S. Catholic Bishops Conference, the Anti-Defamation League, the Christian Coalition, the National Association of Evangelicals, the International Campaign for Tibet, the Family Research Council, the Religious Action Center for a Reformed Judaism, the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations, B'nai B'rith, the Episcopal Church, the Southern Baptist Convention, Justice Fellowship, the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, and many, many others in support of this bill.

The coalition was diverse, but it was united in its commitment to abolishing the rampant and brutal religious persecution taking place in many countries around the world.

Just 2 weeks ago in China, the Public Security Bureau officials arrested 2 Roman Catholic priests from Hebei province. These are just the 2 latest priests to be arrested. Dozens, if not hundreds, more bishops and priests and lay people are already in prison for practicing their faith.

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We know in the Chinese prisons torture is common. Last month the Vatican reported that authorities tortured one Catholic priest by subjecting him to sexual abuse by prostitutes. They tried videotaping the seduction to further humiliate and crush his spirits. That happened in China, and the Clinton administration knows about it. They quite frankly have not said very much about it. But we know persecution continues.

The Chinese government continues to arrest, harass, and torture leaders of China's Protestant church. Most of the key leaders are on the run for fear of their lives, and are moving from place to place to avoid being thrown into prison.

In Tibet, where I visited last year, the Chinese government has continued its brutal assault on Tibetan Buddhists. A 700-year-old monastery and an 800-year-old nunnery were closed down just 2 weeks ago. I think the administration has been silent on that issue, though. Hundreds have been destroyed since 1959, and those open are controlled by Communist party officials.

When we would go into the monasteries, we would hear from the monks that a Chinese cadre of six or seven Chinese police or military were

running the Monasteries. Imagine, in our country, if in every one of our churches and synagogues and temples we had government officials running them. We would know that that would be wrong.

Hundreds of monks and nuns are in jail. In 1998 alone 59 monks last year, 59 monks and nuns were arrested, and 13 died in prison from torture. This administration and this State Department have been silent. The Chinese have launched an official campaign to encourage atheism in Tibet, where loyalty to the Dalai Lama remains strong despite China's brutal attempts to force the Tibetan people to denounce their spiritual leader.

In Sudan, 2 million people have died, the majority of them Christians and animists from southern Sudan. The government of Sudan is seeking to annihilate the population of southern Sudan by engaging in brutal war tactics that include high altitude bombing of civilian targets. I have been in the villages where the bombs have dropped, and saw shrapnel in a woman's head. They just indiscriminately bombed these villages, where there are no military reasons to bomb them whatsoever; high altitude bombing of civilian targets, and the enslavement of Christian women and children.

We know today, and if we watched CBS news last week we saw Dan Rather's two-part reports that in Sudan today women and children are being sold into chattel slavery. Yes, there is slavery in Sudan today, women and children, yet this administration does absolutely nothing about it. They are absolutely silent.

The enslaved are forced to work as concubines and domestic servants and farm hands. Some, the boys, are sent to the front lines to fight for a government they do not support. Millions are starving in Sudan while the government uses food as a weapon, and denies aid flights to the neediest regions, regions inhabited mostly by Christians or Muslims who do not agree with the government. Millions are dying in the country of Sudan. This administration is silent.

In Egypt, the Coptic Christian Church continues to have a very, very difficult time. In Pakistan, the government is actively pushing for passage of a law that would discriminate against and potentially lead to violence against the Pakistan non-Muslim population. Ahmadi Muslims are being persecuted.

In Iran, the Baha'i faith is being persecuted. In India, some 48 incidents of violence against Christians have been reported since Christmas of 1998, and dozens of churches have been burned or destroyed. Nuns have been raped and Christians have been killed in a wave of violence.

Just after Christmas an Australian Christian missionary and his two sons were burned alive in their car by mobs. This missionary had been there for 30 years to minister to those who were impacted by leprosy.

In Indonesia dozens of Christian churches and Moslem mosques have been attacked and burned. People of faith have been attacked and murdered. This goes on and on.

