

The Acting CHAIR. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. BROWN).

The amendment was agreed to.

Ms. LOFGREN. Madam Chair, I move that the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly, the Committee rose; and the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. BUTTERFIELD) having assumed the chair, Ms. HAALAND, Acting Chair of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 1) to expand Americans' access to the ballot box, reduce the influence of big money in politics, and strengthen ethics rules for public servants, and for other purposes, had come to no resolution thereon.

□ 1600

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, the Chair will postpone further proceedings today on the motion to suspend the rules on which a recorded vote or the yeas and nays are ordered, or votes objected to under clause 6 of rule XX.

The House will resume proceedings on any postponed question at a later time.

CONDEMNING ANTI-SEMITISM AND ANTI-MUSLIM DISCRIMINATION

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the resolution (H. Res. 183) condemning anti-Semitism as hateful expressions of intolerance that are contradictory to the values and aspirations that define the people of the United States and condemning anti-Muslim discrimination and bigotry against minorities as hateful expressions of intolerance that are contrary to the values and aspirations of the United States, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The text of the resolution is as follows:

H. RES. 183

Whereas the first amendment to the Constitution established the United States as a country committed to the principles of tolerance and religious freedom, and the 14th amendment to the Constitution established equal protection of the laws as the heart of justice in the United States;

Whereas adherence to these principles is vital to the progress of the American people and the diverse communities and religious groups of the United States;

Whereas whether from the political right, center, or left, bigotry, discrimination, oppression, racism, and imputations of dual loyalty threaten American democracy and have no place in American political discourse;

Whereas white supremacists in the United States have exploited and continue to exploit bigotry and weaponize hate for political gain, targeting traditionally persecuted peoples, including African Americans, Latinos, Native Americans, Asian Americans and Pa-

cific Islanders and other people of color, Jews, Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, the LGBTQ community, immigrants, and others with verbal attacks, incitement, and violence;

Whereas the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., taught that persecution of any American is an assault on the rights and freedoms of all Americans;

Whereas on August 11 and 12, 2017, self-identified neo-Confederates, white nationalists, neo-Nazis, and Ku Klux Klansmen held white supremacist events in Charlottesville, Virginia, where they marched on a synagogue under the Nazi swastika, engaged in racist and anti-Semitic demonstrations and committed brutal and deadly violence against peaceful Americans;

Whereas white nationalist murdered nine African American worshipers at the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina, on the evening of June 17, 2015, in the hopes of igniting a nationwide race war;

Whereas on October 27, 2018, the perpetrator of the deadliest attack on Jewish people in the history of the United States killed 11 worshippers at the Tree of Life Synagogue building in Pittsburgh and reportedly stated that he "wanted all Jews to die";

Whereas anti-Semitism is the centuries-old bigotry and form of racism faced by Jewish people simply because they are Jews;

Whereas in 2017 the Federal Bureau of Investigation reported a 37 percent increase in hate crimes against Jews or Jewish institutions and found that attacks against Jews or Jewish institutions made up 58.1 percent of all religious-based hate crimes;

Whereas there is an urgent need to ensure the safety and security of Jewish communities, including synagogues, schools, cemeteries, and other institutions;

Whereas Jews are the targets of anti-Semitic violence at even higher rates in many other countries than they are in the United States;

Whereas it is a foreign policy priority of the United States to monitor and combat anti-Semitism abroad;

Whereas anti-Semitism includes blaming Jews as Jews when things go wrong; calling for, aiding, or justifying the killing or harming of Jews in the name of a radical ideology or extremist view of religion; or making mendacious, dehumanizing, demonizing, or stereotyped allegations about Jews;

Whereas Jewish people are subject in the media and political campaigns to numerous other dangerous anti-Semitic myths as well, including that Jews control the United States Government or seek global, political, and financial domination and that Jews are obsessed with money;

Whereas scapegoating and targeting of Jews in the United States have persisted for many years, including by the Ku Klux Klan, the America First Committee, and by modern neo-Nazis;

Whereas accusing Jews of being more loyal to Israel or to the Jewish community than to the United States constitutes anti-Semitism because it suggests that Jewish citizens cannot be patriotic Americans and trusted neighbors, when Jews have loyally served our Nation every day since its founding, whether in public or community life or military service;

Whereas accusations of dual loyalty generally have an insidious and pernicious history, including—

(1) the discriminatory incarceration of Americans of Japanese descent during World War II on their basis of race and alleged dual loyalty;

(2) the Dreyfus affair, when Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish French artillery captain, was falsely convicted of passing secrets to Germany based on his Jewish background;

(3) when the loyalty of President John F. Kennedy was questioned because of his Catholic faith; and

(4) the post-9/11 conditions faced by Muslim-Americans in the United States, including Islamophobia and false and vicious attacks on and threats to Muslim-Americans for alleged association with terrorism;

Whereas anti-Muslim bigotry entails prejudicial attitudes towards Muslims and people who are perceived to be Muslim, including the irrational belief that Muslims are inherently violent, disloyal, and foreign;

Whereas Muslims and people perceived to be Muslim are subjected to false and dangerous stereotypes and myths including unfair allegations that they sympathize with individuals who engage in violence or terror or support the oppression of women, Jews, and other vulnerable communities;

