

Roy
Santos
Scalise
Schweikert
Scott, Austin
Self
Sessions
Smith (MO)
Smith (NE)
Smucker
Spartz

Stauber
Stefanik
Steil
Steube
Strong
Tenney
Tiffany
Timmons
Van Drew
Van Duyne
Van Orden

Wagner
Walberg
Waltz
Weber (TX)
Wenstrup
Westerman
Williams (TX)
Wilson (SC)
Wittman
Yakym
Zinke

NOT VOTING—12

Banks
Blumenauer
D'Esposito
Jackson Lee
Keating
Larsen (WA)
Pelosi
Phillips
Radewagen
Swalwell
Webster (FL)
Wilson (FL)

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE ACTING CHAIR

The Acting CHAIR (Mr. GIMENEZ) (during the vote). There is 1 minute remaining.

□ 1425

So the amendment was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Chair, I move that the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly, the Committee rose; and the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. STEUBE) having assumed the chair, Mr. GIMENEZ, 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. 4820) making appropriations for the Departments of Transportation, and Housing and Urban Development, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2024, and for other purposes, had come to no resolution thereon.

RAISING A QUESTION OF THE PRIVILEGES OF THE HOUSE

Mr. MCCORMICK. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of the privileges of the House and offer the resolution that was previously noticed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. RES. 845

Whereas Israel has existed on its lands for millennia and the United States played a critical role in returning Israel to those lands in 1948 immediately following the Holocaust in recognition of its right to exist and as an indelible signal of our solidarity with the Jewish people;

Whereas Israel is a critical ally to the American people and to our strategic national security interests in the Middle East; Whereas the people of Israel—including American citizens—were brutally attacked on October 7, 2023, by Hamas;

Whereas Representative Rashida Tlaib, within 24 hours of the October 7 barbaric attack on Jewish citizens of the State of Israel, representing the deadliest day for Jews since the Holocaust, defended the brutal rapes, murders, be-headings, and kidnapping—including of Americans—by Hamas as justified “resistance” to the “apartheid state”;

Whereas Representative Tlaib’s October 8 statement claimed that Hamas’ October 7 attack on the Jewish people was partly attributable to United States security aid provided to Israel, which ignores the fact that the Iron Dome, a co-developed air defense system, saved lives that day by intercepting rockets launched from the Gaza Strip against Israeli civilian targets;

Whereas, on October 18, 2023, Representative Tlaib continued to knowingly spread the false narrative that Israel intentionally bombed the Al-Ahli Arab Hospital on October 17 after United States intelligence, Israeli intelligence, and President Biden assessed with high confidence that Israel did not cause the explosion;

Whereas, on November 3, 2023, Representative Tlaib published on social media a video containing the phrase “from the river to the sea”, which is widely recognized as a genocidal call to violence to destroy the state of Israel and its people to replace it with a Palestinian state extending from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea;

Whereas Representative Tlaib doubled down on this call to violence by falsely describing “from the river to the sea” as “an aspirational call for freedom, human rights, and peaceful coexistence” despite it clearly entailing Israel’s destruction and denial of its fundamental right to exist; and

Whereas Representative Tlaib has repeatedly displayed conduct entirely unbecoming of a Member of the House of Representatives by calling for the destruction of the state of Israel and dangerously promoting false narratives regarding a brutal, large-scale terrorist attack against civilian targets inside the sovereign territory of a major non-NATO ally while hundreds of Israeli and American hostages remain in terrorist captivity: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That Representative Rashida Tlaib be censured.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The resolution qualifies.

□ 1430

MOTION TO TABLE

Ms. CLARK of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I have a motion at the desk.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Ms. Clark of Massachusetts moves to lay the resolution on the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion to table.

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

Ms. CLARK of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

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

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 208, nays 213, answered “present” 1, not voting 11, as follows:

[Roll No. 608]

