

clause 7, section 9 of Article I of the Constitution of the United States of America, which states "no money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriation made by law." "Appropriations contained in this act," the report says, "are made pursuant to this specific power granted by the Constitution."

That is not a power. That was a prohibition. It was to keep us from spending money without appropriation. If this is true, we can spend money on anything in the world, and the Constitution has zero meaning. This cannot possibly be.

So all I would suggest is this: Be a little more creative when we talk about the Constitution. There must be a more creative explanation on why we are spending these kinds of monies overseas.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Chairman, who has the right to close?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI), defending the position of the committee.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in very strong opposition to the Paul amendment, and it is not even reluctantly. It is with grave disappointment, frankly, that this amendment is even being proposed, though I respect the gentleman's right to do so, and I respect the gentleman.

If this Paul amendment would be enacted, it would cause deaths and suffering for millions of women and children. I say that without any fear of contradiction.

Of course, we all want to reduce the number of abortions performed throughout the world, and the best way to do that is to promote family planning. It seems hard to believe that the gentleman would stand up and say he does not know why it is in our national interests that we improve the plight of children, poor children and families throughout the world by allowing them the opportunity to make decisions for themselves about the timing and the number of children that a family would have, or that the impact that this has on women, alleviating poverty, raising the literacy rate, and, again, giving more empowerment to women by having them control their own destinies.

The issue of population, certainly we understand that our world's resources are finite. I think that most would agree that it is in our interests as well as the interests of every person living on this Earth that we husband our resources very carefully, and that includes curbing uncontrolled population growth. I say that as one who does not support any forced measures in that end, but voluntary efforts to that end.

This amendment would close the most effective avenue to preventing abortions. The gentleman says that well, if we spend this money, then the organizations that use this money but also perform abortions have this underwriting, or the money is fungible, and, therefore, we are supporting abortions.

I think the gentleman knows full well that no funds may be used for abortion procedures. That is the law of the land. We reiterate it every time we have a discussion on this subject. If you are going to apply fungibility, you would have to apply it to everything we do here. I do not know why all of a sudden when it comes to international family planning, fungibility becomes a principle, but when we are dealing with the defense bill or any other appropriations, we never say that giving money for this, that or the other purpose helps that country underwrite some practices that we might not approve of.

The amendment would end a more than 30-year-old program recognized as one of the most successful components of U.S. foreign assistance. Tens of millions of couples, Mr. Chairman, in the developing world are using family planning as a direct result of this program, and the average number of children per family has declined more than one-third since the 1960's.

Three out of four Americans surveyed in 1995 wanted to increase or maintain spending on family planning for poor countries. I was, this year, in India and saw what happened in those states where there was effective family planning as opposed to what was the plight of the people in areas where the women did not have access to this family planning information.

So I believe that this amendment would be contrary to the interests and values of the vast majority of the people in the world, and certainly, speaking in our own terms, of the American people. In February 1997, both the House and the Senate showed their commitment to the USAID International Family Planning Program by voting for the early release of funds specifically for this program.

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We had to have a vote at that time.

Mr. Chairman, I see some of my colleagues on their feet, and I am pleased to yield to the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), chairman of the authorizing committee, the Committee on International Relations.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I want to associate myself with the remarks of the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI). Population control, population planning is so important today. That is the next crisis that we are to be confronted with. The growth of populations around the world are going to lead to hunger in impoverished areas. And where we have hunger and poverty, we soon have hostility.

The best way to prevent that is to help with family planning and with population control. And I thank the gentlewoman for her arguments in opposition to this amendment.

Mr. CALLAHAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentlewoman yield?

Ms. PELOSI. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. CALLAHAN. Mr. Chairman, it is my duty in this House as chairman of

this subcommittee to draft a bill. And in order to draft a bill, I have to depend upon a very able staff which really did the drafting of this 119 pages of law that hopefully will be passed tomorrow morning.

