

the Amendment, Third Grijalva of Arizona Amendment to H.R. 2822, "nay;" rollcall vote No. 406—On Agreeing to the Amendment, Beyer of Virginia Amendment to H.R. 2822, "nay;" rollcall vote No. 407—On Agreeing to the Amendment, Blackburn of Tennessee Amendment No. 6 to H.R. 2822, "aye;" rollcall vote No. 408—On Agreeing to the Amendment, Pearce of New Mexico Amendment No. 13 to H.R. 2822, "aye;" rollcall vote No. 409—On Agreeing to the Amendment, Hardy of Nevada Amendment to H.R. 2822, "aye."

Mr. CALVERT. Mr. Chair, I move that the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly, the Committee rose; and the Speaker pro tempore (Mrs. BLACK) having assumed the chair, Mr. COLLINS of Georgia, Acting Chair of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 2822) making appropriations for the Department of the Interior, environment, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2016, and for other purposes, had come to no resolution thereon.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Ms. Curtis, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate has passed a bill of the following title in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 286. An act to amend the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act to provide further self-governance by Indian tribes, and for other purposes.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, the Chair will postpone further proceedings today on motions to suspend the rules on which a recorded vote or the yeas and nays are ordered, or on which the vote incurs objection under clause 6 of rule XX.

Record votes on postponed questions will be taken later.

CALLING FOR SUBSTANTIVE DIALOGUE TO ADDRESS TIBETAN GRIEVANCES AND SECURE NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT FOR TIBETAN PEOPLE

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Madam Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the resolution (H. Res. 337) calling for substantive dialogue, without preconditions, in order to address Tibetan grievances and secure a negotiated agreement for the Tibetan people, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The text of the resolution is as follows:

H. RES. 337

Whereas Tibet is the center of Tibetan Buddhism, and His Holiness the Dalai Lama is the most revered figure in Tibetan Buddhism worldwide;

Whereas the Chinese response to the Tibetan Uprising in 1959 led to the exile of Tenzin Gyatso, His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama, Tibet's spiritual and temporal leader;

Whereas His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama, who on July 6, 2015, celebrates his 80th birthday, has for over 50 years in exile significantly advanced greater understanding, tolerance, harmony and respect among the religious faiths of the world;

Whereas His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama has led the effort to preserve the rich cultural, religious, historical and linguistic heritage of the Tibetan people while at the same time promoting the safeguarding of other endangered cultures throughout the world;

Whereas His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama has personally promoted democratic self-government for Tibetans in exile and in 2011 turned over political authority to the democratically elected leadership of the Central Tibetan Administration;

Whereas His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama has been greatly concerned by the state of the Tibetan environment and the exploitation of its natural resources, including fresh water—as rivers originating in the Tibetan plateau support one-third of the world's population—and has promoted environmental awareness in the region;

Whereas His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1989 in recognition of his efforts to seek a peaceful resolution to the situation in Tibet, and to promote non-violent methods for resolving conflict;

Whereas His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama was awarded the Congressional Gold Medal in 2007 in recognition of his promotion of democracy, freedom, and peace for the Tibetan people; his efforts to preserve the cultural, religious, and linguistic heritage of the Tibetan people; his promotion of non-violence; and his contributions to global religious understanding, human rights, and ecology;

Whereas His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama, as the spiritual leader of Tibetan Buddhism, publicly presented in 2011 the religious process which Tibetan Buddhists should follow regarding his reincarnation;

Whereas the Chinese central government has attempted to interfere with the reincarnation process and the practice of Tibetan Buddhist religious traditions; and Chinese officials assert that the failure to secure Beijing's approval on the Dalai Lama's reincarnation would make the process "illegal";

Whereas in the words of Party official Zhu Weiqun, "Decision-making power over the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama and over the end or survival of his lineage, resides with the central government of China.";

Whereas the Department of State's International Religious Freedom Report for 2013 noted that in Tibetan areas of China "[r]epression was severe and increased around politically sensitive events and religious anniversaries," and "[o]fficial interference in the practice of Tibetan Buddhist religious traditions continued to generate profound grievances";

