

doesn't mean that we should just give blank checks or give them arms. I think it would just be a mistake to let them think that they don't have to have any conduct in trying to conduct this war into diminishing civilian casualties.

The other point I want to raise, again, is the fact that, Mr. Speaker, do you remember when you were a kid in school and you learned how a bill became a law?

Well, there is something called separation of powers, checks and balances. It is not right for the President to declare an emergency when there really is no emergency in order to get around Congress' disapproval of something. So I feel it is important to fight for the institution as well.

So, again, if we do pass this resolution, it will go to the President's desk, and it will let him answer whether he agrees that our values need to be central to our work around the world.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All time for debate has expired.

Pursuant to House Resolution 491, the previous question is ordered on the joint resolution.

The question is on the third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to be read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the passage of the joint resolution.

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

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

The yeas and nays were ordered.

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

#### PROVIDING FOR CONGRESSIONAL DISAPPROVAL OF THE PROPOSED EXPORT TO THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA OF CERTAIN DEFENSE ARTICLES AND SERVICES

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to section 3 of House Resolution 491, I call up the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 38) providing for congressional disapproval of the proposed export to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland of certain defense articles and services, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 491, the joint resolution is considered read.

The text of the joint resolution is as follows:

S.J. RES. 38

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in*

*Congress assembled,* That the issuance of an export license with respect to the following proposed exports to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland is prohibited:

(1) The transfer of the following defense articles, including services and technical data, described in Executive Communication 1422 (EC-1422) submitted to Congress pursuant to section 36(c) of the Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2776(c)) and published in the Congressional Record on June 3, 2019: The proposed transfer of defense articles, defense services, and technical data to support the manufacture of the Aurora Fuzing System for the Paveway IV Precision Guided Bomb Program.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York (Mr. ENGEL) and the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MAST) each will control 10 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and include in the RECORD extraneous materials on the measure under consideration.

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

There was no objection.

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

Mr. Speaker, this final measure we will consider would stop the transfer of fuses for precision-guided munitions—critical components that allow these weapons to be armed and detonated. Like the bombs, these components have already been manufactured, and we need to act quickly to stop their shipment.

As we wrap up this debate, Mr. Speaker, I want to make an appeal to my friends on the other side of the aisle: You can be for or against these weapons sales and still understand that these resolutions are the right thing to do, if for nothing else than the integrity of this body.

I spoke earlier about the rule of law. This phony emergency declaration is a message to the Congress and to the American people that when the law gets in the way, this administration is just going to find a way around it. They will twist the law into pretzels or just throw it out the window entirely if it allows them to sidestep Congress. We cannot stand for that.

This administration should have played by the rules, and we could have done that and probably still gotten these sales through. They could have sent up a notification and allowed Congress to have a debate. But instead, they want to shut us out of this process.

With these resolutions, we are taking some of that power back. We are saying that we won't allow the laws written in this body to be ignored. If nothing else, this is an opportunity to stand up and say: We took an oath to uphold the Constitution, and that means Congress remains a coequal branch of government.

Let me say that again: that means Congress is a coequal branch of government. We will not be a rubberstamp for any administration, not only this administration, but any administration. Congress has its duties. We will not be a rubberstamp.

I have felt for a long time that administrations of both parties, quite frankly, have ignored Congress when it comes to foreign policy and national security. We shouldn't stand for it any longer. No more do we give a blank check to any President of any party who wants to cut Congress out of the decisionmaking and subvert the Constitution.

So, Mr. Speaker, we shouldn't agree to it, we shouldn't stand for it, and I reserve the balance of my time.

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

Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to S.J. Res. 38. And I want to focus my remarks on the rationale behind the President's emergency declaration and ask that we think about the definition of the word "declaration", what that means to each of us.

My friends on the other side of the aisle would prefer to forget that these arms sales were expedited for a very specific reason. They are omitting this information because it doesn't fit into their narrative that the President is doing a favor to Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. I can tell you that defense is no favor.

The threat that emanates from Iran that precipitated this emergency declaration is very, very real, and, as a result, so is the need for the weapons sales to our partners.

So let's think about it: Are these situations emergencies?

Do they pose an immediate risk to life—an immediate threat to life?

In May in the days leading right up to this emergency declaration, Iran and its proxies executed several attacks throughout the Middle East over just 2 weeks.

Four oil tankers were attacked in the Gulf of Oman. I would say that is an emergency and a threat to life.

Armed drones struck Saudi oil fields. I would say that is an emergency and a threat to life.

The head of the Quds Force called on terror groups to prepare for a proxy war. I would certainly call that an emergency and a very direct threat to life.

A rocket was launched near the U.S. embassy in Baghdad. I would call that an emergency and a threat to life.

A bomb-carrying drone was launched by Houthi rebels targeting a Saudi airport on May 21. I would say that is an emergency and a threat to life.

Now in the weeks since the emergency declaration, Iran has only ramped up its attacks and it is precipitating the need to have this emergency declaration.

Houthi rebels have continued attacks on civilian airports in Saudi Arabia. That is an emergency and a direct threat to life.

The IRGC perpetrated another attack on commercial shipping, this time targeting Japanese and Norwegian oil tankers transiting through the Strait of Hormuz. I would say that that is an emergency and a threat to life.

A rocket hit an oil drilling site in Iraq's southern Basra Province striking inside a compound that housed contractors and employees of Exxon Mobil. I would say that is an emergency and a threat to life.