Whereas in 2017, mosques were bombed in Bloomington, Minnesota, and burned in Austin, Texas, Victoria, Texas, Bellevue, Washington, and Thonotosassa, Florida, and mass attacks on Muslim communities were planned against communities in Islamburg, New York, in 2019, Jacksonville, Florida, in 2017, and Garden City, Kansas, in 2016;

Whereas the Federal Bureau of Investigation reported that hate crimes against Muslims or Muslim institutions in the United States increased by over 99 percent between 2014 and 2016;

Whereas attacks motivated by bigotry against those who are Muslim or perceived to be Muslim have substantially increased since the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks;

Whereas the violation of an individual's civil rights based on his or her actual or perceived membership in a particular religious group clearly violates the Constitution and laws of the United States; and

Whereas all Americans, including Jews, Muslims, and Christians and people of all faiths and no faith, have a stake in fighting anti-Semitism, as all Americans have a stake in fighting every form of bigotry and hatred against people based on religion, race, or place of birth and origin: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives—

(1) rejects the perpetuation of anti-Semitic stereotypes in the United States and around the world, including the pernicious myth of dual loyalty and foreign allegiance, especially in the context of support for the United States-Israel alliance;

(2) condemns anti-Semitic acts and statements as hateful expressions of intolerance that are contradictory to the values that define the people of the United States;

(3) reaffirms its support for the mandate of the United States Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism as part of the broader policy priority of fostering international religious freedom and protecting human rights all over the world;

(4) rejects attempts to justify hatred or violent attacks as an acceptable expression of disapproval or frustration over political events in the Middle East or elsewhere;

(5) acknowledges the harm suffered by Muslims and others from the harassment, discrimination, and violence that result from anti-Muslim bigotry;

(6) condemns anti-Muslim discrimination and bigotry against all minorities as contrary to the values of the United States;

(7) condemns the death threats received by Jewish and Muslim Members of Congress, including in recent weeks;

(8) encourages law enforcement and government officials to avoid conduct that raises the specter of unconstitutional profiling against anyone because of their

race, religion, nationality, political, or particular social group, including the assignment of blame or targeting members of an entire religious group for increased suspicion, based on the conduct of a single individual or small group of individuals; and

(9) encourages all public officials to confront the reality of anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, racism, and other forms of bigotry, as well as historical struggles against them, to ensure that the United States will live up to the transcendent principles of tolerance, religious freedom, and equal protection as embodied in the Declaration of Independence and the first and 14th amendments to the Constitution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from New York (Mr. NADLER) and the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. COLLINS) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the resolution under consideration.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 5 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H. Res. 183, which condemns anti-Semitism unambiguously, as well as anti-Muslim bigotry and all forms of prejudice against minorities, as contrary to fundamental American values and principles. This resolution makes clear that we condemn anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, and racism no matter where on the political spectrum they may emanate from, right, left, or center.

This resolution is a statement of our values as a Nation. While it focuses on concerns raised in the last few weeks regarding anti-Semitism and Islamophobia, it addresses those noxious forms of bigotry in the context of our broader concern with all forms of bigotry and hatred in our country.

Bigotry against members of minority groups based on their actual or perceived religion, ethnicity, race, or national origin are among the cardinal sins of our Nation. As the resolution notes, tolerance and religious freedom are among our country's fundamental principles, so much so that they are enshrined in the very First Amendment to the Constitution.

Sadly, without constant vigilance, our Nation has seen darker moments where religious and other forms of hate have reared their ugly heads. Often, our Nation has fallen short of its ideals when they succumbed to the demagoguery of bigots.

Indeed, one of the biggest problems facing our country today, and one that has bedeviled it in the past, is the fact that white supremacists have weaponized bigotry and hatred to achieve political gains. They do so by

stoking hatred and division among Americans based on religion, race, ethnicity, or other characteristics.

To combat this, it is imperative that all of us—but especially those of us in public life—speak out against such hate. Unfortunately, sometimes the perpetrators of religious and other forms of bigotry are themselves public figures and even, distressingly, Members of this House.

Indeed, in the last few weeks, comments have been made by some of my colleagues on both sides of the aisle that can fairly be characterized as anti-Semitic, and I have condemned these remarks.

Anti-Semitism is among the most ancient of prejudices and is associated with pernicious stereotypes, including the claim that Jews exert control over the government and the global political and financial systems, that they are obsessed with money, and that their loyalty to their home countries is somehow in question.

Assertion of these beliefs does not constitute merely making statements of political or policy positions. Rather, propagation of these beliefs has, throughout history, resulted in harassment, discrimination, violence, and murder against Jews.

While anti-Semitism is an ancient prejudice, its effects are not ancient history. Less than 6 months ago, a gunman murdered 11 worshippers at the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh, reportedly stating that he “wanted all Jews to die.” Nearly 2 years ago in Charlottesville, Virginia, white supremacists chanted, “Jews will not replace us.”

Despite this ugly history, Members on both sides have questioned the loyalty and patriotism of Members of this House. The trope that support for Israel, particularly among Jewish Americans, is the result of a “dual loyalty” to Israel and the United States is deeply offensive to me.

What I find equally despicable is a somewhat analogous “dual loyalty” trope increasingly deployed against Muslim Americans. This includes the recent implication by one of our colleagues that another colleague is a spy and a State Republican poster in the West Virginia State capitol that implied an association between that same colleague and the September 11, 2001, attacks in New York.

Indeed, statements have repeatedly been made in the recent past by public officials, including the President, which can fairly be characterized as anti-Muslim more generally.

