

**H.RES. 1077**  
**CALLING ON THE GOVERNMENT OF CHINA TO END**  
**ITS CRACKDOWN IN TIBET**  
**House of Representatives - April 08, 2008**

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Mr. BERMAN. Madam Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the resolution (H. Res. 1077) calling on the Government of the People's Republic of China to end its crackdown in Tibet and enter into a substantive dialogue with His Holiness the Dalai Lama to find a negotiated solution that respects the distinctive language, culture, religious identity, and fundamental freedoms of all Tibetans, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The text of the resolution is as follows:

H. Res. 1077

Whereas March 10, 2008, marked the 49th anniversary of a historic uprising against Chinese rule over the Tibetan people, which forced His Holiness, the 14th Dalai Lama, to escape into exile in India;

Whereas Tibetan Buddhist monks and nuns in and around Lhasa were blocked by Chinese authorities from staging peaceful demonstrations on this anniversary date and were met with excessive force by the Chinese authorities;

Whereas protests by Tibetans spread inside the Tibet Autonomous Region and other Tibetan areas of China;

Whereas the accumulated grievances of almost six decades of cultural, religious, economic, and linguistic repression of the Tibetan people by the Government of the People's Republic of China has resulted in resentments which are at the root of the Tibetan protests;

Whereas resentment of the Chinese Government by the Tibetan people has increased sharply since 2005 as a result of Chinese policies, laws, and regulations that have reduced economic opportunity for Tibetans and severely eroded the ability of Tibetans to preserve their distinctive language, culture, and religious identity;

Whereas the response by the Chinese Government to the Tibetan protests was disproportionate and extreme, reportedly resulting in the deaths of hundreds and the detention of thousands of Tibetans;

Whereas there have been reports that some Tibetans engaged in rioting that may have resulted in the destruction of government and private property, as well as the deaths of civilians;

Whereas His Holiness the Dalai Lama has used his leadership to promote democracy, freedom, and peace for the Tibetan people through a negotiated settlement of the Tibet issue, based on autonomy within the context of China;

Whereas six rounds of dialogue between representatives of the Dalai Lama and Chinese officials have not resulted in meaningful progress;

Whereas the Chinese Government has rebuffed calls by the President of the United States, the United States Congress, and world leaders to respond positively to the Dalai Lama's willingness to be personally involved in discussions with Chinese leaders on the future of Tibet;

Whereas the Chinese Government has denigrated the Dalai Lama, labeling him as "a splittist" and "a wolf in monk's robes", thereby further alienating Tibetans who consider the Dalai Lama their spiritual leader;

Whereas the Dalai Lama was recognized for his contribution to world peace when he received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1989;

Whereas the United States Congress, in recognition of the Dalai Lama's outstanding moral and religious leadership and his advocacy of nonviolence, awarded him with the Congressional Gold Medal on October 17, 2007;

Whereas the Chinese Government has failed to honor its commitment to improve the human rights situation in China as a condition for Beijing being selected as the site for the 2008 Summer Olympic Games;

Whereas the Chinese Government has impeded the access of international journalists to Tibetan areas of China and distorted reports of events surrounding the Tibetan protests, thereby violating the commitment it made that "there will be no restrictions on media reporting and movement of journalists up to and including the Olympic Games";

Whereas for many years, the Chinese Government has restricted the ability of foreign journalists and foreign government officials, including United States Government officials, to freely travel in Tibetan areas of China, thereby curtailing access to information on the situation in Tibetan areas;

Whereas the Chinese Government's use of propaganda during the protests to demonize Tibetans and incite ethnic nationalism is exacerbating ethnic tensions and is counterproductive to resolving the situation;

Whereas the United States Department of State included the People's Republic of China among the group of countries described as ``the most systematic violators of human rights" in the introduction of the 2006 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices and in previous Human Rights Reports, but did not do so in the 2007 Human Rights Report, despite no evidence of significant improvements in the human rights situation in China in the past year; and

Whereas it is the policy of the United States ``to support the aspirations of the Tibetan people to safeguard their distinct identity" and ``to support economic development, cultural preservation, health care, and education and environmental sustainability for Tibetans inside Tibet", in accordance with the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002 (22 U.S.C. 6901 note): Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the United States House of Representatives--

(1) calls on the Government of the People's Republic of China to end its crackdown on nonviolent Tibetan protestors and its continuing cultural, religious, economic, and linguistic repression inside Tibet;

(2) calls on the Chinese Government to begin a results-based dialogue, without preconditions, directly with His Holiness the Dalai Lama to address the legitimate grievances of the Tibetan people and provide for a long-term solution that respects the human rights and dignity of every Tibetan;

(3) calls on the Chinese Government to allow independent international monitors and journalists, free and unfettered access to the Tibet Autonomous Region and all other Tibetan areas of China for the purpose of monitoring and documenting events surrounding the Tibetan protests and to verify that individuals injured receive adequate medical care;

(4) calls on the Chinese Government to immediately release all Tibetans who are imprisoned for nonviolently expressing opposition to Chinese Government policies in Tibet;

(5) calls on the United States Department of State to publicly issue a statement reconsidering its decision not to include the People's Republic of China among the group of countries described as ``the world's most systematic human rights violators" in the introduction of the 2007 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices; and

(6) calls on the United States Department of State to fully implement the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002 (22 U.S.C. 6901 note), including the stipulation that the Secretary of State ``seek to establish an office in Lhasa, Tibet to monitor political, economic and cultural developments in Tibet", and also to provide consular protection and citizen services in emergencies, and further urges that the agreement to permit China to open further diplomatic

missions in the United States should be contingent upon the establishment of a United States Government office in Lhasa.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from California (Mr. *Berman*) and the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. *Ros-Lehtinen*) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. BERMAN. Madam Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the resolution under consideration.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. BERMAN. Madam Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution and yield myself such time as I may consume.

Madam Speaker, I would first like to thank our Speaker, *Nancy Pelosi*, for introducing this important resolution. Speaker *Pelosi's* commitment to human rights generally, and Tibetan human rights specifically, is deep, well established, and unwavering.

For two decades in Congress, from her earlier stage as a junior Member to her current position as Speaker, she has used her powerful voice to speak on behalf of the Tibetan people. The bipartisan delegation that she recently led to Dharmshala to meet with the Dalai Lama and her authorship of this resolution demonstrate her continuing dedication on the Tibetan issue. I am, and all of us in this body should be, grateful for her leadership.

China's response to Tibetan protests over the last month has been tragically predictable. For half a century, the Tibetan people have struggled under the repressive policies of the Chinese authorities. And sadly, the current crackdown is only the most recent example of Beijing's mistreatment of Tibetans.

As the world watched events unfold inside China, we were sickened not only by the shock of seeing images of Chinese authorities beating Tibetans in the street, but also by the realization that these are images that we have seen before, and fear we may see again.

It was this legacy of repression that caused Tibetan monks to take to the streets on March 10th to peacefully protest Beijing's ongoing denial of religious, cultural, and human rights for the Tibetan people. And sadly, it was the same legacy that caused Beijing to respond with excessive force and a propaganda campaign designed to stoke Chinese nationalism by demonizing Tibetans and their spiritual leader, His Holiness, the Dalai Lama.

If China wishes to be viewed by the world as a truly responsible power, it must put an immediate end to its shortsighted policies towards Tibet which are morally reprehensible, irresponsible and dangerous.

Beijing cannot credibly claim that it seeks genuine reconciliation with the Tibetan people when its policies force Buddhist monks to denounce their allegiance to the Dalai Lama, deny educational and economic opportunities to Tibetans, and threaten Tibetan culture by encouraging an overwhelming influx of Han Chinese migrants into Tibetan areas. This resolution not only condemns Beijing's crackdown on Tibetan protesters, it also urges China to begin to move away from its policy of repression and incitement of ethnic tensions.

The resolution calls on Beijing to allow international monitors to assess the situation in Tibetan areas in China and ensure that those injured in the protest receive adequate medical treatment.

In addition, the resolution urges Beijing to hold direct and results-based discussions with the Dalai Lama in order to come to a resolution of the Tibetan issue, one that respects Chinese territorial integrity and sovereignty, but at the same time provides genuine religious and cultural autonomy for Tibetans.

The resolution instructs the Department of State to reconsider its decision not to include China among the countries with the worst human rights records in the Department's 2007 Human Rights Report.

Madam Speaker, at this point, once again, I would like to thank Speaker *Pelosi* for introducing this important resolution, which I strongly support, and ask my colleagues to do the same.

Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Madam Speaker, I rise in strong and enthusiastic support of this resolution which forcefully criticizes the current bloody crackdown that is taking place in Tibet. This resolution also condemns Beijing's almost six decades of suppression of the religious, linguistic, economic, and cultural rights of the people of Tibet.

