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House of Representatives

The House met at 9:30 a.m. and was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. SIMPSON).

DESIGNATION OF THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Speaker:

WASHINGTON, DC,
November 19, 2015.

I hereby appoint the Honorable MICHAEL K. SIMPSON to act as Speaker pro tempore on this day.

PAUL D. RYAN,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Patrick J. Conroy, offered the following prayer:
Loving God, we give You thanks for giving us another day.

On this final day of session before our Nation celebrates Thanksgiving, we give You thanks for all the blessings we enjoy.

The problems facing the Nation, the concerns of its citizens will not be settled with simplistic solutions. The light of truth is sought in every corner of darkness, yet we stand humbly before You, admitting our limitations.

Lord, give the Members of the people's House the ability to listen intently to differing opinions and respond creatively. May their faith in You be strong enough to stretch every self-interest to the broader vision of the common good, expecting Your intervention in ordered routine, and Your radical twist to basic intent.

Thus may all seek Your wisdom to guide this government and this Nation now and forever.

May all that is done this day be for Your greater honor and glory.

Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Pursuant to clause 1, rule I, the Journal stands approved.

Mr. WILSON of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to clause 1, rule I, I demand a vote on agreeing to the Speaker's approval of the Journal.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the Speaker's approval of the Journal.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. WILSON of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

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

The point of no quorum is considered withdrawn.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Will the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. LANCE) come forward and lead the House in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Mr. LANCE led the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will entertain up to five requests for 1-minute speeches on each side of the aisle.

SAFETY OF AMERICAN FAMILIES

(Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the first value of American leadership is the safety and security of our citizens.

While it is important to support those fleeing conflicts across the globe, the CIA Director's recent statements on the distinct possibility of additional attacks and the national security implications surrounding Syrian refugees at this point are too great to ignore.

The FBI has also indicated that it is next to impossible to appropriately screen refugees. For this reason, I have called upon the President to place a hold on admitting refugees into the country.

Additionally, I have joined with members of the Pennsylvania congressional delegation in requesting that Governor Tom Wolf also place a moratorium on accepting refugees into the Commonwealth.

The House today will consider legislation that suspends refugee admissions until we assure that adequate screening security for threats is in place.

We must not take any chances that could put our country at risk. This is the first in many steps that will provide Americans security, while also supporting our long-term humanitarian tradition in this country.

I encourage my colleagues to support the SAFE Act that will be on the floor later this morning.

JAPANESE INTERNMENT AND REFUGEES

(Mr. TAKANO asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. TAKANO. Mr. Speaker, 70 years ago my parents and grandparents were

□ This symbol represents the time of day during the House proceedings, e.g., □ 1407 is 2:07 p.m.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.



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stripped of their possessions and placed in Japanese American internment camps. They were not guilty of espionage. They did not commit treason. They simply looked like our enemy, and that cost my family their freedom.

Yesterday the mayor of Roanoke, Virginia, suggested that this country's treatment of Japanese Americans during the 1940s is a model for how we should address today's global refugee crisis.

It does not take courage to condemn such disgraceful comments, nor does it take wisdom to say our World War II policies were a product of fear and hysteria.

What takes wisdom is recognizing that history is now repeating itself. What takes courage is sending a message to the world that America will protect innocent people regardless of their nationality or religion.

That is what my mother and father deserved 70 years ago, and that is what these refugees deserve today.

LOCAL PRIORITIZATION OF LAND AND WATER CONSERVATION FUND

(Mr. LAMALFA asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LAMALFA. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the Committee on Natural Resources considered a bill that restores the original intent of the Land and Water Conservation Fund: support of State and local projects.

The LWCF State program has supported many recreation facilities across the country, including in my district, such as a municipal pool in Susanville, boat launches on the Sacramento River, and city parks and playgrounds in Chico, California.

However, for every worthwhile local investment of \$20,000 or \$30,000, this administration now disproportionately spends millions on land acquisition for the Forest Service, which already can't manage what it owns.

Sixty-one percent so far of the program during its existence has gone for this sort of land acquisition. That is not local. The result is catastrophic fires across the West each year with nonmanaged forest lands.

Mr. Speaker, Chairman BISHOP's bill will rectify this problem and send more funding to the State and local projects that need it and help end the destructive cycle of the Federal Government purchasing and owning land it doesn't manage, only to have it burn.

I urge all my colleagues to support this measure when it comes up.

THE REPUBLICAN SYRIAN REFUGEE BILL

(Ms. LORETTA SANCHEZ of California asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. LORETTA SANCHEZ of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to ex-

press my concern and opposition to the Republican Syrian refugee bill.

This restrictive and misguided legislation would immediately shut down the current refugee resettlement and cripple our refugee programs for the future.

I represent Orange County, California, one of the historically known areas of resettling refugees from all around the world. We are ready. We are ready.

Once this administration has taken a look at the backgrounds, has done the extensive research that they do with respect to somebody's background, we are ready to help resettle these refugees.

Refusing to resettle any Syrian refugees would inadvertently empower Daesh and boost their recruitment abilities among vulnerable populations struggling to survive. We cannot let Daesh push us to succumb to fear and to prejudice.

These Syrian refugees are fleeing the same violence that we have seen in Paris and Beirut and Baghdad this last week. Three-quarters of them are women and children. A quarter of them are over 60 years of age. Refugees are not the enemy.

So remember the words on our Statue of Liberty: "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free."

QUOTES TO REMEMBER

(Mr. WILSON of South Carolina asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WILSON of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, as the world faces mass killings by ISIS, Daesh, of Russian, Lebanese, and French citizens, as Daesh has announced plans to target Washington and Rome and New York, we need to review how we got here and together change course.

President George W. Bush on July 12, 2007, declared: "To begin withdrawing before our commanders tell us we are ready would be dangerous for Iraq, for the region, and for the United States. It would mean surrendering the future of Iraq to al Qaeda. It would mean that we'd be risking mass killings on a horrific scale. It would mean we allow the terrorists to establish a safe haven in Iraq to replace the one they lost in Afghanistan."

President Barack Obama on December 14, 2011, claimed: "Everything that American troops have done in Iraq . . . all of it has led to this moment of success. We're leaving behind a sovereign, stable, and self-reliant Iraq."

I agree with former New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani that the President's failed policies created the development of Daesh, leading to the Syrian refugee crisis, resulting in children drowning at sea. The President should change course.

In conclusion, God bless our troops, and may the President, by his actions,

never forget September the 11th in the global war on terrorism.

CRS REPORTS SHOULD BE PUBLICLY AVAILABLE

(Mr. LANCE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LANCE. Mr. Speaker, this week Americans for Tax Reform joins the chorus of advocacy and good government groups calling for Congressional Research Service reports to be available to the public.

In its letter of support, Americans for Tax Reform said that opening CRS reports to the public is a commonsense proposal that will increase transparency, give taxpayers greater access to important information, and enrich public knowledge.

The taxpayer advocacy group pointed out that the rules casting CRS reports into secrecy are outdated and unnecessary, and these reports belong in the public domain.

U.S. taxpayers support the work of the Congressional Research Service to the tune of more than \$100 million a year. It is fiscally responsible and good public policy to allow educators, students, members of the news media, and everyday citizens access to these taxpayer-financed reports.

I urge my colleagues to join Congressman MIKE QUIGLEY and me in our bipartisan support of H. Res. 34, which will open CRS information to the public. These reports are paid for by taxpayer funds. Taxpayers should get to see them.

OPERATION CHRISTMAS CHILD

(Ms. FOXX asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Ms. FOXX. Mr. Speaker, today I rise to recognize Samaritan's Purse, an organization headquartered in Boone, North Carolina, that brings spiritual and physical aid to hurting people around the world.

This week is the national collection week for the organization's Operation Christmas Child ministry, which puts empty shoe boxes to good use by filling them with gifts for needy children.

In order to participate, one needs to start with a shoe box, then decide whether to pack a box for a girl or a boy, and pick the age category: 2 to 4, 5 to 9, or 10 to 14. Finally, one fills the shoe box with gifts, including fun toys, hygiene items, and school supplies.

This year I packed a shoe box for a girl between the ages of 5 and 9. It is a simple concept that brings so much joy to the children who receive these special packages. I urge everyone to consider participating in this worthy program.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 4038, AMERICAN SECURITY AGAINST FOREIGN ENEMIES ACT OF 2015

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 531 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 531

Resolved, That upon adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to consider in the House the bill (H.R. 4038) to require that supplemental certifications and background investigations be completed prior to the admission of certain aliens as refugees, and for other purposes. All points of order against consideration of the bill are waived. The bill shall be considered as read. All points of order against provisions in the bill are waived. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and on any amendment thereto to final passage without intervening motion except: (1) one hour of debate equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Judiciary; and (2) one motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Georgia is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MCGOVERN), pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume. During consideration of this resolution, all time yielded is for the purpose of debate only.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on House Resolution 531 currently under consideration.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I usually begin my statements talking about the technicalities of the rule, who is managing the general debate time, and a recap of the testimony and amendments we received in the Committee on Rules hearing. These are important items to discuss before this body. But today is different. The debates that we will have on this rule and the underlying legislation will be and should be different.

I will be honest. This bill has nothing to do today with job creation. It has nothing to do with reducing regulatory burden or empowering educators to focus on the needs of students rather than the wish list of unions. Those are important issues that we will address in coming weeks. But today is different.

□ 0945

Today, we face the growing evil in the world and resolve to fight against

it, no matter the price. The power of ISIS to kill and destroy has stunned the world and called us to question who we are as individuals, as people of faith, and as a Nation.

It doesn't matter how many press conferences this administration holds, they will not distract from their abdication of responsibility to the security of the United States and the security of its citizens.

The pro-rape, pro-torture, pro-mutilation strategy of Islamic State does not shrink in the face of meaningless words by our Commander in Chief. We are here today because this administration has failed. In the face of unspeakable violence and terror, the White House blinked. And our world is paying the price.

My colleagues across the aisle no doubt plan to deliver moral lectures, as this administration is so fond of, dismissing those who suggest that the Islamic State will use any means possible to bring America to her knees. Before they do, let me remind them the price this country has paid for freedom.

Soil around the world is soaked with the blood of our sons and our daughters who gave it all so that we may be free—as Lincoln said, “that last full measure of devotion”—and so those who seek refuge can find safety and security in our country.

Despite what the administration wants you to believe, refugees don't seek safe haven because of our welfare benefits. It is because we don't negotiate with terrorists. It is because we recognize our first and greatest responsibility is the life and liberty of those who call America home.

We are a Nation of immigrants. We are a Nation of laws. And we are a Nation with a fundamental responsibility to preserve the rights of our citizens. And those rights include life.

The United States has one of the most generous legal immigration programs in the world, welcoming the hurting and abandoned, the persecuted and destitute. And we will continue to. But we will not welcome terrorists. We will not sacrifice moral courage on the altar of quotas.

This country and the world will be judged by future generations on our response as a Nation and as individuals to the Islamic State and those they have raped, tortured, driven from their homes, and murdered. And I believe we will also be judged on our commitment to the safety of the millions of men, women, and children already living within our borders.

The underlying legislation, H.R. 4038, isn't about who we welcome into our country. It is about keeping out those who pose a threat to our national security.

Last night, the Rules Committee received testimony from the Judiciary and Homeland Security Committee chairmen and minority representatives, as well as receiving amendment testimony from a number of Members on both sides of the aisle, for over 4 hours.

Now, more than ever, those who seek shelter in the United States deserve the assurance that our government is doing everything within its power to protect them from the very evil they fled.

But where is the administration? Perhaps if the Commander in Chief would stop holding press conferences to lecture Republicans and start leading the world in the fight against terrorists, we wouldn't have thousands upon thousands tortured, displaced, and killed.

The White House said ISIS was contained less than 24 hours before 100 people became the latest victims of terrorism on the streets of Paris. And, oh, by the way, before releasing five from Guantanamo that morning. It seems the President was too busy practicing his Turkish for the G-20 Summit remarks to notice the world is crumbling and the Islamic State is growing stronger.

In fact, when the President spoke at the G-20 Summit press conference, here is what he mentioned before addressing the terrorist attacks in Paris: the beauty of Turkey; the hospitality of the Turkish people; his practice of the Turkish language; the need to grow the global economy; the need to create jobs; rising inequality in the world; cyber theft; and oh, yes, global climate talks.

There is no question that we have a political commentator when what our Nation and the world needs is a Commander in Chief.

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

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume, and I thank the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. COLLINS) for yielding me the customary 30 minutes.

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

Mr. MCGOVERN. First, Mr. Speaker, I don't blame the gentleman from Georgia for not wanting to talk about the rule because, today, we are about to debate the 46th closed rule of this Congress, making this the most closed session of Congress in history. Speaker RYAN promised an open and deliberative process when he took the gavel. He has already renege on that promise.

Representatives BENNIE THOMPSON and ZOE LOFGREN offered an alternative to today's bill that deserves debate on the House floor, but the Republicans on this Rules Committee prohibited debate under this completely closed process.

The bill that we are about to debate wasn't even introduced until 10:14 p.m. Tuesday night. There have been no hearings—none at all—no markups, and no opportunities for bipartisan input. And, quite frankly, there was not a lot of opportunity for rank-and-file Republicans to have any input on this. Even more stunning, the Judiciary Committee is holding a hearing today—right now—on the very subject we are going to vote on in an hour.

Mr. Speaker, we all understand why people are anxious and concerned. We all watched with horror as the brutal attacks in Paris played out on our TV screens. And our thoughts and our prayers continue to be with the people of Paris, whose courage inspires all of us.

Keeping Americans safe is our top priority. And in the wake of the Paris attacks, that mission has never been more important. But in the days since those terrible attacks, there has been a deeply troubling debate about whether the United States should accept Syrian refugees. In the past week, we have heard far too many of our leaders stirring up fear and far too few talking about the facts.

Mr. Speaker, Americans want an honest and serious debate about how we keep our country safe, but this bill, the so-called American Security Against Foreign Enemies Act, or the American SAFE Act, falls far short.

Instead of debating a bill that might actually strengthen and enhance our refugee resettlement screening process, we are debating a bill that appeals to the worst in us and hurts the very people who are fleeing the violence and chaos ISIS has wrought.

The authors of this bill boast that “this legislation would put in place the most robust national security vetting process in history for any refugee population.” But the simple truth is that the United States already has in place the most rigorous screening process for refugee resettlement in the world.

Right now, Mr. Speaker, America’s refugee screening process already involves seven different Federal departments and agencies, including the State Department, the Department of Homeland Security, the National Counterterrorism Center, the FBI’s Terrorist Screening Center, the Department of Defense, the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, and the U.S. Customs and Border Protection.

Beyond that, every refugee from Syria is also subjected to an additional layer of security and scrutiny. This process is so detailed that it takes, on average, about 2 years for each refugee to be fully screened and allowed to enter the United States, under the sponsorship of a local service agency, and be settled here. Two years.

Now, I would think that every Member of this House would feel reassured knowing that such a process is already in place to protect our citizens and our communities. We have already resettled over 1,800 Syrian refugees over the past 4 years in 130 communities across America. In the past year, Massachusetts has resettled 62 Syrian refugees, including 24 in my hometown of Worcester. Of the 2,174 Syrian refugees that we have resettled in the United States since 9/11, not a single one has been arrested or deported on terrorism-related grounds. Not one.

I recognize that there are ways that we can strengthen that process further. The Congress could consult and work

with the administration, including Homeland Security, the State Department, the national intelligence agencies, and the FBI, to identify and discuss areas where enhancements can be made. But that is not what the authors of this bill did. And it is clear that it wasn’t their intention either.

What H.R. 4038 would actually “achieve” is the creation of a so-called process that would shut down all refugee resettlement from Syria and Iraq. It is not meant to make things better. It is meant to make it completely unworkable.

Nothing in this bill actually improves the FBI’s or any other intelligence agency’s ability to conduct a more effective screening process. If you want to do that, give them more money for more personnel and consult with them directly about how to strengthen the existing screening process. This bill hasn’t done that.

Right now, of the more than 1,800 Syrian refugees resettled in the United States since 2012, half are children, a quarter are adults over the age of 60, and none have been involved in anything remotely tied to terrorism or violent activity.

Mr. Speaker, America is at a critical crossroads. It is moments like this that define who we are as a Nation. This bill, along with the deeply troubling rhetoric that surrounds it, would only perpetuate the politics of fear and intolerance. Americans are better than that. And now, more than ever, we must stay true to our values.

Our enemies want to divide us. We must remain strong and united in the face of this evil. We must not abandon the clear-eyed compassion that has made America the shining city on the hill for more than two centuries, giving hope to so many generations before us in search of a better life for themselves and for their children.

In July, I traveled to Gaziantep, Turkey, near the Syrian border, with a congressional delegation led by Senator TIM Kaine of Virginia. While there, we heard directly from government leaders, local NGOs, and charities on the front lines helping the countless Syrian refugees who have lost their homes and many of their friends and family. They are desperate to escape the violence and are part of the world’s worst refugee crisis since World War II. We cannot shrink from this moment when strong American leadership is needed.

One of the most important reminders of the legacy we must live up to is the Statue of Liberty. For more than 100 years, it has stood as a promise for better life for the “huddled masses yearning to breathe free.” We cannot turn our backs on the values at the heart of our identity as Americans. To do this would cede a victory to the terrorists. Yet the fear, anger, prejudice, and isolationism that are driving the current debate on Syrian refugees remind me of some of the darkest and ugliest chapters of modern American history.

Many Americans—some in this Chamber—still remember the moment in our Nation’s history when we turned away ships filled with Jewish refugees desperate to escape Nazi Germany and imprisoned our fellow citizens of Japanese heritage in internment camps. Do we really want to return to these kinds of destructive and hateful policies? Is that really who we are today?

I am so proud of America’s leadership in providing \$4.5 billion in aid to Syrian refugees in the region—more than any other country. I am also proud that the U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement places a priority on accepting widows with children and highly vulnerable individuals, especially the elderly and the infirm.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 4038 would shut down our resettlement program altogether. That is what it wants to do, and that is what it intends to do.

The refugees eligible for resettlement in the United States are not the refugees in Europe. The refugees coming into the United States through our resettlement program have been living in refugee camps for months—often years—under unimaginably harsh conditions.

A woman and her 3-year-old little girl whose home in Syria was reduced to rubble by barrel bombs and whose husband has been killed will be denied the opportunity to go through the rigorous screening process to find a new home in America.

An elderly woman who has lost everything and is barely alive now in a refugee camp will be denied a home in America, even if she has some distant relatives already in the United States.

Mr. Speaker, where is our humanity? None of the Syrian refugees who have already made it through our screening process and have been resettled in the United States fit the description of the terrorists I have heard described over and over again last night in the Rules Committee. Those ugly distortions of the people we are resettling only emphasize how out of touch with reality this debate has gotten.

Mr. Speaker, if we really want to help make America more safe and more secure in the wake of the Paris attacks, then we should put more money in the omnibus appropriations bill for the FBI, DHS, and for our local law enforcement agencies so that they can continue focusing on criminal and homegrown as well as possible foreign individuals and networks that might engage in violence against our citizens.

And, while we are at it, we should also increase the funding for the State Department, HHS, the UNHCR, and the NGOs that provide humanitarian aid abroad and resettlement support to refugee families here in America. But let us stop wasting our time with a bill that is going nowhere and fails to offer the serious approach we need to keep America safe and address this crisis.

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

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I was sort of amazed—it took almost probably 7 or 8 minutes—but we came to the real heart of the problem: just throw money at it. If you don't fix a problem, just throw money at it. When you are showing no leadership, I guess I would throw a diversionary tactic out there and do that as well.

What I am having trouble understanding is also what has been said by many speakers this morning, Mr. Speaker, and that is that true refugees are not the problem. They can still apply. Nothing in this bill keeps that rigorous process from them applying and going through that process. We are simply adding a certification step.

Now, undoubtedly, that is a little cumbersome for our Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security because he has this problem: he says it is cumbersome for him to certify each Syrian refugee personally.

There are issues here. Is it just hugely cumbersome and not the most effective use of the Secretary's time? I am sorry; you are the Secretary of Homeland Security in this country. Your job is to keep us protected. However that may play out, get the resources and do what you are supposed to be doing.

It is not like the example of keeping a young mother with kids from going through the process. There is nothing in this bill that does that. That is a distraction.

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I will talk about the rule. The rule is straightforward. Vote for the rule in just a few minutes. Vote with the side of those protecting America. Make sure that we are protected. That is a simple choice this morning.

That is what this rule does. It gets us to a bill that allows us to put an extra level of security and an extra level of certification so this administration cannot just continue to do what they are doing.

I was stunned just a few moments ago when I heard from my friend that this appeals to the worst in the U.S.

This appeals to the worst in the U.S.? Protecting America and trying to find ways to do that appeals to the worst of us?

That, to me, is derogatory to every man and woman who serves in our military, who goes and fights for freedom not only here but abroad. You are telling me to add a level of protection to those who live within our borders is appealing to the base of who we are?

That is not true. Deflect how you want to. Talk about this bill. Vote "no" if you want to. Go on the side of saying, you know, we have got it pretty good right now. Those that have come haven't done anything.

I would rather see a proactive approach. I would rather see something that is very reflective of the world's times. When we do that, then we are

fulfilling our role. That is the best of America, not the worst.

I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. CARTWRIGHT).

Mr. CARTWRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, I rise to oppose this rule. This bill, H.R. 4038, was rushed to the floor with no hearings, no opportunities for amendments, none of the things that Speaker RYAN promised us about an open process, a bottom-up process.

Now, I agree that preventing dangerous actors from entering the United States is paramount, and I also agree that we must be strong in our resolve to confront and defeat terrorism wherever it comes from. But I submitted an amendment to this bill which would have excluded women and children from the extra and potentially onerous process this bill would enact for refugee vetting.

Refugees from this region already undergo a far more rigorous screening process than anybody else seeking admission to this country. The process takes, on average, between 18 and 24 months—and longer, in many cases—before a refugee sets foot on U.S. soil. Surely this process is sufficient for women and children, widows and orphans of terrorism who are particularly vulnerable during conflicts while fleeing, who come from refugee camps.

It means that this bill is particularly punitive for them if it means they have additional wait time. Imposing that kind of additional wait time while going through unnecessary bureaucratic steps to vet those low-risk individuals makes no sense.

Speaker RYAN, I oppose this rule because you are not living up to your promise. We ought to have debate. We ought to have hearings, and you ought to allow amendments like this one that would make an exception for widows and orphans.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I would just say, if the gentleman agrees that we need to enforce and have strong protections to make sure that we are not attacked, then my recommendation would be vote "yes" on the rule and vote "yes" on the bill. It is a pretty simple choice here. Or you can go back and explain to most of the people in your district who agree that we need to protect our country—it is something across our country, from coast to coast, that says this is something that is worth doing, and I think we need to look at that.

I do want to hit this hard in just a moment. There are times—and especially when you come to a decision like this—when we understand how we got here and that it was put together by six chairmen who, over the weekend and this past week after the tragic result of last Friday night in Paris, have put together this first step in legislation to deal with this, and there will be other steps coming. But to characterize

this as something that basically has not been considered—there are committees, the Judiciary Committee on which I serve, the Homeland Security Committee, and others, who have been looking at this issue for a long time.

This is something that has come together, and it gives us an immediate first step, and it makes a very clear choice.

Do you want to add a layer of protection to protect the American people or not? If you don't want to, vote "no." If you don't want to do that, vote "no." Vote "no" on the rule. Vote "no" on the bill. Talk about the process. Whine about whatever you want. But this is a clear choice. The bill is protection or not.

The other issue that we need to really just assess here is, when we look at what we are doing, the question is about leadership, and the question is about how are we going to protect those. It doesn't shut it down.

Also, it was just mentioned just a little bit ago that there was a hearing right now. The implication was that the hearing had something to do with this bill. Let's just be very clear. The hearing is about the Syrian refugee issue as a whole, not this bill. We are not taking away from that. This is an issue and a hearing that had been planned. It is happening. Those are other discussions that will be coming forward.

So let's at least make sure that we are giving the right implications on what is going on on the Hill right now.

I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Georgia for clarifying that point, which now means that there are zero hearings on this bill and no markup. It doesn't make me feel very good about this process.

I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PASCRELL).

Mr. PASCRELL. Mr. Speaker, I have lived in Paterson, New Jersey, all my life, which has a large Syrian American population. In fact, when I came back from the service, I joined the American Legion. It was the John Raad Post, which was a Syrian American military organization. These are hardworking people here.

The advantage of what we are doing, and over the past 4 years since the beginning of the Syrian war, the civil war, is that we are connecting refugees with Syrian American families.

There are no harder working people in this country than Syrian Americans. Know the history of it. They didn't come here last week.

So here is the chart. This is what you need to go through to get a refugee into the United States of America. I hope you looked at the chart. I hope you have examined every step, the 14 steps. Let's not get into one side wants to secure America more than the other side.

I served in the Armed Forces. I was on the beginning of the Select Committee on Homeland Security. I don't

like anybody telling me: You guys tried to do that in 2005, and you lost in 2006. Stay away from it.

No one party is privy to protecting this country. We all want that. But we are not going to sacrifice what we, as Americans, are. We are not going to do this.

When women and children who have nothing on their back—nothing—and 2 or 3 years, they could finally come to the gate of the greatest country in the world—yeah, you may smile over there, but I am very serious about what I am saying. This is a very serious moment in our history.

I want to protect America. I want to be strong. I don't agree with all the President's Syrian policies, but I think that we are doing harm to ourselves and sending the wrong message.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. JENKINS of West Virginia). The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I yield the gentleman an additional 1 minute.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman is reminded to address his remarks to the Chair.

Mr. PASCRELL. Mr. Speaker, I want to salute the Speaker of the House, and here is why I want to salute him. He defused the religious connotations when this was first brought up. He did that yesterday, and I salute him.

Imagine, to have one line for Christian Syrians and another line for Muslim Syrians. What are we reduced to here? What message does that send to the rest of the world? You tell me. It is shameful.

So I thank him for that.

I don't impugn anybody on the other side. I don't question their motives. I don't think that this is a good idea.

The commitment we have to public safety can be upheld even as we provide refuge to some of the world's most vulnerable people. When you sleep tonight, think about the world's most vulnerable people, and we can still keep America safe.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I appreciate the gentleman's words. I agree with him. No party claims a right of both as one protects, one doesn't. But I will say this: Both of us have the same commitment to raising our hand and saying we do protect. Both parties have that in common.

And as someone who has served, myself, and been in a war zone in Iraq and understands what this is about, I appreciate the gentleman's feelings. My problem is this: Go to your district. As was said just a few moments ago, they felt better about no hearings. My question is, go to your district and ask your district this question, Mr. Speaker: Would you rather have a hearing, or would you rather do something to protect them?

Would you rather have hearings or go and do something to protect, and then come back, as we have done hearings, and work moving forward?

This is a process that should be together. I am really, frankly, amazed that we are not together on this because, at this point, it does nothing—I repeat, does nothing—to shut the process down. It simply adds a layer of protection.

It doesn't shut it down. It doesn't defame our humanitarian effort around world in which we lead the way in both money and resources, and it still allows that mother with those kids to apply and go through the process.

We are simply saying, let's pause a moment and make sure that it is not just the mother with the kids, that there is not somebody else abusing the system, there is not somebody else hiding through the system that wants to come into this country and do us harm.

Let's frame this in very simple terms. It is a very simple bill. It is only four pages. When we understand that, we can continue.

I reserve the balance of my time.

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

I am stunned to just listen to the gentleman from Georgia basically tell us that you can have either a bill or you can have regular order, but you can't have both.

This is the greatest deliberative body on the planet. We are supposed to discuss issues. We are supposed to debate issues. Committees are supposed to do their work and report that, then, to the Rules Committee to come to the floor. But to suggest that you have a choice here, you can't have both, is ridiculous.

The Speaker of the House promised regular order. He has reneged on that promise. It is outrageous, especially on a bill like this, that we cannot have amendments; that even the committees of jurisdiction can't even do their job. It is an outrage. It is shameful. How can you defend that kind of process?

I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON LEE).

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, I associate myself with the gentleman from Massachusetts because I think it is important for my colleagues to understand that, when you talk about process, you talk about responding in the right way to crisis.

Let me be very clear. The inquiry that my friends on the other side of the aisle are making is correct, to find out how we can ensure the safety and security of the American people.

I sit on the Homeland Security Committee and, like my friend from New Jersey, from the very beginning, the tragedy of 9/11.

I am the ranking member on the Crime, Terrorism, Homeland Security, and Investigations Subcommittee. There is no way that I would stand here and jeopardize the security of the American people.

Let me also say, I represent the Catholic diocese, Catholic Charities, Lutheran Services, Interfaith Ministries in my district, and I would ask my colleague on the other side of the aisle to query them about whether or not they support this legislation.

There are people who understand the burdensomeness and the wrongness of the direction in which we are going.

Is it appropriate to inquire and have a report to Congress to ensure that there are strictures in dealing with those coming to this country from Syria or anywhere else? Yes, it is. But is it ridiculous to ensure or to insist that this 5-year-old little girl must be individually certified by the FBI, the DNI, Counterterrorism, and the CIA, and a long litany of others? That is what we are saying.

First of all, there were 23,000 who were recommended by the United Nations, Syrians, to come into the United States. The Department of Homeland Security selected only 7,000 to interview. In that 7,000, only 2,000 have gone through the process through an 18- to 20-month period.

We are saying to the American people, if you want to get rid of ISIS, take the fight to ISIS. That is what we are doing with our allies, to destroy and eliminate ISIS. But to be able to say to our allies around the world that we are putting a stop sign on our refugees from Syria that look like mothers and fathers and old people is absolutely absurd.

The inquiry is correct; the process is wrong. Let us not distort this to the American people and tell them an untruth, that one side of the aisle is against the security and the other side is not.

Take the fight to the caliphate.

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

Mr. MCGOVERN. I yield the gentleman 15 seconds.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. This is an improper approach. You cannot certify a 5-year-old girl from Syria. She will never get in.

The process is extensive, it is definite, it is secure, and we are securing the American people. Let's work together, as my friend on the other side of the aisle has said, and do it right.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Also, I just want to say that it shouldn't have been shocking. There was nothing in part of what I said, that you have to have regular order or a bill. I am simply saying, here is the process it went through that we have had here.

That is a false dichotomy, Mr. Speaker. It is not true. I never said you couldn't have regular order and have a bill. You have both. In this case, you have a bill.

□ 1015

The bill says in very plain and simple terms—4 pages—here is what it does, and that is where we go at it. To continue to say that it does other stuff that it doesn't do is simply wrong. We are just simply saying: We are giving another layer of protection. Take that layer of protection. Let's continue to have our hearings, let's continue to

have our debate, and we will be bringing others because we are already taking the fight—and that is another issue that we need to have. It is time to call the radical Islamic terrorists what they are, thugs in this world, rapists, torturers, and murderers. They have no regard for religion and no regard for themselves. They are simply plain thugs.

If we want to talk about what we are fighting, then let's put it in those terms. Let's put it in those terms. I prefer that we have an extra measure of protection keeping those folks out while we take the fight to them because I believe, as the Air Force that I serve and the military we have, the fight is coming to them, and the thugs will not win. We are just going to put an extra measure of protection here to make sure they don't come in here while maintaining the integrity of our program.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, those of us on our side have no problem with taking the fight to the thugs. What we have a problem with is taking the fight to orphans, widows, young children, and senior citizens who are fleeing war and terror. To turn our backs on those individuals, to basically shut this process down—and that is what this would do. By the way, the authors of the bill admitted that last night in the Rules Committee. This is not going to stop the refugee resettlement process in its place. But to do that goes against the very best traditions and values of this country.

We are better than that.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. LEE).

Ms. LEE. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from Massachusetts for yielding and for his leadership on these critical issues.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to the rule, H. Res. 531, and also to the bill, H.R. 4038, the American Security Against Foreign Enemies Act of 2015. Foreign enemies—refugees.

We all watched with horror as unconscionable violence unfolded in Paris over the weekend, but also in Egypt, in Lebanon, and in Nigeria. So let me just first say that my thoughts and prayers go out to all of those who have been affected by all of these tragedies.

But it would be a grave mistake to use these attacks as a pretense to close our doors to the families that are fleeing ISIL in their own countries. The overwhelming majority, of course, are women and children. Just as the unfortunate attacks of 9/11 required us to step up and lead, we are at that moment again where Members of Congress need to lead.

This counterproductive bill would immediately shut down the resettlement of refugees from countries such as Syria and Iraq while significantly

slowing down—yes, shutting down—our resettlement process in the future.

But, of course, as Members of Congress, our first goal is keeping our country safe. We all are committed to that, and we do that each and every day. But preventing these people suffering the violence of war—the violence of war—sends the wrong signal first to our allies; to our own country. And really, this is not consistent with our national security goals. Simply put, closing our doors to these refugees would really be a betrayal of our Nation's most fundamental values.

Mr. Speaker, the United States already has the lengthiest and most robust screening procedures in the world. Any refugees seeking to come to the United States go through a screening process that takes 18 to 24 months before they can even set foot on United States soil.

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

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentlewoman from California an additional 1 minute.

Ms. LEE. Mr. Speaker, our screening process has already involved multiple Federal intelligence, security, and law enforcement agencies, including the Department of Homeland Security, the National Counterterrorism Center, and the FBI. These agencies subject those seeking refuge in the United States to safeguards, such as biometric and biographic checks. Syrian refugees are already subject to additional forms of security screening.

Mr. Speaker, it is worth noting—it has been said before, and I will say it again—that of the 2,174 Syrian refugees admitted to the United States since September 11, 2001, not a single one has been arrested or deported on terrorism-related grounds. I am proud that Oakland—in my congressional district—has resettled more Syrian refugees than any other East Bay area city in California. Rather than working to shut out those seeking refuge in our country, we should instead be working toward ensuring a regionally led, comprehensive, economic, political, and diplomatic solution to the conflicts that have led to the worst refugee crisis since World War II.

Mr. Speaker, this would stop the flow of refugees and give them a chance to live in their own country free of war and violence. I urge my colleagues to reject this rule and this unnecessary bill.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I find it a great privilege to stand here and really not believe that a bill that protects the interests of Americans I find never is unnecessary. In fact, I find it needed at this point.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. PALAZZO).

Mr. PALAZZO. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my colleague from Georgia for engaging in this debate. I know it sometimes seems to be a lonely job, especially when you are right, you are

correct, and you are putting the best interests of the American people ahead of partisan politics. So I applaud you, and I applaud all my colleagues who are going to support this underlying rule and move on to support the final bill.

I heard a comment while I was following the debate, and someone said that Speaker RYAN has reneged on his promises.

Mr. Speaker, if anybody has reneged on their promises, I believe it is the President of the United States of America. As Commander in Chief, he has the ultimate responsibility to lead our troops. But also his number one constitutional responsibility is the common defense of this Nation against all enemies, both domestic and foreign. But he has made America weaker. He has made our military weaker. The international community, our friends, no longer trust us, and our enemies no longer fear us. So if anybody has reneged on their responsibilities, it is the President of the United States.

Just now, Mr. Speaker, we started to basically really try to cut off the flow of money to ISIS and to the Islamic radicals. For over 2 years, we have been telling them to go after the oil revenues. That is where they are making their money. They are making it because they are smuggling oil out of the country and selling it on the black market, and they are making billions of dollars a year. Just now, we decide, well, we are going to go after the oil tankers that carry the oil so they can make the money, so they can buy weapons, and then they can basically export terrorism all around the world.

Twenty-five years ago, I remember pretty much this month I was activated for the Persian Gulf War. One thing I do remember is we bombed the hell out of our enemies before we sent our men and women in uniform with boots on the ground in there. And pretty much, as we all know, within a week, the Iraq war was over with.

So, Mr. Speaker, it baffles the mind why we are waiting for the last moment to actually cut off the revenues that are funding this global jihad and this radical Islam. But, like my colleague from Georgia and those who are going to support this rule and support the bill, we understand our constitutional responsibilities.

Our number one responsibility is the common defense of this Nation at home and abroad. That means taking care of people in our congressional districts, taking care of people in our State, and taking care of the American people. So you are either with us or against us on this.

I just want to urge my colleagues to support the underlying rule, support the bill, and let's start taking care of Americans, and the rest will take care of itself.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the remaining time.

Mr. Speaker, I want to urge my colleagues to defeat the previous question.

If we do, I will offer an amendment to the rule that would simply allow us to debate and vote on a reasonable alternative in addition to the Republican bill that we are considering today. This record-breaking closed rule shuts down both Republicans and Democrats, makes it impossible for them to be able to participate in the legislative process, and prevents us from considering reasonable, commonsense alternatives. If we are truly interested in actually enhancing the security of the United States and protecting the American people, maybe we ought to come together and behave like adults and work together to come up with a solution that actually works.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert the text of the amendment in the RECORD, along with extraneous material, immediately prior to the vote on the previous question.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD a letter that was signed by 81 NGOs that work in the field of humanitarian relief and refugee resettlement in support of the refugee resettlement program and the Syrian refugee resettlement program.

NOVEMBER 17, 2015.

DEAR SENATOR/REPRESENTATIVE: As refugee and immigration law experts, humanitarian aid organizations, faith, labor and civil and human rights groups, we write to express our support for the U.S. refugee resettlement program. The world is witnessing the largest refugee crisis since World War II. More than 4 million Syrians have fled from their home country fleeing conflict and violence, and 6.5 million are displaced internally.

At a time when the world needs humanitarian leadership, some are now calling for the suspension of the U.S. refugee resettlement program or the imposition of restrictions on funding for Syrians and other groups of refugees. We oppose these proposals and believe they would jeopardize the United States' moral leadership in the world.

Syrian refugees are fleeing exactly the kind of terror that unfolded on the streets of Paris. They have suffered violence just like this for almost five years. Most have lost loved ones to persecution and violence, in addition to having had their country, their community, and everything they own brutally taken from them.

Refugees are the most thoroughly vetted group of people who come to the United States. Security screenings are rigorous and involve the Department of Homeland Security, the FBI, the Department of Defense and multiple intelligence agencies. Department of Homeland Security officials interview each refugee to determine whether they meet the refugee definition and whether they are admissible to the United States. Refugees undergo a series of biometric and investigatory background checks, including collection and analysis of personal data, fingerprints, photographs, and other background information, all of which is checked against government databases. The entire process typically takes more than two years and often much more before the refugee would arrive in the U.S. In addition the Administration is already taking steps, with its existing authority, to increase the capacity of its security and screening procedures for ref-

ugees. There is no need for Congress to impose additional restrictions or security measures.

The United States decides which refugees to resettle. Because so few refugees in the world are resettled, the U.S. often chooses the most vulnerable, including refugees who cannot remain safely where they are and families with children who cannot receive the medical care they need to survive.

To turn our back on refugees would be to betray our nation's core values. It would send a demoralizing and dangerous message to the world that the United States makes judgments about people based on the country they come from and their religion. This feeds into extremist propaganda and makes us all less safe. We call upon Congress to demonstrate leadership by speaking out against the scapegoating of any group during this time of crisis and to ensure that our nation's humanitarian efforts are robust.

The United States is a welcoming country with a diverse society and our resettlement program must continue to reflect this.

We can welcome refugees while ensuring our own security. Refugees have enriched communities across our country and have been part of the American fabric for generations. Historically our nation has responded to every major war or conflict and has resettled refugees from Africa, South East Asia, Eastern Europe as well as the Middle-East. Closing the door to refugees would be disastrous for not only the refugees themselves, but their family members in the United States who are waiting for them to arrive, and our reputation in the world.

Sincerely,

The Advocates for Human Rights, Alliance for Citizenship, American Civil Liberties Union, American Immigration Lawyers Association, American Jewish Committee (AJC), American Refugee Committee, America's Voice Education Fund, Anti-Defamation League, Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund (AALDEF), Asian Americans Advancing Justice—AAJC, Asian Pacific Institute on Gender-Based Violence, Association of Jewish Family and Children's Agencies.

CARE USA, Center for Applied Linguistics, Center for Gender & Refugee Studies, Center for New Community, Center for Victims of Torture, Centro de los Derechos de Inmigrante, Inc., Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) Refugee & Immigration Ministries, Church World Service, Columban Center for Advocacy and Outreach, Concern Worldwide (US) Inc., Conference of Major Superiors of Men, Council on American-Islamic Relations.