Particularly since the September 11 attacks, Muslim Americans have faced a gauntlet of prejudice alleging that they are inherently violent, disloyal, and foreign, and this has led to hate-motivated violence. In 2017, for example, at least five mosques were bombed or burned in various cities around the country.

Efforts to question the loyalty or patriotism of anyone in this country

based on their religion or on any innate characteristic is completely out of bounds.

It is my fervent hope that this resolution will be a chance for us, both as an institution and also as a Nation, to remind ourselves of what we all believe in, and to come together and heal.

I urge my colleagues to join me in voting for this resolution today, and I reserve the balance of my time.

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

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Maryland (Mr. RASKIN).

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, at Sunday school, Jewish kids learn the imperishable words of Hillel, who said: If I am not for myself, who will be for me? But if I am for myself only, then who am I? And if not now, when?

Today, we must all stand strongly and proudly for ourselves and our communities, but we must also stand in strong solidarity with other people and their communities. We must act now because in America and in nations all over the world, anti-Semitism, anti-Muslim bigotry, and other forms of racism and intolerance are sharply on the rise.

These old and lethal poisons are not only a threat to individual Jews and Muslims and African Americans and Hispanic Americans and Asian Americans and Native Americans walking down the street, and to our children playing at school, they are the common enemy of liberal democracy, which depends upon tolerance and pluralism to survive.

As the world's oldest liberal democracy and a thriving multiracial and multicultural society, America must reject the myths and stereotypes and libels and tropes that make up these ancient hatreds.

Anti-Semitism and racism are the gateway to destruction for everything that we believe in as a society. They are a threat to the values of our constitutional creed: pluralism and tolerance, religious freedom and freedom of association, equal protection for all citizens.

Let us stand up today for our most hard-won American ideals, and let us vote for this resolution condemning racism and anti-Muslim bigotry and other forms of racism and intolerance.

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

I don't know where to begin. I really don't. As Members of Congress duly elected by a constituency to serve in this body, who come here with the hope and the thought that we exchange ideas and come to this body to actually participate, for the second time in 8 weeks, I am here with my friend from New York debating a resolution that all of us should have learned in kindergarten: Be nice; don't hate.

This resolution doesn't need to be seven pages. It is just wordy. I agree with it. We don't need to hate, no matter where it comes from. But what

bothers me the most, Mr. Speaker, is what I am finding right here.

Just the other day on this floor, we celebrated the institution of this body with the dean of the House. We spoke of Mr. Dingell. We spoke of DON YOUNG. We spoke about the institution of this House. What is becoming more and more concerning for me about this process and what breaks my heart as much as any anti-Semitic thought, any anti-Muslim thought, any anti-anybody thought, is that we have broken down in this House.

Last week, we brought to the floor a bill that was supposed to be about firearms, which my friends across the aisle mistakenly didn't understand the penalty associated with the bill.

Yesterday, I was just on the floor of this House talking about a bill that really, because they rushed it through committee, came to the floor of this House in which, if you keep a 4-year-old from voting, you are a criminal. This is what happens when we rush.

This week, the entire week almost, has been taken up by sentiments of a Member that were anti-Semitic, repeating, as Rahm Emanuel said, some of the ugliest stereotypes that we have had.

But it goes back, again, to my concern here. At 3:20 this afternoon, I was handed, or at least it was printed, one of the resolutions. I have three more of this resolution that has taken all week. How long does it take to figure out “just don’t hate”? How many times, how many, you know, pages does it take to cite evil is evil?

My heart breaks, Mr. Speaker. My heart breaks for this institution when we say that we see something that is anti-Semitic, but we say, well, they may not have known it was. It is anti-Semitic. It is anti-Muslim. It is whatever you want to call it. It is just wrong. My heart breaks.

Then I find out that we changed it now lately as to add other groups in here who undoubtedly saw they weren’t a part of the group, so we added in new groups to the list. I guess since we are at it, why didn’t we add Mormons? Why didn’t we add Jehovah’s Witnesses? They have been attacked. Mormons have many times been accused of dual allegiance. Ask a former Presidential candidate.

Mr. Speaker, I wish the Chair and I could engage in a colloquy. He is a good gentleman from North Carolina. Explain this to me, why it took a whole week to figure out to say, “Hate is hate.” We don’t need seven pages.

We need people to understand that words have consequences; that being a Member of Congress matters; that being a Member of Congress says that when you say something, we can debate civilly.

My friends from New York and Maryland, we disagree on most anything. We could probably disagree about how many clouds are in the sky, about policy, but it is not a disagreement that hate is hate.

□ 1615

And we shouldn’t overlook it and try and lump it with everything else and give moral equivalency. But here we are again. Here we are again.

Mr. Speaker, I hope we are not here in another 4 weeks, because the first 8 weeks we have been here twice. Please let us get back to being the people that this country needs us to be.

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

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, listening to the gentleman from Georgia, I think I heard him say that he and his colleagues were going to vote for this resolution. I am glad to hear that, especially since I noted that after the march in Charlottesville and the murderer in Charlottesville when a censure resolution was brought up, the Republicans, who were then in control of the House, refused to bring it to the floor. So I am glad that they are willing to vote for this resolution today.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentlewoman from Virginia (Mrs. LURIA).

