

Chinese leader would have thought back in 1949/50 and then in 1959 that in 2000 China would still be grappling with the issue of Tibet. The old generation of Tibetans has gone, a second and a third generation of Tibetans have emerged. Irrespective of the passage of time the freedom struggle of the Tibetan people continues with undiminished determination. It is clear that this is not a struggle for the cause of one man nor is it that of one generation of Tibetans. It is therefore obvious that generations of Tibetans to come will continue to cherish, honor and commit themselves to this freedom struggle. Sooner or later, the Chinese leadership will have to face this fact.

The Chinese leaders refuse to believe that I am not seeking separation but genuine autonomy for the Tibetans. They are quite openly accusing me of lying. They are free to come and visit our communities in exile to find out the truth for themselves.

It has been my consistent endeavor to find a peaceful and mutually acceptable solution to the Tibetan problem. My approach envisages that Tibet enjoy genuine autonomy within the framework of the People's Republic of China. Such a mutually beneficial solution would contribute to the stability and unity of China—their two topmost priorities—while at the same time the Tibetans would be ensured of the basic right to preserve their own civilization and to protect the delicate environment of the Tibetan plateau.

In the absence of any positive response from the Chinese government to my overtures over the years, I am left with no alternative but to appeal to the members of the international community. It is clear now that only increased and concerted international efforts will persuade Beijing to change its policy on Tibet. In spite of immediate negative reactions from the Chinese side, I strongly believe that such expressions of international concern and support are essential for creating an environment conducive for the peaceful resolution of the Tibetan problem. On my part, I remain committed to the process of dialogue. It is my firm belief that dialogue and a willingness to look with honesty and clarity at the reality of Tibet can lead us to a viable solution.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the numerous individuals, governments, members of parliaments, non-governmental organizations and various religious orders for their support. The sympathy and support shown to our cause by a growing number of well-informed Chinese brothers and sisters is of special significance and a great encouragement to us Tibetans. I also wish to convey my greetings and express my deep sense of appreciation to our supporters all over the world who are commemorating this anniversary today. Above all I would like to express on behalf of the Tibetans our gratitude to the people and the Government of India for their unsurpassed generosity and support during these past forty years of our exile.

With my homage to the brave men and women of Tibet who have died for the cause of our freedom, I pray for an early end to the sufferings of our people.

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an amendment at the desk to the resolution be agreed to, the resolution, as amended, be agreed to, the amendment to the preamble be agreed to, and the preamble, as amended, be agreed to, the title amendment be agreed to, and the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table, and, finally, any statements be printed in the RECORD.

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

The amendment (No. 2884) was agreed to, as follows:

AMENDMENT NO. 2884

(Purpose: To provide a complete substitute)

On page 3, strike lines 2 through 16 and insert the following:

(1) March 10, 2000 should be recognized as the Tibetan Day of Commemoration in solemn remembrance of those Tibetans who sacrificed, suffered, and died during the Lhasa uprising, and in affirmation of the inherent rights of the Tibetan people to determine their own future; and

(2) March 10, 2000 should serve as an occasion to renew calls by the President, Congress, and other United States Government officials on the Government of the People's Republic of China to enter into serious negotiations with the Dalai Lama or his representatives until such a time as a peaceful solution, satisfactory to both sides, is achieved.

In the preamble, strike all the whereas clauses and insert the following:

Whereas during the period 1949–1950, the newly established communist government of the People's Republic of China sent an army to invade Tibet;

Whereas the Tibetan army was ill equipped and outnumbered, and the People's Liberation Army overwhelmed Tibetan defenses;

Whereas, on May 23, 1951, a delegation sent from the capital city of Lhasa to Peking to negotiate with the Government of the People's Republic of China was forced under duress to accept a Chinese-drafted 17-point agreement that incorporated Tibet into China but promised to preserve Tibetan political, cultural, and religious institutions;

Whereas during the period of 1951–1959, the failure of the Government of the People's Republic of China to uphold guarantees to autonomy contained in the 17-Point Agreement and the imposition of socialist reforms resulted in widespread oppression and brutality;

Whereas on March 10, 1959, the people of Lhasa, fearing for the life of the Dalai Lama, surrounded his palace, organized a permanent guard, and called for the withdrawal of the Chinese from Tibet and the restoration of Tibet's independence;

Whereas on March 17, 1959, the Dalai Lama escaped in disguise during the night after two mortar shells exploded within the walls of his palace and, before crossing the Indian border into exile two weeks later, repudiated the 17-Point Agreement;