It was my great honor, Madam Speaker, to sponsor legislation which resulted in the awarding of the Congressional Gold Medal, the highest honor that we can bestow in the United States Congress, to His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, last October. My late friend and colleague from across the aisle, Congressman Tom Lantos, and I worked together to ensure that His Holiness received the official recognition that he so richly deserves.

The Dalai Lama, who is also a Nobel Peace Prize recipient, has won the admiration of all of us, not only for his spiritual guidance, but also for his principled stand upholding the human rights of the captive people of Tibet.

Beijing's cynical and crass campaign to denigrate His Holiness both inside and outside of Tibet has drawn the anger of both the Dalai Lama's followers, as well as people of good will throughout the globe. Beijing has called His Holiness "a splittist" and "a wolf in monk's clothing." The Chinese Embassy even recently sent out a computer link to offices here on Capitol Hill ludicrously comparing His Holiness to Nazis.

The people of Tibet can no longer silently bear these continued insults directed at their spiritual leader, a man respected as an advocate of peace, of compassion, and good will. A boiling point was reached on March 10th, the anniversary of the 1959 uprising in Tibet and subsequent flight of the Dalai Lama into exile in India. When demonstrators broke out in Lhasa, Beijing responded with an iron fist. In implementing a bloody crackdown, Beijing ignored its past pledge to the International Olympic Committee to improve the human rights situation in China prior to this summer's Olympics. Chinese authorities even denied foreign diplomats and journalists all access to Tibet.

With increasing numbers of American tourists traveling to Tibet every year, the United States has a legitimate interest in having diplomatic access to Tibet for consular services. But there should be no further openings of more Chinese consulates in the United States until China stops its repression of religious and ethnic minorities and stops violating the fundamental human rights of its own citizens.

The crackdown continued until April 3, when Chinese troops fired into a peaceful crowd of demonstrators outside a Tibetan temple in southwest China. The crowd had been protesting the arrest of two monks who were found in possession of photographs of the Dalai Lama. Eight were killed, including members of the Buddhist clergy.

But the Chinese regime has not only been responsible for shedding innocent Tibetan blood, in Darfur, in Burma, in North Korea, and inside China itself, bloody repression continues unabated.

This lack of liberty will further diminish the light of the Olympic torch. The progression of that torch from London and Paris to San Francisco has become a focal point for those who would raise their voices concerning the immense human rights abuses of the Chinese regime.

What has begun in Tibet will not stay in Tibet. Already there are reports of unrest among the Uyghur minority as well. Beijing's continued repression and denial of human rights will become the chief focal point of international attention in the summer of the Beijing Olympics. And, Madam Speaker, if the present repression continues, the Beijing games will indeed become the ``Genocide Olympics."

I urge all of my colleagues to join in vigorous approval and support for this resolution.

With that, Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time, and I ask unanimous consent that my good friend the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. *Smith*) be allowed to manage the remainder of our time.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. BERMAN. Madam Speaker, I am very pleased to yield 2 minutes of time to a member of the committee, the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. *Jackson-Lee*).

(Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Let me thank the distinguished chairman and as well the ranking member of the full committee, to the Speaker of the House for her continued leadership. And I am always reminded of the late Chairman Tom Lantos and his commitment to the people of Tibet.

Madam Speaker, I've had the honor and privilege of being with the people of Tibet in their temples, listening to their plea, walking alongside of them, admiring and respecting their tenacity, determination, and their love of freedom and peace. As well, the Dalai Lama has visited not only this community but also the State of Texas, and we have had the pleasure of seeing him be a guiding force for peace.

It is time now for this resolution and the call that it makes for the People's Republic to shine the light on Tibet and give them the rights of engagement and discussion because what we are facing are accumulated grievances of almost six decades of cultural, religious, economic, and linguistic repression

of the Tibetan people by the Government of the People's Republic of China. It has resulted in these resentments, and it has resulted in this oppression in the expression of the Tibetan people.

As this Olympic torch travels around the world, you will see the people who are peace loving and loving human rights standing up. As it comes to my city, as it goes to other cities, there will be those of us who stand against it. In fact, we have called upon the Chinese Ambassador to wake up and to recognize that the world is crying out for justice for the Tibetan people.

The resolution calls on this particular government, the Chinese Government, to begin a dialogue with the Dalai Lama, to bring about respect, to allow international monitors and journalists. I truly believe it is time now for the world to stand up.

And so to my colleagues, it is important that this resolution be passed. I believe we should be in front of the Chinese Embassy here in Washington, D.C., petitioning that government to hear the cry of the Tibetan people, to respect the Dalai Lama, and to bring finally peace and freedom and, yes, democracy to a peace-loving people. The oppressors cannot oppress the oppressed forever, and we stand against it. This resolution speaks to a resolution. We ask for the agreement.

- [Begin Insert]

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Madam Speaker, I rise today in strong support of H. Res. 1077, Calling on the Government of the People's Republic of China to end its crackdown in Tibet and enter into a substantive dialogue with His Holiness the Dalai Lama to find a negotiated solution that represents the distinctive language, culture, religious identity, and fundamental freedoms of all Tibetans, and for other purposes, introduced by my distinguished colleague from California, Representative *Nancy Pelosi*. This important and timely legislation calls for an imperative dialogue which will set forth the road to peace and stability.

In recent days, the news has been littered with reports of human rights abuses by the Chinese government regarding Tibetan dissent. As we approach the 2008 Olympics that will be held in China, it is imperative that we look into the reports of violations of basic human rights by the Chinese government.

On March 4th, Tibetan monks began peaceful protests in the Tibetan capitol, Lhasa, which escalated into violence resulting in a staunch crackdown by the Chinese government, the effects of which have yet to be seen as international media has been strictly restricted in the area. What began as a peaceful protest for religious freedom and autonomy has resulted in Beijing admittedly sending thousands of paramilitary troops and police to the region in order to maintain ``peace and stability."



March 14, 2008 marked the 49th anniversary of the Tibetan people's historic uprising against the Chinese government that forced His Holiness the Dalai Lama into exile in India, where he still resides. When Tibetan Buddhist monks and nuns attempted to assemble in peaceful demonstration on this anniversary, they were met with excessive force by Chinese authorities. Last month's riots in the Tibetan capitol of Lhasa have once again drawn international interest to the plight of the Tibetan people in their struggle for autonomy and religious freedom. The Chinese government has reported that more than 1,000 people have been captured or turned themselves in, in relation to their participation in said riots.

Last week, Amnesty International released a report stating that despite claims that hosting the Olympics will lead to Chinese observance of international human rights law, the approach of this historic event has actually lead to a crackdown of dissent on the part of the Chinese government. Just one day after the release of

Amnesty International's report, Hu Jia, a Chinese activist who has publicized human rights abuses across China, was sentenced to three and a half years in prison for "inciting subversion of state power and the socialist system."

I wish to discuss briefly the importance of the relationship between the United States, China and Tibet and highlight some important legislation that I have supported to provide assistance to the human rights situation in Tibet. As we are well aware, controversy exists over Tibet's current political status as a part of China. This precarious relationship between China and Tibet has prompted U.S. congressional actions in support of Tibet's status and traditions.

Tibet has been under active Beijing rule since between 1949-1951, when the newly established communist government of the People's Republic of China, PRC, sent military troops to occupy Tibet. It was some years later, in 1959, that the Dalai Lama, who is still respected and regarded as the spiritual leader of the Tibetan people, along with his followers, fled from Tibet and went into exile in India.

As reports of human rights abuses and political activities surfaced regarding China's continuing repressive social and political controls in Tibet, it garnered more interest and congressional consideration in the late 1980s. Tenzin Gyatso, the fourteenth Dalai Lama, is the unrivaled spiritual and cultural leader of the Tibetan people. The Dalai Lama has used his leadership to promote democracy, freedom, and peace for the Tibetan people through a negotiated settlement of the Tibet issue, based on autonomy within the People's Republic of China. For his efforts on behalf of humanity, the Dalai Lama was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1989. Most recently in 2006, I lent my support to S. Res. 2784, awarding the Congressional Gold Medal, the highest expression of national appreciation for exceptional service, to the

Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso. I appreciate his efforts to promote peace and non-violence throughout the globe, and his efforts to find democratic reconciliation for the Tibetan people through his ``Middle Way" approach. I am grateful for the extensive work that the Dalai Lama has done for his country and on behalf of humanity.

Congress has taken a particular interest in the affairs of Tibet. Beginning in 1987, Congress passed non-binding measures declaring that the United States should make Tibet's situation a higher policy priority and urged China to establish a constructive dialogue with the Dalai Lama.

As a Member of Congress, I am interested in the welfare and human rights affairs of the Tibetan people and have previously proposed an amendment to provide \$2 million in the Economic Support Fund for monitoring the human rights situation in Tibet and for training and education of Tibetans in democracy activities and an additional \$2 million in the Emergency Refugee and Migration Assistance Fund for the Tibetan refugee program.

Madam Speaker, I am a staunch advocate for human rights and desire to see the plight of the Tibetan people rectified. As such, I strongly support H. Res. 1077 and call upon my colleagues to join me in supporting this important legislation.