Mrs. LURIA. Mr. Speaker, I am a Jewish American woman who served for 20 years in uniform and continue to serve in the United States Congress.

At the age of 17, when I entered the United States Naval Academy, I first took the oath to support and defend the Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic. I subsequently repeated that oath six times at every promotion in rank and, most recently, when I had the honor to become a Member of Congress.

Is that not enough to prove my loyalty to our Nation?

I deployed six times, serving in six ships in the Middle East and Western Pacific, working under challenging conditions while operating complex weapons systems, overseeing nuclear reactors, driving ships, and, ultimately, commanding a combat-ready unit of 400 sailors.

Is that not enough to prove my loyalty to our Nation?

In the first 3 years my husband and I were married, we spent almost 2 years apart so that we could both serve at sea and deploy three times.

Is that not enough to prove my loyalty to our Nation?

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

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentlewoman from Virginia an additional 30 seconds.

Mrs. LURIA. Mr. Speaker, am I to look back on my military career and the sacrifices it meant for my family and remain silent in the face of people questioning my loyalty to my country?

I believe that I speak clearly for all fellow Jewish veterans that this echoes of language that has been used to marginalize and persecute the Jewish people for centuries.

The recent accusations of dual loyalty call into question the equal footing of Jewish Members in elected office and, by extension, all Jews living in America.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to vote on this resolution in condemnation of this rhetoric.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I don’t think the gentleman from New York (Mr. NADLER) would question my belief that what happened in Charlottesville or anywhere else was bad. I don’t think he really meant that, Mr. Speaker, because I do believe it is bad. And I think what is bad is having to write this thing, seven pages, and having to figure this out.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. ZELDIN).

Mr. ZELDIN. Mr. Speaker, let’s all be honest with each other. We are here today, right now, because of anti-Semitic rhetoric from one Member of this Chamber said again and again and again. We would not be on this floor right now otherwise to discuss this topic.

If that Member were a Republican, that Member’s name would be in this resolution, and this resolution would be all about condemning anti-Semitism, and it would be done so forcefully.

That Member in January had to apologize for talking about a hypnosis of Israel that they had over the entire world. That Member had to apologize in February for saying: If you support Israel, it must be because you are bought off by Jews. That Member called it an unequivocal apology even though she filled it with equivocation.

Now we are back again this time by the Member saying that, if you support the U.S.-Israel relationship, that you must have pledged allegiance to a foreign government—except this time that Member is refusing to apologize.

Even if you gave that Member every benefit of the doubt that she had no idea what she was doing, why now wouldn’t she be apologizing? Why would she be more emboldened to refuse an apology altogether?

I, apparently, am giving Representative OMAR more credit than the Speaker is because I don’t believe she is naive. I believe that she knows exactly what she is doing.

It is an American value, by the way, to have reasonable, legitimate criticism of a government, whether it be the U.S. Government, Israel, or any other government. It is not an American value, though, to be hurling anti-Semitic rhetoric.

Anti-Semitism must be condemned, unequivocally and emphatically.

We have Members of this Chamber who associate with Louis Farrakhan, who says: “Hitler was a very great man.” Let’s talk about a double standard.

In January, we all came to this Chamber. We condemned white supremacy. We named a Republican Member. We kicked that Member off of his committees; he can’t serve on the Small Business Committee. But this Member will continue to serve on the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

But, no, now we can't come here and just emphatically, solely, forcefully condemn anti-Semitism and name names. But if it was a Republican, we would.

It is time to call out these statements for what they are: pointed, bigoted, unreasonable, illegitimate, anti-Semitic.

I commend my colleagues on the other side of the aisle who have been speaking out about all this anti-Semitism. A few Members come to mind: Chairman ENGEL, Congressman DEUTCH, Congressman NADLER, Congresswoman LOWEY, Congressman GOTTHEIMER.

Many of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle, I believe, to their core know how very wrong this is.

There are many other Members to name as well, and I would be remiss if I didn't take this opportunity to say thank you to each and every one of them, because support of Israel, support of Jews, standing against anti-Semitism has been bipartisan in the past. It should be bipartisan today, and it should be bipartisan for every moment in the future.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. CLYBURN), the distinguished whip.

Mr. CLYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York (Mr. NADLER) for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution condemning anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, and bigotry against minorities.

This resolution expresses our rejection of all attempts to weaponize words and sow discord and division.

Make no mistake, our Caucus is unified, but unity does not mean unanimity. We are the most diverse Caucus in the history of Congress. We are a true reflection of who and what America is.

Each of us brings our own familiar backgrounds and personal experiences to this august body. Those experiences help shape our values and our perspectives as we do the work of the American people.

We learn from one another, and we do so following President Lincoln's declaration: "With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in."

This resolution condemns hateful expressions of intolerance, honors the heritages and experiences of all who serve in this body, and commits all of us to the continued search of a more perfect Union.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. BIGGS).

Mr. BIGGS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. COLLINS) for yielding me time, and I thank the gentleman from New York (Mr. NADLER) for his comments.

We are here today because a Member of this body issued a series of anti-Se-

mitic statements, and I couldn't help but think of what justice means and what mercy means.

Well, we want to temper justice with mercy. So the first time we come to understand that maybe the depth of what was said was maybe accidental; the second time maybe less so; and certainly the third time, we now have a pattern.

We begin to wonder how we extend mercy when justice cries out against one who is anti-Semitic.