Iran shot down a U.S. military asset over international waters. I would say that is an emergency.

Just last week three Iranian paramilitary vessels tried to impede the passage of a British oil tanker transiting the Strait of Hormuz, and I would say that is an emergency and a threat to life.

Now, even as Iran continues to threaten international shipping and civilians in the Middle East, there are Members of this body who want to create doubts about the commitments that we have to our partners on the front lines. Now for Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, this is not an abstract threat. It is their tankers that are being attacked, their airports that are being targeted, and their oil fields.

Now, our bilateral relationship with Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates undoubtedly is complicated, and we absolutely have to press for improvements in domestic human rights for both countries. I think we can agree on this wholeheartedly: we have to seek justice and accountability in the murder of Jamal Khashoggi, undoubtedly. In fact, earlier this week this body voted overwhelmingly for Mr. MALINOWSKI's H.R. 2037 which imposes sanctions on those responsible for Mr. Khashoggi's murder.

Even as the United Arab Emirates draws down its position in Yemen, we must press Saudi Arabia to minimize civilian casualties in that conflict, but none of these challenges justify whatsoever abandoning our partners as they face down a threat from an Iranian regime that is on the march throughout the Middle East. In fact, we must continue to show our investment in our strategic partnerships in order to incentivize our partners to make the changes that we are asking them to make.

Mr. Speaker, I appreciate that my colleagues on the other side of the aisle have had a longstanding concern about these sales. We have a codified congressional review process precisely to address such concerns, however it is my assessment that my Democratic colleagues abused this review process.

Prior to the emergency notification, Republican Members had supported these sales, but Democrat Members subjected them to informal holds—in some cases for over a year—without any clear path to resolution. Now, given the wide range of conflicts and threats in the Middle East, I do not understand why my colleagues were sur-

prised when, after months and even over a year of delay, it was assessed that our partners urgently needed these defense articles and services for their national security in these emergency situations.

□ 1400

Perhaps if my colleagues had taken a more active approach to resolving their concerns, we would have avoided the situation in which additional capabilities were needed to respond to the elevated threat, this emergency situation that has been posted by Iran.

Now, Mr. Speaker, there has long been a consensus in this body that Iran's malign activities in the Middle East are a threat to the United States' national security and to our partners. In the past 3 years alone, we have passed legislation responding to Iran's support for terrorism, growing ballistic missile arsenal, and human rights abuses. The Iranian regime has not backed down from these malign activities, and it is my sincere hope that this body will not back down from its resolve to counter Iran's destabilizing agenda.

Unfortunately, this resolution and the other joint resolutions of disapproval for the 22 sales are very much a step in the wrong direction.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. TAYLOR).

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, from its inception, the Islamic Republic of Iran had an anti-American bent: what it did in our Embassy, its attack on the Marines in Beirut in 1983, its efforts in Iraq.

In 2003, I was part of the invasion force. I saw with my own eyes the Iranian efforts to destabilize Iraq, and they continue to do that there today.

They continue to support the Assad regime in Syria. They continue to overthrow the regime in Yemen, support the Houthi rebels attacking Saudi Arabia.

Around the Middle East, Iran has become the enemy of freedom and democracy.

If America is going to succeed, we need to have allies; we need to have friends. We need to support those allies and those friends. Making sure that Saudi Arabia or UAE have the weapons that they need to fight back against Iran's terrorism and warmongering around this region is mission-critical for the survival of our Republic.

Mr. Speaker, I stand against this resolution.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time for the purpose of closing.

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

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time to close debate on this measure.

I am glad we had a spirited debate on the issues. As always, I am grateful to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. MCCAUL), my friend, the ranking mem-

ber, for his collegiality. We are generally bipartisan on the Foreign Affairs Committee, and when we do disagree, we do so on the issues and not on the politics and the personalities.

I have enormous respect for Mr. MAST, which he knows about, but I would say that this, today, is not a referendum on Iran. I agree with everything that my colleagues on the other side of the aisle have said about Iran: its bad intention, its bad behavior. I agree.

But, again, I say, as I said before, it doesn't mean we give another country, being an ally or not, a blank check to do whatever it pleases. And in this particular case, the conduct of the war in Yemen is something that we cannot just turn our heads away and say: "Oh, well, this is the war and the Iranians are bad, so, therefore, we are going to look the other way." I think if we are talking about American weapons, we can demand better.

So I think that these measures are a chance for the Congress to take back some of the power granted by the Constitution, to say that we won't stand by when any administration—this administration, administrations to come in both parties—we won't stand by when any administration ignores Congress, plays fast and loose with the law, and fails to demand accountability for human rights abuses around the world.

I encourage all my colleagues to support this measure and the two others that we have just considered.

I thank Mr. MAST and my friends on other side of the aisle for a spirited debate, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All time for debate has expired.

Pursuant to House Resolution 491, the previous question is ordered on the joint resolution.

The question is on the third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to be read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the passage of the joint resolution.

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

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

The yeas and nays were ordered.

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

RECOMMENDING THAT THE HOUSE FIND WILLIAM P. BARR AND WILBUR L. ROSS, JR., IN CONTEMPT OF CONGRESS

Mr. CUMMINGS. Madam Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Oversight and Reform, I call up the report (H. Rept. 116-125) to accompany the resolution recommending that the