- [End Insert]

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Madam Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. *Sensenbrenner*), the coauthor of this resolution who recently returned from Dharamsala, where he met with the Dalai Lama.

Mr. SENSENBRENNER. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Madam Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution and in solidarity with the Tibetan people in this trying time. The recent events in Tibet have captured the attention of this body and the American people. We as Americans are both saddened and outraged by the Chinese Government's crackdown on peaceful protests in Tibet.

This body must be clear in its support of fundamental human rights. Tibetans deserve the right to preserve their culture, heritage, language, and religion.

The Chinese Government has argued that this crackdown was in response to violent protest by the Tibetan people. However, the government dismissed outside journalists from the region and has restricted their ability to accurately report on the situation. Meanwhile, Americans traveling in China in recent weeks have revealed that their televisions went black when the international media reported on Tibet.

This restriction of freedom is consistent with China's historically abysmal human rights record. While it would be simpler to believe that the Chinese Government's assertion that its crackdown was a just response to violent protest, the very fact that China has gone to such great lengths to control the flow of information on the protests makes such an assertion a great stretch of credulity.

I had the honor of meeting with Tibet's spiritual leader and historic head of state, the Dalai Lama, last month shortly after the protests began. His Holiness made very clear his opposition to the acts of violence taking place in Tibet. Since his exile 49 years ago, the Dalai Lama has consistently advocated for a peaceful resolution to the tension between Tibet and China. If there is to be a real solution to the problem, the Chinese Government must engage in dialogue with the Dalai Lama with the intention of finding a lasting resolution for both parties.

In the coming months, China will open its doors to the world and show its best face. We've heard a lot in this country recently about transparency, and this body responded by implementing greater transparency in our government. Now is the time for China to take responsibility for its actions and implement heightened transparency to the world community on the situation in Tibet and on the conduct of its own government.

The stage is set for China to demonstrate a newfound commitment to human rights and peace. This institution and the world are watching expectantly. Let us hope that the Chinese Government receives the message loud and clear that all pressures remain on the table in protecting the rights of the Tibetan people.

Madam Speaker, the Tibetan people have waited 49 years for their freedom. Their patience is wearing thin. If China wishes to be considered an equal among the leaders of the world, it must act like one by standing for basic human rights in Tibet.

Mr. BERMAN. Madam Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to a member of our committee, a stalwart fighter for human rights, the gentlewoman from California (Ms. Lee).

Ms. LEE. Madam Speaker, first of all, let me thank our Speaker for her unyielding stand regarding China's human rights record in Tibet and its association with the genocidal government of the Sudan.

This resolution calls on China to end its crackdown on nonviolent protestors in Tibet and to talk with His Holiness the Dalai Lama to address the very legitimate grievances of the Tibetan people. It sends a clear message to China that the United States does not condone violence and repression against the Tibetan people.

This resolution is also timely as the Olympic torch will make its only stop in North America tomorrow when it comes to the Speaker's district in San Francisco, California, right across the bay from my home district.

As host of the Olympic games, China is facing calls to live up to the Olympic spirit of peace and brotherhood and sisterhood that the torch represents. China's actions in Tibet and its ongoing support for the genocidal regime in Sudan run contrary to that Olympic spirit.

Madam Speaker, China must play by the rules when it comes to human rights and to genocide. Now is the time to begin this dialogue with His Holiness the Dalai Lama. There are legitimate grievances of the Tibetan people which must be addressed, and who better to have this dialogue with than His Holiness the Dalai Lama?

I want to thank the Speaker for really carrying the torch for freedom and human rights and dignity of the Tibetan people. This resolution heeds the call of the international community and puts this body on the right side of history.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. *Shays*).

Mr. SHAYS. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Madam Speaker, I rise in support of H. Res. 1077, introduced by our Speaker, *Nancy Pelosi*, calling on the Government of China to end its crackdown in Tibet and to enter into a substantive dialogue with His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

The recent violence in Tibet, which was triggered by the Buddhist monks asking for religious freedoms, should be a great concern to everyone concerned about human rights. China needs to end the violence and engage in open and honest dialogue with the Dalai Lama to achieve peace and reconciliation. China must come to realize that Tibetans deserve more autonomy and the world community will not be silent until they achieve it.

As a member of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, I am very concerned about human rights in China but in particular the political and religious freedoms of Tibetans. I urge the resolution's adoption and appreciate this resolution coming to the floor.

Ms. LEE. Madam Speaker, I would like to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. *Levin*).

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the gentlewoman from California will control the time.

There was no objection.

Mr. LEVIN. Madam Speaker, I rise in strong support of the resolution.

China has a law that includes protections for the distinctive culture, language, and identity of ethnic minority citizens. Its Regional Ethnic Autonomy Law guarantees ethnic minorities the "right to administer their internal affairs." More specifically, the term "regional ethnic autonomy" reflects "the state's full respect for ..... ethnic minorities' rights to administer their internal affairs." Madam Speaker, China in recent weeks has reflected anything but "the state's full respect" of ethnic minority rights nor of basic human rights recognized in both Chinese and international law.

Protest activity has included instances of rioting resulting in destruction of property and death of Tibetans and non-Tibetans alike. This is unacceptable in any context. But most protest activity, while at times disorderly, has been nonviolent. The Chinese Government's reaction, however, has revealed a level of hostility towards Tibetans not seen in decades and has heightened fears for the Tibetan people.

The Chinese Government would do well to consider a number of concrete steps to address the current crisis, and I would ask, Madam Speaker, that a list of such steps prepared by the staff of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China be submitted for the *Record*.

Addendum to Floor Statement of Representative Sander Levin, Chairman, Congressional-Executive Commission on China

#### ADDRESSING TIBETAN PROTESTS

1. Distinguish between peaceful protestors and rioters, honor the Chinese Constitution's reference to the freedoms of speech and association, and do not treat peaceful protest as a crime;
2. Provide a detailed account of Tibetan protest activity in each location where such activity took place;
3. Provide details about each person detained or charged with a crime, including each person's name, the charges (if any) against each person, the name and location of the prosecuting office ("procuratorate") and court handling each case, and the name of each facility where a person is detained or imprisoned;

4. Allow access by diplomats and other international observers to the trials of people charged with protest-related crimes;

5. Allow international observers and journalists immediate and unfettered access to Tibetan areas of China;

6. Ensure that security officials fulfill their obligations under Articles 64(2) and 71(2) of China's Criminal Procedure Law to inform relatives and work places (monasteries in the case of monks) where detainees are being held;

7. Encourage and facilitate the filing of compensation suits under Chinese law in cases of alleged wrongful arrest, detention, punishment and other official abuses during the recent protests;

8. Permit international observers to monitor closely the implementation of China's new Regulation on Open Government Information, which comes into force on May 1, 2008, with special emphasis on implementation in Tibetan areas.

9. Strictly enforce the Regulations on Reporting Activities in China by Foreign Journalists During the Beijing Olympic Games and the Preparatory Period, with special emphasis on access to and in Tibetan areas of China.

10. Commence direct talks between the Chinese government and the Dalai Lama.

The commission monitors and reports on human rights and rule of law developments in China on an ongoing basis, and I encourage all to visit the commission's Web site, [www.cecc.gov](http://www.cecc.gov), to subscribe to the online newsletter and to use the commission's work to remain up to date on developments in China.

The resolution of Tibetan grievances can only occur with direct talks between the Chinese Government and the Dalai Lama. The international spotlight will remain long after the ceremonies of the Olympic Summer Games. As China plays an increasingly important role in the international community, other countries will appropriately assess China's fulfillment of the commitments it has made in both Chinese and international law, including legal and constitutional commitments to ethnic minorities.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Madam Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Texas, an esteemed member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs (Mr. Poe).

Mr. POE. I thank the gentleman for yielding time.

Madam Speaker, Tibet is being denied the basic human rights of freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and the freedom to seek grievances against its own government.

China, the bully of Asia, literally is beating up on the small religious Tibetan community. China puts down dissent by the use of the bloody club and the firearm. And China suppresses the world press that tries to report on what they are doing by issuing scripted propaganda papers about these peaceful Tibetan people, propaganda that we have not seen since Hitler's Nazi Germany.

China's ugly personality of brutality and oppression is now being seen by all of the world. And as China tries to carry the Olympic torch throughout the world, the flame of the torch is setting peoples in this world on fire in support of the people of Tibet.

So China must cease its oppression of its own people or face international rebuke and international condemnation, including condemnation by this body.

I support the people of Tibet, and I urge passage of this resolution. And I want to thank the chairman for bringing this resolution so quickly to the House floor.

Ms. LEE. I yield 2 1/2 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. *Holt*) who is a member of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence.

Mr. HOLT. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentlelady for yielding.