Whereas the Department of State has designated China as a "country of particular concern" (CPC) for religious freedom since 1999, and in its 2013 human rights report details that "under the banner of maintaining social stability and combating separatism, the [Chinese] government has engaged in the severe repression of Tibet's unique religious, cultural, and linguistic heritage by, among other means, strictly curtailing the civil rights of China's ethnic Tibetan population, including the freedoms of speech, religion, association, assembly, and movement";

Whereas access to Tibetan areas of China for United States officials, journalists, and other United States citizens, is restricted by the Government of the People's Republic of

China, obscuring the full impact of the Chinese Government's policies, including the disappearance of Tibetans who sought to share information about human rights abuses on the Tibetan Plateau;

Whereas the Department of State's 2014 Report on Tibet Negotiations noted that "The Dalai Lama's representatives and Chinese officials have not met directly since the ninth round of dialogue in January 2010.";

Whereas, on March 10, 2015, the elected Tibetan leader Sikyong Dr. Lobsang Sangay publicly stated "The Envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama are ready to engage in dialogue with their Chinese counterpart any time and any place.";

Whereas it is the objective of the United States Government, consistent across administrations of different political parties and as articulated in the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002 (subtitle B of title VI of Public Law 107-228; 22 U.S.C. 6901 note) to promote dialogue between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Dalai Lama or his representatives to reach a negotiated agreement on Tibet;

Whereas China may be considering convening a Sixth Tibet Work Forum to set policy on Tibet for the next five years or so, with the last such work forum having been held in 2010; and

Whereas the American people have a long-held concern for and interest in the plight of the Tibetan people: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives—

(1) calls on the United States Government to fully implement sections 613(a) and 621(c) of the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002 by strongly encouraging representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China and His Holiness the Dalai Lama to hold substantive dialogue, in keeping with the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002 and without preconditions, in order to address Tibetan grievances and secure a negotiated agreement for the Tibetan people;

(2) calls on the United States Government to fully implement section 618 of the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002 in regard to the establishment of an office in Lhasa, Tibet, to monitor political, economic and cultural developments in Tibet, and to provide consular protection and citizen services;

(3) urges the United States Government—
(A) to consistently raise Tibetan human rights and political and religious freedom concerns at the United States-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue and other high-level bilateral meetings;

(B) and the Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues to offer their assistance to China in its preparations for a potential future Sixth Tibet Work Forum; and

(C) to call for the immediate and unconditional release of Tibetan political prisoners, including Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, the 11th Panchen Lama, who was taken into custody by the Chinese authorities and has been missing since 1995, Tenzin Delek Rinpoche, and Khenpo Kartse (Khenpo Karma Tsewang);

(4) calls on the United States Government to underscore that government interference in the Tibetan reincarnation process is a violation of the internationally recognized right to religious freedom and to highlight the fact that other countries besides China have long Tibetan Buddhist traditions, and that matters related to reincarnations in Tibetan Buddhism are of keen interest to Tibetan Buddhist populations worldwide;

(5) calls on the United States Government to recognize and increase global public awareness and monitoring of the upcoming electoral process through which the Tibetan

people in exile will choose the next democratically elected leader of the Central Tibetan Administration, the Sikyong;

(6) calls on the United States Government to fully implement section 616(b) of the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002 by using its voice and vote to encourage development organizations and agencies to design and implement development projects that fully comply with the Tibet Project Principles;

(7) calls on United States and international governments, organizations, and civil society to renew and reinforce initiatives to promote the preservation of the distinct religious, cultural, linguistic, and national identity of the Tibetan people;

(8) calls on the Government of the People's Republic of China to allow unrestricted access to the Tibetan areas of China to United States officials, journalists, and other United States citizens;

(9) affirms the Dalai Lama's desire for a negotiated agreement for the Tibetan people, and urges the Chinese government to enter into negotiations with the Dalai Lama and his representatives; and

(10) reaffirms the unwavering friendship between the people of the United States and the people of Tibet.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) and the gentleman from New York (Mr. ENGEL) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New Jersey.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Madam Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to submit statements or extraneous materials for the RECORD on this measure.

