

cited his ability to bring Appropriations Committee money to his district to address needs in housing and urban development and the opportunities that allowed him to set “historic precedents” as an African American in the House. “When I started this journey, I realized that I was the first black American ever to hold this position in this state,” Stokes told a newspaper reporter. “I had to write the book . . . I was going to set a standard of excellence that would give any successor something to shoot for.” After his congressional career, Louis Stokes resumed his work as a lawyer. He was a great American Hero—to be admired and remembered by us all.

Ms. LEE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to remember the life of a truly remarkable man—former Congressman Louis B. Stokes, who passed away last month at the age of 90.

It was my honor to meet with Congressman Stokes when I was a staffer in the office of Congressman Ron Dellums. I later had the honor to serve with him as a member of the House of Representatives as we worked to secure funding for homeless shelters in my district.

Congressman Stokes was a trailblazer.

Born in Cleveland in 1925, he loved his home city and his home state of Ohio. And he was determined to improve the lives of everyone in his community. After serving in the military, he returned home to become a civil rights attorney and work on behalf of the poor and disenfranchised.

Raised in poverty along with his brother Carl, he dreamed of a more just and equal world. He refused to allow prejudice or adversity to slow him down.

Through his life, Lou showed an unwavering commitment to the people of Cleveland, and particularly the vulnerable and voiceless.

As the first African American member of Congress from Ohio—and an original co-founder of the Congressional Black Caucus and founding chair of the CBC’s Health Brain Trust—Congressman Stokes was a proud voice for civil rights and equality.

And as the first African American to serve on the House Appropriations committee—the committee on which I now serve—Congressman Stokes worked tirelessly to bring resources and opportunities to folks struggling across the country.

In many ways, Congressman Stokes was ahead of his time. He was one of the earliest and most vocal supporters of addressing the burgeoning HIV/AIDS crisis.

As a veteran, he fought to ensure every veteran had the highest possible quality services and care upon returning home. And as the chairman of the Appropriations subcommittee on Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, he worked to ensure agency services reached communities of color.

His work to combat discrimination in every form—housing, education, health care access, economic opportunity and more—continues to inspire me.

While Congressman Stokes will be greatly missed, his legacy and work lives on.

By opening doors of opportunity, and inspiring generations of leaders in Cleveland, Ohio and beyond, Congressman Lou Stokes has made our nation a more just and equal place. He was a great man and a good friend who will be greatly missed. My thoughts and prayers are with his family and my deepest gratitude for sharing this great human being with us.

#### IRAN’S PAST BEHAVIOR IS AN INDICATOR OF ITS FUTURE BEHAVIOR

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker’s announced policy of January 6, 2015, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. RUSSELL) for 30 minutes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Speaker, it is a psychological fact of life that, when it comes to human beings, the best predictor of future behavior is past behavior, period, end of story.

Psychologists who study human behavior agree that past behavior is a useful marker for future behavior, but only under certain specific conditions. For example, high-frequency, habitual behaviors are more predictive than infrequent behaviors. Predictions work best if done over short periods of time, based upon these behaviors. The anticipated situation must be essentially the same as the past situation that activated the behavior in the first place. Also, the behavior did not change by corrective or negative action or feedback. The person must remain essentially unchanged in their consistent behavior. The person must be fairly consistent in his or her behaviors over time.

Forensic psychologists that observe such behavior often use metaphor to warn of serious danger by referring to such individuals as “a ticking time bomb” or as one “carrying a hand grenade, and it is just a matter of when the pin is pulled.”

What happens if we apply these same criteria to Iran’s behavior? The result is the same. Psychologically, there is no reason to expect future behavioral change, given Iran’s 36 years of bad behavior.

The record of history since 1979 is clear with regard to Iran’s actions with the West and, in particular, the United States. For 30 of those 36 years, the United States has declared Iran as the most active state sponsor of terrorism in the world.

For 36 years, Iran has brutally murdered more Americans than any other terror group or state sponsor of terror. Their clerics have declared fatwas on the United States; their leaders have dubbed us the Great Satan and have called Israel a one-bomb state, with pledges to eliminate their existence.