YEAS—208

Adams	Castro (TX)	Escobar
Aguilar	Cherfilus-	Eshoo
Allred	McCormick	Espallat
Auchincloss	Chu	Evans
Balint	Clark (MA)	Fletcher
Barragán	Clarke (NY)	Foster
Beatty	Cleaver	Foushee
Bera	Clyburn	Frankel, Lois
Beyer	Cohen	Frost
Bishop (GA)	Connolly	Gallego
Blunt Rochester	Correa	Garamendi
Bonamici	Costa	Garcia (IL)
Bowman	Courtney	Garcia (TX)
Boyle (PA)	Craig	Garcia, Mike
Brown	Crockett	Garcia, Robert
Brownley	Crow	Golden (ME)
Buck	Cuellar	Goldman (NY)
Budzinski	Davids (KS)	Gomez
Bush	Davis (IL)	Gonzalez,
Caraveo	Davis (NC)	Vicente
Carbajal	Dean (PA)	Gottheimer
Cárdenas	DeGette	Green, Al (TX)
Carson	DeLauro	Grijalva
Carter (LA)	DelBene	Harder (CA)
Cartwright	Deluzio	Hayes
Casar	DeSaulnier	Higgins (NY)
Case	Dingell	Himes
Casten	Doggett	Horsford
Castor (FL)	Duarte	Houlahan

NOES—252

Adams
Aguilar
Allred
Auchincloss
Bacon
Balint
Barragán
Beatty
Bera
Beyer
Bishop (GA)
Blunt Rochester
Bonamici
Bowman
Boyle (PA)
Brown
Brownley
Buchanan
Budzinski
Bush
Calvert
Caraveo
Carbajal
Cárdenas
Carey
Carson
Carter (LA)
Carter (TX)
Cartwright
Casar
Case
Casten
Castor (FL)
Castro (TX)
Chavez-DeRemer
Cherfilus-
McCormick
Chu
Ciscomani
Clark (MA)
Clarke (NY)
Cleaver
Clyburn
Cohen
Connolly
Correa
Costa
Courtney
Craig
Crockett
Crow
Cuellar
Davids (KS)
Davis (IL)
Davis (NC)
Dean (PA)
DeGette
DeLauro
DelBene
Deluzio
DeSaulnier
Diaz-Balart
Dingell
Doggett
Ellzey
Escobar
Eshoo
Espallat
Evans
Fitzpatrick
Fletcher
Foster
Foushee
Frankel, Lois
Frost
Gallego
Garamendi
Garbarino
Garcia (IL)
Garcia (TX)
Garcia, Mike
Garcia, Robert
Gimenez
Golden (ME)
Goldman (NY)

Gomez
Gonzales, Tony
Gonzalez,
Vicente
González-Colón
Gottheimer
Granger
Green, Al (TX)
Grijalva
Harder (CA)
Hayes
Higgins (NY)
Himes
Horsford
Houlahan
Hoyer
Hoyle (OR)
Huffman
Ivey
Jackson (IL)
Jackson (NC)
Jacobs
James
Jayapal
Jeffries
Johnson (GA)
Joyce (OH)
Kamlager-Dove
Kaptur
Kean (NJ)
Kelly (IL)
Khanna
Kiggans (VA)
Kildee
Kiley
Kilmer
Kim (CA)
Kim (NJ)
Krishnamoorthi
Landsman
Langworthy
Larson (CT)
LaTurner
Lawler
Lee (CA)
Lee (FL)
Lee (NV)
Lee (PA)
Leger Fernandez
Letlow
Levin
Lieu
Lofgren
Lynch
Magaziner
Manning
Matsui
McBath
McCarthy
McClellan
McCollum
McGarvey
McGovern
McHenry
Meeks
Menendez
Meng
Meuser
Mfume
Molinaro
Moore (WI)
Morelle
Moskowitz
Moulton
Mrvan
Mullin
Nadler
Napolitano
Neal
Neguse
Newhouse
Nickel
Norcross

Norton
Nunn (IA)
Ocasio-Cortez
Omar
Pallone
Panetta
Pappas
Pascarell
Payne
Pelitola
Perez
Peters
Pettersen
Pingree
Plaskett
Pocan
Porter
Pressley
Quigley
Ramirez
Raskin
Rogers (KY)
Ross
Ruiz
Ruppersberger
Rutherford
Ryan
Sablan
Salazar
Salinas
Sánchez
Sarbanes
Scanlon
Schakowsky
Schiff
Schneider
Scholten
Schrier
Scott (VA)
Kuster
Scott, David
Sewell
Sherman
Sherrill
Simpson
Slotkin
Smith (NJ)
Smith (WA)
Sorensen
Soto
Spanberger
Stansbury
Stanton
Steel
Stevens
Strickland
Sykes
Takano
Thanedar
Thompson (CA)
Thompson (MS)
Thompson (PA)
Titus
Tlaib
Tokuda
Tonko
Torres (CA)
Torres (NY)
Trahan
Trone
Turner
Underwood
Valadao
Vargas
Vasquez
Veasey
Velázquez
Wasserman
Schultz
Waters
Watson Coleman
Wexton
Wild
Williams (GA)
Williams (NY)
Womack

