

the central aim of U.S. policy toward the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been to encourage a negotiated resolution based on the principle of a democratic, Jewish state of Israel living side by side in peace and security with a viable, democratic Palestinian state. Republican and Democratic presidents alike have affirmed that such an outcome will only be achieved through direct negotiations between the two parties, and have opposed any action by either side that undermines or diminishes the prospects for a negotiated peace.

To be sure, the Palestinian leadership's intent to pursue diplomatic recognition at the United Nations qualifies as such an action, and on this point I agree with the sponsors of this resolution. I also share their concerns about the prospect of a Palestinian unity government that does not recognize Israel's right to exist or renounce violence against innocent civilians. Either development would represent a major setback for the peace process as we know it, and Congress is right to warn Palestinian leaders about the consequences of their course of action.

But as usual, the resolution before us today tells only half the story. It says nothing about Israel's responsibility to act as a serious negotiating partner and abide by its previous commitments under the Road Map and other agreements. It says nothing about Israel's refusal to halt settlement construction in order to allow direct negotiations to resume—even when the Obama Administration offered a lavish package of aid and assurances for Israel to do something that was manifestly in its own interest to begin with. It condemns the Palestinian president for his unilateral actions while failing to comprehend that it has been Israel's intransigence that has led him to view the United Nations as his only recourse. And as usual, the resolution has been rushed to the floor without any serious debate or any opportunity for input from the many members of this body who care about this critical issue.

This resolution is also being considered at a pivotal moment in the history of the peace process, as well as the history of the broader Middle East. After years of false starts and broken promises, the prospects for a negotiated peace appear as dim today as at any time in recent memory, and may grow dimmer still as the political winds in the Arab world shift in unpredictable ways. Now, perhaps more than ever before, strong and decisive U.S. leadership is needed to persuade both sides of the urgency of the moment and bring them back to the negotiating table. It is only a matter of time before there is no table left around which to negotiate.

Yet instead of urging the President to redouble his commitment to the pursuit of peace, we are urging him to lead a diplomatic initiative to oppose Palestinian recognition. Instead of encouraging him to bring the full weight of American ideas, influence, and resources to bear on this critical issue, we are asking him to suspend U.S. assistance to the Palestinian Authority—the very assistance that has been so essential to laying the foundations for a future Palestinian state. Instead of congratulating him for his efforts to revive the stalled negotiations by outlining his ideas for the boundaries of a future Palestinian state, too many of my colleagues seem more interested in manufacturing a controversy for political gain. Unfortunately, the current Israeli prime minister seems all too willing to play along,

despite the fact that the two previous U.S. presidents—not to mention at least two former Israeli prime ministers—have advocated positions nearly identical to that outlined by President Obama.

So while I will cast my vote in favor of H. Res. 28, I am reminded of the story of Nero playing the fiddle as Rome burns. The Middle East is transforming before our eyes, and the window of opportunity for the United States to achieve a just and lasting resolution to this age-old conflict may be closing rapidly. We should seize this moment of opportunity and recommit ourselves to the pursuit of peace before it is too late.

Mr. PAUL. Madam Speaker, I rise in opposition to this resolution. While I certainly share the hope for peace in the Middle East and a solution to the ongoing conflict, I do not believe that peace will result if we continue to do the same things while hoping for different results. The U.S. has been involved in this process for decades, spending billions of dollars we do not have, yet we never seem to get much closer to a solution. I believe the best solution is to embrace non-interventionism, which allows those most directly involved to solve their own problems.

This resolution not only further entangles the U.S. in the Israeli/Palestinian dispute, but it sets out the kind of outcome the United States would accept in advance. While I prefer our disengagement from that conflict, I must wonder how the U.S. expects to be seen as an "honest broker" when it dictates the term of a solution in such a transparently one-sided manner. In the resolution before us, all demands are made of only one side in the conflict. Do supporters of this resolution really believe the actors in the Middle East and the rest of the world do not notice? We do no favors to the Israelis or to the Palestinians when we involve ourselves in such a manner and block any negotiations that may take place without U.S. participation. They have the incentives to find a way to live in peace and we must allow them to find that solution on their own. As always, congressional attitudes toward the peace process in the Middle East reveal hubris and self-importance. Only those who must live together in the Middle East can craft a lasting peace between Israel and Palestine.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Madam Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, H. Res. 268.

The question was taken.

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

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Madam Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX and the Chair's prior announcement, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

#### BELARUS DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS ACT OF 2011

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Madam Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and

pass the bill (H.R. 515) to reauthorize the Belarus Democracy Act of 2004, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 515

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

#### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Belarus Democracy and Human Rights Act of 2011".

#### SEC. 2. FINDINGS; STATEMENT OF POLICY.

Sections 2 and 3 of the Belarus Democracy Act of 2004 (Public Law 109-480; 22 U.S.C. 5811 note) is amended to read as follows:

#### "SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

"Congress finds the following:

"(1) The Government of Belarus has engaged in a pattern of clear and uncorrected violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

"(2) The Government of Belarus has engaged in a pattern of clear and uncorrected violations of basic principles of democratic governance, including through a series of fundamentally flawed presidential and parliamentary elections undermining the legitimacy of executive and legislative authority in that country.

"(3) The Government of Belarus has subjected thousands of pro-democratic political activists to harassment, beatings, and jailings, particularly as a result of their attempts to peacefully exercise their right to freedom of assembly and association.

"(4) The Government of Belarus has attempted to maintain a monopoly over the country's information space, targeting independent media, including independent journalists, for systematic reprisals and elimination, while suppressing the right to freedom of speech and expression of those dissenting from the dictatorship of Aleksandr Lukashenka, and adopted laws restricting the media, including the Internet, in a manner inconsistent with international human rights agreements.

"(5) The Government of Belarus continues a systematic campaign of harassment, repression, and closure of nongovernmental organizations, including independent trade unions and entrepreneurs, and this crackdown has created a climate of fear that inhibits the development of civil society and social solidarity.

"(6) The Government of Belarus has subjected leaders and members of select ethnic and religious minorities to harassment, including the imposition of heavy fines and denying permission to meet for religious services, sometimes by selective enforcement of the 2002 Belarus religion law.

"(7) The Government of Belarus has attempted to silence dissent by persecuting human rights and pro-democracy activists with threats, firings, expulsions, beatings and other forms of intimidation, and restrictions on freedom of movement and prohibition of international travel.

"(8) The dictator of Belarus, Aleksandr Lukashenka, established himself in power by orchestrating an illegal and unconstitutional referendum that enabled him to impose a new constitution, abolishing the duly elected parliament, the 13th Supreme Soviet, installing a largely powerless National Assembly, extending his term in office, and removing applicable term limits.

