

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

EXPRESSING SENSE OF HOUSE REGARDING SREBRENICA

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

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The text of the resolution is as follows:

H. RES. 310

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

centers repeatedly subjected to traumatic shelling and sniper attacks;

Whereas in addition to being the primary victims at Srebrenica, individuals with Bosniak heritage comprise the vast majority of the victims during the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a whole, especially among the civilian population;

Whereas Article 2 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide defines genocide as “any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: (a) killing members of the group; (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; and (e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group”;

Whereas, on May 25, 1993, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 827 establishing the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), based in The Hague, the Netherlands, and charging the ICTY with responsibility for investigating and prosecuting individuals suspected of committing war crimes, genocide, crimes against humanity and grave breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions on the territory of the former Yugoslavia since 1991;

Whereas the ICTY, along with courts in Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as in Serbia, have indicted and in most cases convicted approximately three dozen individuals at various levels of responsibility for grave breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, violations of the laws or customs of war, crimes against humanity, genocide, and complicity in genocide associated with the massacre at Srebrenica, most notably Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic whose trials are ongoing;

Whereas both the ICTY and the International Court of Justice (ICJ) have ruled that the actions of Bosnian Serb forces in Srebrenica in July 1995 constitute genocide;

Whereas House Resolution 199, passed on June 27, 2005, expressed the sense of the House of Representatives that the aggression and ethnic cleansing committed by Serb forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina meets the terms defining genocide according to the 1949 Genocide Convention;

Whereas the United Nations has largely acknowledged its failure to fulfill its responsibility to take actions and make decisions that could have deterred the assault on Srebrenica and prevented the subsequent genocide from occurring;

Whereas some prominent Serbian and Bosnian Serb officials, among others, have denied or at least refused to acknowledge that the massacre at Srebrenica constituted a genocide, or have sought otherwise to trivialize the extent and importance of the massacre; and

Whereas the international community, including the United States, has continued to provide personnel and resources, including through direct military intervention, to prevent further aggression and ethnic cleansing, to negotiate the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (initialed in Dayton, Ohio, on November 21, 1995, and signed in Paris on December 14, 1995), and to help ensure its fullest implementation, including cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia as well as reconciliation among all of Bosnia and Herzegovina’s citizens: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives—

(1) affirms that the policies of aggression and ethnic cleansing as implemented by Serb forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995 meet the terms defining the crime of genocide in Article 2 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide;

(2) condemns statements that deny or question that the massacre at Srebrenica constituted a genocide;

(3) urges the Atrocities Prevention Board, a United States interagency committee established by the Administration in 2012, to study the lessons of Srebrenica and issue informed guidance on how to prevent similar incidents from recurring in the future, paying particular regard to troubled countries including but not limited to Syria, the Central African Republic and Burundi;

(4) encourages the United States to maintain and reaffirm its policy of supporting the independence and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina, peace and stability in southeastern Europe as a whole, and the right of all people living in the region, regardless of national, racial, ethnic or religious background, to return to their homes and enjoy the benefits of democratic institutions, the rule of law, and economic opportunity, as well as to know the fate of missing relatives and friends;

(5) recognizes the achievement of the International Commission for Missing Persons (ICMP) in accounting for those missing in conflicts or natural disasters around the world and believes that the ICMP deserves justified recognition for its assistance to Bosnia and Herzegovina and its relevant institutions in accounting for approximately ninety percent of those reported missing after the Srebrenica massacre and seventy percent of those reported missing during the whole of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina;

(6) welcomes the arrest and transfer to the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) of all persons indicted for war crimes, crimes against humanity, genocide and grave breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, particularly those of Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, which has helped strengthen peace and encouraged reconciliation between the countries of the region and their citizens;

(7) asserts that it is in the national interest of the United States that those individuals who are responsible for these crimes and breaches should continue to be held accountable for their actions, and that the work of the ICTY therefore warrants continued support until all trials and appeals have been completed; and

(8) honors the thousands of innocent people killed or executed at Srebrenica in Bosnia and Herzegovina in July 1995, along with all individuals who were victimized during the conflict and genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995, as well as foreign nationals, including United States citizens, and those individuals in Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and other countries of the region who risked and in some cases lost their lives during their brave defense of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and advocacy of respect for ethnic identity without discrimination.