Hoyer	Mfume	Schrier
Hoyle (OR)	Moore (WI)	Scott (VA)
Huffman	Morelle	Scott, David
Ivey	Moskowitz	Sewell
Jackson (IL)	Moulton	Sherman
Jackson (NC)	Mrvan	Sherrill
Jacobs	Mullin	Slotkin
Jayapal	Nadler	Smith (WA)
Jeffries	Napolitano	Sorensen
Johnson (GA)	Neal	Soto
Kamlager-Dove	Neguse	Spanberger
Kaptur	Nickel	Stansbury
Kelly (IL)	Norcross	Stanton
Khanna	Ocasio-Cortez	Stevens
Kildee	Omar	Strickland
Kilmer	Pallone	Sykes
Kim (NJ)	Panetta	Takano
Krishnamoorthi	Pappas	Thanedar
Kuster	Pascrell	Thompson (CA)
Landsman	Payne	Thompson (MS)
Larson (CT)	Peltola	Titus
Lee (CA)	Perez	Tlaib
Lee (NV)	Peters	Tokuda
Lee (PA)	Pettersen	Tonko
Leger Fernandez	Pingree	Torres (CA)
Levin	Pocan	Torres (NY)
Lieu	Porter	Trahan
Lofgren	Pressley	Trone
Lynch	Quigley	Underwood
Magaziner	Ramirez	Vargas
Manning	Raskin	Vasquez
Massie	Ross	Veasey
Matsui	Ruiz	Velázquez
McBath	Ruppersberger	Wasserman
McClellan	Ryan	Schultz
McClintock	Salinas	Waters
McCollum	Sánchez	Watson Coleman
McGarvey	Sarbanes	Wexton
McGovern	Scanlon	Williams (GA)
Meeks	Schakowsky	Zinke
Menendez	Schiff	
Meng	Scholten	

NAYS—213

Aderholt	Ezell	Kiley
Alford	Fallon	Kim (CA)
Allen	Feenstra	Kustoff
Amodei	Ferguson	LaHood
Armstrong	Finstad	LaLota
Arrington	Fischbach	LaMalfa
Babin	Fitzgerald	Lamborn
Bacon	Fitzpatrick	Langworthy
Baird	Fleischmann	Latta
Balderson	Flood	LaTurner
Barr	Foxx	Lawler
Bean (FL)	Franklin, Scott	Lee (FL)
Bentz	Fry	Lesko
Bergman	Fulcher	Letlow
Bice	Gaetz	Loudermilk
Biggs	Gallagher	Lucas
Bilirakis	Garbarino	Luetkemeyer
Bishop (NC)	Gimenez	Luna
Boebert	Gonzales, Tony	Luttrell
Bost	Good (VA)	Mace
Brecheen	Gooden (TX)	Malliotakis
Buchanan	Gosar	Mann
Bucshon	Granger	Mast
Burchett	Graves (LA)	McCarthy
Burgess	Graves (MO)	McCaul
Burlison	Green (TN)	McClain
Calvert	Greene (GA)	McCormick
Cammack	Griffith	McHenry
Carey	Grothman	Meuser
Carl	Guest	Miller (IL)
Carter (GA)	Guthrie	Miller (OH)
Carter (TX)	Hageman	Miller (WV)
Chavez-DeRemer	Harris	Miller-Meeks
Ciscomani	Harshbarger	Mills
Cline	Hern	Molinaro
Cloud	Higgins (LA)	Moolenaar
Clyde	Hill	Mooney
Cole	Hinson	Moore (AL)
Collins	Houchin	Moore (UT)
Comer	Hudson	Moran
Crane	Huizenga	Murphy
Crawford	Hunt	Nehls
Crenshaw	Issa	Newhouse
Curtis	Jackson (TX)	Norman
Davidson	James	Nunn (IA)
De La Cruz	Johnson (LA)	Obernoite
DesJarlais	Johnson (OH)	Ogles
Diaz-Balart	Johnson (SD)	Owens
Donalds	Jordan	Palmer
Duncan	Joyce (OH)	Pence
Dunn (FL)	Joyce (PA)	Perry
Edwards	Kean (NJ)	Pfleger
Ellzey	Kelly (MS)	Posey
Emmer	Kelly (PA)	Reschenthaler
Estes	Giggans (VA)	Rodgers (WA)