Very briefly, I have this picture here which was taken by a staff member for former congressman, now Senator, SAM BROWNBACK of Kansas. He and his staff person went to Sudan over the Christmas break and took pictures of this young boy who was in slavery, who was marked with a slave brand; slavery, slavery, in 1999, and we hear nothing at all from this administration.

This is a picture taken in Sudan of the famine, and the number of people. You can see the corpse, and the people that have died because they have no food. This was just taken not very, very long ago.

This is a picture taken when I went to Tibet by my staffer, Charlie White, of a young boy outside of a Buddhist temple that had been destroyed. Over 4,000 to 5,000 monasteries in Tibet have been destroyed, and yet the silence of this administration is deafening.

In Tibet, we went by the guard tower of the Drosi prison, where many of the Buddhist monks and nuns are put into the prison. The only basic growth industry in Lhasa is the prisons, the number of people that are being put in, and the Buddhists there ask, why is the United States not speaking out?

In China, here is a picture of young men who are being executed so they can give their organs to people that want to purchase their lungs and kidneys for transplantation. Yes, the Chinese government is making money, up to \$35,000 for an organ. Yet, this administration says nothing.

Here is a picture we took when we were in Lhasa. It would be very hard to pick it out, but atop all the buildings there are TV cameras whereby the public security police are monitoring the movement of all the Buddhist monks and nuns and the people.

We see the conditions that have taken place to set the mood as to what I am going to comment on, to see that this persecution of people of faith, Christians, Muslims, Buddhist, Baha'i, and many other denominations of faith, is taking place around the world.

Congress passed the International Religious Freedom Act to ensure that U.S. foreign policy would give priority to combatting religious persecution. I think the record must show that the State Department fought it every step of the way through the legislative process. They did everything they could to stop this bill from passing.

The State Department officials constantly misrepresented the bill's provisions. They sought to kill it through gutting amendments in committee and on the floor. They worked hand in glove with some in the business community to exaggerate the bill's impact on trade, and threatened that its passage would actually harm religious communities abroad.

If they could have only talked to Scharansky and those in the Soviet

Union, who said that when the United States spoke out on their behalf, their life got better. But yet the State Department forgot that and worked against this legislation.

Secretary of State Madeleine Albright told an audience at Catholic University that the bill would " \* \* \* create a hierarchy of human rights, and would create an unneeded bureaucracy." She said, of efforts to promote religious freedom abroad, "It is in our interests and it is essential to our identity for Americans to promote religious freedom rights, but if we are to be effective in the values we cherish, we must also take into account the perspective and values of others."

To which values was she referring? The values of the Sudanese government, that are slaughtering Christians in southern Sudan, or the values of the Chinese government, that is imprisoning Catholic bishops and Tibetan Buddhist monks and nuns?

President Clinton told an audience, which included a New York Times reporter, that passing the religious persecution bill would force him " \* \* \* to fudge the facts regarding persecution." But only after the Administration's best efforts to defeat the bill were thwarted, the President then did the right thing and signed the bill. He put himself on the right side of history. He has had nothing but good things to say about the bill ever since.

That is what makes this budget decision, a deletion, meaning they have asked no money for the commission, very, very troublesome. I am beginning to think that it is just words and no action.

I hope the President is not manipulating this issue for his own gain, while the lives of millions of innocent men and women and children in Sudan and China and Egypt and Indonesia and Vietnam and India and Pakistan and other places are at stake. President Clinton talks as if he supports the bill, but when the rubber meets the road, there is no financial support. In the President's budget there is no financial support for the commission.

On November 15 of last year, the President sent a statement to the congregation at the National Presbyterian Church here in Washington, which was holding a special prayer service to commemorate the International Day of Prayer for the persecuted church. About 100,000 different denominations of all faiths had some sort of ceremony this year in remembrance of all people of faith who are being persecuted for their faith.

At that service, the President commended the efforts of those who worked to pass the bill, and pledged to do what he could to ensure it was fully implemented. I was in the congregation, in the back, listening. I felt very good to hear the representative of the President read this letter to say that now they know that they may have been wrong at the outset, but now they are excited about this bill.

But in the days since, is he doing all he can to help? The answer is no. The bill was signed on October 27, 1998. November, December, January, and half of February have gone by, but still the President has not named his appointments to the Commission on International Religious Freedom.