The Episcopal Church, Ethiopian Community Development Council, Inc., Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Farmworker Justice, Franciscan Action Network, Friends Committee on National Legislation, Habonim Dror North America, HIAS, Human Rights First, InterAction, International Catholic Migration Commission, International Refugee Assistance Project, International Rescue Committee.

Jesuit Conference of Canada and the United States, National Advocacy Office, Jesuit Refugee Service/USA, Jewish Council for Public Affairs, Jewish Labor Committee, Kids in Need of Defense (KIND), Leadership Conference of Women Religious, Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service, MercyUSA for Aid and Development, Mi Familia Vota, Muslim Public Affairs Council, NAFSA: Association of International Educators, National Council of Asian Pacific Americans (NCAPA).

National Council of Jewish Women, National Immigrant Justice Center (NIJC), National Immigration Forum, National Immigration Project of the National Lawyers

Guild, NETWORK, A National Catholic Social Justice Lobby, OCA—Asian Pacific American Advocates, OneAmerica, ORAM—Organization for Refuge, Asylum & Migration, Oxfam America, Peace Action West, Presbyterian Church USA, Refugees International.

Save the Children, South Asian Americans Leading Together (SAALT), Southeast Asia Resource Action Center (SEARAC), STAND: The Student-Led Movement to End Mass Atrocities, SustainUS: U.S. Youth for Justice, Syrian American Medical Society (SAMS), Syria Relief Development, Tahirih Justice Center, T'ruah: The Rabbinic Call for Human Rights.

Union for Reform Judaism, Unitarian Universalist Association, United to End Genocide, United Farm Workers, United States Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, UURISE—Unitarian Universalist Refugee and Immigrant Services and Education, Inc., Win Without War, Women's Refugee Commission, Workmen's Circle, World Relief.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I also include in the RECORD a statement by the Catholic Bishops that say that the U.S. should welcome Syrian refugees into the United States.

[From the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, Nov. 17, 2015]

BISHOPS' MIGRATION CHAIR: U.S. SHOULD WELCOME SYRIAN REFUGEES, WORK FOR PEACE

BALTIMORE.—Bishop Eusebio Elizondo, Chairman of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops' (USCCB) Committee on Migration, issued a statement on Syrian refugees during the Bishops' annual General Assembly in Baltimore Nov. 17.

Full text of the statement follows:

STATEMENT ON SYRIAN REFUGEES AND THE ATTACKS IN PARIS

On behalf of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops' Committee on Migration, I offer my deepest condolences to the families of the victims of the November 13 attacks in Paris, France and to the French people. I add my voice to all those condemning these attacks and my support to all who are working to ensure such attacks do not occur again—both in France and around the world.

I am disturbed, however, by calls from both federal and state officials for an end to the resettlement of Syrian refugees in the United States. These refugees are fleeing terror themselves—violence like we have witnessed in Paris. They are extremely vulnerable families, women, and children who are fleeing for their lives. We cannot and should not blame them for the actions of a terrorist organization.

Moreover, refugees to this country must pass security checks and multiple interviews before entering the United States—more than any arrival to the United States. It can take up to two years for a refugee to pass through the whole vetting process. We can look at strengthening the already stringent screening program, but we should continue to welcome those in desperate need.

Instead of using this tragedy to scapegoat all refugees, I call upon our public officials to work together to end the Syrian conflict peacefully so the close to 4 million Syrian refugees can return to their country and rebuild their homes. Until that goal is achieved, we must work with the world community to provide safe haven to vulnerable and deserving refugees who are simply attempting to survive. As a great nation, the United States must show leadership during this crisis and bring nations together to protect those in danger and bring an end to the conflicts in the Middle East.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I include en bloc in the RECORD a whole bunch of other materials.

[From Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism, Nov. 17, 2015]

REFORM MOVEMENT REJECTS CALLS FOR NEW LIMITS ON SYRIAN REFUGEES

WASHINGTON, D.C.—In response to calls for new limits on Syrian refugees in the wake of the recent attacks in Paris, Rabbi Jonah Dov Pesner, Director of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism, issued the following statement:

The recent attacks in Paris have horrified and pained us deeply, as they have all people of goodwill around the world. Our hearts ache for all those directly impacted by these acts of terror. We pray for healing of those who were injured and comfort for the families of all who were lost.

These attacks echo the kind of terrible violence that the Syrian people have lived with for the past several years, buffeted between the brutality of President Assad and the barbarism of ISIS. As such, now is the time to ensure the U.S. refugee system remains open to those fleeing Syria and who wish to contribute to and strengthen our nation. Calls to impose new limits on Syrian refugees, to impose a religious test on refugees, or to close our doors altogether ignore the reality that the lengthy and rigorous vetting of refugee applications helps ensure our national security while upholding our historic role as a place of refuge.

We cannot allow the violence wrought by ISIS and its allies to overshadow our values as Americans and as Reform Jews. As Jewish tradition teaches, “and each shall sit under their vine and fig tree, and none shall make them afraid” (Micah 4:4). We can ensure our security and fulfill our highest aspirations as a nation rooted in compassion and commitment to religious liberty. We call on members of Congress to oppose any effort to limit the acceptance of Syrian refugees, just as we urge public officials and figures across the U.S. to reject divisive and inflammatory statements that do not reflect our history as a nation founded by descendants of those who fled persecution in search of freedom.

In these trying times, we cannot lose sight of our values and what we stand for. To repair the brokenness in our world, we must stand united with those who reject violence and divisiveness and instead support those who uphold healing, safety and security for all.

RANKING MEMBERS SCHIFF, THOMPSON AND LOFGREN JOINT STATEMENT ON SYRIAN REFUGEE BILL ON HOUSE FLOOR TOMORROW

[For Immediate Release—Wednesday, November 18, 2015]

WASHINGTON, DC.—Today, Rep. Adam Schiff (D-CA), Ranking Member of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, Rep. Bennie G. Thompson (D-MS), Ranking Member of the Committee on Homeland Security, and Rep. Zoe Lofgren (D-CA), Ranking Member of the Judiciary Committee’s Subcommittee on Immigration and Border Security, released the following statement:

“For many Americans, the horrendous loss of life and scenes of chaos of the Paris terrorist attacks harkened back to our own experience in the wake of September 11th. Our top priority is and will always remain the safety of the American people. And it is in these times that the core values of our nation are tested. Welcoming refugees who are fleeing persecution and war is the humane—and American—thing to do. However, some in Congress intend to use this tragedy to shut down the U.S. refugee program, turning

our backs on victims fleeing the horrors of ISIS and the Assad regime.

“We must constantly re-evaluate and refine our refugee screening to find ways to strengthen the existing system and ensure that we are maintaining the most rigorous vetting system in the world. Refugees, and refugees from this region specifically, already undergo a far more rigorous screening process than anyone else seeking admission to this country, including background checks, national security vetting, biometric identifiers, and interviews. The process takes on average between 18 to 24 months, and longer in many cases, before a refugee steps foot on U.S. soil. The House Republican legislation would immediately shut down all refugee resettlement from Syria and Iraq—possibly for many years—and severely handicap future refugee resettlement around the world.

“Our commitment to refugees and the security of the American people are not mutually exclusive. We believe that turning our backs on those escaping persecution, many of them religious minorities and victims of terrorism, runs counter to the proud and generous heritage of the United States—a country of immigrants—that has always helped those in need in the most trying times.”

STATEMENT OF ADMINISTRATION POLICY

H.R. 4038—AMERICAN SAFE ACT OF 2015

(Rep. McCaul, R-TX, and Rep. Hudson, R-NC)

The Administration’s highest priority is to ensure the safety and security of the American people. That is why refugees of all nationalities, including Syrians and Iraqis, considered for admission to the United States undergo the most rigorous and thorough security screening of anyone admitted into the United States. This legislation would introduce unnecessary and impractical requirements that would unacceptably hamper our efforts to assist some of the most vulnerable people in the world, many of whom are victims of terrorism, and would undermine our partners in the Middle East and Europe in addressing the Syrian refugee crisis. The Administration therefore strongly opposes H.R. 4038.

The current screening process involves multiple Federal intelligence, security, and law enforcement agencies, including the National Counterterrorism Center, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the Departments of Homeland Security (DHS), State, and Defense, all aimed at ensuring that those admitted do not pose a threat to our country. These safeguards include biometric (fingerprint) and biographic checks, medical screenings, and a lengthy interview by specially trained DHS officers who scrutinize the applicant’s explanation of individual circumstances to assess whether the applicant meets statutory requirements to qualify as a refugee and that he or she does not present security concerns to the United States. Mindful of the particular conditions of the Syria crisis, Syrian refugees—who have had their lives uprooted by conflict and continue to live amid conditions so harsh that many set out on dangerous, often deadly, journeys seeking new places of refuge—go through additional forms of security screening, including a thorough pre-interview analysis of each individual’s refugee application. Additionally, DHS interviewers receive extensive, Syria-specific training before meeting with refugee applicants. Of the 2,174 Syrian refugees admitted to the United States since September 11, 2001, not a single one has been arrested or deported on terrorism-related grounds.

The certification requirement at the core of H.R. 4038 is untenable and would provide

no meaningful additional security for the American people, instead serving only to create significant delays and obstacles in the fulfillment of a vital program that satisfies both humanitarian and national security objectives. No refugee is approved for travel to the United States under the current system until the full array of required security vetting measures have been completed. Thus, the substantive result sought through this draft legislation is already embedded into the program. The Administration recognizes the importance of a strong, evolving security screening in our refugee admissions program and devotes considerable resources to continually improving the Nation’s robust security screening protocols. The measures called for in this bill would divert resources from these efforts.

Given the lives at stake and the critical importance to our partners in the Middle East and Europe of American leadership in addressing the Syrian refugee crisis, if the President were presented with H.R. 4038, he would veto the bill.

[From U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants]

SECURITY SCREENING OF REFUGEES ADMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES: A DETAILED, RIGOROUS PROCESS

Resettlement is considered a durable solution for refugees who cannot return to their countries of origin or integrate into the current country that is hosting them. Resettlement to a country like the U.S. presents a life-saving alternative for a very small number of refugees around the world (less than one half of one percent). Refugees seeking resettlement in the United States must pass through a number of steps aimed at ensuring that they will not pose a security risk to the United States.

STEP 1

Refugee Status: In most cases the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) determines that the individual qualifies as a refugee under international law. A refugee is someone who has fled from his or her home country and cannot return because he or she has a well-founded fear of persecution based on religion, race, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group.

STEP 2

Referral to the United States: A refugee that meets one of the criteria for resettlement in the United States is referred to the U.S. government by UNHCR, a U.S. Embassy, or a trained Non-Governmental Organization.

STEP 3

Resettlement Support Center: A Resettlement Support Center (RSC), contracted by the U.S. Department of State, compiles the refugee’s personal data and background information for the security clearance process and to present to the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) for an in-person interview.

STEP 4

Security Clearance Process: With information collected by the RSC, a number of security checks are conducted. The State Department runs the names of all refugees referred to the United States for resettlement through a standard CLASS (Consular Lookout and Support System) name check. In addition, enhanced interagency security checks were phased in beginning in 2008 and applied to all refugee applicants by 2010.

STEP 5

Security Clearance Process: Certain refugees undergo an additional security review called a Security Advisory Opinion (SAO).

These cases require a positive SAO clearance from a number of U.S. law enforcement and intelligence agencies in order to continue the resettlement process. When required, this step runs concurrently with Step 4.

STEP 6

Security Clearance Process: Refugees who meet the minimum age requirement have their fingerprints and photograph taken by a trained U.S. government employee, usually on the same day as their DHS interview. The fingerprints are then checked against various U.S. government databases and information on any matches is reviewed by DHS.

STEP 7

In-person Interview: All refugee applicants are interviewed by an officer from DHS's U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS). A trained officer will travel to the country of asylum* to conduct a detailed, face-to-face interview with each refugee applicant being considered for resettlement. Based on the information in the refugee's case file and on the interview, the DHS officer will determine if the individual qualifies as a refugee and is admissible under U.S. law.

STEP 8

DHS Approval: If the USCIS officer finds that the individual qualifies as a refugee and meets other U.S. admission criteria, the officer will conditionally approve the refugee's application for resettlement and submit it to the U.S. Department of State for final processing. Conditional approvals become final once the results of all security checks (Steps 4, 5, and 6) have been received and cleared.

STEP 9

Medical Screening: All refugee applicants approved for resettlement in the U.S. are required to undergo medical screening conducted by the International Organization for Migration or a physician designated by the U.S. Embassy.

STEP 10

Matching Refugees with a Sponsor Agency: Every refugee is assigned to a Voluntary Agency in the U.S., such as the U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants (USCRI). USCRI will place refugees with a local partner agency or office that will assist refugees upon their arrival in the U.S.

STEP 11

Cultural Orientation: In addition, refugees approved for resettlement are offered cultural orientation while waiting for final processing, to prepare them for their journey to and initial resettlement in the United States.

STEP 12

Security Clearance Process: Prior to departure to the U.S., a second interagency check is conducted for most refugees to check for any new information. Refugees must clear this check in order to depart to the U.S.

STEP 13

Admission to the United States: Upon arrival at one of five U.S. airports designated as ports of entry for refugee admissions, a Customs and Border Protection (CBP) officer will review the refugee documentation and conduct additional security checks to ensure that the arriving refugee is the same person who was screened and approved for admission to the United States.

*Note that under limited circumstances, refugee applicants may be interviewed in their home country rather than in a country of asylum.

[From Human Rights First, Nov. 2015]

REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT—SECURITY
SCREENING INFORMATION

Refugees to the United States are more stringently screened and vetted than any other group allowed to enter the country.

The U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees first registers refugees, interviews them, takes biometric data and background information. These refugees overwhelmingly women and children have been Ewing in Jordan, Turkey or other frontline refugee-hosting countries for years, struggling to survive. UNHCR has data from its regular interactions with these refugees over the years. Resettlement helps support the stability of nations that are key U.S. allies, as they are straining under the pressure of hosting so many refugees. Only those who pass the U.N. assessment are referred to the United States for resettlement. At least 18,000 have already been through the U.S. process and are awaiting U.S. government consideration and review.

The U.S. government then conducts its own extremely rigorous screening process, including health checks, repeated biometric checks, several layers of biographical and background screening, and in-person interviews by specially-trained officers. Multiple agencies are involved, including the FBI's Terrorist Screening Center, the State Department, the Department of Homeland Security, the National Counterterrorism Center, the Department of Defense and U.S. intelligence agencies. DNS has added an additional country-specific layer of review for Syrian refugee applications, which includes extra screening for national security risks.

Secretary Jeh Johnson outlined this process in Congressional testimony in October 2015: "With regard to the current refugee crisis, the U.S. is committed to providing refuge to some of the world's most vulnerable people, while carefully screening refugees for security concerns before admitting them to the United States. The reality is that, with improvements to the process we have made over time, refugees are subject to the highest level of security checks. DHS works in concert with the Department of State, the Department of Defense, the National Counterterrorism Center, and the FBI's Terrorist Screening Center for the screening and vetting of refugees. The U.S. Government conducts both biographic and biometric checks on refugee applications, including security vetting that takes place at multiple junctures in the application process, and even just before arrival to account for changes in intelligence. All refugees admitted to the United States, including those from Syria, will be subject to this stringent security screening. Acting on my direction, USCIS has developed additional protocols to aid in the identification of security concerns with regard to the Syrian population, and the entire Department, along with the interagency, is committed to continual improvement of overall security vetting, as new techniques or sources of information are identified."

More specifically, the U.S. refugee vetting process for Syrian refugees includes the following elements as outlined by Department of Homeland Security officials.

Department of Homeland Security Interviews: Refugees are interviewed by DHS-USCIS officers to determine whether or not they can be approved for resettlement to the United States. These interviews are conducted while refugees are still abroad.

Consular Lookout and Watch List Check: Biographic checks are conducted against the State Department's Consular Lookout and Support System (CLASS)—which includes watch list information.

Security Advisory Opinions from Intelligence and Other Agencies: DHS seeks Security Advisory Opinions (SAOs) from law enforcement and intelligence communities for cases that meet certain criteria.

National Counterterrorism Center Checks with Intelligence Agency Support: Interagency checks, known as "IAC's," are con-

ducted with the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC) for all refugee applicants within a designated age range, regardless of nationality. In addition, expanded intelligence community support was added to the IAC process in July 2010, and recurrent vetting was added in 2015 so that any intervening derogatory information that is identified after the initial check has cleared but before the applicant has traveled to the United States will be provided to DHS.

DHS and FBI Biometric Checks: Fingerprints are screened against the vast biometric holdings of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Next Generation Identification system, and are screened and enrolled in DHS's Automated Biometric Identification System (IDENT). Through IDENT, the applicant's fingerprints are screened not only against watch list information, but also for previous immigration encounters in the United States and overseas—including cases in which the applicant previously applied for a visa at a U.S. embassy.

Department of Defense Biometric Screening: Biometric screening is also conducted through the Department of Defense (DOD) Automated Biometric Identification System (ABIS). ABIS contains a variety of records, including fingerprint records captured in Iraq. ABIS screening has been expanded to refugee applicants of all nationalities who fall within the prescribed age ranges.

Enhanced Review for Syrian Cases: In addition to the many biometric and biographic checks conducted, DHS-USCIS has instituted additional review of Syrian refugee applications. Before being scheduled for interview by a DHS-USCIS officer (while the refugee is still abroad), Syrian cases are reviewed at DHS-USCIS headquarters. All cases that meet certain criteria are referred to the DHS-USCIS Fraud Detection and National Security Directorate (FDNS) for additional review and research. FDNS conducts open-source and classified research on referred cases and synthesizes an assessment for use by the interviewing officer. This information provides case-specific context relating to country conditions and regional activity, and is used by the interviewing officer to inform lines of inquiry related to the applicant's eligibility and credibility. DHS-USCIS reports that FDNS engages with law enforcement and intelligence community members for assistance with identity verification and acquisition of additional information.

Additional Screening Checks on Entry: When they travel to the United States, refugees are subject to screening conducted by DHSU.S. Customs and Border Protection's National Targeting Center-Passenger and the Transportation Security Administration's Secure Flight program prior to their admission to the United States, as is the case with all individuals traveling to the United States regardless of immigration program.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

The Wall Street Journal in a video outlines the steps a refugee must go through to reach the United States.

The New York Times in an interactive map shows where Syrian refugees currently reside.

David Miliband: "There are many ways to come to the United States. Comparatively the refugee resettlement program is the most difficult short of swimming the Atlantic."

Fran Townsend: "There are no easy answers in Syria, but it's time to stop acting as if the problems there are too hard or too complicated. While we cannot right the wrong of the current poky failure, it is still possible to act now to both alleviate the consequent suffering and mitigate the potential future."

Governor Nikki Haley: "These are people who have protected our troops, these are people who have been persecuted for being Christian . . . these are people who we took in because they were unsafe where they were."

Finally, states cannot unilaterally block resettlement. Governors do not have the legal authority to determine who lives in their states. When refugees are legally admitted to the United States they have the right to move freely throughout the country.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I do want to say one thing. It strikes me, as we are having this debate here, that I can't help but take note of their response in France toward the Syrian refugees. Yesterday, French President Francois Hollande promised to honor his commitment to take in tens of thousands of refugees, welcoming 30,000 refugees over the next 2 years. That is 6,000 more than he committed to in September. He also announced \$53.3 million to develop housing for refugees. We have all invoked the terrible tragedy that happened in France. Let's follow France's example and be a secure shelter for those most in need.

As I listen to the debate here, one of the troubling things to me is that there doesn't ever seem to be a tragedy that my friends on the other side of the aisle don't want to exploit for political gain, and I think today is no exception. A horrendous terrorist attack happened in Paris, an attack that has shocked the entire world. This is being used as an excuse to pass what I consider an ugly bill because this would shut down a refugee resettlement for Syrians and Iraqis.

This bill is aimed at fueling fear rather than protecting the American people. We have an exhaustive screening process for refugees already in place. It takes years for a refugee from Syria to be able to be admitted to the United States—years. Can we improve the system? Absolutely. But the opportunity to do that requires us to consult with one another and to put the results ahead of political gain. But that is not what happened. We had a bill before the Rules Committee that never went through committee, that never was marked up, the content of which was not shared with the Democrats, and a lot of Republicans were locked out of the process. Here we are with a political document more than something that is going to do anything to help these people fleeing violence or help enhance our security. Now, that might be a nice sound bite in your next campaign, but it is an awful thing to do to a group of people fleeing war and terror.

Who are these people? They are, as the President stated, widows and orphans mostly. They are old people trying to be reunited with distant family members in the United States. They are people who are fleeing for their lives and who are fleeing the worst terror imaginable. That used to mean something in this Chamber. We used to care about these things in a bipartisan way. Apparently, no more.

This Congress is losing its humanity. Here is the deal: we are behaving in a way that I think reinforces what the terrorists are trying to communicate to the rest of the world, which is that somehow we don't care about people from certain parts of the world or we don't care about people who happen to be Muslim. We have had a lot of people on the other side of the aisle who have talked about we ought to have a religious test here and very little condemnation in response to that from my friends on the other side of the aisle.

Mr. Speaker, last night in the Rules Committee, my Republican friends said that all we are doing is responding to public opinion. Our job is to be more than just a political weathervane. We have an obligation to make sure that we state the facts—the real facts. We have an obligation to tell the truth. We have an obligation to help put issues in perspective. And, in short, we have an obligation to lead on issues like this and not be so jittery to pursue policies that we all know are wrong.

So we are here with a bill that my friends say is so important that there could be no hearings and no markup on, a bill that is so important that there could be no consultation on, a bill that is so important that nobody can offer an amendment on, and we have a bill that is coming before us in an absolutely closed process.

Let me just close by expressing my deep frustration with this place and how it is being run. For some time now, I have watched as my Republican friends have regularly turned their backs on the most vulnerable populations. There is no more vulnerable population—no more vulnerable group of people on this planet—than refugees fleeing god-awful war and terror. Yet, today, they are being thrown under the bus for political gain. They are being demonized. They are being characterized as terrorists. Young children, 3-year-old girls, widowed mothers, and grandmothers are being demonized as terrorists.

□ 1030

And for what? The American people, I think, expect more from us. What we are doing here today is not about protecting the American people. It is not about helping people fleeing war and violence. This is political. That makes what is happening here today not only disappointing but, I would say, disgusting.

I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I share many times the frustration my friend from Massachusetts has about this place. When I look at what is going on today, my frustration, frankly, on the floor here has probably grown, considering that we talk about everything else except what the bill actually does. We throw up every picture of everything.

I am not sure at what point today—and I can go back through my remarks.

I am not sure where I ever disparaged a refugee, ever said that the inhumanity and suffering that is going on because of a bunch of thugs called the Islamic State, that these folks do not need to have a place to go or humanitarian help, which America has led on from the beginning. It is easy to say that.

As the gentleman is fond of saying, Mr. Speaker, it makes political points. Well, the same is true for him and true for our folks across the aisle. It makes political points for them. The problem is it is not in the bill. The problem is it is adding an extra layer.

There has been discussion here today about the political whims. Look, I believe that what is happening right now is a test of two things: thermometers and thermostats.

This administration is a pretty good thermometer. They will look out and tell you what they believe the temperature is, and they react to the world opinion.

I believe today the Republican majority is acting as a thermostat and moving the temperature and moving the awareness. Because I do not believe that an event could be ignored if it is not being used. It is saying there is a warning sign. It is like a warning sign on your vehicle. You can ignore it, and when it breaks down, you wonder what happened; or you can say, here is a warning sign, here is what is going on in the world.

All we are asking for is certification from our highest officials in security to say these folks have another level of check so that we can ensure our homeland is protected.

One attack on American soil is too many. The Islamic State has been clear in their desire to bring America to her knees. The underlying legislation won't change that. But as the chairman of the Judiciary Committee stated last night, it will put this administration on notice that Congress will not be silent.

We will take up the national security mantle that this White House has so carelessly disregarded. In the weeks ahead, you can expect this body to bring forward additional legislation reforming both our refugee and visa waiver programs.

There is no loophole or vulnerability that ISIS won't seek to use to kill and destroy, and there is no loophole or vulnerability the House Republicans aren't committed and determined to fix, and I desperately ask my friends across the aisle to join us.

Our Nation is a beacon of freedom and hope, and no force of evil will ever change that. No terrorist will ever cause Republicans in this body to shy away from our duty to our citizens or our duty to the world, and for that I believe both sides need to come together.

The President stated ISIS is the JV. I believe the families and loved ones of the recent attacks on an airplane in Paris would not say that, in fact, would say otherwise.

The administration's refusal to look the Islamic State in the eye and declare with a resounding voice that they will be defeated is devastating, but it isn't the end. Where this White House has failed, Congress will succeed. We will work tirelessly to restore the faith and trust of the American people. We will replace political posturing with policy priorities dealing with our national security, as opposed to those of a more liberal strategy that we have heard today.

Look, I know my friends across the aisle share the same heart. We grieve the lives lost. We grieve for those who are caught up in war and caught up in the devastating attacks by a group of people who, frankly—ISIS—have no soul. They are blank. Because if you are agreeable to do the atrocities that they are doing, you just have no part in a civilized world. You have no part in being acknowledged except for the animals that you are.

I recognize they are in an impossible position of choosing either the safety of their constituents or the political strategy of the President—I understand that—across the aisle.

My hope is that today—today—will be different, that we don't take the easy "no" vote, that we will have the moral courage to make the decision that says "no" to terrorism and "yes" to the American people, a vote that will ensure that our country remains a safe haven for those the rest of the world has abandoned.

Again, let me repeat this again, because it has been said. I guess if we say it enough, we believe it to be true.

This does not stop the program. It simply says that, until we can certify, we are going to make sure that there is an extra level of protection for the people. It does not shut the program down.

A vote in support of this rule and for H.R. 4038 is what we need. And after we bow our heads in thanks next week, filled with gratitude for those who have gone before, we will return with renewed commitment to further reforms.

Evil will not win. ISIS will not win. With the steadfast spirit and courage of conviction of those who came before, those who gave their lives, we will not let the torch of freedom go out on our watch, and we will continue to fight for those in our country, for their safety, our sons and daughters, as we continue this fight.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to speak in opposition to the rule governing debate on this bill and the underlying bill H.R. 4038, the "American Security Against Enemies Act of 2015" (America SAFE Act).

This bill represents a rush to judgement.

It has been rushed to the floor without the regular order deliberative process promised by the House Leadership.

H.R. 4038 was introduced on Tuesday, November 17, 2015, in violation of House Rules, without consideration or review by the House oversight committees.

Today, November 19, 2015 it is on the floor for debate and votes.

This bill does not further the national security interest of our country—in fact it harms those interests.

The United States does have an urgent need to deal with the humanitarian crisis that is unfolding in the wake of ISIS/ISIL aggression in Syria and Iraq.

There are 60 million displaced persons because of the war.

The Syrian/Iraqi conflict has claimed over 240,000 lives.

Mr. Speaker, this bill is written as if no process exists for vetting Iraqi or Syrian refugees.

In fact a very rigorous process is in place that has been honed over the past several years by intelligence and law enforcement agencies.

They have established and perfected an intense form of screening for Syrians called the "Syrian Enhanced Review."

The American SAFE Act requires a FBI background check for every refugee from Iraq and Syria who applies for asylum in the United States, when a much better process is in place that requires the intelligence agencies and the Department of Defense to vet applicants.

This bill provides that no refugee from Iraq or Syria can be granted asylum in the United States unless the Director of the FBI, the Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security, and the Director of National Intelligence each make an independent determination and concur unanimously that the applicant for asylum poses no threat to the national security of the United States.

The FBI is a domestic law enforcement agency—they have an international presence, but their focus is domestic.

The agencies with an international focus such as the State Department, DoD, and intelligence agencies under the leadership of DHS are the experts.

The House process for the consideration and deliberation of legislation is intended to prevent bad bills from coming to the floor for a vote.

This bill was drafted in haste—in application it would require a 5 year old child who is Syrian to have to get the FBI, DHS, DoD, and DNI to agree that she poses no threat to the United States or its people.

This bill is doing damage to our nation's foreign policy interest by sending a signal to our allies, who are doing much more than the United States is doing to relieve the suffering of Syrian refugees, while also facing the threat of terrorism every day.

Mr. Speaker, let me commend Homeland Security Committee Chairman MCCAUL, the lead sponsor of the bill before us, with whom I have worked closely and reached agreement on many matters critical to the security of our homeland.

Homeland Security Committee Chairman MCCAUL, Ranking Member THOMPSON and Judiciary Committee Subcommittee on Immigration Ranking Member LOFGREN are dedicated public servants whose actions are always motivated by their commitment to keep our nation safe and secure.

This bill is purported by supporters as not stopping the refugee process for Iraq and Syria.

The bill in its language does stop the process—some like to call it a pause, but is a dead stop in the processing of applications from Iraqi and Syrian refugees.

They have not read the bill or they do not understand the consequences of the language that requires certification by the FBI, DHS, DoD, and DNI that a refugee poses no threat" in the legislation if they believe that this bill would not end the refugee process for Iraqi and Syrian applicants.

The bill calls for 100% certification by the FBI, DHS, DoD, and DNI that no refugee is a threat.

No professional security or law enforcement professional will give anyone a 100% guarantee about anything.

They will not provide a 100% guarantee because they believe that something or someone is a threat—they will not provide a guarantee because it is grossly unprofessional to do so and we should never ask them to do this.

On its face H.R. 4038 would end any hope of asylum in the United States for any refugee from Iraq or Syria.

The U.S. screening process in place is focused upon applications from women with children, orphans, the seriously ill and the elderly.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 4038 is not necessary at this time because our nation already has in place the world's most rigorous screening process for refugees seeking asylum.

Mr. Speaker, there are other alternatives to the draconian approach of H.R. 4038, takes such as the bill introduced by Ranking Members THOMPSON and LOFGREN.

The President is another solution for those who seek reassurance that every precaution is being taken—he is in a position to certify to the Congress and the American people that the process is prudent and careful in its actions regarding refugees seeking entrance into the United States.

It is helpful to recount briefly the critical elements of that screening process.

Every applicant for asylum must:

1. register with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees;

2. provide background information, including what caused him or her to flee their home country (a ready means of comparing information provided by more than one million refugees to further verify the validity of the information provided);

3. meet one of five legal qualifications: threat of violence based on race, religion or faith or national origin; political beliefs; or membership in a targeted social group.

4. undergo a rigorous background check during which investigators fact-check the refugee's biography to ensure consistency with published or documented reports of events such as bombings or other violence;

5. be subjected to biometric tests conducted by the Department of Defense, in conjunction with other federal agencies (the U.S. military has an extensive biometric data base on Iraqis from its time in Iraq); and

6. sit for intensive in-person interviews, which may take months or years before they are conducted.

If, during the screening process, a person from Syria gives responses that raise red flags he or she is selected for more intense examination by U.S. intelligence agencies.

The process for those refugees from the conflict area who have entered the United States began with the High Commissioner for Refugees who referred 22,000 applicants to the United States for consideration.

The United States through its process only allowed 7,000 for further consideration for admittance and in its final decision permitted

2,000 individuals to be cleared for entrance into the country.

The demographic breakdown of those Syrians who have been approved for refugee status to come to the United States is as follows: children, 50%; persons over the age of 60, 25%; combat age males, 2%.

H.R. 4038 has come to the floor too fast for such a serious decision and without considering the arduous process that is in place to screen all refugees, not just those from Iraq and Syria.

The last thing a terrorist would want is to be a refugee—living in the harsh environment of a refugee camp for two years.

Refugees are the victims of terrorists—ISIS/ISIL does not love them—they want to murder every last one of them, because they will not bow to them.

This rule for this bill troubles me because it has been constructed on tools that allow Congress to act during times of crisis or emergencies.

Mr. Speaker a 2-year process does not pose any emergency by any definition that can be devised.

I cannot support this bill, but I am committed to working with my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to find common ground.

The material previously referred to by Mr. MCGOVERN is as follows:

AN AMENDMENT TO H. RES. 531 OFFERED BY MR. MCGOVERN OF MASSACHUSETTS

At the end of the resolution, add the following new sections:

SEC 2. Immediately upon adoption of this resolution the Speaker shall, pursuant to clause 2(b) of rule XVIII, declare the House resolved into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for consideration of the bill (H.R. 4079) to require that supplemental certifications and identity verifications be completed prior to the admission of refugees. The first reading of the bill shall be dispensed with. All points of order against consideration of the bill are waived. General debate shall be confined to the bill and shall not exceed one hour equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Judiciary. After general debate the bill shall be considered for amendment under the five-minute rule. All points of order against provisions in the bill are waived. At the conclusion of consideration of the bill for amendment the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit with or without instructions. If the Committee of the Whole rises and reports that it has come to no resolution on the bill, then on the next legislative day the House shall, immediately after the third daily order of business under clause 1 of rule XIV, resolve into the Committee of the Whole for further consideration of the bill.

SEC. 3. Clause 1(c) of rule XIX shall not apply to the consideration of H.R. 4079.

THE VOTE ON THE PREVIOUS QUESTION: WHAT IT REALLY MEANS

This vote, the vote on whether to order the previous question on a special rule, is not merely a procedural vote. A vote against ordering the previous question is a vote against the Republican majority agenda and a vote to allow the Democratic minority to offer an alternative plan. It is a vote about what the House should be debating.

Mr. Clarence Cannon's Precedents of the House of Representatives (VI, 308–311), describes the vote on the previous question on the rule as "a motion to direct or control the consideration of the subject before the House being made by the Member in charge." To defeat the previous question is to give the opposition a chance to decide the subject before the House. Cannon cites the Speaker's ruling of January 13, 1920, to the effect that "the refusal of the House to sustain the demand for the previous question passes the control of the resolution to the opposition" in order to offer an amendment. On March 15, 1909, a member of the majority party offered a rule resolution. The House defeated the previous question and a member of the opposition rose to a parliamentary inquiry, asking who was entitled to recognition. Speaker Joseph G. Cannon (R-Illinois) said: "The previous question having been refused, the gentleman from New York, Mr. Fitzgerald, who had asked the gentleman to yield to him for an amendment, is entitled to the first recognition."

The Republican majority may say "the vote on the previous question is simply a vote on whether to proceed to an immediate vote on adopting the resolution . . . [and] has no substantive legislative or policy implications whatsoever." But that is not what they have always said. Listen to the Republican Leadership Manual on the Legislative Process in the United States House of Representatives, (6th edition, page 135). Here's how the Republicans describe the previous question vote in their own manual: "Although it is generally not possible to amend the rule because the majority Member controlling the time will not yield for the purpose of offering an amendment, the same result may be achieved by voting down the previous question on the rule. . . . When the motion for the previous question is defeated, control of the time passes to the Member who led the opposition to ordering the previous question. That Member, because he then controls the time, may offer an amendment to the rule, or yield for the purpose of amendment."

In Deschler's Procedure in the U.S. House of Representatives, the subchapter titled "Amending Special Rules" states: "a refusal to order the previous question on such a rule [a special rule reported from the Committee on Rules] opens the resolution to amendment and further debate." (Chapter 21, section 21.2) Section 21.3 continues: "Upon rejection of the motion for the previous question on a resolution reported from the Committee on Rules, control shifts to the Member leading the opposition to the previous question, who may offer a proper amendment or motion and who controls the time for debate thereon."

Clearly, the vote on the previous question on a rule does have substantive policy implications. It is one of the only available tools for those who oppose the Republican majority's agenda and allows those with alternative views the opportunity to offer an alternative plan.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time, and I move the previous question on the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on ordering the previous question.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

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

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 9 of rule XX, the Chair

will reduce to 5 minutes the minimum time for any electronic vote on the question of adoption of the resolution.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 243, nays 182, not voting 8, as follows:

[Roll No. 638]

YEAS—243

Abraham	Grothman	Paulsen
Aderholt	Guinta	Pearce
Allen	Guthrie	Perry
Amash	Hanna	Pittenger
Amodei	Hardy	Pitts
Babin	Harper	Poe (TX)
Barletta	Harris	Poliquin
Barr	Hartzler	Pompeo
Barton	Heck (NV)	Posey
Benishek	Hensarling	Price, Tom
Bilirakis	Herrera Beutler	Ratcliffe
Bishop (MI)	Hice, Jody B.	Reed
Bishop (UT)	Hill	Reichert
Black	Holding	Renacci
Blackburn	Hudson	Ribble
Blum	Huelskamp	Rice (SC)
Bost	Huizenga (MI)	Rigell
Boustany	Hultgren	Roby
Brady (TX)	Hunter	Roe (TN)
Brat	Hurd (TX)	Rogers (AL)
Bridenstine	Hurt (VA)	Rogers (KY)
Brooks (AL)	Issa	Rohrabacher
Brooks (IN)	Jenkins (KS)	Rooney
Buchanan	Jenkins (WV)	Ros-Lehtinen
Buck	Johnson (OH)	Roskam
Bucshon	Johnson, Sam	Ross
Burgess	Jolly	Rothfus
Byrne	Jones	Rouzer
Calvert	Jordan	Royce
Carter (GA)	Joyce	Russell
Carter (TX)	Katko	Salmon
Chabot	Kelly (MS)	Sanford
Chaffetz	Kelly (PA)	Scalise
Clawson (FL)	King (IA)	Schweikert
Coffman	King (NY)	Scott, Austin
Cole	Kinzinger (IL)	Sensenbrenner
Collins (GA)	Kiame	Sessions
Collins (NY)	Knight	Shimkus
Comstock	Labrador	Shuster
Conaway	LaHood	Simpson
Cook	LaMalfa	Smith (MO)
Costello (PA)	Lamborn	Smith (NE)
Cramer	Lance	Smith (NJ)
Crawford	Latta	Smith (TX)
Crenshaw	LoBiondo	Stefanik
Culberson	Long	Stewart
Curbelo (FL)	Loudermilk	Stivers
Davis, Rodney	Love	Stutzman
Denham	Lucas	Thompson (PA)
Dent	Luetkemeyer	Thornberry
DeSantis	Lummis	Tipton
DesJarlais	MacArthur	Trott
Diaz-Balart	Marchant	Turner
Dold	Marino	Upton
Donovan	Massie	Valadao
Duffy	McCarthy	Wagner
Duncan (SC)	McCauley	Walberg
Duncan (TN)	McClintock	Walden
Ellmers (NC)	McHenry	Walker
Emmer (MN)	McKinley	Walorski
Farenthold	McMorris	Walters, Mimi
Fincher	Rodgers	Weber (TX)
Fitzpatrick	McSally	Webster (FL)
Fleischmann	Meadows	Wenstrup
Fleming	Meehan	Westerman
Flores	Messer	Westmoreland
Forbes	Mica	Whitfield
Fortenberry	Miller (FL)	Wilson (SC)
Fox	Miller (MI)	Wittman
Franks (AZ)	Moolenaar	Womack
Frelinghuysen	Mooney (WV)	Woodall
Garrett	Mullin	Yoder
Gibbs	Mulvaney	Yoho
Gibson	Murphy (PA)	Young (AK)
Gohmert	Neugebauer	Young (IA)
Goodlatte	Newhouse	Young (IN)
Gosar	Noem	Zeldin
Granger	Noem	Zinke
Graves (GA)	Nugent	
Graves (LA)	Nunes	
Graves (MO)	Olson	
Griffith	Palazzo	
	Palmer	

NAYS—182

Adams	Beatty	Bishop (GA)
Aguilar	Becerra	Blumenauer
Ashford	Bera	Bonamici
Bass	Beyer	

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is the gentlewoman opposed to the bill?

Ms. MATSUI. I am opposed to it in its current form.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Ms. Matsui moves to recommit the bill H.R. 3189 to the Committee on Financial Services with instructions to report the same back to the House forthwith with the following amendment:

Page 43, line 25, strike the quotation marks and final period and insert after such line the following:

“(H) TREATMENT OF CERTAIN COMPANIES.—The Board shall seek to ensure that any company convicted of any felony or misdemeanor or that has been made subject to any judicial or administrative decree or order arising out of misconduct that harms the financial health of seniors is prohibited from receiving a loan or other financial assistance under this paragraph, if the Board determines such prohibition is in the nation’s economic interest.”