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

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New Jersey.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Madam Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that

all Members may have 5 legislative days to submit statements and extraneous materials for the RECORD on this measure.

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

There was no objection.

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

Madam Speaker, this week, the world pauses to remember and reflect on the Srebrenica genocide, horrific acts of brutality, wanton cruelty, and mass murder committed in Srebrenica beginning July 11, 20 years ago.

This week, we pause to honor those brave Bosniaks who suffered and died, victims of genocide. This week, the people in the United States and men and women of goodwill throughout the world again extend our deepest condolences and respect to the mothers and surviving family members who have endured unspeakable sorrow and loss that time will never abate. And this week, the international community must recommit itself to justice, once and for all, for those who perpetrated these heinous crimes.

Today, Ratko Mladic and Radovan Karadzic are incarcerated, awaiting final disposition of their cases before the International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia for multiple counts of genocide, crimes against humanity, and violations of laws and customs of war.

Twenty years ago, Madam Speaker, an estimated 8,000 people were systematically slaughtered by Bosnian Serb soldiers in the United Nations-designated “safe haven” area of Srebrenica. They killed Muslim women and children, but especially sought out and murdered adult males in that area.

□ 1600

These brutal killings were not committed in battle. They were committed against people who were unarmed and helpless and who had been repeatedly assured by Dutch peacekeepers that they would not be harmed if they surrendered.

The evidence is overwhelming that the executions were committed with the specific intention of destroying the Bosnian Muslim population of that area. This intention is the central element in the crime of genocide.

The U.N. peacekeeping forces in Srebrenica were charged with enforcing Security Council Resolution 836, which had pledged to defend the safe areas with “all necessary means, including the use of force.”

But when the moment of truth came, the U.N. forces offered only token resistance to the Serb offensive. Their military and political commanders had redefined their primary mission not as the protection of the people of Srebrenica, but as the safety of the U.N. forces themselves.

When Bosnian Serb Commander Ratko Mladic threatened violence against the blue-helmeted soldiers,

here is the way one of those soldiers described the reaction. And I quote him: "Everybody got a fright. You could easily get killed in such an operation. As far as I knew, we had not been sent to Srebrenica to defend the enclave, but, rather, as some kind of spruced-up observers."

So that is what the peacekeepers became: observers to genocide. Soon they became something more than observers: enablers.

On July 13, the Dutch blue-helmet battalion handed Bosnian Muslims who had sought safety within the U.N. compound over to the Serbs. They watched as the men were separated from the women and children, a process which was already well known in Bosnia—it was at the time—as a sign that the men were in imminent danger of being executed. These men were never heard from again.

At one congressional hearing I chaired in March of 1998—and I had six of them—Hasan Nuhanovic, the indigenous translator working for the U.N. peacekeepers in Srebrenica, testified.

He was there in the room. Hasan lost his family in the genocide. He was there when Mladic and the commanders of the Dutch peacekeepers talked about the terms.

Here is what he told my panel, in part:

"On July 12, the day before the fall of Srebrenica, the Bosnian Serb Army commander, General Ratko Mladic, requested a meeting with the Dutchbat commander, Lieutenant Colonel Karemans, and local representatives of Srebrenica in the nearby town of Bratunac outside the enclave . . . During the meeting, Mladic assured the Dutch and local delegation that no harm would come to the refugees in Potocari . . .

"Upon returning to the camp, three local representatives are ordered by Dutchbat deputy commander, Major Franken, to prepare a list of all males, all men and boys between the ages of 16 and 65 among the refugees inside and outside the camp. The list of the males among the 6,000 inside the camp was completed the same day . . .

"On July 13, the Dutch ordered 6,000 refugees out of the Potocari camp. The Serbs were waiting at the gate, separating all males from the women and children. Major Franken stated that all the males whose names were on the list would be safe . . . I watched my parents and my brother being handed over to the Serbs at the gate. None of them have been seen since.

