

done to advocate on behalf of Ryan Corbett, as well as Representative KEATING and others who are engaged in this important resolution.

I do rise today in strong support of this resolution, which calls for the immediate release of Ryan Corbett, who has been wrongfully detained by the Taliban since August 10, 2022.

Ryan, who is originally from Susquehanna County in my district, relocated his family to Afghanistan in 2010 with the mission of aiding and assisting the Afghan population, eventually founding Bloom Afghanistan, a firm that provides consulting and microloans to Afghan small businesses.

After evacuating his family in the wake of the Afghanistan withdrawal, Ryan returned to Afghanistan in 2022, during which time he was imprisoned by the Taliban and forced to endure the most inhumane conditions, rarely being able to communicate with his family. He has never been accused of a crime.

My team and I, and many teams, as you can see here, have been involved in efforts on behalf of Ryan Corbett. We have all met with Anna Corbett, who has been mentioned here now several times, and her children many times.

Anna Corbett is working tirelessly, covering every department that she possibly can, having meetings from the top people at the State Department to all Members of Congress and with other nations' ambassadors, doing everything possible for the release of her husband, Ryan.

Today, we continue to implore the State Department to use all appropriate pressure to ensure Ryan's release.

Alongside calling for his immediate release, we also recognize Qatar for its effort in helping free Ryan and facilitating many visits, calls, and medical check-ins.

The humanitarian funding from USAID for the Taliban should be, Madam Speaker, scrutinized, minimized, or perhaps terminated until all wrongfully detained Americans in Afghanistan are returned home.

Ryan has been held hostage, as has been stated, by the Taliban for 671 days. Any sign of appeasement from the Biden administration should be hardened, and we should deal from strength. We certainly need more stick and less carrot when it comes to the release of American hostages.

We appreciate the work of the State Department, but we need to get the job done. That means getting Ryan and other American hostages in Afghanistan home immediately.

Madam Speaker, I urge passage of this resolution.

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

Once again, I thank the gentleman from Texas for his leadership on the committee dealing with this, as well as Ranking Member MEEKS.

Madam Speaker, I close by expressing my deepest sympathy to Anna

Corbett and all of Ryan's children, family, and loved ones. I can only imagine the pain that they must feel every day and the fear they have for Ryan's safety every day. The strength and courage they have shown and their commitment to securing his release is truly remarkable, though nothing will ease their pain until Ryan is brought home.

They should know that Congress stands with them and that we will not rest until he is home safely and reunited with them. That is the mission of this resolution, and I urge all of my colleagues to join me in strongly supporting this measure.

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

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

One American hostage is too many. We remember each one of them, and we will not rest until they are safely home.

It is clear that the Taliban is holding Ryan for its own political gain and using him as leverage to extract concessions from this administration.

Anna, who we all know very well, has appeared before the Foreign Affairs Committee several times to discuss Ryan's unjust imprisonment. She has bravely shared the horror story of her husband and his family and what they are living through day in and day out.

A single day of unlawful detention is too long, and Ryan's nearly 2-year captivity must be resolved. Otherwise, we must question what the value is of an American passport and citizenship if our government fails us in our greatest moment of need.

We should be projecting power, levying sanctions, and holding governments accountable for their human rights abuses. This administration, at times, has projected weakness on the world stage, and when you do so, it is hard to negotiate from a position of strength.

Ryan's case is very dire. It is time to bring him home to his family and country.

This resolution, as Mr. KEATING stated, will send a very strong message to the Taliban that America, Republicans and Democrats alike, will not tolerate the illegitimate detention of American citizens. Our message is clear: Congress will not rest until Ryan is brought home.

We stand with Ryan, Anna, and their children. We have not, and we will not, forget them. It is hard to look Anna and her children in the eyes knowing that her husband is in solitary confinement in Afghanistan under Taliban rule.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to stand with Ryan Corbett and support this measure, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MEUSER). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Texas (Mr. MCCAUL) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, H. Res. 965.