Ms. MATSUI (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to dispense with the reading.

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

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentlewoman from California is recognized for 5 minutes.

□ 1115

Ms. MATSUI. Mr. Speaker, this is the final amendment to the bill which would not kill the bill or send it back to committee. If adopted, the bill would immediately proceed to final passage, as amended.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the motion to recommit to H.R. 3189, which will ensure that seniors will be protected from losing their hard-earned benefits to deceitful financial companies found to engage in harmful activity. Financial companies that put earnings ahead of the needs of our seniors should not be allowed to participate in any emergency lending program or facility established by the Federal Reserve.

While Republicans try to put their special interest friends first, the Democratic motion to recommit would ensure that financial companies found to engage in activity that harms seniors’ financial health and stability are prevented from participating in any emergency lending program or facility established by the Federal Reserve.

Our motion to recommit would stop rewarding unsavory financial institutions that abuse the trust and harm the financial health of America’s seniors.

America’s seniors, who have spent their lives working to provide for their families, deserve to retire with dignity and live without fear of being stripped of financial security due to the actions of predatory financial institutions. Yet, House Republicans are willing to grant these shady financial companies access to emergency resources established by the Federal Reserve.

We need to adopt this motion to recommit to send a strong signal to predatory financial entities across this country that putting profits ahead of people will not be rewarded by the U.S. Government.

I am co-chair of the Democratic Congressional Task Force on Seniors, and I am committed to protecting the well-being of older Americans and ensuring that those who work hard and play by the rules receive a dignified and secure retirement.

In addition to protecting hard-earned benefits like Social Security and Medicare, we also need to ensure that vulnerable seniors are not the subject of predatory lending that further puts them at risk for economic security.

According to the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, older Americans are particularly vulnerable to bad actors who seek to defraud them, take advantage of their hard-earned retirement savings, or push them into taking on financial products or services—like a reverse mortgage—that they may not want or need.

Roughly 1 million older Americans lose an estimated \$2.6 billion annually as a result of financial abuse according to a MetLife study entitled, “Broken Trust: Elders, Family and Finances.” This is unacceptable.

As older Americans age, we have an obligation to ensure that they are not an easy target for financial companies peddling predatory financial products and services.

Mr. Speaker, I urge all my colleagues to vote in favor of this motion to recommit. By voting for this motion to recommit, Members can make clear whose side they are on, whether it be in favor of protecting our vulnerable seniors or in favor of protecting dishonest financial companies that seek to do them harm.

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

Mr. HENSARLING. Mr. Speaker, I claim the time in opposition to the motion.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HENSARLING. Mr. Speaker, I find the motion to recommit to be most ironic. For the Members who were here for the debate on the underlying FORM Act yesterday, all we heard from the other side of the aisle is you cannot direct the Federal Reserve to do anything; you are imposing upon their independence. And yet we have a motion to recommit that does exactly what they argued against yesterday. That is irony number one, Mr. Speaker.

The second irony about the motion to recommit is nothing has hurt seniors more than having 7 years straight of zero percent interest rates. It is seniors who know that when you are young you work for your money, and when you are old you expect your money to work for you. Their money is not working for them because we have had 7 years of artificially low interest rates. Real interest rates of zero.

If we want to help our seniors, what we need is a monetary policy that is more predictable, that is more rules based, which is exactly what the FORM Act does. The American people want a healthier economy. They want a government that is transparent and accountable to them, and that includes the Federal Reserve. They cannot continue to cloak their prudential regulatory policies behind their monetary policies. We don’t need our central bankers to become our central planners, but we need a monetary policy that works for seniors.

For a healthier economy, for a government that is transparent and accountable to “we, the people,” we need to vote down the motion to recommit. Vote for the FORM Act.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the previous question is ordered on the motion to recommit.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the noes appeared to have it.

RECORDED VOTE

Ms. MATSUI. Mr. Speaker, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 9 of rule XX, the Chair will reduce to 5 minutes the minimum time for any electronic vote on the question of passage.

This is a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 182, noes 242, not voting 9, as follows:

[Roll No. 640]

AYES—182

Adams	Crowley	Honda
Aguilar	Cuellar	Hoyer
Ashford	Cummings	Huffman
Bass	Davis (CA)	Israel
Beatty	Davis, Danny	Jackson Lee
Becerra	DeGette	Jeffries
Bera	Delaney	Johnson (GA)
Beyer	DeLauro	Johnson, E. B.
Bishop (GA)	DelBene	Jones
Blumenauer	DeSaulnier	Kaptur
Bonamici	Deutch	Keating
Boyle, Brendan	Dingell	Kelly (IL)
F.	Doggett	Kennedy
Brady (PA)	Doyle, Michael	Kildee
Brown (FL)	F.	Kilmer
Brownley (CA)	Duckworth	Kind
Bustos	Edwards	Kirkpatrick
Butterfield	Engel	Kuster
Capps	Eshoo	Langevin
Capuano	Esty	Larsen (WA)
Cárdenas	Farr	Larson (CT)
Carney	Fattah	Lawrence
Carson (IN)	Foster	Lee
Cartwright	Frankel (FL)	Levin
Castor (FL)	Fudge	Lewis
Castro (TX)	Gabbard	Lieu, Ted
Chu, Judy	Gallego	Lipinski
Ciçilline	Garamendi	Loeb sack
Clark (MA)	Graham	Lofgren
Clarke (NY)	Grayson	Lowenthal
Clay	Green, Al	Lowe y
Cleaver	Green, Gene	Lujan Grisham
Clyburn	Grijalva	(NM)
Cohen	Gutiérrez	Luján, Ben Ray
Connolly	Hahn	(NM)
Conyers	Hastings	Lynch
Cooper	Heck (WA)	Maloney,
Costa	Higgins	Carolyn
Courtney	Himes	Maloney, Sean

NOT VOTING—7

DeFazio	Ruppersberger	Williams
Ellison	Takai	
Hinojosa	Watson Coleman	

□ 1135

Mr. POLIS changed his vote from "aye" to "no."

So the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AMERICAN SECURITY AGAINST FOREIGN ENEMIES ACT OF 2015

Mr. GOODLATTE. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 531, I call up the bill (H.R. 4038) to require that supplemental certifications and background investigations be completed prior to the admission of certain aliens as refugees, and for other purposes, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. WOODALL). Pursuant to House Resolution 531, the bill is considered read.

The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 4038

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 "American Security Against Foreign Enemies Act of 2015" or as the "American SAFE Act of 2015".

SEC. 2. REVIEW OF REFUGEES TO IDENTIFY SECURITY THREATS TO THE UNITED STATES.

(a) **BACKGROUND INVESTIGATION.**—In addition to the screening conducted by the Secretary of Homeland Security, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation shall take all actions necessary to ensure that each covered alien receives a thorough background investigation prior to admission as a refugee. A covered alien may not be admitted as a refugee until the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation certifies to the Secretary of Homeland Security and the Director of National Intelligence that each covered alien has received a background investigation that is sufficient to determine whether the covered alien is a threat to the security of the United States.

(b) **CERTIFICATION BY UNANIMOUS CONCURRENCE.**—A covered alien may only be admitted to the United States after the Secretary of Homeland Security, with the unanimous concurrence of the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Director of National Intelligence, certifies to the appropriate Congressional Committees that the covered alien is not a threat to the security of the United States.

(c) **INSPECTOR GENERAL REVIEW OF CERTIFICATIONS.**—The Inspector General of the Department of Homeland Security shall conduct a risk-based review of all certifications made under subsection (b) each year and shall provide an annual report detailing the findings to the appropriate Congressional Committees.

(d) **MONTHLY REPORT.**—The Secretary of Homeland Security shall submit to the appropriate Congressional Committees a monthly report on the total number of applications for admission with regard to which a certification under subsection (b) was made and the number of covered aliens with regard to whom such a certification was not made

for the month preceding the date of the report. The report shall include, for each covered alien with regard to whom a certification was not made, the concurrence or nonconcurrence of each person whose concurrence was required by subsection (b).

(e) **DEFINITIONS.**—In this Act:

(1) **COVERED ALIEN.**—The term "covered alien" means any alien applying for admission to the United States as a refugee who—
(A) is a national or resident of Iraq or Syria;

(B) has no nationality and whose last habitual residence was in Iraq or Syria; or

(C) has been present in Iraq or Syria at any time on or after March 1, 2011.

(2) **APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE.**—The term "appropriate Congressional Committees" means—

(A) the Committee on Armed Services of the Senate;

(B) the Select Committee on Intelligence of the Senate;

(C) the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate;

(D) the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs of the Senate;

(E) the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate;

(F) the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate;

(G) the Committee on Armed Services of the House of Representatives;

(H) the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence of the House of Representatives;

(I) the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives;

(J) the Committee on Homeland Security of the House of Representatives;

(K) the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives; and

(L) the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The bill shall be debatable for 1 hour, equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Judiciary.

The gentleman from Virginia (Mr. GOODLATTE) and the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CONYERS) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Virginia.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. GOODLATTE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous materials on H.R. 4038, currently under consideration.

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

There was no objection.

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

Mr. Speaker, I support H.R. 4038, the American Security Against Foreign Enemies Act of 2015.

Just one example of a terrorist taking advantage of the United States' generous immigration policy in order to perpetrate attacks on Americans is too many. Unfortunately, there are too many examples to count. Most notable, of course, are the attacks on September 11, 2001, perpetrated by 19 foreign nationals who were admitted to the U.S. through our legal immigration system.

The U.S. Government has the ultimate responsibility to protect its citizens. As such, if U.S. immigration policy allows foreign nationals who want to do us harm access to U.S. soil, then the immigration policy must be reviewed and amended.

We are faced with such a situation right now. There is a very real possibility that a terrorist, particularly one from, or claiming to be from, Syria or Iraq, will attempt to gain access to the United States as a refugee. In fact, ISIS is making no secret of their plans to have their members infiltrate groups of Syrian refugees. We should take ISIS at its word.

Of course, our hope is that such an individual would be screened out through the refugee vetting process. Unfortunately, we have heard time and time again from top counterterrorism and intelligence officials that the current vetting process cannot prevent such an individual from receiving refugee status.

In fact, just late last month, FBI Director James Comey told the Judiciary Committee that with a conflict zone like Syria, where there is "dramatically" less information available to use during the vetting process, he could not "offer anybody an absolute assurance that there is no risk associated with" admitting Syrian nationals as refugees.

He told another House committee that "we can only query against that which we have collected. And so if someone has never made a ripple in the pond in Syria in a way that would get their identity or their interest reflected in our database, we can query our database until the cows come home but . . . nothing will show up because we have no record on that person."

The administration's foreign policy inaction in Syria, and failure to take seriously the ISIS threat, are responsible for the flood of Syrians currently leaving their country. Of course, we all remember when the President told us that ISIS was the JV team. That JV team just murdered 120 innocent people in Paris, including at least one American. And the Paris JV team included at least one terrorist who was registered as a refugee from Syria.

H.R. 4038 requires certification by the FBI Director that the security vetting process is sufficient to prevent an individual who is a security threat from being admitted as a refugee. The bill also requires that the DHS Secretary, FBI Director, and Director of National Intelligence certify to Congress that each refugee is not a security threat prior to his or her admission to the United States.

In addition, H.R. 4038 requires the DHS Inspector General to review such certifications annually and report its findings to Congress. The certification procedures apply to aliens who are nationals of Iraq or Syria, those who have no nationality and whose last habitual residence was in Iraq or Syria, or who have been present in those countries at any time on or after March 1, 2011.

H.R. 4038 puts the administration on notice that their lax attitude toward this issue will no longer be tolerated. And it puts the administration on notice that Congress is not yet finished reforming refugee policy.

In fact, our committee has been hard at work long before the Paris attacks working on legislation to make necessary security-related and other changes to the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program. We look forward to moving that legislation through the House.

H.R. 4038 is not meant to be the sole solution to the security problems we face in vetting Syrian and other refugees, but it is an important first step. I look forward to Congress taking additional action to ensure America's safety.

I thank the gentleman from Texas and the gentleman from North Carolina for the work they have done on this bill. I urge my colleagues to support it.

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

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

Mr. Speaker and Members, the so-called American SAFE Act purports to make us safer. But as the administration has so correctly observed, this measure would provide no meaningful additional security for the American people. Worse yet, it would effectively deny refugee status for Syrians and Iraqis who are themselves victims of terrorism in their own homelands.

□ 1145

H.R. 4038 is a terribly flawed and inhumane bill for many reasons. To begin with, while ensuring the safety of all Americans should be our top priority, H.R. 4038 does nothing to achieve this goal.

This measure sets unreasonable clearance standards that the Department of Homeland Security simply cannot meet. Refugees seeking to come to our shores are already subject to the highest level of vetting, more than any other traveler or immigrant to the United States.

This extensive screening process is performed by the Department of Homeland Security, the State Department, in conjunction with the Central Intelligence Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and other law enforcement and intelligence agencies. The process utilizes methodical and exhaustive background checks that often take up to 24 months, on average, to complete, and even longer, in some cases.

We must keep in mind that our Nation was founded by immigrants and has historically welcomed refugees when there is suffering around the globe. Whether it is an earthquake in Haiti, a tsunami in Asia, or 4 years of civil war in Syria, with no end in sight, the world looks always to the United States. We provide protections for refugees and asylum seekers, especially women and children.

Nevertheless, in the wake of the September 11 attacks on our shores and the tragic November 13 terrorist attacks in Paris, we must be vigilant, particularly in the midst of a global refugee crisis.

H.R. 4038, however, is an extreme over-reaction to these latest security concerns. Rather than shutting our doors to these desperate men and women and children who are risking their lives to escape death and torture in their own homelands, we should work to utilize our immense resources and good intentions of our citizens to welcome them.

Finally, Congress needs to do its part by properly funding refugee resettlement as well as funding our Federal agencies so they have the necessary personnel and programs to complete security checks that we already have in place. Instead of slamming our doors to the world's most vulnerable, we should be considering legislation to strengthen and expand refugee programs.

Unfortunately, the bill before us today is not a serious effort to legislate, and it will not make us safer. It is a knee-jerk reaction, as evidenced by the fact that this measure was introduced just 2 days ago, and has not been the subject of a single hearing or any meaningful review by our committee.

Rather than betraying our values, we must continue to focus on the most effective tools to keep us safe, while also providing refuge for the world's most vulnerable.

Accordingly, I urge all of my colleagues to oppose H.R. 4038.

I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. GOODLATTE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. MCCAUL), the chairman of the Homeland Security Committee, and the chief sponsor of this bill.

Mr. MCCAUL. Mr. Speaker, I want to first thank the gentleman from Virginia, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, for his work on this legislation.

I rise today to urge my colleagues to support the American Safe Act.

Let me be clear. We are a nation at war. The world was reminded last week that Islamic terrorists are seeking to harm our people, destroy our way of life, and undermine the foundational principles of the free world.

Sadly, with the news that at least one of these terrorists may have infiltrated Europe posing as a Syrian refugee, the Paris attacks appear to confirm our worst fears, that, of the thousands of foreign fighters who have gone to Syria and Iraq to join ISIS, some would be deployed to bring terror back to the West.

The world is now looking at America for leadership and for a clear-eyed understanding of the threat.

ISIS is not "contained," as the President says. ISIS is expanding globally and is plotting aggressively. The group is now responsible for more than 60 terrorist plots against Western targets, including 18 in the United States.

Here in the homeland, we have arrested more than one ISIS supporter a week in the past year, and the FBI says it has nearly 1,000 ISIS-related investigations in all 50 States.

Today, we must take decisive action to show the American people that we are doing all that we can to protect our country. We must listen to the words of our enemies.

ISIS has vowed, in their words, to exploit the refugee process, to sneak operatives, to infiltrate the West, and they appear to have already done that, to attack our allies.

For nearly a year, intelligence and law enforcement agencies have warned Congress, both publicly and privately, that they are alarmed by intelligence collection gaps and our ability to weed out terrorists from the refugee process.

FBI Director Comey testified before my committee and stated: "We can query our databases until the cows come home, but nothing will show up because we have no record of them."

Homeland Security Secretary Johnson said: "We know that organizations like ISIS might like to exploit this program."

This is an administration official's words, not mine.

This legislation would add two important layers to our defenses, creating the most robust national security screening process in American history for any refugee population.

The American SAFE Act also strikes an important balance between security and our humanitarian responsibilities. It sets up roadblocks to keep terrorists from entering the United States, while also allowing legitimate refugees who are not a threat to be resettled appropriately.

Let us not forget, this legislation is the first in a series of steps we must take to defend the homeland, but ultimately, to win this war, we must take the fight to the enemy.

Last week, the streets of Paris could just have easily been the streets of New York or Chicago or Houston or Los Angeles.

But as I have said before, our long-term message to these terrorists must be clear. You may have fired the first shot in the struggle but, rest assured, America will fire the last.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. LOFGREN), one who has worked harder on this issue than anyone I know.

Ms. LOFGREN. Mr. Speaker, all of us watched with horror the events in Paris. November 13 was France's September 11.

And all of us have paused to consider what further should be done to make sure that America is safe because our first obligation, as Members of Congress, is to make sure that America is safe.

So, as we watch the refugees from the Middle East pouring into Europe, concern has been expressed—and I think correctly—who are these people

hidden among the many helpless victims? Are there those who would pose a threat?

It is worth noting that our process for refugees is completely different. No one gets into the United States unless they have been completely vetted. This process starts with the U.N. referring only those people who are vulnerable, who have been tortured, who have been victimized, who are helpless women and children, for screening by us.

We have a process that includes soliciting information from the DEA, from the intelligence agencies, from the FBI, and the like. All of those agencies have a veto. If there is a problem, they veto the admission. The process takes 2 years or more, and a very small number of people actually are admitted.

Of the 2,000 or so Syrian refugees who have been admitted to the United States, the overwhelming majority are children and widows who have been victims of torture, who have seen their husbands beheaded.

The bill before us, as has been described by the Speaker and the author, would stop the refugee program. They call it a pause. They would stop it because it completely restructures the very elaborate system that we have.

By putting the FBI as the lead agency, they would have to hire agents, send them over. It would be a pause. That is what they have described. We think it would take a couple of years to start up.

Now, why is that a bad idea?

ISIS is our enemy, and we need to fight them, and we need to defeat them. But we are fighting on two levels; one, military, but also, this is a fight of values.

America stands for freedom. We are the beacon of light, of democracy, of freedom in the world. And part of that value of America is allowing people who are escaping monsters like ISIS to be able to become Americans like us.

We need to screen and make sure that we are completely safe. But if we stop that program, we give ISIS a win. Please defeat this bill.

Mr. GOODLATTE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. HUDSON), the chief cosponsor of the legislation.

Mr. HUDSON. Mr. Speaker, America is a compassionate country. We are a good country. We have a long history of accepting refugees, people fleeing oppression and violence.

But we also have an obligation to the American people. As we welcome people into this country who are seeking asylum, we owe it to the American people to know who these people are. And when you have got a terrorist group like ISIS, who has said that they will exploit this refugee crisis to infiltrate America—this is an organization that has said their goal is to come to America and kill Americans—I take them at their word.

The number one responsibility of this body is to protect the American people. It is not me saying that we have chal-

lenges with the current vetting process; it is experts from President Obama's administration.

I draw your attention to the first quote here from Jeh Johnson: "It is true that we are not going to know a whole lot about the Syrians that come forth in this process." That is definitely a challenge. That is the Secretary of Homeland Security.

I draw your attention to the next quote from Director James Comey of the FBI: "We can only query against that which we have collected, and so if someone has not made a ripple in the pond in Syria in a way that would get their identity or their interest reflected in our databases, we can query our data until the cows come home, but nothing will show up because we have no record of that person."

This is not me saying that. This is not Republicans saying that. These are officials in President Obama's administration saying that the current process is broken, that we are bringing in these refugees that we cannot properly vet.

So our legislation simply says: Let's stop this flow unless and until the law enforcement experts that President Obama has appointed, the FBI Director, the Secretary of Homeland Security, can vouch for the fact that we have a process in place that they are comfortable with.

How radical is that?

This is common sense, and that is why our polls show that as many as 75 percent of the American people support this measure.

□ 1200

Mr. Speaker, I know the President has issued a veto threat, but I hope that today in this House we can come together, Republicans and Democrats, and respond to the will of the American people and do our primary job to keep them safe so we can have a bipartisan vote that doesn't say no refugees, it doesn't say stop Syrian refugees, and it doesn't say don't ever let them in again. It says pause the program unless and until the law enforcement experts are comfortable that we have got a process.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to support this legislation.

Mr. GOODLATTE. Mr. Speaker, I yield the remainder of my time to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. GOWDY), the chairman of the Immigration and Border Security Subcommittee, and ask unanimous consent that he be able to control that time.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. GOWDY. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. NADLER), a distinguished member of the House Judiciary Committee.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this irresponsible bill

that would effectively block the settlement of Syrian refugees in the United States for years.

The shocking and tragic events in Paris have touched people all over the world and strengthened our resolve to defeat the terrorists who are responsible for these heinous acts, for bombing a Russian airliner, and for carrying out deadly bombings in Beirut. But defeating terrorism should not mean slamming the door in the faces of those who are fleeing the terrorists. That is why I am appalled by the actions of this House and by some of the words of my colleagues today.

Mr. Speaker, the United States has always been and should always be a place of refuge. Remember, the Syrian refugees are running away from ISIS. They are running away from war, from terror. They are its victims. To stop thousands of desperate people who are fleeing unspeakable violence is unconscionable. We might as well take down the Statute of Liberty.

Countries with much smaller populations like Lebanon and Turkey have agreed to take 1 million refugees or more. Even France just announced they are increasing the number of Syrian refugees they are accepting. We in the United States are talking about a mere 10,000. These refugees are subject to an extensive vetting process which can take up to 24 months.

But the real danger America faces is that ISIS, through its propaganda, can radicalize people already here and inspire them to attack the United States from within. In Paris we saw that several of the attackers were European nationals who could enter the United States without being vetted, so it is ridiculous to assert that by denying access to refugees, we would be making America safer.

We face a choice that will echo through history. In 1924, a racist, xenophobic, and anti-Semitic Congress passed legislation slamming the door shut on Jewish, Italian, Greek, and Eastern European immigrants. The Almanac of American Politics said that, if it weren't for the 1924 Immigration Act, perhaps 2 million of the 6 million Jews who were murdered in the Holocaust would have been living safely in the United States instead.

Back then we shut our doors to people in desperate need. We must not do so again. We must not let ourselves be guided by irrational fear. We have a moral obligation and, for those who care, a religious obligation to extend a hand to those in need.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to oppose this bill.

Mr. GOWDY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. MCCARTHY), the majority leader.

Mr. MCCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I thank those who have worked on the bill, Congressman RICHARD HUDSON, Chairman MIKE MCCAUL, a number of other committee chairmen, Chairman GOODLATTE, and others.

Mr. Speaker, this is not an issue that comes before us just because of action that happened recently—a horrific action. Mr. Speaker, our duty is to protect the American people. Without security, we cannot have freedom. Without security, we cannot help others abroad.

The American people are generous, and we want to help those in the world suffering from terrorism and civil war. The fact that America gives far more in foreign aid than any other country in the world is a testament to our generosity. In 2014, we gave over \$6.5 billion in humanitarian foreign aid alone. That doesn't even count the millions of dollars that privately have been offered by American people.

But, Mr. Speaker, being generous does not mean we have to have a weak screening process for refugees, especially for those coming from Iraq and Syria where we know people are there who seek to do us harm and are looking to exploit a weak process. It is wrong to condemn a strong screening process using the language of charity and morality.

When we allow refugees into this country, we must be guided by one single principle: If you are a terrorist or you are a threat to our country, you are not getting in, period. The bill before us increases the standards to keep those who want to do us harm out.

But America is not saying "no" to refugees. America always stands as a beacon of hope for everyone fleeing oppression and terror. Nothing will stop us from protecting the innocent while continuing our fight against evil. Instead, this bill puts a pause on our refugee program until we are certain that nobody being allowed in poses a threat to the American people.

To those who do not even want to consider increasing accountability in our refugee process—and to the President, who announced that he wants to veto this bill—let me tell you this: It is against the values of our Nation and the values of a free society to give terrorists the opening they are looking for to come into our country and harm the American people, and we have an obligation to stop that from happening. In the debate we are having on the refugee crisis, we should not lose sight of the root of the problem. The real problem is ISIL and our lack of strategy to destroy them.

It astounds me that the President refuses to face reality and admit that his strategy is failing. ISIL controls territory the size of Maryland. Attacks in Paris, Beirut, and Egypt show that ISIL is not contained to Iraq and Syria. Every day ISIL continues to exist is another day they can train, recruit, and radicalize more people to continue their war on the civilized world and threaten the safety of the American people.

Mr. Speaker, this danger is real, and nothing can replace a winning strategy. Here in the House, we will not accept half measures. We are committed

to keeping America safe. That is why I ask all in the House to support this bill.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON LEE), a distinguished member of the House Judiciary Committee.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, I have been on the Homeland Security Committee since the heinous and vile acts of 9/11. I have often said that I was at Ground Zero, and I had the misery of seeing the recovery that was still occurring at that time. I take no backseat to the concern and love for this Nation, as I know that neither do my colleagues on both sides of the aisle.

But, Mr. Speaker, this legislation is divided in a simple premise: no to refugees, stop the refugee program, turn your back on children, women, and old people broken and bent. This side is saying that America's values can parallel the love, respect, and commitment to the national security of this Nation.

ISIL is determined to divide this bipolar world; divide it between Muslims who share the distorted and profane interpretation and those who live every day under the sun who love freedom. We do not define the faith by those who kill us and maim us. As President Franklin Delano Roosevelt said: "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself"—nameless, unreasoning, and unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert, retreat, and advance.

This is the extensive, extensive review that only a small number of Syrians go through that are able to get in this country from refugee camps. That is the only place they come from. This is the extensive one.

I say to the President, certify it now.

But what this legislation does is requires that the 5-year-old Syrian girl that has lived most of her life in a Jordanian camp must be certified by four or five individuals who are already in the process of the certification.

There are 60 million individuals who are displaced across the globe now. Twenty percent of them are Syrians fleeing the conflict that has taken 240,000 lives. Right now the FBI has 50 terrorist cells being investigated. They cannot count them as Syrian refugees.

This is the wrong direction. Let us follow our values, Mr. Speaker. Vote that bill down and bring refugees who are already certified. This bill is unnecessary. It stops the refugee program. Where is our mercy?

Mr. GOWDY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. ROGERS), the chairman of the Appropriations Committee.

Mr. ROGERS of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today first to reaffirm our solidarity with the people of France, our brethren in Beirut, and the families of the victims of Metrojet Flight 9268 who perished over the skies

of the Sinai. The senseless and unspeakable violence, the blind fanaticism, the utter and irrational hatred for human life by ISIS, together they present a threat not just to national and global security, but also to the fundamental values that constitute the very fiber of civilization.

Mr. Speaker, ISIS must be stopped. The violence must end. And the United States must do more—more to stamp out this evil, more to eradicate the threats posed here and abroad, and more to ensure that Americans can tuck in their children at night with a feeling of security that they will be waking up tomorrow morning for school free from fear. That is why we must support the SAFE Act. It is thoughtful, and it will further one of our principal national security priorities—keeping Americans safe—as we work to eliminate the threat posed by ISIS.

The instability in Syria and the surrounding region has continued unabated for more than 4 years, and we have witnessed an indescribable humanitarian crisis because of the brutality of the Assad regime and radical Islamic groups such as ISIS.

In the wake of the Paris tragedy, we must step back and review the procedures in place for admitting refugees resulting from this conflict coming into our country. We can and must implement a system that assists the victims of the tragedy but that also prioritizes American security first.

H.R. 4038 will ensure that no refugee from Iraq or Syria steps foot on U.S. soil without the Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security, the FBI Director, and the highest intelligence officer certifying that each refugee is not a security threat to the U.S. The Department of Homeland Security, the FBI, and the Director of National Intelligence must unanimously certify that a person seeking refuge in this country does not represent a security threat. This is an unprecedented vetting process to ensure dangerous people do not slip through the cracks.

I urge your support, all in this Chamber, so we can provide our military and intelligence personnel with the best possible chance for success as they work to keep us safe.

Mr. Speaker, I urge support for the bill.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. THOMPSON), ranking member on the Homeland Security Committee.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the generosity from my colleague from Michigan on the time.

Mr. Speaker, we live in uncertain and dangerous times with ever-evolving terrorist threats. The brutality that ISIL has inflicted on innocent people is both chilling and demands action.

As Members of Congress, we have a responsibility to do all we can to protect our citizens. In the wake of the

Paris attacks, questions have been raised about the screening system that the U.S. utilizes and whether it can be exploited by terrorists.

□ 1215

In light of those questions, Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD a letter from the Department of Homeland Security former Secretary Janet Napolitano and former Secretary Michael Chertoff supporting the current system of vetting refugees.

NOVEMBER 19, 2015.

Hon. BARACK OBAMA,
President of the United States,
The White House, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Following the creation of the Department of Homeland Security, substantial progress has been made in protecting our nation's homeland. The ongoing efforts by our national security experts have provided tools and resources to make a coordinated attack like the one in Paris last week much more difficult to achieve here at home. As a nation, we have strengthened security at our air, land, and sea ports; we have strengthened the ability to monitor the travel of bad actors and detect fraud in our visa process; we have strengthened partnerships with state and local law enforcement across the nation to ensure that they are prepared; and we have engaged with minority and ethnic communities to prevent homegrown radicalization.

As former Secretaries of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, it is our view that the American people are safer due to these efforts, but the Paris attacks remind us that we must remain ever-vigilant in this effort and that the highest priority of our government is to keep American's safe. It is our view that we can achieve this mission in a manner that is consistent with American values of openness and inclusiveness. With respect to refugees seeking to resettle here, it is our view that we can admit the most vulnerable of these refugees into this country safely as long as we do not compromise the already established protections. The process for any refugee seeking entry to the United States requires the highest level of scrutiny from a law enforcement and national security perspective. The process takes place while the refugees are still overseas, and it is lengthy and deliberate—taking an average of 18-24 months with no waiver of any steps. First, we consider only the most vulnerable—particularly survivors of violence and torture, those with severe medical conditions, and women and children—for potential admittance to the U.S. Once a candidate is selected they are subjected to biographic and biometric security reviews based on the latest intelligence from the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), the National Counterterrorism Center, the FBI's Terrorist Screening Center, the Department of State, and the Department of Defense. If they pass these national security checks, they will then be personally interviewed by specially trained DHS personnel to ensure they are qualified for admittance. They are then subjected to recurrent vetting up to the final point of departure and a final interview at the border before being admitted into the U.S.

The process that is currently in place is thorough and robust and, so long as it is fully implemented and not diluted, it will allow us to safely admit the most vulnerable refugees while protecting the American people. Fortunately, these goals are not mutually exclusive.

Sincerely,

JANET NAPOLITANO,

Former Secretary
(2009–2013), Department
of Homeland
Security.

MICHAEL CHERTOFF,
Former Secretary
(2005–2009), Department
of Homeland
Security.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, in recent days, however, we have seen a number of Governors, including the Governor of my home State, choose fear over facts. If they had done their research, they would have learned that our program is an extensive 13-step process.

It starts with a referral from the United Nations of a prescreened person within its refugee camps, requires the Department of Homeland Security to do in-person interviews, and subjects each applicant to recurring vetting against the Department of Homeland Security, the State Department, FBI, Department of Defense, and intelligence community terrorist and criminal databases. No excuses, Mr. Speaker. If any one of those reviews pops up with a problem, that person can't be considered for the refugee program—no excuses.

Unlike in Europe, where migrants crossed into countries that had little opportunity to vet them, no alien is allowed onto U.S. soil until all the checks are completed to DHS' satisfaction. As has already been said by my colleague, ZOE LOFGREN, it takes about 18 to 24 months to process an applicant for refugee status.

Now, that processing is thorough, Mr. Speaker, and it is complete. But there has been a reference to a stolen passport in the Paris situation. That person, if they had applied for the refugee program, would have had to go through the same process of vetting that would have required at least 18 to 24 months. So the thought that that person could just get on a plane and get here to this country is actually not accurate, and that is my effort to perfect the record.

Our system of vetting is a multi-layered, multi-agency approach where the FBI has veto authority on any applicant seeking refugee status. While no system is risk free, the protections in place in the American system are rigorous, robust, and extensive.

In fact, Mr. Speaker, yesterday a witness that the majority invited to appear before our committee, Matthew Olsen, the former Director of the National Counterterrorism Center, told our committee that no refugee program in the world is as extensive as what we do in the United States.

Yet, here we are today considering H.R. 4038, a bill that would upend the current system, which was developed by security personnel with one thought in mind: to protect the homeland. And these security personnel have done a wonderful job.

To the knowledge of all of us, none of the refugees that we are talking about from Syria or Iraq who came through this system have done anything but

been model citizens since they have been here. Just for the record, there were 23,000 people that applied for refugee status from these two countries. Of those 23,000, about 7,000 were actually interviewed. Of those 7,000, only 2,000 were admitted.

So, Mr. Speaker, our system is robust. It works and it speaks to our values as Americans. I am proud to say that people who are abused, people who are oppressed, can still look to this country, follow the rules. If those rules are properly applied, they can look to America as somewhere they can call home, because most of those individuals applying for refugee status can't go home.

Once again, I call on Members to embrace facts over fear, Mr. Speaker, and vote against H.R. 4038.

Mr. GOWDY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. POE).

Mr. POE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from South Carolina for the time.

Mr. Speaker, ISIS is at war with the United States. The question is: Is America at war with ISIS? I am not so sure, since we don't have a strategy to defeat ISIS, other than if we are attacked, shelter in place, hunker down, get more security guards around the Capitol, use the tunnels rather than walk outside. That is what we were told after the Paris attacks, Mr. Speaker.

This legislation is really simple. It has at its core the idea to protect American citizens. It has nothing to do with refugees as far as whether we accept refugees. Our country accepts refugees. We always have. That is clear. It is not the issue of refugees. It is the issue of letting ISIS terrorists get into the country to kill us, Mr. Speaker.

Our own security that the gentleman from Mississippi kept talking about tells us we cannot vet Syrian refugees. The FBI Director says that. We can't do it. We are not capable of doing it. One of the reasons is many of these folks have no identity. So we can't do a background check on somebody who has no identity.

This legislation says let's take some safeguards. Before we bring in these specific refugees, let's make sure that the people in charge of security certify that this person is not a threat. They can't do it right now. Even the FBI Director says they can't certify. We owe that to the American public. This legislation does that.

The gentleman from Mississippi is correct that 31 Governors of the States say: Wait a minute. Not so fast. Find out who these people are.

I think the Governors of the States get it right. They ought to have the ability, I think, to decide whether people should come to their State or not only after a security check.

So this legislation is a step to protect America, one of the things we are supposed to do. The legislation is coming up quickly. Why? Because it is an

immediate threat. We have got refugees being bombed over in Syria. If we are going to take them in, let's at least have a plan to protect not only us, but those refugees.

That plan is in this legislation. It seems to me it would be irresponsible not to pass the legislation to require a certification of everybody that comes into America so that America could be safe because that is our responsibility, Mr. Speaker.

And that is just the way it is.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Washington (Mr. McDERMOTT).

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

Mr. McDERMOTT. Mr. Speaker, this bill is nothing but a PR piece that could have been written by Joseph Goebbels, who said, If you can make people afraid, you can make them do anything. What you are seeing here is the Republican's attempt to panic the American people that there is not a system in place.

Let me tell you about this system that is there. Mr. THOMPSON from Mississippi said what is really there. I helped a woman who for 2 years was a translator for American troops in Iraq. She was so good she saved lots of people's lives. She was so good that the enemy put a mark on her and said they were going to kill her. So she had to go into hiding.

It took her from January 2007 until September 2007 to get the papers and the witnesses and all the information necessary to get her into the United States. Somebody who had put her life on the line for us, our soldiers, it took 9 months to get her in. Then her mother and her brothers and sisters, who were 16 and 12 and 9, it took them 2 years to get into this country.

We have a robust system that is working. This bill is PR bologna. We ought to vote "no." It sends the wrong message. It says only White Christians can come into this country.

Mr. GOWDY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. HENSARLING), the chairman of the Financial Services Committee.

Mr. HENSARLING. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding and for all of his work to make our Nation more secure.

Mr. Speaker, I do rise in support today of the safety and security of the American people. As Members of Congress, we have no more sacred responsibility. Thus, I rise in support of the American SAFE Act.

Now, I join all Americans and all the people of the world in standing with the people of Paris. We are so sobered as to what happened to their homeland, but we are also sobered by the challenge and the grave responsibility to thwart the same evil from coming to our homeland.

The Director of the FBI testified before Congress just last month that a number of people who were of serious

concern were able to slip through screenings of Iraqi refugees. That is what the Director of the FBI said. This disturbing information, Mr. Speaker, obviously raises very serious red flags about lapses in the security within our current refugee vetting system.

Again, it is why I support and I encourage all Members to support the American SAFE Act of 2015. It would effectively hit the pause button on the refugee program, not the stop, but the pause button.

It is simple legislation. It simply requires more rigid standards so that the FBI, the Department of Homeland Security, and the Director of National Intelligence would positively certify that each refugee from Iraq and Syria does not pose a security threat to us, to our homeland, to our families. Otherwise, they will not be permitted to set down on American soil. It is simple. It is common sense. It is needed.

Mr. Speaker, our hearts also go out to the millions of refugees forced to flee their homes and save their lives. There is no other country in the world—no other country in the world—that has been more generous with their time and treasure to refugees than the United States of America.

But today is not the day to share our territory, not until and unless these people can be properly vetted to ensure they don't threaten our families.

Mr. Speaker, hopefully, the world has awakened that there is a very real threat that ISIS poses. It is not the JV team. They are not contained. What happened in Paris was not merely a setback.

I urge my colleagues to take the responsibility to secure our homeland seriously. This will be the first of what I know will be many steps that this Chamber will take to address the growing threats that are posed to our families and our country.

I thank the sponsor of the legislation for bringing it to the floor. I urge all my colleagues to adopt it.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI), our leader.

□ 1230

Ms. PELOSI. I thank the gentleman for yielding and for his great service to our country in promoting our values and strengthening our Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I come to the floor in a very prayerful way today because we were all horrified at what happened in Paris, at what happened in Beirut, at what happened to the Russian airliner, to name a few recent incidences.

We recognize that that is horrible and that we have to protect the American people from it. To do so, we must be strong, but our strength must also spring from our prayerfulness for those who lost their lives or for those whose security was threatened physically, emotionally, and in every other way.

In our country, we have a relationship with France. They were our earliest friends. That is why in this Cham-

ber of the House of Representatives, any visitor can see there are only two paintings. One is of our great patriarch, George Washington, our hero, our Founding Father.

The other painting in this Chamber is of the Marquis de Lafayette. It is in recognition of the friendship that the French Government extended to the Colonies in our war for independence.

Just imagine George Washington and Lafayette, a long, long friendship. So, while we are concerned about violence wherever it exists in the world, when Paris was hit in such a vicious way, in some ways, it hit home for us, not that the other lives were not equally as important.

As we come to the floor to talk about what we do next, we take an oath of office—every one of us—to protect and to support the American people and the Constitution of the United States. Keeping the American people safe is our first responsibility. It is the oath we take. If the American people aren't safe, what else really matters?

We understand the concern, the fear, in the country when an act of terrorism strikes. In fact, that is the goal of terrorists: to instill fear, to instill terror. We cannot let them succeed; so, we have to take the measures necessary to protect the American people and to be very strong in how we do it.

That is why I have a problem with the bill that is on the floor today. It is because I think we have a much stronger, better option to protect the American people, and that is in the form of the Thompson-Lofgren legislation.

Unlike in the Republican bill, the Democratic alternative applies tough scrutiny to all potential refugees, not just to Syrians and Iraqis, as the Republican bill is limited to.

The Thompson-Lofgren Secure Refugee Process Act would require the Secretary of Homeland Security to verify the identities of all refugee applicants. Any application that contains insufficient, conflicting, or unreliable information would be denied from day one.