"I want to explain here that the people hoped that the Dutch were going to protect them, the U.N. peacekeeping troops and all other members of all other organization who were present in Srebrenica who were inside the camp, the people hoped that they would be protected, but the Dutch soldiers and officer gave no other option to the refugees but to leave. So the refugees inside were told to leave without any other choice. My family was told on

the evening of 13 July that they should leave. About 6 p.m., there were no more refugees inside the camp.

"I don't know if this is the topic of the meeting or hearing, but the same night the Dutch soldiers had a party inside the camp because they received two or three trucks full of beer and cigarettes. They played music while I was sitting, not knowing what happened to my family."

As he went on to say later, they had all been slaughtered.

In July of 2007, Madam Speaker, I visited Srebrenica, where, together with my good friends President Haris Silajdzic and the Grand Mufti of Bosnia, Reis Ceric, I spoke at a solemn memorial service and witnessed the internment of hundreds of wooden coffins of newly discovered victims of the genocide.

It was a deeply moving experience to see 12 years then after the genocide—now it is 20 years—families still grieving loved ones whose bodies were being identified, often miles from the killing sites, as Serb forces, trying to hide the evidence of their crimes, moved the bodies of their victims.

For the record, 10 years ago—in 2005—the House of Representatives overwhelmingly passed H. Res. 199, which I authored, which clearly and unambiguously condemned the Srebrenica massacre for what it was: genocide.

That resolution was a landmark in the recognition of the Srebrenica massacre as a genocide. Two years later the verdict of the International Court of Justice found the same, in confirming the ruling of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.

Today the international community is nearly unanimous when it proclaims that the Srebrenica massacre was a genocide. The resolution today, of course, supports that as well.

Astonishingly, Madam Speaker, there are some genocide deniers. That is why this resolution condemns statements that deny that the massacre at Srebrenica constituted genocide. Just last weekend Milorad Dodik, the president of Republika Srpska, asserted that the Srebrenica genocide is a lie.

Madam Speaker, just as it is doing in Ukraine, Russia is utilizing misinformation and historical revisionism in an attempt to destabilize Bosnia and the Balkan region. Today Russia vetoed a British U.N. Security Council resolution that reaffirms that Srebrenica was a genocide.

Russia has encouraged Serbia itself to protest the resolution and emboldened genocide denialism in the Republika Srpska, one of Bosnia's two constituent entities.

Madam Speaker, this resolution also encourages the administration to fulfill other neglected responsibilities. In particular, it urges the Atrocities Prevention Board to study the lessons of Srebrenica and issue informed guidance on how to prevent similar incidents from recurring in the future.

As you may know, the Atrocities Prevention Board is a U.S. interagency committee established by the administration in 2012 to flag potential atrocities. However, since its creation, the board has been marked by inaction and a complete lack of transparency.

This is unacceptable, especially as conflicts with disturbing parallels to Bosnia before the genocide continue to fester in Syria, the Central African Republic, Burma, and in Burundi.

Africa, in particular, would stand to benefit from a more active board. The conflict in Burundi is currently at a tipping point, and it absolutely needs attention.

Madam Speaker, despite the need for much greater atrocities prevention in U.S. policy, there have been many promising developments in the Balkan region, and this needs to be underscored.

In particular, I would note that Serbia today is not the Serbia of the Slobodan Milosevic era. That era was marked by nationalist aggression against neighboring countries and peoples, as well as considerable repression at home.

One of those who testified at one of my hearings on Serbia, Curuvija, a great young leader, was murdered on the second day after our bombing began by Serbian people. And the persons who did that have now been held to account. So what has happened there—thankfully, there have now been significant changes in Serbia.

I want to thank my colleagues. I do hope we will have a strong show of support for this resolution.

I reserve the balance of my time.

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

I rise in support of H. Res. 310.

I am the lead sponsor of this resolution. And I remember 20 years ago being in this Chamber when that massacre happened. It is hard to believe that it has been 20 years since the Srebrenica genocide, and it certainly was a genocide.

During the Bosnian war, the United Nations declared the area around this small town a safe zone. On the eve of the massacre, tens of thousands of displaced Bosniak civilians had gathered under the protection of the U.N. in what they thought was a safe zone.

They all rushed to that place, only to be slaughtered a little while later. But the 400 U.N. peacekeepers could put up scarce resistance to the army of the Republika Srpska, whose leaders were bent on wiping out the Bosniak population.