"(9) The Government of Belarus has failed to make a convincing effort to solve the cases of disappeared opposition figures Yuri Zakharenka, Viktor Gonchar, and Anatoly Krasovsky and journalist Dmitry Zavadsky, even though credible allegations and evidence links top officials of the Government to these disappearance.

“(10) The Government of Belarus has restricted freedom of expression on the Internet by requiring Internet Service Providers to maintain data on Internet users and the sites they view and to provide such data to officials upon request, and by creating a government body with the authority to require Internet Service Providers to block Web sites.

“(11) On December 19, 2010, the Government of Belarus conducted a presidential election that failed to meet the standards of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) for democratic elections.

“(12) After the December 19, 2010, presidential election the Government of Belarus responded to opposition protests by beating scores of protestors and detaining more than 600 peaceful protestors.

“(13) After the December 19, 2010, presidential election the Government of Belarus jailed seven of the nine opposition presidential candidates and abused the process of criminal prosecution to persecute them.

“(14) After the December 19, 2010, presidential election, the Government of Belarus disrupted independent broadcast and Internet media, and engaged in repressive actions against independent journalists.

“(15) After the December 19, 2010, presidential election, Belarusian security services and police conducted raids targeting civil society groups, individual pro-democracy activists, and independent media.

“(16) After the December 19, 2010, presidential election, Belarusian officials refused to extend the mandate of the OSCE Office in Minsk.

“(17) After the December 19, 2010, presidential election, opposition candidates and activists have been persecuted and detainees have been physically mistreated, and denied access to family, defense counsel, medical treatment, and open legal proceedings.

“(18) After the December 19, 2010, presidential election, lawyers representing those facing criminal charges related to the post-election protest have been subjected to the revocation of licenses, disbarment, and other forms of pressure.

“(19) After the December 19, 2010, presidential election, the Government of Belarus has convicted political detainees to harsh prison sentences.

“(20) After the December 19, 2010, presidential election, the United States and European Union imposed targeted travel and financial sanctions on an expanded list of officials of the Government of Belarus.

“(21) After the December 19, 2010, presidential election, the United States fully restored sanctions against Belarus's largest state-owned petroleum and chemical conglomerate and all of its subsidiaries.

“(22) After the December 19, 2010, presidential election, the United States has engaged in assistance efforts to provide legal and humanitarian assistance to those facing repression and preserving access to independent information, and has pledged resources to support human rights advocates, trade unions, youth and environmental groups, business associations, think-tanks, democratic political parties and movements, independent journalists, newspapers and electronic media operating both inside Belarus and broadcasting from its neighbors, and to support access of Belarusian students to independent higher education and expand exchange programs for business and civil society leaders.

“(23) The Department of State, the Department of the Treasury, and other executive branch agencies have heretofore made effective use of this Act to promote the purposes of this Act, as stated in section 3 of this Act.

### “SEC. 3. STATEMENT OF POLICY.

“It is the policy of the United States to—  
“(1) condemn the conduct of the December 19, 2010, presidential election and crackdown on opposition candidates, political leaders, and activists, civil society representatives, and journalists;

“(2) continue to call for the immediate release without preconditions of all political prisoners in Belarus, including all those individuals detained in connection with the December 19, 2010, presidential election;

“(3) continue to support the aspirations of the people of Belarus for democracy, human rights, and the rule of law;

“(4) continue to support the aspirations of the people of Belarus to preserve the independence and sovereignty of their country;

“(5) continue to support the growth of democratic movements and institutions in Belarus, which empower the people of Belarus to end tyranny in their country;

“(6) continue to refuse to accept the results of the fundamentally flawed December 19, 2010, presidential election held in Belarus, and to support calls for new presidential and parliamentary elections, conducted in a manner that is free and fair according to OSCE standards;

“(7) continue to call for the fulfillment by the Belarusian government of Belarus's freely undertaken obligations as an OSCE participating state;

“(8) continue to call for a full accounting of the disappearances of opposition leaders and journalists in Belarus, including Victor Gonchar, Anatoly Krasovskiy, Yuri Zakharenka, and Dmitry Zavadsky, and the prosecution of those individuals who are in any way responsible for the disappearance of those opposition leaders and journalists;

“(9) continue to work closely with the European Union and other countries and international organizations, to promote the conditions necessary for the integration of Belarus into the European family of democracies;

“(10) call on the International Ice Hockey Federation to suspend its plan to hold the 2014 International World Ice Hockey championship in Minsk until the Government of Belarus releases all political prisoners; and

“(11) remain open to reevaluating United States policy toward Belarus as warranted by demonstrable progress made by the Government of Belarus consistent with the aims of this Act as stated in this section.”

### SEC. 3. RADIO AND TELEVISION BROADCASTING TO BELARUS.

Section 5 of the Belarus Democracy Act of 2004 (Public Law 109-480; 22 U.S.C. 5811 note) is amended to read as follows:

#### “SEC. 5. RADIO, TELEVISION, AND INTERNET BROADCASTING TO BELARUS.

“It is the sense of Congress that the President should continue to support radio, television, and Internet broadcasting to the people of Belarus in languages spoken in Belarus, by Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, the Voice of America, European Radio for Belarus, and Belsat.”

#### SEC. 4. SANCTIONS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF BELARUS.

Section 6 of the Belarus Democracy Act of 2004 (Public Law 109-480; 22 U.S.C. 5811 note) is amended—

(1) in subsection (b)—

(A) in paragraph (1), by inserting “or expression, including those individuals jailed based on political beliefs or expression in connection with repression that attended the presidential election of December 19, 2010” before the period at the end;

(B) in paragraph (2), by inserting “, including politically motivated legal charges made in connection with repression that attended the presidential election of December 19, 2010” before the period at the end;

(C) in paragraph (5), by inserting “and violations of human rights, including violations of human rights committed in connection with the presidential election of December 19, 2010” before the period at the end; and

(D) in paragraph (7), by striking “internationally recognized observers” and inserting “OSCE observers”;

(2) in subsection (c)—

(A) in paragraph (2)—

(i) by striking “subparagraph (A)” and inserting “paragraph (1)”; and

(ii) by striking “or” at the end;

(B) in paragraph (3), by striking the period at the end and inserting a semicolon; and

(C) by adding at the end the following new paragraphs:

“(4) is a member of any branch of the security or law enforcement services of Belarus and has participated in the violent crackdown on opposition leaders, journalists, and peaceful protestors that occurred in connection with the presidential election of December 19, 2010; or

“(5) is a member of any branch of the security or law enforcement services of Belarus and has participated in the persecution or harassment of religious groups, human rights defenders, democratic opposition groups, or independent media or journalists.”;

(3) in subsection (e), by striking “of each international financial institution to which” and inserting “at each international financial institution of which”;

(4) in subsection (f)(2)(B)(ii), by striking “(as defined in section 40102 of title 49, United States Code)”.