□ 2115

That brutal behavior earned them treatment, and rightfully so, as a pariah, shunned by global economy, diplomacy, and withholding international goodwill.

So what a fantastic time to accommodate a terrorist state and make a deal.

Some, such as Secretary of State John Kerry, dismiss all of Iran’s reticence as posturing rhetoric. How in God’s name can we be so naive at the highest levels of our Republic to believe it?

How in God’s name can we judge Iran’s actions worthy of fair treatment and goodwill?

Perhaps we should take the teachings of Christ as a guide when he stated:

Every good tree bears good fruit. A good tree cannot bear bad fruit, but a bad tree bears bad fruit. Therefore, by their fruits, you will know them.

Christ’s words, of course, are true. Iranian deeds speak louder than words. The problem is both word and deed are reprehensible, which should cause us even more alarm.

Don’t believe me? Here are the facts of Iranian actions under this regime.

1979, hostage crisis. From the moment this regime came into being, the first act was to overrun the United States Embassy in Tehran, terrorizing 66 American hostages for 444 days, most of them, and forcing abandonment of our U.S. Embassy and consulates.

1982-1992, Lieutenant Colonel William Buckley, the CIA Station Chief and Vietnam warrior, decorated for valor, is tortured and brutally murdered.

David Anderson, a reporter of great renown, was captured and held for 7 years.

American University President David Dodge was captured and held for a year.

1983, April 18, the U.S. Embassy in Beirut is bombed, murdering 63, 17 of them Americans. The entire CIA Middle East contingent is reportedly murdered. The entire operation was directed by Hezbollah and financed by Iran.

October 23, the United States Marine barracks in Beirut was destroyed by the largest nonnuclear explosion detonated on Earth by the hand of an Iranian terrorist; 241 United States Marines are slaughtered, and 100 are wounded.

During the same attack, the French barracks are destroyed by another Iranian terrorist bomb that murders 58 French paratroopers.

December 12, 1983, the U.S. Embassy in Kuwait was bombed by Iranian terrorists from Iranian-backed Hezbollah and Dawa, murdering 5 and wounding 86. Seventeen members of the Dawa are captured and arrested in connection. Iranian-sponsored terrorist acts then are perpetrated for years to come to try to negotiate their release.

1984, September 20, United States Embassy annex in Beirut is destroyed by Iranian-backed Hezbollah terrorists, murdering 22 civilians and 2 U.S. soldiers.

1985, June 14, Trans World Airlines Flight 847 hijacked with 160 hostages. Robert Dean Stetham, a United States Navy diver, is forced to kneel in front of an open aircraft door, shot in the back of the head, and dumped onto the tarmac. The remaining hostages are released, following terrorist releases from prisons in Israel and Lebanon.

1989, July 13, Dr. Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou, the Secretary General of the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran, was assassinated by Iranian operatives, along with two associates in Vienna, where he was secretly meeting with envoys sent by then-Iranian President Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani.

1991, August 8, the assassination of Shapour Bakhtiar, who was the last Iranian Prime Minister prior to the Islamic Revolution by Iranian operatives. In a botched attempt on Bakhtiar's life in a Paris suburb before in 1980, his assailants murdered a French policeman and a female neighbor.

1992, March 17, the Israeli Embassy bombing in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Iran's terrorist proxy, Hezbollah, perpetrated the suicide bomb attack on the Israeli Embassy in Argentina, which murdered 29 people and wounded 242 others, the great majority of which were civilian bystanders in the vicinity of the embassy.

On the 17th of September 1992, Kurdish leader Dr. Mohammad Sadegh Saeid Sharafkandi and three other Iranian Kurds were assassinated at the Mykonos Cafe in Berlin. German courts linked the Iranian Government and Minister of Intelligence, Ali Fallahian, to the assassination.

1994, July 18, Iran was directly responsible for the Argentinian-Israeli Mutual Association Jewish community center bombing in Buenos Aires, Argentina, which murdered 85 and wounded 300. The AMIA attack remains the deadliest terrorist attack in Argentina's history.