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

There was no objection.

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

Madam Speaker, I rise in strong support of House Resolution 337, calling for substantive dialogue without preconditions to help secure a negotiated agreement for the Tibetan people. I want to thank the gentleman from New York (Mr. ENGEL), my friend and colleague, for his leadership in introducing this bipartisan resolution.

This week, Madam Speaker, when so many voices around the world are joined in wishing his holiness the Dalai Lama a happy 80th birthday, it is a fitting time to recommit ourselves to Congress' longstanding support for the fundamental rights of the people of Tibet, because the situation in Tibet has never been more bleak. Those basic rights involve fundamental and foundational rights of freedom of religion.

The recent State Department Human Rights Report offered a withering criticism of the Chinese Government's oversight of Tibet and Tibetan areas in China. It said:

The government engaged in severe repression of Tibet's religious, cultural, and religious heritage by, among other means, strictly curtailing the civil rights of China's Tibetan population, including the rights of the freedom of speech, religion, association, assembly, and movement.

Unfortunately, the regime's interference extends even to the most elemental aspects of Tibetan Buddhist practice. This year marks the 20th anniversary of the disappearance of the Panchen Lama, who was detained by Chinese Government officials back in 1995 when he was a young child. Zhu Weiqun, a top Communist official dealing with ethnic and religious affairs, has claimed, "decisionmaking power over the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama and over the end or survival of his lineage resides with the central Government of China."

Sadly, we know that Tibetans have used self-immolations as a protest against religious and political oversight by the Chinese Government. There have been 134 self-immolations since 2009. The numbers are decreasing because of heavy security and punishments that target family members and entire villages. It is difficult to fathom the despair and the desperation felt by Tibetans who take this last act of defiance. The Chinese Government has blamed the Dalai Lama and "foreign forces" for self-immolations instead of looking at how their own despicable policies created such deep grievances.

Madam Speaker, the Tibetan people want to be free to practice their unique faith and to live by the dictates of their faith. This freedom is denied to them. The Chinese Government expanded its efforts last year to transform Tibetan Buddhism into a state-managed institution. They sought to undermine the devotion of the Tibetan people to the Dalai Lama and control the process of selecting Buddhist leaders. The Chinese Government wants a Tibetan Buddhism that is attractive to tourists and which allows the Communist Party to manage its affairs.

□ 1530

The U.N. Special Rapporteur on religion recently criticized China's efforts to control Tibetan Buddhism and the process of selecting leaders. He said:

The Chinese Government is destroying the autonomy of religious communities . . . creating schisms and pitting people against each other in order to exercise control.

This is exactly what the Chinese Government has done to other religious groups, including Catholics, Protestants, Muslims, and the Falun Gong. When the faithful don't fall in line, they are jailed.

Madam Speaker, the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, of which I serve as chairman, has a prisoner database that contains records on 617 Tibetan political and religious prisoners. Forty-four percent of those detained are monks, nuns, and religious teachers. Almost all were imprisoned since 2008.

Unfortunately, our ability to get accurate information in real time about this situation in Tibet is complicated by restrictions on access to Tibetan areas by United States officials, journalists, and other U.S. citizens. This has frustrated U.S. consular officers'

ability to provide services to American citizens.

In October 2013, the Chinese Government delayed access for over 48 hours during an emergency situation involving a bus accident that ultimately resulted in the deaths of three U.S. citizens and injuries to others.

As the Chinese Government pushes for new consulates and official facilities in the United States, our government must insist on an official presence in Lhasa, which is called for in section 618 of the Tibetan Policy Act, which became law in the year 2002.

The Dalai Lama is recognized internationally for his commitment to peaceful and nonviolent conflict resolution. The recipient of the 1989 Nobel Peace Prize and a Congressional Gold Medal winner in 2007, he has made clear his willingness to engage in dialogue with Chinese counterparts at any time, at any place, and without any preconditions.

Unfortunately, this commitment to peaceful dialogue is not reciprocal, and Chinese officials have not met directly with his representatives in over 5 years. This is the longest break since the dialogue—or so-called dialogue—started in 2002.