Rogers (AL)	Smith (MO)	Valadao
Rogers (KY)	Smith (NE)	Van Drew
Rose	Smith (NJ)	Van Dwyne
Rosendale	Smucker	Van Orden
Rouzer	Spartz	Wagner
Roy	Stauber	Walberg
Rutherford	Steel	Waltz
Salazar	Stefanik	Weber (TX)
Santos	Steil	Wenstrup
Scalise	Steube	Westerman
Schneider	Strong	Williams (NY)
Schweikert	Tenney	Williams (TX)
Scott, Austin	Thompson (PA)	Wilson (SC)
Self	Tiffany	Wittman
Sessions	Timmons	Womack
Simpson	Turner	Yakym

ANSWERED “PRESENT”—1

Wild

NOT VOTING—11

Banks	Keating	Swalwell
Blumenauer	Larsen (WA)	Webster (FL)
D’Esposito	Pelosi	Wilson (FL)
Jackson Lee	Phillips	

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

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

□ 1437

So the motion to table was rejected. The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

□ 1445

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore (Mr. DESJARLAIS). Pursuant to clause 2 of rule IX, the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. McCORMICK) and the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. RASKIN) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. McCORMICK. Mr. Speaker, Representative TLAIB has repeatedly made atrocious statements against our ally Israel and in support of Hamas, a terrorist group responsible for the largest massacre of Jews since the Holocaust.

Represent Tlaib has levied unbelievable falsehoods about our greatest ally, Israel, and the attack on October 7. Recently, she even falsely blamed them for bombing the Al Ahli Arab hospital, but all of our current intelligence shows that Israel was not responsible.

As stated in my resolution on November 3, Representative TLAIB said: “From the river to the sea is an aspirational call for freedom, human rights, and peaceful coexistence, not death, destruction, or hate. My work and advocacy is always centered in justice and dignity for all people no matter faith or ethnicity.”

Mr. Speaker, let me break down the saying, “From the river to the sea.” The river is the Jordan River, and the sea is the Mediterranean Sea. This is a call for the complete destruction of Israel. It is disgusting when it is used in this context that was meant.

Representative TLAIB boycotted Israeli President Herzog’s address to Congress, releasing a joint statement with Representative BUSH that said: “Bestowing President Herzog with the rare honor of a joint address to Congress while the Israeli apartheid government continues to enable and di-

rectly support racism and brutal settler attacks is a slap in the face to victims, survivors, and their loved ones.

“This kind of hatred against our ally Israel is unacceptable. Israel has a right to exist. For thousands of years, the Jewish people resided in that land and, after being displaced for centuries, returned in 1948 after the Holocaust.

Mr. Speaker, we have seen the effects of the reprehensible rhetoric of Representative TLAIB across the Nation. At schools and colleges around the country, Jewish students have been forced to be on alert as their anti-Semitic peers have engaged in disgusting demonstrations, chanting anti-Semitic slogans.

At The Cooper Union, a private college in New York, Jewish students were forced to hide from pro-Hamas protesters in a library where they feared for their safety.

At George Washington University, just about a half mile from this building, students broadcast “Glory to our martyrs,” and “Free Palestine from the river to the sea,” on the side of a campus building.

Further, yesterday, in Ventura County, California, Paul Kessler, a Jewish man protesting for Israel, was killed in an altercation with pro-Palestinian protesters.

These anti-Semitic incidents are happening right now in America in 2023. Quite frankly, in my entire lifetime, I have never seen anything like it.

The same Nation that defeated Nazism in World War II must now defeat an internal rot promoting the same senseless violence and hatred of Jewish people.

It is a sad fact, but this type of anti-Semitic hate is being promoted by a small group of Members in this body—chiefly, Representative TLAIB. We must hold her accountable.

This war in Israel is affecting everyone, whether it is innocent Palestinians at risk because of Hamas’ actions; or our fellow Jewish Americans, who now have to worry each day about the possibility of an anti-Semitic attack; or Sergeant Elisheva Rose Ida Lubin, a young Jewish woman who was a member of the Israeli Border Police and grew up in Dunwoody, Georgia, and was killed by a Palestinian assailant.

For the safety and security of our Nation, we must continue to support Israel, a nation fighting for democracy, decency, and Western values.

Representative TLAIB has undermined U.S. interests with her statements and must be censured.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I have images of three politicians in my office: Abraham Lincoln, Robert F. Kennedy, and Samuel H. Bellman, who was the first Jewish person ever elected to the Minnesota Legislature, a great champion of civil rights and civil liberties in the Constitution and of the creation of the

State of Israel, the Jewish democratic state in 1948. He was my grandfather.