I am pleased to join the Speaker of the House today as an original cosponsor of this important legislation to address the rights of the people of Tibet. Across the globe, people are speaking out in support of the people of Tibet. And today, Congress is making a strong statement. And no one outside Tibet has been more clear and more eloquent than the Speaker of the House.

I recently had the honor to join the Speaker as a member of a congressional delegation to India. We were with the spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama, and we saw and heard thousands of Tibetan refugees cheering America, I'm pleased to say, but pleading and pleading with us not to forget Tibet.

Tibet has been under the heavy hand of China for almost five decades, and the situation has deteriorated with China brutally suppressing Tibetans and systematically and relentlessly eradicating Tibetan culture. Our delegation was moved to see and hear the pleadings of Tibetans of all ages who have braved Himalayan crossings to escape oppression, some weeks ago, some years ago. And the Dalai Lama gives them hope and calls on the world not to

forget those who have fled and those who are left in Tibet. And we, too, should give them hope.

I have in my office a crayon-drawn Tibetan flag given to me during our delegation's visit to the Tibetan Children's Village, and I keep this flag in my office because it reminds me of the human toll of the situation. Children and adults flee the villages of Tibet and cross the highest range of mountains in the world to reach the promise of a life where they can preserve their culture and have freedom. The journey is treacherous, but children try to escape the oppression in Tibet.

I am pleased that all the members of this important trip joined the Speaker in introducing this resolution. Both Democrats and Republicans agree that the Chinese Government needs to end the violent crackdown on nonviolent Tibetan protesters. Furthermore, it is long past time for the Chinese Government to begin, without preconditions, a dialogue with His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, and ensure that human rights and dignity of all Tibetans are protected, to address the legitimate grievances of the Tibetan people, to safeguard the people and their distinctive identity, to support economic development, cultural preservation, health care, education and environmental sustainability.

This important resolution reminds the world and China of our commitment to the people of Tibet.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Madam Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Michigan (Mr. *McCotter*).

Mr. *McCOTTER*. Madam Speaker, we stand at a historic moment. In the stream of history, it is oftentimes overlooked as we circumnavigate around time, fate and circumstance the momentous era and the momentous deeds which must be undertaken. This is one of them.

I thank the Speaker for bringing this resolution. I thank her for bringing with it the moral weight of her opposition to Communist China's abysmal human rights record throughout her career in this Congress, and for uniting Republicans and Democrats behind it.

But at this moment, I am also reminded of someone who is no longer with us, someone from whom I learned very much. That man is the late Chairman Tom Lantos, a man who embodied the human spirit in its ability to triumph over evil. How many people in this Congress understood the moment when the tanks rolled into Budapest and the Soviets went into Hungary, that that was a seminal moment in the Cold War, that the desire to breathe free, of the Hungarian people, could not be quelled by tanks and could only be quenched by freedom? And throughout the history of the Cold War, their example was emulated by others, including the Czechs in 1968, and of course the Poles, and that eventually brought down the Soviet Union.



Today, what may appear a resolution of the moment for a specific incident is not that. It is our generation's Budapest. It is this generation of Americans who get to witness the Tibetans trying to breathe free from beneath the Communist yoke of the Chinese regime. And as we Republicans and Democrats stand together today, we stand with them, and we send a clarion message to the Communist Chinese Government. They will be free. And as the Olympic torch goes from town to town and you see people gathering together of all political persuasions and all walks of life to protest the abominable suppression of the Tibetans, let us remember that we here have come together to make sure that the torch of Lady Liberty still shines bright as a beacon of hope for all the world.

Ms. LEE. I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from California, a member of the Committee on Energy and Commerce, Congresswoman *Hilda Solis*.

Ms. SOLIS. Madam Speaker, I rise this evening in strong support of House Resolution 1077.

At the end of March, I traveled to India with Speaker *Nancy Pelosi* and a congressional delegation and met with the leader of Tibet, His Holiness, the Dalai Lama. We met young Tibetan children in India and saw hope in their eyes for a better future. We were greeted by many thousands and thousands of Tibetans along the road as we traveled up the mountain where they lived. Yet we heard stories of violence and torture inflicted by the Chinese Government on the Tibetan people and protesters. We learned of recent Chinese policies and laws that have limited the economic opportunities for Tibetans in China and severely endangered the Tibetan culture, religion and their language, in fact, their whole being.

Tibetans have fled to India to be able to practice their religion in peace and preserve their culture with dignity and respect. The Dalai Lama spoke to us about his desire for peace and his longing to live autonomously, not independent of, but autonomously in China so that Tibetans could practice their religion openly.

I, too, share his desire. House Resolution 1077 calls on China to end its repression inside Tibet, release prisoners who participated in nonviolent protest, and to begin a dialogue, a true dialogue with the Dalai Lama to find a solution for Tibet that respects human rights. The resolution calls for access for journalists so that the world can see, hear and view the situation in Tibet.

The Tibetan people are at a critical point in their movement to live peacefully and autonomously. We must stand with them. We must also be a beacon of hope for them and for those thousands of children that we saw at the orphanage there. They greeted us with hearts open to us with flags both representing the U.S. Government and the Tibetan people.

I stand here, Members, strongly supportive of House Resolution 1077 and ask you to join with us and the Speaker of the House for its swift passage.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Again, without objection, the gentleman from California regains control of the time.

There was no objection.

Mr. BERMAN. Madam Speaker, may I inquire how much time is remaining on both sides.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. There are 5 1/2 minutes remaining for the gentleman from California. There are 6 1/2 minutes remaining for the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. BERMAN. Madam Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Washington (Mr. *Inslee*).

Mr. INSLEE. Madam Speaker, due to the leadership of *Nancy Pelosi*, we were able to experience a profound and moving time in Dharamsala, India, 2 weeks ago, and it was profound for two reasons. One, when you talk to a Buddhist monk who has walked for 5 days through the Himalayan mountains to escape suppression and obtain some modicum of religious liberty, it would move the hardest of hearts. And we talked to monks who had that experience, monks who couldn't even show a little medallion with a picture of the Dalai Lama on their chest without having to go to jail in Tibet under the control of the Chinese Government. It was profound in that sense, but it was profound in meeting the Dalai Lama, as well, a person of great humor, great grace, great courage and great nonviolence. And he has asked for an investigation of what has gone on in Tibet, to quash what the Chinese Government has been saying about him, saying that he has instigated this violence. Anyone who makes that claim couldn't distinguish between Mahatma Gandhi and Che Guevara.

And I take great umbrage at this assertion that somehow he has been the reason for violence. His position has been reasonable. He has asked for a dialogue with the Chinese Government. He has asked for an investigation to what happened in Tibet. He has not called for a boycott of the Olympics, an extremely reasonable position given what his people have undergone.

His aspirations for China I think should be the world's, that as China grows into a great economic power, let it seek to be a great power in the sense of morality and humanity. My district has a growing relationship with China selling jets, software and agricultural products. And we like to see the economic potential of China. But that has to be married, to become a great nation, with a commitment to humanity, morality and religious freedom. This is consistent not only with America's core values, but international values in the Olympic spirit. We hope we move in that direction.

Mr. BERMAN. Madam Speaker, at this time, may I ask unanimous consent that we be granted an additional 10 minutes, 5 minutes for the majority, 5 minutes for the minority, on the time already allotted for this resolution debate.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. BERMAN. Madam Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin, Mr. *Steve Kagen*.

Mr. KAGEN. Madam Speaker, what kind of nation would we be if we wouldn't stand up to speak out in favor of liberty everywhere in the world?

It was on January 6, 1941, right here in this chamber that President Franklin Delano Roosevelt enunciated and outlined for us the four essential human freedoms, freedoms that this Nation fought several world wars for and won. Freedom of speech everywhere in the world, freedom from fear, freedom from want, and freedom to worship God everywhere in the world.

The people of Tibet tonight must hear that we, the people of these United States, are on their side. And we encourage the current leadership of China to support these four essential human freedoms everywhere in the world.

Madam Speaker, very shortly, there will be some Olympic games held in China, Olympic games and Olympic spirit, based upon fair competition, fair and open competition on a level playing field. Isn't it time, we might also ask, that China begins to compete with us on a fair and level playing field, and in particular with regard to Paper Valley in which I live in Wisconsin, isn't it time that they stopped dumping illegal paper into our domestic marketplaces?

Madam Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution because we must support these four essential human freedoms everywhere in the world.

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

First of all, I want to thank Speaker *Pelosi* for introducing this very important resolution of which I am very proud to be one of the cosponsors, and especially for the trip, along with other Members of the House, that you led to India to be at the side of His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, in this hour of terrible suffering for the Tibetan people.

Madam Speaker, tonight we are here to speak frankly about what the Chinese Government is doing in Tibet. Last week, Lodi Gyari, His Holiness' Special Envoy, told me and others on the Congressional Human Rights Caucus that Tibet has `` become, particularly in the last few weeks, in every sense an occupied nation, brutally occupied by armed forces."

Madam Speaker, despite the fact that there is an extensive news blackout, the grim consequences have gotten out. Chinese soldiers and police have shot large numbers of people. The death toll is now well over 150. We don't have any idea how many have been wounded, how many are right now lying, wounded or dying, in attics and cellars, because they know that if they go to the hospital, they will simply disappear into the Chinese Laogai.

The Chinese Government has been subjecting Tibetans to mass arrests. They have searched whole sections of cities, house by house. Chinese officials admit to nearly 2,000 arrests. The China Commission estimates that there are at least 1,000 more. Frankly, I wonder if there might be thousands more, since there are large areas of Tibet from which nothing has been heard in weeks, where phone lines and cell towers and e-mail have been simply turned off.

Many thousands of monks are now being held under house arrest or in lockdown. Chinese riot police have surrounded some Buddhist monasteries and are letting no one get in and no one get out. Many have been tortured. I would remind my colleagues that we are seeing now, in a massive way, what has been ongoing and pervasive for decades.

I chaired a hearing in 1995, Madam Speaker. We heard from six survivors of the Laogai. One of those was Palden Gyatso, a Tibetan monk who spent 24 years in prison. When we invited him to come and speak, he brought with him some instruments of torture that are routinely employed and used in a horrific manner against men and women in the Chinese concentration camps. He told us that many people die of starvation. But when he brought those instruments, he couldn't even get past our Capitol Police. They stopped him. We had to come down and get him through.

Then, when he held up those batons that are used in the mouth and elsewhere in order to provide electric shocks, he actually broke down. He held it up and he said, ``This is what went into my mouth as a Buddhist monk and into the mouths of many other people to shock and to deface," and he has trouble swallowing to this day.

He talked about these self-tightening handcuffs, and held up his wrists and showed us the marks on his body, not just on his wrists, but elsewhere. He talked about piercing with bayonets. And this is routine. I would encourage Members to realize what goes on each and every day, but now in a more pronounced way, in a more massive way, against the people of Tibet, through the use of torture.

The Chinese Government, Madam Speaker, what they are doing right now is exactly what happened in some of the parts of the world ruled from the Communists. Who can forget the Soviet invasion of Hungary, which was still felt on the streets of Budapest in the 1980s, even though that happened back in 1956. Tibet is now a cruel place, not the people, but the Chinese imposition of their crackdown.

Madam Speaker, it should be noted and emphasized that the Tibetan people have not provoked the government into this newest wave of repression. It is the Chinese Government that has provoked the Tibetan people to protest, a protest that, perhaps because of the Buddhist emphasis on peace, has been overwhelmingly peaceful.

As we all know, Tibet has been subjected to Chinese Communist tyranny since 1951. Since 1959, the Chinese Government is responsible for the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Tibetans--and that is a low estimate. The current number of Tibetans living in China is now about 5.4 million people.

I think Members should realize too that there has also been--and the Dalai Lama speaks about this when he speaks about his Five Points of Engagement--this population transfer, where the entire culture is being replaced by a Han Chinese culture. They are getting very good jobs. The incentive has been given them by the Chinese Government, in order to marginalize and decrease the Tibetan people, to make them more of a minority in their own land. What we are talking about here is nothing less than a planned destruction of a culture that has now gone to new lows with this recent crackdown.

In fact, the Chinese Government's attitude toward Tibet can be seen in these two insults by Zhang Qingli, the Secretary of the Chinese Party of the Tibet Autonomous Region, who offered to the people these words. He said, ``The Communist Party is like the parent to the Tibetan people, and it is always considerate about what the children need." We are talking about a very abusive parent here. He also said, ``The Central Party Committee is the real Buddha for Tibetans." What a sacrilege! What a sacrilege! What a violation of fundamental human rights.

I will say only a couple words about the Olympics, Madam Speaker. The IOC made a great mistake in allowing China to host the Olympics. Who can forget when they were vying for the 2000 Olympics and they let Wei Jingsheng out. Speaker *Pelosi* knows him very well. I met him in Beijing when he was let out, very briefly. As soon as they didn't get the Olympics, they rearrested him and beat him and tortured him. They finally let him out because he was close to death. But then the IOC awarded the Olympic venue to Beijing several years later.

They shouldn't be held in a nation that cracks down on all kinds of political dissent and has a system of coercion where brothers and sisters are illegal as

part of its one-child-per-couple policy, its forced abortion policy, and also a country that is responsible for killing so many Africans. The most recent is happening in Darfur. This really is, as my colleague Ms. Lee said earlier, the ``genocide Olympics."

That repression and those killing fields are ongoing today in Darfur. As we all know, some 4 million people died in Southern Sudan even before that, and it was the Chinese who enabled those killing fields as well.

Finally, let me just say briefly to my colleagues that there are American companies who may be supporting this tyranny. I am afraid some of them are doing that, playing smaller or larger roles in the crushing of Tibet, working with the Chinese Internet Surveillance Bureau to block Web sites and blocking and tracking down Tibetans who send Internet reports of arrests and massacres.

The New York Times has reported that the Chinese Government is indeed, and not unexpectedly, blocking Web sites to prevent uncensored news from reaching the Chinese people, including the Web sites of CNN, BBC, YouTube, Google and Yahoo.

The Times has also reported that the Chinese Internet Surveillance Bureau has warned Tibetans about sharing factual news about the protests. They have said, and I quote them, this is the Chinese Bureau, ``We inform Internet users that it is forbidden to post news about Tibet events ..... The Internet Surveillance Bureau will carry out filtering and censorship ..... Anyone infringing this ban will have their IP addresses sent to the police, who will then take the necessary steps." That means, Madam Speaker, arrests; that means, Madam Speaker, torture of those who simply try to share the truth as to what is going on in Tibet.

Who can forget Shi Tao, the journalist who got 10 years simply for sending information to an NGO in New York about what the Chinese Bureau of Propaganda had told them they could not do with regard to the Tiananmen Square massacre? Now it is going on in Tibet, and the ugly cycle continues.

As I think Members know, the Global Online Freedom Act legislation, which is pending and hopefully will come to the floor, would finally give us a full and thorough accounting as to this complicity, whether it be witting or unwitting, on the part of these Internet companies, so that we are not part of this tyrannical regime that is now so brutally suppressing, murdering and torturing Tibetan people and putting so many monks into prison, rather than letting them be in their monasteries, where they want to practice their faith.

Madam Speaker, this is an excellent resolution you have brought to the floor. I congratulate you. This is bipartisanship, I believe, at its best. We are all in support of the Dalai Lama. You have led on this for so many years, and

are doing so now as Speaker, and I hope we get very strong support for this, on behalf of the Tibetan people and on behalf of the Dalai Lama.

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

Mr. BERMAN. Madam Speaker, I am very pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California, the author of the resolution, the Speaker of the House of Representatives (Ms. *Pelosi*).

Ms. PELOSI. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding. I thank him for his leadership on the Foreign Affairs Committee, and Congresswoman *Ileana Ros-Lehtinen*, the ranking Republican on the committee, for their leadership in bringing this resolution to the floor. It isn't without a tear in the eye that we bring this to the floor and remember our colleague, Congressman Tom Lantos, and how important this resolution would have been to him.

Twenty years ago when I was a new Member of Congress, Tom invited some of us to a meeting that I will never forget. It was with His Holiness the Dalai Lama. At that time he presented to us his proposal for autonomy for Tibet. That is over 20 years ago he has been preaching autonomy, and it is on that basis that we wanted him to have the opportunity to have full negotiations with the Chinese Government. They had said if he doesn't reject the idea of independence, that cannot happen. Well, he rejected independence 20 years ago, much to the dismay of those who want independence.

But, in any event, Tom Lantos opened the door for many of us to meet with His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Twenty years later, in the Capitol of the United States, under Tom's leadership and of that Congresswoman *Ros-Lehtinen*, we were able to present to His Holiness the Congressional Gold Medal, the highest honor that this body can bestow. I am proud to say that President Bush stood there side-by-side with His Holiness presenting our Congressional Gold Medal to him. No President before had been so courageous, and I appreciate and am proud that President Bush did that.

Following that, we talked about taking a trip to India to talk about global warming, that our Energy Independence and Global Warming Task Force, which Mr. *Markey* and Mr. *Sensenbrenner*, who spoke so eloquently earlier, were in the lead on.

When we planned the trip, we had accepted His Holiness' invitation to visit him in Dharamsala, without any thought that it would be at a controversial time. As fate would have it, we made our plans in December and January. When we got there in the middle of March, it was following the crackdown in Tibet of the peaceful demonstrators in Lhasa and in other parts of Tibet by the Chinese Government. It was stunning really to see the reaction of the Chinese to the simple observance of the 49th anniversary of the Dalai Lama

being forced out of Tibet by the Chinese. As the monks demonstrated and protested, the Chinese government cracked down.