### SEC. 5. REPORT.

Section 8(a) of the Belarus Democracy Act of 2004 (Public Law 109-480; 22 U.S.C. 5811 note) is amended—

(1) in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by striking “this Act” and inserting “the Belarus Democracy and Human Rights Act of 2011”;

(2) in paragraph (1), by striking “sale or delivery of weapons or weapons-related technologies” and inserting “sale or delivery or provision of weapons or weapons-related technologies or weapons-related training”;

(3) in paragraph (2), by striking “involved in the sale” and inserting “or weapons-related training involved in the sale or delivery or provision”;

(4) in paragraph (3), by inserting “or weapons-related training described in paragraph (1)” before the period at the end; and

(5) by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(5) The cooperation of the Government of Belarus with any foreign government or organization for purposes related to the censorship or surveillance of the Internet, or the purchase or receipt by the Government of Belarus of any technology or training from any foreign government or organization for purposes related to the censorship or surveillance of the Internet.”

### SEC. 6. DEFINITIONS.

Section 9 of the Belarus Democracy Act of 2004 (Public Law 109-480; 22 U.S.C. 5811 note) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “Committee on International Relations” and inserting “Committee on Foreign Affairs”; and

(2) in paragraph (3)—

(A) in subparagraph (B)(i), by striking “and prosecutors” and inserting “, prosecutors, and heads of professional associations and educational institutions”; and

(B) in subparagraph (C), by striking “Lukashenka regime” and inserting “Government of Belarus”.

### SEC. 7. FUNDING FOR REPORT.

The requirement to prepare and transmit the report required under section 8 of the

Belarus Democracy Act of 2004 (Public Law 109-480; 22 U.S.C. 5811 note), as amended by section 5 of this Act, shall be performed within current levels of authorized and appropriated funding.

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the rule, the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN) and the gentleman from California (Mr. BERMAN) each will control 20 minutes.

## GENERAL LEAVE

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. I ask that all Members have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on H.R. 515.

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

There was no objection.

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

I would like to thank Chairman SMITH and Chairman BACHUS for their cooperation in allowing this bill to proceed so swiftly to the floor.

Madam Speaker, I rise today in strong support of H.R. 515, the Belarus Democracy and Human Rights Act of 2011.

I would like to thank my distinguished colleague and friend, Mr. SMITH, for introducing this timely and important measure.

Belarus has been correctly deemed the last dictatorship of Europe. Under the iron hand of Lukashenko, the Belarusian people have endured the systemic denial and violation of their basic freedoms and human rights.

The authorities in Belarus have severely restricted free speech and independent media. Prodemocracy political activists are subject to beatings and imprisonment. The regime's heavy-handed tactics were fully utilized in last December's fraudulent election for president.

According to our own Department of State's Human Rights Report: "Authorities denied citizens the right to change their government, manipulating the December 19 presidential election to ensure that the president would not be seriously challenged.

"Security forces beat detainees and protesters, used excessive force to disperse peaceful demonstrators, and reportedly used torture during investigations.

"A crackdown on post-election demonstrations led to the arrest of over 700 activists, including criminal charges against five presidential candidates and numerous activists and journalists."

Unfortunately, the regime, despite its repeated promises of reform, continues this campaign of repression against its own people.

In response to the rumors that peaceful protesters were planning to gather on Belarusian Independence Day, July 3, just recently, to show their opposition to the regime by clapping their hands, the dictator stated, "Stomping, clapping, bellowing and roaring on squares and streets cannot solve problems. The state has the resources and power to pacify those who violate the law and the constitution."

We have now seen Lukashenko did indeed use the state's power to pacify

the demonstrators. How? He ordered the authorities to start by firing tear gas at the protesters, followed by the violent beating and imprisonment of those who dared to clap their hands. Over 300 activist were arrested and today 140 were convicted on such dubious charges as being hooligans or participating in unsanctioned demonstrations.

This unrelenting persecution of the Belarusian people by the regime is simply unacceptable. The U.S. and other responsible nations must support the prodemocracy forces in Belarus and hold the authoritarian regime in Minsk accountable for its growing abuses.

That's why I am pleased to support this important measure which, among other things, condemns the conduct of the recent presidential elections and the crackdown on opposition candidates and activists, expresses a sense of Congress that the President should continue to support radio, television and Internet broadcasting to the people of Belarus and expand on existing sanctions, including the denial of visas to any member of the Belarusian Government who participated in the crackdown on opposition leaders, journalists, and peaceful protesters that occurred in connection with the December elections.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
Washington, DC, May 5, 2011.

Hon. ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN,  
Chairman, House Committee on Foreign Affairs,  
Washington, DC.

DEAR CHAIRMAN ROS-LEHTINEN: I am writing in response to your letter concerning H.R. 515, the "Belarus Democracy Reauthorization Act of 2011," which the Committee on Foreign Affairs reported favorably. As a result of your having consulted with us on provisions in H.R. 515 that fall within the Rule X jurisdiction of the Committee on the Judiciary, we are able to agree to discharging our Committee from further consideration of this bill in order that it may proceed expeditiously to the House floor for consideration.

The Judiciary Committee takes this action with our mutual understanding that by foregoing consideration of H.R. 515 at this time, we do not waive any jurisdiction over subject matter contained in this or similar legislation, and that our Committee will be appropriately consulted and involved as the bill or similar legislation moves forward so that we may address any remaining issues in our jurisdiction. Our Committee also reserves the right to seek appointment of an appropriate number of conferees to any House-Senate conference involving this or similar legislation, and requests your support for any such request.

I appreciate your including our exchange of letters on this matter in your committee report, or in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD during floor consideration of H.R. 515.

Sincerely,

LAMAR SMITH,  
Chairman.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON FINANCIAL SERVICES,  
Washington, DC, May 5, 2011.

Hon. ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN,  
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Wash-  
ington, DC.

DEAR CHAIRMAN ROS-LEHTINEN: On April 14, 2011, the Committee on Foreign Affairs reported H.R. 515, the Belarus Democracy Reauthorization Act of 2011, by a unanimous re-

corded vote of 34 to 0. As you know, the Committee on Financial Services was granted an additional referral upon the bill's introduction pursuant to the Committee's jurisdiction under rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives over international financial and monetary organizations, banks and banking.

Upon review of H.R. 515, it is clear that the legislation will not alter the current statutory directives pertaining to the votes of the U.S. Executive Directors at the Multilateral Development Banks. Since no policy change is being made with respect to the narrow matter within the jurisdiction of the Financial Services Committee, I will waive consideration of the bill by the Financial Services Committee so that it may be considered expeditiously by the House. By agreeing to waive its consideration of the bill, the Financial Services Committee does not waive its jurisdiction over H.R. 515. In addition, I do so with the understanding that this will not prejudice the Committee on Financial Services with respect to its prerogatives on this or similar legislation. Further, the Committee on Financial Services reserves its authority to seek conferees on any provisions of the bill that are within its jurisdiction during any House-Senate conference that may be convened on this legislation. I ask your commitment to support any request by the Committee on Financial Services for conferees on H.R. 515 or related legislation.