The bill also requires that at least five Federal agencies—the Department of Homeland Security, the Attorney General, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the Director of National Intelligence—check all refugee applications against their records. Any application that indicates a national security or a criminal threat would be denied—all. Not Iraq-Syria—all.

Two former Secretaries of Homeland Security—Secretary Janet Napolitano and Secretary Michael Chertoff—have written about the process that is in existence now and which the Thompson-Lofgren legislation respects. The process that is currently in place is thorough and robust, and so long as it is fully implemented and not diluted, it will allow us to safely admit the most vulnerable refugees while protecting the American people. Fortunately,

they say, these goals are not mutually exclusive.

There are other things that we could be doing in a bipartisan way, and I would have hoped that that would have been a place we could have gone with this. One of them relates to closing loopholes in the Visa Waiver Program.

Today our colleagues on the Senate side are putting forth their principles, which state: "If an ISIS recruit attempts to travel to the United States on a fraudulent paper passport issued by a country that participates in the Visa Waiver Program, that individual would avoid biometric screening and an in-person interview."

How could we allow this loophole to exist if we are truly addressing this challenge in a comprehensive way?

If the Republicans want to make the Nation safer in the face of terror, there is another clear area in which we should act, and that is we should be voting on Republican Congressman PETER KING's bill in order to close the appalling loophole.

It is outrageous that a person who is on the terrorism watch list—listen to this. If someone is on the terrorist watch list, he could walk into a gun store and buy a gun. His bill is called the Denying Firearms and Explosives to Dangerous Terrorists Act.

The visa waiver.

Close the terrorist gun loophole.

According to the GAO, over the last 11 years, more than 2,000 suspects on the FBI's terrorist watch list bought weapons in the United States. Did you know that?

Ninety-one percent of all suspected terrorists who tried to buy guns in the United States walked away with the weapons they wanted over the time period with just 190 rejected despite their having ominous histories. Listen, 5 to 1, 10 to 1, they were able to get these guns.

Why can't we talk about guns when we talk about danger to the American people?

It is outrageous that we would be slamming the door to mothers and children while we still allow people on the terrorist watch list to walk in the door of a gun store and buy a gun.

With regard to those mothers and children, I join with labor, civil, human rights, and faith groups from the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, from the Episcopalians, the Lutherans, the Methodists, the Presbyterians, the evangelicals, and Jewish groups. I join them in saying that the Republican bill before the House today fails to meet our values and fails to strengthen the security of the American people.

Families in Syria and Iraq are desperately trying to escape ISIS' gruesome campaign of torture, rape, violence, and terror of the Assad regime. The Republican bill before the House today severely handicaps the refugee settlement in the future in our country. It slams that door again on desperate mothers and children who are fleeing ISIS' unspeakable violence.

As Leith Anderson, President of the National Association of Evangelicals, said: "Of course we want to keep terrorists out of our country, but let's not punish the victims of ISIS for the sins of ISIS."

Did you know this? Here are the facts.

Since 2001—just in the last few years—only about 2,200 Syrians have been admitted to the United States. Half are children, and 25 percent are seniors. All faced an 18- to 24-month-long screening process.

As the Refugee Council and its coalition of more than 80 faith, humanitarian, and human rights groups point out in their letter to Congress: "Because so few refugees in the world are resettled, the United States often chooses the most vulnerable, including refugees who cannot remain safely where they are and families with children who cannot receive the medical care they need to survive."

Mr. Speaker, I include for the RECORD the Refugee Council's letter with all of the cosigners.

REFUGEE COUNCIL USA,

Washington, DC, November 18, 2015.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE: On behalf of Refugee Council USA (RCUSA), a coalition of 20 non-governmental organizations committed to refugee protection and welcome, I write to you today to urge you to protect Syrian and Iraqi refugees and the integrity of the United States refugee resettlement program by voting NO on H.R. 4038—The American Security Against Foreign Enemies Act 2015.

Since 1975, the United States has resettled more than 3 million refugees from around the world, including 169,000 from Bosnia and more than 100,000 from Iraq. Three quarters of a million of those refugees entered the U.S. since 2001. During that time, there have been no recorded terrorist acts in the United States by a refugee. That should come as little surprise. Refugees are, by definition, people fleeing from persecution—not persecutors themselves.

H.R. 4038 creates a bureaucratic review process that could take years to implement and would effectively shut down refugee resettlement. The bill requires the Secretary of Homeland Security to "certify" whether an individual refugee is a threat or not after "concurrence" with the Directors of the FBI and DNI. The bill does not provide guidance on what the process for certification will be. This process will have to be created and agreed upon by three heads of agencies. Establishing such a process could take years, and in the meantime, refugees who could be resettled would languish in camps and dangerous situations. Syrian Americans would not be able to reunite with their family members, and there would be very real ramifications for international refugee protection and U.S. foreign policy interests in the region.

The process, once established, would add months or years to the security screening process, which is already the lengthiest and most robust in the world, routinely taking between 18 and 36 months. Obtaining the concurrence of three heads of federal agencies for EACH REFUGEE would take years and effectively put an end to the refugee resettlement program. For reasons of security and safety, security and medical clearances are only valid for limited periods of time. During the certification process, these clearances will expire. This will mean that refugees will be caught in an un-ending loop of security clearances that will never end.

The bill requires reporting to thirteen congressional committees on each refugee that is considered for resettlement. This is unreasonably burdensome and will further delay the admission of refugees, cause security clearances to expire, and effectively end the program.

Refugees are already the most vetted non-citizens in our country. All refugees undergo thorough and rigorous security screenings prior to arriving in the United States, including but not limited to multiple biographic and identity investigations; FBI biometric checks of applicants' fingerprints and photographs; in-depth, in-person interviews by well-trained Department of Homeland Security officers; medical screenings; investigations by the National Counterterrorism Center; and other checks by U.S. domestic and international intelligence agencies. Supervisory review of all decisions; random case assignment; inter-agency national security teams; trained document experts; forensic testing of documents; and interpreter monitoring are in place to maintain the security of the refugee resettlement program. Due to technological advances, Syrian refugees are also undergoing iris scans to confirm their identity through the process.

The bill is a waste of resources. Funds used to establish and run this certification process would be better used in conducting actual security reviews of refugees and others who are vetted by these agencies.

The bill is a pretext and requires differential treatment of refugees from Syria and Iraq without providing a justification for the additional verification. It is a disguised attempt to stop refugees from two countries long beset by internal conflict, including refugees who have been in neither Syria nor Iraq for four years. Differential treatment, with no clear justification, amounts to discrimination on the basis of nationality without rational basis.

No terrorist attacks in the US have been committed by refugees. The few non-citizens who have caused harm have come to the US as tourists or through other means. This bill will tell the world that the US has no interest in being part of the global solution to protect the victims of the violence in Syria and Iraq. It will keep US citizen family members of these refugees from reuniting with their loved ones who are in danger. This bill does nothing to keep the country safe, is a waste of tax dollars, and is an attack on refugees and immigrants—both those who are seeking safety and those who are already here.

For these reasons we ask that you vote "no" on H.R. 4038. We also want to draw your attention to the attached letter signed yesterday by 81 national organizations in support of Syrian refugees.

We appreciate your support in protecting the refugees.

Sincerely,

MELANIE NEZER,

Chair, Refugee Council USA.

Ms. PELOSI. As it is the proud American tradition, we can both ensure the security of our country and welcome desperate women, children, and seniors who are facing ISIS' brutality. As my colleague who spoke before me just said, our hearts go out to the refugees, but our hand of friendship does not. And it could.

We could do this in a bipartisan way. If we betray our values as a country and slam the door in the faces of those innocent victims of terror, we do not strengthen our security. We weaken ourselves in the fight against ISIS' savage ideology.

As the Refugee Council USA and its coalition wrote to Congress—and this is very important—“it would send a demoralizing and dangerous message to the world that the United States makes judgments about people based on the country they come from and their religion. This feeds into extremist propaganda and makes us all less safe.”

I talked about the French to begin with. It was interesting to me to hear President Hollande as he spoke to thousands of people in the wake of the tragedy. What he said in some of his remarks at various venues was that France would be welcoming 30,000 refugees from Syria in the period ahead. With all that they have suffered, with the immediacy of the tragedy, with the emotion of the moment, they are still doing the right thing.

The Republican bill before us does not make us safer, and it does not reflect our values. It does not have my support.

Mr. GOWDY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. ASHFORD).

Mr. ASHFORD. Mr. Speaker, in my view, H.R. 4038 is, in fact, a common-sense approach to addressing the legitimate security concerns that my constituents and the American people have expressed to me and are expressing today.

In the wake of the horrific attacks in Paris—in my view, it is a game-changer—we must and are obligated to reassess our existing procedures—and that is all this bill does—for admitting and monitoring refugees from countries associated with ISIS. I cannot sit back and ignore the concerns of my constituents and the American public.

This legislation does not shut down the refugee asylum process. If it did, I wouldn't support it. We are simply asking the administration to reassure us that those coming to the United States do not pose a threat to the American people. We should not accept anything less from our Federal Government.

I am very proud of our American legacy of being a welcoming nation, and I have devoted much of my professional life to that concept and idea. This legislation, in my view, does not diminish that legacy. Rather, this legislation will protect that legacy into the future and will reassure Americans that we are working to protect them.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. MEEKS).

Mr. MEEKS. Mr. Speaker, I think it is without question that we have the strongest, the most stringent, and the toughest refugee system in the entire world. I don't think anybody can dispute that. Yet, we are still humanitarians with regard to what our system is.

This bill is called the American SAFE Act, but where our greatest danger lies is when rhetoric is given for ISIS to utilize in order to recruit American citizens—those of us who are

here to radicalize them—and then they can go to a gun shop and buy an assault weapon.

□ 1245

If we truly want to make sure that America is safe, we should make sure that no homegrown or radicalized person here has access to an assault weapon. We should have a bill.

We want every American to be safe, as I hear my colleagues talking. I am with you. How do we make them safe? Make sure that nobody, refugee or otherwise, has the ability to come to our Nation and put their hands on an assault weapon that can harm our people. That is what will keep America safe. Working together with the most stringent refugee system is what we need to do.

This is just something to try to keep people from coming in who are running away from rape, from violence, from persecution. Young children and women who are widows overwhelmingly are the individuals of the 2,000 that have been led in here.

Let's keep America safe. Let's keep assault weapons out of our land.

Mr. GOWDY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRBACHER).

Mr. ROHRBACHER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 4038. This legislation will give us a pause to ensure that a benevolent safe haven in America is not used by terrorists to murder a large number of Americans. After the slaughter in Paris, it behooves us to take a close look to see to it that Americans will not be put in jeopardy by an irresponsible refugee policy or by flaws in our own system that already exist.

We can be proud that our country has a tradition of assisting suffering refugees, but we will not be consistent with that by putting Americans in jeopardy.

What could we do that might make the system better, improve the system, protect more Americans? If we pause for a moment, we might come up with some ideas. For example, let me be the first on the floor of the House to advocate that all people coming here, especially from the Middle East, be given polygraph tests. Let's give them a lie detector test to find out who they are. This shouldn't be an option for our embassies. It should be a requirement for our embassies to give such polygraph tests.

Finally, we have heard several references to the Jews being sent back in 1938 to Nazi Germany. Well, the Jews had been targeted for genocide. It was wrong, it was horrible, and it was immoral for us to send them back and not recognize they had been targeted for genocide.

Well, today the Christians in the Middle East are targeted for genocide. I hear over here: Oh, no, you are not going to let anybody in but Christians. No. Christians should get the priority the same way those Jews should have been given the priority in 1938 because,

today, Christians are targeted for genocide in the Middle East. So we do not want to make the same mistake that sent the Jews back in 1938 to Hitler's death camps. Let's not make the same mistake and send Christians back because we won't give them priority because it might make some people upset with us.

I call for, number one, my colleagues to join us and save the Christians from genocide; and number two, let's make our system better so Americans are not put in jeopardy by the benevolence of our own people.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. SHERMAN).

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. Speaker, we want to vote for a bill to reflect the angst of our constituents. If you read this bill, you can't vote for it. It forces our three security leaders—the Director of the FBI, the Director of National Intelligence, and the Secretary of Homeland Security—to personally review, vote on, and certify each and every individual refugee file.

We admitted 187 Syrian refugees last month. If our security leaders just spend 2 hours on each file, it will consume all of their working hours. ISIS cannot simultaneously and permanently incapacitate our security leaders. This bill does.

Now, some will say that our security leaders just won't look at any of the files, that this is an underhanded way for Congress to halt all refugees without taking responsibility, but our security leaders are human. They are going to look at the picture of Aylan Kurdi—that 3-year-old boy on the Turkish beach—and our security leaders will know that if they just invest a couple of hours in personally reviewing a file, they can save a human life. If they just spend another 2 hours, they can save another human life. Our security leaders will be full-time refugee evaluators.

This bill is not a pause bill. This is a permanent bill which permanently incapacitates our security agencies. Read the bill. Vote “no.”

Mr. GOWDY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. PALAZZO).

Mr. PALAZZO. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my friend from South Carolina for the time.

Mr. Speaker, we are under attack. Across the globe and here at home, we are being targeted. We are at war. The enemy has brought war to us. And make no mistake about it, this enemy is radical Muslim extremism.

Last week in Paris, we saw a brutal reminder of just how dedicated our enemy is in fighting this war against us. We must fight back, and we must do more. The United States of America must do more.

The President of the United States, on the very day ISIS attacked Paris, argued that ISIS had been contained. He was wrong. Last year, the President called ISIS the JV team. He was wrong. The President has been wrong on ISIS

from the very beginning, and he is wrong now. Where is the strategy? Where is the willpower? Where is the leadership?

Two years ago, Secretary of State John Kerry testified in front of the House Armed Services Committee about the need to arm Syrian rebels. I questioned this decision because we had no way of vetting these rebels. I told Secretary Kerry at the time: "America is just not buying what you are selling." Two years later, the administration has shut down the arming of Syrian rebels because it was completely ineffective.

Now, the administration wants to bring in 10,000 Syrian refugees to the United States, refugees who even the Director of the FBI says cannot be fully vetted. We cannot allow this to happen.

Mr. Speaker, today we are going to pass a strong piece of legislation to protect the American people. The SAFE Act will ensure the highest level of scrutiny is placed on every single Syrian refugee and effectively stop this program until we can ensure Americans are protected. I believe we should do more, but this is a powerful first step to stopping dangerous terrorists from reaching our soil.

The President, our Commander in Chief, the one person charged with protecting the U.S. homeland above all others has threatened to veto this bill. I dare him. I dare the President to veto this bill because he is angrier at Republicans than he is terrorists. I dare him to veto this bill because he thinks his strategy is working, despite the devastation in Paris. I dare the President of the United States to tell the citizens of the United States that he is more concerned with Syrian refugees than the safety of the American people. I dare him.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. TED LIEU).

Mr. TED LIEU of California. Mr. Speaker, I am Congressman TED LIEU. I am a veteran, and I oppose the Republican legislation that would upend America's refugee program for Syrians and Iraqis. It is the wrong solution for the wrong problem.

There has not been a single act of terrorism on American soil committed by a refugee. In Paris, those horrific attacks were committed by French and Belgian citizens. Under the Republican rationale, we ought to be banning travel for French and Belgians to America. If that sounds ridiculous, then so is scapegoating Syrian orphans, widows, and senior citizens fleeing persecution.

America is a country born of persecution, forged in liberty's name with equality for all. We are that shining city upon the hill. We are better than this.

Mr. GOWDY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from the great State of South Carolina (Mr. DUNCAN).

Mr. DUNCAN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, as a Christian, I have compas-

sion and sympathy for the refugees in Syria. In fact, I visited with many of them in a refugee camp in Jordan, a camp that held about 120,000 Syrian refugees.

We are criticized for not having compassion on this issue. Let me tell you, compassion cuts two ways. We should also be cognizant of the compassion we should show our fellow citizens here in America. That compassion is exemplified by using the good sense that God gave us in addressing this national security concern that our Nation faces.

Our compassion should be, too, to make sure to the best of our abilities—and I think that is what this legislation does—is it says we are going to use the best of our abilities that no harm comes to our fellow countrymen. We should do everything we can to make sure that elements of evil are not introduced, due to our compassionate hearts, into the neighborhoods, the towns, the cities, and the States that we represent in this great Nation.

We lock our doors, not because we hate the people on the outside. We lock our doors because we love the people on the inside. This legislation is a great first step to hit pause. Let's get this right for the people we serve in the great Nation that we swear to uphold and defend.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Oregon (Mr. BLUMENAUER).

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Mr. Speaker, my Republican friends, unlike the French who had the vision and courage not to scapegoat desperate Syrian refugees fleeing the barbarians that attacked them in Paris, this is a foolish attempt to thwart ISIS terrorists who won't wait 2 years to be vetted.

They would do what the 9/11 hijackers did using the existing visa system. Are we going to pause and certify visas for students, tourists, or workers? Why not?

One really objectionable portion of this bill for me is I have worked for 10 years to try and help the Iraqis who worked with us in Iraq during that war to be able to escape the tender mercies of al Qaeda and others with long memories who are killing and torturing them. This bill pulls the plug on that and condemns them to be left to the terrorists. I think that is reprehensible. These are people who depended upon us, who relied upon us. We have been working in a bipartisan way for 10 years to help them escape to safety, and this bill would slam that door shut. You ought to be ashamed.

Mr. GOWDY. I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. BRENDAN F. BOYLE).

Mr. BRENDAN F. BOYLE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, this bill is a great way for Congress to appear as if it is acting and achieving something without actually doing anything.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to be a member of the Foreign Affairs Com-

mittee. We have had numerous hearings from the beginning of the year, including yesterday, on this issue specifically.

One of the great challenges Western countries face is the problem of homegrown terrorism. We saw that last week in Paris when the overwhelming majority of those who perpetrated these acts were French nationals and Belgian nationals.

So the big issue we face is: What do we do with those who hold European passports and who can come here easily by getting a plane ticket? What do we do with the problem of homegrown terrorism here in the U.S. among American citizens? Those are the key challenges we face in how we balance our civil liberties, our need for tourism, our need for economic bilateral relations, with our need for security. This bill sadly today does absolutely nothing about that.

So we are going to pass this bill. We are going to pat ourselves on the back. We are going to go home and say we did something when actually we have done nothing to solve the problem and protect the security of the American people.

□ 1300

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

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. BECERRA).

Mr. BECERRA. Mr. Speaker, the safety of our fellow Americans, and America itself, is and must be our number one priority, our number one responsibility here in this Chamber. The people of America have a right to expect—indeed, demand—exactly that.

Our national security screening and background system for refugees is the toughest in the world. That is why so few refugees from Syria have ever been able to receive their clearance to be accepted into this country.

But then Paris, November 13, happened. Terror reigns and fear spreads, including here. We are reminded of 9/11. If I believed that this rushed legislation made our toughest of refugee screening systems work better, I would vote for it. If this rushed legislation only adds another layer of bureaucracy that makes our screening process look tougher and then results in denying women and children who are fleeing the very terrorists we seek to keep out a chance to seek that refuge here in this country, then I cannot support that.

Our tradition and our values open our door, as in the past, to those who fled Europe to start this country in the first place. It is up to us to do this courageously and do it right, not with rushed legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I urge a "no" vote.

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

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. COHEN), a member of the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. COHEN. Mr. Speaker, this bill is here without having gone through committee. It is not our normal process. It is considered an emergency. It is not an emergency. Refugees will not get in this country for 1½ to 2 years from the time they apply.

We could come back and look at the Democratic bill, of which I am a co-sponsor, that incorporates Mr. KING's amendment to prevent terrorists or people on the terrorist list from getting guns, and get a Democratic and Republican bill that we might find we could agree on.

Instead, we are doing this for politics, and we are doing it by continuing to use the pinata of President Barack Hussein Obama. This is an attack on the President, who has a responsibility to defend us, and his team is doing it. This doesn't add anything to it. It doesn't make us safer. It is simply a political way to attack the President, and it is wrong.

Mr. Speaker, that is why I will be voting "no."

Mr. GOWDY. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire how much time remains for both sides.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee). The gentleman from South Carolina has 2 minutes remaining. The gentleman from Michigan has 4 minutes remaining.

Mr. GOWDY. Mr. Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time until such time as my friend from Michigan has closed.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD from today's New York Times Editorial Board, noted today, "Refugees From War Aren't the Enemy." It includes, "this measure represents election-year pandering to the xenophobia that rears up when threats from abroad arise. People who know these issues—law enforcement and intelligence professionals, immigration officials and humanitarian groups—say that this wrongheaded proposal simply would not protect Americans from 'foreign enemies.'"

[From the New York Times, Nov. 18, 2015]

REFUGEES FROM WAR AREN'T THE ENEMY
(By The Editorial Board)

The House is expected to vote Thursday on H.R. 4038, the American Security Against Foreign Enemies (SAFE) Act of 2015, which Republican sponsors say "would put in place the most robust national-security vetting process in history" for refugees, one that would "do everything possible to prevent terrorists from reaching our shores."

Conceived partly in response to the Paris attacks, the bill seeks to "pause" admission of Syrian and Iraqi refugees. Though there are real fears of terrorism, this measure represents election-year pandering to the xenophobia that rears up when threats from abroad arise. People who know these issues—law enforcement and intelligence professionals, immigration officials and humanitarian groups—say that this wrongheaded proposal simply would not protect Americans from "foreign enemies."

One of the bill's chief sponsors, Representative Michael McCaul of Texas, chairman of the House committee overseeing the Department of Homeland Security, surely knows

how federal protocols for admitting refugees work. Yet the bill disregards the complicated current process, which already requires that applicants' histories, family origins, and law enforcement and past travel and immigration records be vetted by national security, intelligence, law enforcement and consular officials. This process can take 18 months to two years for each person.

Among other hurdles, the measure would require that the secretary of homeland security, the director of the F.B.I. and the director of national intelligence personally certify that every refugee from Syria and Iraq seeking resettlement here is not a threat. That's a lot of women, children, and old people.

Moreover, this bill ignores most of what the United States has learned, since 9/11 and before, of how potential terrorists actually reach these shores: such individuals more often already live here, or they come via illegal means. Unlike the refugees in Europe, those seeking resettlement in the United States must apply from abroad. They don't arrive until formally admitted, and about half of those seeking refugee status are approved.

So far, half of the Syrian refugees accepted into the United States, officials say, have been children, and another quarter are over 60 years old. Roughly half are female, and many of those applying from abroad are multigenerational families, often with the primary breadwinner missing. About 2 percent are single males of combat age.

Given these facts, it is fair to say that the people who will be denied resettlement by this bill would be the victims of war, people who have been tortured and threatened by the same jihadists the United States now battles. They are families, they are old people and they are children, who might be given a chance for an education and a future.

This is a frightening time for Europe, and for the United States. Should this bill reach his desk, President Obama is more than likely to veto it because it has little to do with fighting global terror. It is sad that this proposal has been described as a first chance for the new speaker of the House, Paul Ryan, to cooperate with the Senate. This bill doesn't reflect who Americans are, and congressional leaders should have the good sense to realize that.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. LOFGREN), a member of the Committee on the Judiciary.

Ms. LOFGREN. Mr. Speaker, I have listened to all of this debate with keen interest, and it is with a sense of great sadness that we were unable to come up with a bipartisan bill today.

I would like to note, however, that a bill was introduced by myself and the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. THOMPSON) that actually is much tougher than the bill before us. It would relate to all refugees in terms of their identity and their excludability—including Nigerians because we are worried about Boko Haram and Somalians because we may be worried about al Shabaab—and that is a tougher approach. I recommend it.

But we also took good ideas from Mr. MCCAUL's bill. It is a good idea to do some sampling on the IG. It is a good idea to have some reporting to the committees. Unfortunately, our bill was not made in order; but it is a stronger bill that incorporates the good ideas from the Republican bill

and a smarter approach to deal with the threat.

Mr. GOWDY. I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD letters of opposition to H.R. 4038.

WHITE HOUSE STATEMENT OF ADMINISTRATION
POLICY

H.R. 4038—AMERICAN SAFE ACT OF 2015
(Rep. McCaul, R-TX, and Rep. Hudson, R-NC)

The Administration's highest priority is to ensure the safety and security of the American people. That is why refugees of all nationalities, including Syrians and Iraqis, considered for admission to the United States undergo the most rigorous and thorough security screening of anyone admitted into the United States. This legislation would introduce unnecessary and impractical requirements that would unacceptably hamper our efforts to assist some of the most vulnerable people in the world, many of whom are victims of terrorism, and would undermine our partners in the Middle East and Europe in addressing the Syrian refugee crisis. The Administration therefore strongly opposes H.R. 4038.

The current screening process involves multiple Federal intelligence, security, and law enforcement agencies, including the National Counterterrorism Center, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the Departments of Homeland Security (DHS), State, and Defense, all aimed at ensuring that those admitted do not pose a threat to our country. These safeguards include biometric (fingerprint) and biographic checks, medical screenings, and a lengthy interview by specially trained DHS officers who scrutinize the applicant's explanation of individual circumstances to assess whether the applicant meets statutory requirements to qualify as a refugee and that he or she does not present security concerns to the United States. Mindful of the particular conditions of the Syria crisis, Syrian refugees—who have had their lives uprooted by conflict and continue to live amid conditions so harsh that many set out on dangerous, often deadly, journeys seeking new places of refuge—go through additional forms of security screening, including a thorough pre-interview analysis of each individual's refugee application. Additionally, DHS interviewers receive extensive, Syria-specific training before meeting with refugee applicants. Of the 2,174 Syrian refugees admitted to the United States since September 11, 2001, not a single one has been arrested or deported on terrorism-related grounds.

The certification requirement at the core of H.R. 4038 is untenable and would provide no meaningful additional security for the American people, instead serving only to create significant delays and obstacles in the fulfillment of a vital program that satisfies both humanitarian and national security objectives. No refugee is approved for travel to the United States under the current system until the full array of required security vetting measures have been completed. Thus, the substantive result sought through this draft legislation is already embedded into the program. The Administration recognizes the importance of a strong, evolving security screening in our refugee admissions program and devotes considerable resources to continually improving the Nation's robust security screening protocols. The measures called for in this bill would divert resources from these efforts.

Given the lives at stake and the critical importance to our partners in the Middle East and Europe of American leadership in

addressing the Syrian refugee crisis, if the President were presented with H.R. 4038, he would veto the bill.

DEAR MEMBERS OF CONGRESS: The National Immigration Law Center (NILC) urges you to vote no on H.R. 4308. Our nation's refugee laws and programs already include intense security screening and no legislation is required. Our nation would be turning its back on its most fundamental values if we were to adopt measures that hinder or unnecessarily restrict refugee admissions to the U.S.

Congress does not need to impose new mandates, like H.R. 4038, that would effectively freeze refugee resettlement programs for Syrian, Iraqi or any other refugees. Screening and security measures for refugee admissions are the most robust and thorough in the nation. The agencies directly involved in security screening for refugees are continually reassessing and updating their procedures to keep in line with technology and intelligence resources. The White House has also stated its opposition to H.R. 4038.

Proposals like H.R. 4038—along with others that unnecessarily mandate additional burdens on our refugee resettlement programs—are attempts to demonize refugees who are fleeing some of the most dangerous and devastating conditions in the world and to discredit our nation's long-standing and successful refugee resettlement programs that have welcomed and reunited refugee families from around the world.

We urge you to vote NO on H.R. 4038 which would halt and likely delay for months, years or more the Syrian and Iraqi refugee programs.

Sincerely,

AVIDEH MOUSSAVIAN,
Economic Justice Policy Attorney,
National Immigration Law Center.

REFUGEE COUNCIL USA,

Washington, DC, November 18, 2015.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE: On behalf of Refugee Council USA (RCUSA), a coalition of 20 non-governmental organizations committed to refugee protection and welcome, I write to you today to urge you to protect Syrian and Iraqi refugees and the integrity of the United States refugee resettlement program by voting NO on H.R. 4038—The American Security Against Foreign Enemies Act 2015.

Since 1975, the United States has resettled more than 3 million refugees from around the world, including 169,000 from Bosnia and more than 100,000 from Iraq. Three quarters of a million of those refugees entered the U.S. since 2001. During that time, there have been no recorded terrorist acts in the United States by a refugee. That should come as little surprise. Refugees are, by definition, people fleeing from persecution—not persecutors themselves.

H.R. 4038 creates a bureaucratic review process that could take years to implement and would effectively shut down refugee resettlement. The bill requires the Secretary of Homeland Security to “certify” whether an individual refugee is a threat or not after “concurrence” with the Directors of the FBI and DNI. The bill does not provide guidance on what the process for certification will be. This process will have to be created and agreed upon by three heads of agencies. Establishing such a process could take years, and in the meantime, refugees who could be resettled would languish in camps and dangerous situations, Syrian Americans would not be able to reunite with their family members, and there would be very real ramifications for international refugee protection and U.S. foreign policy interests in the region.

The process, once established, would add months or years to the security screening

process, which is already the lengthiest and most robust in the world, routinely taking between 18 and 36 months. Obtaining the concurrence of three heads of federal agencies for each refugee would take years and effectively put an end to the refugee resettlement program. For reasons of security and safety, security and medical clearances are only valid for limited periods of time. During the certification process, these clearances will expire. This will mean that refugees will be caught in an un-ending loop of security clearances that will never end.

The bill requires reporting to thirteen congressional committees on each refugee that is considered for resettlement. This is unreasonably burdensome and will further delay the admission of refugees, cause security clearances to expire, and effectively end the program.

Refugees are already the most vetted non-citizens in our country. All refugees undergo thorough and rigorous security screenings prior to arriving in the United States, including but not limited to multiple biographic and identity investigations; FBI biometric checks of applicants' fingerprints and photographs; in-depth, in-person interviews by well-trained Department of Homeland Security officers; medical screenings; investigations by the National Counterterrorism Center; and other checks by U.S. domestic and international intelligence agencies. Supervisory review of all decisions; random case assignment; inter-agency national security teams; trained document experts; forensic testing of documents; and interpreter monitoring are in place to maintain the security of the refugee resettlement program. Due to technological advances, Syrian refugees are also undergoing iris scans to confirm their identity through the process.

The bill is a waste of resources. Funds used to establish and run this certification process would be better used in conducting actual security reviews of refugees and others who are vetted by these agencies.

The bill is a pretext and requires differential treatment of refugees from Syria and Iraq without providing a justification for the additional verification. It is a disguised attempt to stop refugees from two countries long beset by internal conflict, including refugees who have been in neither Syria nor Iraq for four years. Differential treatment, with no clear justification, amounts to discrimination on the basis of nationality without rational basis.

No terrorist attacks in the US have been committed by refugees. The few non-citizens who have caused harm have come to the US as tourists or through other means. This bill will tell the world that the US has no interest in being part of the global solution to protect the victims of the violence in Syria and Iraq. It will keep US citizen family members of these refugees from reuniting with their loved ones who are in danger. This bill does nothing to keep the country safe, is a waste of tax dollars, and is an attack on refugees and immigrants—both those who are seeking safety and those who are already here.

For these reasons we ask that you vote “no” on H.R. 4038. We also want to draw your attention to the attached letter signed yesterday by 81 national organizations in support of Syrian refugees.

We appreciate your support in protecting the refugees.

Sincerely,

MELANIE NEZER,
Chair, Refugee Council USA.

THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON
CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS,
Washington, DC, November 19, 2015.
Oppose H.R. 4038's Refugee Policy “Reforms”.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE: On behalf of The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, we write to express our strong opposition to H.R. 4038, the “American Security Against Foreign Enemies Act of 2015.” This bill would effectively end the admission of refugees from Syria and Iraq, while doing virtually nothing to improve “American security against foreign enemies,” as the name suggests. It is an illogical, poorly considered proposal that is simultaneously far too broad and far too narrow.

Under our current system, refugees resettled in the United States undergo more security vetting than immigrants or visitors who come here through any other channel, and more than refugees who are resettled in any other country in the world. Yet under H.R. 4038, and after we have already resettled 3 million refugees from around the world since 1975 (including 100,000 from Iraq), Congress has just this week concluded that our security screening procedures are insufficient. In their place, H.R. 4038 would institute new screening procedures for Syrian and Iraqi refugees—procedures which are poorly defined, but which would take years to fully implement.

The practical impact of H.R. 4038's onerous new requirements would be to prevent any refugees from either of these two countries from being admitted for the foreseeable future. Meanwhile, only five days after the terrorist attacks in Paris, French President Francois Hollande has stated that France will honor its commitment to admit 30,000 refugees from war-torn Syria—three times more than President Obama had proposed to admit.

At the same time that H.R. 4038 would cause us to cede our decades-long moral high ground in protecting refugees, we struggle to comprehend precisely how it would make America safer. If the assumption behind H.R. 4038 is that Iraqi and Syrian citizens somehow pose a greater threat than citizens of other countries, this bill does not affect the admissions of immigrants or nonimmigrant visitors via other legal channels. If the assumption behind the bill is that refugees somehow pose a greater threat than other types of immigrants, this bill only affects refugee admissions from two countries.

We are certainly not suggesting that H.R. 4038 be expanded in any way. But the narrow scope of the bill does make us wonder exactly what the sponsors are hoping to accomplish through its enactment. We should note that few of the terrorists who attacked Paris last week, and none of the hijackers who attacked our country on September 11, 2001, would have been prevented from entering the United States under the provisions of this bill.

Again, we urge you to oppose this bill. If you have any questions, please contact either of us, or Senior Counsel Rob Randhava.

Sincerely,

WADE HENDERSON,
President & CEO.
NANCY ZIRKIN,
Executive Vice President.

[From MoveOn.org, Nov. 18, 2015]

MOVEON RESPONDS TO OBAMA'S VETO THREAT
OF HOUSE REFUGEE BILL

(By Brian Stewart)

Anna Galland, executive director of MoveOn.org Civic Action, had the following statement in response to news that President Obama would veto a House bill that

would make it more difficult for vetted refugees to be admitted to the United States:

“We stand strongly with President Obama on this one. MoveOn members will fight vigorously to uphold the principles of welcome and compassion that are engraved on the Statue of Liberty, and against the xenophobic, hateful, and counterproductive rhetoric and proposals we’ve heard this week from some—primarily Republican—politicians.

“We will work to help defend the United States’ essential program for resettling refugees, many of whom are fleeing from threats of terrorism to save their lives and protect their children. We urge Congress, and in particular every Democrat, to show courage and compassion in keeping our doors open to refugees in need—and to opening them wider in this moment of crisis.”

Since Tuesday, more than 115,000 people have signed state- and local-level petitions on MoveOn.org opposing bans on Syrian refugees.

CHRISTIAN REFORMED CHURCH,
November 19, 2015.

CRCNA STATEMENT TO THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES’ RECORD ON THE AMERICAN SECURITY AGAINST FOREIGN ENEMIES ACT OF 2015

As Executive Director of the Christian Reformed Church in North America, I lament the attacks in Beirut, Baghdad, and Paris on November 12 and 13 and would like to express my grief for the victims and their families.

In the wake of these attacks, anti-refugee sentiment has greatly increased throughout the world. Refugees—who are fleeing from the violence of terrorism—should not be scapegoated for these extreme acts of violence. As Christians, we must speak clearly and loudly: we are called to welcome the stranger, protect the vulnerable, and love fearlessly. We are called to respond with love even amidst our fear.

The world is still facing the largest refugee crisis in recorded history. We must continue to have compassion for the vulnerable individuals fleeing conflict in Syria. Refugees already go through security screenings that can take up to 1,000 days; unnecessary additions to the process would be neither compassionate nor caring.

The Christian Reformed Church has a long history of welcoming the vulnerable and helping to resettle refugees in safe communities. The CRCNA pledges to fully participate in resettling Syrians of all religions during this current crisis as it has done with refugees from Iraq, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Cuba, Vietnam, and elsewhere.

Sincerely,

DR. STEVE TIMMERMANS,
Executive Director, CRCNA.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION,
Washington, DC, November 18, 2015.

Re Oppose H.R. 4038, the “American Security Against Foreign Enemies Act of 2015.”

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE: The American Civil Liberties Union strongly urges you to oppose H.R. 4038, the “American Security Against Foreign Enemies Act of 2015,” or “American SAFE Act of 2015” (H.R. 4038). A vote on the bill is scheduled to take place on Thursday, November 19, 2015. The ACLU urges you to vote NO on H.R. 4038. The ACLU will score this vote.

I. H.R. 4038 creates bureaucratic obstacles to end U.S. acceptance of refugees from Syria and Iraq without any demonstrated public-safety benefit.

H.R. 4038 creates a bureaucratic-review process that likely would effectively shut down resettlement of refugees from Syria and Iraq. The bill mandates new certifications and undefined background investiga-

tions for all refugees who are nationals or residents of Iraq or Syria, and many who are not. Under H.R. 4038, all refugees deemed to originate from Iraq or Syria—including anyone who has been in either country at any time in the last four and a half years—may only be admitted to the U.S. after the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Secretary of Homeland Security, and the Director of National Intelligence unanimously concur that the refugee has cleared an additional background investigation on top of what the Attorney General this week testified is “significant and robust” security screening. There has been no need expressed by federal intelligence or law-enforcement agencies for such an unprecedented clearance process, which could take years to operationalize and does not add any public-safety benefit for the U.S. population. In short, H.R. 4038 would bring the U.S. resettlement process of Syrian and Iraqi refugees to a grinding halt.

II. H.R. 4038 would result in unjustified discrimination against refugees from Syria and Iraq based on their nationality, national origin, and religion.

It is wrong and un-American to condemn groups without reason solely based on their nationality, national origin, religion, or other protected grounds. The proposed certification and background investigation requirements in H.R. 4038 would only apply to refugees deemed to be from Iraq or Syria, and not other countries. The bill sponsors have provided no sufficient reason for additional certification and investigation requirements to justify the differential treatment of refugees from Syria and Iraq, or even defined how that differential treatment would improve current practice. H.R. 4038, therefore, amounts to impermissible discrimination on the basis of nationality and national origin without a rational basis.

The extra certification and investigation requirements in H.R. 4038 would disproportionately harm Muslim refugees seeking protection in the U.S. According to the Refugee Processing Center, 96 percent of Syrian refugees admitted to the U.S. since the Syrian civil war began in 2011 are Muslim, while over 60 percent of Iraqi refugees admitted since the Iraq war began in 2003 are Muslim. Muslim refugees would disproportionately suffer the consequences of this discriminatory bill, as they would be denied entry to the U.S. and forced to languish in refugee camps for years on end.

III. H.R. 4038 is an attack on vulnerable refugees from Syria and Iraq, both those seeking protection and those already residing in the U.S.

Not only is H.R. 4038 an attack against refugees from Syria and Iraq, but it would also harm those refugees’ family members who are already in the U.S. and eagerly awaiting to be reunited with their loved ones. This bill would subject those families to an interminable wait and would prolong unnecessary suffering for both the refugees seeking protection and those family members waiting in the U.S. Moreover, the bill’s very name, the “American Security Against Foreign Enemies Act,” would worsen stigmatization of Syrian and Iraqi refugees—and, more broadly, scapegoat all refugees—fanning the flames of discriminatory exclusion here and abroad.

IV. Conclusion

The ACLU urges the House to vote NO on H.R. 4038. For more information, please contact ACLU Legislative Counsel Joanne Lin.

Sincerely,

KARIN JOHANSON,
Director, Washington
Legislative Office.

JOANNE LIN,
Legislative Counsel.

CHRIS RICKERD,
Policy Counsel.

ASIAN AMERICANS ADVANCING JUSTICE,
November 18, 2015.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE: Asian Americans Advancing Justice (Advancing Justice) is a national partnership of five nonprofit, non-partisan organizations that work to advance the human and civil rights of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders through advocacy, public policy, public education, and litigation. We are based in Washington D.C., Atlanta, Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. We write to urge you to vote NO on H.R. 4038, The American Security Against Foreign Enemies Act of 2015 (American SAFE Act of 2015).

We are all shocked and saddened by the recent attacks in Paris and elsewhere but now is not the time to close our hearts and our state to people fleeing violence and terror. We must be careful not to act impulsively in response to recent violence and we must be vigilant against enacting policies targeting people based on their national origin or religion. Due to the legacy of the internment of Japanese Americans in WWII and the treatment of Arab, Middle Eastern and South Asian after 9/11, the Asian American community is all too familiar with hasty actions based on discrimination and fear.