While we were there, it was interesting to hear that the Government of China was saying that His Holiness was the instigator of violence in China, that he had the "heart of a jackal" and all kind of animal references. We all love our animals, but they were not appropriate to His Holiness. We all know His Holiness to be the personification of nonviolence in the world, a bridge builder for peace and human understanding, as we said in our presentation of the Congressional Gold Medal to him.

So we thought it must be our fate, it must be our karma, that we would be in Dharamsala at that time. As was indicated by some of our colleagues, Mr. *Inslee* mentioned that some monks had traveled for 5 days over Himalayas to Dharamsala to tell us about the treatment they had received.

Some of the people we met with, Mr. *Smith*, had been in prison for many years in China. One woman who was in her eighties had been in prison for over 25 years. We heard of the torture that was exacted upon them as recently as a matter of days before we were there. So the torture that you described that you heard about in your committee continues to this day, and we very tearfully received that information from the prisoners.

But the point is that in Tibet you are arrested and repressed for what you believe; not even for acting upon your beliefs, but for what you believe, and that is something that flies in the face of everything we stand for as a country. That is why I was so pleased that the President stood there and showed bipartisan spirit, Democrats and Republicans coming together, as Mr. *Smith* mentioned. We have worked on this issue for many years and in a very bipartisan way in terms of China.

Another place where China has influence that Mr. *Smith* and Mr. *Wolf* have been leaders has been in the Sudan. But for the Chinese's absolute insistence that they will not sanction the Sudan at the U.N., we could perhaps have an improvement in the human rights situation and the political situation in the Sudan.

Many of us took a trip, many Members have been there, I led a delegation there with Mr. *Clyburn* to Darfur a couple of years ago and we saw firsthand the genocide that was going on there. It was horrible to see. We went to several camps. In one camp, 100,000 refugees were there. We saw the little children. The tiny ones really still had some brightness in their eyes. The older ones, they had seen too much.

In this camp, in the evening when it would be cool, if the father went out to get firewood, he would be killed. If the mother went out, she could be raped. In any event, the children could be kidnapped. They had been displaced from their villages with compliance of the Government of Sudan.



All we need is strong international leadership to end that situation. China stands in the way. When we are talking about Tibet and when we are talking about the Olympics and we are talking about Tibet, we have to remember Burma as well and the house arrest also for all these many years.

We have to remember what is happening in Darfur. I was reading in the paper the other day as the torch was going through Paris that one of the marchers, the carriers of the torch said that what was happening with the protesters was very unpleasant. I thought, you think that's unpleasant? Maybe you should be in the sub-human conditions that the refugees are in Darfur. If you think that's unpleasant, maybe you should be in a prison in Tibet for your faith and His Holiness, the Dalai Lama.

You think that's unpleasant? Maybe you could still be in prison from the Tiananmen Square massacre. Some people are still in prison from that time.

Mr. *Smith* knows well the fight we had at the time because shortly after, a couple of years after Tiananmen, we were still fighting for the release of the prisoners of Tiananmen. We had about a \$5 billion a year trade deficit.

We thought that that would give us so much leverage with the Chinese Government that surely if we threatened the most-favored nation status, as it was called then, that they would yield and release these prisoners because it meant \$5 billion a year to them.

Well, we didn't win. We didn't prevail in that situation.

As I say, it was a Republican President and a Democratic President. We didn't get any better policy from either of them when it came to China. They told us that granting most-favored nation status, they changed the name to permanent normal trade relations because it sounded better, would, in fact, improve the political situation in China and improve our trade relationship with China.

When these people are saying it's unpleasant, I think it's unpleasant to think that a \$5 billion a year trade deficit is now \$5 billion a week, \$5 billion a week. That is a quarter of a trillion dollars a year trade deficit with China.

Has it improved our trade relationship? I don't think so. Has it improved the human rights situation in China? I don't think so.

Somewhere along the way we lost our way. We said at the time, some of us, if you choose to ride this tiger that is China, only China will decide when you can get off. China won the Olympics. Some of us supported resolutions in opposition to that, but they won the Olympics.

I don't support a boycott of the Olympics. I think our athletes who have trained should be able to go there and compete. I think it should be treated as a sports event. Any time it tries to rise to the occasion of harmony, one world, one dream, a unifying factor, that is where it falls short, because the Chinese cannot on the one hand take the political upside of the credibility given to them at any welcoming ceremony and refuse to hear the other side of the political view that they are unworthy of making that claim.

As we speak tonight as we are gathered here in this Chamber, in my City of San Francisco human rights activists are preparing for the torch to come through our city tomorrow, a city very committed to human rights. I was very proud that yesterday they were able to display a ``One World, One Dream: Free Tibet'' banner across the Golden Gate Bridge. It's just frightening to think of how they were able to accomplish it, but they got their message across with, probably in my view, the most beautiful backdrop in the world for all the world to see.

Tomorrow, as the torch goes through the city, people will voice their views on it. But, still tonight, Desmond Tutu is leading a prayer vigil in San Francisco in protest of what is happening with that torch going through.

Probably the most insulting of all, though, is that China insists that the torch go through Tibet, that it go to Mount Everest and through Tibet on its way back to Beijing. That's the biggest insult, I think, of all. The world should not allow that to happen. What's right about that?

When I was in Dharamsala, I had the privilege of addressing the crowd gathered in the square. I said at the time that the situation in Tibet challenges the conscience of the world. Indeed, the situation in Darfur challenges the conscience of the world, two places where China can change, make a difference. I also said that if we, the freedom-loving people throughout the world do not stand up for human rights in China and Tibet, then we lose all moral authority to talk about it any other place in the world.

It is many years of activism on this subject, and lots of documentation, but, as Mr. *Smith* mentioned, we know so many of the people firsthand, such as Harry Wu, who had been imprisoned. Why this is important tonight is because what the Chinese did, the most excruciating form of torture that an oppressor can exact on a political prisoner is to say to him or her nobody even knows you are here. They don't even care about you anymore. Society has passed this issue by. It's no longer important. Your family is out there suffering, you are here forgotten, but the world does not remember you.

Well, we are here tonight to say that the world does, a continuation of the work that Mr. *Smith* has referenced and others have referenced tonight about our calling to the attention of the world the names, the actual names of people who have been imprisoned for their beliefs, their religious beliefs,

their political beliefs. This the resolution is very simple, and when we vote on it tomorrow, I hope we have an overwhelming vote.

What it says to the Chinese Government, as they prepare for the Olympics in harmony, ``One World, One Dream: Free Tibet," is that they end the crackdown in Tibet, that they enter into substantive dialogue directly with His Holiness the Dalai Lama, that they allow independent monitors, journalists and others into Tibet and they also allow medical personnel. As was mentioned, people who have been beaten by the Chinese cannot receive medical assistance and they need that life-saving attention. That's what we are talking about here.

As for the accusation that that jackal, His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the instigator of violence in Tibet, started all of this, His Holiness called for and our delegation in Dharamsala associated ourselves with his call which was for an independent outside investigation as to how that all started. If they are going to accuse him, then they must be prepared to have an investigation to prove their point or to be proven wrong.

When we were there, I just want to close by saying, because it was very moving for us, when we got off the airplane and we were driving to Dharamsala for miles and miles and miles and miles, and when we got to Dharamsala to the center of town, we were greeted by many Tibetans flying American flags. We take the pledge in the morning, and any time we see the flag, it is an emotional experience for us. But to see these people who have had to struggle so much for freedom pay homage to our flag was quite a remarkable thing.

Here is one sign, which was my particular favorite. It said, ``Thank you for everything you have done for us so far." But all the American flags, the Tibetans flags, and, just again, it was a forest of flags there.

Mr. *Holt* referenced the children, when we went to the children's school, thousands of adorable children, many of them separated from their families, because that's the only way they could be raised in a Tibetan culture which is now restrained. Here are these children, they drew, they had thousands of these. I brought many of them home, an American flag on one side and on the other side a Tibetan flag, ``Free Tibet, Free Tibet." It goes on, ``Long live His Holiness the Dalai Lama."

``Long live the friendship between the United States and Tibet," a friendship that began when Franklin Roosevelt sent His Holiness, when he was a very little boy, a watch. That watch had the rising of the sun, the months of the year, the phases of the moon, and it did tell time too. It was a very special fit, a gold watch. His Holiness has said that he took that watch with him when he left Tibet, imagine, a piece of America in that flight to freedom.

It is our wish that under the provisions of this legislation and the voices being heard all over the world now that those negotiations will take place between the Chinese Government and His Holiness the Dalai Lama. I, like many, have asked about the opening ceremonies. You don't want to boycott the Olympics, what about the opening ceremonies?

I think we should, since the Chancellor of Germany, Angela Merkel, has put that on the table, it should stay there. Our President should hold back any decision about going to those opening ceremonies until he sees what progress could be made, what leverage we could use to have those negotiations take place so that before too long and while His Holiness is still in good health he can return to Tibet and, indeed, the Tibetan people in their autonomous state of Tibet can be free.