The Republicans in Congress were the first to make theirs, despite a challenge in the Speaker of the House. Four individuals were appointed at the end of December. Senator DASCHLE has found time to name a commissioner. Where is the administration? How many people have died or been tortured for their faith while the administration sits on its hands?

Now it turns out the administration did not even request funding for the Commission on International Religious Freedom in the fiscal year 2000. I checked with the Office of Management and Budget. They did not know where it was in the Federal budget. I checked with the State Department. They cannot find it, either. The Commission on International Religious Freedom did not show up once in the 1,300 pages of budget sent to the Congress.

In his State of the Union Address, it took the President 77 minutes to list a whole range of special initiatives, many of them good, for which he would be requesting funding this year. There was no mention of the commission, despite the fact that it was supported by a large domestic constituency concerned about human rights and the plight of those suffering for their faith.

What was requested? Well, \$1.3 million for the Marine Mammal Commission is one example that is in that budget. I personally support the \$1.3 million for the Marine Mammal commission. But are not men and women and children who are being persecuted and killed because of their faith just as important as marine mammals?

I was in a village in southern Sudan where a woman named Rebecca came up to me, and was telling me of the hardship and the death of all the people of her family who had died. She said something to me that almost brings this right back. She said, if you in the United States and in the West care about the whales, why don't you care about the people? We have that, where she said that.

Now we find the Ocean Mammal Commission, which is good. I commend the President, I commend NOAA, I commend the Department of State if they put it in, and I commend the Department of Commerce. But why could they not have put some money in for this commission, to help those who are being persecuted in China and killed because of their faith, and in Sudan, and in many of the other countries?

Thankfully, the International Religious Freedom Act has strong bipartisan support in both the House and Senate. This is not a Republican or Democratic issue. There are people of both sides, literally, when we look at it, equally in support of this effort. We

had as much support from the Democratic side as from the Republican side.

Now the Congress has a chance to do the right thing and provide the funding for the Commission. I will be working with Senator NICKLES and others who sponsored the legislation in the Senate and my congressional colleagues on this side of the Capitol to be sure the money is appropriated for fiscal year 2000 and in the FY 1999 supplemental appropriations bill.

But the fact that the President did not see the commission as a priority and did not ask Congress to fund it is telling, because they did not ask for the money. But we wonder, if we give them the money, will they even put their efforts behind it and support it? It says that he is all talk and no action; big hat, no cattle; talk about it, get the credit, but do not follow through.

During that period of time, in November and December and January and this month, monasteries have been destroyed, monks and nuns arrested in Tibet, the Catholic Church continues to be persecuted in China, and conditions do not improve for the Coptic Christians in Egypt. Not only is this administration silent, but they do not put the money into the commission that they now claim.

I hope I am wrong. I hope it was an oversight. I hope the President and the Secretary of State will make implementing the provisions in the bill a priority. I hope they will work in good faith. There is still an opportunity to work in good faith with the commission, and name good people to the panel. That will show the American people that their commitment is genuine.

That will show the world thugs that the United States is watching, and will take action against countries that refuse to stop persecuting men and women of faith. The nameless, voiceless victims of China, in Vietnam, in Sudan, in Indonesia, in India and Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and many other places where faith is under attack are waiting, are waiting for a message to show that we care.

A woman I talked to in Tibet said she listened to Radio-Free Asia every day to hear, is the United States interested? They will wait to see if we act on this effort.

Pushing for funding of the Commission on International Religious Freedom and appointing good people will send that message that this administration cares.

Finally, I want to say a word about Dr. Bob Seiple, the person appointed to be the assistant to the Secretary of State for International Religious Freedom. I am pleased that President Clinton appointed him to the job. He is a good man, with a heart for those who are suffering from poverty and injustice.

As president of World Vision for over a decade, he gave his life to helping those in need and now he is seeking to

make a difference for those suffering for their faith.

When he was offered the job, he called me on the telephone and asked me what I thought, should he take it. I said, take it. I encouraged him to go for it because I felt that he could make a difference. I felt he would have the opportunity to do things and to get some things moving, but now we see there is no funding for the commission to give them the ability to make that.