Protecting national security and public safety is important to all of us, but we should not let fear and prejudice guide our decisions about whom to welcome to America. The refugee resettlement program is already the most difficult way to enter the United States, routinely taking individuals several years to be processed. All refugees undergo thorough and rigorous security screenings prior to arriving in the United States, including but not limited to multiple biographic and identity investigations; FBI biometric checks; in-depth, in-person interviews by Department of Homeland Security officers; medical screenings; investigations by the National Counterterrorism Center, and other checks by U.S. domestic and international intelligence agencies. In addition, other measures such as mandatory supervisory review of all decisions, random case assignment, and forensic document testing are in place to maintain the security of the refugee resettlement program.

H.R. 4038 creates a bureaucratic review process that could take years to implement and would effectively shut down refugee resettlement. The bill requires the Secretary of Homeland Security to “certify” whether an individual refugee is a threat or not after “concurrence” with the Directors of the FBI and National Intelligence. The bill does not provide guidance on what the process for certification will be. This process will have to be created and agreed upon by three heads of agencies. Establishing such a process could take years, and in the meantime, refugees who could be resettled would languish in camps and dangerous situations, Syrian Americans would not be able to reunite with their family members, and there would be very real ramifications for international refugee protection and U.S. foreign policy interests in the region.

The process, once established, would add months or years to the security screening process, which is already the lengthiest and most robust in the world, routinely taking between 18 and 36 months. Obtaining the concurrence of three heads of federal agencies for each refugee would take years and effectively put an end to the refugee resettlement program. For reasons of security and safety, security and medical clearances are only valid for limited periods of time.

During the certification process, these clearances will expire. This will mean that refugees will be caught in an un-ending loop of security clearances that will never end.

The bill also requires reporting to more than a dozen congressional committees on each refugee that is considered for resettlement. This is unreasonably burdensome and a waste of resources. Funds used to establish and run this certification process would be better used in conducting actual security reviews of refugees and others who are vetted by these agencies.

This bill is merely a pretext for discriminatory treatment of refugees from Syria and Iraq without providing a justification for the additional verification. America should remain a place of safety for people seeking refuge and peace from around the globe. We strongly urge you to vote no on H.R. 4038 and reject similar proposals that would limit or impose unnecessary processes that effectively prevent future refugees from coming to the United States.

If you have questions about our recommendation, please contact Erin Oshiro at Asian Americans Advancing Justice-AAJC. Thank you.

Sincerely,

STEWART KWOH,
*President & Executive
Director, Advancing
Justice, Los Angeles.*

CHRISTOPHER
PUNONGBAYAN,
*Executive Director,
Advancing Justice,
Asian Law Caucus.*

MEE MOUA,
*President & Executive
Director, Advancing
Justice, AAJC.*

TUYET LE,
*Executive Director,
Advancing Justice,
Chicago.*

HELEN KIM HO,
*Executive Director,
Advancing Justice,
Atlanta.*

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. FRANKEL).

Ms. FRANKEL of Florida. Mr. Speaker, our folks back home are understandably frightened, and there is no question that ISIL must be destroyed and that the safety of Americans must be our first priority. But denying refuge to women and children who are fleeing rape and torture and who go through a 2-year vigorous entry process will not make us a safer country.

At a time when we are trying to forge a coalition of international nations, it is self-defeating to send a message of isolation. Our antiterrorism resources must be focused on terrorists, not on innocent human beings seeking shelter from the most unspeakable horrors.

Mr. CONYERS. I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, Members of the committee and of the House, instead of slamming our doors to the world's most vulnerable, we should be considering legislation to strengthen and expand refugee programs.

Unfortunately, the bill before us today is not a serious effort to legislate, and it will not make us safer. It is a knee-jerk reaction, as evidenced by

the fact that this measure was introduced just 2 days ago and has not been the subject of a single hearing or any meaningful review by our committee.

Rather than betraying our values, we must continue to focus on the most effective tools to keep us safe, while providing refuge for the world's most vulnerable. Accordingly, I plead with, I urge my colleagues to please oppose H.R. 4038.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, it seems commonsensical that when it comes to national security and public safety, we should listen to and rely upon the women and men who are actually experts and have dedicated their lives to public safety and national security.

Mr. Speaker, this is a fact: We don't have sufficient information to appropriately investigate and vet failed nation-states.

This is a fact: ISIS has sworn to bring its war against innocents here.

This is a fact: Administration officials noted ISIS may well use the refugee program to infiltrate our country.

This is also a fact, Mr. Speaker: The margin for error is zero. It is zero. The presumption should always be in favor of national security and public safety because that is the preeminent role of government, and it is our constitutional duty, Mr. Speaker.

So unless and until those we place in charge of our national security and public safety can provide the necessary assurances, we should seek to aid those who need aid where they are.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, the President says that we are scared of widows and orphans. That is what passes for debate in this day and age. With all due respect to the President, what we are really afraid of, Mr. Speaker, is a foreign policy that produces so many widows and orphans.

He is the Commander in Chief, Mr. Speaker. His job is to make our homes safer. He could also make the homeland of the refugees safer. He could restore order to the region, and he can defeat that JV team that he once thought he had contained. That would be the very best thing we could do for those who aspire to a better, safer life.

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

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I submit the following letters from the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops and First Focus Campaign for Children.

UNITED STATES CONFERENCE OF
CATHOLIC BISHOPS, COMMITTEE ON
MIGRATION,

Washington, DC, November 19, 2015.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE: On behalf of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB), I write to oppose passage of H.R. 4038, the American Security Against Foreign Enemies Act of 2015.

As you know, the legislation would suspend the resettlement of refugees from Syrian and Iraq until a procedure could be established whereby the Secretary of the De-

partment of Homeland Security (DHS) would certify—with concurrence of the FBI director and the Director of National Intelligence—that each refugee is not a terrorist threat. It also would require that the current or a future Administration report to thirteen congressional committees on each refugee that is considered for resettlement. These requirements would keep many deserving refugees in danger for an extended period of time, at risk of their lives, but would not necessarily make the process a more effective one.

The U.S. Catholic bishops acknowledge and support the right of our government to defend our nation and to ensure that the American people are safe. However, we believe that this legislation is designed to severely limit, if not end, the resettlement of Syrians or Iraqis to the United States, including vulnerable women and children, the elderly, and religious minorities fleeing violence and death, including Christians. It also would impact Iraqis who may have been forced to flee to Syria during the Iraqi war, even those who may have supported our troops.

The current security process for Syrian refugees can take up to 24 months or longer, as refugees go through several interviews and 5 security clearance reviews. Refugees go through more security checks than any arrival to our nation. Since 2001, the United States has resettled 784,000 refugees under this process and there has not been a single terrorist act committed by a refugee admitted into the country.

The U.S. refugee program is an example of a successful private-public partnership which has enjoyed bipartisan support for decades. Presidents from both political parties have supported, and, at times, expanded the program to respond to humanitarian crises originating from global conflicts, including President Gerald R. Ford after the Vietnam War, President Bill Clinton after the Bosnian conflict, and President George W. Bush after the Iraqi War. H.R. 4038 represents a threat to this tradition and to our moral leadership in the world.

Instead of imposing additional bureaucratic processes upon the current stringent security system through the adoption of H.R. 4038, we encourage you to work with the Administration to strengthen it, without suspending the program. I also ask that you work with your colleagues and the Administration to end the Syrian conflict peacefully so the 4 million Syrian refugees can return to their country and rebuild their homes.

Until that goal is achieved we must work with the world community to provide safe haven to vulnerable refugees who are simply attempting to survive. H.R. 4038 abdicates our moral responsibility in this area and must be defeated.

Thank you for your consideration of our views.

Sincerely,
MOST REVEREND EUSEBIO ELIZONDO,
Auxiliary Bishop of Seattle, WA,
Chairman.

FIRST FOCUS
CAMPAIGN FOR CHILDREN,

Washington, DC, November 19, 2015.

DEAR MEMBER: On behalf of First Focus Campaign for Children, a national bipartisan advocacy organization dedicated to making children and families a priority in federal policy and budget decisions, I write to you today to strongly urge that you oppose the American SAFE Act (H.R. 4038). This bill would immediately prevent all refugees from Syria and Iraq from entering the United States and makes the process for their entry considerably more difficult.

The American SAFE Act creates a much more stringent, discriminatory process for

refugees from Syria and Iraq to gain entry into the United States. These populations would be singled out and could not be admitted until the Director of the FBI, the Secretary of DHS and the Director of the National Intelligence have received a background investigation that is deemed sufficient to determine whether the refugee is a threat. This process is fraught with complications as thousands of refugee children and their families will remain in limbo indefinitely and agencies would have to use significant resources to coordinate investigations and create new criteria for who can be admitted. The United States already has much tougher protections than European nations, evident in the fact that all refugees are screened for 18–24 months before stepping foot in the U.S. and face the highest level security screening of any traveler or immigrant.

Those fleeing from violence in Syria are amongst the most vulnerable in the world. Over 50% of those who have entered the United States are children and a quarter are over the age of 60. By adding an unnecessary layer of bureaucracy to the screening process, the United States would be jeopardizing the lives of thousands of innocent children who have committed no crime other than to be born in a country rife with instability and susceptible to unspeakable acts of terrorism. These children have already experienced a great deal of trauma and creating barriers for safety will only make their situations more desperate.

America has a proud history of providing refuge for those in need, and this bill runs contrary to our most fundamental values of compassion and fairness. Thus, we strongly urge you to oppose HR 4038 as it further undermines the safety of millions of children who are seeking protection from the very terrorism we are seeking to defeat.

Sincerely,

BRUCE LESLEY,
President.

DEAR MEMBERS OF CONGRESS: The National Immigration Law Center (NILC) urges you to vote no on HR 4038. Our nation's refugee laws and programs already include intense security screening and no legislation is required. Our nation would be turning its back on its most fundamental values if we were to adopt measures that hinder or unnecessarily restrict refugee admissions to the U.S.

Congress does not need to impose new mandates, like HR 4038, that would effectively freeze refugee resettlement programs for Syrian, Iraqi or any other refugees. Screening and security measures for refugee admissions are the most robust and thorough in the nation. The agencies directly involved in security screening for refugees are continually reassessing and updating their procedures to keep in line with technology and intelligence resources. The White House has also stated its opposition to HR 4038.

Proposals like HR 4038—along with others that unnecessarily mandate additional burdens on our refugee resettlement programs—are attempts to demonize refugees who are fleeing some of the most dangerous and devastating conditions in the world and to discredit our nation's long-standing and successful refugee resettlement programs that have welcomed and reunited refugee families from around the world.

We urge you to vote NO on HR 4038 which would halt and likely delay for months, years or more the Syrian and Iraqi refugee programs.

Sincerely,

AVIDEH MOUSSAVIAN.

Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas.
Mr. Speaker, I would like to express my oppo-

sition to H.R. 4038, the American Security Against Foreign Enemies Act. As a result of horrific terrorist attacks in Paris, France and Beirut, Lebanon last week, many elected officials in the United States are demanding that we stop admitting refugees fleeing Syria or place strict restrictions upon their entrance. This rhetoric is disheartening and disappointing. We are facing a global refugee crisis that requires a global response.

With 60 million people displaced, the United States must do its part to help protect and resettle vulnerable families and children who are fleeing violence and persecution. While we must continue to ensure that screening procedures are able to properly vet those seeking political asylum in this country, I refuse to turn my back on innocent people who are fleeing the atrocities in their homeland.

H.R. 4038 places unnecessary bureaucratic obstacles in front of Syrian and Iraqi refugees without any demonstrated public safety benefit and would result in completely unjustified discrimination based on nationality, origin, and religion. This is not only wrong, it is not American. H.R. 4038 also wrongly attacks vulnerable refugees who are fleeing the same dangerous attacks that we fear so much here on American soil.

While I do believe that we must remain vigilant in our safety precautions, we cannot close our doors and our minds to the children and families seeking protection, shelter, and safety. In Dallas, we have always shown our compassion to those who seek safety. I refuse to slam the door on a small fraction of the world's Syrian refugees. In fact, 184 Syrian refugees have already been placed in Texas with more than 1,500 across the nation and we will certainly welcome more.

We cannot turn our backs on those who fall victim to war, aggression, and tenor. Instead, we must show compassion by promoting peace and diplomacy. I urge my colleagues to vote against this divisive and discriminatory legislation.

Ms. MCCOLLUM. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to HR. 4038.

In the aftermath of last week's barbaric ISIL terrorist attack in Paris the Republican leadership of the U.S. House has decided that the best way to protect the security of the American people is to attack Syrian and Iraqi refugees. These are the innocent and vulnerable children, parents, and elders who are seeking protection from murderous armies, terrorist groups, and death squads.

The perpetrators of the Paris attack were ISIL radicals with European citizenship, not refugees. As many as 3,000 European extremists have traveled to Syria to join the ranks of ISIL. In fact, the ISIL mastermind behind the Paris attack who was killed by French authorities, Abdelhamid Abaaoud, was a Belgian citizen, not a refugee from Syria or Iraq. Meanwhile, the U.S. visa waiver program allows unrestricted access to the U.S. from the European Union which is an open door for European extremists not on a watch list to enter our country. In my view, this is where the real reform and intelligence sharing must be strengthened.

The American Security Against Foreign Enemies Act (HR. 4038) is a Republican ploy that is cruel, callous, and a blatant display of xenophobia used to energize a political base that is motivated by a hatred of immigrants. This legislation is not designed to protect our

national security interests, but rather will be used as a political weapon to attack Democrats who still believe our nation should be a safe haven for vulnerable people seeking freedom from persecution and the threat of death.

I support resettling refugees in the U.S. and I have always welcomed them to Minnesota. The most modern identification technology and intelligence background checks need to be utilized in the resettlement security process. That means this Republican Congress must act responsibly and provide the necessary funding for such a comprehensive screening protocol. I support appropriating full funding for these strict protocols.

ISIL is a global scourge that must be eradicated. Keeping America safe and eliminating ISIL will require intelligence, military, and counter-terrorism coordination between the U.S. and all allies. Unfortunately, H.R. 4038 is a transparent effort to scapegoat Syrian and Iraqi refugees who have suffered immeasurably, but clearly not enough for some of my colleagues. I reject this Republican bill as another example of driving a political agenda based on willful ignorance in the face of a serious terrorist threat.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to join me in opposing H.R. 4038.

Ms. BONAMICI. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in opposition to H.R. 4038, the American Security Against Foreign Enemies (SAFE) Act of 2015, legislation that was introduced just 48 hours ago with no consideration by any Committees of jurisdiction. In the wake of horrific terrorist attacks across the globe, I understand and appreciate the concerns and fear in our communities. We must recommit to keeping our country safe and secure, but keeping our country safe and accepting refugees fleeing war and terrorism are not mutually exclusive and never have been throughout the history of our great nation.

The American SAFE Act would effectively bar refugees, many of whom are women and children, from escaping violence and finding a safe haven in our country. The United States already has an extremely rigorous screening process for refugees that includes 18 to 24 months of detailed background checks, screening, and interviews administered by the Departments of State, Homeland Security, and Defense.

The President has committed to allowing an additional 10,000 refugees into our country, and more than half of those are children. Our history reflects a nation that thrives on diversity and is strengthened by the contributions of immigrants, and in darker times, our history also provides examples of where we have failed in the past, most notably during the early years of World War II. The men, women, and especially children who are seeking a better life and refuge from bullets and bombs are counting on us. As an American and a mother, I urge my colleagues not to respond to fear and political rhetoric by supporting this bill and instead commit to a thoughtful debate that will strengthen our national security policy without closing our border to the world's most vulnerable.

Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I rise before you with the words that are inscribed on our Statue of Liberty that reflects our history of a nation of what America is, should be, and to become to many people regardless of nationality, ethnicity, and creed (religious belief). We are a nation of Native

Americans, descendants of slaves, and immigrants. Historically, these words have not always reflected the true meaning of freedom through time and periods of conflict.

The American Safe Act is a bill that attempts to infuse fear on Americans about terrorism and would lead to slowing down the process of resettlement in the Syria and Iraq region for the most vulnerable refugees possibly for years to come.

History is a tool that we should always learn from and always seek to build on the existence of our past to make America better and not a spectator on the wrong side of history.

Remember what was said about the Japanese Americans during World War II, when they were placed in internment camps. Fear was the reason and rationale as to why specific citizens were looked on as enemy aliens that needed to be put away to protect our national security and make America safe from danger of foreign influences.

Remember what happen to immigration quotas and restrictions of Jewish refugees fleeing from a holocaust in Europe. Where American polls were suggesting to not allow German and other political refugees from entering America due to fear and concern of possible entry of German agents among refugees.

What about the Haitians and Africans who are turned back or returned to their country of origin while seeking refuge in America?

Mr. Speaker, *Deja vu* all over again, yet we should be cautious and yet wise in our decisions that are temper with compassion and not fear to reject a people in their greatest hour of need.

I submit the following Statue of Liberty Poem:

NEW COLOSSUS (STATUE OF LIBERTY POEM)

Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
With conquering limbs astride from land to land;

Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand

A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of Exiles.

From her beacon-hand
Glows world-wide welcome; her mild eyes
command

The air-bridged harbor that twin cities
frame.

“Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!”
cries she With silent lips.

“Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe
free,

The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to
me,

I lift my lamp beside the golden door!”

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, the entire goal of terrorists—in their cowardly acts of violence against innocent and unsuspecting civilians—is to cause death, chaos, bring intense fear and intimidate the global community. We were victims of the most horrendous terrorist attacks on 9–11 and we all joined in feelings of renewed honor as we watched the terrorist attacks in Paris.

We need to ensure that our response is both strong in purpose and effective. We did that after 9–11. We put in place the most stringent refugee resettlement program in the history of our country.

These are the facts:

Refugees are referred to the U.S. program after being screened by the United Nations

High Commissioner for Refugees who first determines if resettlement in a third country is the right solution.

The current U.S. screening process takes between 18–24 months. It involves multiple Federal intelligence, security, and law enforcement agencies, including the National Counterterrorism Center, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the Departments of Homeland Security (DHS), State, and Defense, all aimed at ensuring that those admitted do not pose a threat to our country. These safeguards include biometric (fingerprint) to confirm identity, multiple layers of biographical and background checks, and medical screenings.

Specifically, each applicant’s biographical information is checked against the Department of State’s Consular Lookout and Support System—which includes terrorist watchlist information during prescreening. Then, Security Advisory Opinions from the law enforcement and intelligence communities for each applicant is secured.

All of this information helps to inform the lengthy in-person interviews. DHS officers scrutinize the applicant’s explanation of individual circumstances to assess whether the applicant meets statutory requirements to qualify as a refugee and that he or she does not present security concerns to the United States. If as a result of the security process, U.S. security agencies cannot verify details of a potential refugee’s story, they are denied. These checks happen before an application is approved and long before a refugee would be able to enter the United States.

And these are the facts on the refugees:

Refugees by definition are the most vulnerable people in our global society. They are fleeing war, violence and persecution. In Syria refugees are either fleeing the violence brought on by the civil war and the violence of President Assad’s army or the terror of ISIS operating from there.

The emphasis for the U.S. program is to admit the most vulnerable—particularly women and children, survivors of violence and torture, and those with severe medical conditions. Since 2011, 2,034 Syrian refugees have been admitted to the United States. A quarter of these refugees are adults over 60. Half are children. Young, single males unattached to families constitute only 2% of the Syrian refugee admissions to date. DHS interviewers receive extensive, Syria-specific training before meeting with refugee applicants.

Each Member of Congress takes very seriously our number-one responsibility to protect the homeland. At times of crisis it is crucial that we act in a bi-partisan fashion. Regrettably that was not the process followed by the Republican Majority. They crafted the legislation before us today on their own and with no hearings, no expert testimony, no Committee markup, and no opportunity to offer amendment

As a result, the legislation before us sets a partisan course, and is being used mainly as a vehicle to criticize the President’s foreign policy. The current screening system has been working. This bill does not improve it and could scramble up what is working. The legislation would require the FBI to have their own additional and undefined separate screening systems even though they currently fully participate in the stringent process led by the Department of Homeland Security. We created

DHS after 9–11 to ensure the most effective system that brought all of the resources of the federal government together to combat terrorism. It does not seem wise to unwind that without thorough review and consideration.

The threat of terrorism brings to all of us and to communities across our country a sense of insecurity. It is our responsibility in Congress to channel those feelings into effective solutions. The legislation before us fails to do so. This bill would disrupt a screening process that is working and, in so doing, would yield the moral high ground that our country must hold at all costs if we are to defeat ISIS. We can and must both fight terrorism and help the victims who seek to escape it.

Mr. HONDA. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong opposition to the American SAFE Act of 2015 (H.R. 4038). This ill-advised, short-sighted, closed-minded bill would immediately block all refugees from Syria and Iraq from resettling in the U.S. and make the process for entry significantly more challenging for those seeking refuge here.

Today, we are seeing the greatest number of refugees and displaced persons since World War II. That fact alone is startling and disheartening.

People do not uproot their lives and flee their homeland unless it is for the most dire reasons. Who would choose to expose their children to months of traveling on foot, with only the shirt on their back? The families fleeing from the violence in Syria are the most vulnerable in the world. The majority of the refugees are children and women who are fleeing from their terror, sexual violence, and destruction.

History will remember this moment: when our nation decides whether we will turn the most vulnerable away from our shores, or if we will stand with humanity, be inclusive, and protect those who need our help the most.

Mr. Speaker, I firmly oppose the American SAFE Act of 2015; it will only compromise our moral standing in the world, as well as our national security and safety.

Our Constitution is never tested during times of tranquility; it is during times of tension, turmoil, tragedy, trauma, and terrorism that it is sorely tested. We must not allow our anger and outrage toward ISIL terrorists and their cowardly attacks on civilians to turn us away from compassion and generosity. We must not shut our doors—not to the Syrian refugees, or to anyone. We need to find ways to help them find safe haven from the perpetrators of these acts of violence.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to speak in opposition to H.R. 4038, the “American Security Against Enemies Act of 2015” (America SAFE Act).

This is the latest attempt to attack the President.

It is cheap and unworthy of this august body to engage in politics when our aim should be lofty and thoughtful policy.

President Obama has accomplished tremendous successes in restoring our nation’s leadership and integrity around the world following the disasters of the previous administration.

He inherited 2 wars including the Iraq war, an unprovoked and unjustified invasion, which today is a strong contributing force to the situation that exists in Iraq and Syria.

The President has led where others have only talked—he has used soft power in an impressive and masterful way that thwarted Russia in its ambitions, and to bring Iran to the

negotiation table resulting in the curbing of that nation's nuclear weapon ambition.

Now the President's work to make sure that United States remains a leader in the global community by meeting the obligation to receive refugees from Syria and Iraq.

This bill is doing damage to our national interest.

The American SAFE Act requires a FBI background check for every refugee from Iraq and Syria who apply for asylum in the United States.

In addition, H.R. 4038 provides that no refugee from Iraq or Syria can be granted asylum in the United States unless the Director of the FBI, the Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security, and the Director of National Intelligence each make an independent determination and concur unanimously that the applicant for asylum poses no threat to the national security of the United States.

I understand that the proponents of H.R. 4038 are responding to the legitimate apprehensions of many Americans shocked by the horror and carnage of the terrorist attacks that occurred last Friday, November 13, 2015, in Paris.

Mr. Speaker, this nation stands in unyielding solidarity with the people of France, which like the United States, is one of the most welcoming and freedom loving nations in the world.

Right now, our prayers are with the victims of the terrorist attacks and their families.

Every American can empathize with the people of France because we remember the terrible and heart-breaking events of September 11, 2001, the first and worst attack by an enemy on American soil since Pearl Harbor and which took the lives of more than 3,000 innocent persons.

On that day Americans of all races, religions, and creeds, in every region of the country were united in their shock and sadness and anger.

But we were united in our resolve to help each other, to defend our homeland, and bring to justice those responsible, and only those responsible, for their crime against humanity.

In the 14 years since that heart-wrenching day, our nation has learned much from our initial responses to the attacks of September 11; we have a much better idea today of what types of actions work, which do not, which go too far.

And the best way to honor those who lost or gave their lives on September 11, and to the victims of terrorism in France and other peace loving societies, is to apply the knowledge and wisdom we have gained from experience to meet the challenges and threats the civilized world faces today from radical jihadists.

Last September, the Homeland Security Committee, which I have served on since its inception, held a hearing at Ground Zero during the week marking the 14th Anniversary of the September 11.

Homeland Security Committee Chairman McCAUL, Ranking Member THOMPSON and Judiciary Committee Subcommittee on Immigration Ranking Member LOFGREN are dedicated public servants whose actions are always motivated by their commitment to keep our nation safe and secure.

It is safe to say that this motivation is shared by every Member of this House.

But that we all agree on the end to be achieved does not mean that we always agree on the means that should be employed.

Mr. Speaker, this is one of those occasions because while I yield to no one in my commitment to protecting the homeland and keeping the American people safe, I cannot agree that H.R. 4038 achieves that goal or is in the best interests of the United States.

On March 4, 1933, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt assured the nation in his Inaugural Address that "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself—nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance."

I would not oppose this bill if I believed that it was needed.

This is not to say that the actions H.R. 4038 requires should never be taken; only that they are not needed at this time and employing them would not be an exercise of American leadership but of fear and retreat.

Our nation is better than that.

But it is good that we are debating H.R. 4038 because it provides us another opportunity to remember who we are, what we believe, and what makes our nation exceptional.

ISIS/ISIL aspires to bring about a bi-polar world, one divided between those Muslims who share their distorted and profaned interpretation of one of the world's great religions on the one hand, and everyone else on the other.

We in the United States seek a peaceful world in which every person on earth is free to worship in peace, live in freedom, and enjoy the blessings of liberty.

In other words, like the French, we believe in "liberté, égalité, fraternité" (liberty, equality, and fraternity).

ISIS/ISIL would have none of this—the world they want is one where murder can be justified because you do not believe as they would have you believe or live as they would have you live.

Women and children, religious minorities—including other Muslim beliefs that differ from their views, have suffered under ISIS/ISIL's reign of terror.

The reign of terror unleashed by ISIS/ISIL is the source of refugees who are fleeing from something so all-consuming and destructive that they leave with nothing but their children in their arms and the clothes on their bodies.

Before September 11, few Americans could imagine that kind of terror.

Our allies in Europe understand that kind of terror—from the stories of those who sought refuge from the Nazis prior to and during World War II and after the war when escaping the totalitarian states of the Soviet-dominated Warsaw Pact.

Fear of the stranger has always existed, but civilization and institutions ease that fear by providing law and order to people to assure protection from want; violence; and war by expending resources to address conditions that would result in those societal destabilizing influences.

Each nation decides where it stands on principle, law, and conscience.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 4038 is not necessary at this time because our nation already has in

place the world's most rigorous screening process for refugees seeking asylum.

Mr. Speaker, there are other alternatives to the draconian approach of H.R. 4038, takes such as the bill introduced by Ranking Members THOMPSON and LOFGREN.

The President is another solution for those who seek reassurance that every precaution is being taken—he is in a position to certify to the Congress and the American people that the process is prudent and careful in its actions regarding refugees seeking entrance into the United States.

It is helpful to recount briefly the critical elements of that screening process.

Every applicant for asylum must:

1. register with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees;

2. provide background information, including what caused him or her to flee their home country (a ready means of comparing information provided by more than one million refugees to further verify the validity of the information provided);

3. meet one of five legal qualifications: threat of violence based on race, religion or faith or national origin; political beliefs; or membership in a targeted social group.

4. undergo a rigorous background check during which investigators fact-check the refugee's biography to ensure consistency with published or documented reports of events such as bombings or other violence;

5. be subjected to biometric tests conducted by the Department of Defense, in conjunction with other federal agencies (the U.S. military has an extensive biometric data base on Iraqis from its time in Iraq); and

6. sit for intensive in-person interviews, which may take months or years before they are conducted.

Mr. Speaker, over the past several years intelligence and law enforcement agencies have established and perfected an intense form of screening for Syrians called the "Syrian Enhanced Review."

If, during the screening process, a person from Syria gives response that raise red flags he or she is selected for more intense examination by U.S. intelligence agencies.

The demographic breakdown of those Syrians who have been approved for refugee status to come to the United States is as follows: children, 50%; persons over the age of 60, 25%; combat age males, 2%.

Mr. Speaker, we must be careful not to engage in ethnic or religious profiling.

Unless someone has been profiled it may be difficult to understand what collective guilt looks, or worse, feels like when it is heaped upon members of a group—no matter their age or their condition.

Here in America we have learned through bitter experience that it is morally and politically wrong to regard an entire group of people as unworthy of compassion, regard, concern, or consideration because of their race or religion or ethnicity.

As I stated at the outset, I do not question the motives of those who prevailed upon the

House leadership to rush this bill to the floor for a vote today.

H.R. 4038 was introduced on Tuesday, November 17, and is on the floor for a vote less than 48 hours later, Thursday, November 19.

This is fast—too fast for such a serious decision and without considering the arduous process that is in place to screen all refugees not just those from Iraq and Syria.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 4038 only addresses the refugee process for those who are Iraqi and Syrian.

In its own way, it acknowledges that the process in place to vet refugees is difficult so much so that no terrorist would choose it as a means to enter the United States.

Unlike Europe where people from the Syrian and Iraqi conflict could walk by land to Europe by the tens of thousands, the United States is not accessible by foot.

We will not take any refugees who are now in Europe.

Our nation welcomes millions of tourist, business travelers, and students from around the world at our airports and seaports each day.

The United States Refugee Asylum process is not comfortable and it takes at a minimum 2 years.

The persons who apply must remain where they have registered until the process is completed, which involves a series of in person interviews, physical health status checks, collection of biometrics and other data as well as investigations by law enforcement and intelligence agencies.

The last thing a terrorist would want is to be a refugee—living in the harsh environment of a refugee camp for two years.

Refugees are the victims of terrorists—ISIS/ISIL does not love them—they want to murder every last one of them, because they will not bow to them.

We should be stirred by the defiance and courage that refugees exemplify—braving the unknown because they yearn to breathe free.

In truth ISIS/ISIL has killed more Muslims than any other group of persons because they practice their faith as they see fit and refuse to worship falsely.

This bill troubles me because it asks the impossible of professional law enforcement, national security, and intelligence agency personnel—by requiring a 100% guarantee that each person poses no threat.

No professional security or law enforcement professional will give anyone a 100% guarantee about anything.

They will not provide a 100% guarantee because they believe that something or someone is a threat—they will not provide a guarantee because it is grossly unprofessional to do so and we should never ask them to do this.

On its face H.R. 4038 would end any hope of asylum in the United States for any refugee from Iraq or Syria.

If this is what the leadership wants then they should say it plainly and have a debate about profiling as a national policy.

I cannot support this bill, but I am committed to working with my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to find common ground.

THE SCREENING PROCESS FOR ENTRY TO THE UNITED STATES FOR SYRIAN REFUGEES

Applicants register with the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, or UNHCR, which collects identifying documents; biodata, such as name, date of birth, and

place of birth; and biometrics, most commonly an iris scan.

UNHCR interviews applicants to confirm refugee status and the need for resettlement. Biodata, biometrics, and identifying documents are checked again.

Applicants fulfill criteria to be considered a refugee under U.S. law and processing priority qualifications.

Applicants meet UNHCR resettlement requirements and are referred to the United States for resettlement.

Applicants are received and interviewed by a Resettlement Support Center, or RSC, operated by the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration. The RSC compiles information for the security clearance process conducted by the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, or DHS.

Biographic and biometric checks: Refugee applicants are vetted against law enforcement, intelligence community, and other relevant databases to help confirm the applicants' identity and check for any criminal or other derogatory information.

First biographic check: Applicants are checked against the U.S. State Department's Consular Lookout and Support System, initiated at the time of prescreening by the RSC. Enhanced interagency security checks also take place at this time.

Second biographic check: If applicants meet certain criteria, the RSC requests Security Advisory Opinions from the law enforcement and intelligence communities.

Third biographic check: If applicants are within a designated age range, the National Counterterrorism Center conducts an interagency check, or IAC. Initially, the IAC was required only for Iraqi applicants but is now required for all qualified refugee applicants.

First biometric check: Applicants' fingerprints and photographs are taken by a trained U.S. government employee. Fingerprints are screened against the FBI's Next Generation Identification system.

Second biometric check: Applicants' fingerprints are screened against the DHS Automated Biometric Identification System, which contains watch-list information and previous immigration encounters in the United States and overseas.

Third biometric check: If applicants are within a designated age range, fingerprints are screened against the U.S. Department of Defense Automated Biometric Identification System, which includes fingerprint records captured in Iraq.

Syrian refugee applications are reviewed at U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, or USCIS, headquarters by a Refugee Affairs Division officer.

Applicants that meet certain criteria are referred to the USCIS Fraud Detection and National Security Directorate for additional review and research that is used by the interviewing officer to inform lines of inquiry related to applicants' eligibility and credibility.

USCIS interviews applicants in person while abroad to determine whether or not they can be approved for resettlement to the United States.

USCIS approves applicants for resettlement in the United States.

Applicants undergo health screening to ensure that those with a contagious disease do not enter the United States.

Applicants complete cultural orientation classes.

Applicants are matched with a U.S.-based resettlement agency, a process called sponsorship assurance.

Applicants under a second interagency security check to make sure no new information disqualifies them for admittance to the United States.

Prior to entry to the United States, applicants are subject to screening from the U.S.

Customs and Border Protection National Targeting Center Passenger and the Transportation Security Administration's Secure Flight program.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HOLDING). All time for debate has expired.

Pursuant to House Resolution 531, the previous question is ordered on the bill.

The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I have a motion to recommit at the desk.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. I am opposed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. Thompson of Mississippi moves to recommit the bill H.R. 4038 to the Committee on Judiciary with instructions to report the same back to the House forthwith with the following amendment:

Strike all that follows after the enacting clause and insert the following:

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Secure Refugee Process Act of 2015".

SEC. 2. SUPPLEMENTAL LIMITATIONS ON ADMISSION OF REFUGEES.

(a) **IDENTITY VERIFICATION REQUIRED.**—No refugee applicant of special interest shall be admitted as a refugee, until the refugee applicant of special interest has satisfactorily established his or her identity pursuant to procedures established by the Secretary of Homeland Security, which shall address any insufficient, conflicting, or unreliable information, including biographic and biometric data that has not been resolved at the time of admission.

(b) **COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF REFUGEES TO IDENTIFY SECURITY THREATS TO THE UNITED STATES.**—No refugee applicant of special interest shall be admitted as a refugee, if, by the time of admission, the identity of the refugee applicant of special interest's identity has not been checked against all relevant records or databases maintained by the Secretary of Homeland Security, the Attorney General (including the Federal Bureau of Investigation), the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the Director of National Intelligence, and other Federal records or databases that the Secretary of Homeland Security considers necessary, to determine any national security, criminal, or other grounds on which the refugee applicant of special interest may be inadmissible to the United States.

(c) **CERTIFICATION REQUIRED.**—A refugee applicant of special interest may only be admitted to the United States as a refugee after the Secretary of Homeland Security certifies that all provisions of this Act have been complied with and that the refugee applicant of special interest has not been firmly resettled in a safe third country as described in section 208(b)(2)(A)(vi) of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

(d) **MONTHLY REPORT TO CONGRESS.**—The Secretary of Homeland Security shall submit to the appropriate Congressional Committees a monthly report on, for the month preceding the date of the report, the total

number of refugee applicants of special interest and the number of refugee applicants of special interest whose applications were denied.

(e) INSPECTOR GENERAL REVIEW.—The Inspector General of the Department of Homeland Security shall conduct an annual risk-based review of a statistically valid sampling of certifications and provide an annual report detailing its findings to the appropriate Congressional Committees.

(f) DEFINITION.—In this Act:

(1) The term “appropriate Congressional Committees” means—

(A) the Committee on Armed Services of the Senate;

(B) the Select Committee on Intelligence of the Senate;

(C) the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate;

(D) the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs of the Senate;

(E) the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate;

(F) the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate;

(G) the Committee on Armed Services of the House of Representatives;

(H) the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence of the House of Representatives;

(I) the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives;

(J) the Committee on Homeland Security of the House of Representatives;

(K) the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives; and

(L) the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives.

(2) The term “refugee applicant of special interest” means any alien applying for admission to the United States as a refugee who—

(A) is a national or resident of Iraq or Syria;

(B) has no nationality and whose last habitual residence was in Iraq or Syria; or

(C) has been present in Iraq or Syria at any time on or after March 1, 2011.

Mr. GOWDY (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I reserve a point of order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. A point of order is reserved.

The Clerk will continue to read.

The Clerk continued to read.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to dispense with the reading.

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

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Mississippi is recognized for 5 minutes in support of his motion.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, this is the final amendment to the bill, which will not kill the bill or send it back to committee. If adopted, the bill will immediately proceed to final passage, as amended.

Mr. Speaker, my motion to recommit will do several things:

The first thing it will do is require the Secretary of Homeland Security to verify the identity of refugee applicants. Any application that contains insufficient, conflicting, or unreliable information would be denied.

The second point of my motion to recommit is that this motion will require at least five Federal agencies—the De-

partment of Homeland Security, the Attorney General and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the Director of National Intelligence—all together to check refugee applicants against their records. Any application that indicates a national security or criminal threat would be denied.

In addition, Mr. Speaker, my motion would also require that the Secretary of Homeland Security would certify that all relevant Federal immigration laws have been complied with and that the applicant has not been resettled in a safe third-party country, and has the Department of Homeland Security inspector general’s review as a sample of the certifications.

Fourthly, Mr. Speaker, my motion to recommit would require the Department of Homeland Security inspector general to submit monthly reports to Congress on refugee applications from Syria and Iraq. The Secure Refugee Process Act of 2015 is a pro-security, pro-compassion bill that would ensure the U.S. continues to maintain the most extensive interagency security screening process in the world to vet all people who seek safe harbor in our great Nation.

Mr. Speaker, the people we are talking about in this particular motion really don’t have a country. Many of them have been tortured. The women have been raped. The children, for lack of a better term, are destitute.

□ 1315

We are a Nation of values. My bill speaks to those values.

It does not pause the process. It does not create a moratorium on the process. It adds an additional layer of security without stopping the refugee program.

It is not an immigration bill. It is a refugee program. As I said earlier, we had 23,000 individuals apply for status under this particular program who were Iraqi or Syrian citizens. Of that number, 7,000 received interviews. Of that number, around 2,000 were approved. So it takes time. My motion to recommit is a prudent approach to recognizing the values of this country.

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

Mr. GOWDY. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of a point of order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The reservation of a point of order is withdrawn.

Mr. GOWDY. I rise in opposition to the motion.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from South Carolina is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. GOWDY. Mr. Speaker, national security and public safety are the preeminent functions of government. National security and public safety are not simply factors to be considered in the administration of some broader policy objective. National security and public safety are the ultimate policy

objectives. And the safety and security of our fellow citizens should be the driving force behind every decision that we make.

This country, Mr. Speaker, has a long, proud, rich history of welcoming those fleeing persecution and liberating those suffering under oppression. We are the most welcoming, generous country in the world, having taken in over 3 million refugees since 1975.

We are generous and compassionate, Mr. Speaker, because we are free. And we are free because we are a country rooted in the law and public safety and standards of decency protected by a fundamental commitment to national security.

The world we currently find ourselves in, Mr. Speaker, is imperfect—and becoming more imperfect. So, rather than address the underlying pathology that results in displaced people, this administration is focused on the symptoms.

There are refugees from the Middle East and northern Africa because those regions are on fire and riddled with chaos. Our bright lines and policies of containment, smart power, or whatever we call it today, have failed.

Mr. Speaker, terrorists took the lives of over 100 innocent people in France and injured many more because they could. They killed a hundred only because they could not kill a thousand. Their objective is evil for the sake of evil, murder for the sake of murder; wanton and willful violence and premeditated depravity calculated to take innocent lives.

The terrorists have been very open about their present and future objectives. We should, therefore, be equally clear about our objectives.

Administration officials responsible for national security and public safety, Mr. Speaker, have repeatedly warned us they cannot vet failed nation-states. They cannot do background investigations where there is no database.