Whereas during the 'Lhasa uprising' begun on March 10, 1959, Chinese statistics estimate 87,000 Tibetans were killed, arrested, or deported to labor camps, and only a small percentage of the thousands who attempted to escape to India survived Chinese military attacks, malnutrition, cold, and disease;

Whereas for the past forty years, the Dalai Lama has worked in exile to find ways to allow Tibetans to determine the future status of Tibet and was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts in 1989;

Whereas it is the policy of the United States to support substantive dialogue between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Dalai Lama or his representatives;

Whereas the State Department's 1999 Country Report on Human Rights Practices finds that "Chinese government authorities continued to commit serious human rights abuses in Tibet, including instances of torture, arbitrary arrest, detention without public trial, and lengthy detention of Tibetan nationalists for peacefully expressing their political or religious views.";

Whereas President Jiang Zemin pointed out in a press conference with President Clinton on June 27, 1997, that if the Dalai Lama recognizes that Tibet is an inalienable part of China and Taiwan is a province of China, then the door to negotiate is open;

Whereas all efforts by the U.S. and private parties to enable the Dalai Lama to find a negotiated solution have failed;

Whereas the Dalai Lama has specifically stated that he is not seeking independence and is committed to finding a negotiated solution within the framework enunciated by Deng Xiaoping in 1979; and

Whereas China has signed but failed to ratify the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: Now, therefore, be it

Amend the title of the resolution to read as follows: "Recognizing the plight of the Tibetan people on the forty-first anniversary of Tibet's 1959 Lhasa uprising and calling for serious negotiations between China and the Dalai Lama to achieve a peaceful solution to the situation in Tibet.".

The resolution (S. Res. 60), as amended, was agreed to.

The preamble, as amended, was agreed to.

The title amendment was agreed to.

The resolution, as amended, with its preamble, as amended, reads as follows:

(S. Res. 60 was not available for printing. It will appear in a future issue of the RECORD.)

ORDER FOR COMMITTEES TO FILE

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent that notwithstanding the adjournment of the Senate, committees have from 12 noon until 2 p.m. on Wednesday, March 15, 2000, in order to file legislative matters.

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

COMMEMORATING THE TWELFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE HALABJA MASSACRE

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now proceed to the immediate consideration of S. Con. Res. 95, submitted earlier by Senator LOTT for himself and others.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the resolution by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 95) commemorating the twelfth anniversary of the Halabja massacre.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the concurrent resolution.

Mr. GRAMS. I ask unanimous consent that the concurrent resolution be agreed to, the preamble be agreed to, the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table, and any statements relating to the resolution be printed in the RECORD.

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

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 95) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

The concurrent resolution, with its preamble, reads as follows:

S. CON. RES. 95

Whereas on March 16, 1988, Saddam Hussein attacked the Iraqi Kurdish city of Halabja with chemical weapons, including nerve gas, VX, and mustard gas;

Whereas more than 5,000 men, women, and children were murdered in Halabja by Saddam Hussein's chemical warfare, in gross violation of international law;

Whereas the attack on Halabja was part of a systemic, genocidal attack on the Kurds of Iraq known as the "Anfal Campaign";

Whereas the Anfal Campaign resulted in the death of more than 180,000 Iraqi Kurdish men, women, and children;

Whereas, despite the passage of 12 years, there has been no successful attempt by the United States, the United Nations, or other bodies of the international community to bring the perpetrators of the Halabja massacre to justice;

Whereas the Senate and the House of Representatives have repeatedly noted the atrocities committed by the Saddam Hussein regime;

Whereas the Senate and the House of Representatives have on 16 separate occasions called upon successive Administrations to work toward the creation of an International Tribunal to prosecute the war crimes of the Saddam Hussein regime;

Whereas in successive fiscal years monies have been authorized to create a record of the human rights violations of the Saddam Hussein regime and to pursue the creation of an international tribunal and the indictment of Saddam Hussein and members of his regime;

Whereas the Saddam Hussein regime continues the brutal repression of the people of Iraq, including the denial of basic human, political, and civil rights to Sunni, Shiite, and Kurdish Iraqis, as well as other minority groups;

Whereas the Secretary General of the United Nations has documented annually the failure of the Saddam Hussein regime to deliver basic necessities to the Iraqi people despite ample supplies of food in Baghdad warehouses;

Whereas the Saddam Hussein regime has at its disposal more than \$12,000,000,000 per annum (at current oil prices) to expend on all categories of human needs;

Whereas, notwithstanding a complete lack of restriction on the purchase of food by the Government of Iraq, infant mortality rates in areas controlled by Saddam Hussein remain above pre-war levels, in stark contrast to rates in United Nations-controlled Kurdish areas, which are below pre-war levels; and

