

do not support their own oppressive, brutal killing regime.

The Islamic Republic of Iran, in my judgment, their days are limited, and it is time for the people of Iran to take back their country. And when I say this to the people of Iran, know that the American people stand with the people of Iran. Know that this House stands with the people of Iran and that this Congress and President stand with the people of Iran.

Madam Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume for the purpose of closing.

Madam Speaker, Iranian people want the same thing that Americans want: peace, opportunity, and security. It is critical that we now support the peaceful protestors in Iran today.

Today's resolution shows that we stand in solidarity with the Iranian people in their struggle against the cruelty of their regime, and I hope all Members will join me in supporting this important measure.

Madam Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. ENGEL. Madam Speaker, I rise in strong support of H. Res. 752, a resolution supporting human rights and fundamental freedoms in Iran. Today, we send a vital message to the protest movement in Iran that—as they face persecution and violence—the House of Representatives stands in solidarity with them.

For decades, the Iranian regime has oppressed dissidents. From the 1988 massacre to the 2009 protests to today, people who dared to speak against the Iranian regime have been subject to torture, arrest, disappearance and worse. Iran's prisons are some of the most notorious in the world.

The protests have escalated since the Iranian regime lied to the world about their responsibility for shooting down the Ukrainian jetliner. It is unfathomable that for three days, the Iranian regime sought to hide their culpability.

The United States must do what we can to help support those who fight for human rights and freedom in Iran. This resolution outlines some important steps, including expanding internet access for Iranian dissidents by easing the restrictions on sharing software and hardware for personal communication devices.

I would also add that if the Trump administration wants to send a message of solidarity to the Iranian protest movement, they should repeal the ill-conceived Muslim ban, which has prevented Iranians from visiting and studying in America.

The American people have no quarrel with the people of Iran. America should welcome those Iranians who want to see America for themselves.

I'd like to thank Mr. DEUTCH and Mr. WILSON for spearheading this important resolution.

Mr. GOSAR. Madam Speaker, I rise today in support of H. Res. 752, which reinforces our nation's support for the rights of the Iranian people to have free speech, free association and fair elections. For over 40 years the Iranian regime has engaged in terrorism and has been a declared enemy of freedom, human rights, and freedom of religion. The Iranian re-

gime, a designated state sponsor of terrorism, states its antipathy for the United States on a daily basis. The regime has engaged in atrocities in Iran and throughout the world.

Recently President Trump authorized the removal of Iranian terrorist Qassem Soleimani. The president had the legal authority to do so under the Congressionally enacted AUMF pertaining to Iraq. In the United States, expatriates from Iran applauded this as long overdue justice for a leading proponent of terror, death and destruction. This action should have been taken years ago by the Obama Administration. Instead of addressing Iran's terrorist actions, the prior administration gave aid and support to the terrorist regime. No doubt some of that aid, including billions of dollars, was used to kill innocent people. It took the courage of a real leader to be bold and do what needed to be done.

Our country supports the Iranian opposition via the Organization of Iranian American Communities. Their fight is our fight. With patience, a new day will dawn in Iran and its people will be free again.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. PHILLIPS) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, H. Res. 752, 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.

TIBETAN POLICY AND SUPPORT ACT OF 2019

Mr. PHILLIPS. Madam Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 4331) to modify and reauthorize the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002, and for other purposes, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 4331

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 “Tibetan Policy and Support Act of 2019”.

SEC. 2. MODIFICATIONS TO AND REAUTHORIZATION OF TIBETAN POLICY ACT OF 2002.

(a) TIBETAN NEGOTIATIONS.—Section 613 of the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002 (22 U.S.C. 6901 note) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)—

(A) in paragraph (1)—

(i) by inserting “without preconditions” after “a dialogue”; and

(ii) by inserting “or democratically-elected leaders of the Tibetan community” after “his representatives”; and

(iii) by adding at the end before the period the following: “and should coordinate with other governments in multilateral efforts toward this goal”;

(B) by redesignating paragraph (2) as paragraph (3); and

(C) by inserting after paragraph (1) the following:

“(2) POLICY COMMUNICATION.—The President shall direct the Secretary of State to ensure that, in accordance with this Act, United States policy on Tibet, as coordinated by the United States Special Coordi-

nator for Tibetan Issues, is communicated to all Federal departments and agencies in contact with the Government of the People's Republic of China.”;

(2) in subsection (b)—

(A) in the matter preceding paragraph (1)—

(i) by striking “until December 31, 2021”; and

(ii) by inserting “and direct the Department of State to make public on its website” after “appropriate congressional committees”;

(B) in paragraph (1), by striking “and” at the end;

(C) in paragraph (2), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”; and

(D) by adding at the end the following:

“(3) the steps taken by the United States Government to promote the human rights and distinct religious, cultural, linguistic, and historical identity of the Tibetan people, including the right of the Tibetan people to select, educate, and venerate their own religious leaders in accordance with their established religious practice and system.”.

(b) TIBET PROJECT PRINCIPLES.—Section 616 of such Act (22 U.S.C. 6901 note) is amended—

(1) in subsection (d), by striking paragraphs (1) through (9) and inserting the following:

“(1) neither provide incentive for, nor facilitate the migration and settlement of, non-Tibetans into Tibet;

“(2) neither provide incentive for, nor facilitate the transfer of ownership of, Tibetan land or natural resources to non-Tibetans;

“(3) neither provide incentive for, nor facilitate the involuntary or coerced relocation of, Tibetan nomads from their traditional pasture lands into concentrated settlements;

“(4) be implemented in consultation with the Tibetan people and, as appropriate, after the conduct of cultural and environmental impact assessments;

“(5) foster self-sufficiency and self-reliance of Tibetans;

“(6) respect human rights and Tibetan culture and traditions;

“(7) be subject to ongoing monitoring and evaluation; and

“(8) be conducted, as much as possible, in the Tibetan language.”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(e) UNITED STATES ASSISTANCE.—The President shall provide funds to nongovernmental organizations to support sustainable development, cultural and historical preservation, health care, education, and environmental sustainability projects for Tibetan communities in Tibet, in accordance with the principles specified in subsection (d) and with the concurrence of the United States Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues under section 621(d).”.

(c) DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION RELATING TO TIBET.—Section 618 of such Act (22 U.S.C. 6901 note) is amended to read as follows:

“SEC. 618. DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION RELATING TO TIBET.

“(a) UNITED STATES CONSULATE IN LHASA, TIBET.—The Secretary should seek to establish a United States consulate in Lhasa, Tibet—

“(1) to provide consular services to United States citizens traveling in Tibet; and

“(2) to monitor political, economic, and cultural developments in Tibet.

“(b) POLICY.—The Secretary may not authorize the establishment in the United States of any additional consulate of the People's Republic of China until such time as a United States consulate in Lhasa, Tibet, is established under subsection (a).”.

