United States Government, the Community Management Account, and the Central Intelligence Agency Retirement and Disability System, and for other purposes.''

The message also announced that the Senate had passed a concurrent resolution of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. Con. Res. 64. Concurrent resolution providing for corrections to be made in the enrollment of H.R. 1119.

MOTION TO ADJOURN

Mrs. MINK of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GIBBONS). The question is on the motion to adjourn offered by the gentlewoman from Hawaii [Mrs. MINK].

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mrs. MINK of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were— yeas 75, nays 333, not voting 25, as follows:

[Roll No. 597]

YEAS—75

Andrews
Barrett (WI)
Bonior
Brown (FL)
Clement
Clyburn
Conyers
Coyne
Davis (FL)
DeFazio
Delahunt
DeLauro
Deutsch
Dingell
Doggett
Engel
Eshoo
Evans
Fazio
Filner
Frank (MA)
Furse
Gejdenson
Gephardt
Harman
Hastings (FL)
Hilleary
Hinchey
Hoyer
Jackson (IL)
Jackson-Lee (TX)
Jefferson
Johnson (WI)
Kennelly
Kilpatrick
LaFalce
Lantos
Lewis (GA)
Lowey
Markey
McDermott
McNulty
Meehan
Meek
Menendez
Miller (CA)
Mink
Moakley
Obey
Olver
Owens
Pallone
Pascrell
Payne
Pelosi
Peterson (MN)
Rangel
Roybal-Allard
Sabo
Sanchez
Schaffer, Bob
Scott
Skelton
Slaughter
Strickland
Thurman
Torres
Towns
Velazquez
Vento
Waters
Waxman
Wise
Woolsey
Yates

NAYS—333

Abercrombie
Ackerman
Aderholt
Allen
Archer
Armey
Bachus
Baesler
Baker
Baldacci
Ballenger
Barcia
Barrett (NE)
Bartlett
Bass
Bateman
Bentsen
Bereuter
Berman
Berry
Bilbray
Bilirakis
Bishop
Blagojevich
Bliley
Blumenauer
Blunt
Boehlert
Boehner
Bonilla
Bono
Borski
Boswell
Boucher
Boyd
Brady
Brown (CA)
Brown (OH)
Bryant
Bunning
Burr
Burton
Buyer
Callahan
Calvert
Camp
Campbell
Canady
Cannon
Cardin
Castle
Chabot
Chambliss
Chenoweth
Christensen
Clay
Clayton
Coble
Coburn
Collins
Combest
Condit
Cook
Cooksey
Costello
Cox
Cramer
Crane
Crapo
Cunningham
Danner
Davis (IL)
Davis (VA)
Deal
DeGette
DeLay
Dellums
Diaz-Balart
Dickey
Dicks
Dixon
Dooley
Doolittle
Doyle
Dreier
Duncan
Dunn
Edwards
Ehlers
Ehrlich
Emerson
English
Ensign
Etheridge
Everett
Ewing
Farr
Fattah
Fawell
Flake
Foley
Ford
Fossella
Fowler
Fox
Franks (NJ)
Frelinghuysen
Frost
Gallegly
Ganske
Gibbons
Gilchrest
Gillmor
Gilman
Goode
Goodlatte
Goodling
Gordon
Goss
Graham
Granger
Green
Greenwood
Gutierrez
Gutknecht
Hall (OH)
Hall (TX)
Hamilton
Hansen
Hastert
Hastings (WA)
Hayworth
Hefley
Hefner
Herger
Hill
Hilliard
Hinojosa
Hobson
Hoekstra
Holden
Hooley
Horn
Hostettler
Houghton
Hulshof
Hunter
Hyde
Inglis
Istook
Jenkins
John
Johnson (CT)
Johnson, E. B.
Jones
Kanjorski
Kaptur
Kasich
Kelly
Kennedy (RI)
Kildee
Kim
Kind (WI)
King (NY)
Kingston
Kleczka
Klink
Klug
Knollenberg
Kolbe
Kucinich
LaHood
Lampson
Largent
Latham
LaTourette
Lazio
Leach
Levin
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (KY)
Linder
Lipinski
Livingston
LoBiondo
Lofgren
Lucas
Luther
Maloney (CT)
Maloney (NY)
Manton
Manzullo
Martinez
Mascara
Matsui
McCarthy (MO)
McCarthy (NY)
McCollum
McCrery
McDade
McGovern
McHale
McHugh
McInnis
McIntosh
McIntyre
McKeon
Metcalf
Millender-McDonald
Minge
Mollohan
Moran (KS)
Moran (VA)
Morella
Murtha
Myrick
Nadler
Nethercutt
Neumann
Ney
Northup
Norwood
Nussle
Oberstar
Ortiz
Oxley
Packard
Pappas
Parker
Pastor
Paul
Paxon
Pease
Peterson (PA)
Petri
Pickering
Pitts
Pombo
Pomeroy
Porter
Poshard
Price (NC)
Pryce (OH)
Radanovich
Rahall
Ramstad
Redmond
Regula
Reyes
Riggs
Rivers
Rodriguez
Roemer
Rogan
Rogers
Rohrabacher
Ros-Lehtinen
Rothman
Roukema
Royce
Rush
Ryun
Salmon
Sanders
Sandlin
Sanford
Sawyer
Saxton
Scarborough
Schaefer, Dan
Schumer
Sensenbrenner
Serrano
Sessions
Shadegg
Shaw
Shays
Sherman
Shimkus
Shuster
Sisisky
Skaggs
Skeen
Smith (MI)
Smith (NJ)
Smith (OR)
Smith (TX)
Smith, Adam
Smith, Linda
Snowbarger
Snyder
Solomon
Souder
Spence
Spratt
Stabenow
Stark
Stearns
Stenholm
Stokes
Stump
Stupak
Sununu
Tanner
Tauscher
Tauzin
Taylor (MS)
Taylor (NC)
Thomas
Thompson
Thornberry
Thune
Tiahrt
Tierney
Traficant
Turner
Upton
Visclosky
Walsh
Wamp
Watkins
Watt (NC)
Watts (OK)
Weldon (FL)
Weller
Wexler
Weygand
Whitfield
Wicker
Wolf
Wynn
Young (AK)
Young (FL)

NOT VOTING—25

Barr
Barton
Becerra
Carson
Cubin
Cummings
Foglietta
Forbes
Gekas
Gonzalez
Hutchinson
Johnson, Sam
Kennedy (MA)
McKinney
Mica
Miller (FL)
Neal
Pickett
Portman
Quinn
Riley
Schiff
Talent
Weldon (PA)
White

□ 1736

So the motion to adjourn was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. MICA. Mr. Speaker, today I attended the dedication of the George Bush Library at College Station, TX. Had I been present, I would have voted ''yes'' on the following rollcalls: Nos. 587, 588, 589, 590, 592, 593, 595, and 596.

I would have voted ''no'' on the following rollcalls: Nos. 586, 591, 594, and 597.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. Speaker, because I was in Houston attending the dedication of the George Bush Library, I was absent for rollcall votes 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, and 597.

Had I been in attendance, I would have voted ''yea'' on rollcall votes 587, 588, 589, 590, 592, 593, 595, 596, and ''nay'' on 585, 586, 591, 594, and 597.

FORCED ABORTION CONDEMNATION ACT

Mrs. FOWLER. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 302, and as the designee of the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, I call up the bill (H.R. 2570) to condemn those officials of the Chinese Communist Party, the Government of the People's Republic of China, and other persons who are involved in the enforcement of forced abortions by preventing such persons from entering or remaining in the United States.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore [Mr. GIBBONS]. The bill is considered as read for amendment.

The text of H.R. 2570 is as follows:

H.R. 2570

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

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the ''Forced Abortion Condemnation Act''.

SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

The Congress makes the following findings:

(1) Forced abortion was rightly denounced as a crime against humanity by the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal.