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.

□ 1645

#### CONDEMNING RUSSIA'S UNJUST AND ARBITRARY DETENTION OF RUSSIAN OPPOSITION LEADER VLADIMIR KARA-MURZA

Mr. MCCAUL. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 27) condemning Russia's unjust and arbitrary detention of Russian opposition leader Vladimir Kara-Murza who has stood up in defense of democracy, the rule of law, and free and fair elections in Russia, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the concurrent resolution.

The text of the concurrent resolution is as follows:

#### H. CON. RES. 27

Whereas, on April 11, 2022, Vladimir Kara-Murza was unjustly detained by Russian authorities for spreading supposedly "false information" in a speech in March 2022 to the Arizona House of Representatives;

Whereas Mr. Kara-Murza in his March 15, 2022, speech presented a defiant condemnation of Vladimir Putin's policies and leadership outlining his corruption and malign intentions, and condemning the illegal war of aggression Putin has unleashed against Ukraine;

Whereas, prior to his arrest in April 2022, Mr. Kara-Murza was poisoned twice by agents of the Russian Government and the Russian Federation in 2015 and 2017 with a military-grade agent banned internationally, likely in retaliation for his defiant stance in support of rule of law and democracy in Russia;

Whereas, despite having survived two assassination attempts and the subsequent side effects of these poisonings, Mr. Kara-Murza regularly returned to Russia to advocate for democratic representation in Russia;

Whereas Mr. Kara-Murza has consistently advocated for democracy in Russia and insisted that democracy in Russia must be advanced by Russians for all those living in Russia;

Whereas, in August 2022, new charges were brought against Mr. Kara-Murza for "carrying out the activities" of an "undesirable foreign organization" and his arrest was extended for his work as a leading member of Russian civil society;

Whereas, in October 2022, Mr. Kara-Murza was further charged unjustly with "high treason" in part due to his public condemnations of the Kremlin's military aggression on Ukraine and domestic repressions;

Whereas, in April 2023, Mr. Kara-Murza was unjustly sentenced to 25 years in prison;

Whereas the state of Mr. Kara-Murza's health has deteriorated and in addition to losing over 45 pounds, he was diagnosed with polyneuropathy, a condition that under Russian law should have precluded him from detainment;

Whereas, as a result of his diagnosis, he has lost feeling in both his feet and has experienced symptoms similar to those he experienced following his 2015 poisoning due to peripheral nerve damage;

Whereas section 5599F of the James M. Inhofe National Defense Authorization Act

for Fiscal Year 2023 (Public Law 117-263) condemned Mr. Kara-Murza's unjust detention, expressed solidarity with Mr. Kara-Murza, his family, and all individuals imprisoned in Russia for their beliefs, and urged the United States and other ally governments to work to secure the release of Mr. Kara-Murza and other citizens of the Russian Federation imprisoned for opposition to Vladimir Putin's regime and his illegal war in Ukraine;

Whereas, in April 2022, Vladimir Kara-Murza was presented the McCain Institute's Courage and Leadership Award for his unwavering commitment to fundamental values and his acts of selfless courage which have inspired the world;

Whereas, in October 2022, Mr. Kara-Murza was awarded the Vaclav Havel Prize honoring outstanding civil society action in defense of human rights;

Whereas the late Senator John McCain said Mr. Kara-Murza "is a brave, outspoken, and relentless advocate for freedom and democracy in Russia" and introduced Mr. Kara-Murza as "a personal hero whose courage, selflessness, and idealism I find awe-inspiring";

Whereas, in March 2023, the Department of the Treasury and the Department of State imposed Global Magnitsky and other targeted sanctions on six Russians involved in Mr. Kara-Murza's ongoing arbitrary detention, recognized his role as "a major advocate for the adoption of Magnitsky-style sanctions authorities by the United States, Canada, European Union, and United Kingdom to target human rights abusers and corrupt actors in Russia", and called for his immediate release; and