Indeed, a Chinese Government white paper on Tibet published this April states that China will "only talk with private representatives of the Dalai Lama" to discuss "the future of the Dalai Lama" and how he can "gain the forgiveness of the central government and the Chinese people."

That is outrageous. Instead of asking for the Dalai Lama's forgiveness for the decades of brutal repression, the Chinese Government demands that he ask the government of China for forgiveness.

This is unfortunate and highly counterproductive. If China's goal is to build a "harmonious society" in Tibet, which they love to tout, it cannot be done without the Dalai Lama. He is the spiritual leader of the Tibetan people. His views are widely shared throughout Tibetan society, and he can be a constructive partner with China in addressing continuing tensions and deep-seated grievances.

In light of this, the resolution before us calls for fuller implementation of existing U.S. law in support of direct dialogue between Chinese officials and the Dalai Lama; it calls for an official U.S. presence in Lhasa and urges our government to ensure that religious rights and religious freedom issues are consistently raised in the U.S.-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue and other high-level meetings.

It has many, many other provisions which I know the prime sponsor will elaborate.

Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

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

Madam Speaker, I rise in strong support of H. Res. 337, and I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California

(Ms. PELOSI), our leader and one of the greatest champions of Tibet's struggle for freedom.

Ms. PELOSI. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I commend him for being a champion on human rights throughout the world.

I am pleased to associate myself with the remarks of Chairman SMITH, and I thank him for his courageous, long-term dedication to human rights throughout the world and the recognition that what is happening in Tibet is a challenge to the conscience of our country and to the world.

I thank him for enumerating some of the concerns that we have, and I know that our distinguished ranking member will talk about some of what is contained in the resolution. I thank them both for their leadership.

Madam Speaker, I rise today in support of the resolution and in celebration of the 80th birthday of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, whose spiritual wisdom and friendship have been inspiring and uplifting to many Tibetans, Americans, and people throughout the world.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama is a transcendent presence on the international stage. As a compassionate religious leader, astute diplomat, and an undaunted believer in the power of nonviolence, the Dalai Lama has earned the respect of people from many nations, many backgrounds, and many faith traditions.

American Presidents and the American people have been inspired by His Holiness, who describes himself as a simple monk, "no more, no less." Those American Presidents began with Franklin Roosevelt, who sent His Holiness the Dalai Lama a watch with the phases of the Moon on it for his birthday when he was a little boy.

How prescient it was of President Roosevelt because His Holiness would not only be a religious figure, but one who related so positively to science and its mysteries.

To Tibetan Buddhists, His Holiness is the earthly manifestation of the living Buddha. To them and the international community, he is the spiritual leader of the Tibetan people. To millions of believers and admirers, he is a source of wisdom and compassion. To young people, His Holiness is a positive example of how to make the world a better place.

As our colleague mentioned, the Chinese Government has refused to meet with him. They are afraid to meet with him; they consider him a threat, and that is so unnecessary. They accuse him of being for independence when he has said for decades now that he is for autonomy for Tibet.

The Chinese Government has brutally repressed Tibet's unique religious, cultural, and linguistic heritage. The Chinese Government's oppression of the Tibetan people and the Chinese Communist Party's vitriolic campaign against the Dalai Lama continues, which, again, challenges us all to speak out.

Again, the situation in Tibet is a challenge to the conscience of the world. If freedom-loving people do not speak out against oppression in Tibet, then we have lost all moral authority to speak out on behalf of human rights anywhere in the world.

If it is a big country with whom we have big commercial interests, like China, it deters us from using our voices in support of human rights. How then can we turn to smaller, less economically significant countries and say, "But for you, the standard is different?"

The Congress must continue to stand with the Tibetan people and stand with His Holiness the Dalai Lama to ensure that Tibetan children are free to learn their language, practice their faith, and honor their culture as they live in peace.

Perhaps one of the most remarkable achievements of His Holiness is his profound and unbreakable connection with the people of Tibet. He has won the Nobel Peace Prize, as was indicated; and we honored him with a Congressional Gold Medal in 2007. At that time, it was an honor for all of us that President George W. Bush and Mrs. Bush attended that gold medal ceremony.