(d) RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN TIBET.—Section 620(b) of such Act (22 U.S.C. 6901 note) is amended by adding at the end before the period the following: “, including with respect

to the reincarnation system of Tibetan Buddhism”.

(e) UNITED STATES SPECIAL COORDINATOR FOR TIBETAN ISSUES.—Section 621 of such Act (22 U.S.C. 6901 note) is amended—

(1) in subsection (c) to read as follows:

“(c) OBJECTIVES.—The objectives of the Special Coordinator are to—

“(1) promote substantive dialogue without preconditions between the Government of the People’s Republic of China and the Dalai Lama or his representatives or democratically-elected leaders of the Tibetan community leading to a negotiated agreement on Tibet and coordinate with other governments in multilateral efforts toward this goal;

“(2) encourage the Government of the People’s Republic of China to address the aspirations of the Tibetan people with regard to their distinct historical, cultural, religious, and linguistic identity;

“(3) promote the human rights of the Tibetan people;

“(4) promote activities to preserve environment and water resources of the Tibetan plateau;

“(5) encourage sustainable development in accordance with section 616(d), cultural and historical preservation, health care, education, and environmental sustainability projects for Tibetan communities in Tibet; and

“(6) promote access to Tibet in accordance with the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act of 2018 (Public Law 115-330).”;

(2) in subsection (d)—

(A) in paragraph (5), by striking “and” at the end;

(B) by redesignating paragraph (6) as paragraph (8); and

(C) by inserting after paragraph (5) the following:

“(6) provide concurrence with respect to all projects carried out pursuant to assistance provided under section 616(e);

“(7) seek to establish international diplomatic coalitions to—

“(A) oppose any effort by the Government of the People’s Republic of China to select, educate, and venerate Tibetan Buddhist religious leaders in a manner inconsistent with Tibetan Buddhism in which the succession or identification of Tibetan Buddhist lamas, including the Dalai Lama, should occur without interference, in a manner consistent with Tibetan Buddhists’ beliefs; and

“(B) ensure that the identification and installation of Tibetan Buddhist religious leaders, including any future Dalai Lama, is determined solely within the Tibetan Buddhist faith community, in accordance with the universally-recognized right to religious freedom; and”;

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(e) PERSONNEL.—The Secretary shall ensure that the Office of the Special Coordinator is adequately staffed at all times to assist in the management of the responsibilities of this section.”.

SEC. 3. STATEMENT OF POLICY REGARDING THE SUCCESSION OR REINCARNATION OF THE DALAI LAMA.

(a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following:

(1) Notwithstanding that Tibetan Buddhism is practiced in many countries including Bhutan, India, Mongolia, Nepal, the People’s Republic of China, the Russian Federation, and the United States, the Government of the People’s Republic of China has repeatedly insisted on its role in managing the selection of Tibet’s next spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama, through actions such as those described in the “Measures on the Management of the Reincarnation of Living Buddhas” in 2007.

(2) On March 19, 2019, Chinese Ministry of Affairs spokesperson reiterated that the “reincarnation of living Buddhas including the Dalai Lama must comply with Chinese laws and regulations and follow religious rituals and historical conventions”.

(3) The Government of the People’s Republic of China has interfered in the process of recognizing a successor or reincarnation of Tibetan Buddhist leaders, including in 1995 by arbitrarily detaining Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, a 6-year old boy who was identified as the 11th Panchen Lama, and purporting to install its own candidate as the Panchen Lama.

(4) The 14th Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, issued a statement on September 24, 2011, explaining the traditions and spiritual precepts of the selection of Dalai Lamas, setting forth his views on the considerations and process for selecting his successor, and providing a response to the Chinese government’s claims that only the Chinese government has the ultimate authority in the selection process of the Dalai Lama.

(5) The 14th Dalai Lama said in his statement that the person who reincarnates has sole legitimate authority over where and how he or she takes rebirth and how that reincarnation is to be recognized and if there is a need for a 15th Dalai Lama to be recognized, then the responsibility shall primarily rest with the officers of the Dalai Lama’s Gaden Phodrang Trust, who will be informed by the written instructions of the 14th Dalai Lama.

(6) Since 2011, the 14th Dalai Lama has reiterated publicly on numerous occasions that decisions on the successions, emanations, or reincarnations of the Dalai Lama belongs to the Tibetan Buddhist faith community alone.

(7) On June 8, 2015, the United States House of Representatives unanimously approved House Resolution 337 which 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”.

(8) On April 25, 2018, the United States Senate unanimously approved Senate Resolution 429 which “expresses its sense that the identification and installation of Tibetan Buddhist religious leaders, including a future 15th Dalai Lama, is a matter that should be determined solely within the Tibetan Buddhist faith community, in accordance with the inalienable right to religious freedom”.

(9) The Department of State’s Report on International Religious Freedom for 2018 reported on policies and efforts of the Government of the People’s Republic of China to exert control over the selection of Tibetan Buddhist religious leaders, including reincarnate lamas, and stated that “U.S. officials underscored that decisions on the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama should be made solely by faith leaders.”.

(b) STATEMENT OF POLICY.—It is the policy of the United States that—

(1) decisions regarding the selection, education, and veneration of Tibetan Buddhist religious leaders are exclusively spiritual matters that should be made by the appropriate religious authorities within the Tibetan Buddhist tradition and in the context of the will of practitioners of Tibetan Buddhism;

(2) the wishes of the 14th Dalai Lama, including any written instructions, should play a determinative role in the selection,

education, and veneration of a future 15th Dalai Lama; and

(3) interference by the Government of the People’s Republic of China or any other government in the process of recognizing a successor or reincarnation of the 14th Dalai Lama and any future Dalai Lamas would represent a clear violation of the fundamental religious freedoms of Tibetan Buddhists and the Tibetan people.

(c) HOLDING CHINESE OFFICIALS RESPONSIBLE FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM ABUSES TARGETING TIBETAN BUDDHISTS.—It is the policy of the United States to consider senior officials of the Government of the People’s Republic of China who are responsible for, complicit in, or have directly or indirectly engaged in the identification or installation of a candidate chosen by China as the future 15th Dalai Lama of Tibetan Buddhism to have committed—

(1) a gross violation of internationally recognized human rights for purposes of imposing sanctions with respect to such officials under the Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act (22 U.S.C. 2656 note); and

(2) a particularly severe violation of religious freedom for purposes of applying section 212(a)(2)(G) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1182(a)(2)(G)) with respect to such officials.

(d) DEPARTMENT OF STATE PROGRAMMING TO PROMOTE RELIGIOUS FREEDOM FOR TIBETAN BUDDHISTS.—Consistent with section 401 of the Frank R. Wolf International Religious Freedom Act (Public Law 114-281; 130 Stat. 1436), of the funds available to the Department of State for international religious freedom programs, the Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom should support efforts to protect and promote international religious freedom in China and for programs to protect Tibetan Buddhism in China and elsewhere.

SEC. 4. POLICY REGARDING THE ENVIRONMENT AND WATER RESOURCES ON THE TIBETAN PLATEAU.

(a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following:

(1) The Tibetan Plateau contains glaciers, rivers, grasslands, and other geographical and ecological features that are crucial for supporting vegetation growth and biodiversity, regulating water flow and supply for an estimated 1.8 billion people. Global warming threatens the glaciers in Tibet that feed the major rivers of South and East Asia, which supply freshwater to an estimated 1.8 billion people.

(2) Rising global temperatures—especially in the Tibetan Plateau where the average temperature has increased at twice the global average—will result in variable water flows in the future.

(3) The construction in Tibet of large hydroelectric power dams intended to be used in part to transmit power to Chinese provinces outside of Tibet, as well as other infrastructure projects, including the Sichuan-Tibet railroad, may also lead to the resettlement of thousands of Tibetans and transform the environment.

(4) The grasslands of Tibet play a significant role in carbon production and sequestration and Tibet’s rivers support wetlands that play a key role in water storage, water quality, and the regulation of water flow, support biodiversity, foster vegetation growth, and act as carbon sinks.

(5) Rising temperatures and intensifying evaporation, can affect the water supply, cause desertification, and destabilize infrastructure on the Tibetan Plateau and beyond.

(6) Traditional Tibetan grassland stewardship practices, which can be key to mitigating the negative effects of warming on the Tibetan Plateau, are undermined by the

resettlement of nomads from Tibetan grasslands.

(7) The People's Republic of China has approximately 20 percent of the world's population but only around 7 percent of the world's water supply, while many countries in South and Southeast Asia rely on the rivers flowing from the Himalayas of the Tibetan Plateau.

(8) The People's Republic of China has already completed water transfer programs diverting billions of cubic meters of water yearly and has plans to divert more waters from the Tibetan plateau in China.

(b) **WATER RESOURCES IN TIBET AND THE TIBETAN WATERSHED.**—The Secretary of State, in coordination with relevant agencies of the United States Government, should—

(1) pursue collaborative efforts with Chinese and international scientific institutions, as appropriate, to monitor the environment on the Tibetan Plateau, including glacial retreat, temperature rise, and carbon levels, in order to promote a greater understanding of the effects on permafrost, river flows, grasslands and desertification, and the monsoon cycle;

(2) engage with the Government of the People's Republic of China, the Tibetan people, and nongovernmental organizations to encourage the participation of Tibetan nomads and other Tibetan stakeholders in the development and implementation of grassland management policies, in order to utilize their indigenous experience in mitigation and stewardship of the land and to assess policies on the forced resettlement of nomads; and

(3) encourage a regional framework on water security, or use existing frameworks, such as the Lower Mekong Initiative, to facilitate cooperative agreements among all riparian nations that would promote transparency, sharing of information, pollution regulation, and arrangements on impounding and diversion of waters that originate on the Tibetan Plateau.

SEC. 5. DEMOCRACY IN THE TIBETAN EXILE COMMUNITY.

(a) **FINDINGS.**—Congress finds the following:

(1) The 14th Dalai Lama advocates the Middle Way Approach, which seeks genuine autonomy for the six million Tibetans in Tibet.

(2) The 14th Dalai Lama has overseen a process of democratization within the Tibetan polity, beginning in Tibet in the 1950s and continuing in exile from the 1960s to the present and to address the needs of the Tibetan people until such time as genuine autonomy in Tibet is realized, the 14th Dalai Lama devolved his political responsibilities to the elected representatives of the Tibetan people in exile in 2011.

(3) In 2011 and again in 2016, members of the Tibetan exile community across some 30 countries held elections to select political leaders to serve in the Central Tibetan Administration parliament and as chief executive, elections which were monitored by international observers and assessed to be free and fair.

(4) The Dalai Lama has said that the Central Tibetan Administration will cease to exist once a negotiated settlement has been achieved that allows Tibetans to freely enjoy their culture, religion and language in Tibet.

(b) **SENSE OF CONGRESS.**—It is the sense of Congress that—

(1) Tibetan exile communities around the world should be commended for the adoption of a system of self-governance with democratic institutions to choose their leaders;

(2) the Dalai Lama should be commended for his decision to devolve political authority to elected leaders in accordance with democratic principles; and

(3) as consistent with section 621(d)(3) of the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002 (22 U.S.C. 6901 note), the United States Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues should continue to maintain close contact with the religious, cultural, and political leaders of the Tibetan people.

SEC. 6. SUSTAINABILITY IN TIBETAN COMMUNITIES SEEKING TO PRESERVE THEIR CULTURE, RELIGION, AND LANGUAGE.

The Secretary of State should urge the Government of Nepal to honor the Gentleman's Agreement with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and to provide legal documentation to long-staying Tibetan residents in Nepal who fled a credible threat of persecution in Tibet in order to allow them to more fully participate in the economy and society of Nepal.

SEC. 7. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.

(a) **OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES SPECIAL COORDINATOR FOR TIBETAN ISSUES.**—There is authorized to be appropriated \$1,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 2021 through 2025 for the Office of the United States Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues.

(b) **TIBETAN SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM AND NGAWANG CHOEPHEL EXCHANGE PROGRAMS.**—

(1) **TIBETAN SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM.**—There is authorized to be appropriated \$675,000 for each of the fiscal years 2021 through 2025 to carry out the Tibetan scholarship program established under section 103(b)(1) of the Human Rights, Refugee, and Other Foreign Relations Provisions Act of 1996 (Public Law 104-319; 22 U.S.C. 2151 note).

(2) **NGAWANG CHOEPHEL EXCHANGE PROGRAMS.**—There is authorized to be appropriated \$575,000 for each of the fiscal years 2021 through 2025 to carry out the “Ngwang Choepel Exchange Programs” (formerly known as “programs of educational and cultural exchange between the United States and the people of Tibet”) under section 103(a) of the Human Rights, Refugee, and Other Foreign Relations Provisions Act of 1996.

(c) **HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AND SUPPORT TO TIBETAN REFUGEES IN SOUTH ASIA.**—Amounts authorized to be appropriated to carry out chapter 9 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962 for each of the fiscal years 2021 through 2025 are authorized to be made available for humanitarian assistance, including food, medicine, clothing, and medical and vocational training, for Tibetan refugees in South Asia who have fled facing a credible threat of persecution in the People's Republic of China.

(d) **TIBETAN AUTONOMOUS REGION AND TIBETAN COMMUNITIES IN CHINA.**—There is authorized to be appropriated \$8,000,000 for each year of the fiscal years 2021 through 2025 under chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2346 et seq.) to support activities which preserve cultural traditions and promote sustainable development, education, and environmental conservation in Tibetan communities in the Tibet Autonomous Region and in other Tibetan communities in China.

(e) **ASSISTANCE FOR TIBETANS IN INDIA AND NEPAL.**—There is authorized to be appropriated \$6,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 2021 through 2025 under part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2151 et seq.) for programs to promote and preserve Tibetan culture and language development, and the resilience of Tibetan communities in India and Nepal, and to assist in the education and development of the next generation of Tibetan leaders from such communities.

(f) **TIBETAN GOVERNANCE.**—There is authorized to be appropriated \$3,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 2021 through 2025 for programs to strengthen the capacity of Tibetan

institutions and strengthen democracy, governance, information and international outreach, and research.

(g) **VOICE OF AMERICA AND RADIO FREE ASIA.**—

(1) **VOICE OF AMERICA.**—There is authorized to be appropriated \$3,344,000 for each of the fiscal years 2021 through 2025 to Voice of America for broadcasts described in paragraph (3).

(2) **RADIO FREE ASIA.**—There is authorized to be appropriated \$4,060,000 for each of the fiscal years 2021 through 2025 to Radio Free Asia for broadcasts described in paragraph (3).

(3) **BROADCASTS DESCRIBED.**—Broadcasts described in this paragraph are broadcasts to provide uncensored news and information in the Tibetan language to Tibetans, including Tibetans in Tibet.

SEC. 8. DETERMINATION OF BUDGETARY EFFECTS.

The budgetary effects of this Act, for the purpose of complying with the Statutory Pay-As-You-Go Act of 2010, shall be determined by reference to the latest statement titled “Budgetary Effects of PAYGO Legislation” for this Act, submitted for printing in the Congressional Record by the Chairman of the House Budget Committee, provided that such statement has been submitted prior to the vote on passage.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. PHILLIPS) and the gentleman from Texas (Mr. MCCAUL) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Minnesota.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. PHILLIPS. Madam Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on H.R. 4331.

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

There was no objection.

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

Madam Speaker, I thank Chairman MCGOVERN, along with Mr. SMITH, Mr. SUOZZI, and Mr. MEADOWS, for authoring this very important bill to update U.S. policies that support the preservation of Tibetan culture and faith as well as the environment of the Tibetan Plateau, which is vital not just to the Tibetan people, but also to the Himalayan ecosystem.

I also thank Speaker PELOSI, who has been a tireless champion of the Tibetan people for many years. She has a long history of shining a spotlight on human rights abuses in China and has ensured that this Chamber does its part to defend our values.

The Tibetan Policy and Support Act of 2019 updates existing legislation from 2002 to make sure our policies keep pace with the challenges facing Tibet today. This legislation comes at a very critical time for the Tibetan people as they seek to preserve their cultural and religious identity.

The Chinese Government has repeatedly asserted that it has a role to play in the selection of the next Dalai

Lama. This is analogous to the Government of Italy announcing that it can ignore Catholic tradition and unilaterally decide who the next Pope should be. Such disregard for the Tibetan faith is an undue violation of international religious freedoms.

This bill sends a very clear message to Chinese officials that, if they interfere in the selection process for a future Dalai Lama or other Tibetan Buddhist leader, they can be sanctioned by the United States for violating human rights.

The Tibetan Policy and Support Act also reauthorizes programs to preserve Tibetan culture and environment.

The Tibetan Plateau is home to 10 major Asian river systems feeding 10 different Asian states, and these resources are being threatened by large-scale hydroelectric projects. These rivers are of immense importance to the livelihood of not only Tibetan communities, but also the nearly 2 billion people in South and East Asia.

I urge all Members to join me in supporting this very good measure to continue underscoring our support for the Tibetan people.

Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, DC, January 10, 2020.

Hon. ELIOT L. ENGEL,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs,
House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR CHAIRMAN ENGEL: This is to advise you that the Committee on the Judiciary has now had an opportunity to review the provisions in H.R. 4331, the "Tibetan Policy and Support Act of 2019" that fall within our Rule X jurisdiction. I appreciate your consulting with us on those provisions. The Judiciary Committee has no objection to your including them in the bill for consideration on the House floor, and to expedite that consideration is willing to forgo action on H.R. 4331, with the understanding that we do not thereby waive any future jurisdictional claim over those provisions or their subject matters.

In the event a House-Senate conference on this or similar legislation is convened, the Judiciary Committee reserves the right to request an appropriate number of conferees to address any concerns with these or similar provisions that may arise in conference.

Please place this letter into the Congressional Record during consideration of the measure on the House floor. Thank you for the cooperative spirit in which you have worked regarding this matter and others between our committees.

Sincerely,

JERROLD NADLER,
Chairman.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Washington, DC, January 24, 2020.

Hon. JERROLD NADLER,
Chairman, Committee on Judiciary,
House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR CHAIRMAN NADLER: I am writing to you concerning H.R. 4331, the Tibetan Policy and Support Act of 2019. I appreciate your willingness to work cooperatively on this legislation.

I acknowledge that provisions of the bill fall within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Judiciary under House Rule X, and that

your Committee will forgo action on H.R. 4331 to expedite floor consideration. I further acknowledge that the inaction of your Committee with respect to the bill does not waive any future jurisdictional claim over the matters contained in the bill that fall within your jurisdiction. I will also support the appointment of Committee on Judiciary conferees during any House-Senate conference convened on this legislation.

Lastly, I will ensure that our exchange of letters is included in the Congressional Record during floor consideration of the bill. Thank you again for your cooperation regarding the legislation. I look forward to continuing to work with you as the measure moves through the legislative process.

Sincerely,

ELIOT L. ENGEL,
Chairman.

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

Madam Speaker, I rise today in strong support of H.R. 4331, the Tibetan Policy and Support Act.

The Chinese Communist Party's, or CCP's, crusade against faith is the greatest threat to religious freedom in the world today. This bill reminds us that the religious persecution didn't begin under Chairman Xi. The CCP has always hated and feared religion.

Since China invaded Tibet in 1950, the CCP has tried to dismantle Tibetan Buddhism. In 1995, Chinese authorities kidnapped the second highest Tibetan faith leader and replaced him with a fraud.

The Chinese Communist Party wants to ensure Tibetan leaders are chosen according to their political agenda, not according to Tibetan Buddhist religious practices.

This bill states that the United States will not accept the CCP's destruction of Tibetan Buddhism, we will not accept fraudulent religious leaders appointed by Beijing, and we will not accept the CCP's control of deeply spiritual beliefs.

Madam Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this important measure, and I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Madam Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MCGOVERN), the author of this important bill and the chairman of the Rules Committee.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding and for his advocacy on behalf of this issue.

And the ranking member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, I am delighted to be here with him, and I want to thank him for his work on this.

Madam Speaker, I rise in strong support of H.R. 4331, the Tibetan Policy and Support Act. I am proud to have introduced this legislation with Congressman CHRIS SMITH of New Jersey and with Senators RUBIO and CARDIN in the Senate.

I thank Chairman ENGEL and Ranking Member MCCAUL for their strong support of this bill and, more importantly, for their tireless leadership in support of the human rights of the Tibetan people.

□ 1430

Madam Speaker, our bill updates and strengthens the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002 to address the challenges facing the Tibetan people. Perhaps as importantly, it reaffirms America's commitment to the idea that human rights matter, that we care about those who are oppressed, that we stand with those who are struggling for freedom, and that we have a moral obligation to do something when we see something that is not right.

It should be clear that we support a positive and productive U.S.-China relationship, but it is essential that the human rights of all the people of China are respected by their government.

Unfortunately, the human rights situation in Tibet has gotten much worse. The Chinese Government has refused to enter into genuine dialogue with Tibetan leaders. Restrictions on access to Tibet, both for Tibetans and foreigners, have been tightened. International journalists have stated that the isolation of Tibet is as bad as North Korea, allowing human rights abuses and environmental degradation to be concealed from the outside world.

Last year, the Congress passed the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act to demand that American journalists, diplomats, and tourists be given the same freedom to travel to Tibet that Chinese officials have to travel freely in America. I hope to see a report from the State Department, which was due in December, describing the steps that the administration has taken to implement this policy over the last year.

In addition, the Chinese Government has used advanced technology to intensify security and surveillance.

It has ratcheted up its so-called anti-crime and vice campaign targeting Tibetans.

Religious freedom continues to be severely curtailed, including through mandatory political education for religious leaders and arrests of Tibetans who display a photo of the Dalai Lama.

The Panchen Lama turned 30 years old this year, but he and his family remain incommunicado since being kidnapped by Chinese authorities in 1995, making him the world's longest-serving prisoner of conscience.

Finally, Chinese officials have intervened to select Tibetan Buddhist leaders and threatened to choose the successor to the 14th Dalai Lama. These actions are in clear violation of China's international obligations to protect religious freedom.

It is essential that U.S. policy toward Tibet be updated and strengthened. The bill we are considering today would establish as U.S. policy that the succession or reincarnation of Tibetan Buddhist leaders, including a future 15th Dalai Lama, is an exclusively religious matter that should be decided solely by the Tibetan Buddhist community.

Send a clear message that Chinese officials who interfere in the succession or reincarnation process will be subject

to targeted financial, economic, and visa-related sanctions, including those contained in the Global Magnitsky Act.

Strengthen the role of the State Department Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues by including a mandate to work multilaterally to promote a genuine dialogue.

Mandate that no new Chinese consulates should be established in the United States until a U.S. consulate is established in Tibet's historical capital of Lhasa.

Direct the State Department to begin collaborative, multinational efforts to protect the environment and water resources of the Tibetan Plateau.

Support democratic governance in the Tibetan exile community.

The Dalai Lama should be commended for his decision to devolve political authority to elected leaders.

The Tibetan exile community is also to be commended for adopting a system of self-governance with democratic institutions to choose their own leaders, including holding multiple free and fair elections to select its parliament and chief executive.

The adoption of democracy within the Tibetan exile community ensures that the Central Tibetan Administration in Dharamsala, India, legitimately represents and reflects the aspirations of the Tibetan people around the world.

Standing together, the American people will remain steadfast partners of the Tibetan people. For 60 years, His Holiness the Dalai Lama and so many Tibetans have remained separated from their land and their home, while the people in Tibet endure some of the harshest human rights abuses in the world.

I am proud that today the House of Representatives is taking this important step to strengthen U.S. policy in support of the Tibetan people.

Madam Speaker, I thank my colleagues for their support, and I urge all of my colleagues to support this important legislation.

Mr. MCCAUL. Madam Speaker, let me first commend the Congressman from Massachusetts and his great work on this issue. He has been a really strong fighter for democracy and freedom-loving peoples around the world, whether it be the Hong Kong Democracy Act or the Tibetan people and their persecution in China. I thank Chairman MCGOVERN so much, from the bottom of my heart.

Madam Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOH), the Republican leader of the Asia, the Pacific, and Nonproliferation Subcommittee.

Mr. YOH. Madam Speaker, I thank Chairman MCCAUL and Mr. PHILLIPS for their leadership on this. Also, Mr. MCGOVERN has been a strong leader on this, and I appreciate it.

This is the way Congress should work. We come together on a common goal; we get things passed; and it makes a significant difference.

Madam Speaker, I rise today in support of H.R. 4331, the Tibetan Policy and Support Act of 2019.

Madam Speaker, I thank Representative MCGOVERN for his work on this important and timely legislation, which would reauthorize the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002 and reaffirm our commitment to the Tibetan people.

Since the 1950 invasion of the Chinese PLA forces, Tibet has been a land of occupation and oppression. For too long, the Chinese Government has utilized campaigns of aggression and intimidation in trying to silence and bully its neighbor and territories.

In that regard, the people of Tibet have not been spared. The number of displaced Tibetans number in the hundreds of thousands, with 110,000 taking refuge just in India alone.

I join my colleagues in Congress in reiterating our support for Tibet, the Tibetan people, and the protection of their distinct cultural identity.

I also believe that as one of Tibet's strongest partners, the U.S. Congress should hear from Tibet's political and spiritual leaders, which is why I introduced legislation last year to invite the Dalai Lama to address a Joint Meeting of Congress via teleconference to discuss the peaceful solutions to international conflicts.

Madam Speaker, this legislation has wide bipartisan support in the House. To the people of Tibet, know that we support your fight against adversity and for religious freedom.

This legislation makes it clear that the U.S. Congress will not sit on the sidelines and watch as a spectator but, rather, advocate strongly for increased protections for the Tibetan people.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia (Ms. NORTON).

Ms. NORTON. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I thank him and my colleague on the other side of the aisle for this resolution.

Madam Speaker, I had the honor and the privilege of visiting the Dalai Lama, and I welcome this opportunity to speak of his work and the danger he and his people face.

H.R. 4331 is a bipartisan and bicameral bill to update and strengthen the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002 in light of new human rights, religious, and environmental challenges the Tibetan people face today.

In the 18 years since the original Tibetan Policy Act became law, human rights in Tibet has grown worse. The Chinese Government has refused any discussions with Tibetan leaders and has threatened to select Tibetan Buddhist leaders, in clear violation of international religious freedom and Tibetan Buddhist practices.

The new Tibet Policy and Support Act before us today writes into law U.S. policy that the succession or reincarnation of Buddhist leaders is a religious matter to be determined by the Tibetan Buddhist community alone.

Among other provisions, interference in the process of recognizing a successor or reincarnation of the Dalai Lama would result in targeted financial, economic, and visa-related sanctions.

When the Dalai Lama visited the Nation's capital in 2011, I introduced a resolution welcoming Tibet's spiritual leader and recognizing his lifelong commitment to world peace and human rights.

The Dalai Lama welcomed me into his home in 2008 as part of a congressional delegation led by Speaker NANCY PELOSI.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Ms. HOULAHAN). The time of the gentlewoman has expired.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Madam Speaker, I yield an additional 1 minute to the gentlewoman.

Ms. NORTON. Madam Speaker, I appreciate the additional time.

Tibetan children, monks, and exiles lined the streets to greet our delegation in 2008.

Our congressional visit heightened attention to continuing cultural genocide and brutality in Tibet. Our delegation had a meeting and lunch with the Nobel Prize-winning Dalai Lama and his government in exile.

The Dalai Lama and his people have nothing to fight with except their own nonviolent determination and the willingness of free people everywhere to raise their voices.

The Tibet Policy and Support Act before us today is important to convey and reinforce the understanding that the United States will never cease working to assure complete freedom for the Dalai Lama and his people.

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

Mr. PHILLIPS. Madam Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. SUOZZI), my friend.

Mr. SUOZZI. Madam Speaker, I rise today in support of H.R. 4331, the bipartisan Tibetan Policy and Support Act of 2019.

By voting for this legislation, we are standing with the Tibetans and their religious and cultural way of life that the Chinese Government is seeking to eliminate.

Since President Nixon went to China in 1971, most Americans have believed that with increased exposure to our economic system and to our system of democracy, the Chinese Government would become more like us. That simply hasn't happened.

Whether it is the Hong Kong students, Uighur Muslims, Christians, or Tibetan Buddhists, China does not support our way of life. It does not support religious liberty.

Freedom of religion is a fundamental freedom. We must raise our voices loud and clear for all that are harassed, imprisoned, tortured, persecuted, or killed seeking to live out their faith. An attack on religious freedom anywhere is an attack on religious freedom everywhere.

Chinese officials in Tibet continue to severely restrict religious freedom, speech, movement, and assembly. They continue to restrict access to the unique cultural environment of Tibet.

In July 2018, authorities displaced over 200 under-18-year-old monks from at least two monasteries in Tibet and forced them to attend government-run schools.

In October 2018, Chinese Communist Party officials opened a new political education camp to train Tibetans in Chinese Communist Party ideology, particularly grassroots party-building and antiseparatism.

International journalists have said that the isolation of Tibet is worse than that of North Korea, allowing the Chinese Government to conceal human rights abuses.

The aspirations of the Tibetan people for dignity and freedom are viewed by the Chinese Government as a direct threat to their existence as an authoritarian state.

Reeducation and surveillance methods pioneered in Tibet are being used to target the Uighurs in Xinjiang, where the Chinese Government has created a surveillance state unlike anything the world has ever seen.

The Chinese Communist Party's repugnant campaign to destroy the cultural and religious identities of Tibetans and Uighurs requires more than just words of condemnation. We must stand up to any country that restricts individual liberty and religious freedom.

This legislation would urge the administration to place economic or visa sanctions against Chinese officials who interfere with the process of recognizing the next Dalai Lama.

Chairman MCGOVERN and I hosted a townhall in Queens, New York, this past summer with the largest Tibetan diaspora community, and we learned of their inability to visit their families in Tibet.

This legislation will also direct the Department of State to establish a United States consulate in Lhasa, Tibet, to enable U.S. citizens better access to Tibet.

I am proud to be part of a legislative body that continues to advocate for Tibetans, for Uighurs, and for human rights and the rule of law in China.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Madam Speaker, I yield an additional 2 minutes to the gentleman.

Mr. SUOZZI. To quote the Dalai Lama: "Tragedy should be utilized as a source of strength. No matter what sort of difficulties, how painful experience is, if we lose hope, that's our real disaster."

The United States' strength is in our values, and our policies should not be separated from them. We must not lose hope.

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Mr. MCCAUL. Madam Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

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

The United States has a longstanding record of bipartisan support for the Tibetan people. Religious tolerance is an American principle, an American value, and one that we must express around the entire world.

I am pleased that we are moving forward with a measure today that updates United States policy so that we are not just continuing, but we are strengthening this support.

I hope all Members will join me today in supporting this important measure that shows our commitment to preserving Tibet's unique culture, lands, language, and religion.

I am also proud of the bipartisan work that this Chamber has passed on China human rights. This is the third bill this Chamber has passed in recent months, the Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act, and now this bill on Tibet.

I urge support for this bill and passage in the Senate of each of these terribly important measures.

I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MCCAUL. Madam Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Again, I want to thank Chairman MCGOVERN for strengthening U.S. support for Tibet at this critical moment.

As the Tibetan community prepares for the Dalai Lama's succession, we must rein in the Communist Party's attempts to destroy the autonomy of Tibetan Buddhism.

I also want to thank the gentleman from Minnesota, and Speaker PELOSI for her strong support for human rights and religious liberties. The gentleman stood on the floor when we debated the Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act. That is what we do as Americans: We defend freedom and we defend democracy. This Nation was formed upon the idea of religious freedom and religious liberty.

Under the Communist Party of China's rule, religion really doesn't exist. In fact, it almost prohibits religious freedom. It persecutes religious freedom. It kills religious freedom.

The Dalai Lama himself was exiled to India where he is today. The Communist Party of China is brutally murdering and oppressing the Tibetan people; oppressing religious freedom and liberty, oppressing the Uighurs where they sit in camps, as I speak, with no voice, and, yes, they suppress the Christian community as well.

So, again, I want to thank my friends on the other side of the aisle, and I thank Speaker PELOSI so much for supporting this legislation as we stood together to support Hong Kong and the people of Hong Kong.

We spoke earlier today about supporting the people of Iran against theocracy and oppression, and we support the Tibetan people in their effort to exercise their religious freedom and liberty.

Madam Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Madam Speaker, I thank Ranking Member MCCAUL for his important words.

Madam Speaker, I am honored to yield such time as she may consume to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI), our distinguished Speaker of the House.

Ms. PELOSI. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding and for bringing this legislation to the floor.

I am pleased to follow the distinguished ranking member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Mr. MCCAUL. One of the joys of my service in Congress is to work in a bipartisan way on issues that relate to respecting human rights and religious freedom throughout the world.

I thank Mr. MCCAUL for his leadership and Chairman ELIOT ENGEL for his leadership in facilitating this all through the committee. I thank Mr. PHILLIPS for giving us access to the floor today.

Madam Speaker, I rise in support of the Tibetan Policy and Support Act of 2019, a strong, bipartisan and urgently needed legislation to strengthen America's commitment to the Tibetan people and their right to safeguard their distinct identity.

I salute Chairman JIM MCGOVERN, the chair of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China and chair of the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission. I thank Mr. MCGOVERN for being a leading voice in Congress and in the country for human rights.

I thank Congressman CHRIS SMITH—the gentleman and I go back decades. He is the ranking member of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, and also the co-chair of the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission. I have worked with the gentleman for three decades to hold China accountable for its oppression, as well as for promoting human rights throughout the world. I thank Mr. SMITH for his leadership.

I also want to acknowledge Senator MARCO RUBIO for his leadership in the United States Senate. As we discussed, he has been on some of the issues we have talked about, supporting the people of Hong Kong, the Uighurs, and now this important legislation. I thank Senator MARCO RUBIO for his leadership and courage in facilitating some of this legislation through the Senate.

For many of us, the fight to protect human rights in China has been a long-term commitment, as I acknowledged with Mr. SMITH, as well as Frank Wolf, our former Member who worked with CHRIS SMITH so closely.

In 1987 when I first came to Congress, I heard Tom Lantos—we mentioned the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission—he invited me to meet His Holiness the Dalai Lama to be in a small meeting with him. I heard His Holiness first describe his "Middle Way Approach" for Tibet. It was an approach about autonomy, not about independence.

So, when the Chinese say that it is about independence, that is not what it ever has been about as far as His Holiness' presentation on Capitol Hill or to the world.

Among other priorities, the Dalai Lama proposed that Tibet be allowed to be a zone of peace; that the Tibetan people's human rights be respected; and Tibet's natural environment be safeguarded.

He said: "The Tibetan people must once again be free to develop culturally, intellectually, economically and spiritually and to exercise basic democratic freedoms."

I just wanted to acknowledge that because he talks about Tibet's natural environment.

His Holiness was the first Nobel Laureate, the first winner of the Nobel Peace Prize to have presented in the testimonial his protection for the environment. It has been there for a long time. For many of us, the fight, again, has been a long time.

Twenty years after that meeting, in 2007, and in 2008, as Speaker of the House, I had the privilege of visiting Dharamshala. Our delegation was blessed to be received by His Holiness the Dalai Lama, and we had the opportunity to see the aspirations of the Tibetan people firsthand, especially in the eyes of the Tibetan schoolchildren we met.

It was a bipartisan delegation. We spoke to big crowds waving American flags. It was a beautiful thing. But it is important to note the children, the beautiful Tibetan children. In order for their children to be raised in the tradition of the Tibetan language, culture, and religion, parents had to send them from Tibet to India because, sadly, Tibetan aspirations of observing their culture are under threat because of brutal repression in Beijing. That was in 2008.

Then in 2015, along with Chairman MCGOVERN, the gentleman and I led the first congressional delegation in decades to enter Tibet. In Jokhang Temple, Potala Palace, and Sera Monastery, we again witnessed the deep faith of the Tibetan people and the beauty of their culture.

We also saw the Potemkin Village-like posturing of the Chinese regime. For example, they said: We are going to invite you to a family's home so you can see how Tibetan families thrive in their own culture, language, and religion.

So we go to the home—and you probably have never seen this in anybody's home—but they had a gigantic picture of President Xi in the living room. And then they talked about their grandchildren and that the daughter had taken them to school, and that is why they weren't there.

So, when the daughter then came back from so-called taking them to school, we said: Well, how are the children?

And she said: Children? What children?

They had these fake visits to homes to show us how they were respecting Tibetan culture.

And then years later in 2017, I led another bipartisan delegation, this time to Nepal in India, where we were blessed to be received by His Holiness the Dalai Lama again. We saw once more the beautiful children again waving American flags, but no closer to an autonomous Tibet.

Today, we are here to pass the Tibetan Policy and Support Act. In 2002, Congress passed the Tibetan Policy Act to support the aspirations of the Tibetan people to safeguard their distinct identity, as His Holiness had suggested.

But in the years since, China has cruelly accelerated its outrageous aggression against the Tibetan people. As the CECC, the Congressional-Executive Commission on China concluded in its most recent report, Beijing is increasing Sinicization efforts and restricting the religious freedom of Tibetan Buddhists, including with mandatory political education for religious leaders, large-scale evictions from Buddhist monasteries, and by replacing images of the His Holiness the Dalai Lama with past and current party leaders.

The report also concludes that Beijing is expanding a massive surveillance regime to intimidate Tibetans and prevent them from practicing their culture or observing their religion. We could see the cameras every place we went, especially near the monasteries.

Pursuing massive infrastructure projects—I have seen that over the years. And we fought some of this in the World Bank then with Chris Cox and others here then on the Republican side of the aisle, working together—pursuing massive infrastructure projects that violate the social, economic, and cultural rights of Tibetans, forcing scores of families from their homes and even detaining monks for peaceful protest.

And tightening access to Tibet for international visitors. International journalists have stated that the isolation of Tibet is worse than North Korea, allowing the Chinese Government to conceal human rights abuses and environmentally damaging large-scale projects.

Today, the House is taking action to update and strengthen the Tibetan Policy Act to address these growing threats.

We are supporting the Tibetan people's right to religious freedom and genuine autonomy by formally establishing a U.S. policy that the Tibetan Buddhist community has exclusive right to choose its religious leaders, including a future 15th Dalai Lama.

Imagine that the Chinese Government should think that they should be choosing the next Dalai Lama of the Tibetan Buddhists.

We are sending Beijing a clear signal that they will be held accountable for interfering in Tibet's religious and cultural affairs, making it clear that Chinese officials who meddle in the proc-

ess of recognizing the new Dalai Lama will be subject to targeted sanctions, including those in the Global Magnitsky Act.

We are protecting Tibet's environmental and cultural rights, working with international governments and the business community to ensure the self-sufficiency of the Tibetan people and protect the environment and water resources of the Tibetan Plateau. This is really very important to the sustainability of our planet.

This legislation also deploys America's diplomatic weight to encourage a genuine dialogue between Tibetan leaders and Beijing. It is unacceptable that the Chinese Government still refuses to enter into a dialogue with Tibetan leaders.

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Congress will—and must—continue to take action to hold China accountable for its many abuses which sadly target so many, including the Uighur community—which Mr. MCCAUL and Mr. RUBIO in a bipartisan way had acted upon—which faces horrific human rights abuses, including forced sterilizations and the mass incarceration of millions. This is happening as we speak. Millions of people are subjected to this in China.

And, as we know, the current party chairman of the Uighur Autonomous Region, Secretary Chen, previously served as the top party official of the Tibetan Autonomous Region. So oppressive was he, they rewarded him by sending him to the Uighur Autonomous Region. That is so sad.

We also see human rights abuses, as we know, in Hong Kong, where millions are fighting for the democratic freedoms they were promised and, on the mainland, where journalists, human rights lawyers, Christians, and democracy advocates languish in jail cells.

Today, in the face of rising oppression in China, Congress has an urgent responsibility to act. Sikyong Dr. Lobsang Sangay, the President of the Central Tibetan Administration, has said that, "The very survival of Tibetan culture and identity is in peril." Madam Speaker, if we don't speak out for human rights in China because of commercial interests, then we lose all moral authority to speak out for human rights anywhere in the world.

As I have said on this floor to those who take the repressive Chinese Government's side, we ask: What does it profit a man to have gained the whole world and suffers the loss of his soul?

Madam Speaker, I urge a strong vote for this legislation and support the Tibetan people as they seek to defend their culture and their identity and to pursue a future of freedom of religion and dignity.

I thank, again, the members of the Foreign Affairs Committee for giving us the opportunity to talk about Tibet on the floor of the House today.

Repression in Tibet by the Chinese Government is a challenge to the conscience of the world. Let's take this step to address that challenge.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Madam Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. PHILLIPS) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 4331, as amended.

The question was taken.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In the opinion of the Chair, two-thirds being in the affirmative, the ayes have it.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Madam Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

KEEPING GIRLS IN SCHOOL ACT

Mr. PHILLIPS. Madam Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 2153) to support empowerment, economic security, and educational opportunities for adolescent girls around the world, and for other purposes, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 2153

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

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the “Keeping Girls in School Act”.

(b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of contents for this Act is as follows:

- Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.
- Sec. 2. Appropriate congressional committees defined.
- Sec. 3. Findings.
- Sec. 4. Sense of Congress.
- Sec. 5. Secondary education for adolescent girls.
- Sec. 6. Global strategy requirement.
- Sec. 7. Transparency and reporting to Congress.

SEC. 2. APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES DEFINED.

In this Act, the term “appropriate congressional committees” means—

- (1) the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives; and
- (2) the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate.

SEC. 3. FINDINGS.

Congress finds the following:

- (1) Adolescence is a critical period in a girl's life, when significant physical, emotional, and social changes shape her future.
- (2) Adolescent girls are particularly vulnerable to HIV/AIDS, child, early and forced marriage, and other forms of violence which are detrimental to their futures, as evidenced by the following statistics:

(A) Each year, 380,000 adolescent girls and young women become newly infected with HIV, more than 1,000 every day, and comprise the fastest-growing demographic for new infections in sub-Saharan Africa.

(B) Each year, 12,000,000 adolescent girls around the world are married before their 18th birthday, and more than 650,000,000 women alive today were married as children.

(C) Child marriages often interrupt schooling, limit opportunities, and impact the physical, psychological and social well-being

of such girls. If there is no reduction in child marriage, the global number of women married as children is projected to increase by 150,000,000 by 2030.

(D) One-quarter to one-half of girls in developing countries become mothers before the age of 18, and girls under 15 are five times more likely to die during childbirth than women in their 20s.

(3) Approximately 130,000,000 girls around the world are not in school, and millions more are failing to acquire basic reading, writing, and numeracy skills.

(4) Girls between the ages of 10 and 19 are three times more likely than boys to be kept out of school, particularly in countries affected by conflict.

(5) Due to discriminatory gender norms and expectations, disparities in access to safe and quality education manifest early in a girl's life and continue to become more pronounced throughout adolescence.

(6) Girls living with disabilities are less likely to start school and transition to secondary school than boys living with disabilities and other children, and just 1 percent of women with disabilities are literate globally.

(7) While two-thirds of all countries have achieved gender parity in primary education, only 40 percent have achieved gender parity in secondary education.

(8) Adolescent girls who remain in school are more likely to live longer, marry later, have healthier children, and, as adults, earn an income to support their families, thereby contributing to the economic advancement of communities and nations.

(9) Since July 2015, more than 100 public-private partnerships have been formed between the United States Government and external partners to support innovative and community-led solutions in targeted countries, including Malawi and Tanzania, to ensure adolescent girls receive a quality education.

(10) The United States Global Strategy to Empower Adolescent Girls, published in March 2016, has brought together the Department of State, the United States Agency for International Development, the Peace Corps, and the Millennium Challenge Corporation, as well as other agencies and programs such as the President's Emergency Fund for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), to address the range of challenges preventing adolescent girls from attaining an inclusive and equitable quality education leading to relevant learning outcomes.

(11) According to the United States Global Strategy to Empower Adolescent Girls, which is the first foreign policy document in the world solely dedicated to the rights and empowerment of girls globally, “[w]hile the Millennium Development Goals improved outcomes for girls in primary education, they also highlighted the need for a targeted focus on adolescents and young adults, particularly regarding the transition to and completion of secondary school”.

(12) PEPFAR, through its DREAMS (Determined, Resilient, Empowered, AIDS-free, Mentored, and Safe) Initiative, has worked to address a number of the specific barriers to education that adolescent girls face.

SEC. 4. SENSE OF CONGRESS.

It is the sense of Congress that—

(1) every child, regardless of place of birth, deserves an equal opportunity to access quality education;

(2) the United States has been a global leader in efforts to expand and improve educational opportunities for those who have been traditionally disenfranchised, particularly women and girls;

(3) gains with respect to girls' secondary education and empowerment have been proven to correlate strongly with progress in

gender equality and women's rights, as well as economic and social progress, and achieving gender equality should be a priority goal of United States foreign policy;

(4) achieving gender parity in both access to and quality of educational opportunity contributes significantly to economic growth and development, thereby lowering the risk for violence and instability; and

(5) education is a lifesaving humanitarian intervention that protects the lives, futures, and well-being of girls.

SEC. 5. SECONDARY EDUCATION FOR ADOLESCENT GIRLS.

(a) AUTHORITY.—The Administrator of the United States Agency for International Development may enter into acquisition, assistance, or results-based financing agreements, including agreements combining more than one such feature, for activities addressing the barriers described in subsection (b) that adolescent girls face in accessing a quality secondary education. Such activities shall—

(1) set outcome-based targets to demonstrate qualitative gains;

(2) use existing United States Government strategies and frameworks relevant to international basic education and gender equality, including evidence-based interventions, to—

(A) integrate new technologies and approaches, including to establish or continue public-private partnerships or to pilot the use of development impact bonds (the results of which are verified by an independent evaluation);

(B) to the greatest extent possible, apply quasi-experimental and scientific, research-based approaches;

(C) promote inclusive, equitable and sustainable educational achievement; and

(D) support a responsible transition to education systems that are sustainably financed by domestic governments; and

(3) ensure that schools provide safe and quality educational opportunities and create empowering environments, so that girls can enroll in and regularly attend school, successfully transition from primary to secondary school, and eventually graduate having achieved learning outcomes and positioned to make healthy transitions into adulthood.

(b) SPECIFIC BARRIERS.—The barriers described in this subsection include—

(1) harmful societal and cultural norms;

(2) lack of safety at school or traveling to school, including harassment and other forms of physical, sexual, or psychological violence;

(3) child, early, and forced marriage;

(4) female genital mutilation;

(5) distance from a secondary school;

(6) cost of secondary schooling, including fees, clothing, and supplies;

(7) inadequate sanitation facilities and products available at secondary schools;

(8) prioritization of boys' secondary education;

(9) poor nutrition;

(10) early pregnancy and motherhood;

(11) HIV infection;

(12) disability;

(13) discrimination based on religious or ethnic identity; and

(14) heavy workload due to household tasks.

(c) COORDINATION AND OVERSIGHT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The United States Agency for International Development Senior Coordinator for International Basic Education Assistance, in coordination with the United States Agency for International Development Senior Coordinator for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment and the Ambassador-at-Large for Global Women's Issues