He was elected at a time of terrible anti-Semitism, not unlike today. Minneapolis was actually called the anti-Semitism capital of America, and my grandpa told me a story I will never forget.

The Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party and Republican Caucuses both had their annual retreats at a country club that did not allow Jews or Blacks to enter. My grandfather complained privately to the speaker about the fact that he wouldn't be able to go to his own retreat. The speaker apologized but said that it was a tradition.

So my grandfather, the only Jewish person in the chamber, spoke on the floor about anti-Semitism. He was booed and jeered at, and members left as he tried to speak.

When the minority leader asked me to manage our time today, I thought about my grandfather and how he must have felt on that day. I rise here not in spite of the fact that I am a Jewish American who supports the Constitution and the Jewish democratic state and hates all the anti-Semitic tyrants and terrorists of the world, from Putin in Russia and Mohammed bin Salman in Saudi Arabia to Hezbollah in Hamas. I am here because of these things and because of everything that I believe in and stand for.

At this moment when democracy is under siege all over the world, America must stand tall for the Constitution of the United States. This resolution is about one thing and one thing only: the punishment of speech.

We have the chance to show the world what the American Constitution means and how we hold fast to our core principles even when we are drawn away from them by our passions and our righteous anger.

The Constitution is the supreme law of the land, and the very heart of it is our First Amendment, which protects every citizen's freedom of speech and says Congress shall make no law abridging it.

The freedom to speak includes the freedom to disagree, the right to think radically differently from the majority about important things, or else it is no freedom at all. It is easy to defend freedom of speech for people when you agree with them. The test for each Member today is whether you can defend freedom of speech for people when you most fundamentally and vehemently disagree with them.

The First Amendment is like an apple, and everybody wants to take just one little bite out of it—leftwing speech, rightwing speech, sexist speech, feminist speech, homophobic speech, pro-LGBTQ speech, anti-war speech, pro-war speech, religious speech, sacrilegious speech. Everybody wants a bite out of the apple.

At the end of the day, after everybody has taken his or her bite, do you know what is left? Nothing. There is nothing left.

If you want to save the apple, you have to learn to tolerate not just the speech you love the most but the speech you hate the most.

Now, like the First Amendment, the Speech or Debate Clause embodies this central value in the proceedings of this body. It states that Members of Congress "shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place."

In the two-and-a-half-century history of this great Chamber, Members have been overwhelmingly censured for their actions, not for their speech—actions like participating in the violent assault against Charles Sumner of Massachusetts; assaulting Representative Grinnell, of Iowa, with a cane; selling military academy appointments; taking bribes; engaging in mail fraud and payroll fraud; improper spending of campaign funds; embezzling congressional money; engaging in sexual misconduct with a House page.

Do you see the difference? It is not what they said. It is what they did.

I can find only three categories of cases where speech is the sum and substance of the charge, and all are exceptions that have been ratified by the Supreme Court:

One, violent threats against other Members of this body, which the Court has found, as recently as April, are not protected by the First Amendment.

Two, fighting words: the use of unparliamentary or aggressively insulting language on the House floor that constitutes a direct affront to another Member. The Supreme Court has said that fighting words are not protected.

Three, speech advocating or promoting treason, secession, or insurrection, all of them outside of the First Amendment because of numerous provisions in our Constitution condemning and opposing insurrection.

That is it: violent threats against other Members, fighting words on the floor, speech inciting insurrection.

The resolution offered against the gentlewoman from Michigan is all about censuring her for her political speech and literally nothing else. No actions, no conduct, is being alleged or punished. The entire motion is about her speech and how much we hate it and how wrong we think it is, and all of that is fine for all of us to express individually on the floor, in the media, on social media.

I have said to Ms. TLAI myself that the phrase "from the river to sea" is abhorrent to me, even with her published explanation of what she means by it, which is very different from what Hamas says about it and how Hamas uses it, but I would never think of punishing her or disciplining her because we disagree about that.

The resolution proposes to condemn her for quoting this objectionable

phrase in her video, a video which is indisputably protected speech under the First Amendment.

Unlike the gentleman from New York, Mr. SANTOS, whose proposed expulsion by members of the majority was rejected by a commanding bipartisan majority last week because he has not been convicted of either the criminal or the ethics charges outstanding against him, Ms. TLAI has been criminally charged with nothing. She has been civilly sued for nothing. She has no ethics charges outstanding before the Ethics Committee in any way.