Lastly, I request that you include this letter and your response as part of your committee's report on the bill and insert them in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD during consideration of the legislation on the House floor.

Thank you for your attention to these matters.

Sincerely,

SPENCER BACHUS,  
Chairman.

Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

I ask unanimous consent that the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, and Human Rights, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH), be allowed to manage the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the gentleman from New Jersey will control the balance of the time.

There was no objection.

Mr. BERMAN. Madam Speaker, I will be the only speaker to speak from our side on this resolution, and I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Madam Speaker, I rise in support of this legislation. On December 19 of last year, Belarus' President, Alexander Lukashenko, staged a fraudulent election. Immediately afterward, he had the opposition candidates arrested, and this May almost all of them were sentenced to prison.

The Lukashenko regime has continued to harass members of opposition political parties, human rights activists, civil society and to suppress Belarusians' access to free press and information. Over the past month, an increasing number of Belarusians have gathered to protest against Lukashenko and the deteriorating economic situation there.

The Obama administration has reacted strongly to the fraudulent elections and post-election crack down. On February 2, the U.S. significantly expanded the list of Belarusian officials subject to travel sanctions and to have their assets blocked and restored full

U.S. sanctions against Belarus's large state-owned oil and gas concern.

On July 2, Secretary Clinton met with activists from Belarus during her visit to Lithuania for a meeting of the Community of Democracies and repeated her demand that Belarus release political prisoners and embark on the path of democratic reform. In coordination with the European Union, the administration has significantly expanded democracy assistance to Belarus for this year from \$11 million to \$15 million.

We must continue to call for the re-opening of the OSCE office in Minsk and for the Government of Belarus to fully cooperate with an OSCE fact-finding mission requested by 14 participating states under the Moscow mechanism.

And we must continue to demand the release of many heroic individuals still languishing in Belarusian prisons without access to their families or legal counsel. Europe's last dictatorship should not be allowed to stand unchallenged.

I support this legislation and encourage my colleagues to do the same.

I yield back the balance of my time.

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

First of all, let me thank Chairwoman ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN for her leadership in bringing this bill to the floor today, the majority leader and the Speaker for scheduling it, and to HOWARD BERMAN for his strong support of it as well and his very eloquent statement just a moment ago.

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Madam Speaker, I rise in strong support of H.R. 515, the Belarus Democracy and Human Rights Act of 2011. The bill demonstrates our strong and sustained promotion of human rights, democracy, and the rule of law in Belarus through targeted sanctions against this brutal dictatorship of Alexander Lukashenko.

H.R. 515 reinforces earlier law, the Belarus Democracy Act of 2004 and the Belarus Democracy Reauthorization Act of 2006, both of which passed the House and Senate with overwhelming bipartisan support and were signed into law.

This legislation is timely and necessary. The fraudulent December 19 elections in 2010 in Belarus and the ongoing crackdown on democracy activists and independent journalists by the Lukashenko dictatorship underscore the need for democracy-promoting legislation. Immediately after the election, the government responded to peaceful protests against electoral fraud with savage mass beatings and large-scale detentions—over 700 people.

Later on, Madam Speaker, I will put in the RECORD the list of many of the activists, many of whom were already in jail, their sentences—and these are men and women whose only crime was asking that Belarus matriculate from dictatorship to a democracy.

Of those charged, 40 have been convicted, with some receiving very harsh sentences—up to 6 years. And, of course, after those 6 years are over, what Lukashenko and his cronies usually do is find some reason to extend those jail sentences. So these sentences are awful indeed.

As ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN pointed out a moment ago, the chairwoman of our committee, this also includes five of the nine Presidential candidates who ran against Lukashenko, their families, lawyers, journalists, and democratic activists who continue to be harassed and intimidated. It is the worst political crackdown in Europe in over a decade. And it's ongoing, Madam Speaker.

The repressive regime in Belarus was in full force earlier this week as police broke up protesters attempting to mark their country's independence day. Hundreds were detained, and 140 already received administrative sentences or fines, including independent journalists reporting on rallies held across the country.

The post-election has followed the pattern of repression that has characterized Lukashenko's 17-year rule. Through a series of rigged elections, large-scale intimidation and suppression of independent media and civil society, the dictator has long since consolidated his control over virtually all national institutions. This dictatorship, as has been said, is the worst of any in Europe today.

Perhaps most significantly about the legislation, the bill supports targeted sanctions. It expresses the sense of the Congress to deny the privilege of visiting our country to senior Belarus officials, their immediate families and others involved in human rights violations and anti-democracy actions, including those involved in the December 19 post-election crackdown. Likewise, it has provisions prohibiting U.S. Government financing, except for humanitarian goods and agricultural products or medical products and nonhumanitarian loans from international financial institutions to the Belarusian Government; and blocking assets owned by the Belarusian Government's senior leadership or their families and others involved in antidemocratic actions. These sanctions are aimed at the senior leadership of a dictatorship that displays utter contempt for the dignity and rights of the Belarusian people, and with these sanctions we stand with the Belarusian people against their oppressors.

H.R. 515 requires the State Department to issue a new report to Congress on the sale, delivery or provision of weapons or weapons-related technologies or training, Lukashenko's personal wealth and assets, and cooperation by the Belarusian government with any foreign government or organizations related to censorship or surveillance of the Internet.

H.R. 515 states a U.S. government policy of strong support for the Belarusian people in their struggle against the Lukashenko dictatorship, aspiring to live in a free and independent

country where their human rights are respected, they can choose their government, and officials apply just laws that they themselves are subject to.

This bill encourages those struggling for decency and basic rights against the overwhelming pressures from the anti-democratic regime. It calls for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners in Belarus, including those detained in the post-election crackdown and refuses to recognize the results of the flawed elections. It calls for a full accounting of the 1999–2000 disappearances of opposition leaders and a journalist in Belarus and the prosecution of those responsible. At the same time it explicitly opens the door to the re-evaluation of U.S. policy towards the Belarusian government should it take significant steps toward democracy and respect for human rights.

H.R. 515 supports radio, television and Internet broadcasting to Belarus, specifically Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Voice of America, European Radio for Belarus and the satellite television station Belsat.

Madam Speaker, this bill comes to the floor as the Belarusian people are increasingly taking to the streets in protest against the dictatorship, and the EU Council is ramping up sanctions on Belarus. The Belarusian people deserve far better than the Lukashenko dictatorship—this bill is an act of support of their heroic struggle for human rights and democracy and is an act of profound respect and friendship for the people of Belarus.

Madam Speaker, I'd like to add to my earlier remarks in support of this legislation that, as part of a Helsinki Commission visit in to Minsk in June 2009, I had the opportunity to press Lukashenko directly on his dismal human rights record and denial of democratic freedoms.