But upon my instruction, I would like to reiterate, and I know the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PAUL) has already brought it out, but since I am responsible for writing this bill, the bill says that none of the funds made available under this heading may be used to pay for the performance of abortions as a method of family planning.

So I just wanted to make perfectly clear my position as the author of this bill with respect to abortions.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Chairman, reclaiming my time, the gentleman's position on this is well-known.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, the gentlewoman makes the point that we should not use the abortion issue to talk about fungibility and I believe that she is correct. I think it should apply to everything. This is the reason I do strongly oppose Export-Import Bank money going to Red China. Their violations of civil liberties and abortions are good reasons why we should not do it, and yet they are the greatest recipient of our foreign aid from the Exim Bank. \$5.9 billion they have received over the years.

So I would say, yes, the gentlewoman is correct. All of these programs are fungible. And I agree that the wording in the bill says that our funds cannot be used. But when we put our funds in with other funds, all of the sudden they are in a pool and they can shift them around and there is a real thing called fungibility.

So once we send money to a country for any reason, we endorse what they do. Therefore, we should be rather cautious. As a matter of fact, if we were cautious enough we would not be in the business of taking money at the point of a gun from our American taxpayer, doing things that they find abhorrent around the world and imposing our will and our standards on them.

Mr. Chairman, birth control methods are not perfectly safe. As a gynecologist, I have seen severe complications from the use of IUDs and Depo-Provera and Norplant. Women can have strokes with birth control pill. These are not benign.

And my colleagues say we want to stop the killing and abortions, but every time that the abortion is done with fungible funds, it is killing a human being, an innocent human being. So for very real reasons, if we were serious about stopping this and protecting the American taxpayer, there is nothing wrong with some of these goals. I agree. As a gynecologist, I would agree with the goals, but they should not be done through coercion. They should be done through voluntary means through churches and charities. That is the way it should be done.

Mr. Chairman, we do not have the authority to coerce our people to work hard, pay their taxes, and then take the money into foreign countries and impose our will on them.

The CHAIRMAN. All time for debate has expired.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PAUL).

The question was taken; and the Chairman announced that the noes appeared to have it.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Chairman, I demand a recorded vote, and pending that I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to House Resolution 263, further proceedings on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PAUL) will be postponed.

The point of no quorum is considered withdrawn.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MS. JACKSON-LEE OF TEXAS

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will designate the amendment.

The text of the amendment is as follows:

The amendment offered by Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas:

Page 116, after line 5, insert the following:

SEC. ____ (a) Of the amounts made available in title III under the account "INTERNATIONAL MILITARY EDUCATION AND TRAINING", \$4,000,000 made available for the United States Army School of the Americas is transferred as follows:

(1) \$2,000,000 is transferred to the account "ECONOMIC SUPPORT FUND" in title II and made available for providing training and education of Tibetans in democracy activities and for monitoring the human rights situation in Tibet.

(2) \$2,000,000 is transferred to the account "UNITED STATES EMERGENCY REFUGEE AND MIGRATION ASSISTANCE FUND" in title II and made available for the Tibetan refugee program.

(b) Of the funds appropriated in this Act in title II under the account "ECONOMIC SUPPORT FUND", not less than \$2,250,000 shall be made available for providing training and education of Tibetans in democracy activities and for monitoring the human rights situation in Tibet.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE) and a Member opposed each will control 5 minutes.

Mr. CALLAHAN. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order against the amendment.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, in actuality I wish I did not have to rise to the floor to offer this amendment. I wish that Tibet was living in peace and harmony. I wish the Dalai Lama who is in exile, who I had an opportunity to meet and discuss these issues with, was free to go back to Tibet.

My amendment offers to provide \$4 million to the Economic Support Fund to provide training and education of

Tibetans in democracy activities and for monitoring the human rights situation in Tibet made worse by the activities of China. In addition, we would offer additional funds to be of assistance to the Tibetan refugee program.

Mr. Chairman, there is a need for something to be done. As we recently remembered the 10th anniversary of the Tiananmen Square tragedy, we continue to acknowledge the human rights abuses imposed by the Chinese government. Whether on the mainland or other areas, the Chinese have shown themselves to be opposed to the basic human rights principles we all aspire to achieve.