ISIS will use any means available to harm us. What this administration needs to tell the American people, Mr. Speaker, is how much risk is acceptable. Given the consequences of reconciling the risk wrongly, how much risk is this administration willing to take?

When it comes to public safety, we have to be successful all of the time. And those who seek to do us harm have to be successful just once. So how much risk are you willing to take with your own safety? How much risk are you willing to take with the safety of those you swore an oath to represent? Have you done everything in your power to mitigate that risk? Have you done everything in your power to explore alternatives other than resettlement here?

Mr. Speaker, every decision we make as elected officials should be with the safety and security of our fellow citizens as the preeminent objective. Unless and until those in charge of security and public safety can provide assurances, the aid we render to those in

need should be rendered where they are.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, let me say this. The President is the Commander in Chief. He should help us make this, our home, safer. He should help us make the homeland of the refugees safer. He should restore order to the region. That would be the very best and most humane thing we could all do: provide a better, safer life for those who aspire for one where they are.

Mr. Speaker, I oppose the motion to recommit and support the underlying bill.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the previous question is ordered on the motion to recommit.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the yeas appeared to have it.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 and clause 9 of rule XX, this 15-minute vote on the motion to recommit will be followed by 5-minute votes on passage of the bill, if ordered, and agreeing to the Speaker's approval of the Journal, if ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 180, nays 244, not voting 9, as follows:

[Roll No. 642]

YEAS—180

Adams	DeLauro	Kilmer
Aguilar	DelBene	Kind
Bass	DeSaulnier	Kirkpatrick
Beatty	Deuth	Kuster
Becerra	Dingell	Langevin
Bera	Doggett	Larsen (WA)
Beyer	Doyle, Michael	Larson (CT)
Bishop (GA)	F.	Lawrence
Blumenauer	Duckworth	Lee
Bonamici	Edwards	Levin
Boyle, Brendan	Engel	Lewis
F.	Eshoo	Lieu, Ted
Brady (PA)	Esty	Lipinski
Brown (FL)	Farr	Loebsack
Brownley (CA)	Fattah	Lofgren
Bustos	Foster	Lowenthal
Butterfield	Frankel (FL)	Lowe
Capps	Fudge	Lujan Grisham
Capuano	Gabbard	(NM)
Cárdenas	Gallego	Lujan, Ben Ray
Carney	Garamendi	(NM)
Carson (IN)	Graham	Lynch
Cartwright	Grayson	Maloney
Castor (FL)	Green, Al	Carolyn
Castro (TX)	Green, Gene	Maloney, Sean
Chu, Judy	Grijalva	Matsui
Cicilline	Gutiérrez	McCollum
Clark (MA)	Hahn	McDermott
Clarke (NY)	Hastings	McGovern
Clay	Heck (WA)	McNerney
Cleaver	Higgins	Meeks
Clyburn	Himes	Meng
Cohen	Honda	Moore
Connolly	Hoyer	Moulton
Conyers	Huffman	Murphy (FL)
Cooper	Israel	Nadler
Costa	Jackson Lee	Napolitano
Courtney	Jeffries	Neal
Crowley	Johnson (GA)	Nolan
Cuellar	Johnson, E. B.	Norcross
Cummings	Kaptur	O'Rourke
Davis (CA)	Keating	Pallone
Davis, Danny	Kelly (IL)	Pascarell
DeGette	Kennedy	Payne
Delaney	Kildee	Pelosi

Perlmutter	Sarbanes	Titus
Peters	Schakowsky	Tonko
Peterson	Schiff	Torres
Pingree	Schrader	Tsongas
Pocan	Scott (VA)	Van Hollen
Polis	Scott, David	Vargas
Price (NC)	Serrano	Veasey
Quigley	Sewell (AL)	Vela
Rangel	Sherman	Velázquez
Rice (NY)	Sinema	Visclosky
Richmond	Sires	Walz
Roybal-Allard	Slaughter	Wasserman
Ruiz	Smith (WA)	Schultz
Rush	Speier	Waters, Maxine
Ryan (OH)	Swalwell (CA)	Welch
Sánchez, Linda	Takano	Yarmuth
T.	Thompson (CA)	
Sanchez, Loretta	Thompson (MS)	

NAYS—244

Abraham	Granger	Neugebauer
Aderholt	Graves (GA)	Newhouse
Allen	Graves (LA)	Noem
Amash	Graves (MO)	Nugent
Amodei	Griffith	Nunes
Ashford	Grothman	Olson
Babin	Guinta	Palazzo
Barletta	Guthrie	Palmer
Barr	Hanna	Paulsen
Barton	Hardy	Pearce
Benishek	Harper	Perry
Bilirakis	Harris	Pittenger
Bishop (MI)	Hartzler	Pitts
Bishop (UT)	Heck (NV)	Poe (TX)
Black	Black	Hensarling
Blackburn	Herrera Beutler	Pompeo
Blum	Hice, Jody B.	Pompeo
Bost	Hill	Pompeo
Boustany	Holding	Price, Tom
Brady (TX)	Hudson	Ratcliffe
Brat	Huelskamp	Reed
Bridenstine	Huizenga (MI)	Reichert
Brooks (AL)	Hultgren	Renacci
Brooks (IN)	Hunter	Ribble
Buchanan	Hurd (TX)	Rice (SC)
Buck	Hurt (VA)	Rigell
Bucshon	Issa	Roby
Burgess	Jenkins (KS)	Roe (TN)
Byrne	Jenkins (WV)	Rogers (AL)
Calvert	Johnson (OH)	Rogers (KY)
Carter (GA)	Johnson, Sam	Rohrabacher
Carter (TX)	Jolly	Rokita
Chabot	Jones	Rooney (FL)
Chaffetz	Jordan	Ros-Lehtinen
Clawson (FL)	Joyce	Roskam
Coffman	Katko	Ross
Cole	Kelly (MS)	Rothfus
Collins (GA)	Kelly (PA)	Rouzer
Collins (NY)	King (IA)	Royce
Comstock	King (NY)	Russell
Conaway	Kinzinger (IL)	Salmon
Cook	Kline	Sanford
Costello (PA)	Knight	Scalise
Cramer	Labrador	Schweikert
Crawford	LaHood	Scott, Austin
Crenshaw	LaMalfa	Sensenbrenner
Culberson	Lamborn	Sessions
Curbelo (FL)	Lance	Shimkus
Davis, Rodney	Latta	Shuster
Delaney	LoBiondo	Simpson
Denham	Long	Smith (MO)
Dent	Loudermilk	Smith (NE)
DeSantis	Love	Smith (NJ)
DesJarlais	Lucas	Smith (TX)
Diaz-Balart	Luetkemeyer	Stefanik
Dold	Lummis	Stewart
Donovan	MacArthur	Stivers
Duffy	Marchant	Stutzman
Duncan (SC)	Marino	Thompson (PA)
Duncan (TN)	Massie	Thornberry
Ellmers (NC)	McCarthy	Tiberi
Emmer (MN)	McCaul	Tipton
Emmert	McClintock	Trott
Farenthold	McHenry	Turner
Fincher	McKinley	Upton
Fitzpatrick	McMorris	Valadao
Fleischmann	Rodgers	Wagner
Fleming	McSally	Walberg
Flores	Meadows	Walden
Forbes	Fox	Walker
Fortenberry	Meehan	Walorski
Fox	Messer	Walters, Mimi
Gowdy	Mica	Weber (TX)
Graham	Miller (FL)	Webster (FL)
Granger	Miller (MI)	Wenstrup
Graves (GA)	Moolenaar	Westerman
Graves (LA)	Mooney (WV)	Whitfield
Graves (MO)	Mullin	Wilson (SC)
Latta	Gosar	Wittman
Lujan	Gowdy	Womack
Lipinski		
LoBiondo		
Loebbeck		
Long		
Loudermilk		

Woodall	Young (AK)	Zeldin
Yoder	Young (IA)	Zinke
Yoho	Young (IN)	

NOT VOTING—9

DeFazio	Ruppersberger	Westmoreland
Ellison	Takai	Williams
Hinojosa	Watson Coleman	Wilson (FL)

□ 1345

Mr. AUSTIN SCOTT of Georgia changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

Ms. EDWARDS, Mr. BUTTERFIELD, Ms. GABBARD, Messrs. CROWLEY, HONDA, and LARSEN of Washington changed their vote from "nay" to "yea."

So the motion to recommit was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GRAVES of Louisiana). The question is on the passage of the bill.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the yeas appeared to have it.

RECORDED VOTE

Mr. SENSENBRENNER. Mr. Speaker, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. This will be a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 289, yeas 137, not voting 8, as follows:

[Roll No. 643]

AYES—289

Abraham	Courtney	Hahn
Aderholt	Cramer	Hanna
Aguilar	Crawford	Hardy
Allen	Crenshaw	Harper
Amash	Cuellar	Harris
Amodei	Culberson	Hartzler
Ashford	Curbelo (FL)	Heck (NV)
Babin	Davis, Rodney	Hensarling
Barletta	Delaney	Herrera Beutler
Barr	Denham	Hice, Jody B.
Barton	Dent	Hill
Benishek	DeSantis	Himes
Bera	DesJarlais	Holding
Bilirakis	Diaz-Balart	Hudson
Bishop (GA)	Doggett	Huelskamp
Bishop (MI)	Dold	Huizenga (MI)
Bishop (UT)	Donovan	Hultgren
Black	Duffy	Hunter
Blackburn	Duncan (SC)	Hurd (TX)
Blum	Duncan (TN)	Hurt (VA)
Bost	Ellmers (NC)	Israel
Boustany	Emmer (MN)	Issa
Brady (TX)	Farenthold	Jenkins (KS)
Brat	Fincher	Jenkins (WV)
Bridenstine	Fitzpatrick	Johnson (OH)
Brooks (AL)	Fleischmann	Johnson, Sam
Brooks (IN)	Fleming	Jolly
Brownley (CA)	Flores	Jordan
Buchanan	Forbes	Joyce
Buck	Fortenberry	Kaptur
Bucshon	Fox	Katko
Burgess	Franks (AZ)	Keating
Bustos	Frelinghuysen	Kelly (MS)
Byrne	Gabbard	Kelly (PA)
Calvert	Garamendi	Kind
Carney	Garrett	King (NY)
Carter (GA)	Gibbs	Kinzinger (IL)
Carter (TX)	Gibson	Kline
Chabot	Gohmert	Knight
Chaffetz	Goodlatte	Kuster
Clawson (FL)	Gosar	Labrador
Coffman	Gowdy	LaHood
Cole	Graham	LaMalfa
Collins (GA)	Granger	Lamborn
Collins (NY)	Graves (GA)	Lance
Comstock	Graves (LA)	Langevin
Conaway	Graves (MO)	Latta
Connolly	Green, Gene	Lipinski
Cook	Griffith	LoBiondo
Cooper	Grothman	Loebbeck
Costa	Guinta	Long
Costello (PA)	Guthrie	Loudermilk

Love	Pittenger	Simpson
Lucas	Pitts	Sinema
Luetkemeyer	Poe (TX)	Slaughter
Lummis	Poliquin	Smith (MO)
Lynch	Polis	Smith (NE)
MacArthur	Pompeo	Smith (NJ)
Maloney, Sean	Posey	Smith (TX)
Marchant	Price, Tom	Stefanik
Marino	Ratcliffe	Stewart
Massie	Reed	Stivers
McCarthy	Reichert	Stutzman
McCaul	Renacci	Thompson (PA)
McClintock	Ribble	Thornberry
McHenry	Rice (NY)	Tiberi
McKinley	Rice (SC)	Tipton
McMorris	Rigell	Trott
Rodgers	Roby	Turner
McSally	Roe (TN)	Upton
Meadows	Rogers (AL)	Valadao
Meehan	Rogers (KY)	Veasey
Messer	Rohrabacher	Vela
Mica	Rokita	Wagner
Miller (FL)	Rooney (FL)	Walberg
Miller (MI)	Ros-Lehtinen	Walden
Moolenaar	Roskam	Walker
Mooney (WV)	Ross	Walorski
Mullin	Rothfus	Walters, Mimi
Mulvaney	Rouzer	Walz
Murphy (FL)	Royce	Weber (TX)
Murphy (PA)	Ruiz	Webster (FL)
Neugebauer	Russell	Wenstrup
Newhouse	Ryan (OH)	Westerman
Noem	Ryan (WI)	Whitfield
Nolan	Salmon	Wilson (SC)
Norcross	Sanford	Wittman
Nugent	Scalise	Womack
Nunes	Schrader	Woodall
Olson	Schweikert	Yoder
Palazzo	Scott, Austin	Yoho
Palmer	Scott, David	Young (AK)
Paulsen	Sensenbrenner	Young (IA)
Pearce	Sessions	Young (IN)
Perry	Sewell (AL)	Zeldin
Peters	Shimkus	Zinke
Peterson	Shuster	

NOES—137

Adams	Frankel (FL)	Moulton
Bass	Fudge	Nadler
Beatty	Galleo	Napolitano
Becerra	Grayson	Neal
Beyer	Green, Al	O'Rourke
Blumenauer	Grijalva	Pallone
Bonamici	Gutiérrez	Pascrell
Boyle, Brendan	Hastings	Payne
F.	Heck (WA)	Pelosi
Brady (PA)	Higgins	Perlmutter
Brown (FL)	Honda	Pingree
Butterfield	Hoyer	Pocan
Capps	Huffman	Price (NC)
Capuano	Jackson Lee	Quigley
Cárdenas	Jeffries	Rangel
Carson (IN)	Johnson (GA)	Richmond
Cartwright	Johnson, E. B.	Roybal-Allard
Castor (FL)	Jones	Rush
Castro (TX)	Kelly (IL)	Sánchez, Linda
Chu, Judy	Kennedy	T.
Cicilline	Kildee	Sanchez, Loretta
Clark (MA)	Kilmer	Sarbanes
Clarke (NY)	King (IA)	Schakowsky
Clay	Kirkpatrick	Schiff
Cleaver	Larsen (WA)	Scott (VA)
Clyburn	Larson (CT)	Serrano
Cohen	Lawrence	Sherman
Conyers	Lee	Sires
Crowley	Levin	Smith (WA)
Cummings	Lewis	Speier
Davis (CA)	Lieu, Ted	Swalwell (CA)
Davis, Danny	Lofgren	Takano
DeGette	Lowenthal	Thompson (CA)
DeLauro	Lowe	Thompson (MS)
DelBene	Lujan Grisham	Titus
DeSaulnier	(NM)	Tonko
Deutch	Luján, Ben Ray	Torres
Dingell	(NM)	Tsongas
Doyle, Michael	Maloney,	Van Hollen
F.	Carolyn	Vargas
Duckworth	Matsui	Velázquez
Edwards	McCollum	Vislosky
Engel	McDermott	Wasserman
Eshoo	McGovern	Schultz
Farr	McNerney	Waters, Maxine
Fattah	Meeks	Welch
Foster	Meng	Wilson (FL)
	Moore	Yarmuth

NOT VOTING—8

DeFazio	Ruppersberger	Westmoreland
Ellison	Takai	Williams
Hinojosa	Watson Coleman	

□ 1355

Mr. RUSSELL changed his vote from "no" to "aye."

So the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Ms. WATSON COLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, I was, unfortunately, unable to vote today due to a personal matter. Had I been present I would have voted the following ways: rollcall 641—H.R. 3189, the FORM Act of 2015—"nay;" rollcall 643—H.R. 4038, the American SAFE Act of 2015—"nay."

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. TAKAI. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, November 19, I was absent from the House due to illness. Due to my absence, I am not recorded on any legislative measures for the day. I would like to reflect how I would have voted had I been present for legislative business.

Had I been present, I would have voted "no" on rollcall 638, the Motion on Ordering the Previous Question on the American SAFE Act of 2015.

I would have voted "yes" on rollcall 639, providing for consideration of the American SAFE Act of 2015.

I would have voted "yes" on rollcall 640, the Democratic Motion to Recommit the FORM Act of 2015.

I would have voted "no" on rollcall 641, the FORM Act of 2015.

I would have voted "yes" on rollcall 642, the Democratic Motion to Recommit the American SAFE Act of 2015.

I would have voted "no" on rollcall 643, the American SAFE Act of 2015.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. RUPPERSBERGER. Mr. Speaker, I was not able to vote today for medical reasons.

Had I been present on rollcall vote 638, I would have voted "no."

Had I been present on rollcall vote 639, I would have voted "no."

Had I been present on rollcall vote 640, I would have voted "yes."

Had I been present on rollcall vote 641, I would have voted "no."

Had I been present on rollcall vote 642, I would have voted "yes."

Had I been present on rollcall vote 643, I would have voted "no."

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Ms. Byrd, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate has passed without amendment a bill and a concurrent resolution of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 3996. An act to provide an extension of Federal-aid highway, highway safety, motor carrier safety, transit, and other programs funded out of the Highway Trust Fund, and for other purposes.

H. CON. RES. 93. Concurrent resolution authorizing the use of Emancipation Hall in the Capitol Visitor Center for a ceremony to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the ratification of the 13th Amendment.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The unfinished business is the question on agreeing to the Speaker's approval of the Journal, which the Chair will put de novo.

The question is on the Speaker's approval of the Journal.

Pursuant to clause 1, rule I, the Journal stands approved.

COMMUNICATION FROM CHAIR OF COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Chair of the Committee on Ways and Means:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS,
Washington, DC, November 18, 2015.

Hon. PAUL D. RYAN,
Speaker, House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Pursuant to Section 8002 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, in order to fill the House majority vacancy on the Joint Committee on Taxation created by your resignation from the Committee, Mr. Devin Nunes has been designated to serve on the Committee. Thus, those serving on the Joint Committee on Taxation for the House are: Kevin Brady, Sam Johnson, Devin Nunes, Sander Levin and Charles Rangel.

Sincerely,
KEVIN BRADY,
Chairman, Committee on Ways and Means.

NATIONAL RURAL HEALTH DAY

(Mr. SMITH of Nebraska asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SMITH of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor the fifth annual National Rural Health Day. The third Thursday in November is set aside each year by the National Organization of State Offices of Rural Health to recognize the unique healthcare needs of and challenges facing rural Americans and their communities.

These challenges include fewer healthcare providers and longer travel distances. The hospitals serving rural communities continue to be burdened by arbitrary regulations such as physician supervision regulations as well as the 96-hour certification rules which we certainly need to address.

Mr. Speaker, this year, rural consumers in 12 States also face the challenge of finding a new insurance plan because the so-called Consumer Oriented and Operated Plan, or CO-OP, created by ObamaCare, from which they purchase coverage, has failed. This includes 120,000 Nebraskans and Iowans who bought coverage through CoOpportunity Health.

Mr. Speaker, consumers and taxpayers deserve to know what went wrong with the CO-OPs and whether the \$2.4 billion in Federal loans to this failing program will be repaid. I will continue to fight for these answers.

□ 1400

REMEMBERING DR. KEVIN MURPHY

(Ms. GRAHAM asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Ms. GRAHAM. Mr. Speaker, today, I rise to remember Dr. Kevin Murphy, who passed away at his home in Port St. Joe, Florida, on Thursday, November 5, at the age of 71.

Throughout his decades in medicine, Dr. Murphy built up an incredibly long list of accomplishments, from starting a heart surgery program in Indiana, to visiting impoverished and isolated villages across the world to provide care.

In 2002, Dr. Murphy moved to north Florida, where he became medical director for the Gulf County Health Center. He worked there for more than a decade and became well known as a passionate health provider and advocate for equal access to quality care.

As the proud great-granddaughter of one of north Florida's first country doctors, I have a special place in my heart for physicians like Dr. Murphy. The amazing care he provided for his community ensures he will always be loved and remembered in north Florida.

HONORING DR. MILTON PITTS CRENCRAW

(Mr. HILL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor one of Arkansas' finest sons, Dr. Milton Pitts Crenshaw, who passed away on November 17, 2015, at the age of 96.

Born in Little Rock, Arkansas, Dr. Crenshaw became known as the "father of Black aviation in Arkansas." Dr. Crenshaw was one of the original supervising squadron commanders providing training and instruction under the Civilian Pilot Training Program for the Tuskegee Airmen during World War II.

Dr. Crenshaw served his country for more than 40 years of Federal service with the U.S. Army Air Corps and the U.S. Air Force. Later in life, Dr. Crenshaw's advocacy on the part of veterans and his fellow Tuskegee Airmen was relentless. In 2007, Dr. Crenshaw, along with the other members of the Tuskegee Airmen, were awarded the Congressional Gold Medal.

His courageous service and sacrifice to his country is an example all Americans and Arkansans can admire and will remember Dr. Crenshaw forever.

INSTITUTE FOR ECONOMICS AND PEACE

(Mr. RICHMOND asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RICHMOND. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to, of course, extend my heart-

felt condolences to the victims of terrorism in Paris. But what I also want to do, because I take my membership in this august body seriously, is to make sure that we are not fostering the perception that Black lives don't matter.

If we look at the Global Terrorism Index, published by the Institute for Economics and Peace, we would see that Boko Haram has killed 6,644 people last year; 77 percent of them who were private citizens. On the other hand, ISIL has killed 6,073; 44 percent of them were private citizens.

I just want to take a moment and highlight over the last 2 months the terrorism that has been going on in Nigeria, Cameroon, and Chad. Just this Wednesday, 15 people were killed at a mobile phone market with a bombing; 34 people were killed with a bombing at a fruit and vegetable market; 4 people were bombed at a mosque; and 3 people were bombed at a mosque on November 9. And in October, more of the same. October 23, 11 people were bombed at a mosque; and October 14, 42 people killed at a mosque.

Mr. Speaker, I say this to just highlight the fact that terrorism is plaguing communities all across this world. We should make sure that we, as the United States Congress, highlight all of those communities and express our condolences and seek to create peace all around this country.

THE SECURITY OF OUR NATION MUST BE THE NUMBER ONE PRIORITY

(Mr. MARCHANT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. MARCHANT. Mr. Speaker, the recent terrorist attack in Paris is a terrible tragedy. Our prayers go out to the victims and their families.

These heinous crimes and attacks are a reminder of the great threats that are facing the United States and our allies. We must stand strong with our international partners to eradicate this evil.

Here at home, we must ramp up measures to keep the American people safe. That means halting the admittance of Syrian and Iraqi refugees until we are sure the vetting is airtight. And, right now, it is not.

The President's own security advisers have reinforced this fact. Yet he is moving full steam ahead with his plan to admit 10,000 refugees over the next year. This is irresponsible.

Our Nation has the greatest and most generous refugee policy in the world, but we cannot allow terrorists to exploit our compassion. The safety of the American people must be our number one priority.

TERRORISM IS PLAGUING US ALL OVER THE WORLD

(Mr. PAYNE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to associate myself with the remarks made by the gentleman from Louisiana. Terrorism is plaguing us, not only in Europe—we are concerned about, naturally, our country, the United States of America, keeping it safe—but it is happening all over the world, in Europe, and in Africa. That is the reason the notion of Black lives matter has been raised.

The African people are suffering from Boko Haram, which has aligned itself with ISIL as well. If we are going to fight terrorism in one place, we need to make sure we fight it everywhere.

And let me just say, Mr. Speaker, that I am very concerned about the vote that was just taken today in terms of Syrian refugees. We were asked to have a pause. Well, if you don't feel that 18 to 24 months is a pause in getting into this country, passing a 13- to 14-mark checklist, by the time a 5-year-old gets into this country, he is 7.

I think that the bill that was just voted on was flawed and miscued. We have a system in place that gives enough time and ample time to make sure that these people seeking asylum have the right to come here, as we have done throughout the history of this Nation.

SHIFT FOCUS OFF THE HOUSE AND BACK TO THE PRESIDENT

(Mrs. McMORRIS RODGERS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. McMORRIS RODGERS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today because I am deeply concerned about the future of American leadership abroad.

For nearly 5 years, this administration has defended a containment strategy, even as ISIS rapidly escalates.

As Paris tragically demonstrates, containment as a strategy is as ineffective as it is morally bankrupt. It allowed for the development of the world's largest humanitarian disaster since 2002, while placing us and our allies at grave risk.

This refugee crisis is a direct response to Assad's mass atrocities against Syrians, civilians, and the associated expansion of ISIS.

I call on the President to choose and execute a broader strategy that destroys ISIS, stops Assad's reign of terror, and allows refugees to return home and rebuild their lives.

It is time for real commitment and real courage. The American people and the world are waiting.

WE ALL HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY FOR NATIONAL SECURITY

(Ms. JACKSON LEE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, this is a long list of the vetting process

that desperate refugees who happen to come from camps in Jordan and Lebanon—and who happen to be Syrian—go through. It is more than 21. In fact, the last one says: Prior to entry to the United States, applicants are subject to screening again from the U.S. Customs and Border Patrol. Applicants undergo, in No. 20, a second interagency security check. That is after 19 other security checks.

I want to thank Lutheran Services, Catholic Charities, and Interfaith Ministries for recognizing the importance of the face of America to be a refuge for those who are worn and desperate.

I want to join my colleagues to say that we all have a responsibility for national security. I hope the Senate will engage in vigorous debate, that the President will announce to the world that we are fighting ISIS. We are joining allies and taking it to the fight, but we must do other things besides denying and stopping innocent refugees from coming in, a small, small number: Secure our airports; ensure that the back side of the airport is secure; make sure that no foreign fighter is able to come into the United States, and I have introduced legislation for this. We are not for not protecting. We are for protecting, but we must do it in a way that America has been able to stand up and be respectful or recognizing, of course, all of those who come and struggle.

Mr. Speaker, Happy Thanksgiving. I know we are a great country, and I know they know that we are.

RECOGNIZING UKRAINE

(Mr. SHERMAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to welcome to Washington the deputy chief of staff to President Poroshenko of the Ukraine, General Andriy Taranov, who has joined us today in this hall in our gallery, and is accompanied by the Ukrainian Ambassador to the United States, Valeriy Chaly.

Ambassador Chaly was with me in Los Angeles last weekend where he was there for the commemoration in remembrance of the catastrophic Holodomor disaster and atrocity of 1932–1933, in which Stalin killed millions of Ukrainians. But Stalin failed in his ultimate goal. An independent Ukraine today stands in resistance to aggregation from Moscow.

I would also like to recognize in our gallery, a Ukrainian-American innovator, Igor Pasternak. His company, Aeros, is the first American firm to provide the Ukrainian Government with the military equipment necessary to defend its sovereignty.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues and the administration to redouble their efforts to help Ukraine protect its sovereignty by providing Ukraine with the necessary assistance to protect her freedom.

The United States stands with the people and government of Ukraine as they resist aggression once again now in the 21st century.

If you free Ukraine and it maintains its territorial integrity, it is in America's interest. It is, therefore, imperative that Ukraine has a strong and secure border.

That is why I am pleased to be joined by our guests here today and look forward to working with the Ukrainian Government to preserve Ukrainian freedom and am proud that it is a company from Los Angeles that is the first and, unfortunately, as of yet, the only company to provide the Ukrainian Government with the military equipment it needs.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. WESTERMAN). The Chair will remind Members that the rules do not allow references to occupants of the gallery.

□ 1415

PROVIDING FOR AN ADJOURNMENT OR RECESS OF THE TWO HOUSES

Mr. GRAVES of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I send to the desk a privileged concurrent resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the concurrent resolution, as follows:

H. CON. RES. 95

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That when the House adjourns on any legislative day from Thursday, November 19, 2015, through Wednesday, November 25, 2015, on a motion offered pursuant to this concurrent resolution by its Majority Leader or his designee, it stand adjourned until 2:00 p.m. on Monday, November 30, 2015, or until the time of any reassembly pursuant to section 2 of this concurrent resolution, whichever occurs first; and that when the Senate recesses or adjourns on any day from Thursday, November 19, 2015, through Tuesday, November 24, 2015, on a motion offered pursuant to this concurrent resolution by its Majority Leader or his designee, it stand recessed or adjourned until noon on Monday, November 30, 2015, or such other time on that day as may be specified by its Majority Leader or his designee in the motion to recess or adjourn, or until the time of any reassembly pursuant to section 3 of this concurrent resolution, whichever occurs first.

SEC. 2. (a) The Speaker or his designee, after consultation with the Minority Leader of the House, shall notify the Members of the House to reassemble at such place and time as he may designate if, in his opinion, the public interest shall warrant it.

(b) After reassembling pursuant to subsection (a), when the House adjourns on a motion offered pursuant to this subsection by its Majority Leader or his designee, the House shall again stand adjourned pursuant to the first section of this concurrent resolution.

SEC. 3. (a) The Majority Leader of the Senate or his designee, after concurrence with the Minority Leader of the Senate, shall notify the Members of the Senate to reassemble at such place and time as he may designate if, in his opinion, the public interest shall warrant it.

(b) After reassembling pursuant to subsection (a), when the Senate adjourns on a motion offered pursuant to this subsection

by its Majority Leader or his designee, the Senate shall again stand adjourned pursuant to the first section of this concurrent resolution.

The concurrent resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

HOUR OF MEETING ON TOMORROW

Mr. GRAVES of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today on a motion offered pursuant to this order, it adjourn to meet at 5 p.m. on Friday, November 20, 2015, unless it sooner has received a message from the Senate transmitting its concurrence in House Concurrent Resolution 95, in which case the House shall stand adjourned pursuant to that concurrent resolution.

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

There was no objection.

THE YEAR IN REVIEW

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 2015, the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. GRAVES) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

LOUISIANA NATIONAL GUARD

Mr. GRAVES of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, 3 years ago, the Louisiana Air National Guard began to turn around. After coming in 38th in the Nation at the end of September 2012 with a 98.4 percent strength, in 2013, the Louisiana Air National Guard moved up to 20th, and, last year, it ranked 15th.

The Louisiana Army National Guard's fiscal year 2015 end strength goal of 9,554 soldiers was surpassed with a total of 9,650 soldiers, or 101.2 percent. The Air National Guard surpassed its 2015 end strength goal of 1,390 airmen with 1,496 airmen, or 107 percent of its goal.

Strong numbers directly relate to our ability to respond to our State and Nation. Great leadership under Major General Glenn Curtis has put a priority on personal readiness. Mr. Speaker, I will tell you that I have worked very closely with General Curtis over the years, and he is an incredible man who has garnered incredible respect from the men and women of the Louisiana National Guard.

Here are a few other statistics for your information:

The National Guard end strength at 9,652 is 101 percent, or fourth, in the Nation. The Air National Guard end strength is 1,496, which is 108 percent, or fifth, in the Nation. The Army National Guard retention rate is 80 percent, which constitutes first in the Nation. The Air National Guard retention rate is 82 percent, which puts them in the top 10. The medical readiness rate is 89 percent. The 256th IBCT ranked number 1 of 28 IBCTs. The Army Community of Excellence program placed

in the top 4 of 38, and it received a site visit to determine the top three spots.

Mr. Speaker, I want to commend the men and women of the Louisiana National Guard for their perseverance, for their strength, and for their contribution to the State of Louisiana and to the United States of America.

SYRIA

Mr. GRAVES of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, the United States military began active engagement in Syria back in September of 2014 when the United States-led coalition began its ongoing airstrike campaign, along with Bahrain, Jordan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE. During this period, the Pentagon also administered a \$500 million program to train and equip moderate Syrian opposition forces to target ISIS. This effort failed to train many soldiers or to yield the desired results; so the administration scrapped the effort.

The wide range of state and nonstate actors in Syria has created one of the most geopolitically complex conflicts in recent memory. This highlights the urgency and the necessity for a clear strategy in Syria: What is the United States' end game? A definition of what success means in Syria. A strong commitment to eliminating any and all threats that ISIS poses to the United States, its allies, or a shift away from the conflict.

I believe this administration has been incredibly vague about all of those, and I have repeatedly reached out to the White House on this topic, and I will continue to call on the President to articulate a clear path forward in Syria.

Before the United States risks any American lives and resources, the administration, the State Department, and the Department of Defense should provide clarity on U.S. objectives and on how the ongoing use of military force fits into a comprehensive strategy for success in the region. Success needs to be defined, but I would suggest defining success as the neutralization of all direct threats ISIS poses to America and our national security.

We need to clarify the U.S. strategy in Syria now, and I hope to work with the administration and with other Members of Congress toward getting us on the right path. Well before this Syrian refugee issue became a hot-button issue, I joined together with Members on the other side of the aisle in bipartisan efforts to reach out to the Department of Defense, to reach out to the administration in order to express these very concerns.

Mr. Speaker, let's be clear. It is our failed policy in Syria that has created this predicament of refugees. If we had a clear strategy—a definitive strategy—if we had clear objectives, if we were aggressive in achieving those objectives, of eliminating and of neutralizing ISIS, of creating a new government structure there to fill the void created by our removing and helping to remove with the international community the Assad regime, we wouldn't

have refugees. We would have stability in Syria. We would have a place for people to live, and there would not be this refugee situation where tens of thousands of folks are being displaced into the United States and other areas, where we have this threat to our national security and the inability to vet these refugees before they come into the United States.

Mr. Speaker, as reports have indicated in recent days—and I want to be clear that this isn't from any classified setting. This is a place where you, apparently, get real information—the Drudge Report. There are reports right now of folks with fake Syrian passports who are being questioned in Honduras and in Costa Rica. There are reports of Afghan and Iraqi refugees from years ago in Kentucky and in other areas who have been involved in efforts to attack the United States. I will say that again. There are refugees from other countries—from Middle Eastern nations of Iraq and elsewhere—who were previously brought to the United States and who had, apparently, not gone through a sufficient vetting process who were caught trying to attack the United States, according to reports that are out there now. There are reports of folks from the Middle East who are trying to illegally cross over and come into Arizona and Texas.

Mr. Speaker, this is clearly a systemic failure—the inability to place refugees, to secure our borders, to secure our Nation. This isn't a partisan issue. We should not be sacrificing the security of Americans. There are ways in which we can be good community citizens, good world leaders, and allow for refugees to come here or, better yet, to stabilize, to help work with the international community to stabilize their own countries.

Mr. Speaker, I want to continue to work with other Members of Congress, including with our Louisiana delegation. Just this week, Senator VITTER introduced legislation to address the refugee problem to ensure that we are not threatening Americans' security, to ensure that we are not sacrificing the safety and security of Americans in exchange for those from Syria. Together, with Congressman BOUSTANY, Congressman ABRAHAM, and Congressman FLEMING, we introduced companion legislation in the House of Representatives to ensure that that happens.

I want to be clear again, Mr. Speaker. This is not some jumping to the hot issue of the day. Before this issue became a crisis and was in the news, we joined together with Congressman BABIN and others to ensure America's safety, to ensure that we were properly vetting these refugees before they came to the United States, and to understand the implications to taxpayers—the cost of having these folks here in the United States.

Mr. Speaker, I am very proud of the strong bipartisan vote that just occurred here in this body, but we need

to continue to work together in a bipartisan fashion. This is not a partisan issue. Terrorism affects every American, and we need to continue to be very aggressive and not allow this to degrade into partisanship. This is about the safety and security of the United States.

LAND AND WATER CONSERVATION FUND

Mr. GRAVES of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, the Land and Water Conservation Fund was first authorized in 1965. There was some type of compromise that was reached at that time whereby this proliferation of offshore energy production would occur. At the same time, there was a concern that those activities could threaten the environment; so there was a negotiation reached whereby the first \$900 million of offshore energy revenues from oil and gas production would be committed to the Land and Water Conservation Fund.

The idea was that half of those dollars would be used to go toward the acquisition of Federal lands for the purpose of creating or growing national parks or wildlife refuges, BLM land, and national forests. Half of the funds would be authorized to go to stateside grant programs for similar types of activities in order to increase recreational opportunities, State wildlife refuges, and State parks for citizens in the United States. That stateside program is a match of 50–50. The States have to put up half of the money.

Mr. Speaker, I would call the Land and Water Conservation Fund and its objectives a laudable goal to preserve these recreational and conservation activities for Americans. Certainly, as this Nation's population grows, we are going to continue to develop areas. So, for these areas that are especially sensitive, productive, and beautiful, let's ensure that we create those opportunities and retain those opportunities for recreation for Americans for generations to come.

The Land and Water Conservation Fund expired for the first time in its history. This program is no longer an authorized program, and there have been folks on both sides of the aisle who have been working to help to reauthorize the program.

□ 1430

I will say it again, Mr. Speaker. I think it is a laudable goal. However, 50 years have passed. I think, with 50 years of history of this program, it is appropriate to go back and revisit the lessons learned.

I am from Louisiana. I want to be clear. This offshore energy activity that has funded the billions of dollars over the last 50 years in the Land and Water Conservation Fund activities and other things, like the Historic Preservation Fund, is from oil and gas and offshore energy activities occurring offshore our coast at home in Louisiana.

Various discussion drafts have been proposed to take these funds and cut

them up and allocate them to different programs across the country, to slice up the pie. I think that is great for all these people to go out there and express their dream or vision for how all these things happen.

However, I would like to bring you back to reality. I view this as being our money, and I will tell you why. Right now, when you produce energy on Federal lands in the United States, 50 percent of the money generated from those activities go to the States that host the production.

So let me be clear on this. The States of Wyoming and New Mexico together receive over a billion dollars a year with no strings attached whatsoever. An additional 40 percent of the money from those same activities go into the reclamation fund to fund water projects in those same western States.

So, in effect, 90 percent of the funds from energy production on Federal lands goes back to the States that largely host that energy production on Federal lands. Yet, when we go in the offshore, folks take the money and decide they are going to divvy it up to all these other States, but not the State where the energy is produced.

Now here is a reason why I am so frustrated by all of these efforts to reauthorize and continue spending this money all over the country in other programs. Mr. Speaker, we have produced nearly \$200 billion in revenues for the U.S. Treasury. We have received not the 90 percent that other States have received nor 50 percent. We have received less than a fraction of 1 percent back.

The State of Louisiana passed a constitutional amendment that would dedicate any funds received to go toward actually restoring the environment for things like coastal restoration. The State of Louisiana has lost over 1,900 square miles of our coastal wetlands.

Why is it that we are reauthorizing the Land and Water Conservation Fund and funding environmental and conservation efforts in other States, particularly in western States?

I will acknowledge again it is a laudable goal. But why are we doing that before we are addressing environmental issues right there where these activities are occurring and, in many cases, are occurring as a result of historic, several-decades-ago activities that occurred in the coastal area related to this OCS production?

It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, as we move forward on this, that that needs to be a critical component. That needs to be the priority, is addressing environmental issues, addressing conservation, right here where this money is derived from because the activities simply aren't sustainable if we don't address this.

I fully support the reauthorization of the Land and Water Conservation Fund. I think it needs to be done in a principled manner that recognizes the lessons learned over the last 50 years

and, most importantly, recognizes the fact that this area that has generated nearly \$200 billion for the United States Treasury has severe environmental consequences or severe environmental problems right there as a result of the Federal Government's actions.

Mr. Speaker, the Deepwater Horizon disaster was truly one of the Nation's worst environmental disasters in our history. That disaster resulted in millions of barrels of oil covering nearly 600 miles of the State of Louisiana's coast.

The U.S. Department of the Interior appropriately took a look at well control and blowout preventer regulations and guidelines to ensure that a disaster like the Deepwater Horizon disaster and the awful tragedy to the 11 lives that occurred would never occur again. I think it is appropriate to take a look at that.

The U.S. Department of the Interior actually took 4½ years behind closed doors to develop a well control and blowout preventer regulation that was put forth in recent months. It took 4½ years to write this regulation behind closed doors without involvement and without engagement of this multibillion-dollar industry.

Now, the regulation was paired with a 30-day comment period. I am going to say that again. They took 4½ years to draft a regulation and they gave 30 days for folks to actually comment on it.

Of course, being very concerned about that and the implications whether the rule was actually going to improve safety or be a detriment to safety, we asked that more time be given to comment to allow us to fully understand it, to allow the industry to fully understand it, and to allow the environmental community to fully understand it.

The administration came back and gave a 60-day comment period, which is absolutely absurd with the complexity. Keep in mind, Mr. Speaker, it took them 4½ years to draft it.

Now, to give you an idea of the disconnect here, the U.S. Department of the Interior says that compliance with the rule is going to cost \$800 million. A separate analysis that was done independently says that the cost of compliance is going to be in excess of \$30 billion, Mr. Speaker. The disconnect there is crystal clear just in the cost estimate.