It is easy to see why. She cannot face criminal punishment or civil liability for her speech because, in the United States of America, we don't punish people for their political ideas, no matter how wrongheaded or offensive we think they are. The majority might think they are, or it might not, but in any event, it doesn't make any difference.

She won reelection with 71 percent of the vote in Michigan's 12th District, and if anyone is going to punish her for her political ideas or performance, it must be the people of her own district who sent her here to represent them.

Mr. Speaker, the disciplinary process should never be used to punish the political speech or viewpoints of a Member of this Chamber just because the majority disagrees.

The punishment of political viewpoints will mean that Members will be censured just for being in the minority rather than in the majority, and that will come to stifle our dialogue and haunt all of our work.

For example, the good Speaker of the House, who is my friend from the Judiciary Committee, has taken positions in the past arguing that sex between consenting gay adults should be a crime, that the Supreme Court was wrong to strike down sodomy laws in *Lawrence v. Texas* and wrong to give gay people the right to marry in *Obergefell*, a right that he said is "the dark harbinger of chaos and sexual anarchy that could doom even the strongest republic."

The vast majority of Americans reject these positions as extreme in public opinion polls and believe all citizens should have the freedom to pursue their own love lives and to marry.

If the House majority changes hands, should we actually censure the former Speaker of the House for his constitutional apostasy and thought crimes against the rights of millions of Americans? I sure hope not because the gentleman from Louisiana is absolutely entitled to his political and religious views, no matter how far outside the constitutional and American mainstream they are.

Under the First Amendment, extremism is in the eye of the beholder, but how will we resist the temptation to punish him in the future if we set a precedent today that Members can be censured and canceled simply for their

political heresies in the eyes of the majority controlling the House?

If we say the gentlewoman can be punished because her views of history are wrong, as I heard my friend say, can we then punish Members of this body who refuse to vote to take down in our Halls the statues of Members of Congress from the 19th century who joined the Confederacy and committed treason against the Union, people like John Breckinridge, a former Vice President and U.S. Senator who was expelled from the Senate after he defected to the Confederacy? Should we use the disciplinary process to impose historical orthodoxy?

If anything, there is a stronger constitutional case for punishing the 120 Members of the House who voted against taking down statues of Confederate traitors because multiple provisions of the Constitution explicitly forbid and punish participation in insurrection. Do Members who voted that way want to risk being censured in the future by establishing that divergent minority views on history are a legitimate matter of institutional discipline?

What about the Members who defended conspiracy theorist Alex Jones and stated that Sandy Hook and Parkland mass murderers of dozens of schoolchildren were staged by Hollywood to generate support for gun safety? That is not even a matter of opinion but adjudicated positive fact, and still, the Constitution protects your right to be wrong about facts unless you are deliberately defrauding or cheating someone out of something like money or campaign contributions.

□ 1500

What about all of those Members who have followed the former President in advancing the big lie that he actually won the 2020 election? Should we convert the 60 Federal and State court decisions rejecting claims of election fraud and corruption into discipline and punishment of Members who still cling to that view?

What about the 11 Members of this body who lost the 405–11 vote in 2019 recognizing that the mass killing of Armenians by Ottoman Turks during World War I was a genocide? Does their denial of the genocidal character of the deaths of more than 1 million Armenians qualify them for collective punishment today, institutional punishment?

Can we convert differing interpretations of history into the basis for disciplinary action?

Well, perhaps you say political dissent should be uniquely punishable when it comes to foreign policy. Of course, the First Amendment doesn't distinguish between speech having domestic or foreign policy content. All of it is protected. If not, every Member of this body who has voted against aid to Ukraine and praises Vladimir Putin, as the former President did for his "genius" and his "savvy," or says Putin is

not our enemy, as a number of Members have, could be censured for it by this body.

This resolution not only degrades our Constitution but cheapens the meaning of discipline in this body for people who actually commit wrongful actions like bribery, fraud, violent assault, and so on.

When people are punished for their political ideas and expression, they will wear it as a badge of honor. They will fundraise on it. Millions of dollars will flow to people who are punished that way, and they will join the public in mocking the new speech censors of Congress.

A secure constitutional republic, which actively protects the freedom of dissenting speech to allow for serious debate and growth as society, shows its strength, not its weakness.

As Thomas Jefferson, whose beautiful statue is right outside of this room, put it: "If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it."