(2) For over 15 years there have been frequent and credible reports of forced abortion and forced sterilization in connection with the population control policies of the People's Republic of China. These reports indicate the following:

(A) Although it is the stated position of the politburo of the Chinese Communist Party that forced abortion and forced sterilization have no role in the population control program, in fact the Communist Chinese Government encourages both forced abortion and forced sterilization through a combination of strictly enforced birth quotas and immunity for local population control officials who engage in coercion. Officials acknowledge that there have been instances of forced abortions and sterilization, and no evidence has been made available to suggest that the perpetrators have been punished.

(B) People's Republic of China population control officials, in cooperation with employers and works unit officials, routinely

monitor women's menstrual cycles and subject women who conceive without government authorization to extreme psychological pressure, to harsh economic sanctions, including unpayable fines and loss of employment, and often to physical force.

(C) Official sanctions for giving birth to unauthorized children include fines in amounts several times larger than the per capita annual incomes of residents of the People's Republic of China. In Fujian, for example, the average fine is estimated to be twice a family's gross annual income. Families which cannot pay the fine may be subject to confiscation and destruction of their homes and personal property.

(D) Especially harsh punishments have been inflicted on those whose resistance is motivated by religion. For example, according to a 1995 Amnesty International report, the Catholic inhabitants of 2 villages in Hebei Province were subjected to population control under the slogan ''better to have more graves than one more child''. Enforcement measures included torture, sexual abuse, and the detention of resisters' relatives as hostages.

(E) Forced abortions in Communist China often have taken place in the very late stages of pregnancy.

(F) Since 1994 forced abortion and sterilization have been used in Communist China not only to regulate the number of children, but also to eliminate those who are regarded as defective in accordance with the official eugenic policy known as the ''Natal and Health Care Law''.

SEC. 3. DENIAL OF ENTRY INTO THE UNITED STATES OF PERSONS IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA ENGAGED IN ENFORCEMENT OF FORCED ABORTION POLICY.

The Secretary of State may not issue any visa to, and the Attorney General may not admit to the United States, any national of the People's Republic of China, including any official of the Communist Party or the Government of the People's Republic of China and its regional, local, and village authorities who the Secretary finds, based on credible information, has been involved in the establishment or enforcement of population control policies resulting in a woman being forced to undergo an abortion against her free choice, or resulting in a man or woman being forced to undergo sterilization against his or her free choice.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 302, the amendments printed in part 3 of House Report 105–379 are adopted.

The text of H.R. 2570, as amended by the amendments printed in part 3 of House Report 105–379, is as follows:

H.R. 2570

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

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the ''Forced Abortion Condemnation Act''.

SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

The Congress makes the following findings:

(1) Forced abortion was rightly denounced as a crime against humanity by the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal.

(2) For over 15 years there have been frequent and credible reports of forced abortion and forced sterilization in connection with the population control policies of the People's Republic of China. These reports indicate the following:

(A) Although it is the stated position of the politburo of the Chinese Communist Party that forced abortion and forced sterilization have no role in the population control program, in fact the Communist Chinese Government encourages both forced abortion and forced sterilization through a combination of strictly enforced birth quotas and immunity for local population control officials who engage in coercion. Officials acknowledge that there have been instances of forced abortions and sterilization, and no evidence has been made available to suggest that the perpetrators have been punished.

(B) People's Republic of China population control officials, in cooperation with employers and works unit officials, routinely monitor women's menstrual cycles and subject women who conceive without government authorization to extreme psychological pressure, to harsh economic sanctions, including unpayable fines and loss of employment, and often to physical force.

(C) Official sanctions for giving birth to unauthorized children include fines in amounts several times larger than the per capita annual incomes of residents of the People's Republic of China. In Fujian, for example, the average fine is estimated to be twice a family's gross annual income. Families which cannot pay the fine may be subject to confiscation and destruction of their homes and personal property.

(D) Especially harsh punishments have been inflicted on those whose resistance is motivated by religion. For example, according to a 1995 Amnesty International report, the Catholic inhabitants of 2 villages in Hebei Province were subjected to population control under the slogan ''better to have more graves than one more child''. Enforcement measures included torture, sexual abuse, and the detention of resisters' relatives as hostages.

(E) Forced abortions in Communist China often have taken place in the very late stages of pregnancy.

(F) Since 1994 forced abortion and sterilization have been used in Communist China not only to regulate the number of children, but also to eliminate those who are regarded as defective in accordance with the official eugenic policy known as the ''Natal and Health Care Law''.

SEC. 3. DENIAL OF ENTRY INTO THE UNITED STATES OF PERSONS IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA ENGAGED IN ENFORCEMENT OF FORCED ABORTION POLICY.

The Secretary of State may not issue any visa to, and the Attorney General may not admit to the United States, any national of the People's Republic of China, including any official of the Communist Party or the Government of the People's Republic of China and its regional, local, and village authorities—except the head of state, the head of government, and cabinet level ministers—who the Secretary finds, based on credible information, has been involved in the establishment or enforcement of population control policies resulting in a woman being forced to undergo an abortion against her free choice, or resulting in a man or woman being forced to undergo sterilization against his or her free choice.

SEC. 4. WAIVER.

The President may waive the requirement contained in section 3 with respect to a national of the People's Republic of China if the President—

(1) determines that it is in the national interest of the United States to do so; and

(2) provides written notification to the Congress containing a justification for the waiver.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentlewoman from Florida [Mrs. FOWLER] for 30 minutes.

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

(Mrs. FOWLER asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

GENERAL LEAVE

Mrs. FOWLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on this measure.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mrs. FOWLER. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased that the House is considering today H.R. 2570, legislation I have introduced to condemn the practice of coerced abortion and sterilization in China.

I want to state at the outset that this legislation, in my opinion, does not take a prochoice or a prolife position. It simply condemns China's all too common practice of forcing women to undergo involuntary abortions and sterilization under China's one-child-per-couple policies, and prohibits the State Department from issuing United States visas to Chinese officials involved in the establishment or enforcement of these practices. Mr. Speaker, I believe these are goals that we all support.

Let me also take this opportunity to note my support for provisions offered by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON], which were self-executing in the rule, and to thank him for his contributions in this regard.

The tragic and wholly unacceptable practices that are targeted in this legislation have been well-documented. I would note that the latest edition of the State Department's Country Reports on Human Rights Practices states, ''The Chinese Government continued to implement highly intrusive one-child family planning policies first adopted in the late 1970's. Poor supervision of local officials who are under intense pressure to meet family planning targets results in instances of abuse, including forced abortion and sterilization. There were credible reports that several women were forced to undergo abortions of unauthorized pregnancies in Fujian. A well-documented story of a 1994 forced 8-month abortion has been reported in the coastal province Guangdong. A 1995 incident involving a forced sterilization was also reported in Guangzhou.''

Amnesty International has also expressed its strong opposition to these practices. In its 1996 report, Women in China, Detained, Victimized, but Mobilized, it stated its profound concerns about them, observing, and I quote, ''Testimonies have indicated that officials have resorted to physical coercion resulting in torture or cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment when faced with this pressure. Family planning cadres continue to be disciplined and fired for failing to keep to birth quotas.''

I am aware that some have concerns about how we can assure compliance

with this legislation's requirement that visas be denied to individuals involved with these nefarious practices. While I would expect that a determined effort would be made to identify persons involved in such acts prior to the issuance of visas, I recognize that enforcement will not be easy in every instance.

I would state that what is most important is that we provide both a strong condemnation of these practices, which this bill does, and a mechanism for taking action against those responsible for them when information about their activities comes to light.

Mr. Speaker, involuntary abortion and sterilization represent intolerable human rights violations of the first order. I urge my colleagues to support this bill.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. (Mr. GIBBONS). As the designee of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CONYERS], the gentleman from Hawaii [Mr. ABERCROMBIE] is recognized for 30 minutes.

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

Mr. Speaker, I will not take the 30 minutes, other than to say how proud I am to be able to stand here today and associate myself with the gentlewoman from Florida [Mrs. FOWLER]. I have the good fortune, Mr. Speaker, to be associated, as well, with the gentlewoman from Florida [Mrs. FOWLER] on the Committee on National Security, and in this instance I can say that I believe we are cooperating, if you will, in the same manner and in the same sense of commitment and dedication that is exemplified in the work on the Committee on National Security.