While making clear our support for Belarus' independence, I and other members of the delegation reiterated the long-standing U.S. message that the only way to improve relations between our two countries was and is for him to take steps to increase political freedom and respect human rights. We told Lukashenko that the ball was in his court. There were even small, tentative steps in the right direction, but since December 19 any hopes for change have been crushed.

The December 19, 2010 fraudulent election, which the OSCE condemned as not having met international standards, and the continuing crackdown on democracy activists and independent journalists by the Lukashenko regime underscore the need for this legislation and our continued attention to the further deterioration of human rights and freedoms in Europe's remaining dictatorship. This ongoing repression is the harshest we have seen in Europe in more than a decade and a stark illustration that Belarus remains an anomaly—a pariah state—in today's Europe.

Peaceful protests against electoral fraud were met with mass beatings and detentions. Some of the jailed were abused and even tortured. Their families, lawyers, journalists and democratic activists have been harassed and intimidated. Students have been expelled from universities. Belarus now has more political prisoners than at any time under Lukashenko's rule, as the Belarusian tyrant has squelched dissent by convicting nearly 40 activists within the last few months on charges of mass rioting and disturbing the public order.

Some, including several opposition leaders who ran against Lukashenka in December and other political activists and civil society leaders, received severe, completely unjustified prison sentences of up to six years. Their trials were a politically motivated farce, in which policemen sometimes were not even able to identify the defendants, and which saw unexplained discrepancies between witness testimony favoring the defendants, and the judges return of guilty verdicts.

The now-6-month-long crackdown only magnifies the pattern of repression and gross and systematic human rights violations that has characterized Lukashenka's 17-year rule. He has systematically consolidated power over virtually all institutions through a series of rigged presidential and parliamentary elections, repeated violations of fundamental freedoms and the suppression of independent media and civil society, creating a climate of fear that pervades the country.

Thanks to this dictator's misrule, Belarus has the worst democracy and human rights record in Europe. Furthermore, Belarus's Soviet-style, structurally unreformed state-dominated economy is facing its worst crisis since Lukashenka came to power. Russian cut offs of energy subsidies and the explosion of the country's budget deficit following heavy state spending ahead of December's presidential elections in a populist bid to increase Lukashenka's waning popularity have contributed. Since then, Belarus has witnessed devaluation of its currency, a jump in inflation and increase in unemployment, and, in recent weeks, growing public protests.

Notwithstanding the almost universal condemnation and punitive measures by the U.S. and EU, Alexander Lukashenka continues to turn a deaf ear to the international community, and, more importantly, to the Belarusian people. The Belarusian autocrat has clearly manifested his profound mistrust of—and contempt for—the long-suffering Belarusian people at whose expense he has enriched himself for the past 17 years.

Clearly, the need for a sustained U.S. commitment to foster democracy and respect for human rights, and sanction Lukashenka and his cronies remains. I want to stress that both the Bush and Obama administrations have made good use of the previous Belarus Democracy Acts, of 2004 and 2006, reinforcing to the Belarusian government that the elected representatives of the American people—by overwhelming bipartisan majorities—support the policy of condemning and sanctioning the Belarusian government for its brutal human rights violations.

The visa bans and targeted financial and economic sanctions instituted by President Bush in response to the earlier legislation have been maintained, and in some ways expanded by President Obama since December 19th. Most recently, on May 27 President Obama issued a statement in which he condemned the conviction and sentencing of five opposition candidates, asserting that the United States considers these candidates, along with the other courageous activists arrested and charged in the crackdown, as political prisoners. The President also pledged to pursue new sanctions against select Belarusian state-owned enterprises, which H.R. 515 strongly encourages.

Unfortunately, two decades after the demise of the Soviet Union, Belarus remains in a time

warp—unreconstructed politically and economically and isolated from its European roots, due to one man's dictatorial rule. His tactics are a chilling reminder of a darker time, more than two decades ago when the Soviet KGB hounded dissidents. It is a tragedy for the Belarusian people—who have suffered so much over the course of the last century—that Lukashenka is yet again choosing the path of self-isolation and squelching the desire for freedom. He is, yet again, making a mockery of Belarus' freely undertaken OSCE obligations.

The Belarusian people wish to live in a country where human rights are respected, democracy flourishes and the rule of law is the norm. I remain convinced that the time will soon come when Belarus will be integrated with the family of democratic nations. We must continue to resolutely stand at their side as they struggle to lift themselves from the yoke of this oppressive regime.

**BELARUS—CANDIDATES OR ACTIVISTS UNDER CRIMINAL CHARGES RELATED TO THE DECEMBER 19-20 POST-ELECTION DEMONSTRATION**

Persons charged with organizing and participating in mass disturbances (article 293 para 1 and 2 of the Criminal Code, penalties of up to 15 years in jail)

**Detainees, In detention, Trial date, Conviction and charge:**

1. Andrey Sannikau, European Belarus coalition coordinator, Charter97, presidential candidate, Yes, April 27–May 14, Five years in a high security jail; organization of mass disturbances.

2. Mikalay Statkevich, Narodnaya Hramada Social Democratic party leader, presidential candidate, Yes, May 11–18, May 26, Six years in a high security jail; organization of mass disturbances.

3. Ales Mikhalevich, For Modernization NGO, presidential candidate, No (abroad).

4. Dzmitry Us, presidential candidate, Yes, May 11–18, May 26, Five years and six months in a high security jail; organization of mass disturbances.

5. Alyaksandr Atroshchankau, Sannikau's spokesperson, Yes; appeal denied April 5, March 01–02, Four years in a high security jail; participation in mass disturbances.

6. Natallya Radzina, Charter97 editor, No (abroad).

7. Anatol Lyabedzka, United Civic Party chair, No.

8. Alyaksandr Klaskouski, former police officer, Yes, May 11–18, May 26, Five years in a high security jail; participation in mass disturbances, insult of an official, unauthorized assumption of rank or powers of an official.

9. Uladzimir Kobets, Sannikau's campaign team leader, No.

10. Alyaksandr Arastovich, Statkevich's aid, No.

11. Anatol Paulau, Ramanchuk's aid, No.

12. Aleh Korban, Ramanchuk's aid, No.

13. Ivan Haponau, a Russian citizen, No, February 22, March 10, 10,500,000-ruble fine (\$3,450); participation in mass disturbances.

14. Artsyom Breus, a Russian citizen, No, February 22, March 10, 10,500,000-ruble fine (\$3,450); participation in mass disturbances.

15. Mikita Likhavid, For Freedom movement activist, Yes, March 22–23, March 29, Three years and six months in a high security jail; participation in mass disturbances.

16. Dzmitry Novik, BPF member, Yes; appeal denied April 5, March 01–02, Three years and six months in a high security jail; participation in mass disturbances.