The President cannot just appoint Bob Seiple and take credit for having done something for the issue. That would be like Dietrich Bonhoeffer talking about cheap grace. It would be like appointing somebody and putting out a press release and coming to a gathering and speaking to religious leaders to tell them what you have done but there is no follow-through, there is no money, there is no effort because you personally appear to say one thing and do just the other.

The President cannot just appear before the gatherings of religious leaders and mention Bob Seiple's name in order to get the kudos with the audience and then walk away and do nothing. That would be, I believe, immoral, and I believe it would be an affront to those who are suffering and dying for their faith around the world. It would be a betrayal of American values and an example of political opportunism at its best.

I hope the President will instruct the Secretary of State to empower Bob Seiple to make a real difference for the State Department. I hope his office will receive the adequate resources. I hope the President will meet with Dr. Seiple and listen to what he has to say. I hope he will instruct our ambassadors around the world to do the same, and I hope he will do what he can to help this commission carry out its important duties, not to allow the commission of Mr. Seiple to be marginalized within the administration.

That is what will win him real kudos. That is what will help save lives, and that is what will help make the world a safer place for people of faith.

If the administration does not come to the Hill and actively seek funding for this commission, the honorable thing to do would be for Bob Seiple to resign, to step down and show that by standing up and speaking out, he was speaking out for those who do not have the voice. He would be the voice for the voiceless. So if there is no funding for this commission and if President Clinton does not support this commission, and if Secretary Albright does not support this commission, then Bob Seiple should not serve and should do the honorable thing and should resign, so he is not being used by this administration.

#### SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

The following Member (at his own request) to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material:

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, for 5 minutes, today.

The following Member (at his own request) to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material:

Mr. BOEHLERT, for 5 minutes, today.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly, the House stands adjourned until 12:30 p.m. on Tuesday, February 23, 1999, for morning hour debate, pursuant to House Concurrent Resolution 27, or, under the previous order of the House until 2 p.m. on Tuesday, February 16, 1999, if not sooner in receipt of a message from the Senate transmitting its concurrence in House Concurrent Resolution 27.

Thereupon (at 11 o'clock and 35 minutes a.m.), pursuant to House Concurrent Resolution 27, the House adjourned under the previous order of the House until 2 p.m. on Tuesday, February 16, 1999, if not sooner in receipt of a message from the Senate transmitting its concurrence in House Concurrent Resolution 27.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 8 of rule XII, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

518. A letter from the Chairman of the Council, Council of the District of Columbia, transmitting a copy of D.C. ACT 12-568, "Fiscal Year 1999 Disability Compensation Administrative Financing Temporary Amendment Act of 1998" received February 10, 1999, pursuant to D.C. Code section 1-233(c)(1); to the Committee on Government Reform.

519. A letter from the Chairman of the Council, Council of the District of Columbia, transmitting a copy of D.C. ACT 12-563, "Lowell School, Inc., Real Property Tax Exemption and Equitable Real Property Tax Relief Temporary Act of 1998" received February 10, 1999, pursuant to D.C. Code section 1-233(c)(1); to the Committee on Government Reform.

520. A letter from the Chairman of the Council, Council of the District of Columbia, transmitting a copy of D.C. ACT 12-561, "Drug Prevention and Children at Risk Tax Check-Off, Tax Initiative Delay, and Attorney License Fee Act of 1998" received February 10, 1999, pursuant to D.C. Code section 1-233(c)(1); to the Committee on Government Reform.

521. A letter from the Chairman of the Council, Council of the District of Columbia, transmitting a copy of D.C. ACT 12-559, "Harris/Hinton Place and Bishop Samuel Kelsey Way Designation Act of 1998" received February 10, 1999, pursuant to D.C. Code section 1-233(c)(1); to the Committee on Government Reform.

522. A letter from the Chairman of the Council, Council of the District of Columbia, transmitting a copy of D.C. ACT 12-549, "Motor Vehicle Parking Regulation Temporary Amendment Act of 1998" received February 10, 1999, pursuant to D.C. Code section 1-233(c)(1); to the Committee on Government Reform.