This is, Mr. Speaker, most profoundly a human rights issue. It is not something that we are putting forward, or I should say the gentlewoman from Florida [Mrs. FOWLER] has put forward, if I can speak for her in this instance, because of ideological considerations with respect to the very real differences that people may have with respect to questions of choice and abortion here in the United States. This, on the contrary, is a situation in which we are speaking of force.

Mr. Speaker, one of the reasons that I became involved in political work in the first place was that I could not understand as a child, as a young man growing up, how people could do the things that they did that I discovered when I first was exposed to the Holocaust. I could not understand it. I could not comprehend it as a student.

One of the things that propelled me in my academic career was to try to come to grips with what it was in us as human beings that caused us to be indifferent to the suffering of other human beings; in fact, to perpetrate death, terror, destruction, inhumanity, one to another.

In this instance, Mr. Speaker, there is no question in my mind that the forced abortion and sterilization circumstances and actions which the gentlewoman from Florida [Mrs. FOWLER] has outlined and which Amnesty International has chronicled is taking place.

□ 1745

Mr. Speaker, this took place in Nazi Germany. If I learned anything over that period of time in my academic studies in my attempt to try to come to grips with what human beings are capable of doing to one another, I recognized that it is because we dehumanize other people that it is able to be done.

Mr. Speaker, I believe you have had some experience yourself in warfare and in the destructive capacity that humankind has. We have not overcome it, but, hopefully, we learn something from it. One of the things I think that we learn, I hope that we learn, is that we cannot allow historical reference to simply be abstract, we have to see whether it applies in our own lives and our own time. It does little good.

I can think, and, again, I would hope that I am not speaking for the gentlewoman from Florida [Mrs. FOWLER] on this other than in a way that recognizes and is cognizant of the thrust of her philosophy behind putting this bill forward. It is one thing to recognize a Thomas More, that we must stand for those things which perk our conscience and which require us as human beings to make visible or expression of witness. That is what this is.

I agree with the gentlewoman from Florida [Mrs. FOWLER] that we are not in a position to command enforcement. That would be extraordinarily difficult. That is not an argument against it. That is an argument for us to stand up and do these things precisely because it is difficult.

Bearing witnesses is not always an easy task. But because it involves logistical difficulties is not a reason to stop doing it or to urge that it be done. On the contrary, it seems to me it is even more pertinent and even more important that we stand up now.

So this, I repeat, from my earlier espousal of the Ros-Lehtinen bill on human rights abuses toward prisoners in China and in Tibet, in China and Tibet, that we have to bring the light into the cells and we have to bring the light onto this situation of forced abortion and sterilization, not because we are trying to single out China and take a superior, a patronizing position, an imperialistic position, where we feel that we can condescend toward China in this regard. Quite the contrary. China is a signatory to various international covenants and treaties, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that is in the purview of the United Nations.

Everything that we are doing with respect to these bills in general, and most particularly to this bill in particular, is a direct reflection of treaty and covenant obligations that we have as a nation, that China has as a nation, and that we as individuals surely express. It most certainly, I believe, exemplifies what we stand for when we take our oath of office, hold up our hand, Mr. Speaker, as all of us have been privileged to do on the floor of this House, to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States.

Inherent in that, that which has been given to us, the honor and privilege of serving here, is to reflect upon the philosophical basis of the origin of the Constitution which allows us to be free men and women here today. We are, in a very real sense, I believe, defending those who are unable totally to defend themselves under these circumstances.

So, Mr. Speaker, I request the favorable attention of our colleagues. I hope that perhaps those young people might be in the same circumstances I found myself so many years ago, trying to understand how to be a human being, what it is that differentiates us from the other animals, the other species. I have come to the conclusion, and this bill is a visible manifestation of it, that all animals die, Mr. Speaker. The difference is in the details of their lives. And the details of our lives are such that we are able to reflect, we are able to imagine.

Few animals are able to contemplate the nature of their deaths or the nature of the meaning of their deaths, let alone their lives. But we are capable, this species, homo sapiens, is capable of that and, in fact, is obligated to do that. We have to justify our lives on this Earth in the time given to us. This bill is one of the times we have to justify our lives. And in voting for it, I think we act on that obligation.

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

Mrs. FOWLER. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my colleague, the gentleman from Hawaii [Mr. ABERCROMBIE], for his gracious comment. We have worked very closely together on the Committee on National Security, and I am pleased to be working with him on this bill today.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. COBURN].

(Mr. CORBURN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. COBURN. Mr. Speaker, I would like for the Members of this body and the American public to think about for a minute their children. If they have more than one child, if they lived in China today, it would not exist. Because of the oppressive practices of this Government, that if they had a Katie or a Sara, that I do, a second or third child, and unfortunate enough to be born in China, either they would be terminated against their will or strangled at birth. That is what this issue is about, whether or not they have the right to reproduce themselves and have offspring as a basic human choice.

What is happening in China today? If their first child is born and happens to be a female, what happens? Oftentimes

that child is strangled at birth. Why? Because a female in China is not as capable of caring for their parents at an advanced age as a male is because of their society.

Regrettably, our country has separated human rights issues from economic issues under what I believe to be a very false pretense that, in fact, we can engage on an economic level and that we will change these horrendous practices. I do not believe that is what is going to change them.

I think even though we cannot significantly effectively enforce what we are trying to do today, we have an obligation to say to the people who live in China they do have the basic right of reproducing themselves, they do have the right to have a second and a third child if they so choose, a God given right, and that no government anywhere in the world has the right to take that right away from them.

It saddens me that we, as a nation, have such a diverse challenge when we look at Cuba and we say they have human rights abuses and we cannot trade with them, but because the economic potential is so much greater in China, that we abandon that principle. We should not abandon these people. We should enforce at every level that our Government interacts with China that they stop this practice.

I would beg and plead with the Members of this body to think of their own children and the fact that, if they lived in China, only one of those children would exist.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as she may consume to the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. LOWEY].

(Mrs. LOWEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this bill. All of us in this House, whether pro-choice or pro-life, joined together in sending a very clear message to the Chinese Government that the United States will not tolerate a policy of forced abortions and sterilizations.

As a mother of three and a grandmother of two, I cannot imagine anything more abhorrent. This policy is anathema to all of us who celebrate the beauty of life. Members in this House who support abortion rights believe very, very strongly that every woman in the world should have the basic right to choose, a woman should have the information they need to make their own decisions.

I would urge my colleagues who are on the floor today supporting the right of Chinese women to control their own bodies to accord the same rights and respect to American women. Let us support reproductive choice in China and in the United States. Forced abortion must be condemned. I urge my colleagues to support this bill.

Mrs. FOWLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. PITTS].

Mr. PITTS. Mr. Speaker, I come before the House today to urge Members to support H.R. 2570, the Forced Abortion Condemnation Act. This bill would deny a visa to any Chinese official who carries out forced abortion or sterilization and condemns those in the Chinese Communist Party who oversee and enforce this process.

Women all over China are victimized daily due to their ability and desire to bear children. I would like to share just one story with my colleagues today that I believe demonstrates the need for this bill.

When Steven Mosher, a Ph.D. candidate at the time, attended a family planning meeting at Equality Commune in China, he observed some of these coercive procedures.

Mosher writes, ''From Sandhead Brigade there were 18 women, all 5 to 9 months pregnant, many red-eyed from lack of sleep and crying. They sat listlessly on short plank benches arranged in a semicircle about the front of the room where He Kaifeng, a commune cadre and Communist Party member of many years of experience in mass meetings, explained the purpose of the meeting in no uncertain terms.'' His message to the women was anything but reassuring. He said, slowly and deliberately, ''None of you has any choice in this matter. The two of you who are 8 or 9 months pregnant will have a Caesarean. The rest of you will have a shot which will cause you to abort.'' In order to be allowed to return home to their families, the women had to agree to abort their babies no matter how far along their pregnancies were.

Mr. Speaker, this is not family planning. Forced abortions are outright human rights abuses. I do not believe that this is a pro-life or pro-choice issue. This is a human issue. It is an issue of blatant governmental abuse. The United States must not in any way be a part of it.

We, as Members of Congress, must agree that China's so-called population control techniques are inhumane. We have a moral obligation to play absolutely no part in assisting such abominable abuse of women and their families.

My colleagues, listen to the cries of these women in China. Acknowledge their grief. Vote ''yes'' on H.R. 2570.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Mr. Speaker, we have no other Members wishing to speak at this time, and therefore I will yield back the remainder of the time allotted to us.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, we have more speakers than we have time remaining. If the gentleman from Hawaii [Mr. ABERCROMBIE] would be gracious enough to yield time.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Mr. Speaker, I will yield to the gentlewoman from Florida [Mrs. FOWLER] such time as may still be reserved for this side.

Mrs. FOWLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BACHUS].

Mr. BACHUS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from Florida [Mrs. FOWLER] for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of this concerted effort to, hopefully, force China to change its present practice of religious persecution, suppression of individual freedoms and liberties, systematic genocide of children, and intimidation of Taiwan.

Despite its many claims of reforms aimed at improving its business climate, China is still a Communist regime. China imprisons citizens who hold prayer meetings in their homes. That is repression. China requires registration of all religious groups and imprisons those who refuse to register. That is repression. China refuses to recognize the Catholic Church's appointment of a bishop, in fear that he will advocate service to the Pope or to the state. And that is repression.

We all are, sadly, aware of the population control efforts which force abortion of Chinese children, especially girls.

□ 1800

We are also all sadly aware of the crackdowns on dissidents who dare speak out for democracy and fairness. And we are all disturbed by China's constant threats to the security of the people of Taiwan, such as the missile firings and military exercises. Too often those who rattle sabers become tempted to use them.

In my view, trade is an important component in encouraging China to move towards democracy. Once the forces of free market and free enterprise start their dynamic reaction, heavy-handed regimes can no longer contain their by-product, a real desire for more and more freedom. China's leaders can try to build a free market without free people, but they will not succeed. A free market requires, demands and therefore leads to a free people.

The United States granted normal trade relations to China for one primary purpose, to foster change. China's President thinks that there are no strings attached to the generous treatment our country has afforded China. But today we in Congress need to send a message to Jiang Zemin, stop the religious persecution, stop killing babies, stop arresting and killing peaceful dissidents and stop the threats aimed at Taiwan.

This legislative package sends that message. It offers an important set of tools for fostering human rights improvement and freedom for the people of China.

In conclusion, I urge my colleagues to support the China package in its entirety.

Mrs. FOWLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. CHRISTENSEN].

Mr. CHRISTENSEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of H.R.

2570, the Forced Abortion Condemnation Act. As we heard earlier, this legislation would deny visas to Chinese officials who carry out forced abortion and sterilization practices. H.R. 2570 would accomplish that by condemning those Chinese officials who oversee and enforce abortion or sterilization practices on their citizens.

When I was in Hong Kong about a year ago, I had a good visit with an individual whose father is high up in the Chinese Government. We talked about this problem. With 1.2 billion people in China, he said, ''Jon, we have abortion out of necessity. I don't agree with it, but you point the finger at China and here in America you have abortion out of convenience and you murder 1.5 million children every year.''

I could not respond to that. He was right. So as we are condemning China and what is going on over there with the forced abortions, abortion is abortion. Whether it is forced abortion, it is the unborn child that we are talking about here.

I welcome those that have voted against the pro-life movement in the past to this debate today. I think it is wonderful that we are all coming together to support this type of cause. But I encourage us to look at the end result, the unborn child. There is no issue that is more gruesome than abortion, the fact that we are losing unborn children.

If the Chinese Government can continue to take a look at this issue, to work with us, to take a look at what we are trying to do here in America, to move us closer, I believe we can begin to work to save children all around the world. There is no doubt about it that this is a human rights issue. It is a human rights issue that must be stopped, it must be stopped now. I believe that H.R. 2570 is a step in the right direction. It sends a clear message to the Chinese Government, it sends a clear message to the Chinese people that America believes in life, that Americans all around the world who are fighting for this cause for freedom, freedom for those that do not have a right to speak, for those that are yet to be born, that it is a fight worth fighting for.

We welcome all those people today and we hope for a unanimous decision here. I hope that everybody will join this cause for freedom for the unborn around the world.

Mrs. FOWLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 8 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding me this time and I thank her for her leadership on this issue.

Let me just begin by saying that forced abortion was rightly construed by the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal to be a crime against humanity. This House of Representatives throughout the 1980's and 1990's has repeatedly gone on the record with recorded votes to again reassert that what is going on in the People's Republic of China is eerily reminiscent of what went on during the Nazi era where forced abortion was employed with devastating consequences against particularly Polish women that the Third Reich had deemed to be expendable.

It is an exploitation of women. It steals their children. It is a State-sponsored rape, and the baby dies a very cruel and merciless death either by chemical poisoning or by dismemberment. We know for a fact, and there has been much documentation on this, that many of these babies are killed very late in pregnancy. The mothers desperately want to have these children. They often try to evade the population cadres, the family planning cadres who scour the countryside looking for these women and then if they find that they are with child, they then hound them, they browbeat them, they use peer pressure and a host of other techniques of psychological persuasion, and if that does not work, then they make an example of them and truss them and get them to these abortion mills.

Just a few weeks ago, the Chinese government rolled out another hideous manifestation of this forced abortion policy. They announced about 600, according to a wire service copy, 600 new mobile abortion clinics. We put mammography and other health screening on wheels and we save lives, we mitigate the pain of breast cancer and things of that kind through those kinds of detection devices. What do the Chinese do? They are putting abortion clinics on wheels, and 600 of these will join this other army of abortionists that scour the country of China to kill the babies.

I led 3 human rights trips to the People's Republic of China. I have met with Peng Peiyun, who runs the population program and she totally denies that coercion is part of their program. I have met with Li Peng, the premier of China, totally denies that there is any kind of coercion, forced abortion or forced sterilization. When the President of China, Jiang Zemin, was in town, I raised the question at the breakfast which was attended by Members of the House and the Senate about forced abortion, and again he denied it.

Let me also remind Members, because we had some people who do not usually take the pro-life point of view today speaking, we welcome their input, that the United Nations Population Fund has whitewashed these crimes against humanity since the one child per couple policy was conceived back in 1979. They have given awards. The U.N. gave an award in the early 1980s for excellence in population matters, at a time when a high tide, at a time when forced abortions and sterilizations were actually on the rise. If that does not stand with the oppressor and the exploiter of women and children, I do not know what does.

And the UNFPA, the U.N. Population Fund continues to whitewash and to defend the policy. Dr. Sadik, the Executive Director of the UNFPA, and I have met with her a number of times. She has said this to me personally, she has also said it on Night Watch, a CBS news program and other programs that are in the public domain, that the Chinese program is purely voluntary. I say to my colleagues, nothing could be further from the truth. The U.N. Population Fund stands, I believe, accused by their own words and by their complicity in this program as being complicit in the maiming and the killing of women and children in the People's Republic of China.

Civilizations, Mr. Speaker, have long been judged by how they treat women and children, old people and strangers. Vulnerable people bring out the kindness in every society. But they also bring out the cruelty. Every so often they become the object of practices that are so heinous that all of us recoil in horror. In China today, forced abortion and forced sterilization fits that.

Let me just remind Members as well that a couple of years ago the Chinese announced another manifestation of this hideous program. In 1994, they targeted the handicapped. Again in a move that was totally reminiscent of the Third Reich, they said that the Down's syndrome kids, the kids that somehow do not measure up, would be targeted for elimination as part of their eugenics policy. We need to condemn that as well. Handicapped kids are valuable. We should love them and embrace them and protect them. No government has a right to forcibly abort and kill these children because they are found to be afflicted with some anomaly like Down's syndrome or any other kind of anomaly. I chair the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights. I have had 4 hearings on forced abortions. Let us not forget that the Clinton administration, until it finally signed the immigration bill that reversed his policy, would not even provide asylum for women who are fleeing coerced abortion and forced sterilization in China. We brought in after, and we had to subpoena these witnesses, some of the women who had suffered this cruelty of 6-month late-term abortions, forced abortions, and I will put the entire testimony of those brave women into this record. But one of the women talked about how she had found a baby girl who had been abandoned crying. And like the good Samaritan, and maybe she never even heard of that story, I think most of my colleagues have, she picked up this little girl. And what happened to her? The family planning cadre said that counts against your number. And then they visited her, and after 10 times trying to tell her and persuade her to be sterilized, they finally forced her to be sterilized.

Another woman in the hearing, and many of my colleagues were at that hearing, my wife was at that hearing, I had a tear in my eye. She broke down and could not even continue her testimony. When she talked about how late

in her pregnancy, she was worn down to the point where she could resist it no more and they took her, she was broken and beaten and finally her baby was forcibly aborted as well. I urge Members, because time does not permit a full reading of this testimony, but these people have come forward. They were even being held here, I would say parenthetically because they did not get asylum until Congress passed the law that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HYDE] offered as an amendment to that important bill.

Finally, just let me say to my colleagues, we need to go on record, this hopefully will be a unanimous or a near unanimous vote in favor of this legislation, but I hope that it continues when we start talking about those organizations like Planned Parenthood Federation, IPPF based in London, the United Nations Population Fund. When I hear such strong words from my colleagues on the other side of the issue as we heard today, let us not forget that these organizations front, are complicit with and become very much part of the fabric of the implementation of this coercive population control program. Let us not in any way accept the bogus denials that the Jiang Zemins and the Li Pengs and Peng Peiyuns and all the others and the Dr. Sadik, who runs the UNFPA, and others offer to try to get us to take a look and say, ''Oh, maybe it's not as bad as we thought.'' We need to stand up strongly. This legislation advances the ball.

Again we will be revisiting this over and over again. When this chapter is finally written someday, those who are complicit will have shame and sorrow over their face. Let us stand with the oppressed and not the oppressor.

Mr. Speaker, the material referred to in my remarks is as follows:

I would like to introduce Weng Kang Di, who will begin. And he and Chen Yun Fei are husband and wife. And I just would note parenthetically have been separated for 2 years. They are husband and wife, and this hearing provides an opportunity for the first time, in a long time, for them to see one another.

If you could proceed.

[Interpreter speaking in Chinese.]

Mr. SMITH. Please pull the microphone very close so we can hear the Translator as well as the witness.

[Interpreter speaking in Chinese.]

Mr. SMITH. If Weng would want to proceed with his testimony.

STATEMENT OF WENG KANG DI, ASYLUM SEEKER

Mr. WENG KANG DI. My name is Weng Kang Di. And Chen Yun Fei is my wife.

My wife will tell you what happened to us.

STATEMENT OF CHEN YUN FEI, ASYLUM SEEKER

Ms. CHEN YUN FEI. I am a woman from the countryside, so I do not know how to say those very polite languages. I would like you to forgive me for that.

I come to the United States because of the Chinese family planning program.

The reason I came to the United States is because the Chinese Government does not allow us to have more than one child.

Because I have more than one child, that is why they try to suppress me, oppress me; and that is why I escaped to the United States.

Shall I say something more specifically?

Mr. SMITH. If you could give the details about your situation, the treatment by the family planning cadres, for example, why did you feel so threatened, whether or not you were mistreated.

Ms. CHEN YUN FEI. The Chinese Government only allows us to have only one child, and I have three children. And that is why they want us, people who have more than one child, to have sterilization and also fine a certain amount of money.

If a person got pregnant, then they want you to bear the child before it is mature. If you are pregnant, they will force you to have abortion. So I am a woman from the countryside. I do not want to have sterilization.

I would like to tell you my story.

I have come to the United States. I consider the U.S. Government is a democratic government. And I believe that you will rescue us.

Now I am going to tell you my story.

In 1982, the second child of my husband and mine were born. And then the local government from the people's commune, from the sterilization group, they come to our home and noticed us, sent us notice to have me sterilized.

Because it is so imminent, I told them, yes, OK, I will go and have sterilization. And this is a way that I pushed them away at first.

I took the opportunity after they left, I escaped to other places.

I can only escape by telling them I agree that I will have sterilization. That is the only way I can get them away.

At that time, the sterilization campaign was just at the beginning, so they were not pursuing very tightly.

In 1986, the first part of 1986, when the sterilization program, the family program, was at its height and it is very unfortunate that I got pregnant again. It was like a two to 3 months pregnancy I was. And at that time, the cadres of the local government were trying to catch women every place. So you could hear the sound of crying, you know, everywhere. And they used the tractors to put on this big loudspeaker to tell people that those people who are pregnant, you have to go to have it born immature. And then if you are pregnant, you have to have abortion—early stage of abortion. And also, after you have abortion, you are going to have sterilization and be fined a certain amount of money.

I did not want to have sterilization, so I was very, very afraid. And also I was thinking even if I had sterilization, I have to be fined and I do not have money. I am a country woman. So I stealthily went to a place to find a medical student who learned to be a doctor to help me to have the abortion. This person is in private practice.

And this person, this medical student, he was very afraid. He did not dare to help me, because he said if the government found out he would be in trouble. It was a great risk. But I begged this person again and again. So finally he helped me to have this abortion.

Because he is a medical student, he did not have the full grasp of the technique to do this abortion, so after the abortion I got this very serious infection because we had done that in a hurry. From then on, I was in poor health.

Now after the abortion, I went home. But on my way home, I saw a baby girl which was only born like seven or 8 days, lying on the road, crying very hard, and it is very weak, this little girl. And a lot of people were watching, so I asked people around to help this child who can take this child home, otherwise, this child is going to die because she has nothing to eat. But those people around said, you are talking nonsense. You know this is the time that the campaign is at its height; who dare to have this child home? So if you want to rescue this child, you are the person who will bring this child home. So I was very angry because I thought, you know, you people did not want to help, this child is going to die. So I said, if nobody wants to help this child, I am going to help the child. If you are afraid of the government, I am not afraid of the government. So finally, I took the child home.

People were talking that this child belonged to a family, the last name of the family was Sun. Because in China if you do not have a son, then people will look down upon you if there is no way for you to have a voice. So that is why the family abandoned this child on the roadside. And I remember what people, the last name is Sun. So I gave her a name called Sun Sisi, still using her own last name. So I adopted her.

So after I returned home, later the government, the cadres of the local government, found out. And then they came to my home saying that, you know what you did and you already have two boys and you picked up another girl and so you have to have the sterilization.

So I did not want to have sterilization, and I begged them to let me have the child. And I said, what you said is really ridiculous because this child was not my own. I just picked her up from the roadside. But they said, since you picked up the child, it should be accountable among your family planning program. It belongs to you so you have to have sterilization since you have three children.

So I told them that the reason that women, after they have their child born, to abandon the child at the roadside was all due to the government policy. If I did not rescue the child, the child was going to die. And when they heard what I said, they were very angry.

So I did not want to have the sterilization, I told them, if you really want to have sterilization, then you go and ask this mother of the child to have sterilization, that is the Sun family, this girl's mother. But they said, since you picked up, you have to go to have sterilization. So we argued back and forth for a long time. And they came to my home insistent that I should have this sterilization. They came many, many times.

So they came to my home more than 10 times, and they said this woman who dares to counter the government; so they forced me to sterilization. I begged them that, since I had already had one abortion, I am in poor health. So they insisted that I am now going to have the sterilization. And then the cadres got very angry. They said this woman is very, very tough, very difficult to deal with; so let us have her husband to have the sterilization.