Over the next few days, men and boys were lined up and mowed down by machine guns. Children were murdered in front of their mothers. Women and girls were raped and beaten, as onlookers stood powerless to intervene. Bulldozers piled bodies into mass graves.

I remember that happened in our lifetime. It is hard to believe.

When the killing had ended, more than 8,000 Bosniaks—mostly men and

boys—had lost their lives in one of the bloodiest episodes on European soil since World War II.

This resolution tells their tragic story. It praises the efforts to hold the guilty accountable. It demands that those efforts continue. It underscores solidarity with the victims and calls for a reconciliation that will one day see the lies, hatred, and violence of the past replaced by true friendship and community.

This resolution tells the truth about what happened because telling the truth—however painful—is the starting point for healing to begin.

We remember the Srebrenica genocide to honor the victims and to remind ourselves of the costs of indifference, of what can happen when we say, well, that is somebody else's problem.

As this region of Europe heals—I have just come back from the Balkans—and charts a course toward a brighter future, I hope the lessons of this tragedy will be a guide for the United States and for countries around the world fighting against tyranny and oppression.

Today there was a disgrace that happened at the United Nations. Unfortunately, there are many disgraces that happen at the United Nations.

Two international courts have called the slaughter of Bosnian Serbs of some 8,000 Muslim men and boys who had sought refuge in what was supposed to be a U.N.-protected site genocide.

Now, what happened today at the U.N.? Russia vetoed a U.N. resolution calling Srebrenica a genocide. It passed the Security Council. Russia vetoed it.

You would think that a veto would be used for something of substance, not a resolution. This resolution has substance, but you would not think that Russia or any country would veto it.

Let me see what this defeated resolution stated. It stated that acceptance of “the tragic events at Srebrenica as genocide is a prerequisite for reconciliation” and “condemns denial of this genocide as hindering efforts towards reconciliation.”

The vote was ten countries in favor; Russia casting a veto; and four abstentions: China, Nigeria, Angola, and Venezuela.

The British Ambassador after the vote said that Britain was outraged by Russia's veto. And he said Russia's actions tarnish the memory of all those who died in the Srebrenica genocide. Russia will have to justify its behavior to the families of over 8,000 people murdered in the worst atrocity in Europe since the second World War.

“This is a defeat of justice,” said Camil Durakovic, the mayor of Srebrenica. He added that the veto means that the U.N. is not recognizing a decision by its own judicial branch, the International Court of Justice, which has declared the tragedy a genocide. “The world has lost. The world, and especially Serbia, will have to face the truth sooner or later.”

Our Ambassador Samantha Powell, who was a 24-year-old journalist in

Bosnia at the time of the Srebrenica massacre, told the Council that, “For all of the brutality of a horrific war, this was a singular horror. It was genocide, a fact now proven again and again by international tribunals.”

“Today's vote mattered,” Power said. “It mattered hugely to the families of the victims of the Srebrenica genocide. Russia's veto is heart-breaking for those families, and it is a further stain on this Council's record.”

I read that into the RECORD because I think it is important to notice the actions of Russia. We see their actions in Ukraine. We see their actions at the U.N. And we see the actions of the U.N., itself. And it really is a shame.

So, again, we remember this genocide to honor its victims. It is not somebody else's problem. It is all of our problems.

□ 1615

In order to prevent it from happening in the future, we have to accurately recall what happened in the past.

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

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE), the distinguished chairman of the full Foreign Affairs Committee and a great leader on human rights.

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate Mr. SMITH of New Jersey for bringing this bill up and keeping this atrocity and the lessons that it means for us today in front of this body, and as always, I appreciate Mr. ENGEL's cooperation in seeing this resolution move to the floor.

I appreciate the powerful stories that were shared by Mr. ENGEL and by Mr. SMITH today in terms of what happened on that day 20 years ago this month as Bosnian Serb forces transformed what was supposed to be a U.N. safe haven for refugees into what became an extermination camp.

On that July day, 8,000 men and boys were massacred. As they shared with you, Serb forces compiled detailed lists of those targeted for killing. They separated families, and they drove those young Muslim men to various fields where they were summarily executed.