In 2006, an Argentine court "declared former Iranian President Hashemi Rafsanjani and eight others fugitives from justice in Argentina" for their role in the AMIA bombing.

1996, June 25, 14 members of the Iranian-backed Saudi branch of Hezbollah detonated a massive bomb in front of the Khobar Towers, a U.S. military housing complex in Saudi Arabia. The terrorist attack murdered 19 Americans and wounded 372 of our service men and women.

The attackers detonated a parked truck laden with the equivalent of somewhere between 3,000 and 8,000 pounds of explosive in the Khobar Towers parking lot. The resulting explosion "sheared the face off an eight-story structure which housed U.S. Air Force personnel."

2003–2011, following the 2003 U.S. invasion of Iraq, Iran undermined U.S. operations by "consistently supplying weapons, its own advisers, and Iranian proxy Hezbollah advisers from Lebanon to multiple residence groups, both Sunni and Shia," which targeted Coalition Forces.

For the U.S., "concern revolved around Iran's role in arming and assisting the Shiite militias." In Iraq, "the top killer of U.S. troops" were IEDs, or improvised explosive devices, which were primarily supplied by Iran. In total, Iran's support for Iraqi insurgents led to the death of thousands of U.S. soldiers and others in Iraq.

In 2010, United States Ambassador to Iraq James Jeffrey stated, "Up to a quarter, or 1,200 of the American casualties, and some of the more horrific incidents in which Americans were kidnapped can be traced without doubt to these Iranian groups."

I should also personally note that many were my friends, and all were my brothers and sisters as fellow warriors.

2006–2015, Iranian support for the Taliban against United States troops in Afghanistan has been ongoing since at least 2006. According to a RAND report, "although Iran has traditionally backed Tajik and Shia groups opposed to the Taliban, its enmity with the United States and tensions over the nuclear program led it to provide measured support to the Taliban."

According to the Treasury Department, "since at least 2006, Iran has arranged frequent shipments of small arms and associated ammunition, rocket-propelled grenades, mortar rounds, 107 mm rockets, plastic explosives, and probably man-portable defense systems to the Taliban."

A member of my own staff left limbs in Afghanistan by these devices.

Through "Qods force materials support," the report states, "we believe Iran is seeking to inflict casualties on U.S. and NATO forces." In 2010, multiple media sources reported Iran as "paying Taliban fighters \$1,000 for each U.S. soldier they kill in Afghanistan." This is currently.

Over a 6-month period in 2010, one "Taliban treasurer" claimed to have collected more than \$77,000 from an Iranian firm in Kabul as payment for killing Americans.

2011, October, U.S. authorities thwarted a terrorist plot in this town, Washington, D.C., which included "the assassination of Saudi Arabian Ambassador to the United States and subsequent bomb attacks on Saudi and Israeli Embassies."

U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder stated that the plot was "directed and approved by elements of the Iranian Government and, specifically, senior members of the Quds Force"—in this town. The two individuals charged were "Mansoor Arbabsiar, a 56-year-old naturalized U.S. citizen holding both Iranian and U.S. passports, and Gholam Shakuri, an Iran-based member of Iran's Quds Force."

U.S. authorities arrested Arbabsiar on September 29, 2011, with Shakuri remaining at large.

2012, in March, Azerbaijan. United States and Israeli officials were among those targeted for assassination by a group of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps from Iran-linked terrorists. They were arrested in Baku, Azerbaijan.

According to The Washington Post, "United States and Middle Eastern officials now see the attempts as part of a broader campaign by Iran-linked operatives to kill foreign diplomats in at least seven countries over a span of 13 months."

How right they were.

13–14 February, New Delhi, India, the wife of Israeli Defense attaché and her driver were wounded after a device attached to their car exploded. The Delhi police concluded that the suspects were members of the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps.

A similar device was defused in Tbilisi, Georgia, after being discovered on the underside of an Israeli diplomat's car.

The following day, three Iranian men accidentally detonated a cache of explosives—darn—in Bangkok, Thailand. The explosives were intended to be used to assassinate Israeli diplomats. A multinational investigation has produced "the clearest evidence yet that Iran was involved" in all three plots.