And when my husband heard that they wanted him to be sterilized, so he jumped out of the window and escaped. And so I begged them, saying that, please do not have my husband sterilized because the whole family relied on him to till the land. Because in China we use all manual labor. You have to carry water bucket by bucket. So everything—he is the mainstay of the labor in the field. So I was very, very frightened and while at the same time I was very angry. So I fainted, and the whole family was crying and I did not know what happened because I fainted.

That was in 1986. Now conditions are turning better. People are using tractors. At that time everything was manual labor. So after I came to, the whole family was crying and the cadres were gone and my husband was back. Then I said I would not let my husband be sterilized because I have to rely on him to till the land. Then I decided that we have to

go because they will not let us off the hook. Either I will be sterilized or my husband will be sterilized. So we escaped to a place which is closed to where Mao Zedong had his headquarters. It is a very, very tough place, a lot of mountains and wild places, not much to eat.

That was a very baron place. I started to work mending other people's old shoes. It is a very, very deplorable place. The living condition is very, very little. People slept on this bed made of mud. And at the end of the bed, there was a stove. You put firewood in. Then the heat would go through under the bed. That is the heat you have to have in the winter. That is called a kang. And people all live in the cave. So I started up—because the people were very poor, they have to have their old shoes mended again and again. And I started to do this to make some money.

I would not dare to go back home, and I stayed at that place for 7 years. That place has a very, very hurricane kind of a big storm, windy and a lot of snow in winter. People eat, mainly, maize and sorghum.

I was very eager to back to visit to see my children and my family, but I was afraid if I went back home I would be caught again. So I stayed there for 7 years. But when I first went there, this place was deplorable; there was no family planning program going on. But after 7 years, they started having the family planning campaign. They came to the cave where we stayed to check so-called identification. Everyone has an identification. They checked the identification to see whether there is anything wrong.

I returned home in February 1993. And then shortly after that, the government got to know that I was back and so they came to my home saying, that, OK, now you are back; we have been looking for you for several years; we could not find you. And then I begged them not to—I told them that I am not going to have more children, so please do not ask me to have sterilization. They said, no, you are among the list; you are still in the list; you have to have the sterilization. And then they said, this woman is very stubborn.

So even if you have sterilization, we are going to fine more the money that we are going to fine you. So I was very, very angry. I told them that the money you fine you should not use that money. if you use that money—because they divide the money among themselves—if you use the money to eat or something, then you will die. Then they started to bind me, you know, to force me to the sterilization place. And I told them that I did not do anything wrong. I was not a robber. I did not steal anything. They only thing I had done is to have more children than one child.

So I was very afraid because my husband, when we just returned, when people saw these cadres were coming, they shouted, they are coming again, they are coming again. So my husband left again. He escaped. I told him that, you escape; I will deal with them by myself. So he escaped.

I told the cadres that, do not, you know, bind me together using a rope or something. I will go and have sterilization by myself. So under such circumstances, I was forced to have sterilization done.

After the sterilization, five or 6 days later, I went home; but I was not—I did not agree with their policy. And they are going to—because I knew they, said, they are going to fine me more money than usual. So I though that, I do not have the money. And then my family told me that my husband escaped because the relatives and friends thought it is very pathetic and they helped him to escape to a foreign country. And I thought to myself, what am I going to do by myself; I do not have the physical strength to till the land by myself and they are going to fine a lot of money. And I had three children. I did not have enough money.

So I escaped, too.

So I am here.

Mr. SMITH. I thank you very much for that testimony, and there will be some questions by members of the panel. But I would like to ask the other witnesses if they could testify before we go to that.

Hu Shuye, if you would not mind speaking next.

STATEMENT OF HU SHUYE, ASYLUM SEEKER

Ms. HU SHUYE. I do not speak very well Mandarin, so please forgive me.

I left China because of the family planning program.

I was pregnant 6 months and was forced to have an abortion.

In November I was told to have sterilization because I have two children and one abortion already. And I did not want to have this sterilization, and I left home for a month. And after I came home they forced me to have sterilized.

I had no way out. They forced me. They dragged me to have this surgery done.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Chairman, can counsel tell the story?

Mr. SMITH. Craig, would that be possible?

Mr. HYDE. Do you know her story?

Mr. WILSON. Mr. Chairman, unfortunately this lady's counsel is not present. We could for any of the others.

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. Chairman?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mrs. SMITH. Could we let someone else testify and let her gain her composure, please.

Mr. SMITH. Yes, that is a very good idea.

I would like to ask Li Bao Yu if she could make her statement at this point.

STATEMENT OF LI BAO YU, ASYLUM SEEKER

Ms. LI BAO YU. I am a Chinese citizen, and my name is Li Bao Yu. I had a daughter born in 1990. Because I was afraid of the family planning program, I did not register her birth. Later the government found out, and they asked me to have an IUD put into my body; but I begged them not to do that. But they just approved. They insisted on having an IUD in.

So they forced me to put in this IUD. And after that, my health deteriorated. My doctor said, you have to take this IUD out before your health can return to normal. So my husband and I went to this family planning office to ask them to let me have this IUD taken out, but they did not. I promised them that I am not going to have more children.

They did not approve our request, and my husband was very angry; so he started to quarrel with the cadres. The cadres threatened him: ''If you are going to continue to disobey us and quarrel with us, then we are going to sterilize you.'' So I persuaded my husband to go home. And then after that, my mother found a private doctor and had my IUD taken out. After that, my health began to improve.

In my native place, they have inspections of the family planning program every season; and I would not dare to have inspection because they will find out that I had this IUD taken out by myself. But they kept on sending me notice telling me to have this inspection. I always gave them excuse, I am not home; but they came to my home many times. They could not find me, so they were very angry. In January I became pregnant again. After 3 months, they still could not find me. One day they came and I happened to be home, so they wanted me to go have an exam.

My husband at that time was not home because he was * * * I said: ''Let me wait until he comes home. Then I will * * * this exam.'' They disapproved. They did not agree. So * * * dragged me to the place to have the exam. After the exam * * * course, they go to know that I was pregnant and had * * * taken out. They wanted me to have an abortion. I begged them. They did not agree. They threatened me saying that, if you do not have this abortion, then your first child, your daughter, will forever not allow to have her identification registered. Because in China if you register a born baby, you have certain kind of coupons, whatever. They threatened me that if I do not agree to have this abortion, then my first child will forever have no chance of being a registered, normal citizen.

Mr. SMITH. If I could interrupt, does that mean denial of education or health care or job opportunities? What does that mean?

Ms. LI BAO YU. Yes.

So I was forced to have this abortion. And after that, my health was very poor. Because that was a hospital in the countryside, the hygienic conditions is not very good. I had a very negative impact on my health. I was bleeding profusely. And they wanted me to have sterilization following the abortion. But the doctor said since I was bleeding so much, it is not possible to have sterilization immediately.

I was not in a condition to return home, so I stayed in the hospital; and my husband came to visit me in the hospital. He was very angry and argued with the cadres. And the doctor had nothing—there is nothing that the doctor can do for my poor health. So the cadres from the family planning office, they kept on arguing with my husband. They have the power in their hands, so we are not in a position to fight with them. After I went home, they again said that, when your health improved a little, you still have to have the sterilization done.

Because I am a housewife in the countryside, I have to do everything at home. My husband was a worker at the time. But since my health was poor, I could not do so much. I felt burdened. Sometimes I went to my sister's place to see a doctor. And sometimes my husband stayed alone at home. And the family planning program office kept on telling me that when you have your health improved, you have to have the sterilization. Later my husband escaped to his relative's home and I escaped to my sister's home.

So none of us would dare to go home. Later, because of my husband's work—the need for his work, so he has to return home. Then the family planning office informed him to asked him to inform me to go and have the sterilization. They insisted on that. And my husband told them that, my wife was still sick. So they argued again. And then they said: ''If you argue with us, then you go and have the sterilization.'' And they then started to struggle with each other, and he escaped later.

My husband thought at that time that under such circumstances it is not going to maintain peace any more. They will, anyway, come to force us to have sterilization. So through somebody's recommendation, my husband escaped to the United States.

After my husband left China, I was at home by myself. My health was still not very good—no, she was not at home at first. She would not dare to go home. But her health was not good.