An 80th birthday is a significant milestone in any culture, none more so than in Tibet. This is a moment to celebrate; yet on his birthday, July 6, Tibetans were still not even allowed to utter the Dalai Lama's name.

In the Dalai Lama's homeland, more than 140 Tibetans have self-immolated to protest oppression by the Chinese Government and the Chinese Communist Party's vitriolic campaign against the exiled Tibetan religious; yet the people of Tibet persevere. They persevere in peace. The nonviolent nature of the Tibetan struggle should serve as an inspiration to a world riven by conflict and devastating acts of violence.

During his long life, the Dalai Lama has shown that harmony between peoples is based on freedom of expression, the freedom and courage to speak the truth and treat others with mutual respect and dignity.

I just recall one incident when I was visiting His Holiness in India at Dharamsala. He had lamas come from all over to visit with our bipartisan congressional delegation who were visiting him there.

After people got up and talked about all the oppression and the campaign against the Tibetans that was happening at that time, I got up to speak following that, and I said that we, in Congress, must act; we must act in terms of legislation to support the people of Tibet.

I said so in a very forceful way because it was so sad to hear the stories of what was happening in Tibet, and I was so strong in my reaction to it. His Holiness followed me in the program, and he said: "I pray that we can rid NANCY of her negative attitudes."

Anyway, there is no better way to honor the Dalai Lama on his 80th

birthday than by standing with him and the Tibetan people, vowing to keep their cause alive.

As we wish His Holiness a peaceful and joyous birthday, we must rededicate ourselves to the cause of peace in the world and peace in our lives.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

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

I rise in strong support of H. Res. 337. I am proud to have offered this resolution that calls for the Chinese Government to sit down with Tibet's leaders without preconditions, listen to their grievances, and work toward an agreement that guarantees the rights and security of the Tibetan people.

It also marks, as the Democratic leader pointed out, the 80th birthday of the spiritual leader of the Tibetan people, His Holiness, the 14th Dalai Lama.

I have had the privilege to meet His Holiness, who is truly a remarkable man, such a gentle spirit driven from within by incredible strength and courage, a person of such humor and kindness whose life has been marked by struggle and setback.

I first met him here in Washington many years ago. When you meet him, no matter your faith or background, you cannot help but feel the bond of common humanity and be drawn into his cause and the cause of the Tibetan people; indeed, many in Congress have gotten behind this effort.

Let me, again, especially thank Leader PELOSI. There has been no greater champion in Congress for the Tibetan struggle for freedom. For years, she has held a light to the challenges the Tibetan people face in preserving their unique culture, language, and religion. I am honored that she is cosponsoring this resolution.

Let me also thank Asia Subcommittee Chairman MATT SALMON, and co-chairmen of the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission, Representative JIM MCGOVERN and Representative JOSEPH PITTS, for supporting this measure. I thank my friend Mr. SMITH of New Jersey as well.

Since 1951, the people of Tibet have lived under the shadow of the People's Republic of China, without guarantees of even the most basic rights and with no say in deciding Tibet's future. The Dalai Lama has described the cultural genocide the Tibetan people have endured, forced assimilation and loss of language and cultural identity.

Today, as human rights conditions for the Tibetan people deteriorate and continue to deteriorate, as more monasteries come under government control, as more people are arrested, the desperation of the Tibetan people grows.

Tragically, more than 140 Tibetans have burned themselves alive in protest of growing oppression; yet the Chinese authorities have not changed course. Despite talk of mutual respect and social harmony, the reality in Tibet tells a very, very different story.

Today, we look to the example set by the Dalai Lama and call for meaningful change for the Tibetan people. The Dalai Lama's life has been a peaceful journey toward a better future for his people. It is in that spirit that we call on the Chinese Government to negotiate without preconditions.

His Holiness has shown that democratic institutions can thrive alongside spiritual leadership. It is in that spirit that we urge the Chinese Government not to involve itself in the spiritual succession process for the next Dalai Lama, should there be one.