18 July, a suicide bomber destroyed an Israeli tour bus in Burgas, Bulgaria, murdering the bus driver and five Israelis, and wounding more than 30 others. In an investigation in 2012, the Bulgarian Government found Iran and its proxy, Hezbollah, responsible for the attack.

Behavior, behavior, 36 consistent years. But now President Obama wants to negotiate with terrorists to prevent war.

Mr. Speaker, we are not the attackers here. Threat of war only comes from the United States when we are bullied, cajoled, attacked, or threatened. The President and Secretaries Kerry, Lew, and Moniz want us to show goodwill for bad behavior.

The American people are against it, as evidenced by the strong opposition from the majority of Americans who rightly deduce the deal would allow nuclear capacity for Iran and makes a legal path to possess weapons of mass destruction.

The President often makes political speeches demanding we keep dangerous firearms out of the hands of those with psychological problems, yet, under identical behavioral criteria, he would give nuclear capacity to Iran.

While public multiple-victim shootings are horrific, imagine an Iran with a nuclear capacity. Given Iran's prolific use of every form of weaponry and export of terror, are our leaders so naive to think Iran's behavior would be any better than putting a weapon in the hands of a psychologically consistent and dangerous individual?

Past behavior is the best predictor of future behavior. Any psychologist or criminologist will tell you this, yet the President is selling us on the deluded hope that this is somehow the right and only path to take. Nonsense.

No alternative you say? How can that be?

Our own administration does not even realize that Iran's interpretation of this very deal and ours are separated by a fairly problematic gulf.

In the last month, even the last few days, Iran's President Rouhani and his foreign ministry have made public statements that declare the following regarding this good deal. According to Iran and its statements from its leaders, here is what they think they have agreed to:

Iran can pursue the development of missiles without any restriction.

They can violate the U.N. resolutions without violating the agreement. Iran says it is not a treaty but binding.

Iran can violate the U.N. Security Council Resolution without violating the JCPOA, or the agreement.

Iran intends to violate the United Nations Security Council Resolution restrictions on weapons sales and imports. In fact, they are already negotiating with Russia for the sale of SS-300 and –400 missiles.

□ 2130

And Iran also has not agreed to inspect Parchin itself, but it will refuse to let anyone else inspect it.

These are from their own statements in recent days. Iran's public statements declare, Mr. Speaker, that all sanctions will be lifted.

Under Iran's interpretation and even in the stated language of the agreement, this includes those, such as the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps—they are in the agreement; they are listed—and the Quds Force, the same organization that we just itemized all of these terrorist acts, both of these groups. Two of the most reprehensible terrorist organizations in the world are in this agreement for sanctions to be lifted. Read them. Annex II sanctions list. I have.

This flies in the face of our President's own statements and reassurances. Under Secretary of Treasury Szubin assures us that sanctions on these organizations will be maintained.

Secretary of Treasury Lew even goes further and has stated recently that, "We will not be providing any sanctions relief to any of these lines of activity and will not be delisting from sanctions the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps, the Quds Force, or any of their subsidiaries or senior officials."

Then, why are they in the deal? According to the agreement and even Iran's recent public statements, they believe that they will be lifted.

Terrorists Soleimani, A.Q. Khan, numerous organizations that I have had to fight on battlefields, now we will reward their bad behavior with goodwill.

The Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps and the Quds Force are both listed in this agreement and have sanctions against them lifted, according to interpretations of its terms. What a great deal. There is none better. This is the best we can do.

President Hassan Rouhani declared last month, "After the agreement is implemented, the economic sanctions will be immediately removed, meaning, financial, banking, insurance, transportation, petrochemical sanctions. All economic sanctions will be removed."

Congratulations, Mr. President, on that good deal and that goodwill.

Mr. Speaker, our Nation is in grave danger. We are trusting a psychologically fanatical and terrorist State with 36 consistent years of bad behavior to now behave well.