Whereas it is unconscionable that after the passage of 12 years the brutal Saddam Hussein dictatorship has gone unpunished for the murder of hundreds of thousands of innocent Iraqis, the use of banned chemical weapons on the people of Iraqi Kurdistan, and innumerable other human rights violations: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That Congress—*

(1) commemorates the suffering of the people of Halabja and all the victims of the Anfal Campaign;

(2) condemns the Saddam Hussein regime for its continued brutality towards the Iraqi people;

(3) strongly urges the President to act forcefully within the United Nations and the United Nations Security Council to constitute an international tribunal for Iraq;

(4) calls upon the President to move rapidly to efficiently use funds appropriated by

Congress to create a record of the crimes of the Saddam Hussein regime;

(5) recognizes that Saddam Hussein's record of brutality and belligerency threaten both the people of Iraq and the entire Persian Gulf region; and

(6) reiterates that it should be the policy of the United States to support efforts to remove the regime headed by Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq and to promote the emergence of a democratic government to replace that regime, as set forth in Public Law 105-338.

#### RECOGNIZING THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE KOREAN WAR AND THE SERVICE BY MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the Senate now proceed to the immediate consideration of Calendar No. 446, Senate Joint Resolution 39.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the joint resolution by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S.J. Res. 39) recognizing the 50th anniversary of the Korean War and the service by members of the Armed Forces during such war, and for other purposes.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to the immediate consideration of the joint resolution.

Mr. GRAMS. I ask unanimous consent that the joint resolution be read the third time and passed, the preamble be agreed to, the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table, and any statements relating to the resolution be printed in the RECORD.

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

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 39) was read the third time and passed.

The preamble was agreed to.

The joint resolution, with its preamble, reads as follows:

S. J. RES. 39

Whereas on June 25, 1950, Communist North Korea invaded South Korea with approximately 135,000 troops, thereby initiating the Korean War;

Whereas on June 27, 1950, President Harry S Truman ordered military intervention in Korea;

Whereas approximately 5,720,000 members of the Armed Forces served during the Korean War to defeat the spread of communism in Korea and throughout the world;

Whereas casualties of the United States during the Korean War included 54,260 dead (of whom 33,665 were battle deaths), 92,134 wounded, and 8,176 listed as missing in action or prisoners of war; and

Whereas service by members of the Armed Forces in the Korean War should never be forgotten: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Congress—*

(1) recognizes the historic significance of the 50th anniversary of the Korean War;

(2) expresses the gratitude of the people of the United States to the members of the Armed Forces who served in the Korean War;

(3) honors the memory of service members who paid the ultimate price for the cause of freedom, including those who remain unaccounted for; and

(4) calls upon the President to issue a proclamation—

(A) recognizing the 50th anniversary of the Korean War and the sacrifices of the members of the Armed Forces who served and fought in Korea to defeat the spread of communism; and

(B) calling upon the people of the United States to observe such anniversary with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

#### ORDERS FOR MONDAY, MARCH 20, 2000

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment under the provisions of S. Con. Res. 94 until the hour of 12 noon on Monday, March 20. I further ask consent that on Monday, immediately following the prayer, the Journal of proceedings be approved to date, the morning hour be deemed expired, the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day, and the Senate then begin a period of morning business with Senators permitted to speak for up to 5 minutes each, with the following exceptions:

Senator DURBIN or his designee, from 12 to 2 p.m.; Senator THOMAS or his designee from 2 p.m. until 4 p.m.

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

#### PROGRAM

Mr. GRAMS. For the information of all Senators, the Senate will convene at noon on Monday, March 20, and will be in a period of morning business throughout the day. As a reminder, there will be no votes on Monday. On Tuesday, March 21, the Senate will begin consideration of H.R. 5, the Social Security earnings legislation. Under a previous agreement, there will be approximately 4 hours of debate with three amendments in order to the bill. Therefore, Senators can expect votes throughout the afternoon on Tuesday.

During the remainder of the week of March 20, the Senate could consider any of the following items: Crop insurance, budget resolution, agricultural sanctions, satellite bill, or the Export Administration Act, and therefore votes can be expected to occur.

#### ADJOURNMENT UNTIL MONDAY, MARCH 20, 2000

Mr. GRAMS. If there is no further business to come before the Senate, I now ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in adjournment under the provisions of S. Con. Res. 94.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate is adjourned until the hour of 12 noon on Monday, March 20, 2000.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 6:22 p.m. adjourned until Monday, March 20, 2000, at 12 noon.

#### NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 9, 2000: