

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.

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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 reneged 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 gentlewoman 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.

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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 gentleman 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 gentleman 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 Migrante, Inc., Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) Refugee & Immigration Ministries, Church World Service, Columbian 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, Tahrir 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 REQUESTS 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 paky 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)	Posney
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)	Rokita
Buchanan	Jenkins (WV)	Rooney (FL)
Buck	Johnson (OH)	Ros-Lehtinen
Bucshon	Johnson, Sam	Roskam
Burgess	Jolly	Ross
Byrne	Jones	Rothfus
Calvert	Jordan	Rouzer
Carter (GA)	Joyce	Royce
Carter (TX)	Katko	Russell
Chabot	Kelly (MS)	Salmon
Chaffetz	Kelly (PA)	Sanford
Clawson (FL)	King (IA)	Scalise
Coffman	King (NY)	Schweikert
Cole	Kinzinger (IL)	Scott, Austin
Collins (GA)	Klaine	Sensenbrenner
Collins (NY)	Knight	Sessions
Comstock	Labrador	Shimkus
Conaway	LaHood	Shuster
Cook	LaMalfa	Simpson
Costello (PA)	Lamborn	Smith (MO)
Cramer	Lance	Smith (NE)
Crawford	Latta	Smith (NJ)
Crenshaw	LoBiondo	Smith (TX)
Culberson	Long	Stefanik
Curbelo (FL)	Loudermilk	Stewart
Davis, Rodney	Love	Stivers
Denham	Lucas	Stutzman
Dent	Luetkemeyer	Thompson (PA)
DeSantis	Lummis	Thornberry
DesJarlais	MacArthur	Tiberi
Diaz-Balart	Marchant	Tipton
Dold	Marino	Trott
Donovan	Massie	Turner
Duffy	McCarthy	Upton
Duncan (SC)	McCaull	Valadao
Duncan (TN)	McClintock	Wagner
Ellmers (NC)	McHenry	Walberg
Emmer (MN)	McKinley	Walden
Farenthold	McMorris	Walker
Fincher	Rodgers	Walorski
Fitzpatrick	McSally	Walters, Mimi
Fleischmann	Meadows	Weber (TX)
Fleming	Meehan	Webster (FL)
Flores	Messer	Wenstrup
Forbes	Mica	Westerman
Fortenberry	Miller (FL)	Westmoreland
Fox	Miller (MI)	Whitfield
Franks (AZ)	Moolenaar	Wilson (SC)
Frelinghuysen	Mooney (WV)	Wittman
Garrett	Mullin	Womack
Gibbs	Mulvaney	Woodall
Gibson	Murphy (PA)	Yoder
Gohmert	Neugebauer	Yoho
Goodlatte	Newhouse	Young (AK)
Gosar	Noem	Young (IA)
Granger	Nugent	Young (IN)
Graves (GA)	Nunes	Zeldin
Graves (LA)	Olson	Zinke
Graves (MO)	Palazzo	
Griffith	Palmer	

NAYS—182

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

Boyle, Brendan F.  
 Brady (PA)  
 Brown (FL)  
 Brownley (CA)  
 Bustos  
 Butterfield  
 Capps  
 Capuano  
 Cárdenas  
 Carney  
 Carson (IN)  
 Cartwright  
 Castor (FL)  
 Castro (TX)  
 Chu, Judy  
 Cicilline  
 Clark (MA)  
 Clarke (NY)  
 Clay  
 Cleaver  
 Clyburn  
 Cohen  
 Connolly  
 Conyers  
 Cooper  
 Costa  
 Courtney  
 Crowley  
 Cuellar  
 Cummings  
 Davis (CA)  
 Davis, Danny  
 DeGette  
 Delaney  
 DeLauro  
 DelBene  
 DeSaulnier  
 Deutch  
 Dingell  
 Doggett  
 Doyle, Michael F.  
 Duckworth  
 Edwards  
 Engel  
 Eshoo  
 Esty  
 Farr  
 Fattah  
 Foster  
 Frankel (FL)  
 Fudge  
 Gabbard  
 Gallego  
 Garamendi  
 Graham  
 Grayson  
 Green, Al  
 Green, Gene

Grijalva  
 Gutiérrez  
 Hahn  
 Hastings  
 Heck (WA)  
 Higgins  
 Himes  
 Honda  
 Hoyer  
 Huffman  
 Israel  
 Jackson Lee  
 Jeffries  
 Johnson (GA)  
 Johnson, E. B.  
 Kaptur  
 Keating  
 Kelly (IL)  
 Kennedy  
 Kildee  
 Kilmer  
 Kind  
 Kirkpatrick  
 Kuster  
 Langevin  
 Larsen (WA)  
 Larson (CT)  
 Lawrence  
 Lee  
 Levin  
 Lewis  
 Lieu, Ted  
 Lipinski  
 Loeb sack  
 Lofgren  
 Lowenthal  
 Lowey  
 Lujan Grisham (NM)  
 Luján, Ben Ray (NM)  
 Lynch  
 Maloney, Carolyn  
 Maloney, Sean  
 Matsui  
 McCollum  
 McDermott  
 McGovern  
 McNerney  
 Meeks  
 Meng  
 Moore  
 Moulton  
 Murphy (FL)  
 Nadler  
 Napolitano  
 Neal  
 Nolan  
 Norcross

## NOT VOTING—8

DeFazio  
 Ellison  
 Gowdy

Hinojosa  
 Ruppertsberger  
 Takai  
 Watson Coleman  
 Williams

□ 1103

Ms. BROWNLEY of California changed her vote from “yea” to “nay.”

Mr. BROOKS of Alabama changed his vote from “nay” to “yea.”

So the previous question was ordered.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the resolution.

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

## RECORDED VOTE

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. This is a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 242, noes 183, not voting 8, as follows:

O'Rourke  
 Pallone  
 Pascarell  
 Payne  
 Pelosi  
 Perlmutter  
 Peters  
 Peterson  
 Pingree  
 Pocan  
 Polis  
 Price (NC)  
 Quigley  
 Rangel  
 Rice (NY)  
 Richmond  
 Roybal-Allard  
 Ruiz  
 Rush  
 Ryan (OH)  
 Sánchez, Linda T.  
 Sanchez, Loretta  
 Sarbanes  
 Schakowsky  
 Schiff  
 Schrader  
 Scott (VA)  
 Scott, David  
 Serrano  
 Sewell (AL)  
 Sherman  
 Sinema  
 Sires  
 Slaughter  
 Smith (WA)  
 Speier  
 Swalwell (CA)  
 Takano  
 Thompson (CA)  
 Thompson (MS)  
 Titus  
 Tonko  
 Torres  
 Tsongas  
 Van Hollen  
 Vargas  
 Veasey  
 Vela  
 Velázquez  
 Visclosky  
 Walz  
 Wasserman  
 Schultz  
 Waters, Maxine  
 Welch  
 Wilson (FL)  
 Yarmuth

Adams  
 Agullar  
 Ashford  
 Bass  
 Beatty  
 Becerra  
 Bera  
 Beyer  
 Bishop (GA)  
 Blumenauer  
 Bonamici  
 Boyle, Brendan F.

[Roll No. 639]

## AYES—242

Griffith  
 Grothman  
 Guinta  
 Guthrie  
 Hanna  
 Babin  
 Harper  
 Harris  
 Hartzler  
 Heck (NV)  
 Hensarling  
 Herrera Beutler  
 Hice, Jody B.  
 Hill  
 Holding  
 Hudson  
 Blum  
 Bost  
 Boustany  
 Brady (TX)  
 Brat  
 Bridenstine  
 Brooks (IN)  
 Buchanan  
 Buck  
 Bucshon  
 Burgess  
 Byrne  
 Calvert  
 Carter (GA)  
 Carter (TX)  
 Chabot  
 Chaffetz  
 Clawson (FL)  
 Coffman  
 Cole  
 Collins (GA)  
 Collins (NY)  
 Comstock  
 Conaway  
 Cook  
 Costello (PA)  
 Cramer  
 Crawford  
 Crenshaw  
 Culberson  
 Curbelo (FL)  
 Long  
 Davis, Rodney  
 Denham  
 Dent  
 DeSantis  
 DesJarlais  
 Diaz-Balart  
 Dold  
 Donovan  
 Duncan (SC)  
 Duncan (TN)  
 Ellmers (NC)  
 Emmer (MN)  
 Farenthold  
 Fincher  
 Fitzpatrick  
 Fleischmann  
 Fleming  
 Flores  
 Forbes  
 Fortenberry  
 Foxx  
 Franks (AZ)  
 Frelinghuysen  
 Garrett  
 Gibbs  
 Gibson  
 Gohmert  
 Goodlatte  
 Gosar  
 Gowdy  
 Granger  
 Graves (GA)  
 Graves (LA)  
 Graves (MO)

## NOES—183

Brady (PA)  
 Brooks (AL)  
 Brown (FL)  
 Brownley (CA)  
 Bustos  
 Butterfield  
 Capps  
 Capuano  
 Cárdenas  
 Carney  
 Carson (IN)  
 Cartwright  
 Castor (FL)

Palmer  
 Paulsen  
 Pearce  
 Perry  
 Pittenger  
 Pitts  
 Poe (TX)  
 Poliquin  
 Pompeo  
 Posey  
 Price, Tom  
 Ratcliffe  
 Reed  
 Reichert  
 Renacci  
 Ribble  
 Rice (SC)  
 Rigell  
 Roby  
 Roe (TN)  
 Rogers (AL)  
 Rogers (KY)  
 Rohrabacher  
 Rokita  
 Rooney (FL)  
 Ros-Lehtinen  
 Roskam  
 Ross  
 Rothfus  
 Rouzer  
 Royce  
 Russell  
 Salmon  
 Sanford  
 Scalise  
 Schweikert  
 Scott, Austin  
 Sensenbrenner  
 Sessions  
 Shimkus  
 Shuster  
 Simpson  
 Smith (MO)  
 Smith (NE)  
 Smith (NJ)  
 Smith (TX)  
 Stefanik  
 Stewart  
 Stivers  
 Stutzman  
 Thompson (PA)  
 Thornberry  
 Tiberi  
 Tipton  
 Trott  
 Turner  
 Upton  
 Valadao  
 Wagner  
 Walberg  
 Walden  
 Walker  
 Walorski  
 Walters, Mimi  
 Weber (TX)  
 Webster (FL)  
 Wenstrup  
 Westerman  
 Westmoreland  
 Whitfield  
 Wilson (SC)  
 Wittman  
 Womack  
 Woodall  
 Yoder  
 Yoho  
 Young (AK)  
 Young (IA)  
 Young (IN)  
 Zeldin  
 Zinke

Crowley  
 Cuellar  
 Cummings  
 Davis (CA)  
 Davis, Danny  
 DeGette  
 Delaney  
 DeLauro  
 DelBene  
 DeSaulnier  
 Deutch  
 Dingell  
 Doggett  
 Doyle, Michael F.  
 Duckworth  
 Edwards  
 Engel  
 Eshoo  
 Esty  
 Farr  
 Fattah  
 Foster  
 Frankel (FL)  
 Fudge  
 Gabbard  
 Gallego  
 Garamendi  
 Graham  
 Grayson  
 Green, Al  
 Green, Gene  
 Grijalva  
 Gutiérrez  
 Hahn  
 Hastings  
 Heck (WA)  
 Higgins  
 Himes  
 Honda  
 Hoyer  
 Huffman  
 Israel  
 Jackson Lee  
 Jeffries  
 Johnson (GA)  
 Johnson, E. B.  
 Jones  
 Kaptur  
 Keating  
 Kelly (IL)

Kennedy  
 Kildee  
 Kilmer  
 Kind  
 Kirkpatrick  
 Kuster  
 Langevin  
 Larsen (WA)  
 Larson (CT)  
 Lawrence  
 Lee  
 Levin  
 Lewis  
 Lieu, Ted  
 Lipinski  
 Loeb sack  
 Lofgren  
 Lowenthal  
 Eshoo  
 Lujan Grisham (NM)  
 Luján, Ben Ray (NM)  
 Lynch  
 Maloney, Carolyn  
 Maloney, Sean  
 Matsui  
 McCollum  
 McDermott  
 McGovern  
 McNerney  
 Meeks  
 Meng  
 Moore  
 Moulton  
 Murphy (FL)  
 Nadler  
 Napolitano  
 Neal  
 Nolan  
 Norcross  
 O'Rourke  
 Pallone  
 Pascarell  
 Payne  
 Pelosi  
 Perlmutter  
 Peters  
 Peterson  
 Pingree

## NOT VOTING—8

Cohen  
 DeFazio  
 Ellison  
 Hinojosa  
 Ruppertsberger  
 Takai  
 Watson Coleman  
 Williams

## ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (during the vote). There are 2 minutes remaining.

□ 1111

So the resolution was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

## FED OVERSIGHT REFORM AND MODERNIZATION ACT OF 2015

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 1(c) of rule XIX, further consideration of the bill (H.R. 3189) to amend the Federal Reserve Act to establish requirements for policy rules and blackout periods of the Federal Open Market Committee, to establish requirements for certain activities of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, and to amend title 31, United States Code, to reform the manner in which the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System is audited, and for other purposes, will now resume.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

## MOTION TO RECOMMIT

Ms. MATSUI. Mr. Speaker, I have a motion to recommit at the desk.