The Dalai Lama has championed freedom of expression and freedom of conscience to promote mutual understanding and harmony. It is in this spirit that this resolution calls on China to allow unrestricted access to officials, journalists, and other American citizens.

Let's not forget the United States has an obligation to hold up these freedoms as well. That is why this measure also calls on our own government to press the issues of human rights, political rights, and religious rights at the highest levels of the Chinese Government and to call for the immediate release of Tibetan political prisoners.

Throughout his life, the Dalai Lama has worked for a peaceful path forward for the Tibetan people. We are grateful for his example and his wisdom. With this resolution, we urge China's leaders to do the right thing for Tibet.

I enthusiastically support this resolution; I urge my colleagues to do the same, and I reserve the balance of my time.

□ 1545

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Madam Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. ENGEL. Madam Speaker, it is now my pleasure to yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MCGOVERN), the co-chair of the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission and a longtime supporter of the Dalai Lama and of Tibet.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from New York (Mr. ENGEL) for yielding me the time and for his leadership on this issue and on so many other issues.

I also want to thank Chairman ROYCE; Subcommittee Chairman SALMON; my friend and fellow co-chair of the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission, Congressman JOE PITTS; as well as my colleague from New Jersey, Congressman SMITH, for working in such a bipartisan way to bring this resolution to the House floor during this week when we are all celebrating the 80th birthday of His Holiness, the Dalai Lama.

I especially want to thank Democratic Leader PELOSI for her many years of leadership and support of the Tibetan people. She is a true champion in the struggle to protect their basic human rights and autonomy.

We are all here because we care about the fundamental human rights of Ti-

betans, including the right to worship as they choose and to enjoy and protect their culture. But we may be running out of time to guarantee those rights.

As we celebrate the 80th birthday of Tenzin Gyatso, the 14th Dalai Lama, the Chinese Government has recently asserted its right to approve his successor. The very continuation of the ancient line of Tibetan spiritual leadership and reincarnation is in question.

Next Tuesday, on July 14, the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission will hold a hearing on the situation in Tibet with the aim of identifying new, creative ideas to advance the basic human rights of Tibetans and to ensure Tibetan autonomy.

I share the concerns of my colleagues that the situation in Tibet is dire.

Since 2009, more than 130 Tibetans inside China have taken the unimaginable step of setting themselves on fire. At least 112 are believed to have died. Some chose self-immolation to protest Chinese Government policies, others, to call for the return of the Dalai Lama. In response, Chinese authorities have intensified official reprisals.

Surely the people of Tibet must wonder whether anyone is hearing their desperate cries. With this resolution, we are attempting to send a clear message back to Tibet that, yes, we hear you. You are not alone.

Regrettably, the human rights abuses in Tibet are neither new nor unknown. On the contrary, Tibet is a very sensitive issue in U.S.-China relations. U.S. policy is supposed to be guided by the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002, which encourages dialogue between the Chinese Government and representatives of the Dalai Lama, but Chinese intransigence has closed down dialogue since 2010.

China also severely restricts access to Tibet and Tibetan regions, especially for U.S. journalists, officials, and citizens, even though, I might add, Chinese citizens and officials enjoy unrestricted access here in the United States.

In April, the Chinese Government issued a new white paper on Tibet, with its own unbelievable version of history and an unprecedented demand that the Dalai Lama publicly state that Tibet has been an integral part of China since antiquity as a precondition for improving relations with China.

Madam Speaker, we need to be doing something different. We need to have the guts to take some action. Everyone in the world says how much they admire the Dalai Lama. Every head of state, every international organization all declare how much they care about Tibet and worry about Tibetan human rights abuses, but things have only gotten worse. We must all come together now to change the status quo, to change the game the Chinese Government has been playing for so many decades.

The situation is urgent. It can wait no longer. And shame on all of us if we

stand by with empty words and continue to watch the people of Tibet suffer and their culture, religion, and way of life be exterminated day by day, year by year, until nothing is left.

So I thank my colleagues for bringing this urgent matter to the attention of Congress, and I urge all my colleagues to support H. Res. 337.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Madam Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRABACHER).