Whereas Mr. Kara-Murza remains a political prisoner and a victim of Vladimir Putin's authoritarian state: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That Congress—*

(1) condemns in the strongest possible terms the unjust and arbitrary detention of Russian democratic opposition leader Vladimir Kara-Murza;

(2) calls on the Russian Federation to immediately release Mr. Kara-Murza and all other Russian opposition leaders who are detained as a result of their opposition to the Putin regime;

(3) calls on all Russian citizens to outright condemn Russia's illegal and unjust invasion of Ukraine in the spirit of Mr. Kara-Murza's defiant opposition stance in front of the Arizona House of Representatives in March 2022;

(4) expresses solidarity and calls for the release of all political prisoners in Russia and Belarus, including Ukrainian citizens illegally held as prisoners by Putin's regime in violation of the rule of law as a result of their support for liberal democratic values, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty journalist Alsu Kurmasheva, and wrongfully-detained Americans Paul Whelan and Evan Gershkovich;

(5) calls on the United States Government to designate Mr. Kara-Murza, as well as Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty journalist Alsu Kurmasheva, as wrongfully detained under the Levinson Act; and

(6) calls on the President of the United States and leaders from across the free world to work tirelessly for the release of political prisoners in Russia and increase support for those advocating for democracy in Russia as well as independent media and civil society which Mr. Kara-Murza has worked to further.

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

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. MCCAUL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and to include extraneous material on this measure.

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

There was no objection.

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

Mr. Speaker, Vladimir Kara-Murza has been locked away in Putin's gulags for over 2 years. His only crime was standing up for human rights and democracy in Russia, for speaking out against Putin's genocidal war of aggression against Ukraine.

He is a lawful American permanent resident, and his wife and children are American citizens.

We should all be deeply concerned by his unjust imprisonment.

Mr. Kara-Murza is well known for his work exposing the Kremlin's corruption and fighting for a free and democratic Russia.

Despite two assassination attempts which nearly killed him and left him with permanent side effects that linger to this day, Mr. Kara-Murza has continued his brave work undeterred.

He understands the importance of exposing Putin and his cronies for who they really are to the world.

After Russia's invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, Mr. Kara-Murza immediately began shining a light on Russia's atrocities.

Like many of us in this Chamber, he knew he could not be silent as Russian forces raped and murdered their way through Ukraine.

In response, the Kremlin alleged that he was spreading false information about the Russian military.

In April 2022, Mr. Kara-Murza briefly and bravely returned to Russia to advocate against the war to his fellow Russians and was promptly arrested.

That is what happens when you contradict the regime's narrative in a totalitarian state. Mr. Kara-Murza knew the risk, but he returned anyway.

Since his arrest, he has languished in harsh prison conditions without adequate access to medical care.

Last year, the Kremlin sentenced him to 25 years in prison. Due to his lingering side effects from two assassination attempts, as well as the awful conditions in Putin's gulags, this is effectively a death sentence.

Unfortunately, Mr. Kara-Murza is just one of many political prisoners in Russia.

American journalists like Evan Gershkovich and Alsu Kurmasheva and wrongfully imprisoned Marine Corps veteran Paul Whelan have all been detained by Putin's regime on bogus charges. They deserve our attention, and I call for their immediate release in addition to Mr. Kara-Murza's.

America must hold Russia to account for their continued aggression and war

crimes against humanity. We need to do everything in our power to secure Mr. Kara-Murza's release as well as the release of every unjustly detained American overseas.

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

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

I rise today in strong support of my resolution condemning Russia's unjust and arbitrary detention of Russian opposition leader, Vladimir Kara-Murza, who has stood up in the defense of democracy, the rule of law, and free and fair elections in Russia. This resolution comes at a significant time, as Vladimir Putin continues his unjust war of aggression against Ukraine and reprehensible crackdown on the Russian democratic opposition both at home and abroad.