The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia ruled that this act was an act of genocide—and rightly so. We do not know the names of many of these victims, as these killers took extensive measures to cover their crimes. As a result, families have never found their missing relatives, and experts continue to uncover and identify remains at the scenes of these mass killings.

Former United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan has said that this tragedy will “haunt the United Nations forever.” Although it occurred 20 years ago, this massacre continues to hinder progress towards peace in this troubled region. For while Serbia's President

has apologized for crimes committed, he and other Serbian officials still refuse to admit the true extent of the brutality.

Mr. Speaker, today's resolution encourages Serbian authorities to publicly acknowledge the genocide that occurred, which would constitute a major step forward in restoring relations with its neighbor.

This resolution also reaffirms U.S. policy to oppose mass atrocities in the strongest terms whenever and wherever they occur; but of course, the Srebrenica genocide, along with others in Rwanda, Cambodia, and Darfur, are stark reminders that simply saying “never again” will never be enough. Action is needed, and it is demanded as, around the world, violent conflicts threaten to erupt once more into genocidal campaigns.

I will name some right now. Ongoing abuses against the Rohingya Muslim population in Burma have caused human rights advocates to sound the alarm over a “grave risk of additional mass atrocities and even genocide.” Unable to claim citizenship in Burma or elsewhere and under constant threat of violence, many have called the Rohingya Muslims “the most persecuted minority in the world,” leading thousands upon thousands to flee their homes in overloaded boats. That is why I helped lead the effort last Congress to pass H. Res. 418, calling for an end to the persecution of the Rohingya people.

In Sri Lanka, anti-Muslim riots broke out last June killing four and injuring dozens more. Acting with impunity under the Rajapaksa government, extremist forces destroyed mosques and Muslim businesses, displacing thousands.

Under the Sirisena government, however, we have an opportunity to press for positive change and inclusivity in the newly elected government there in Sri Lanka.

Extremist groups are similarly targeting minority communities in Syria, the Central African Republic, and Burundi. While we absolutely must remember past atrocities, we are charged with doing all we can to stop today's violence. I don't want future Congresses having to memorialize atrocities from our era now.

Again, Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New Jersey, Mr. CHRIS SMITH, for introducing this timely and important resolution; and, again, I thank Mr. ENGEL.

I encourage my colleagues to join me in supporting this.

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

Mr. Speaker, I commend my friend from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) for his leadership on this important resolution, and I am gratified that we held this timely debate ahead of the solemn commemorations that will take place in Srebrenica and around the world this weekend.

I thank our chairman for his leadership, Chairman ROYCE, as usual. It

shows that we worked again together on the Foreign Affairs Committee in a very bipartisan manner. This transcends everything. This is genocide, and these resolutions are very, very important.

Now, Mr. Speaker, let's think about this. The chairman said something that really jostled my mind. I pointed out where a U.N. resolution was vetoed today by Russia. These men who were massacred in a genocide went to what they were told was a United Nations safe haven.

For this to happen under the auspices of the United Nations and then for Russia to veto a United Nations resolution commemorating solemn, solemn 20 years, it is just an absolute disgrace and irony; and it is one of the reasons that the United Nations has trouble because of the hypocrisy, once again, that we see in that body.

By passing this resolution, we put the House solidly on record honoring the thousands of innocent people killed at Srebrenica and all those who suffered during the Bosnian war. We stand alongside those who risked and continued to risk life and limb to defend the human rights of all people.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this resolution unanimously, and I yield back the balance of my time.

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

Mr. Speaker, I just want to finally say a very special thanks to Majority Leader KEVIN MCCARTHY for arranging for this bill to come to the floor and of course to the Speaker, to ED ROYCE, our distinguished chairman, and the ranking member for their strong support and cosponsorship of this resolution. It is bipartisan, and I think we are sending a clear and unambiguous message to the world, again, that Srebrenica was a genocide.

We must hold those to account who committed these atrocities. At least two of the major perpetrators, hopefully, will soon get justice, one at the end of this year and Mladic probably by 2017. The wheels of justice do turn slowly, but they are jailed right now. Above all, I think we need to pray for the victims.

Mr. Speaker, we need to pray for the loved ones who continue to suffer unspeakable agony. I do hope the American people and all of us in the House and in this town will—especially as this remembrance comes around beginning on July 11—keep these people who have suffered so much in our prayers.