In 1992, during the Chinese New Year, she wanted to go home to spend the New Year together with her family; so she returned. After a few days, she did not know how they found out. The family program cadres came to my home again and forced—pressuring me to have sterilization. At that time, I escaped through the back door.

I thought, since my husband was not home, they would not pursue me any more; but it

was not the case. They kept on pressuring me. I would not dare go home. That means, even if I had had a home, I cannot go home. Under such circumstances, my mother and other relatives, they helped me to find a way to escape to the United States.

Mr. SMITH. The bells that you heard, just by way of explanation, means that there are votes again occurring on the House floor. We will take a very short break and then resume some of the questioning as Members do return.

Again, just let me say before we break for recess—and perhaps you could translate this for them—hearing you tell your stories—and I think I speak for everybody on this panel and I speak for Members of the Congress, both parties, Democrats and Republicans—you really represent the voices and the tears of the women of China. The crimes that have been committed against you and against the women of China are no less serious than the crimes that were committed by the Nazis.

It is even more appalling when we realize that the Clinton administration wants to send you back to your oppressors. And when we realize that groups like the U.N. Population Fund stand by and cheer as China achieves these targets in population control when every one of those numbers represents a person who has been injured, made sick, exploited, and hurt by their government.

The subcommittee is in recess for 10 minutes.

[Recess.]

Mr. SMITH. The subcommittee will resume its hearing. Again, I want to thank our witnesses for their very, very eloquent statements and for their willingness to tell us in such detail the difficulties that they have encountered and the exploitation that they have experienced.

It is my understanding that Hu Shuye, you might be willing to and able to, perhaps, proceed with some of your testimony. If you could tell us, and be as brief as you would like, some of the particulars about the government's coercive abortion that they inflicted upon you at 6 months.

The INTERPRETER. She said she does not know how to speak, so if you could ask questions, she will be able to answer.

Mr. SMITH. When the government found you were pregnant, what kind of means did they use to force you to undergo the abortion?

The INTERPRETER. Let me explain for us, because Ms. Hu said her Mandarin is not good enough to express herself.

Mr. SMITH. Right. I remember that from earlier.

The INTERPRETER. So she is using her own dialect. And Ms. Chen is translating her dialect to me, and I will translate to you.

Mr. SMITH. All right. Thank you.

Ms. HU SHUYE. They said—there were between 30 to 40 that came to my home. And they said, since you have three children, you have to have an abortion since you are now, again, pregnant. So they dragged me to have an abortion.

Mr. SMITH. Did they literally drag her?

Ms. HU SHUYE. There was a car, and these 30 to 40 people dragged me onto the car and then drove away.

Mr. SMITH. Prior to that, were there attempts to persuade her to abort the child?

Ms. HU SHUYE. They did ask me to have this abortion. Then since I was not willing to, they moved all my furniture, whatever I had at home, to the government office.

I was forced to have an abortion in June when I was 6 months pregnant. And then in November, they came again to force me to have sterilization.

I escaped in November. And in December, my mother-in-law got cancer and passed away on December 17th. So I went home to attend the funeral. And then on the 20th, the family program office got to know that I was home; so they came and dragged me away to have an abortion.

I was forced to have an abortion when I was 6 months pregnant. And then after that, they wanted me to have sterilization. So I escaped in November. And then in December I went back for the funeral. And then I was forced to have sterilization. And then after a few years, in 1989, the family program office told me that, you have too many children, you should be fined a certain amount of money.

Mr. SMITH. So she was fined for the children that she had is what you are saying.

You know, I would like to yield to Mr. Hyde. He has a comment.

Mr. HYDE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I wonder if I might ask both counsel to answer these questions:

We have heard heart breaking stories of oppression and torture and a denial of one of the primary human rights, civil rights, namely, the right to have children. And I am appalled at what I have heard.

But I am equally appalled at my own country at what state these women find themselves in the ''Land of the Free,'' and the ''Home of the Brave,'' ''Give me your Tired, your poor, Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free.''

I understand they are under arrest, they are under manacles. Now, I well know that for years Soviet Jewish people, who could get an exit visa, all came here as refugees because by definition they were persecuted, being Jewish people, in the Soviet Union. And they came here by the thousands. And many of them did not have family here, and it was not a question of reunification but under asylum. Because they were persecuted, they were permitted to come in here.

Mrs. FOWLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN], chairman of the Committee on International Relations.

(Mr. GILMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to rise in strong support of H.R. 2570. I want to commend the bill's authors, the gentlewoman from Florida [Mrs. FOWLER], the gentleman from California [Mr. COX] and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HYDE], the distinguished chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, for bringing forward this important measure.

Mr. Speaker, we have no illusions about the Chinese regime and its poor record on human rights. Among the many human rights violations committed by the Chinese Government, one of the most despicable aspects of Chinese policy is its one-child mandate and its provincial eugenics policy. Under these policies, mothers are forced to abort their second or third children and to allow the deaths of children suffering from mental and other health problems. Government edicts are enforced against the fathers, mothers and especially children of China with countless victims in its wake. We must send a clear signal that we will have nothing to do with this ''Brave New World.'' If America is to stand for anything, it stands for the sanctity of the family and its most basic rights.

While the central Chinese Government denies all of these charges, in their command and control society the understandable goal of limiting the growth of China's 1.3 billion person population is perverted into commands by local governments and Communist Party cadres to force abortions and the deaths of innocent infants, especially girls, to enforce quotas and other measures to restrict population growth.

I note reports from Hebei Province officials who told workers that it was ''better to have more graves than one more child.'' We cannot sit idly by while this happens. This is a policy worthy of the dictatorships of the Soviet Union or wartime Germany, not a nation claiming to offer leadership in the 21st century.

□ 1815

I note that the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal listed such actions as crimes against humanity. China, our ally in World War II, is now the No. 1 violator of that sanction.

Mr. Speaker, I am a strong supporter of voluntary family planning, but I must say that there is nothing voluntary about China's program. It is sad to note that in almost all of the other countries where mothers and fathers have a choice, parents make their own decision to have smaller families. The Chinese people are no different. If Chinese parents actually had a choice, they would space their children farther apart and, in the end, probably would reduce the size of their families.

Regrettably the Chinese Government does not trust its people. The government has inserted itself in the most basic of human decisions of parents to have a child or to care for an impaired son or daughter.

Mr. Speaker, I heard countless reports from people who have suffered under the Chinese Government. They came from all parts of China speaking Mandarin, Cantonese, and even Tibetans who have suffered under the one-child eugenics policy.

I commend my colleague from New Jersey, Mr. SMITH, and my colleague from California, Ms. PELOSI, who joined with us in condemning these abuses of the most basic human rights.

In sum, I strongly support this bill in its denial of U.S. visas to the perpetrators of these crimes. Such people have no business in the land of the free and the home of the brave, and I thank the gentlewoman for bringing this measure to the floor, the gentlewoman from Florida [Mrs. FOWLER].

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

That is the end of our speakers, Mr. Speaker, and I would just like to comment that we have heard from Members from a wide spectrum of philosophies here today all united in support of this bill, so I would urge my colleagues to cast their vote in favor of this bill.

Mr. CALVERT. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support for H.R. 2570, the Forced Abortion Condemnation Act. One of the most contentious ongoing debates before Congress is whether or not a woman has a right to choose abortion over life. But this debate is not about the right to choose. This is about forcing a woman to undergo a dangerous procedure without her consent. Regardless of whether you believe in the right to life or the right to choose, we can all agree that this practice is inhuman and barbaric. And one that we, as Americans, cannot and should not condone.

H.R. 2570 denies visas to Chinese officials who carry out forced abortion or sterilization procedures and condemns those in the Chinese Communist Party and other Chinese nationals who oversee and enforce this process. Forced abortion was officially deemed a crime against humanity by the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal after World War II. What the Nazis did back then is no different then what is happening today in China. China's population control methods of forced abortions and sterilizations are not the way to control overpopulation in that country. The practice holds grave implications for religious liberty and basic human rights.

I ask my colleagues to join me in supporting H.R. 2570.

Mr. FOWLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GIBBONS). All time has expired.

Pursuant to House Resolution 302, the previous question is ordered on the bill, as amended.

The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

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

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 415, nays 1, not voting 17, as follows:

[Roll No. 598]

YEAS—415

Abercrombie
Ackerman
Aderholt
Allen
Andrews
Archer
Armey
Bachus
Baesler
Baker
Baldacci
Ballenger
Barcia
Barr
Barrett (NE)
Barrett (WI)
Bartlett
Barton
Bass
Becerra
Bentsen
Bereuter
Berman
Berry
Bilbray
Bilirakis
Bishop
Blagojevich
Bliley
Blumenauer
Blunt
Boehlert
Boehner
Bonilla
Bonior
Bono
Borski
Boswell
Boucher
Boyd
Brady
Brown (FL)
Brown (OH)
Bryant
Bunning
Burr
Burton
Buyer
Callahan
Calvert
Camp
Campbell
Canady
Cannon
Cardin
Castle
Chabot
Chambliss
Chenoweth
Christensen
Clayton
Clement
Clyburn
Coble
Coburn
Collins
Combest
Condit
Conyers
Cook
Cooksey
Costello
Cox
Coyne
Cramer
Crane
Crapo
Cummings
Cunningham
Danner
Davis (FL)
Davis (IL)
Davis (VA)
Deal
DeFazio
DeGette
Delahunt
DeLauro
DeLay
Dellums
Deutsch
Diaz-Balart
Dickey
Dicks
Dingell
Dixon
Doggett
Dooley
Doolittle
Doyle
Dreier
Duncan
Dunn
Edwards
Ehlers
Ehrlich
Emerson
Engel
English
Ensign
Eshoo
Etheridge
Evans
Everett
Ewing
Farr
Fattah
Fawell
Fazio
Filner
Flake
Foglietta
Foley
Forbes
Ford
Fossella
Fowler
Fox
Frank (MA)
Franks (NJ)
Frelinghuysen
Frost
Gallegly
Ganske
Gejdenson
Gekas
Gephardt
Gibbons
Gilchrest
Gillmor
Gilman
Goode
Goodlatte
Goodling
Gordon
Goss
Graham
Granger
Green
Greenwood
Gutierrez
Gutknecht
Hall (OH)
Hall (TX)
Hamilton
Hansen
Harman
Hastert
Hastings (FL)
Hastings (WA)
Hayworth
Hefley
Hefner
Herger
Hill
Hilleary
Hilliard
Hinchey
Hinojosa
Hobson
Hoekstra
Holden
Hooley
Horn
Hostettler
Houghton
Hoyer
Hulshof
Hunter
Hutchinson
Hyde
Inglis
Istook
Jackson (IL)
Jackson-Lee (TX)
Jefferson
Jenkins
John
Johnson (CT)
Johnson (WI)
Johnson, E.B.
Johnson, Sam
Jones
Kanjorski
Kaptur
Kasich
Kelly
Kennedy (MA)
Kennedy (RI)
Kennelly
Kildee
Kilpatrick
Kim
Kind (WI)
King (NY)
Kingston
Kleczka
Klink
Klug
Knollenberg
Kolbe
Kucinich
LaFalce
LaHood
Lampson
Largent
Latham
Lazio
Leach
Levin
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (GA)
Lewis (KY)
Linder
Lipinski
Livingston
LoBiondo
Lofgren
Lowey
Lucas
Luther
Maloney (CT)
Maloney (NY)
Manton
Manzullo
Markey
Martinez
Mascara
Matsui
McCarthy (MO)
McCarthy (NY)
McCollum
McCrery
McDade
McDermott
McGovern
McHale
McHugh
McInnis
McIntosh
McIntyre
McKeon
McNulty
Meehan
Meek
Menendez
Metcalf
Mica
Millender-McDonald
Miller (CA)
Miller (FL)
Minge
Mink
Moakley
Mollohan
Moran (KS)
Moran (VA)
Morella
Murtha
Myrick
Nadler
Nethercutt
Neumann
Ney
Northup
Norwood
Nussle
Oberstar
Obey
Olver
Ortiz
Owens
Oxley
Packard
Pallone
Pappas
Parker
Pascrell
Pastor
Paul
Paxon
Payne
Pease
Pelosi
Peterson (MN)
Peterson (PA)
Petri
Pickering
Pitts
Pombo
Pomeroy
Porter
Portman
Poshard
Price (NC)
Pryce (OH)
Quinn
Radanovich
Rahall
Ramstad
Rangel
Redmond
Regula
Reyes
Riggs
Rivers
Rodriguez
Roemer
Rogan
Rogers
Rohrabacher
Rothman
Roukema
Roybal-Allard
Royce
Rush
Ryun
Sabo
Salmon
Sanchez
Sanders
Sandlin
Sanford
Sawyer
Saxton
Scarborough
Schaefer, Dan
Schaffer, Bob
Schumer
Scott
Sensenbrenner
Serrano
Sessions
Shadegg
Shaw
Shays
Sherman
Shimkus
Shuster
Sisisky
Skaggs
Skeen
Skelton
Slaughter
Smith (MI)
Smith (NJ)
Smith (OR)
Smith (TX)
Smith, Adam
Smith, Linda
Snowbarger
Snyder
Solomon
Souder
Spence
Spratt
Stabenow
Stark
Stearns
Stenholm
Stokes
Strickland
Stump
Stupak
Sununu
Talent
Tanner
Tauzin
Taylor (MS)
Taylor (NC)
Thomas
Thompson
Thornberry
Thune
Thurman
Tiahrt
Tierney
Torres
Towns
Traficant
Turner
Upton
Velazquez
Vento
Visclosky
Walsh
Wamp
Waters
Watkins
Watt (NC)
Watts (OK)
Weldon (FL)
Weldon (PA)
Weller
Wexler
Weygand
White
Whitfield
Wicker
Wise
Wolf
Woolsey
Wynn
Young (AK)
Young (FL)

NAYS—1

Brown (CA)

NOT VOTING—17

Bateman
Carson
Clay
Cubin
Furse
Gonzalez
Lantos
LaTourette
McKinney
Neal
Pickett
Riley
Ros-Lehtinen
Schiff
Tauscher
Waxman
Yates

□ 1840

Mr. FLAKE changed his vote from ''nay'' to ''yea.''

So the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. BATEMAN. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 598, I was late returning to the floor and was not recorded. Had I been present, I would have voted ''aye.''

MOTION TO RECONSIDER THE VOTE OFFERED BY MS. LOFGREN

Ms. LOFGREN. Mr. Speaker, I move to reconsider the vote.

MOTION TO TABLE OFFERED BY MRS. FOWLER

Mrs. FOWLER. Mr. Speaker, I move to lay on the table the motion to reconsider.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentlewoman from Florida [Mrs. FOWLER] to lay on the table the motion to reconsider.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

RECORDED VOTE

Ms. LOFGREN. Mr. Speaker, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 245, noes 171, not voting 17, as follows:

[Roll No. 599]

AYES—245

Aderholt
Archer
Armey
Bachus
Baesler
Baker
Ballenger
Barr
Barrett (NE)
Barrett (WI)
Bartlett
Barton
Bass
Bateman
Bentsen
Bilbray
Bilirakis
Bliley
Blunt
Boehlert
Boehner
Bonilla
Bono
Boswell
Boyd
Brady
Bryant
Bunning
Burr
Burton
Buyer
Callahan
Calvert
Camp
Campbell
Canady
Cannon
Castle
Chabot
Chambliss
Chenoweth
Christensen
Coble
Coburn
Collins
Combest
Condit
Cook
Cooksey
Cox
Cramer
Crane
Crapo
Cunningham
Davis (FL)
Davis (VA)
Deal
DeLay
Diaz-Balart
Dickey
Doolittle
Dreier
Duncan
Dunn
Ehlers
Ehrlich
Emerson
English
Ensign