It is going to have a detrimental effect on the United States' national energy security. What this is going to result in is it is going to result in us becoming more independent on energy sources from around the world.

Why are we not being energy self-sufficient and utilizing our resources here, promoting jobs here?

There is a study that I read that says, for every dollar in U.S.-produced energy, it has a \$3 implication on our economy. For every dollar spent at the pump on foreign energy, it has a 40-percent implication on our Nation's econ-

omy. I think the answer there is crystal clear. We should become energy self-sufficient. We should be utilizing our own energy resources.

Mr. Speaker, analyses have determined that 20 percent of the oil and gas wells produced in the offshore over the last 5 years would not be produceable under this rule, not even produceable. Let me give you an idea what that means. That causes an estimated \$12 billion economic loss to the United States, to the U.S. Treasury, just over the next 10 years.

Now, you would think that the U.S. Department of the Interior would want to get this rule right, and you would think that they would be engaging folks. Yet, we have had phone call after phone call from people saying they are refusing to engage, they are refusing to take meetings, and they are refusing to discuss.

Mr. Speaker, I have actually experienced it myself, asking the U.S. Department of the Interior for a meeting with the Gulf Coast delegation, with House Members and Senators, to sit down and discuss this to ensure that the Department of the Interior gets it right. And I want to be clear on what "right" means, which is to make things safer, not to propose regulations that are actually going to result in the potential for disaster.

I am not an expert in offshore production, but I can read the regulations and determine the disconnect and the lack of technical understanding of the folks who drafted this rule. Yet, the U.S. Department of the Interior also told us that they would not meet with us, shutting the door.

Mr. Speaker, this is the United States of America. That is not how this country works. People at agencies have to understand that they shouldn't be sitting in some ivory tower drafting regulations that are going to export jobs, that are going to increase the trade deficit, and that are going to make us reliant or dependent upon nations like Venezuela for energy, nations that don't share America's values. What in the world are we doing? Who is running this place?

This is the United States of America. We have had people who have put their lives on the line to protect our freedoms and to protect our greatness. I don't think this is what they were protecting or that this is what they were fighting for.

Mr. Speaker, I want to urge, as we move forward on legislation at the end of this year, that we take appropriate action to ensure that America's energy security is protected, to make sure that America's independence is protected, to make sure that we don't take actions that penalize or increase our trade deficit, and that we promote American jobs, America's economy, and America's workforce.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back.

TERRORIST ATTACKS AND SYRIAN REFUGEES

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mrs. COMSTOCK). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 2015, the gentleman from California (Mr. COSTA) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. COSTA. Madam Speaker, I rise today to express my deepest condolences to all the individuals who have been affected in recent months by terrorist attacks throughout the world and, also, to focus on the need for America to step up and to in a more comprehensive way lead a global effort again these terrorists.

My thoughts and prayers—and our thoughts and prayers as a Nation—continue to be with the people of France, Algiers, Lebanon, and Russia, the victims and their families, who are suffering during this time.

With worldwide attention and support for defeating terrorism, America has a new opportunity to draw a line in the sand and lead a global coalition. The United States, our allies, and those who oppose terrorist groups must come together on a comprehensive plan for eliminating terrorist organizations, like ISIL, al Qaeda, and all those who support terrorist activities, whether it be on the Internet or in all sorts of ways that we are discovering today.

America must provide the leadership and use all of the resources at our disposal to eliminate these terrorist organizations and their supporters. I understand that the world is facing a humanitarian crisis and it is a serious problem.

I think we here in the Congress all understand that our first responsibility is to protect and defend the American people from all enemies, foreign and domestic. We take an oath when we are sworn in every 2 years for that purpose.

The Syrian refugees are seeking safety, and the United States has a thorough vetting process for those refugees and others. We can always improve our efforts to protect the American public while at the same time providing the very humanitarian aid that is necessary.

Recent terrorist attacks have led Congress to assess the current process the United States uses to grant entry to refugees who are seeking safety from their country. These are women and children. These are innocent people who have been terribly impacted by the civil war in Syria. There are camps in Jordan with over a million and a half people, and Turkey has a similar number. Of course, we see the accounts of these refugees fleeing to Europe.

What do we do? We have to respond. The legislation that passed today and the legislation that the Senate has introduced today is an effort to improve the current system. Clearly, these legislative efforts are a work in progress and they will change.

To succeed, we must work closely with the President always to focus on ways that we can improve to protect

American citizens because we know this, that terrorists never ever sleep. I believe the administration is doing everything it can to make absolutely certain that our efforts to provide that humanitarian support does not threaten American lives.

In addition to ensuring that a strict and thorough vetting process is in place, we need to pursue comprehensive efforts that include working with our allies to end this civil war in Syria, which, as we know, is the primary source of this refugee crisis.

Let's be clear. It is easy to Monday-morning-quarterback this, but there are multiple causes to the conflicts in Syria and, in essence, more than one war that is taking place.

There is the civil war that is caused by Assad, but there is a proxy war between Russia and Iran against the Sunni nations. Then, of course, there is a conflict going on between Turkey and the Kurds.

Then, of course, there are our collective efforts for the majority of the countries to go after ISIL and their horrific crimes. We have conflicting alliances within the multiple conflicts that are taking place within Syria today.

□ 1445

Therefore, it is not easy as we try to sort this out in a way to put this comprehensive strategy together. If a global coalition is put in place, we can, I believe, combat this terrorism activity and bring those terrorists responsible for these horrific crimes, crimes against humanity, to justice. And we must.

Let's face it. They have declared war on Western civilization and our very way of life. I know that the President is working very hard to put this comprehensive effort together.

Ladies and gentlemen, Madam Speaker, this is not nor should it be a partisan issue. Every Member of Congress and the President go to bed at night, and we wake up in the morning with the safety of the American people being always our first priority.

Let me repeat that. This is not a partisan issue. We all fear for a worst case scenario. Therefore, we must be working together in a bipartisan effort on any concepts of legislation that we consider with the administration, with the President to continually improve our ability to protect our American citizens.

Now, it is important that we understand that this will be costly, and sacrifices will inevitably be made. Today, American men and women are in harm's way in the Middle East, serving in our military, doing their very best on multiple fronts. It is not just the sacrifices they are making, but it is the sacrifices their families are making as well.

It is essential that we come together to develop and implement a long-term comprehensive plan. At the end of the day, it is the only way we will protect

our freedoms and our way of life. This is what is at stake, and this is why, as we go home for the Thanksgiving recess, with our families and friends, we contemplate how we might do a better job working with the administration.

As we look at this Thanksgiving week coming up, truly we have a lot to be thankful for in this Nation. We must remember as Americans, the common values that we share, the bonds that we hold most dear are far, far stronger than whatever differences we may have.

Madam Speaker, I wish my colleagues here in the Congress, as we go back to our homes throughout America, a very blessed Thanksgiving with their families and friends. May God bless the United States of America, and may He grant us the guidance to work together in a more united way to solve these difficult challenges we have in front of us today, because we know, working together, all is possible.

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

SYRIAN REFUGEES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 2015, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GOHMERT) for 30 minutes.

Mr. GOHMERT. Madam Speaker, these are the times that try men's souls.

After so many Americans have given the last full measure of devotion for their country, for our freedom, for the freedom of so many others, we are at a time in our history when we have enemies reporting that they are entering the United States. That is confirmed by the Director of the FBI and others in this administration. As is now reported, there are active ISIS elements in every State in the Union.

Some say, well, those who want to suspend bringing in Syrian refugees, wouldn't that be like telling the Jews during World War II they couldn't come to America? Actually, it would be more like saying we are going to suspend bringing Germans—we are going to keep bringing in German Jews because clearly they are being persecuted. We are going to try to save them from the Holocaust, but we are going to suspend bringing in those who appear to have similar backgrounds to the Nazis because we are not sure who is Nazi and who isn't.

Can you imagine dealing with what France has dealt with after we welcomed with open arms Nazis before and during World War II, if that had been the policy of the Roosevelt administration? Thank God it wasn't. But, unfortunately, Jews were turned away before and during World War II.

The President wants to continue bringing in refugees, continue the mass migration of illegal aliens into the United States. We have this report from yesterday by Brandon Darby and Ildefonso Ortiz. They report on eight

Syrians being caught at the Texas border in Laredo yesterday.

The story says:

“Two Federal agents operating under the umbrella of U.S. Customs and Border Protection are claiming that eight Syrian illegal aliens attempted to enter Texas from Mexico in the Laredo Sector. The Federal agents spoke with Breitbart Texas on the condition of anonymity, however, a local president of the National Border Patrol Council confirmed that Laredo Border Patrol agents have been officially contacting the organization with concerns over reports from other Federal agents about Syrians illegally entering the country in the Laredo Sector. The reports have caused a stir among the sector’s Border Patrol agents.

“The sources claimed that eight Syrians were apprehended on Monday, November 16, 2015. According to the sources, the Syrians were in two separate ‘family units’ and were apprehended at the Juarez Lincoln Bridge in Laredo, Texas, also known officially as Port of Entry 1.”

The President has also stated in recent days—it’s been played over and over as the President condemns Republicans and conservatives and liberals and moderate Americans across the specter of politics, Americans who are concerned about one thing: the safety of their homeland.

The President comes out and condemns, and he said: “When I hear political leaders suggesting that there would be a religious test for which a person who’s fleeing from a war-torn country is admitted . . . that’s shameful. . . . That’s not American. That’s not who we are. We don’t have religious tests to our compassion.”

It doesn’t violate the rules of the House to point out when an elected official is ignorant. It is a violation to insinuate some ill motive. I am insinuating no ill motive. I am stating that the President is completely ignorant of what our laws are because the law is very clear, if you look at 8 U.S.C. 1158—and I need to tip the hat to Andrew McCarthy. I have got his article in front of me from yesterday, from nationalreview.com.

He points out that under Federal law the executive branch is expressly required to take religion into account in determining who is granted asylum. Under the provision governing asylum—and again, that is 8 U.S.C. section 1158—“an alien applying for admission”—and this is the law—“must establish that . . . religion . . . was or will be at least one central reason for persecuting that applicant.”

Now, there are other potential reasons that can be given for establishing the persecution, but religion is a very important one, and we have always looked at that issue as being important. If you are being persecuted for your religious beliefs in the world, that is always historically American to look at that fact and determine, yes, there is a religious test, and these people are

being persecuted because of their religious beliefs, and only if we look at their religion and whether or not that religion is being persecuted can we determine whether they are entitled to asylum.

So to answer the question that is raised by the ignorant statement by our President, the truth is, yes, it is American. It is the law. We need to know what religion you are to determine whether or not you are being persecuted for your religion.

In another place, and this is over from 8 U.S.C., this is in section 1101, and this is the section regarding refugee status, but to qualify, the applicant must be a refugee as defined by Federal law, and then that definition is what is at section 1101(a)(42)(A).

“The term ‘refugee’ means (A) any person who is outside any country of such person’s nationality . . . and who is unable or unwilling to return to . . . that country because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of . . . religion.”

Religion is important to take into account in determining whether someone is truly a refugee. It is American. It is not shameful. It is what we have done historically, and that is why I would have a Baloch minority in my office today talking to me about persecution against the Baloch people in Iran, because, as he says, Americans have traditionally been compassionate when people are being persecuted unfairly. And we have. And to take such persecution into account, we look at whether religion is a factor in their persecution. That is American. It is recognized even in Iran as being American and being unshameful—not only not shameful, but being to the glory and credit of the United States of America that we do care.

Mr. McCarthy’s article goes on. He says:

“In the case of this war, the Islamic State is undeniably persecuting Christians. It is doing so, moreover, as a matter of doctrine. Even those Christians the Islamic State does not kill, it otherwise persecutes as called for by its construction of sharia (observe, for example, the ongoing rape jihad and sexual slavery).”

From my discussions when I have been in Nigeria with the poor Africans whose children have been kidnapped, they explained it was only the daughters that were being kidnapped and that the school was attacked.

I asked: Was it attacked because it was a girls school and they don’t want girls having education?

They said they don’t want girls having education, but that is not the reason they attacked it. They attacked it because it was a Christian school.

So these radical Islamists associated with the Islamic State, they attack schools, particularly Christian schools; and after they attack a Christian school, the Nigerians explained they bring the children out, and if they are boys, they just go ahead and kill them

immediately because they are Christian boys, and they don’t want that to spread.

□ 1500

If, however, they are girls, the Nigerian Africans who were victims of Boko Haram explained, they don’t kill them. No. But you couldn’t really say they weren’t persecuted because they are kidnapped and they are kept strapped to beds and they are repeatedly raped until such time as they are sold into sexual slavery.

And this administration, according to some in Nigeria, has said: We may help you, but you have got to adopt a same-sex marriage provision, or we are not going to be such help to you.

And as one Nigerian bishop said, to his deep credit: Our religious convictions are not for sale—not to President Obama, not to anybody.

God bless them.

The same effort was made to push Kenya into adopting same-sex marriage laws against their religious beliefs in that country. I was so proud of the Kenyan President. And I have heard other African leaders say they were so proud. They were also proud in Africa of the Kenyan President not being intimidated by President Obama’s demand that they change their marriage laws to go against the teachings of the man whose profile is right up here above the main door to our Gallery—a man named Moses—who said he was speaking for God. And according to God’s law, a man shall leave his father and mother and a woman leave her home and the two will become one flesh. That was to be marriage.

When Jesus was asked about marriage and divorce, he quoted Moses perfectly—the man we have depicted up here in our House Chamber. He quoted Moses perfectly: A man shall leave his father and mother and a woman leave her home and the two will become one flesh. And then he added to Moses’ perfect quote: And what God has joined together, nobody put asunder.

Anyway, our President was in African in the past trying to push them into changing their laws, but unfortunately for people in areas where radical Islamist’s have reigned, if you are a Christian, you are being persecuted for your religious beliefs. And if you are a Christian boy in a school that Boko Haram attacks, they will most likely just shoot you, kill you; and if you are a girl, they take you into sex slavery, in all likelihood.

McCarthy goes on: “To the contrary, the Islamic State seeks to rule Muslims, not kill or persecute them.”

I think that is a very important point Mr. McCarthy makes. The radical Islamists are not seeking to kill or persecute Muslims like they are Christians. They are seeking to rule them.

Mr. McCarthy goes on:

“Obama prefers not to dwell on the distinction between the jihadist treatment of Muslims, on the one hand, and

of Christians, Jews, and other religious, on the other hand, because he—like much of Washington—inhabits a world in which jihadists are not Islamic and, therefore, have no common ground with other Muslims . . . notwithstanding that jihadists emerge whenever and wherever a population of sharia-adherent Muslims reaches critical mass. While there is no question that ISIS will kill and persecute Muslims whom it regards as apostates for refusing to adhere to its construction of Islam, it is abject idiocy to suggest that Muslims are facing the same ubiquity and intensity of persecution as Christians.

“And it is down right dishonest to claim that taking such religious distinctions into account is ‘not American,’ let alone ‘shameful.’ How can something American law requires be ‘not American’? And how can a national expression of compassion expressly aimed at alleviating persecution be ‘shameful’?”

That is Andrew McCarthy yesterday, the NationalReview.com.

“The State Department Turns Its Back on Syrian Christians and Other Non-Muslim Refugees” is an article by Nina Shea, November 2. She says: “Over the past 5 years of Syria’s civil war, the United States has admitted a grand total of 53 Syrian Christian refugees, a lone Yazidi, and fewer than 10 Druze, Baha’is, and Zoroastrians combined. That so few of the Syrian refugees coming here are non-Muslim minorities is due to American reliance on a United Nations refugee-resettlement program that disproportionately excludes them. Past absolute totals of Syrian refugees to the United States under this program were small, but as the Obama administration now ramps up refugee quotas by tens of thousands, it would be unconscionable to continue with a process that has consistently forsaken some of the most defenseless and egregiously persecuted of those fleeing Syria.

“The gross underrepresentation of the non-Muslim communities in the numbers of Syrian refugees into the U.S. is reflected year after year in the State Department’s public records. They show, for example, that while Syria’s largest non-Muslim group—Christians of the various Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant traditions—constituted 10 percent of Syria’s population before the war, they are only 2.6 percent of the 2,003 Syrian refugees that the United States has accepted since then.

“Syria’s Christian population, which before the war numbered 2 million, has since 2011 been decimated by what Pope Francis described as religious ‘genocide.’”

I want to insert at this point, Madam Speaker, that I have been advised that this administration is now saying that the persecution of Christians is not being deemed a genocide. Perhaps it is because this administration feels like if you are taking the young girls and

putting them into sex slavery and you are not outright killing them—you are just raping them and putting them into sex slavery—then maybe that is not a genocide. You are letting the girls live.

So maybe they are so callous that they would consider it is not genocide if you just rape and put these young girls who are Christians or from Christian families into sexual slavery.

This article from Nina Sea says: “Clearly, far more than a dozen members of Syria’s religious minorities should qualify as refugees under the legal definition of a refugee as someone with a ‘well-founded fear of persecution based on religion.’ . . . Instead minorities have difficulty getting to step one in the U.N. process. The religious terror that drove them from Syria blocks their registering. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is largely limited to collecting refugee applications and making resettlement referrals from its own camps and centers—the burden of feeding creates strong incentives for this practice.

“In an email to me, Knox Thames, the State Department’s new Special Adviser for Religious Minorities wrote that ‘many minorities have not entered the U.N. system because they are urban refugees.’ That is, because they live far from the remote U.N. camps and aid centers, they lack the information and access to register. And, as is widely known, many non-Muslim refugees try hard to avoid these camps.”

The reason Christians try to avoid these U.N. camps is that they are Muslim.

In fact, in this article, it is pointed out:

“According to British media, a terrorist detector asserted that militants enter U.N. camps to assassinate and kidnap Christians. An American Christian aid group reported that the U.N. camps are ‘dangerous’ places where ISIS, militias, and gangs traffic in women and threaten men who refuse to swear allegiance to the caliphate.

“Such intimidation is also reportedly evident in migrant camps in Europe, leading the German police union to recommend separate shelters for Christians and Muslim migrant groups.”

The article goes on to point out:

“According to a recent UNHCR posting, 19,000 Syrians picked straight from ‘refugee camps in Turkey, Lebanon, and Jordan,’ have received U.N. approval and are awaiting resettlement in the United States. In October, President Obama ordered their expedited admission. Without further action, however, only token numbers of non-Muslim minorities will be among those rescued. George Carey, former Archbishop of Canterbury, called it right about the Christian refugees, and his words equally apply to Syria’s other non-Muslim communities: They are being ‘left at the bottom of the heap.’”

There is an article from Todd Starnes, November 18—yesterday—entitled “Obama is Importing Muslims, Deporting Christians.”

Well, if this is true, so much for his test—that we don’t care about religious tests.

But this article says:

“When individuals say we should have a religious test and that only Christians—proven Christians should be admitted—that is offensive and contrary to American values, the President said—just one day after he called such behavior un-American.”

But as Todd Starnes says:

“What is offensive and contrary to American values is refusing to properly investigate those wanting to come to our Nation—especially those coming from regions that are hotbeds of Islamic extremism.

“Those of us who fear that Islamic radicals might be lurking among the refugees have been called every name in the book: bigots, Islamophobes, and un-American . . . But the President says such prudence only further enflames the Islamic jihadists.”

The President warns that it is counterproductive and needs to stop.

The truth is, I will insert parenthetically, what has been a huge recruiting tool for ISIL, ISIS, and the Islamic State, has been American weakness and unwillingness to confront radical Islam head up and call it what it is.

We found back when we were engaged in Iraq that one of the big recruitments that was used by radical Islamists is they would go back to 1979 and the fact that Jimmy Carter did not after they attacked our Embassy and took over 50—51 people or so—as hostages. We did basically nothing to them.

And they point out that we pulled out of Beirut after our Marines were killed there. And they go out and point out the 1993 attack on the World Trade Center under Bill Clinton. We really did nothing after that in response. And after the USS *Cole* was hit, we basically did nothing effective.

And they go on to point out each time that America has been hit and we did nothing effective to counter the attack upon us, that is the biggest recruiting element that ISIS or any radical Islamist group has had, when they can show that they have attacked and we have been weak.

And nothing has been shown to be less effective in responding to attacks against us, against Americans, against Christians, against minority groups, against moderate Muslims, then what has happened during this administration. Call George W. Bush what you will, but the fact is the world knew that while he was President, if you messed with America, he would strike back.

□ 1515

That is what led Qadhafi to abandon his nuclear efforts. It led him to open up his doors. You tell me what weapons I can keep. He was afraid we were going to invade them next.

According to this article, it says, “But the cold, hard reality is that Protestants, Catholics and Jews aren’t

the ones beheading people. The Lutherans and Nazarenes aren't gunning down young folks in concert venues."

Nevertheless, the President remains steadfast. The Muslims will come.

"We don't have religious tests to our compassions," he told journalists from high atop his soapbox.

But that is not entirely accurate. Last year the Obama administration led a fierce legal battle to have a German Christian family thrown out of the United States.

The Romeikes fled their homeland in search of a nation where they could homeschool their children. A judge initially granted them asylum, believing they were escaping from religious persecution. However, the Obama administration waged a fierce campaign against the Romeike family, demanding they be returned to Germany.

The family lost court battle after court battle, but, at the eleventh hour, the White House relented and begrudgingly let them stay.

But just a few months ago a Federal Immigration judge ordered a dozen Iraqi Christians deported from a facility in San Diego. An Immigration Customs Enforcement spokesperson declined to tell the San Diego Union Tribune why the Iraqi Christians were being sent back to their native land.

So the next time President Obama wants to lecture the Nation about religion, maybe he could explain why his administration is importing Muslims and deporting Christians.

I realize that I just have a few minutes left, Madam Speaker. Our hearts, our prayers and thoughts have been with the people of France and Lebanon and Russia, victims of radical Islamist attacks and anywhere they have been occurring, Brussels, as well.

There is great irony. On Wednesday of last week, the European Union announced what it had been building to for some time. In essence, it announced it was declaring economic war on Israel.

Anti-Semitism has grown all over the European Union to levels I never would have dreamed, as a little boy, would ever come back to Germany, where we read and studied about the Holocaust and the persecution of Jews not just in Germany, but around Europe, and there were other countries that actually assisted the Germans.

There were people like George Soros, who was Jewish, that helped finger other Jews. I never thought we would get to the level of anti-Semitism where Europe, as a whole, as a group, would basically declare economic war against Israel. Incredible how anti-Semitism has grown there.

And then, within 48 hours of them declaring war, siding with the Palestinian Muslims, siding with those—they are attacking the Christians and Jews in Israel and siding with the wrong people.

I yield back the balance of my time.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Karen L. Haas, Clerk of the House, reported and found truly enrolled bills of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 208. An act to improve the disaster assistance programs of the Small Business Administration.

H.R. 639. An act to amend the Controlled Substances Act with respect to drug scheduling recommendations by the Secretary of Health and Human Services, and with respect to registration of manufacturers and distributors seeking to conduct clinical testing.

H.R. 2262. An act to facilitate a pro-growth environment for the developing commercial space industry by encouraging private sector investment and creating more stable and predictable regulatory conditions, and for other purposes.

H.R. 3996. An act to provide an extension of Federal-aid highway, highway safety, motor carrier safety, transit, and other programs funded out of the Highway Trust Fund, and for other purposes.

SENATE ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The Speaker announced his signature to an enrolled bill of the Senate of the following title:

S. 2036. An act to suspend the current pension packages for the chief executive officers of Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, and for other purposes.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. GOHMERT. Madam Speaker, pursuant to the order of the House of today, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 19 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until tomorrow, November 20, 2015, at 5 p.m., unless it sooner has received a message from the Senate transmitting its adoption of House Concurrent Resolution 95, in which case the House shall stand adjourned pursuant to that concurrent resolution.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

3501. A letter from the Director, Defense Procurement and Acquisition Policy, Department of Defense, transmitting the Department's final rule — Defense Federal Acquisition Regulation Supplement: Photovoltaic Devices from the United States (DFARS Case 2015-D007) [Docket No.: DARS-2015-0024] (RIN: 0750-AI41) received November 17, 2015, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Added by Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; to the Committee on Armed Services.

3502. A letter from the Director, Defense Procurement and Acquisition Policy, Department of Defense, transmitting the Department's final rule — Defense Federal Acquisition Regulation Supplement: Eliminate Data Collection Requirement (DFARS Case 2015-D031) [Docket No.: DARS-2015-0048] (RIN: 0750-AI73) received November 17, 2015, pursu-

ant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Added by Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; to the Committee on Armed Services.

3503. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Affairs and Collaborative Action, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, transmitting the Department's final rule — Housing Improvement Program [156A2100DD/AAKC001030/AOA501010.999900 253G] (RIN: 1076-AF22) received November 17, 2015, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Added by Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; to the Committee on Financial Services.

3504. A letter from the Director, Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation, transmitting the Corporation's FY 2015 Annual Report, pursuant to 29 U.S.C. 1308; Public Law 93-406, Sec. 4008 (as amended by Public Law 109-280, Sec. 412); to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

3505. A letter from the Assistant Secretary, Employee Benefits Security Administration, Department of Labor, transmitting the Department's interpretive bulletin — Interpretive Bulletin Relating to the Fiduciary Standard Under ERISA in Considering Economically Targeted Investments (RIN: 1210-AB73) received November 18, 2015, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Added by Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

3506. A letter from the Assistant Secretary, Employee Benefits Security Administration, Department of Labor, transmitting the Department's interpretive bulletin — Interpretive Bulletin Relating to State Savings Programs That Sponsor or Facilitate Plans Covered by the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 (RIN: 1210-AB74) received November 18, 2015, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Added by Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

3507. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Communications and Information, Department of Commerce, transmitting the fourth quarterly report from the National Telecommunications and Information Administration regarding the Internet Assigned Numbers Authority transition, pursuant to the Consolidated and Further Continuing Appropriations Act of 2015, Public Law 113-235; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

3508. A letter from the Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's Algal Toxin Risk Assessment and Management Strategic Plan for Drinking Water, pursuant to 42 U.S.C. 300j-19(a); Public Law 114-45, Sec. 2(a); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

3509. A letter from the Chief, Policy and Rule Division, Office of Engineering and Technology, Federal Communication Commission, transmitting the Commission's final rule — Expanding the Economic and Innovation Opportunities of Spectrum Through Incentive Auctions [GN Docket No.: 12-268]; Office of Engineering and Technology Releases and Seeks Comment on Updated OET-69 Software [ET Docket No.: 13-26]; Office of Engineering and Technology Seeks to Supplement the Incentive Auction Proceeding Record Regarding Potential Interference Between Broadcast Television and Wireless Services [ET Docket No.: 14-14] received November 17, 2015, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Added by Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

3510. A letter from the Chief of Staff, Media Bureau, Federal Communications Commission, transmitting the Commission's requirements and procedures — Media Bureau Finalizes Reimbursement Form for Submission to OMB and Adopts Catalog of Expenses [GN Docket No.: 12-268] received November 18, 2015, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Added

by Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

3511. A letter from the Assistant Secretary, Department of State, transmitting a certification, Transmittal No.: DDTC 15-085, pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(c)(2)(C); Public Law 90-629, Sec. 36(c) (as added by Public Law 94-329, Sec. 211(a)); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

3512. A letter from the Assistant Secretary, Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting a certification, Transmittal No.: DDTC 15-089, pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(c)(2)(C); Public Law 90-629, Sec. 36(c) (as added by Public Law 94-329, Sec. 211(a)); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

3513. A letter from the Assistant Secretary, Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting a certification, Transmittal No.: DDTC 15-111, pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(c)(2)(C); Public Law 90-629, Sec. 36(c) (as added by Public Law 94-329, Sec. 211(a)); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

3514. A letter from the Assistant Secretary, Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting a certification, Transmittal No.: DDTC 15-018, pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(c)(2)(C); Public Law 90-629, Sec. 36(c) (as added by Public Law 94-329, Sec. 211(a)); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

3515. A letter from the Assistant Secretary, Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting a certification, Transmittal No.: DDTC 15-080, pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(c)(2)(C); Public Law 90-629, Sec. 36(c) (as added by Public Law 94-329, Sec. 211(a)); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

3516. A letter from the Assistant Secretary, Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting a certification, Transmittal No.: DDTC 15-071, pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(c)(2)(C); Public Law 90-629, Sec. 36(c) (as added by Public Law 94-329, Sec. 211(a)); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

3517. A letter from the Assistant Secretary, Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting a certification, Transmittal No.: DDTC 15-063, pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(c)(2)(C); Public Law 90-629, Sec. 36(c) (as added by Public Law 94-329, Sec. 211(a)); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

3518. A letter from the Assistant Secretary, Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting a certification, Transmittal No.: DDTC 15-054, pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(c)(2)(C); Public Law 90-629, Sec. 36(c) (as added by Public Law 94-329, Sec. 211(a)); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

3519. A letter from the Assistant Secretary, Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting a certification, Transmittal No.: DDTC 15-053, pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(c)(2)(C); Public Law 90-629, Sec. 36(c) (as added by Public Law 94-329, Sec. 211(a)); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

3520. A letter from the Secretary, Department of the Treasury, transmitting a six-month periodic report on the national emergency with respect to Yemen that was declared in Executive Order 13611 of May 16, 2012, pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1703(c), Sec. 204(c) and, pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1641(c); Public Law 94-412, Sec. 401(c); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

3521. A letter from the Administrator and Chief Executive Officer, Bonneville Power Administration, Department of Energy, transmitting the Bonneville Power Administration's 2015 Annual Report, pursuant to the Third Powerplant at Grand Coulee Dam Act, Public Law 89-448 (80 Stat. 200) and the Chief Financial Officers Act, Public Law 101-576; to the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform.

3522. A letter from the Board Chair and Chief Executive Officer, Farm Credit Administration, transmitting the Administration's Performance and Accountability Report for

FY 2015, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. app. Sec. 8G(h)(2); Public Law 100-504, Sec. 104(a); to the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform.

3523. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, National Archives and Records Administration, transmitting the annual Agency Financial Report of the National Archives and Records Administration for FY 2015, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. app. (Insp. Gen. Act) Sec. 8G(h)(2); Public Law 100-504, Sec. 104(a); to the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform.

3524. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Affairs and Collaborative Action, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, transmitting the Department's final rule — Secretarial Election Procedures [156A2100DD/AAK001030/A0A501010.999900 253G] (RIN: 1076-AE93) received November 17, 2015, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Added by Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; to the Committee on Natural Resources.

3525. A letter from the Chief Impact Analyst, Office of Regulatory Policy, Office of the General Counsel (02REG), Department of Veterans Affairs, transmitting the Department's Major final rule — Expanded Access to Non-VA Care through the Veterans Choice Program (RIN: 2900-AP24) received November 17, 2015, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Added by Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

3526. A letter from the Chief, Publications and Regulations Branch, Internal Revenue Service, transmitting the Service's final regulations — Transitional Amendments to Satisfy the Market Rate of Return Rules for Hybrid Retirement Plans [TD 9743] (RIN: 1545-BL62) received November 18, 2015, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Added by Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

3527. A letter from the Chief, Publications and Regulations Branch, Internal Revenue Service, transmitting the Service's IRB only rule — Qualified Student Loan Bonds [Notice 2015-78] received November 18, 2015, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Added by Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

3528. A letter from the Chief, Publications and Regulations Branch, Internal Revenue Service, transmitting the Service's IRB only rule — Update of Weighted Average Interest Rates, Yield Curves, and Segment Rates [Notice 2015-80] received November 18, 2015, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Added by Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

3529. A letter from the Chief, Publications and Regulations Branch, Internal Revenue Service, transmitting the Service's IRB only rule — Extension of Guidance in Notice 2013-7 for Participants in the HFA Hardest Hit Fund [Notice 2015-77] received November 18, 2015, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Added by Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

3530. A letter from the Chief, Publications and Regulations Branch, Internal Revenue Service, transmitting the Service's final rules — Final Rules for Grandfathered Plans, Preexisting Condition Exclusions, Lifetime and Annual Limits, Rescissions, Dependent Coverage, Appeals, and Patient Protections under the Affordable Care Act [TD 9744] (RIN: 1545-BJ45, 1545-BJ50, 1545-BJ62, 1545-BJ57) received November 18, 2015, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Added by Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; jointly to the Committees on Ways and Means, Energy and Commerce, and Education and the Workforce.

for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. McCAUL: Committee on Homeland Security. H.R. 3842. A bill to improve homeland security, including domestic preparedness and response to terrorism, by reforming Federal Law Enforcement Training Centers to provide training to first responders, and for other purposes; with an amendment (Rept. 114-343, Pt. 1). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. McCAUL: Committee on Homeland Security. H.R. 2899. A bill to amend the Homeland Security Act of 2002 to authorize the Office for Countering Violent Extremism; with an amendment (Rept. 114-344). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. GOODLATTE: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 3490. A bill to amend the Homeland Security Act of 2002 to authorize the National Computer Forensics Institute, and for other purposes; with an amendment (Rept. 114-345, Pt. 1). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. UPTON: Committee on Energy and Commerce. S. 611. An act to amend the Safe Drinking Water Act to reauthorize technical assistance to small public water systems, and for other purposes (Rept. 114-346). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. UPTON: Committee on Energy and Commerce. H.R. 8. A bill to modernize energy infrastructure, build a 21st century energy and manufacturing workforce, bolster America's energy security and diplomacy, and promote energy efficiency and government accountability, and for other purposes; with an amendment (Rept. 114-347, Pt. 1). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. UPTON: Committee on Energy and Commerce. House Joint Resolution 71. Resolution providing for congressional disapproval under chapter 8 of title 5, United States Code, of a rule submitted by the Environmental Protection Agency relating to "Standards of Performance for Greenhouse Gas Emissions from New, Modified, and Reconstructed Stationary Sources: Electric Utility Generating Units" (Rept. 114-348). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. UPTON: Committee on Energy and Commerce. House Joint Resolution 72. Resolution for congressional disapproval under chapter 8 of title 5, United States Code, of a rule submitted by the Environmental Protection Agency relating to "Carbon Pollution Emission Guidelines for Existing Stationary Sources: Electric Utility Generating Units" (Rept. 114-349). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

DISCHARGE OF COMMITTEE

Pursuant to clause 2 of rule XIII, the Committees on Science, Space, and Technology, Education and the Workforce, Oversight and Government Reform, and Foreign Affairs discharged from further consideration. H.R. 8 referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Pursuant to clause 2 of rule XIII, the Committee on the Judiciary discharged from further consideration. H.R. 3842 referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XII, public bills and resolutions of the following titles were introduced and severally referred, as follows:

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk

By Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi (for himself, Ms. LOFGREN, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. GALLEGO, Mr. TED LIEU of California, Mr. MOULTON, Ms. DUCKWORTH, Mr. SMITH of Washington, and Mr. SCHIFF):

H.R. 4079. A bill to require that supplemental certifications and identity verifications be completed prior to the admission of refugees, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CARTWRIGHT (for himself, Mrs. NAPOLITANO, Mr. CONNOLLY, Ms. JACKSON LEE, Ms. KELLY of Illinois, Mr. DEFazio, Mrs. KIRKPATRICK, Mr. JONES, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Ms. ESTY, Ms. MCCOLLUM, Mr. GRIJALVA, Mr. NEAL, Mrs. BUSTOS, Mrs. CAPPS, and Mr. HECK of Washington):

H.R. 4080. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide for unlimited eligibility for health care for mental illnesses for veterans of combat service during certain periods of hostilities and war; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. WEBSTER of Florida:

H.R. 4081. A bill to amend title 23, United States Code, to establish a Transportation Infrastructure Finance and Innovation Act Revolving Fund, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

By Mr. WEBSTER of Florida:

H.R. 4082. A bill to coordinate transportation services for transportation-disadvantaged individuals; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

By Mr. GOSAR (for himself, Mr. BRAT, Mr. BUCK, Mr. CRAWFORD, Mr. CULBERSON, Mr. FRANKS of Arizona, Mr. GOHMERT, Mr. HARPER, Mr. HUELSKAMP, Mr. KING of Iowa, Mrs. LUMMIS, Mr. MILLER of Florida, Mr. OLSON, Mr. POSEY, Mr. RICE of South Carolina, Mr. ROGERS of Alabama, Mr. ROKITA, Mr. ROUZER, Mr. STEWART, Mr. TIPTON, Mr. WILSON of South Carolina, and Mr. BABIN):

H.R. 4083. A bill to exclude the Internal Revenue Service from the provisions of title 5, United States Code, relating to labor-management relations; to the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform.

By Mr. WEBER of Texas (for himself, Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, Mr. SMITH of Texas, Mr. LIPINSKI, Mr. LOUDERMILK, Mr. PERLMUTTER, Mrs. COMSTOCK, Mr. TONKO, Mr. BRIDENSTINE, Mr. ROHRBACHER, Mr. HULTGREN, Mr. WESTERMAN, Mr. SCHWEIKERT, Mr. BABIN, Mr. CULBERSON, Mr. BRADY of Texas, Mr. SESSIONS, Mr. CARTER of Texas, Mr. CONAWAY, Mr. MARCHANT, and Mr. FARENTHOLD):

H.R. 4084. A bill to enable civilian research and development of advanced nuclear energy technologies by private and public institutions and to expand theoretical and practical knowledge of nuclear physics, chemistry, and materials science; to the Committee on Science, Space, and Technology.

By Mr. TIBERI (for himself, Mr. NEAL, Mr. SESSIONS, Mr. REED, and Ms. LINDA T. SANCHEZ of California):

H.R. 4085. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to clarify the treatment of church pension plans, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HILL:

H.R. 4086. A bill to require that supplemental certifications and background investigations be completed prior to the admission of certain aliens as refugees, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary, and in addition to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each

case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mrs. LOVE (for herself, Mr. ZELDIN, Ms. GABBARD, Mr. BISHOP of Michigan, Mr. GOWDY, Mr. LOUDERMILK, Mr. BABIN, Mr. CHAFFETZ, Mr. RATCLIFFE, Mr. STEWART, Mr. CURBELO of Florida, Mr. BISHOP of Georgia, Mrs. BEATTY, Mr. ZINKE, Mrs. ROBY, Mrs. WALORSKI, Mr. HURD of Texas, Ms. KELLY of Illinois, Mr. BUTTERFIELD, Mr. STIVERS, Mr. YODER, Mr. SMITH of Missouri, Ms. MOORE, Ms. FUDGE, Mr. JOHNSON of Georgia, Mr. RICHMOND, Ms. ADAMS, Ms. SINEMA, Ms. BROWN of Florida, and Mr. CLYBURN):

H.R. 4087. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to adjust the effective date of certain reductions and discontinuances of compensation, dependency and indemnity compensation, and pension under the laws administered by the Secretary of Veterans Affairs; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. PASCRELL (for himself, Mr. LOBIONDO, and Mr. CARNEY):

H.R. 4088. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide for an investment tax credit related to the production of electricity from offshore wind; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BILIRAKIS:

H.R. 4089. A bill to require the Secretary of Homeland Security to strengthen student visa background checks and improve the monitoring of foreign students in the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. BLACKBURN:

H.R. 4090. A bill to amend the Social Security Act to improve choices available to Medicare eligible seniors by permitting them to elect (instead of regular Medicare benefits) to receive a voucher for a health savings account, for premiums for a high deductible health insurance plan, or both and by suspending Medicare late enrollment penalties between ages 65 and 70; to the Committee on Ways and Means, and in addition to the Committee on Energy and Commerce, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Ms. BORDALLO:

H.R. 4091. A bill to provide reforms through the Organic Act of Guam; to the Committee on Natural Resources.

By Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 4092. A bill to reauthorize the sound recording and film preservation programs of the Library of Congress, and for other purposes; to the Committee on House Administration, and in addition to the Committee on the Judiciary, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 4093. A bill to revise certain administrative and management authorities of the Librarian of Congress, and for other purposes; to the Committee on House Administration, and in addition to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. BRAT:

H.R. 4094. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to create Universal Savings Accounts; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Ms. BROWNLEY of California:

H.R. 4095. A bill to amend the charter of the Gold Star Wives of America to remove the restriction on the federally chartered corporation, and directors and officers of the corporation, attempting to influence legislation; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CAPUANO (for himself and Mr. STIVERS):

H.R. 4096. A bill to amend the Volcker Rule to permit certain investment advisers to share a similar name with a private equity fund, subject to certain restrictions, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Financial Services.