Perhaps the only thing missing to shore up the President and Secretary Kerry's reassurances is perhaps an airplane on the tarmac with an open door

with our United States leader waving a document in his hand, declaring, "Peace in our time."

The power of this Nation only rests with the consent of the people. That is where the Congress, both parties, this august body, comes in.

But now our President even wants to find a political way to strip the American people from a vote by their duly elected representatives to avoid the optics of an opposition.

I guess he and President Hassan Rouhani of Iran do have something very much in common after all: not allowing a vote in their respective legislative bodies. One would expect that from a fanatical, unstable, religious dictatorship, but not in the United States of America.

Mr. Speaker, the President is outside his constitutional authority. No other President in the history of our Nation has ever cobbled together sanctions provisions meant to prevent nuclear capacity, to provide a de facto treaty with a foreign rogue State and give them what the sanctions were intended to deny.

The President has acted without the consent of the people. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, the people, through their duly elected Representatives, will now act without the consent of the President.

Article I, Section 8, of the United States Constitution, a document I have defended since I was 18, states that the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations rests in the Congress of these United States.

Article II, Section 2, states that the President can only make a binding treaty with a foreign nation upon two-thirds consent with the Senate.

Mr. Speaker, the President states that this is not a treaty. We agree. And, therefore, constitutionally, we are not bound to abide by it. Neither are the States.

The Supremacy Clause does not apply here. It is not a treaty. Not having the effect of treaty law, the States are free to act. And today they are and will. And we will.

I call upon my colleagues, people that have taken an oath to support and defend this republic, to stand with me.

We will declare the lifting of sanctions of terrorists as laid out in the agreement as null and void. It is illegal under past U.S. sanctions law.

We will uphold United States sanctions law against executive fiat action. We will make explicit the sense of Congress in upcoming State actions both legally and economically.

We will prevent the lifting of sanctions on scores of those listed in the agreement, thereby violating section 37 of Annex II of the Iran deal.

We will send a strong message to Iran that the power of this republic does not rest with its President. It rests by the consent of the people. We are bound to uphold that trust as our constitutional duty.

Mr. Speaker, I also call upon Americans to stand with me. Pound the

White House with calls and emails. Support State legislative actions and sanctions. Support your representatives, both State and assembly, and your U.S. Representatives in this fight.

We ask the people to support us in this fight, not shoot us in the back, regardless of political party with anger and cynicism, leveling blame on those who oppose this deal rather than on the one who has created it.

Then, if we do this, what will the future look like? It will look like an Iran contained, not an Iran accommodated. It will look like a Nation that led rather than cowered.

It will have a United States that stands firm when Iran, a signatory to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, does—if they ever do—decide to go rogue, will be like North Korea, when a previous administration assured us that, if we reached out to them with the IAEA and lifting of sanctions and easing, that they would come around.

They abandoned it. We should have known it. Their bad behavior was consistent. That future was predictable. They have nuclear weapons, and we knew it. We said we could trust them in a similar agreement.

But our country will stand for free people and free economies on this globe. It is what we do. And if we fail in that task, who will take our place?

How we fight today determines how we shape tomorrow. Accommodating terrorists and nations with 36 consistent years of bad behavior is not the best deal we have. If Iran, like Libya, displays good behavior first, then we will have a basis for discussion and follow-on goodwill, which we saw in that case.

Until then, the power of the republic rests with its people, not with its executive. Let us never waiver from that position. As long as we treasure this republic and its Constitution, this will defend.

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

#### REMEMBERING FORMER CONGRESSMAN LOUIS STOKES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 2015, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER) until 10 p.m.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I rise regretting that I was unable to be here when MARCY KAPTUR, the gentlewoman from Ohio, was talking about Representative Louis Stokes.

Congressman Stokes and I were very good friends. I had the opportunity to serve with him for many years. And I wanted to take this time, Mr. Speaker, to thank Ms. KAPTUR for leading the special order.

On August 18, we learned of the passing of our friend, former Representative Lou Stokes.

He was a reluctant candidate, Mr. Speaker, who went on to serve his constituents for three decades. I have had the honor of serving here for 34 years.