It doesn't help that the Democratic leaders have attempted to rationalize and protect this individual, whether it is appearing on the cover of a national magazine, whether it is saying: "She did not understand the full weight of the words." One wonders what more needs to be done to try to eradicate anti-Semitism from this body.

Some have said that to specifically condemn these statements and remove her from her committee assignment would stifle legitimate criticism of Israel. But the problem with that argument is this:

The comments made were not directed at Israel, were not directed to policy, were not directed towards the American-Israel relationship. They were, instead, directed to Americans with the allegation that they have a dual loyalty, which is an ancient anti-Semitic cliche that has been used to target the Jewish community throughout history.

How about this in the future? If a Member of Congress desires to criticize Israel or criticize American policy towards Israel, maybe they can do so without resorting to an anti-Semitic rhetoric that is inflammatory, unnecessary, and, frankly, it is hateful.

So we stand here today and we look at a resolution condemning hatred of any kind. Who can disagree with that? I don't. I don't disagree with that.

But what I will say is you cannot temper justice any longer with mercy, with rationalization. Sooner or later, you have to face what the awful truth is. And if someone is going to persist in making anti-Semitic, hateful statements, to bury that is inexcusable.

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

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, let me suggest at the outset that no party be too self-righteous on the issue of supporting prejudice and bigotry too often. This is a very serious matter. It is important to call out anti-Semitism in a way that is unmistakable and unambiguous.

We must do so because whenever some people begin to question the allegiance or patriotism of Americans, indeed, whether certain people fully belong as part of our country, it is critical to set the record straight.

Recent statements employing time-worn tropes of dual loyalty have deeply

and correctly unsettled American Jewish communities because their allegation is, simply put, that American Jews who support Israel are not loyal to this country.

I stand as a very strong supporter of Israel and a very loyal American. Such allegations fall into—as has been said—a century-old and dark history of Jews being marginalized and set apart. They recall past evils that occurred in other countries and in our own when, according to the Anti-Defamation League, people accuse Jews of "being disloyal neighbors or citizens" because of their connection to Israel or Jewish communities elsewhere in the world.

That was false, and it was bigoted.

To be clear, the First Amendment protects the right of every American to criticize policies and leaders, whether our own country or others.

That is the glory of our democracy.

□ 1630

However, in these past few weeks, those who say they are only criticizing Israel's leaders or policies have, instead, been making claims about the allegiance and motivation of Israel's defenders.

I do not believe there is anyone in our Caucus, not one, who wishes to silence debate over policy. Rather, what is being called for is an end to the invocation of age-old, anti-Semitic tropes that demonize people instead of criticize policies.

Accusations that Jews bear dual allegiance because of support for Israel or concern for its safety are false and they are also hurtful canards that must be opposed and exposed for what they are: bigotry. They elicit legitimate fear and uncertainty in the individuals and communities they target.

In much the same way, we have also seen vile examples of hatred aimed at painting Muslim Americans as somehow disloyal to our Nation, or not fully belonging, causing similar feelings of insecurity and distress.

No Muslims could come to our country. Those feelings cannot be discounted either. One of our own colleagues was the target of an Islamophobic attack, impugning a Member of this House. That ought to be unacceptable to all of us.

We have seen this same form of exclusion, hatred in recent years whenever acts of bigotry have been directed towards African Americans, and when Latino and Latina citizens have been yelled at to "go back" to their country. This is their country.

This phenomenon is also a reminder of the horrific internment of Japanese Americans during the Second World War. None of us ought to be like Pontius Pilate and think that we have not fallen short of the principles enunciated in our Declaration.

In our multicultural Republic, sometimes it is incumbent upon the American people to speak as one Nation, indivisible, and make a clear affirmation that all Americans have an equal share

in our Republic, that no one's race, or creed, or origin can call into question one's love of country.

I will continue to urge unity in the face of anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, xenophobia, homophobia, transphobia, racism against African American, Latino, Asian Americans, and other forms of prejudice and discrimination.

American Jews, including those who serve our Nation in Congress, need to be reassured that they are equal partners in the diverse coalition for justice, opportunity, tolerance, and equality, and that they have true allies who stand with them as firmly as they have stood with others.

I will continue to make that clear. America is rightfully respected for its Declaration of Independence and its Constitution, as amended and perfected, both of which proclaim the dignity and rights of individuals endowed by our Creator.

But America has also seen, too often, the denial of that dignity and equality to millions of its citizens based upon the color of their skin, the land of their birth, or the faith of their forebearers.

My colleagues, if we are to be better than our past, we must reject all forms of bigotry and prejudice directed at any of our fellow human beings and fellow Americans. Let us all, in solidarity and in union with the principles of our country, support this resolution.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, could you please tell me how much time the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. COLLINS) has remaining, and how much time do I have remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York has 9 minutes remaining. The gentleman from Georgia has 8½ minutes remaining.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GOHMERT).

Mr. GOHMERT. Mr. Speaker, according to Proverbs, something that people who are practicing Jews and Christians believe, it says that there are seven things that are detestable to the Lord. They are: "Haughty eyes, a lying tongue, hands that shed innocent blood, a heart that devises wicked schemes, feet that are quick to rush into evil, a false witness who pours out lies, and a person who stirs up conflict in the community."