17. Aleh Fedarkevich, a demonstration participant, Yes, May 5–12, Three years and six months in jail; participation in mass disturbances.

18. Uladzimir Khamichenka, a demonstration participant, Yes, April 27–May 5, Three years in a high security jail; participation in mass disturbances.

19. Dzmitry Myadzvedz, a demonstration participant, No, March 01, March 10, Partial house arrest that requires regular reporting to police and restricts travel without prior permission from authorities; participation in mass disturbances.

20. Uladzimir Loban, a demonstration participant, Yes, May 5–12, Three years in jail; participation in mass disturbances.

21. Pavel Vinahradau, "Tell the truth" activist, Yes, April 27–May 05, Four years in a high security jail; participation in mass disturbances.

22. Andrey Paznyak, a demonstration participant, No, May 11–18, May 26, Three years of partial house arrest; participation in mass disturbances.

23. Alyaksandr Malchanau, a demonstration participant, Yes; appeal denied April 5, March 01–02, Three years in a high security jail; participation in mass disturbances and desecration of state symbols.

24. Ilya Vasilevich, a youth activist, Yes, April 27–May 14, Three years in a high security jail; participation in mass disturbances.

25. Dzmitry Bulanau, a demonstration participant, Yes, May 11–18, May 26, Three years in a high security jail; participation in mass disturbances.

26. Alyaksandr Kvyatkevich, a demonstration participant, Yes, May 11–18, May 26, Three years and six months in a high security jail; participation in mass disturbances.

27. Vasil Parfyankou, "Tell the Truth" activist, Yes; appeal denied March 25, February 17, Four years in a high security jail; participation in mass disturbances.

28. Artsyom Hrybkou, a demonstration participant, Yes, May 11–18, May 26, Four years in a high security jail; participation in mass disturbances.

29. Fyodar Mirzayanau, a demonstration participant, Yes, April 27–May 14, Three years in a high security jail; participation in mass disturbances.

30. Ales Kirkevich, Malady Front activist, Yes, April 27–May 5, Four years in a high security jail; participation in mass disturbances.

31. Dzmitry Drozd, Sannikau's campaign team member, Yes, April 27–May 5, Three years in a high security jail; participation in mass disturbances.

32. Syarhey Kazakou, European Belarus activist, Yes, May 5–12, Three years in jail; participation in mass disturbances.

33. Uladzimir Yaromenka, Malady Front activist, Yes, April 27–May 14, Three years in a high security jail; participation in mass disturbances.

34. Dzmitry Daronin, a demonstration participant, Yes, May 5–12, Three years and six months in jail; participation in mass disturbances.

35. Andrey Pratasenya, Ramanchuk's campaign team volunteer, Yes, April 27–May 5, Three years in a high security jail; participation in mass disturbances.

36. Aleh Hnedchyk, Nyaklyaeu's campaign activist, Yes, April 27–May 14, Three years and six months in a high security jail; participation in mass disturbances.

37. Vital Matsukevich, a demonstration participant, Yes, May 5–12, Three years in a high security jail; participation in mass disturbances.

38. Yauhen Sakret, Sannikau's campaign activist, Yes, May 5–12, Three years in jail; participation in mass disturbances.

Persons charged with organizing, arranging, and actively participating in activities that severely violate public order (article 342 para 1 of the Criminal Code, penalties up to three years in jail)

1. Uladzimir Nyaklyaeu, “Tell the Truth” campaign leader, presidential candidate, No, May 5–20, Two years suspended sentence.

2. Vital Rymasheuski, Belarusian Christian Democracy co-chair, presidential candidate, No, May 5–20, Two years suspended sentence.

3. Alyaksandr Fyaduta, Nyaklyaeu’s aid, No, May 5–20, Two years suspended sentence.

4. Andrey Dzmitryeu, Nyaklyaeu’s campaign team leader, No, May 5–20, Two years suspended sentence.

5. Syarhey Vaznyak, Nyaklyaeu’s aid, No, May 5–20, Two years suspended sentence.

6. Nasta Palazhanka, Malady Front deputy chair, No, May 5–20, One year suspended sentence.

7. Pavel Sevryarnets, Belarusian Christian Democracy co-chair, Rymasheuski’s aid, No, May 11–16, Three years of “khimiya,” a form of internal exile.

8. Zmitser Bandarenka, European Belarus coalition coordinator, Charter97, Yes, April 26–27, Two years in jail.

9. Syarhey Martsaleu, Statkevich’s aid, No, May 11–16, Two years suspended sentence.

10. Iryna Khalip, independent journalist, Sannikau’s wife, No, May 11–16, Two years suspended sentence.

Persons suspected of organizing and participating in mass riots (article 293 para 1 and 2 of the Criminal Code, penalties of up to 15 years in jail)

1. Ryhor Kastuseu, BPF deputy, presidential candidate, No.

2. Anton Davydenka, a demonstration participant, No.

3. Usevalad Kavalenka, a demonstration participant, No.

4. Syarhey Klyueu, “Tell the truth” activist, No.

5. Mikita Krasnou, a youth activist, No (abroad).

6. Dzmitry Apishau, a demonstration participant, No.

7. Leanid Navitski, Sannikau’s aid, No (abroad).

8. Andrey Mikalayeu, a demonstration participant, No.

9. Alyaksandr Vasileuski, a demonstration participant, No.

10. Dzyanis Shydouski, a demonstration participant, No.

11. Alyaksey Sharstou, a demonstration participant, No.

12. Dzmitry Huseltsau, a demonstration participant, No.

13. Vital Stazharau, a demonstration participant, No (abroad).

Persons convicted of severe hooliganism committed by a group of individuals inflicting bodily harm (article 339 para 2 and 3, penalties of up to ten years in jail); detained December 18

1. Zmitser Dashkevich, Malady Front leader, Yes, March 22–24, Two years in jail; severe hooliganism (para 2).

2. Eduard Lobau, Malady Front activist, Yes, March 22–24, Four years in a high security jail; severe hooliganism (para 3 involving armaments).

Students Expelled after December 19 (for political reasons).