Mr. ROHRABACHER. What happens when the United States remains silent? What happens is repression and torture and the expansion of dictatorship, and, in the end, it makes the United States vulnerable.

We have sat back and permitted the Chinese to take whatever course they want to suppress the people of Tibet for over three decades now. And has it made Tibet any better, the people any freer that we haven't put any demands on the Communist Party in Beijing?

Has it made war less likely between the United States?

Has there been any more, because we have given them such elbow room, that the Chinese dictators in Beijing have decided to move on and treat their people a little bit better?

No. What has happened is there has been a growing repression and a growing chance of an altercation, an international altercation between China and its neighbors and, yes, the United States.

It is time we stand up for the people of the world who are fighting, struggling for their freedom, knowing that is what will make us secure, and nowhere is that more clear than in Tibet.

The people of Tibet are not Chinese people who are just reunited by the Communist Chinese with the motherland in China. It has been a distinct culture for centuries. And it wasn't until long after the Communist Chinese had taken over the rest of China that they invaded Tibet and subjugated its people.

The Dalai Lama is the spiritual leader, but also a symbolic force for freedom of religion and humanitarianism in this world.

We, as Americans, need to make sure that we are on the side of the Dalai Lama and the people of Tibet and in no way could our actions be interpreted, our silence be interpreted to be acquiescence to the repression that the people of Tibet have been experiencing these last three and four decades.

I rise in support of H. Res. 337, and I thank my colleagues for the leadership that they have provided on this issue. Let's make sure America stands tall, stands strong, and stands with the people of Tibet and other people seeking their freedom.

Mr. ENGEL. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume to close.

I urge my colleagues to support H. Res. 337. I think everyone who spoke

made excellent points, and we are all of one mind. This is the right thing to do.

We should support this resolution to honor the deep humility, respect, and peace that the Dalai Lama represents to us and to people around the world. We should support this resolution to underscore our friendship and commitment to the Tibetan people and to all people who are oppressed and deprived of their basic rights.

Let me say that again, and to all people who are oppressed and deprived of their basic rights.

And we should support this resolution on behalf of the Chinese people themselves, the growing number of people inside China who understand China itself will be more prosperous and more successful when their government chooses to be genuinely open and respectful of all peoples and cultures.

I urge my colleagues to support H. Res. 337, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Madam Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time. I want to again thank my good friend and colleague ELIOT ENGEL for his excellent resolution. It is a bipartisan resolution.

I want to also thank Leader PELOSI for her eloquence on the floor today and for her love and respect that she has conveyed for decades to the Dalai Lama and the people of Tibet.

This is a bipartisan resolution. It shows, I think, that we are absolutely united, and I think that is an important message to send at this critical juncture.

I also want to point out to my colleagues that China really is a place where much is never as it seems to be. People who take trips there, go on tours there, even Members of Congress who travel there come away with a Potemkin village viewpoint of what is happening, especially when torture and other degrading acts and cruelty is routinely visited upon and imposed upon people that the Chinese Government deems to be of lesser value.

We see it with the Falun Gong. We see it with underground Christians. We see it with the Uighurs. And we see it in Tibet, where there has been a systematic effort to eradicate the culture of Tibet. It is genocide. They even used forced abortion as a way of genocide to kill the children of Tibetan mothers.

Years ago I held a hearing in the mid-1990s, and it was on torture in the People's Republic of China. And let us not forget, Chinese law proscribes torture. It prohibits torture. It is all a nice paper promise. It doesn't mean anything.

They have also signed the convention against torture, the U.N. convention, and they love to ballyhoo that when they are at international fora and when their people travel here to the United States.

But let's not forget, as well, that China took out a reservation to the U.N. Convention Against Torture, Article 20, that exempts it from accepting

any investigation about abuses. So the only one who will investigate China is the Chinese Government itself. They will not allow the International Committee of the Red Cross. They will not allow U.S. representatives and other bilateral or, I should say, multilateral organizations to come in and investigate allegations of torture.

Back in the early 1990s, again, I held this hearing, one of many. I have held 53 hearings on human rights abuses in China over the years. But this one we had six people, all of whom had been tortured with impunity by the Chinese Government.