First, I would like to thank my colleagues who have cosponsored this resolution and shown support for Vladimir Kara-Murza as he remains wrongfully detained in a Russian prison. This includes Representatives TOM KEAN, STEVE COHEN, and JOE WILSON.

I would also like to express my gratitude to the leadership of the committee, Chairman MCCAUL and Ranking Member MEEKS, and the entire Foreign Affairs Committee for their support of this resolution. I know the issue of political prisoners is a serious concern to the entire committee, and this resolution brings much to bear on the demonstrations of bipartisan support for standing in solidarity with Vladimir Kara-Murza and the thousands of political prisoners in Russia, Belarus, and around the world.

This resolution strongly condemns the wrongful detention of Vladimir Kara-Murza, and it calls for his immediate release. Vladimir is a champion of justice who fought tirelessly for democracy in Russia by Russians and for Russians. He did this for decades. As we have witnessed Vladimir Putin wage his war of aggression in Ukraine and the crackdown on free expression at home, in that context, Vladimir Kara-Murza stands out as a free and independent voice of truth exposing the Kremlin's lies and oppression.

During President Biden's State of the Union Address earlier this year, I had the honor of being joined by prodemocracy activist Evgenia Kara-Murza, Vladimir's wife, as my guest. Evgenia's resolve and courage was clear, and the stories she told me about Vladimir as well as her own personal courage only reaffirmed my commitment to advocate for his immediate release.

In a March 2022 speech before the Arizona House of Representatives, Vladimir Kara-Murza presented a defiant condemnation of Vladimir Putin's malign policies and corrupt leadership. Following this brave speech, Vladimir returned to Russia defiantly to continue his work to achieve democracy in Russia. He was subsequently arrested and wrongfully charged for speaking the truth.

Well ahead of his speech before the Arizona House of Representatives, the Kremlin targeted Vladimir for his resistance and opposition. In fact, in 2015, and again in 2017, he survived two assassination attempts where agents of the Russian Government attacked him. They attacked him with a military-grade poison.

Despite the threats against his life and his 2022 detention, Vladimir Kara-Murza continues to speak out from prison against the repression he and so many other Russians suffer for calling out Vladimir Putin's authoritarian actions and his illegal war of aggression against Ukraine.

Unfortunately, Vladimir Kara-Murza is not the only individual wrongfully detained in Russia. Paul Whelan, whose sister is a constituent and a tireless advocate on his behalf, has sat in a Russian prison cell for over 5 years as the Kremlin plays politics with his life. Journalist Evan Gershkovich was imprisoned over a year ago simply for doing his job. Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty reporter Alsu Kurmasheva continues to make her way through a sham trial today.

It is simple. Journalism is not a crime, and this resolution stands in solidarity with all those wrongfully detained in Russia and Belarus for speaking the truth and calls for their immediate release.

At the same time, remember those like Alexei Navalny, Boris Nemtsov, Sergei Magnitsky, and many others who have died at the hands of the Kremlin and Vladimir Putin's regime.

Ultimately, this resolution represents a strong, bipartisan show of support for Vladimir Kara-Murza and a redoubling of efforts to seek his immediate release.

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

Mr. MCCAUL. Mr. Speaker, I am prepared to close after the gentleman from Massachusetts closes, and I reserve the balance of my time.

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

In closing, I again reflect on Vladimir Kara-Murza's work to achieve a true democracy in Russia, one made by Russians and built for Russians. In the face of death threats and physical attacks on his own well-being, Vladimir Kara-Murza remains a prominent figure in Russia's democracy movement. He has stood up for the truth, speaking against Vladimir Putin's war of aggression against Ukraine and the Kremlin's comprehensive crackdown on free expression.

As I have said before, Vladimir's story is not only one of defiance but one of Kremlin weakness. His story, his words, and his vision terrify and threaten the Putin regime, and they undermine the fictitious Kremlin narrative regarding Putin's invasion of Ukraine. That fact shows the true strength of Mr. Kara-Murza's moral conviction.