Belarusian Committee for defense of the repressed “Salidarnasc” reports ten expelled students:

1. Yauheni Bely, Belarusian State University.

2. Uladzimir Syarheyeu, Belarusian State University.

3. Alyaksandr Lukashou, Belarusian State University.

4. Katsyaryna Davydzik, Belarusian State University.

5. Katsyaryna Klimko, Institute of Journalism, Belarusian State University.

6. Aleh Anufyenka, Institute of Journalism, Belarusian State University.

7. Viktorya Petrakouskaya, Maxim Tank Belarusian State Pedagogical University.

8. Viktoryia Kruchkova, Maxim Tank Belarusian State Pedagogical University.

9. Tatsiana Hrybouskaya, Maxim Tank Belarusian State Pedagogical University.

10. Andrey Luhin, Maxim Tank Belarusian State Pedagogical University.

11. Artsyom Khvastysyuk, Belarusian State University of Informatics and Radioelectronics.

12. Uladzimir Yaromenak\* Belarusian State University of Informatics and Radioelectronics.

13. Ilya Zhakhavets, Belarusian Institute of Law.

14. Yauhen Tsarykau, Minsk State High Radiotechnical College.

15. Illyia Vasilevich\* Minsk State Polytechnic College.

16. Boris Zakharchuk, Hrodna State University named after Kupala.

17. Yauhen Busko, Hrodna State University named after Kupala.

18. Arseni Asmanau, Homyel State University named after Skaryna.

19. Mikita Likhavid\* Minsk Institute of Entrepreneurship.

20. Fyodar Mirzayanau\* Belarusian State Economic University.

\*Tried and Sentenced to terms in prison  
Other sources report (unconfirmed):

1. Ales Krot (Member of Studentskaya Rada [independent Student Council], Belarusian National Technical University.

2. Anna Baraban, Belarusian State University.

3. Alina Litvinchuk, Brest State University.

4. Syarhey Sadouski, Belarusian State University of Informatics and Radioelectronics.

According to “Salidarnasc”, one student was expelled before December 19 (for political reasons).

1. Mikhail Mikulich Maxim Tank Belarusian State Pedagogical University.

Mr. QUIGLEY. Madam Speaker, I rise today in support of H.R. 515, the “Belarus Democracy Reauthorization of 2011.” In recent years the Belarusian government, lead by Alexander Lukashenko, has engaged in atrocious human rights violations against opposition leaders and journalists. I believe that it is time that the United States call for an end of these practices and I urge my colleagues to vote in favor of H.R. 515.

Seven years ago the “Belarus Democracy Act of 2004” was passed into law as a measure to help promote the values of democracy, human rights, and to end the violations of fundamental freedoms in the Republic of Belarus. Since this time, the Belarusian dictator, Alexander Lukashenko, has continued to harass and persecute pro-democracy political dissenters and regularly engages in human rights violations against his people. The “Belarus Democracy Reauthorization Act of 2011” calls for Lukashenko to cease all persecution and urges the Belarusian government to work to promote the conditions required for integration of Belarus into the European family of democracies.

This legislation carries a larger significance as it is coming to a vote on the eve of a poignant time in Belarus’s involvement within the global community. The International Ice Hockey Federation’s (IIHF) 2014 World Ice Hockey Championship has recently been awarded to Belarus and will be hosted in Minsk resulting in fanfare and praise. It is my belief that the IIHF should suspend this great honor until the iron grip of Lukashenko’s police state is lifted and all political prisoners are re-

leased. The United States Senate unanimously, passed a resolution in April of 2011 expressing the dire need for a moratorium on the 2014 World Ice Hockey Championships in Belarus until justice has been brought to Lukashenko’s victims.

It is with sincere urgency that I ask my colleagues to support the passage of H.R. 515, “Belarus Democracy Reauthorization Act of 2011.” We must continue the strong tradition of promoting democratic values around the world and let Alexander Lukashenko know that his behavior will not be condoned or tolerated by the United States of America.

Mr. PAUL. Madam Speaker, I rise in opposition to the “Belarus Democracy Act” reauthorization. This title of this bill would have amused George Orwell, as it is in fact a U.S. regime-change bill. Where does the United States Congress derive the moral or legal authority to determine which political parties or organizations in Belarus—or anywhere else—are to be U.S.-funded and which are to be destabilized? How can anyone argue that U.S. support for regime-change in Belarus is somehow “promoting democracy”? We pick the parties who are to be supported and funded and somehow this is supposed to reflect the will of the Belarusian people? How would Americans feel if the tables were turned and a powerful foreign country demanded that only a political party it selected and funded could legitimately reflect the will of the American people?

I would like to know how many millions of taxpayer dollars the U.S. government has wasted trying to overthrow the government in Belarus. I would like to know how much money has been squandered by U.S. government-funded front-organizations like the National Endowment for Democracy, the International Republic Institute, Freedom House, and others meddling like the old Soviet Union in the internal politics of a country that has neither threatened nor attacked the United States. It is the arrogance of our foreign policy and we call it “democracy.” We wonder why we are no longer loved and admired overseas.

Finally, I strongly object to the sanctions that this legislation imposes on Belarus. We must keep in mind that sanctions and blockades of foreign countries are considered acts of war. Do we need to continue war-like actions yet another country? Can we afford it.

I wish to emphasize that I take this position not because I am in support of the regime in Belarus, or anywhere else. I take this position because it is dangerous folly to be the Nation that arrogates to itself the right to determine the leadership of the rest of the world. As we teeter closer to bankruptcy, it should be more obvious that we need to change our foreign policy to one of constructive engagement rather than hostile interventionism. And though it scarcely should need to be said, I must remind my colleagues today that we are the U.S. House of Representatives, and not some sort of world congress. We have no constitutional authority to intervene in the wholly domestic affairs of Belarus or any other sovereign nation.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 515, as amended.

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

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

**REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 2354, ENERGY AND WATER DEVELOPMENT AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2012**

Mr. WEBSTER, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 112-135) on the resolution (H. Res. 337) providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 2354) making appropriations for energy and water development and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2012, and for other purposes, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

**DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2012**

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 320 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. 2219.

□ 1836

**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. 2219) making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2012, and for other purposes, with Mr. BISHOP of Utah (Acting Chair) in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Acting CHAIR. When the Committee of the Whole rose earlier today, amendment No. 31, printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, offered by the gentleman from Texas (Mr. CARTER), had been disposed of and the bill had been read through page 122, line 9.

**ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE ACTING CHAIR**

The Acting CHAIR. Pursuant to clause 6 of rule XVIII, proceedings will now resume on those amendments printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on which further proceedings were postponed, in the following order:

Amendment No. 1 by Mr. CONNOLLY of Virginia.

Amendment No. 23 by Mr. BROUN of Georgia.

Amendment No. 2 by Mr. CONNOLLY of Virginia.

An amendment by Mr. KUCINICH of Ohio.

Amendment No. 21 by Mr. BROUN of Georgia.

An amendment by Mr. WELCH of Vermont.

Amendment No. 22 Mr. BROUN of Georgia.

Amendment No. 62 by Mr. AMASH of Michigan.

An amendment by Mr. SESSIONS of Texas.

The Chair will reduce to 2 minutes the time for any electronic vote after the first vote in the series.

**AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. CONNOLLY OF VIRGINIA**

The Acting CHAIR. The unfinished business is the demand for a recorded vote on amendment No. 1 offered by the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. CONNOLLY) on which further proceedings were postponed and on which the noes prevailed by voice vote.

The Clerk will redesignate the amendment.