It goes so far as to say, these are things the Lord hates. So the word hate is not wrong in the Jewish and Christian tradition, but anything beyond this is wrong. And, yes, there has been persecution of Christians. There has been persecution of Muslims, but anybody who is persecuting a people in the name of Christianity is not acting as a Christian. That is not part of the faith.

But what makes this so dangerous—and the reason I will vote against this resolution—is because we came here because of an anti-Semitic remark. We came here to condemn anti-Semitism, but this resolution, as changed up over the last hour, now condemns just about

everything, and the reason that is so dangerous is that anti-Semitism, hatred for the children of Israel, is a very special kind of hatred that should never be watered down.

There has never been a persecution of a people like the Jewish people from 1933 to 1945. Over 6 million were killed. It started with little things, hateful remarks made about the children of Israel that grew and grew, and it was okay because it was made by somebody who had a grudge. It was let go, and it built until it led to the death of 6 million Jews. We have to say no.

We will not let it go on. That is why I will vote against it. It has watered down the sentiment.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. BASS).

Ms. BASS. Mr. Speaker, the Congressional Black Caucus condemns all forms of white supremacy, anti-Semitism, and Islamophobia in the strongest terms possible.

This could have been an issue that sowed further division among the country, but, instead, has united everyone around our shared values, condemning all forms of bigotry and hatred. The Congressional Black Caucus stands firmly against all expressions of hate, and is concerned by the recent uptick in hateful rhetoric and crimes targeting minority communities.

For example, a white nationalist murdered nine African American worshipers at Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina, on the evening of June 15, 2015, in hopes of igniting a nationwide race war; or the perpetrator of the deadliest attack on Jewish people in the United States' history at the Tree of Life synagogue building in Pittsburgh that killed 11 worshippers.

It is unfortunate that the President of the United States has shown a complete lack of leadership on these issues and has, in fact, fanned the flames.

As chair of the Congressional Black Caucus, the CBC remains committed to building a more perfect union by engaging in constructive dialogue that affirms America as a nation welcoming to all.

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

Mr. Speaker, I want to go back to what I was talking about when we first started this, and being saddened to be here, and also how we are continually rushing stuff to the floor. I know it is an oversight, but it goes back to my very first statement here, and, again, I can remind everyone here, if we wanted to write a simple resolution here, hate is hate. It is not good. Don't say it. Think about what you are doing. You could have done this in half of a paragraph.

Not to belittle any of this, this is all wrong, but on page 7, number 7, we have a resolution that says, "condemns death threats received by Jewish and Muslim Members of Congress."

I am a Member who has had someone put in jail for threatening to kill me and my daughter. Why don't we condemn that? We forgot it. We forgot it. Like we had other groups in this bill, that we have written three times, that we had to add because we forgot them. As I mentioned earlier, why didn't we add Mormons? Why didn't we add Jehovah's Witnesses?

It is not that the issue here is the hate and what happened and where it went back to. Our speakers on both sides have gone to the very issue of why we are here. I go back to the issue of what I talked about earlier, that I am saddened for the state of our House that we are so concerned about trying to make talking points and finishing it, that we rush stuff to this floor. This is not what we do or who we are.

Hate is hate. It is bad. It is wrong. Quit saying it, but don't keep rushing stuff to the floor when you don't even really understand what you put in the bill.

I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. ENGEL), the distinguished chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I am going to vote "yes" on this measure today, but I do have concerns about how we are dealing with these issues. Obviously, all forms of hatred and bigotry are intolerable and we should go on the record as saying so.

I am voting for this because when I read the resolution, I agreed with everything it says. But let me say this to the criticism that the Democratic majority won't condemn anti-Semitism. A few weeks back we took the virtually unprecedented step of accepting a Republican motion to recommit, the procedural tool the majority never supports because it condemned anti-Semitism. We were proud to set aside precedent to condemn anti-Semitism then, and in today's resolution, we are doing so again today.

So contrary to what some are saying, that is twice in the course of a month that the Democratic majority is condemning anti-Semitism on the floor of the House.

But I must say, the words spoken by our colleague from Minnesota last week touched a very real, very raw place for me. My desire for the House to go on record again, specifically condemning anti-Semitism, wasn't a desire to single the gentlewoman out or to stifle debate on U.S. policy towards Israel, but it was a desire and need to say that certain words, no matter who utters them, have no place in our public discourse and, indeed, can be very dangerous.

When a Member of our body speaks the way the Representative from Minnesota spoke, then we need to single it out and say we will not tolerate it. In the last week, these problems have been compounded.

Since the comments that sparked this controversy, the gentlewoman from Minnesota has become the target of vile, racist Islamophobic smears and threats. One begets another. And we have got to put a stop to it now. That is horrific. Islamophobia has no place in this body or anywhere in the United States, and anti-Semitism certainly doesn't either.

I wish we had had a separate resolution about anti-Semitism. I think we deserved it. I think it was wrong not to have it. I don't think we should mix everything. But I want to say very clearly and very loudly that anti-Semitism will never be tolerated by me, never be tolerated by this body, and no Member of Congress should be making anti-Semitic statements.

No Member of Congress should be saying hurtful things and then not apologizing for them. So I hope we can put everything together to support this resolution. It condemns all kinds of hatred, whether it is Islamophobia, anti-Semitism, any kind of hatred that is what we need to do. And any time that anti-Semitism rears its ugly head, we need to stop it.

This resolution is a fine resolution, and I will support it. But I am very disappointed that we weren't able to have a separate resolution to specifically condemn anti-Semitism and what our colleague said that really was a very hateful term.