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

Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H. Res. 310, expressing the sense of the House of Representatives regarding Srebrenica. As a co-chair of the Congressional Caucus on Bosnia, I believe it is crucial to distinguish the Srebrenica massacres as genocide while honoring the thousands of innocent people who were killed in July twenty years ago.

In the early 1990s, following Bosnia and Herzegovina's declaration of national sovereignty, Bosnian Serb forces attacked Eastern Bosnia in order to unify and secure Serb territory. During this struggle for control, those Bosnian Serb forces, also called the Army of Republika Srpska committed crimes of ethnic cleansing of the non-Serb population. Approximately 8,000 Bosnian men and boys were systematically executed in 1995.

The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina during this time was a failure on behalf of the international community. In 1999, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan acknowledged that the global community needed to accept responsibility for the ethnic cleansing campaign in Bosnia and Herzegovina that killed thousands of unarmed civilians in a town designated as a "safe area."

For many years now, I have called on the United Nations to recognize Srebrenica as a genocide. Yesterday, I learned that Russia blocked the latest effort by the United Kingdom to recognize the Srebrenica massacres as a genocide, calling it "not constructive, confrontational, and politically-motivated." I am disappointed that the UN is unable to formally recognize Europe's worst atrocity since World War II.

Although the global community cannot and will not distinguish Srebrenica as genocide, I applaud my fellow Bosnia Caucus co-chair, Congressman CHRIS SMITH, for introducing this important resolution. While the UN's hands are tied, I am proud that the United States continues to be Bosnia and Herzegovina's greatest friend and ally. I urge my colleagues to support Bosnia and Herzegovina by voting in favor of this resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. WALKER). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, H. Res. 310.

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

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

STUDENT SUCCESS ACT

GENERAL LEAVE

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

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

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 125 and rule XVIII, the Chair declares the House in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill, H.R. 5.

Will the gentleman from Kansas (Mr. YODER) kindly take the chair.

□ 1624

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole

House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H.R. 5) to support State and local accountability for public education, protect State and local authority, inform parents of the performance of their children's schools, and for other purposes, with Mr. YODER (Acting Chair) in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Acting CHAIR. When the Committee of the Whole rose on Friday, February 27, 2015, a request for a recorded vote on amendment No. 44 printed in part B of House Report 114-29 offered by the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. SCOTT) had been postponed.

Pursuant to House Resolution 347, it shall be in order to consider the further amendments printed in part A of House Report 114-192 as if such amendments had been printed in part B of House Report 114-29. Each such amendment may be offered only in the order printed in the report, by a Member designated in the report, shall be considered read, shall be debatable for the time specified in the report, equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent, shall not be subject to amendment, and shall not be subject to a demand for division of the question.

AMENDMENT NO. 45 OFFERED BY MR. ROKITA

The Acting CHAIR. It is now in order to consider amendment No. 45 printed in part A of House Report 114-192.

Mr. ROKITA. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment at the desk.

The Acting CHAIR. The Clerk will designate the amendment.

The text of the amendment is as follows:

Page 5, lines 4, 7, 16, 20, and 24, strike "2021" and insert "2019".

Page 6, lines 4, 10, 16, 21, and 25, strike "2021" and insert "2019".

Page 7, line 4, strike "2021" and insert "2019".

Page 94, line 18, strike "2021" and insert "2019".

Page 450, line 19 and 23, strike "2021" and insert "2019".

Page 461, line 17, strike "2021" and insert "2019".

Page 484, line 11, strike "2021" and insert "2019".

Page 619, line 7, strike "2021" and insert "2019".

The Acting CHAIR. Pursuant to House Resolution 347, the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. ROKITA) and a Member opposed each will control 5 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. ROKITA. Mr. Chairman, my amendment is simple. It shortens authorization of the act from 6 years to 4 years. I am very thankful for the leadership of the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. GROTHMAN) for his work in leading this effort.

Mr. Chairman, it is the role of Congress to conduct oversight of Federal programs and regularly revisit the results of taxpayer investments. We began a process to replace No Child Left Behind 4 years ago, and our goal