By Mr. CAPUANO:

H.R. 4097. A bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to provide for visas for certain advanced STEM graduates, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Ms. JUDY CHU of California (for herself and Mr. ROYCE):

H.R. 4098. A bill to amend title III of the Higher Education Act of 1965 to strengthen minority-serving institutions; to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

By Mr. CLAY (for himself and Mr. STIVERS):

H.R. 4099. A bill to increase from \$10,000,000,000 to \$50,000,000,000 the threshold figure at which regulated depository institutions are subject to direct examination and reporting requirements of the Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Financial Services.

By Mr. CLAY (for himself and Mrs. WAGNER):

H.R. 4100. A bill to require the Secretary of the Army, acting through the Chief of Engineers, to undertake remediation oversight of the West Lake Landfill located in Bridgeton, Missouri; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce, and in addition to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. COHEN (for himself, Mr. JONES, and Mr. JOHNSON of Georgia):

H.R. 4101. A bill to amend the Higher Education Act of 1965 regarding proprietary institutions of higher education in order to protect students and taxpayers; to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

By Mrs. COMSTOCK:

H.R. 4102. A bill to provide for the establishment of a mechanism to allow borrowers of Federal student loans to refinance their loans, to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to extend the exclusion for employer-provided educational assistance to employer payment of interest on certain refinanced student loans, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and the Workforce, and in addition to the Committee on Ways and Means, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. CRAMER:

H.R. 4103. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to improve the provision of medical care to veterans at critical access hospitals; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, and in addition to the Committee on Ways and Means, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. CROWLEY (for himself and Mr. PAULSEN):

H.R. 4104. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to treat bicycle sharing

systems as mass transit facilities for purposes of the qualified transportation fringe; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DESJARLAIS (for himself, Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee, Mr. FLEISCHMANN, Mr. ROGERS of Kentucky, Mr. BARR, Mr. FINCHER, Mrs. BLACK, Mrs. BLACKBURN, and Mr. ROE of Tennessee):

H.R. 4105. A bill to amend the Horse Protection Act to provide increased protection for horses participating in shows, exhibitions, or sales, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

By Mrs. DINGELL (for herself, Mr. CARTWRIGHT, and Mr. POCAN):

H.R. 4106. A bill to provide for a program of research, development, demonstration, and commercial application in vehicle technologies at the Department of Energy; to the Committee on Science, Space, and Technology.

By Mr. DONOVAN (for himself and Miss RICE of New York):

H.R. 4107. A bill to provide for transparency, accountability, and reform of the National Flood Insurance Program; to the Committee on Financial Services.

By Ms. GABBARD (for herself and Mr. AUSTIN SCOTT of Georgia):

H.R. 4108. A bill to prohibit the use of funds for the provision of assistance to Syrian opposition groups and individuals; to the Committee on Armed Services, and in addition to the Committees on Intelligence (Permanent Select), and Foreign Affairs, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. GRIJALVA (for himself, Mr. TAKANO, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. CUMMINGS, Mr. GUTIERREZ, Mrs. NAPOLITANO, Mr. MCDERMOTT, and Ms. CLARKE of New York):

H.R. 4109. A bill to amend the Higher Education Opportunity Act to restrict institutions of higher education from using revenues derived from Federal educational assistance funds for advertising, marketing, or recruiting purposes; to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

By Ms. KELLY of Illinois:

H.R. 4110. A bill to require the Comptroller General of the United States to study the feasibility of modifying the 5-month waiting period for certain individuals entitled to disability insurance benefits under section 223 of the Social Security Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. LANCE (for himself, Mr. CRAMER, and Mr. LOBBSACK):

H.R. 4111. A bill to include skilled nursing facilities as a type of health care provider under section 254(h) of the Communications Act of 1934; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

By Mr. LUETKEMEYER (for himself and Mrs. KIRKPATRICK):

H.R. 4112. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to allow refunds of Federal motor fuel excise taxes on fuels used in mobile mammography vehicles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mrs. CAROLYN B. MALONEY of New York (for herself, Ms. LEE, Ms. MOORE, and Mr. CÁRDENAS):

H.R. 4113. A bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 regarding reasonable break time for nursing mothers; to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

By Mr. SEAN PATRICK MALONEY of New York (for himself, Mr. RENACCI, Mr. COFFMAN, and Mr. SWALWELL of California):

H.R. 4114. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to increase the amount that can be withdrawn without penalty from

individual retirement plans as first-time homebuyer distributions; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Ms. MENG:

H.R. 4115. A bill to adjust the amount of monthly old-age, survivors, and disability insurance payments under title II of the Social Security Act based on locality-based comparability payment rates; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Ms. MOORE (for herself and Mr. EMMER of Minnesota):

H.R. 4116. A bill to amend the Federal Deposit Insurance Act to ensure that the reciprocal deposits of an insured depository institution are not considered to be funds obtained by or through a deposit broker, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Financial Services.

By Mr. MURPHY of Florida (for himself, Mr. RANGEL, Ms. NORTON, and Mr. HONDA):

H.R. 4117. A bill to require statistics relating to community trust in law enforcement in the National Crime Victim's Survey, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Ms. NORTON:

H.R. 4118. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Veterans Affairs to provide support to university law school programs that are designed to provide legal assistance to veterans, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. PALAZZO:

H.R. 4119. A bill to authorize the exchange of certain land located in Gulf Islands National Seashore, Jackson County, Mississippi, between the National Park Service and the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Natural Resources.

By Mr. SALMON (for himself, Mr. GROTHMAN, and Mr. GOSAR):

H.R. 4120. A bill to amend the Head Start Act to authorize block grants to States for prekindergarten education, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

By Mr. SERRANO (for himself, Mr. FATTAH, Mr. GRIJALVA, Mr. MEEKS, Mrs. NAPOLITANO, and Ms. VELÁZQUEZ):

H.R. 4121. A bill to amend the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 to provide greater access to the supplemental nutrition assistance program by reducing duplicative and burdensome administrative requirements, authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to award grants to certain community-based nonprofit feeding and anti-hunger groups for the purpose of establishing and implementing a Beyond the Soup Kitchen Pilot Program for certain socially and economically disadvantaged populations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Ms. SINEMA (for herself and Mr. SALMON):

H.R. 4122. A bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to provide that aliens who were present in certain countries may not be admitted under the visa waiver program, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WALKER:

H.R. 4123. A bill to withhold United States contributions to the regularly assessed biennial budget of the United Nations until the United Nations adopts a definition of "international terrorism" concurrent with United States laws, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. WALZ (for himself and Mr. GIBSON):

H.R. 4124. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to eliminate the age restriction on the commencement of the receipt of retired pay for non-regular service; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mrs. WATSON COLEMAN (for herself, Mr. HASTINGS, Mr. HONDA, Mrs. LAWRENCE, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. PAL-LONE, Mr. PAYNE, and Mr. SIREN):

H.R. 4125. A bill to direct the Secretary of Veterans Affairs to conduct a study on the feasibility of the Secretary entering into public-private partnerships to improve the access of veterans to medical facilities in densely populated communities and rural communities; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. YOHO (for himself, Mr. MEADOWS, Mr. ZINKE, Mr. BROOKS of Alabama, Mrs. MCMORRIS RODGERS, Mr. DUNCAN of South Carolina, and Mr. MILLER of Florida):

H.R. 4126. A bill to clarify that any action by the President in contravention of the restriction on transfer or release of individuals detained at United States Naval Station, Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, is without legal effect, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. GOSAR (for himself, Mr. ABRAHAM, Mr. AMODEI, Mr. BABIN, Mr. BARR, Mr. BARTON, Mr. BENISHEK, Mr. BLUM, Mr. BOUSTANY, Mr. BROOKS of Alabama, Mr. BUCK, Mr. CARTER of Georgia, Mr. CHABOT, Mr. CHAFFETZ, Mr. CRAMER, Mr. CRAWFORD, Mr. DESJARLAIS, Mr. DUNCAN of South Carolina, Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee, Mr. FARENTHOLD, Mr. FLEMING, Mr. FRANKS of Arizona, Mr. GIBBS, Mr. GOHMERT, Mr. GRAVES of Louisiana, Mr. GRIFFITH, Mr. GROTHMAN, Mr. HARDY, Mr. HUELSKAMP, Mr. JOHNSON of Ohio, Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania, Mr. KING of Iowa, Mr. SAM JOHNSON of Texas, Mr. JONES, Mr. JOYCE, Mr. LAMBORN, Mr. LUCAS, Mr. LUETKEMEYER, Mrs. LUMMIS, Mr. MESSER, Mr. MCCLINTOCK, Mr. MCKINLEY, Ms. MCSALLY, Mrs. MILLER of Michigan, Mr. MOONEY of West Virginia, Mr. NEUGEBAUER, Mr. NEWHOUSE, Mr. PALMER, Mr. PEARCE, Mr. POMPEO, Mr. POSEY, Mr. RIBBLE, Mr. RICE of South Carolina, Mr. ROHRBACHER, Mr. ROUZER, Mr. SALMON, Mr. AUSTIN SCOTT of Georgia, Mr. SESSIONS, Mr. SHIMKUS, Mr. SMITH of Texas, Mr. STUTZMAN, Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania, Mr. TROTT, Mrs. WALORSKI, Mr. WEBER of Texas, Mr. YOHO, Mr. YOUNG of Alaska, Mr. WILSON of South Carolina, Mr. ZINKE, Mr. SEN-SENRENNER, and Mr. LABRADOR):

H.J. Res. 74. A joint resolution providing for congressional disapproval under chapter 8 of title 5, United States Code, of the final rule of the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency relating to "National Ambient Air Quality Standards for Ozone"; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

By Mr. GRAVES of Louisiana:

H. Con. Res. 95. Concurrent resolution providing for a conditional adjournment of the House of Representatives and a conditional recess or adjournment of the Senate; considered and agreed to.

By Mr. WOODALL (for himself, Mr. HASTINGS, Mr. POSEY, Mr. MCCAUL, Mr. SESSIONS, Mr. DUNCAN of South Carolina, Mr. BISHOP of Utah, Mr. COOK, Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania, Mr. TOM PRICE of Georgia, Mr. COLLINS of New York, and Mr. NEWHOUSE):

H. Con. Res. 96. Concurrent resolution condemning Palestinian incitement of violence and reaffirming the special bond between Israel and the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania (for himself, Mr. FLORES, Mr. SESSIONS,

Mr. DUNCAN of South Carolina, Mr. GOSAR, Mr. SMITH of Texas, Mr. RIBBLE, Mr. ROE of Tennessee, Mr. MURPHY of Pennsylvania, Mr. ROUZER, Mr. CULBERSON, Mr. FLEMING, Mr. WILSON of South Carolina, Mr. JONES, Mr. DESJARLAIS, Mr. PITTS, Mrs. BLACKBURN, Mr. LAMALFA, Mr. LAMBORN, Mr. YODER, Mr. WALBERG, Mr. PITTENGER, Mr. CRAMER, Mr. WOODALL, Mr. FRANKS of Arizona, Mr. GIBBS, Mr. WEBER of Texas, Mr. SAM JOHNSON of Texas, Mr. PALMER, Mr. ZINKE, Mr. SALMON, Mr. POSEY, Mr. RATCLIFFE, Mr. FARENTHOLD, Mr. LONG, Mr. MILLER of Florida, Mr. SCHWEIKERT, Mr. BRIDENSTINE, Mr. WILLIAMS, Mr. LUETKEMEYER, Mr. GROTHMAN, Mr. RENACCI, Mr. HENSARLING, Mr. GUTHRIE, Mr. MEADOWS, and Mr. BABIN):

H. Con. Res. 97. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress that the President should submit to the Senate for advice and consent the climate change agreement proposed for adoption at the twenty-first session of the Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, to be held in Paris, France from November 30 to December 11, 2015; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Ms. ADAMS (for herself, Mr. CONYERS, Ms. NORTON, Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS of Illinois, Ms. BROWN of Florida, Mr. RICHMOND, Mr. GRIJALVA, Ms. CLARKE of New York, Mrs. BEATTY, and Mr. HASTINGS):

H. Con. Res. 98. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that homelessness in America should be eliminated; to the Committee on Financial Services, and in addition to the Committee on Ways and Means, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. KATKO (for himself, Mr. GIBSON, Miss RICE of New York, and Mr. COLLINS of New York):

H. Con. Res. 99. Concurrent resolution commemorating the 100th anniversary of the United States Army Reserve Officers' Training Corps; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. CHABOT (for himself, Ms. VELÁZQUEZ, Ms. ADAMS, Mr. ASHFORD, Mrs. BEATTY, Mr. BENISHEK, Mr. BLUM, Ms. BONAMICI, Mr. BOST, Mrs. BROOKS of Indiana, Ms. BROWN of Florida, Mrs. BUSTOS, Mr. CAPUANO, Mr. CÁRDENAS, Mr. CARSON of Indiana, Ms. JUDY CHU of California, Mr. CICILLINE, Ms. CLARKE of New York, Mr. COLLINS of New York, Mr. CURBELO of Florida, Ms. DELBENE, Mrs. ELLMERS of North Carolina, Mr. FATTAH, Mr. GIBSON, Mr. GRAVES of Missouri, Mr. GRIJALVA, Ms. HAHN, Mr. HANNA, Mr. HARDY, Mr. HUELSKAMP, Mr. KELLY of Mississippi, Mr. KING of Iowa, Mr. KNIGHT, Mrs. LAWRENCE, Mr. LUETKEMEYER, Mr. MARINO, Ms. MENG, Mr. MOULTON, Ms. NORTON, Mr. PAYNE, Ms. PINGREE, Mr. POCAN, Ms. SCHA-KOWSKY, Mrs. RADEWAGEN, Mr. RYAN of Ohio, Mr. TAKAI, Mr. TIPTON, Ms. TITUS, Mr. VALADAO, Mr. VARGAS, Mr. SENSENBRENNER, Mr. KIND, Ms. BROWNLEY of California, Mr. BRAT, Mr. RICE of South Carolina, Mrs. KIRKPATRICK, and Mr. MCCAUL):

H. Res. 534. A resolution expressing support for the designation of a "Small Business Saturday" and supporting efforts to increase awareness of the value of locally owned

small businesses; to the Committee on Small Business.

By Mr. HANNA (for himself, Mr. ISSA, Mr. ROYCE, Mr. ENGEL, Mr. MCDERMOTT, Ms. KAPTUR, Mr. FARR, Mr. ELLISON, Mr. BEYER, Mr. BOSTANY, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. ABRAHAM, Ms. MCCOLLUM, Mr. TURNER, Ms. GRAHAM, Mrs. DINGELL, Mr. HIGGINS, Mr. WEBER of Texas, Mrs. WATSON COLEMAN, Mr. LAHOOD, Mr. WILSON of South Carolina, Mr. MEADOWS, Mr. CICILLINE, Mr. DUNCAN of South Carolina, Mr. BRENDAN F. BOYLE of Pennsylvania, Mr. BISHOP of Michigan, Mr. GRAVES of Louisiana, Ms. LOFGREN, Mr. COSTA, Mr. CONNOLLY, Mr. LOWENTHAL, and Mr. MCGOVERN):

H. Res. 535. A resolution condemning in the strongest terms the terrorist attacks in Beirut, Lebanon, on November 12, 2015, that resulted in the loss of at least 43 lives; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. SIREs (for himself, Ms. ROSLEHTINEN, Mr. ENGEL, and Mr. DUNCAN of South Carolina):

H. Res. 536. A resolution supporting freedom of the press in Latin America and the Caribbean and condemning violations of press freedom and violence against journalists, bloggers, and individuals exercising their right to freedom of speech; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Ms. JENKINS of Kansas:

H. Res. 537. A resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that Federal law prohibits the transfer of individuals detained at United States Naval Station, Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, to the United States; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. SEAN PATRICK MALONEY of New York (for himself, Ms. SINEMA, Mr. TAKANO, Mr. POCAN, Mr. MURPHY of Florida, Mr. CICILLINE, Ms. DEGETTE, Mr. NADLER, Mr. HONDA, Ms. BROWNLEY of California, Ms. NORTON, Mr. SCHIFF, Mr. GRIJALVA, and Ms. LEE):

H. Res. 538. A resolution supporting the goals and ideals of National Adoption Day and National Adoption Month by promoting awareness of adoption and the children in foster care awaiting families, celebrating children and families involved in adoption, recognizing current programs and efforts designed to promote adoption, and encouraging people in the United States to seek improved safety, permanency, and well-being for all children; to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of rule XII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

150. The SPEAKER presented a memorial of the General Assembly of the State of California, relative to Assembly Joint Resolution No. 16, calling upon the President of the United States to encourage the Secretary of the United States Department of Health and Human Services to adopt policies to repeal the current and upcoming discriminatory donor suitability policies of the United States Food and Drug Administration (FDA) regarding blood donations by men who have had sex with another man and, instead, direct the FDA to develop science-based policies such as criteria based on risky behavior in lieu of sexual orientation; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

151. Also, a memorial of the General Assembly of the State of California, relative to Assembly Joint Resolution No. 25, urging the President and Congress of the United States to support legislation that will provide a comprehensive solution to allow banks and

credit unions to perform financial services for marijuana businesses; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

152. Also, a memorial of the General Assembly of the State of California, relative to Assembly Joint Resolution No. 22, urging the federal government to take steps to reform the outdated and inadequate Official Poverty Measure to better reflect poverty and the unmet needs demonstrated by the Supplemental Poverty Measure; to the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform.

153. Also, a memorial of the General Assembly of the State of California, relative to Assembly Joint Resolution No. 27, urging the Congress of the United States to permanently reauthorize and fully fund the federal land and Water Conservation Fund in order to maintain and preserve land and water resources; to the Committee on Natural Resources.

154. Also, a memorial of the General Assembly of the State of California, relative to Assembly Joint Resolution No. 13, urging the Congress and President of the United States to continue to secure citizens' right to vote and remedy any racial discrimination in voting; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

155. Also, a memorial of the General Assembly of the State of California, relative to Assembly Joint Resolution No. 26, urging the Congress of the United States to ban the sale or display of any Confederate flag, including the Confederate Battle Flag, on federal property and encourage states to ban the use of Confederate States of America symbolism from state flags, seals, and symbols, and would encourage the donation of Confederate artifacts to museums; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY STATEMENT

Pursuant to clause 7 of rule XII of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the following statements are submitted regarding the specific powers granted to Congress in the Constitution to enact the accompanying bill or joint resolution.

By Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi:

H.R. 4079.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 4.

By Mr. CARTWRIGHT:

H.R. 4080.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 1 of the Constitution states The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States . . .

By Mr. WEBSTER of Florida:

H.R. 4081.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

The authority granted Congress under Article I, Section 8, Clause 3 and Clause 7 of the United States Constitution establish the basis for Congress providing transportation infrastructure.

By Mr. WEBSTER of Florida:

H.R. 4082.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

The authority granted Congress under Article I, Section 8, Clause 3 and Clause 7 of the United States Constitution establish the basis for Congress to authorize surface transportation funding.

By Mr. GOSAR:

H.R. 4083.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 3 (the Commerce Clause) of the Constitution of the United States which grants Congress the power "To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes" as well as Article I, Section 8, Clause 18 (Necessary and Proper Clause) of the Constitution of the United States which gives Congress the power to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying out the powers vested to Congress.

By Mr. WEBER of Texas:

H.R. 4084.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 18:

The Congress shall have power to make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department of Officer thereof.

By Mr. TIBERI:

H.R. 4085.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Clause 1 of Section 8 of Article I

By Mr. HILL:

H.R. 4086.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1 Section 8 Clause 4 of the United States Constitution

By Mrs. LOVE:

H.R. 4087.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8 of the United States Constitution

By Mr. PASCRELL:

H.R. 4088.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 1 of the United States Constitution.

By Mr. BLIRAKIS:

H.R. 4089.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 1: The Congress shall have Power to lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts, and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defense and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts, and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

Article I, Section 8, Clause 18: The Congress shall have Power to make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the forgoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

By Mrs. BLACKBURN:

H.R. 4090.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8, Clause 3

By Ms. BORDALLO:

H.R. 4091.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article IV Section 3

By Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 4092.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I.

By Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 4093.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I.

By Mr. BRAT:

H.R. 4094.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

The Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution grants Congress "power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration." Left undefined in the amendment, the "incomes" appropriate for taxation must be determined through legislation passed by Congress. Congress therefore has the power to exclude from income taxation such sources as it deems appropriate.

By Ms. BROWNLEY of California:

H.R. 4095.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Amendment 1 to the U.S. Constitution

By Mr. CAPUANO:

H.R. 4096.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8.

By Mr. CAPUANO:

H.R. 4097.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

clause 4 of section 8 of article I of the Constitution.

By Ms. JUDY CHU of California:

H.R. 4098.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Clause 1 of Section 8 of Article 1 of the United States Constitution.

By Mr. CLAY:

H.R. 4099.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8, "The Commerce Power Congress"

By Mr. CLAY:

H.R. 4100.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I

By Mr. COHEN:

H.R. 4101.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 3

By Mrs. COMSTOCK:

H.R. 4102.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 1 (Power To lay and collect Taxes); Article I, Section 8, Clause 3 (Commerce Clause); and the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

By Mr. CRAMER:

H.R. 4103.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution

By Mr. CROWLEY:

H.R. 4104.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 1: "The Congress shall have Power to law and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises . . ."

By Mr. DESJARLAIS:

H.R. 4105.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 3. Congress shall have Power to regulate Commerce with Foreign Nations, and among the several states, and with Indian Tribes.

By Mrs. DINGELL:

H.R. 4106.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Section 8, Article I of the U.S. Constitution.

By Mr. DONOVAN:

H.R. 4107.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8 of the Constitution of the United States.

By Ms. GABBARD:

H.R. 4108.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

The U.S. Constitution including Article 1, Section 8.

By Mr. GRIJALVA:

H.R. 4109.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

U.S. Const. art. I, §§1 and 8.

By Ms. KELLY of Illinois:

H.R. 4110.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

US Const., Art. I, Sec. 8, Cl. 1, 18 ("The Congress shall have Power to lay and collect Taxes . . . to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States . . . [and] To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.") (Social Security Disability benefits are provided to individuals who have physical disabilities that prevent them from working, so as to ensure their "general Welfare," and are paid through tax revenues. A GAO study on modifying payments to certain recipients is a proper means of ensuring the program is as effective as possible).

By Mr. LANCE:

H.R. 4111.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 3 of the Constitution

By Mr. LUETKEMEYER:

H.R. 4112.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

The Constitutional authority on which this bill rests is the power of Congress to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises to pay the debts and provide for the common Defense and general welfare of the United States, as enumerated in Article I, Section 8, Clause 1. Thus, Congress has the authority not only to increase taxes, but also, to reduce taxes to promote the general welfare of the United States of America and her citizens. Additionally, Congress has the Constitutional authority to regulate commerce among the States and the Indian Tribes, as enumerated in Article I, Section 8, Clause 3.

By Mrs. CAROLYN B. MALONEY of New York:

H.R. 4113.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Fourteenth Amendment, Section 5, which reads: The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article; and Article I, Section 8, Clause 3, which reads: The Congress shall have Power to regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes.

By Mr. SEAN PATRICK MALONEY of New York:

H.R. 4114.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8, Clause 18

By Ms. MENG:

H.R. 4115.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

By Ms. MOORE:

H.R. 4116.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Art. I, Sect. 8, Clause 3 “to regulate commerce”

By Mr. MURPHY of Florida:

H.R. 4117.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

This bill is enacted pursuant to Article I section 8 Constitution of the United States, which states the Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States.

By Ms. NORTON:

H.R. 4118.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

clause 18 of section 8 of article I of the Constitution.

By Mr. PALAZZO:

H.R. 4119.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article IV, Sec. 3, Clause 2 (relating to the power of Congress to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States).

By Mr. SALMON:

H.R. 4120.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8: The Congress shall have power. . . To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

By Mr. SERRANO:

H.R. 4121.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8, Clause 3 of the U.S. Constitution The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

By Ms. SINEMA:

H.R. 4122.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I Section 8

By Mr. WALKER:

H.R. 4123.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 9, Clause 7—“No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.”

By Mr. WALZ:

H.R. 4124.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article. I. Section. 8. To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and Naval Forces

By Mrs. WATSON COLEMAN:

H.R. 4125.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution

By Mr. YOHO:

H.R. 4126.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution. “To provide for the common defense,” “to

raise and support Armies,” “to provide and maintain a Navy,” and “to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.”

By Mr. GOSAR:

H.J. Res. 74.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 3 (the Commerce Clause) of the Constitution of the United States which grants Congress the power “To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes” as well as Article I, Section 8, Clause 18 (Necessary and Proper Clause) of the Constitution of the United States which gives Congress the authority to address and prevent new regulations.

ADDITIONAL SPONSORS

Under clause 7 of rule XII, sponsors were added to public bills and resolutions, as follows:

H.R. 169: Mr. FARENTHOLD.
 H.R. 170: Mr. FARENTHOLD.
 H.R. 223: Mr. WENSTRUP.
 H.R. 224: Ms. TSONGAS, Mr. FATTAH, Mr. CONNOLLY, Mr. BUTTERFIELD, Ms. BROWNLEY of California, Mr. WELCH, Mr. BEYER, Mr. LARSON of Connecticut, Mr. LANGEVIN, Mr. TED LIEU of California, Mr. SWALWELL of California, and Mr. DESAULNIER.
 H.R. 282: Mr. YODER and Ms. MOORE.
 H.R. 290: Mr. HASTINGS.
 H.R. 359: Mr. AMODEI.
 H.R. 379: Mr. LOEBSACK.
 H.R. 452: Mr. ENGEL.
 H.R. 539: Ms. ADAMS, Mr. JEFFRIES, Mr. FATTAH, Mr. ASHFORD, and Mr. GOSAR.
 H.R. 540: Ms. VELÁZQUEZ and Mr. JEFFRIES.
 H.R. 545: Mr. MICA, Mr. MEADOWS, and Mr. LANCE.
 H.R. 670: Mr. KENNEDY.
 H.R. 745: Mr. FARENTHOLD.
 H.R. 746: Mr. AGUILAR, Mr. DESAULNIER, Mr. HUFFMAN, and Ms. PINGREE.
 H.R. 816: Mr. MCCLINTOCK.
 H.R. 820: Mr. KILDEE.
 H.R. 845: Mr. COSTELLO of Pennsylvania.
 H.R. 855: Mr. YOHO.
 H.R. 911: Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania.
 H.R. 953: Mr. COSTELLO of Pennsylvania.
 H.R. 969: Mr. GENE GREEN of Texas.
 H.R. 985: Mr. ALLEN and Mr. KELLY of Mississippi.
 H.R. 1076: Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Ms. EDWARDS, Ms. CASTOR of Florida, Mr. BRENDAN F. BOYLE of Pennsylvania, and Mr. MICHAEL F. DOYLE of Pennsylvania.
 H.R. 1150: Mr. POSEY and Mr. KINZINGER of Illinois.
 H.R. 1174: Mr. FLEISCHMANN, Mr. SCHRADER, Mr. DESJARLAIS, Mr. ZELDIN, Ms. SEWELL of Alabama, and Mr. BUTTERFIELD.
 H.R. 1220: Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD.
 H.R. 1258: Mrs. LAWRENCE.
 H.R. 1268: Mr. PETERS.
 H.R. 1288: Mr. JOHNSON of Ohio.
 H.R. 1292: Mr. MOOLENAAR.
 H.R. 1336: Mr. RENACCI.
 H.R. 1342: Mr. EMMER of Minnesota, Mr. O’ROURKE, Ms. CLARK of Massachusetts, Mr. KELLY of Mississippi, Ms. KAPTUR, Mr. TED LIEU of California, and Mr. AGUILAR.
 H.R. 1343: Mr. BABIN and Mr. LOBIONDO.
 H.R. 1356: Ms. KUSTER.
 H.R. 1453: Mr. KILDEE.
 H.R. 1457: Mr. MCDERMOTT and Ms. JUDY CHU of California.
 H.R. 1530: Mr. RUPPERSBERGER.
 H.R. 1552: Mr. AGUILAR.
 H.R. 1559: Mr. POE of Texas and Mr. LAHOOD.
 H.R. 1576: Mr. COLLINS of New York.
 H.R. 1604: Mr. SIRES.

H.R. 1610: Mr. LOBIONDO.
 H.R. 1635: Mr. SENSENBRENNER.
 H.R. 1685: Mr. LAHOOD.
 H.R. 1763: Mr. GENE GREEN of Texas, Mr. COOK, and Mr. O’ROURKE.
 H.R. 1769: Ms. MOORE.
 H.R. 1786: Mr. LAHOOD.
 H.R. 1814: Mr. CRENSHAW.
 H.R. 1893: Mr. LONG.
 H.R. 1942: Mrs. LAWRENCE.
 H.R. 1971: Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas.
 H.R. 1979: Ms. FUDGE.
 H.R. 1988: Mr. TURNER and Mr. STIVERS.
 H.R. 2070: Mr. CLAY.
 H.R. 2124: Mr. COLLINS of New York, Mr. LYNCH, and Mr. KILDEE.
 H.R. 2156: Mr. KILDEE.
 H.R. 2205: Mr. ROTHFUS.
 H.R. 2293: Mrs. LAWRENCE.
 H.R. 2342: Mr. KILDEE.
 H.R. 2408: Mr. BUTTERFIELD.
 H.R. 2434: Ms. HERRERA BEUTLER, Mr. PITTS, Mrs. ELLMERS of North Carolina, Mr. FLORES, Mr. YODER, Mr. LAMALFA, Mrs. WAGNER, and Mr. GUINTA.
 H.R. 2449: Mr. HASTINGS, Mr. PRICE of North Carolina, Mrs. NAPOLITANO, Ms. BONAMICI, and Mr. LOEBSACK.
 H.R. 2461: Ms. LOFGREN and Mrs. WALORSKI.
 H.R. 2500: Mr. POMPEO and Mr. YOUNG of Alaska.
 H.R. 2515: Ms. SINEMA and Mr. LANGEVIN.
 H.R. 2519: Mr. BISHOP of Georgia.
 H.R. 2521: Ms. MCCOLLUM.
 H.R. 2533: Mr. LOWENTHAL.
 H.R. 2568: Mr. POE of Texas.
 H.R. 2646: Mr. AUSTIN SCOTT of Georgia and Mr. LOBIONDO.
 H.R. 2689: Mr. NEWHOUSE.
 H.R. 2715: Mr. SEAN PATRICK MALONEY of New York.
 H.R. 2752: Mr. DEFAZIO.
 H.R. 2759: Mr. SWALWELL of California and Mrs. LAWRENCE.
 H.R. 2850: Mr. JEFFRIES.
 H.R. 2858: Mrs. LAWRENCE.
 H.R. 2874: Mr. JOHNSON of Ohio, Mr. SAM JOHNSON of Texas, Mr. KING of Iowa, Mr. ROHRABACHER, Mr. HUNTER, Mr. COHEN, and Mr. WALZ.
 H.R. 2894: Mr. LOBIONDO.
 H.R. 2903: Mr. BLUM, Mr. BISHOP of Michigan, and Mr. WENSTRUP.
 H.R. 2980: Ms. KUSTER.
 H.R. 3026: Mr. MCCLINTOCK.
 H.R. 3036: Mr. YOUNG of Alaska.
 H.R. 3046: Mr. AGUILAR.
 H.R. 3065: Mr. LIPINSKI and Mr. CAPUANO.
 H.R. 3074: Mr. LOBIONDO.
 H.R. 3222: Mr. CULBERSON.
 H.R. 3223: Mr. RUSH, Mr. FOSTER, Mr. DOLD, and Mr. KINZINGER of Illinois.
 H.R. 3229: Mr. BROOKS of Alabama and Mr. KLINE.
 H.R. 3268: Mr. AMODEI and Mrs. LAWRENCE.
 H.R. 3286: Mr. RUIZ.
 H.R. 3294: Mrs. NAPOLITANO.
 H.R. 3296: Mr. JODY B. HICE of Georgia.
 H.R. 3314: Mr. GROTHMAN.
 H.R. 3323: Mr. GOSAR.
 H.R. 3326: Mr. LOUDERMILK, Mr. DENHAM, Mr. ALLEN, Mr. WENSTRUP, and Mr. KING of Iowa.
 H.R. 3339: Mr. MEADOWS, Mrs. ROBY, Mr. TIPTON, Mr. MCKINLEY, and Mr. JODY B. HICE of Georgia.
 H.R. 3377: Mr. LOWENTHAL and Mr. HASTINGS.
 H.R. 3399: Mr. MCGOVERN.
 H.R. 3459: Mr. LUCAS.
 H.R. 3463: Mr. LOEBSACK.
 H.R. 3516: Mr. VALADAO.
 H.R. 3565: Mr. DESAULNIER.
 H.R. 3573: Mr. SENSENBRENNER.
 H.R. 3660: Mr. BARLETTA.
 H.R. 3700: Mr. SESSIONS and Mr. RIBBLE.
 H.R. 3734: Mr. PEARCE, Mrs. NOEM, Mr. WESTERMAN, Mr. YOUNG of Alaska, Mr. BARR, Mr. STEWART, Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania, Mr. SMITH of Missouri, and Mr. AMODEI.
 H.R. 3765: Mr. BURGESS.

- H.R. 3779: Mr. MILLER of Florida.
 H.R. 3799: Mr. GOSAR and Mr. YODER.
 H.R. 3845: Mr. VALADAO, Mr. SHIMKUS, and Mr. EMMER of Minnesota.
 H.R. 3860: Mr. WITTMAN.
 H.R. 3862: Ms. FRANKEL of Florida, Mr. NOLAN, Mr. MCGOVERN, and Ms. TITUS.
 H.R. 3865: Mrs. COMSTOCK.
 H.R. 3879: Mr. SARBANES and Mr. HONDA.
 H.R. 3880: Mr. STIVERS.
 H.R. 3916: Mr. MCGOVERN.
 H.R. 3917: Mr. SMITH of Missouri.
 H.R. 3932: Mr. ZINKE, Mr. COFFMAN, and Mrs. WALORSKI.
 H.R. 3940: Mr. COLLINS of New York, Mr. CHAFFETZ, Mr. LONG, Mr. BUCSHON, Mr. NEWHOUSE, and Mr. SENSENBRENNER.
 H.R. 3946: Mr. WESTERMAN.
 H.R. 3964: Mr. HASTINGS and Mr. TAKANO.
 H.R. 3965: Mr. CAPUANO, Ms. BASS, and Mr. PETERS.
 H.R. 3987: Mr. AMODEI.
 H.R. 3991: Ms. TITUS.
 H.R. 3997: Mr. PETERS, Mr. BEN RAY LUJÁN of New Mexico, Mr. QUIGLEY, Ms. MOORE, Mr. SIREN, and Mr. PERLMUTTER.
 H.R. 4008: Mr. CONYERS, Ms. LOFGREN, Ms. VELÁZQUEZ, and Mr. HUFFMAN.
 H.R. 4026: Mr. JODY B. HICE of Georgia, Mrs. BLACKBURN, and Mr. LAMALFA.
 H.R. 4029: Ms. KAPTUR, Mr. KILDEE, and Mr. JOHNSON of Ohio.
 H.R. 4031: Mr. ZELDIN and Mr. MILLER of Florida.
 H.R. 4032: Mr. GOSAR, Mr. WILLIAMS, Mr. JONES, Mr. ZINKE, Mr. BURGESS, Mr. OLSON, Mr. MARCHANT, Mr. GOHMERT, and Mr. CLAWSON of Florida.
 H.R. 4038: Mr. FITZPATRICK, Mr. PALAZZO, Mr. GRAVES of Louisiana, Mr. GIBBS, Mr. COLLINS of New York, Mr. DESJARLAIS, Mr. STIVERS, Mrs. ELLMERS of North Carolina, Mr. CHABOT, Mr. MILLER of Florida, Mrs. COMSTOCK, Mr. JOHNSON of Ohio, Mr. LONG, and Mr. FORBES.
 H.R. 4058: Mr. BLUM.
 H.R. 4062: Mr. BABIN, Mr. SIMPSON and Mr. SMITH of Missouri.
 H.R. 4068: Ms. JUDY CHU of California.
 H.J. Res. 33: Mr. ROONEY of Florida.
 H.J. Res. 59: Mr. GOSAR.
 H.J. Res. 71: Mr. FINCHER, Mr. GROTHMAN, Mr. SMITH of Missouri, Mr. STEWART, Ms. JENKINS of Kansas, Mr. YOUNG of Indiana, Mr. BROOKS of Alabama, Mr. YOUNG of Alaska, Mrs. HARTZLER, Mr. MOONEY of West Virginia, Mr. GOHMERT, Mrs. MILLER of Michigan, Mr. NEWHOUSE, Mr. WEBSTER of Florida, Mr. LUETKEMEYER, Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania, Mr. DESJARLAIS, Mr. MCCLINTOCK, Mr. LAMBORN, Mr. BYRNE, Mr. WENSTRUP, Mr. COLLINS of New York, Mr. CRAWFORD, Mr. COLLINS of Georgia, Mr. FRANKS of Arizona, Mr. DUNCAN of South Carolina, Mr. BLUM, Mr. TROTT, Mrs. WALORSKI, Mr. STUTZMAN, Mr. LABRADOR, Mr. KINZINGER of Illinois, Mr. GOODLATTE, Mr. SHIMKUS, Mr. SMITH of Texas, Mr. YOHO, and Mr. PITTS.
 H.J. Res. 72: Mr. FINCHER, Mr. GROTHMAN, Mr. SMITH of Missouri, Mr. STEWART, Ms. JENKINS of Kansas, Mr. YOUNG of Indiana, Mr. BROOKS of Alabama, Mr. YOUNG of Alaska, Mrs. HARTZLER, Mr. MOONEY of West Virginia, Mr. GOHMERT, Mrs. MILLER of Michigan, Mr. NEWHOUSE, Mr. JOLLY, Mr. WEBSTER of Florida, Mr. LUETKEMEYER, Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania, Mr. DESJARLAIS, Mr. MCCLINTOCK, Mr. LAMBORN, Mr. BYRNE, Mr. WENSTRUP, Mr. COLLINS of New York, Mr. CRAWFORD, Mr. COLLINS of Georgia, Mr. FRANKS of Arizona, Mr. DUNCAN of South Carolina, Mr. BLUM, Mr. TROTT, Mrs. WALORSKI, Mr. STUTZMAN, Mr. LABRADOR, Mr. KINZINGER of Illinois, Mr. GOODLATTE, Mr. SHIMKUS, Mr. SMITH of Texas, Mr. YOHO, and Mr. PITTS.
 H. Con. Res. 89: Mr. BRADY of Texas.
 H. Res. 12: Mr. MOONEY of West Virginia.
 H. Res. 218: Mr. DUNCAN of South Carolina, Mr. WEBER of Texas, and Mr. ROHRBACHER.
 H. Res. 432: Ms. BROWN of Florida, Mr. MULLIN, and Mr. HASTINGS.
 H. Res. 445: Mr. WITTMAN.
 H. Res. 469: Mr. ASHFORD.
 H. Res. 494: Mr. WILLIAMS, Mr. CRAWFORD, Mrs. BLACKBURN, and Mr. SHUSTER.
 H. Res. 501: Mr. WELCH.
 H. Res. 508: Ms. MCCOLLUM.
 H. Res. 510: Mr. WITTMAN.
 H. Res. 519: Mr. SWALWELL of California.
 H. Res. 521: Ms. ESHOO and Mr. LOWENTHAL.
 H. Res. 523: Mr. GRIJALVA, Mr. PAYNE, Ms. CLARKE of New York, Mr. DAVID SCOTT of Georgia, Mr. KIND, Mr. SABLAN, Mr. CARSON of Indiana, Mr. FARENTHOLD, Ms. NORTON, Ms. JACKSON LEE, Mr. POCAN, Mr. COLLINS of New York, Mr. HONDA, Ms. CLARK of Massachusetts, Ms. GABBARD, Mr. TAKANO, and Ms. TITUS.
 H. Res. 532: Ms. MCCOLLUM, Mr. JOYCE, Mr. JOHNSON of Ohio, Mr. RENACCI, and Mr. STIVERS.