The Chinese have tripled their missile threat to Taiwan. China does not understand they cannot force a free and democratic Taiwan to unify and that they should accept its existence.

We still watch as China continues its occupation of Tibet. Since 1951, when the People's Republic of China invaded Tibet, hundreds of thousands of Tibetans have been killed outright or have died as a result of aggression, torture or starvation. Over 6,000 monasteries and temples have been destroyed. China has implemented a consistent pattern of suppression in an attempt to eradicate the Tibetan culture.

The continued population transfer of Chinese to Tibet threatens the existence of the unique national, cultural, and religious identity of the Tibetan people. The fragile Tibetan plateau is seriously threatened by the exploitation of its environmental resources by China.

The Tibetan people have demonstrated repeatedly for independence from China. Their struggle is non-violent and worthy of special attention. It is important to provide funding to encourage them in their efforts, encourage them in democracy, encourage them in being able to monitor the various human rights abuse.

Indeed, when in 1989 the Dalai Lama, leader of the Tibetan people, received the Nobel peace prize, the international community documented its commitment to free Tibet. There are 110,000 Tibetan refugees living in 53 settlements in India, Nepal and Bhutan. Over 1.2 million Tibetans have died in a widespread program of imprisonment torture and executions orchestrated by China. Tibet's unique culture and Buddhist religion have been systematically suppressed as China has looted Tibet's enormous mineral wealth, natural resources, and priceless art treasures, transporting them back to China to fuel its own economic growth.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to congratulate the Committee on International Relations for its removal of \$8 million from the World Bank to avoid this so-called apartheid system where there was a movement of 50,000 Chinese farmers into Tibet creating almost an apartheid system where the Tibetans would not have the good jobs or opportunities, but the Chinese would.

Coercive birth control policies, including forced abortion and steriliza-

tion, are continuing to wipe out the Tibetan people. It is important that the children be foremost in our focus on peaceful efforts to return Tibet to its people and to bring the Dalai Lama home.

I rise Mr. Chairman to offer an amendment which will take \$4 million out of the fund which contains the Foreign Ops funding for the School of the Americans, and redistribute it to the Economic Support Fund and the Emergency Refugee and Migrations Assistance Funds for specific use in Tibet.

As we recently remembered the 10th anniversary of the Tiananmen Square tragedy we continue to acknowledge the human rights abuses imposed upon the people by the Chinese government. Whether on the mainland or in other areas, the Chinese have shown themselves to be opposed to the basic human rights principles we all aspire to achieve.

The Chinese have tripled their missile threat to Taiwan. China does not understand they cannot force a free and democratic Taiwan to unify and that they should accept Taiwan as a friendly and independent neighbor and establish diplomatic ties.

And we all still watch as China continues its occupation of Tibet. Since 1951, when the People's Republic of China invaded Tibet hundreds of thousand of Tibetans have been killed outright or died as the result of aggression, torture or starvation. Over 6,000 monasteries and temples have been destroyed. China has implemented a consistent pattern of suppression in an attempt to eradicate the Tibetan religion and culture.

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Tibet's unique culture and Buddhist religion have been systematically suppressed as China has looted Tibet's enormous mineral wealth, natural resources and priceless art treasures, transporting them back to China to fuel its own economic growth.

An apartheid system is in place, following the mass migration of Chinese into Tibet. These immigrants now dominate the economy and hold all the best jobs. Employment prospects for Tibetans are virtually nonexistent.

Coercive birth control policies, including enforced abortion and sterilization, are completing the policies of wiping out Tibet's identity forever. We watch China, the world's most oppressive police state, control Tibet. There are between a quarter and half a million Chinese troops in Tibet. China permits no news media in Tibet. Amnesty International and foreign diplomats are refused permission to visit. Tibetans in Tibet are liable to interrogation, imprisonment and torture for having unofficial contact with foreigners.