I am very proud of this resolution. I couldn't be prouder of all the statements that were made this evening with all the passion and interest and history that went with it. I think it is a tribute to His Holiness, and I hope the vote tomorrow will be unequivocal about that. I am certain it will. I also they think that it is a tribute to our friend, Tom Lantos, who had been so faithful to this cause.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, Mr. *Smith*.

Mr. BERMAN. Thank you, Madam Speaker, for those wonderful worlds, for elevating this Chamber.

- [Begin Insert]

Mr. FARR. Madam Speaker, in mid-March, the Chinese government conducted a bloody crackdown, grossly violating the human rights of the peaceful protestors in Tibet.

The protest by the Tibetans touched a nerve and rapidly spread beyond the capital city of Lhasa into other areas of Tibet and around the world. The peaceful protest drew a violent and disproportionate reaction from the Chinese government who sought to tamp down the Tibetan desire for autonomy and self-determination. Not only did the Chinese government react with terrible force upon the protesters, the authorities also tried to discredit the Dalai Lama and his movement for a free Tibet.

The Dalai Lama is as determined and committed to nonviolence as he is to seeing the emergence of a peaceful, prosperous, autonomous and self-determined Tibet. The brutal crackdown that seeks to derail the inevitable movement toward a free Tibet resulted in the deaths of more than 100 Tibetans and caused a great deal of social upheaval.

While we live a safe distance away from the struggle, comfortably ensconced in a liberal democratic society, we cannot act as though we do not have a role to play to support the Dalai Lama. We do.

I am enormously grateful to Speaker *Pelosi*, who has offered this House resolution which calls upon the Chinese to end this crackdown. This violent reaction is shortsighted and unproductive and, furthermore, it's not the long-term solution that respects the human rights and dignity of every Tibetan.

Rather, the Chinese Government must enter into a serious, substantive negotiation directly with the Dalai Lama and must allow independent monitors into Tibet. Only then will we be on the path toward a solution to this crisis. Furthermore, I join Speaker *Pelosi* and other supporters of a free Tibet, to ask for the immediate release of all Tibetans who were arrested for non-violent protest.

I am pleased this evening to express my support for the struggle toward a free Tibet, and I would encourage all my colleagues to join me by supporting this important House resolution.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Madam Speaker, I rise today in support of House Resolution 1077, calling on the Government of the People's Republic of China to end its crackdown in Tibet. The resolution also calls for the Chinese Government to enter into a substantive dialogue with His Holiness the Dalai Lama to find a negotiated solution that respects the distinctive language, culture, religious identity, and fundamental freedoms of all Tibetans.

The Dalai Lama has stated his willingness to accept cultural autonomy for Tibet under the Chinese Constitution. He has also been willing to negotiate with Beijing and has advanced a number of very moderate proposals regarding Tibet's future status. The Communist regime, however, has only met this attempt at accommodation with stiff opposition, and is currently instigating yet another crackdown in the lead up to the Beijing Olympics.

To date, Congress has stood strongly by the Tibetan people as they bravely struggle for their rights:

In 1991, Congress passed a resolution stating that Tibet is an occupied country.

In September of 2007, Representative *Rohrabacher* introduced House Resolution 610, expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the United States Government should take immediate steps to boycott the Summer Olympic Games in Beijing in August 2008 unless the Chinese regime stops engaging in serious human rights abuses against its citizens and stops supporting serious human rights abuses by the Governments of Sudan, Burma, and North Korea against their citizens. I wholeheartedly support and cosponsor this measure.

Congressman *Dana Rohrabacher* and I recently formed the Tibet Caucus and already have 8 new members.

Congress awarded the Dalai Lama the Congressional Gold Medal.

We cannot stand silently by and watch as another wave of brutality and oppression sweeps across the country by the Beijing regime. Congress must continue to stand by the Tibetan people and uphold their rights as human beings. I urge every Member of Congress to join the Tibetan Caucus, vote ``yes" for House Resolution 1077, and urge the President of the United States to issue an executive order boycotting the Beijing Olympics and uphold the rights of the Tibetan people to ensure their voice is not silenced.

Mr. *McGOVERN*. Madam Speaker, I rise in strong support of H. Res. 1077 and I want to thank the Speaker of the House, *Nancy Pelosi*, for her leadership and commitment to the people of Tibet. For many years, in both words and deeds, she has stood by the people of Tibet, and called for the respect and support of their dignity, culture, heritage, and religion. And I am proud to be a cosponsor of this legislation.

Madam Speaker, I believe Tibet is one of the most serious human rights and political freedom issues of our time.

The violent response by Chinese military forces to peaceful protests that began in the Tibetan capital on March 11th is horrifying. I believe the United States and the international community must convey a strong condemnation of these acts, an accounting by China on the welfare and whereabouts of the many detained Buddhist monks and other Tibetan citizens who have been arrested, and facilitate access by international human rights monitors and journalists to Tibetan areas, as requested by His Holiness, the Dalai Lama.

The State Department's 2007 Country Reports on Human Rights describes a human rights situation in China and Tibet that continues to worsen while the repression of religious freedom has increased. There is very disturbing evidence of a pre-Olympic crackdown on religious leaders, journalists and lawyers in recent months. It is long past time for the government in Beijing to respect the human rights and religion of every Tibetan. Further, as the protests in Tibet began calling for greater economic opportunity and equality, they clearly call into question China's claims that its development of Tibet advances the prosperity of Tibetans as well as the ethnic Chinese Han who have been encouraged to migrate to Tibet and establish themselves there.

Since I was first elected to Congress, I have worked with many of my House colleagues to press for greater freedom for Tibet and for the release of Tibetan prisoners of conscience who have been jailed by Chinese authorities, most of whom are imprisoned for their political and cultural beliefs. Personally, I believe Tibet should be restored as an independent nation, which it was prior to China's military invasion over 50 years ago. I deeply

fear that China is successfully destroying a culture, religion and national heritage that have survived for thousands of years.

The legislation before us this evening calls upon the Government of the People's Republic of China to end its crackdown in Tibet and enter into a substantive dialogue with his holiness the Dalai Lama to find a negotiated solution that respects the distinctive language, culture, religious identity, and fundamental freedoms of all Tibetans. It is not a call for independence. But it is a call for the Chinese Government to respond as a mature member of the international community. I hope that Beijing will understand much is required of a nation that desires to be a leader in regional and international affairs, including the capacity to genuinely negotiate differences and find solutions that are meaningful and acceptable to all.

Madam Speaker, I have joined with my congressional colleagues, in a bipartisan fashion, on matters to Chinese authorities about the recent protests in Tibet. Over the past years I have also petitioned the Chinese Government on several individual cases, the most high profile of which would be the safety and well-being of the Panchen Lama. I have also asked my own government, at the highest levels, to advocate for the release of particular prisoners and for greater freedoms for the Tibetan people. I must admit, however, that I am very frustrated by the fact that the United States, like the rest of the international community, appears to voice reverence for the Tibetan culture and religion, while standing idly by and watching it be slowly eroded and dismantled year by year by the Chinese authorities. In the meantime, China continues to pursue its policies in Tibet, knowing there is no price to pay for its actions.

This time, Madam Speaker, we must all act differently. There must be consequences for the brutal repression of Tibet. I hope the Chinese Government will heed the message of this resolution. I hope it will open a genuine dialogue with His Holiness the Dalai Lama and negotiate in good faith a just solution with and for the people of Tibet.

I promise the sponsors of this bill that I will continue to join them and speak out on these matters and press President Bush, the international community, and the Chinese Government to respect the basic human rights of the Tibetan people. And passage of H. Res. 1077 is the first step in moving this process forward.

Mr. CHABOT. Madam Speaker, I rise in strong support of H. Res. 1077, a resolution you introduced calling on the government of the People's Republic of China to end its crackdown in Tibet and to enter into a substantive dialogue with the Dalai Lama to find a negotiated solution that respects the language, culture, and religious identity of the Tibetan people.

Madam Speaker, freedom, dignity, and respect are universal rights that should know no boundaries. When these rights are nurtured and protected,

peace, prosperity, and harmony flourish among people and nations. When these rights are restricted, repressed, and ignored, each of us has an obligation to speak out, otherwise the world suffers.

Tibet has a long history of language, culture, and religion. Since the late 1500s, the teachings of the Dalai Lama and Buddhism have played integral roles in Tibet and throughout the world. The fact that Tibetans have lived under repressive conditions since China's crackdown in 1958, which led to the deaths of more than 10,000 Tibetans and sent the 14th Dalai Lama into exile, is inexcusable.

The fact that China has failed to live up to its commitment to improve its human rights record is intolerable. The continued attempts by the Chinese Government to placate the international community with promises cannot go unchallenged any longer. If China wants to be recognized as a world leader, it should start acting like one. A good first step would be to allow for vigorous political debate rather than suppressing it.

I urge my colleagues to support this important resolution and thank the distinguished gentlewoman from California, Madam Speaker, for her work on this issue.

