



United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 118<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 169

WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 2023

No. 196

## House of Representatives

The House met at 10 a.m. and was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. VAN DREW).

### DESIGNATION OF SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

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

WASHINGTON, DC,

November 29, 2023.

I hereby appoint the Honorable JEFFERSON VAN DREW to act as Speaker pro tempore on this day.

MIKE JOHNSON,

*Speaker of the House of Representatives.*

### MORNING-HOUR DEBATE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the order of the House of January 9, 2023, the Chair will now recognize Members from lists submitted by the majority and minority leaders for morning-hour debate.

The Chair will alternate recognition between the parties, with time equally allocated between the parties and each Member other than the majority and minority leaders and the minority whip limited to 5 minutes, but in no event shall debate continue beyond 11:50 a.m.

### WE DON'T HAVE THE LUXURY OF CHOOSING ONLY ONE THREAT AND ONE CHALLENGE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. QUIGLEY) for 5 minutes.

Mr. QUIGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to remember history.

Over 80 years ago, the Greatest Generation fought the Second World War to keep tyrants from taking over the free world. They fought for freedom and democracy.

Today, we must honor their sacrifice by continuing to fight for the same principles.

Today's fight in Ukraine is for those principles—for the right of Ukraine and any other democratic nation and their people to exist. By aiding Ukraine, we are ensuring their continued existence.

Without that aid, Putin could have and probably would have wiped Ukraine off the face of the Earth, leaving it in a battle of insurgency.

Our aid has always been critical to the survival of nations far away. During the Second World War, President Franklin D. Roosevelt coined the phrase, "arsenal of democracy" to describe the U.S.'s role to providing weapons to democracies fighting to defend themselves.

Roosevelt argued that this assistance would enable our allies "to fight for their liberty and for our security." That is still true today.

Our continued aid is about preserving the liberty of vulnerable nations, but it is also about our national security.

In FDR's fourth inaugural address, he said, "We have learned that we cannot live alone, at peace; that our own well-being is dependent on the well-being of other nations far away."

Those who argue that this is not our fight fail to remember this critical idea. They fail to remember that Ukraine's fight is for the same reasons we formed NATO and the United Nations.

Ukraine's fight is ours, for if Putin is not defeated, he would not stop at Ukraine. His greater aim is to reconstitute the former Soviet Union, imperiling freedom and democracy in the region and enveloping them in tyranny.

Putin's intention was to form a federation with Belarus and Ukraine, where he would have installed a puppet government, to overtake Moldova, the Baltics, and beyond. It would mean even more of the same devastation we have seen for well over a year.

When I traveled to Ukraine in July 2022, I saw the flattened maternity hospital and mass graves that Putin's

forces left in their wake. If not for our assistance, Putin's reign of terror would be happening on a much larger scale.

Following the Second World War, we vowed never again. Now our word is being tested. We must make good on that promise.

Our commitment is to that promise and our resolve is on display for the rest of the world. We must show leaders in Tehran and Beijing and elsewhere that we will not cower in the face of tyranny. That is why we must fund Ukraine's defense.

Now some would continue to present a false choice that we must fund Ukraine or Israel, but not both. They are wrong. We do not have to choose. In the words of NATO General Secretary Stoltenberg, "We have the capability, the strength to address different challenges at the same time. We don't have the luxury of choosing only one threat and one challenge."

The conflict in Israel and the conflict in Ukraine are tied together by Vladimir Putin. Just as Iran is supporting Hamas' attack on Israel, Iran is also assisting Putin in his assault on Ukraine. We can help Israel defend itself from terrorism while also helping Ukraine defend itself from an evil autocrat.

President John F. Kennedy said, "We shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty."

Right now that price is the request that President Biden has made, enough to aid Ukraine for the next year of fighting.

It is a small price to pay for our national security and global security. Failing to do so will show Putin and the rest of the world our current level of dysfunction and our inability to govern. Our inability to govern is a national security threat and an international security threat.

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

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



Printed on recycled paper.

H5939

We are at a critical point in our history, not dissimilar to the years leading up to the Second World War. We and our allies built a liberal world order after that war. Now we must protect it.

As Churchill said, "Now is not the end. It is not even the beginning of the end. But it is, perhaps, the end of the beginning."

The choices we make now will influence the fate of the free world for generations to come. Let's make the right ones.

#### REDEFINING IMPEACHMENT IS A PERILOUS PATH FOR CONSERVATIVES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California (Mr. MCCLINTOCK) for 5 minutes.

Mr. MCCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, as Homeland Security Secretary, Alejandro Mayorkas has carried out the Biden administration's open border policy and deliberately produced the worst illegal mass migration in history.

Since he took office, he has released 3 million illegal immigrants directly into the country, a population the size of the entire State of Arkansas.

While the Border Patrol has been occupied changing diapers and taking names, an additional 1.7 million known got-aways have entered, as well. That is an additional illegal population the size of the State of Hawaii.

The impact on our schools, hospitals, homeless shelters, working families' wages, social programs, law enforcement, national security has been catastrophic.