Finally, as this resolution makes its way through the House, we call on the Russian Government to immediately release Mr. Kara-Murza and all other Russian opposition leaders detained because of their opposition to the Putin regime.

At the same time, wrongfully detained Americans like Paul Whelan, Evan Gershkovich, and Alsu Kurmasheva must also be released. Journalism is not a crime, and we will not rest until all wrongfully detained Americans have returned home. We want them to return home as soon as possible.

I thank the Foreign Affairs Committee again for considering this resolution and the bipartisan cosponsors who have made the resolution possible. I strongly urge my colleagues to support this resolution, and I yield back the balance of my time.

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

I thank my good friend, Mr. KEATING, for authoring this important resolution that was unanimously adopted by the Foreign Affairs Committee by a vote of 47-0.

We all know that Vladimir Putin is a dictator. He uses fear to hold on to power. Anyone that criticizes or questions him is imprisoned, silenced, or killed.

Putin knows if free speech and dissent spreads, if the truth comes to light, that his despotic regime will lose its grip on power and on the Russian people.

We all know he killed Alexei Navalny. Putin saw him as a threat to his regime. Like Navalny, Vladimir Kara-Murza represents resistance to the Kremlin's unchecked oppression, and that is why Putin has imprisoned him, because he is a champion for freedom.

The vengeance of the Kremlin knows no bounds. Putin must stop using Cold War tactics to target innocent people as diplomatic pawns. I call upon the immediate release of all Americans detained abroad.

It is time to get Mr. Kara-Murza out of a Russian gulag and back home to his family. I urge my colleagues to stand united and join me in condemning Russia's illegal detention.

This will send a strong message to Mr. Kara-Murza and to all wrongfully detained Americans in Russia that Congress will not rest until they are returned home to their families.

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

□ 1700

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Texas (Mr. MCCAUL) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H. Con. Res. 27, 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.

## PROMOTING A RESOLUTION TO THE TIBET-CHINA DISPUTE ACT

Mr. MCCAUL. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (S. 138) to amend the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002 to modify certain provisions of that Act.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

S. 138

*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 "Promoting a Resolution to the Tibet-China Dispute Act".

### SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

Congress finds the following:

(1) It has been the long-standing policy of the United States to encourage meaningful and direct dialogue between representatives of the People's Republic of China and the Dalai Lama, his or her representatives, or democratically elected leaders of the Tibetan community, without preconditions, to seek a settlement that resolves differences.

(2) Nine rounds of dialogue held between 2002 and 2010 between the People's Republic of China authorities and the 14th Dalai Lama's representatives failed to produce a settlement that resolved differences, and the two sides have held no formal dialogue since January 2010.

(3) An obstacle to further dialogue is that the Government of the People's Republic of China continues to impose conditions on substantive dialogue with the Dalai Lama, including a demand that he say that Tibet has been part of China since ancient times, which the Dalai Lama has refused to do because it is inaccurate.

(4) Article 1 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and Article 1 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights provide, "All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."

(5) The United States Government has never taken the position that Tibet was a part of China since ancient times.

(6) China signed the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights on October 5, 1998, and ratified the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights on March 27, 2001.

(7) Under international law, including United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2625, the right to self-determination is the right of a people to determine its own destiny and the exercise of this right can result in a variety of outcomes ranging from independence, federation, protection, some form of autonomy, or full integration within a State.

(8) United Nations General Assembly Resolution 1723, adopted on December 20, 1961, called for the "cessation of practices which deprive the Tibetan people of their fundamental human rights and freedoms, including their right to self-determination".

(9) Secretary of State Antony Blinken, in a May 26, 2022, speech entitled "The Administration's Approach to the People's Republic of China", said that the rules-based international order's "founding documents include the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which enshrined