Now is a moment when we will get to see who in the House of Representatives believes in the freedom of speech, even the speech they hate, versus those who want to impose a new political straitjacket of cancel culture on America and Congress.

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

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

Fine speech. You talk about setting precedents. I think there is a precedent. You guys must have searched really high and far and long to find the people who voted against censuring PAUL GOSAR or MARJORIE TAYLOR GREENE. There is a precedent. You are right.

When you talk about freedom of speech and who protects that freedom of speech, you are talking to a marine, and you are about to talk to a Navy SEAL, people who would give their lives to defend the freedom of speech. I understand that probably as well as anybody.

Let me be clear. This is not about a First Amendment issue. RASHIDA TLAIB has the right to spew anti-Semitic vitriol and even call for the destruction of the Jewish state, but the House of Representatives also has the right to make it clear that her hate speech does not reflect the opinion of the Chamber. That is what this resolution is about.

When you talk about "from the river to the sea," we talked about this with the Parliamentarian, and we talked about it with legal counsel. We talked about precedent. We got the Intel Committee to make sure the facts are straight. We did our homework on whether there is a precedent on this.

If this is not worthy of censure, what is? When you can call for the annihila-

tion of a country and its people, if that is not worthy of censure, what is?

Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. VAN ORDEN).

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are reminded to direct their remarks to the Chair.

Mr. VAN ORDEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of my colleague from Georgia's privileged resolution to censure the Congresswoman from Minnesota.

Before I do so, I remind my dear friend from Maryland that the Founding Fathers did not envision Twitter, but the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal decided that genocide, in fact, is a felony.

One month ago today, October 7, 2023, savages from the terrorist organization, Hamas, invaded Israel from the Gaza Strip and intentionally targeted Jewish civilians, men, women, children, and infants, and then slaughtered them.

Jews were being killed at a level not seen since the Holocaust, and worldwide anti-Semitism is at an all-time high. We have seen anti-Semitic and pro-terrorist rallies at major universities across America. This last weekend, here in our Nation's Capital, we saw over 200,000 people rallying in support of the terrorist organization, Hamas, that committed these atrocities in Israel. They defaced our national monuments and the White House.

Most disturbingly, in this House, the House that freed men from the scourge that is slavery and gave women suffrage, we have a Member who not only supports this organization, Hamas, that slaughtered these Jews but has actively called for the eradication of the Jews as a people by promoting the slogan "from the river to the sea" on social media. She represents this as an aspirational phrase, and she is correct. It is aspirational for those who call for the destruction of the Jewish people.

When I retired from the SEAL teams in 2014, I vowed that I would defend the Jewish people if any horrors like those that took place on October 7, 2023, were to occur. Following the murder of the innocents that took place on October 7, I fulfilled that promise by visiting Israel.

I visited with war-wounded soldiers in medical facilities and consulted with military and various governmental officials. I grieved with the families who had lost their loved ones to this savagery. I visited the kibbutzim where infants were butchered by beasts, including one who was removed from its pregnant mother's stomach as she watched in horror before she herself was executed.

I bore witness to these horrors that can barely be described so that no one can ever tell me that these events did not take place. Hamas is responsible for them and is enabled by those who parrot their slogans.

Another massacre site I visited was the Supernova music festival, where

over 200 children were butchered. Their lives were ruthlessly extinguished after many were raped, tortured, dismembered, and then burnt.

As I was walking through the field strewn with the detritus of this war crime, I noticed some cups, simple festival cups. I asked the Israeli minister I was with if I could take some home to the United States so that I would have a tangible object that could represent the lives of those beautiful children from around the world who were killed. I brought back enough of these cups to give to many of my colleagues, including the one I stand here today to censure.

She and many other Members of this House need to understand that these are human beings. They were not slogans or a flag or a chant. They were children who will never be able to dance again, never be able to love again. Most tragically, they will never be able to look into the eyes of their own children they will never be able to bear.

I ask you today, Mr. Speaker, if you had the chance to stop the Holocaust, would you?

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

Mr. MCCORMICK. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 30 seconds to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. VAN ORDEN. Mr. Speaker, I call upon my fellow colleagues from both parties to say yes, we would stop the Holocaust. We will not stay silent as the 21st century holocaust unfolds before our very eyes. We will not.

I cast my vote today to censure, to affirm our commitment to justice and in the defense of the Israeli people.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4½ minutes to the gentlewoman from Michigan (Ms. TLAIB).

Ms. TLAIB. Mr. Speaker, I am the only Palestinian American serving in Congress. My perspective is needed here now more than ever.