Palden Gyatso, who is a Buddhist monk, came to the Rayburn Building, tried to go through the security there and was stopped. He was stopped because he brought with him some of the implements of torture that are used routinely by the Chinese Government—cattle prods and other hideous instruments that are put under the arms and elsewhere to cause horrific damage and pain to the victim—and he described in detail at the hearing what he personally went through.

Regrettably, that continues to this day. The State Department's report on human rights recently released reminds us that electric shocks, exposure to cold, and severe beatings, as well as extreme physical labor, are routinely used against Tibetans and Tibetan Buddhists, in particular, just like they were against Palden Gyatso years ago.

So it has not changed. It has actually gotten worse. And again, this resolution brings the light and scrutiny that is so necessary to these hideous practices.

So again, I urge my colleagues to support it, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, H. Res. 337, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

EXPRESSING SENSE OF HOUSE REGARDING SREBRENICA

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Madam Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the resolution (H. Res. 310) expressing the sense of the House of Representatives regarding Srebrenica.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The text of the resolution is as follows:

H. RES. 310

Whereas July 2015 will mark 20 years since the genocide at Srebrenica in Bosnia and Herzegovina;

Whereas beginning in April 1992, aggression and ethnic cleansing perpetrated by Bosnian

Serb forces resulted in a massive influx of Bosniaks seeking protection in Srebrenica and its environs, which the United Nations Security Council designated a "safe area" within the Srebrenica enclave in Resolution 819 on April 16, 1993, under the protection of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR);

Whereas the UNPROFOR presence in Srebrenica consisted of a Dutch peacekeeping battalion, with representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and the humanitarian medical aid agency Medecins Sans Frontieres (Doctors Without Borders) helping to provide humanitarian relief to the displaced population living in conditions of massive overcrowding, destitution, and disease;

Whereas early in 1995, an intensified blockade of the enclave by Bosnian Serb forces deprived the entire population of humanitarian aid and outside communication and contact, and effectively reduced the ability of the Dutch peacekeeping battalion to deter aggression or otherwise respond effectively to a deteriorating situation;

Whereas beginning on July 6, 1995, Bosnian Serb forces attacked UNPROFOR outposts, seized control of the isolated enclave, held captured Dutch soldiers hostage and, after skirmishes with local defenders, took control of the town of Srebrenica on July 11, 1995;

Whereas an estimated one-third of the population of Srebrenica at the time, including a relatively small number of soldiers, attempted to pass through the lines of Bosnian Serb forces to the relative safety of Bosnian-government controlled territory, but many were killed by patrols and ambushes;

Whereas the remaining population sought protection with the Dutch peacekeeping battalion at its headquarters in the village of Potocari north of Srebrenica, but many of these individuals were with seeming randomness seized by Bosnian Serb forces to be beaten, raped, or executed;

Whereas Bosnian Serb forces deported women, children, and the elderly in buses, but held over 8,000 primarily Bosniak men and boys at collection points and sites in northeastern Bosnia and Herzegovina under their control, and then summarily executed these captives and buried them in mass graves;

Whereas Bosnian Serb forces, hoping to conceal evidence of the massacre at Srebrenica, subsequently moved corpses from initial mass grave sites to many secondary sites scattered throughout parts of eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina under their control;

Whereas the International Commission for Missing Persons (ICMP) deserves recognition for its assistance to the relevant institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina in accounting for close to 90 percent of those individuals reported missing from Srebrenica, despite active attempts to conceal evidence of the massacre, through the careful excavation of mass graves sites and subsequent DNA analysis which confirmed the true extent of the massacre;

Whereas the massacre at Srebrenica was among the worst of many atrocities to occur in the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina from April 1992 to November 1995, during which the policies of aggression and ethnic cleansing pursued by Bosnian Serb forces with the direct support of the Serbian regime of Slobodan Milosevic and its followers ultimately led to the displacement of more than 2,000,000 people, more than 100,000 killed, tens of thousands raped or otherwise tortured and abused, including at concentration camps in the Prijedor area, with the innocent civilians of Sarajevo and other urban