Mr. MARKEY. Madam Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution, which calls upon China to end its repression in Tibet.

I would also like to commend the Speaker for her long advocacy on behalf of the rights of the Tibetan people, and for bringing this bill before the House today.

In Tibet, there is an ongoing struggle for basic human rights and human dignity. Our Nation has a moral obligation to make its views known to the Chinese Government regarding its oppression of the legitimate rights of the Tibetan people to practice their religion and express their culture.

Last month, I was honored to join Speaker **PELOSI** in traveling to Dharamsala. We met with His Holiness the Dalai Lama, with leaders of the Tibetan Government-in-Exile, and with ordinary Tibetan people who have been forced to flee their homes and seek refuge from Chinese political oppression.

I was moved by the extraordinary struggle of the Tibetan people, and the stories I heard of the brutal repression that has been taking place in that country. All the Tibetan people are seeking is their right to be able to express their culture, language, and religion.

The Dalai Lama made it absolutely clear to us that he is firmly and unequivocally committed to nonviolence, that he is not seeking independence but autonomy, and that he is seeking peaceful dialogue with the Chinese



Government. The Dalai Lama is not seeking a boycott of the Olympic Games; he is seeking to return to his homeland with his people in peace.

As I told Ambassador Zhou of China when I met with him last week, it is in the interest of China and Tibet to arrive at a lasting resolution of this dispute as soon as possible. China's reputation around the world, and its relations with other nations, will only continue to suffer if Beijing continues to ignore the world's call for action.

This resolution calls upon China to begin a dialogue with the Dalai Lama, without preconditions, to address the legitimate grievances of the Tibetan people. I truly hope that the Chinese Government heeds this call, ends its repression of Tibetan rights, and enters into a genuine dialogue on Tibet's future.

I urge adoption of the resolution.

Mr. UDALL of New Mexico. Madam Speaker, I rise today in support of H. Res 1077 and to express my concern over recent and ongoing events in China. Since March 10th, when Tibetan protests began in Lhasa, there have been demonstrations in at least 48 locations. While there are some accounts of violent actions, most Tibetan protestors have been peaceful. Unfortunately, the Chinese government has not taken the same approach in responding to these protests and protestors. While we do not know the true number, it is estimated that at least 3,000 Tibetans may be under detention. And it is even more unclear how many people have perished because of the Chinese government's excessive response to these largely peaceful demonstrations.

The Tibetans are a peace loving and resilient people, and even under the Chinese occupation they have been able to retain their culture. Unfortunately, while responding harshly, the Chinese government has also placed blame for the situation at the feet of the Dalai Lama. This, despite the fact that none of the purported evidence is linked directly to the Dalai Lama.

As these demonstrations continue, it is important that the Chinese government distinguishes between the peaceful protestors and the rioters, and that it honor its own constitutionally guaranteed freedoms of speech, association, and demonstration.

Passing this resolution today sends the message to the Chinese Government that this is what we expect, and that we will not turn a blind eye to their actions. On the contrary, we are closely monitoring what occurs in Tibet and will continue to do so. As China's engagement in the international community continues to grow, we must call on the Chinese government to honor the commitments it has made to both Chinese and international law. This resolution does just that, and I strongly support its passage.

Mr. ROYCE. Madam Speaker, I rise in support of H. Res.1077.

I would like to first commend the Speaker on her timely resolution that calls on the Government of the People's Republic of China to end its crackdown in Tibet and to open a dialogue with His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

Importantly, this resolution calls on the Chinese Government to release all Tibetan prisoners who were detained for their nonviolent expression of opposition to Chinese policy towards Tibet, something with which I very much agree.

In 2002, the Tibetan Policy Act was ushered through Congress under the leadership of former chairmen Lantos and Hyde, and signed into law. Amongst its components was a U.S. commitment to the economic and cultural preservation of Tibetans inside Tibet. I believe that this resolution reaffirms this commitment.

For decades, Beijing has oppressed the Tibetan people. As the State Department's most recent annual report on human rights found, tight control on religious expression and denial of other basic human rights are cause for serious concern. China's further crackdowns on peaceful protestors of the Olympic torch relay serve to further affirm the State Department's report.

At the center of international media coverage of China's crackdown on Tibetan Buddhism is Radio Free Asia, a non-profit broadcast corporation that provides alternative news sources in repressive countries. In addition to covering the abuses wrought against the Tibetans, Radio Free Asia has also documented the Chinese destruction of precious Tibetan religious relics and manuscripts. It is not just the ethnic discrimination against Tibetans that gives me pause, but also the efforts to erase their culture.

I commend Radio Free Asia on their tireless efforts to broadcast truth, and I commend you, Madam Speaker, on your work on this resolution.

Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California. Madam Speaker, as the Chinese Government was repressing peaceful Tibetan protests last month, I visited Dharamshala, India--the recognized home of Tibetans in exile--with Speaker Pelosi and several of my colleagues.

I had the honor and privilege to meet His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, and I was moved by the infinite patience and courage he exudes in the face of overwhelming odds. I was touched by the large population of Tibetans in exile who worry about family members they have left behind. These are people who left their homeland due to repression of religion and language by the Chinese Government and the constant violations of basic human rights and dignity in their own land.

The Speaker, along with everyone else on our trip, was incensed at the atrocities conducted by China. Our first order of business upon returning to the United States was to draft this important resolution before the House today.

Through this resolution, we call on the Government of the People's Republic of China to end its crackdown on nonviolent Tibetan protestors and its continuing cultural, religious, economic, and linguistic repression inside Tibet and to begin a dialogue directly with His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

The freedom of press is something we take for granted in the United States but Tibetans unfortunately do not enjoy this privilege, as all press inside Tibet, and all of China in fact, is closely monitored and controlled by the state. This resolution calls on the Chinese Government to allow independent international monitors and journalists, free and unfettered access to Tibet.

It is clear by the conviction and sentencing of human rights activist Hu Jia, who has been an outspoken critic of the human rights record of the Chinese Government and called on the international community to hold Beijing responsible for the promises it made when bidding to host the Olympic games, that China has no intention of unilaterally changing its human rights record. The government of China has been and continues to be an abuser of basic human rights despite the State Department decision to not include China in a list of countries that most systemically violate human rights. This resolution asks the United States Department of State to publicly issue a statement reconsidering its decision.

The cause of the Tibetan people is a desire for freedom of religion, freedom to speak their own language, and to express their unique identity. It is a cause every American can relate to. I urge my colleagues to vote in support of this resolution--to vote in support of Tibet.

Ms. ESHOO. Madam Speaker, we've read and seen on the news the accounting of numerous deaths following the anti-government protests in the Tibetan capital of Lhasa. The proindependence protests were initiated by ethnic Tibetans commemorating the 49th anniversary of the failed 1959 uprising that sent the Dalai Lama into exile. China is now facing mounting international pressure, including the U.S., to demonstrate restraint in dealing with the dissent.

I support the aspirations of the Tibetan people to peacefully protest for independence and safeguard their distinct identity by promoting the elimination of all forms of racial, religious, and linguistic discrimination against them. The People's Republic of China, PRC, has failed miserably to guarantee the preservation of these rights for the Tibetan people and as a result, Tibetans remain plagued by poverty, illiteracy, and a limited infrastructure.

I was privileged to participate in the Speaker's congressional delegation to India last month when we visited the Dalai Lama in Dharamsala. During our visit we discussed the tragic violence that has been taking place in Tibet with the Dalai Lama and we agreed that an open dialogue with the PRC and international pressure are the most effective methods at our disposal for ending the crisis.

This resolution was born out of those discussions with the Dalai Lama. It condemns the government of the PRC for its bloody suppression of the Tibetan people and calls on the government of the PRC to invite the Dalai Lama to China for the purpose of dialogue to resolve the root causes of unrest in the Tibetan areas of China.

Free expression and the right to dissent are defining elements of a democracy. That's why it is essential for us to speak out in condemnation of China's repression of religion, its complicity in the Sudanese atrocities in Darfur and its oppression of Tibet.

I urge my colleagues to pass this important resolution.

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Madam Speaker, today, the 2008 Olympic torch arrives for the first time on American soil. It almost didn't make it. After violence erupted in Paris and London between police and demonstrators protesting Chinese human rights abuses, there were serious discussions about ending the torch's journey across the world before it arrived in the United States.

Despite ongoing complaints by the international community about China's human rights abuses--and its restrictions on freedoms of speech--China refuses to take corrective action.

This resolution is an attempt to pressure the Chinese Government to address international concerns of human rights abuses in that country. This resolution is also a reaction to six decades of cultural and religious repression of the Tibetan people. Now is the time to bring the suffering of the Tibetan people to an end. I ask my colleagues to join me in supporting this resolution to encourage the People's Republic of China to enter into discussions with the Dalai Lama and respect the human rights of all its citizens.

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Mr. BERMAN. 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 California (Mr. *Berman*) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, H. Res. 1077.