I hope we can put everything together in this House. I know we can. I know people on both sides of the aisle want to work together. We want to stomp out any form of hatred, particularly anti-Semitism.

I will continue to work with anybody who wants to do that.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate my colleague from New York's statement just then. It is frankly a shame that he had to come say that in this context, but I appreciate what he said because he is right on. He is correct.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. GAETZ).

Mr. GAETZ. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I fully associate myself with the comments of the gentleman from New York condemning anti-Semitism, full stop, an entirely appropriate thing to do.

I just think it is curious how we ended up here. We are having this debate right now because Democrats had an objection to something said by a Democrat. So they launch off on this drafting project, and then lo and behold, I hear all of the remarks on the floor, and a lot of the substance in the resolution is about President Trump, and criticizing him and trying to open wounds.

This is, unfortunately, becoming the new mantra of the left in the Congress. When they have got a problem that they can't solve, it must be President Trump's fault.

It is a lot of the sentiment that we see echoed out of the Judiciary Com-

mittee where there is no Russian collusion. The Mueller report is about to drop and Democrats know it is not going to allege Russian collusion, so they have to launch an 81-pronged investigation to harass our President.

They can't get their own House in order, so everything has to be the fault of a President who is creating more economic opportunity, reducing unemployment, ending wars, and doing a heck of a job for the country.

□ 1645

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 45 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. GOTTHEIMER).

Mr. GOTTHEIMER. Mr. Speaker, as a Jewish Member of Congress who lost family in the Holocaust and whose grandfather fought the Nazis, I need no reminder about our responsibility to confront bigotry, hatred, and intolerance wherever it is found.

No matter how hard one tries, the allegation of dual loyalty simply does not constitute legitimate opinion about foreign policy. It is a slur against Jews. It is indefensible, and it is deserving of condemnation by everyone every time. More than anything, it is offensive to question my loyalty or anyone's loyalty to the United States of America here simply because I am Jewish, the same way it was appalling to question President John Kennedy's loyalty to the United States because he was Catholic.

I am glad that Congress is voicing its opposition to anti-Semitism and made it clear that a dual loyalty smear is unacceptable.

Unfortunately, it was also clear from the discussions this week and the ultimate resolution that anti-Semitism is being treated differently than other forms of bigotry and hatred. There shouldn't be an asterisk next to anti-Semitism, and I will continue to fight it.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, how much time is remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York has 4½ minutes remaining. The gentleman from Georgia has 4 minutes remaining.

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

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 45 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from Florida (Ms. WASSERMAN SCHULTZ).

Ms. WASSERMAN SCHULTZ. Mr. Speaker, one thing we are all reminded of this week is that words have power, and divisive words cause pain. Every Jewish person in America, no matter where they are from, could share a story of deeply painful anti-Semitism that they have personally experienced. For me, at its worst, Nazi-obsessed internet trolls mercilessly taunted my children with Holocaust threats too vile for me to describe on this floor.

This pain is frequently felt by all too many Americans. How you look or speak, whom you love, or where you live and pray can still invite unwanted

and potentially dangerous words of hostility.

The conversation today about anti-Semitism, allegiance, and loyalty is necessary because remaining silent against hatred and bigotry is not an option.

I am a second-generation American on both sides of my family. Two generations later, it was possible for me to become a Member of the U.S. Congress—only in America. So, questioning my allegiance is painful and personal.

Unfortunately, this dual loyalty question is not isolated to Jews. Words have power. We must carefully choose our words and make sure that we use them to unite us and not to divide us.

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

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI), who is the distinguished Speaker of the House.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I thank him for bringing this important resolution to the floor of the House.

I commend the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. RASKIN) and the very distinguished gentleman from Louisiana for his participation in writing this important resolution.

It is in the spirit of unity and solidarity with my colleagues as we come together in this Chamber of our American democracy to condemn all forms of hatred, racism, prejudice, and discrimination with a hopefully single and strong voice.

It is a profoundly disturbing reality that anti-Semitism is on the rise in America today, and anti-Semitic attacks increasingly are at the highest rate on record. Appalling acts of hatred and bigotry are being inflicted on all elements of our society, be they African American, Latino, people from Asia, and attacks in terms of people being Muslim or other religious faiths. This isn't who we are as a country.

We all believe that there is a spark of divinity in every person who exists, that we are all God's children, and that we come to meet with each other in a way that commands respect for that provenance of our being all God's children. Then we see people making attacks on each other throughout the country, whether it is in Charlottesville or whether it is anti-immigrant attitudes that have reared their ugly heads in our country. It is in that spirit that I come to the floor almost emotionally to speak about this.

In the Congress and across the country, we must accept debate on any subject in a legitimate way, whether it is on our U.S.-Israel policies and the rest. That is protected by the value of free speech and democratic debate in the United States and in Israel.

Israel is our friend in that region. We support Israel out of friendship and out of shared values, but also because it is in our national interests to do so. But not every one of us in this body agrees

on every provision or any consideration in that relationship. That is a separate and complete issue from anti-Semitism.

Anti-Semitism, whether it is in the form of attacks on Jewish people, anti-Semitic tropes, prejudicial accusations, or any other form of hatred, is deeply and unequivocally offensive and must be condemned wherever it is heard. All of us must remember, as Members of Congress and as the President of the United States, that our words are weightier once we cross the threshold into Congress, and, indeed, they weigh a ton when someone becomes the President of the United States.