The Clerk redesignated the amendment.

**RECORDED VOTE**

The Acting CHAIR. A recorded vote has been demanded.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 175, noes 241, not voting 15, as follows:

[Roll No. 495]

**AYES—175**

Ackerman	Gibson	Olver
Andrews	Gonzalez	Owens
Baca	Green, Al	Pallone
Baldwin	Grijalva	Pascarell
Bartlett	Gutierrez	Pastor (AZ)
Bass (CA)	Hanabusa	Payne
Becerra	Hastings (FL)	Pelosi
Berkley	Heinrich	Perlmutter
Berman	Higgins	Peters
Bishop (GA)	Himes	Pingree (ME)
Bishop (NY)	Hinojosa	Polis
Boswell	Hirono	Price (NC)
Brady (PA)	Hochul	Quigley
Bralley (IA)	Holden	Rangel
Brown (FL)	Holt	Reyes
Butterfield	Honda	Richardson
Capps	Hoyer	Richmond
Capuano	Inslee	Rothman (NJ)
Carnahan	Israel	Roybal-Allard
Carney	Jackson (IL)	Ruppersberger
Carson (IN)	Jackson Lee	Rush
Castor (FL)	(TX)	Ryan (OH)
Chandler	Johnson (GA)	Sánchez, Linda
Chu	Johnson (IL)	T.
Cicilline	Johnson, E. B.	Sanchez, Loretta
Clarke (MI)	Kaptur	Sarbanes
Clarke (NY)	Kildee	Schakowsky
Clay	Kind	Schiff
Cleaver	Kissell	Schrader
Clyburn	Kucinich	Schwartz
Cohen	Langevin	Scott (VA)
Connolly (VA)	Larsen (WA)	Scott, David
Conyers	Larson (CT)	Serrano
Costa	Lee (CA)	Sewell
Courtney	Levin	Sherman
Critz	Lewis (GA)	Sires
Crowley	Lipinski	Slaughter
Cuellar	Loebsack	Smith (WA)
Cummings	Lofgren, Zoe	Stark
Davis (CA)	Lowey	Sutton
Davis (IL)	Luján	Thompson (CA)
DeFazio	Lynch	Thompson (MS)
DeGette	Maloney	Tierney
DeLauro	Markey	Tonko
Deutch	Matsui	Tsongas
Dicks	McCarthy (NY)	Van Hollen
Dingell	McCollum	Velázquez
Doggett	McDermott	Visclosky
Doyle	McGovern	Walz (MN)
Edwards	McNerney	Wasserman
Ellison	Meeks	Schultz
Engel	Michaud	Waters
Eshoo	Miller (NC)	Waxman
Farr	Miller, George	Welch
Fattah	Moore	Wilson (FL)
Filner	Moran	Woolsey
Forbes	Murphy (CT)	Wu
Frank (MA)	Nadler	Yarmuth
Fudge	Napolitano	
Garamendi	Neal	

**NOES—241**

Adams	Gohmert	Nunnelee
Aderholt	Goodlatte	Olson
Akin	Gosar	Palazzo
Alexander	Gowdy	Paul
Altmire	Granger	Paulsen
Amash	Graves (GA)	Pearce
Austria	Graves (MO)	Pence
Bachmann	Green, Gene	Peterson
Bachus	Griffin (AR)	Petri
Barletta	Griffith (VA)	Pitts
Barrow	Grimm	Platts
Barton (TX)	Guthrie	Poe (TX)
Bass (NH)	Hall	Pompeo
Benishek	Hanna	Posey
Berg	Harper	Price (GA)
Biggert	Harris	Quayle
Bilbray	Hartzler	Rahall
Billirakis	Hastings (WA)	Reed
Bishop (UT)	Hayworth	Rehberg
Black	Heck	Reichert
Blackburn	Hensarling	Renacci
Bonner	Herger	Ribble
Boren	Herrera Beutler	Rigell
Boustany	Huelskamp	Rivera
Brady (TX)	Huizenga (MI)	Roby
Brooks	Hultgren	Rogers (AL)
Broun (GA)	Hunter	Rogers (KY)
Buchanan	Hurt	Rogers (MI)
Bucshon	Issa	Rohrabacher
Buerkle	Jenkins	Rokita
Burgess	Johnson (OH)	Rooney
Burton (IN)	Johnson, Sam	Ros-Lehtinen
Calvert	Jones	Roskam
Camp	Jordan	Ross (AR)
Campbell	Kelly	Ross (FL)
Canseco	King (IA)	Royce
Capito	King (NY)	Runyan
Cardoza	Kingston	Ryan (WI)
Carter	Kinzinger (IL)	Scalise
Cassidy	Kline	Schilling
Chabot	Labrador	Schmidt
Chaffetz	Lamborn	Schock
Coble	Lance	Schweikert
Coffman (CO)	Landry	Scott (SC)
Cole	Lankford	Scott, Austin
Conaway	Latham	Sensenbrenner
Cooper	LaTourette	Sessions
Costello	Latta	Shimkus
Cravaack	Lewis (CA)	Shuler
Cravford	LoBiondo	Shuster
Crenshaw	Long	Simpson
Davis (KY)	Lucas	Smith (NE)
Denham	Luetkemeyer	Smith (NJ)
Dent	Lummis	Smith (TX)
DesJarlais	Lungren, Daniel	Southerland
Diaz-Balart	E.	Stearns
Dold	Manzullo	Stivers
Donnelly (IN)	Marchant	Stutzman
Dreier	Marino	Sullivan
Duffy	Matheson	Terry
Duncan (SC)	McCarthy (CA)	Thompson (PA)
Duncan (TN)	McCaul	Thornberry
Ellmers	McClintock	Tiberi
Emerson	McCotter	Tipton
Farenthold	McHenry	Turner
Fincher	McKeon	Upton
Fitzpatrick	McKinley	Walberg
Flake	McMorris	Walden
Fleischmann	Rodgers	Walsh (IL)
Fleming	Meehan	Webster
Flores	Mica	West
Fortenberry	Miller (FL)	Westmoreland
Fox	Miller (MI)	Whitfield
Franks (AZ)	Miller, Gary	Wilson (SC)
Frelinghuysen	Mulvaney	Wittman
Gallely	Murphy (PA)	Wolf
Gardner	Myrick	Womack
Garrett	Neugebauer	Woodall
Gerlach	Noem	Yoder
Gibbs	Nugent	Young (FL)
Gingrey (GA)	Nunes	Young (IN)

**NOT VOTING—15**

Blumenauer	Guinta	Roe (TN)
Bono Mack	Hinchey	Speier
Cantor	Keating	Towns
Culberson	Mack	Watt
Giffords	McIntyre	Young (AK)

□ 1900

Mr. FRANKS of Arizona and Mrs. LUMMIS changed their vote from "aye" to "no."