The national security implications of 1.7 million illegal individuals about whom we know absolutely nothing are terrifying in light of the October 7 attack on Israel.

Now, in response, many are demanding Mayorkas' impeachment for "failing to maintain operational control of the border" as Congresswoman GREENE's resolution puts it. He is certainly guilty of that, and a whole lot more: maladministration, malfeasance, and neglect of duties on a truly cosmic scale, but these are not impeachable offenses.

We know this because the American Founders specifically rejected these terms at the Constitutional Convention.

As Madison explained, they feared that such imprecise grounds could be twisted into a weapon for political grievances and turned against the executive branch whenever Congress saw fit. This would make the President a mere minister of Congress and make his subordinates answerable to the legislative branch instead of the executive powers that are vested solely in the President. This would utterly destroy the separation of powers at the heart of our Constitution.

They chose, instead, very specific and limited charges of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

True, many politicians through the centuries have tried to pervert the term "high crimes and misdemeanors" into a similarly vague definition, but the Founders would not have substituted one vague term for another, and thus we are left with the plain meaning of the phrase, clearly defined crimes related to the duties of the office.

If Ms. GREENE is successful in redefining impeachment, then the next time Democrats have the majority, we can expect this new definition be turned against the conservatives on the Supreme Court and any future Republican administration. Furthermore, there will be nobody to stop them because Republicans will have now signed off on this new and unconstitutional abuse of power.

We must never allow the left to become our teachers. Theirs is a world of strictly situational ethics antithetical to our Constitution and to the rule of law. I vigorously opposed the sham impeachments of Donald Trump for exactly the same reason.

Now, what is the practical effect of impeaching Mayorkas, other than assuring that Republicans will have no defense when a future Democrat majority turns this new definition against them?

Even in the delusional fantasy where two-thirds of the Senate were to remove him, the same policies will remain in place as long as the Biden-Harris administration holds office.

This crisis was set in motion by voters who elected them and can only be fixed by voters replacing them with a President determined to secure our border as Donald Trump did.

Elections have consequences, sometimes terrible consequences, and this is one of them. The only Cabinet Secretary ever impeached was Ulysses Grant's Secretary of War for running a family bribery scheme. The House Oversight Committee is painstakingly assembling evidence that suggests the Bidens may have been doing exactly this for decades.

Such a serious inquiry can only have legitimacy and credibility if the rule of law is respected and the constitutional guardrails are observed.

By failing to abide by due process and constitutional constraints, Ms. GREENE is tainting this serious impeachment inquiry with a shoot-from-the-hip stunt that is reckless, partisan, and manifestly unserious.

In Robert Bolt's "A Man For All Seasons," William Roper vows "to cut down every law in England" to get at the Devil.

Sir Thomas More replies, "Oh? And when the last law was down, and the Devil turned 'round on you, where would you hide, Roper, the laws all being flat? This country is planted thick with laws, from coast to coast, Man's laws, not God's. And if you cut them down, and you're just the man to do it, do you really think you could stand upright in the winds that would

blow then? Yes, I'd give the Devil the benefit of the law, for my own safety's sake."

□ 1015

#### SUPPORTING PRETERM BIRTH PREVENTION

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentlewoman from Virginia (Ms. MCCLELLAN) for 5 minutes.

Ms. MCCLELLAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to remind my colleagues that we are in the midst of a maternal and infant health crisis.

The United States remains one of the most dangerous places to give birth among high-income countries, and we are trending in the wrong direction.

According to the recently released "2023 March of Dimes Report Card: The State of Maternal and Infant Health for American Families," the United States maintained a D-plus grade for preterm birth for the second year in a row.

We saw only a modest 0.1 percent improvement in the preterm birthrate over the previous year, with the data showing persistent and compounding gaps in health equity that put moms and babies at risk.

Virginia is not far behind with a C grade. The preterm birthrate for 2022 was 9.7 percent, just 0.2 percent lower than the year before.

We must take decisive, comprehensive action to address these dual crises and improve public health outcomes for mothers and babies across the Nation. That is why, earlier this month, I introduced a bipartisan resolution with my colleagues to designate November as Prematurity Awareness Month. Our resolution aims to raise awareness about the risks and challenges associated with preterm babies and encourage communities to promote preterm prevention programs.

As is too often the case, minority populations, particularly Black women, experience disproportionately higher rates of preterm birth and other associated health challenges. The preterm birthrate among babies born to Black women is still 1½ times higher than the national average.

I am a Black mother to two young children, and I know this reality all too well. I was the first member of the Virginia House of Delegates to be pregnant and give birth while in office, and I almost died giving birth to my second child, Samantha.

Nine weeks prior to her due date, my placenta ruptured, and I was rushed to the emergency room for an emergency cesarean section. The last thing I remember is hearing my doctor say, "I am here, and I will take care of this." Samantha was born 9 weeks early and spent the first 6 weeks of her life in the NICU at Henrico Doctors' Hospital. I will never forget the fear and anxiety that I felt.

This experience inspired me to take matters into my own hands as a State