It is also disturbing that Islamophobia and white supremacism remain a sinister and shameful presence in America today. Too often that goes unnoticed or unchecked. Such attacks have even targeted some of us in this body.

We must condemn these attacks and confront them. As Members of Congress and Americans, we have a solemn and urgent responsibility to fight to end the scourge of bigotry, racism, and hatred in our country.

I do want to again salute our colleague, CEDRIC RICHMOND, our distinguished former chair of the Congressional Black Caucus and now distinguished leader in the whip's operation, for his leadership in shaping this legislation, and, again, Congressman JAMIE RASKIN of Maryland for his leadership role in all of this.

I salute all of our Members for demonstrating the courage to have this difficult conversation and for doing so in a spirit of great respect, disagreeing sometimes, but never questioning the patriotism or motivation of anyone with whom we serve.

I thank Chairman NADLER of the Judiciary Committee for the work that he has done to give us this important moment on the floor of the House.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that we will have a unanimous vote in support of this resolution.

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

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I am prepared to close.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I do again want to go back to something.

I appreciate the words that have been said here. Again, I cannot emphasize this enough. It took seven pages to describe what simply can be said is: Don't hate; watch what you say; you are a Member of Congress; we deserve better; the House deserves better. When we understand this, then we can begin to understand.

Also, I want to go back to something that I will hit again. It goes back to this is again something put together because we couldn't come to agreement on the very nature of what started this, which was anti-Semitic comments. And having to have some of our Jewish legislators come down here and condemn

that is sad, wanting to have to vote for something that, at the very heart, tore them apart. You can hear it in their voices, but yet they have to vote for this.

We also put it together getting it at 3:20 this afternoon. We left out the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. We left out Wiccans. We left out Jehovah's Witnesses. We left out disabled people who are often discriminated against and have hateful things said about them.

We also, in the thing, found out that the only ones we are going to condemn getting death threats are Jewish Members and Muslim Members. We are not condemning anything else. This is just another attempt to rush to do something, to fix something.

I said last week, and I will say it again: What makes you feel good doesn't always heal you. This is another example of a rush project.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. McCARTHY), who is the minority leader.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, I want to start by thanking a Member from the other side of the aisle, Chairman ELIOT ENGEL. I thank the gentleman, for when he heard the language, he stood up. I thank the gentleman for his work.

To all the Members who are here, this shouldn't be this hard. We should not have to go through the number of versions that we had to. We shouldn't have to be on this floor even speaking about this. I hope we won't be back.

Of all the things that have happened this Congress, this is what we have talked about the most. This is the action that this Congress has taken the most. Twice we have to make a statement that we are opposed to anti-Semitism.

The first time it took the minority. It doesn't have very many abilities to bring something to the floor, but we did, and we spoke with one voice. But now we are back in a few weeks stating the same thing, but without apologies, without apologies from that voice.

It did not have to be this hard. Mr. Speaker, we didn't have to break the 72-hour rule that you put in this year to make it less than an hour because of fear of what would happen tomorrow on a motion to recommit.

I will pledge to you this from this side of the aisle, and I hope you understand this clearly: Any hatred, we take action.

I hope you have seen from the action on this side of the aisle where we stand, Mr. Speaker. We didn't have to have a resolution, but when it came to the floor, we voted for it. We took action before it came to the floor, and it wasn't simply: Please apologize.

It didn't have to be this hard.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, our Madam Speaker was right. America is better than this. But to my Members, Congress is better than this.

Please do not make history write about our time with these 2 years that

the most we have ever done is that we had to keep bringing resolutions to the floor to tell people that anti-Semitism is wrong if that is the only action we are going to take. I know we are better than this.

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

Mr. Speaker, as we come to the conclusion of our second time doing this, I will echo the sentiments of our leader who just spoke, and I will echo the sentiments of most everyone who has spoken here that this is wrong.

One time, we should learn; two times, we are getting nothing out of this anymore because, undoubtedly, we are getting no input because we are just putting everything we can imaginable that we could think of in a short amount of time unless somebody brought it up into a resolution and saying: This is hate. We don't need to do this.

We don't need a manual to tell us who we can't hate.

How is it so hard?

Why do we blow process?

Why do we disrespect this institution by bringing together things that are thrown together at the last minute that leave out death threats to any other Member besides two groups of Members, that leave out others who have been hated upon?

□ 1700

It breaks my heart. After just a day or so ago speaking of the institutional spirit and hearing the dean of this House talking about working together, it breaks my heart that we are 8, 9 weeks into the session and this is our largest accomplishment, telling the world: Don't hate.

That is our largest accomplishment?

Mr. Speaker, my fear is, with this today, I don't want to be here again. But with the way this was handled, I fear we may be.

We are better than this. This should not be where we are at.

Why do we keep coming back? Because many times, Members forget the awesome responsibility that they have been given as Members of Congress.

Our mouths and our tongues can be our greatest enemy. Let us remember that as we seek guidance each day.

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

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. RICHMOND).

Mr. RICHMOND. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York for yielding.

Let me just say that we are better than this, and we have seen in this body where we have had Members attacked. We came together right here in this body, where we all held hands. We said that words have consequences, and we were going to do better. We were going to set an example. Before we could walk off the floor, there was a commercial running to attack the