I will not be silenced, and I will not let you distort my words. Folks forget I am from the city of Detroit, the most beautiful, Blackest city in the country, where I learned to speak truth to power, even if my voice shakes. Trying to bully or censure me won't work because this movement for a cease-fire is much bigger than one person. It is growing every single day.

There are millions of people across our country who oppose Netanyahu's extremism and are done watching our government support collective punishment and the use of white phosphorus bombs that melt flesh to the bone.

They are done watching our government, Mr. Speaker, supporting cutting off food, water, electricity, and medical care to millions of people with nowhere to go.

Like me, Mr. Speaker, they don't believe the answer to war crimes is more war crimes.

The refusal of Congress and the administration to acknowledge Palestinian lives is chipping away at my

soul. Over 10,000 Palestinians have been killed. The majority were children.

Let me be clear: My criticism has always been of the Israeli Government and Netanyahu's actions.

It is important to separate people and governments, Mr. Speaker. No government is beyond criticism. The idea that criticizing the Government of Israel is anti-Semitic sets a very dangerous precedent, and it is being used to silence diverse voices speaking up for human rights across our Nation.

Do you realize what it is like, Mr. Speaker, for the people outside of the Chamber right now listening in agony to their own government dehumanizing them, to hear the President of the United States we helped elect dispute death tolls as we see video after video of parents and dead children under rubble?

Mr. Speaker, do you know what it is like to feel rising hate crimes, to know how Islamophobia and anti-Semitism make us all less safe, and to worry that your own child might suffer the horrors that 6-year-old Wadea did in Illinois?

I can't believe I have to say this, but Palestinian people are not disposable. We are human beings just like anyone else. My sity, my grandmother, like all Palestinians, just wants to live her life with the freedom and human dignity we all deserve.

Speaking up to save lives, Mr. Speaker, no matter faith, no matter ethnicity, should not be controversial in this Chamber. The cries of Palestinian and Israeli children sound no different to me. What I do not understand is why the cries of Palestinians sound different to you-all.

We cannot lose our shared humanity, Mr. Speaker. I hear the voices of advocates in Israel, in Palestine, across America, and around the world for peace. I am inspired by the courageous survivors in Israel who have lost loved ones yet are calling for a cease-fire and the end to violence. I am grateful to the people in the streets for the peace movement, with countless Jewish Americans across the country standing up and lovingly saying: "Not in our name."

We will continue to call for a cease-fire, Mr. Speaker, for the immediate delivery of critical humanitarian aid to Gaza, for the release of all hostages and those arbitrarily detained, and for every American to come home. We will continue to work for real, lasting peace that upholds human rights and the dignity of all people and centers peaceful coexistence between Israelis and Palestinians, censures no one, and ensures that no person, no child, has to suffer or live in fear of violence.

Seventy-one percent of Michigan Democrats support a cease-fire. You can try to censure me, but you can't silence their voices.

I urge my colleagues to join with the majority of Americans and support a cease-fire now to save as many lives as possible. President Biden must listen

to and represent all of us, not just some of us.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the President to have the courage to call for a cease-fire and the end of killings.

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

If this was about calling for a cease-fire, we would not have these proceedings.

I was wrong, by the way, when I said that it must have taken a long time to find somebody who hasn't voted for censorship from the other side of the aisle. You didn't find it. The gentleman from the other side of the aisle actually did vote for censorship on a First Amendment right. I find it rather funny. We just researched it. Unless my sources are wrong, the vast majority of the other side of the aisle actually voted for censorship based on a First Amendment right.

I also wanted to say that my heart goes out to the Palestinian people—it truly does—especially those people who were bombed in the hospital, which my colleague knows wasn't from the Israelis.

□ 1515

Yet the statement is contrary to that, even though our intel was very clear, as was our President, very clear. That is what this debate is about.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ROY).

Mr. ROY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Georgia for the time.

With respect to the gentleman from Maryland, I understand the perspective with respect to free speech, and I certainly wish to always stand aside the protection of free speech in this country, but this goes well beyond that.

We are not talking about restraining the gentlewoman from Michigan's ability to speak as an American citizen. We are not talking about punishing her and putting her in jail.

What we are talking about is whether a Member of the House of Representatives, a Member of this body representing this Nation, is justified in putting forward a defense of the actions of Hamas terrorists that murdered innocent Israeli citizens and are holding United States citizens and Israelis hostage. In her own language, she was defending on October 8—a mere 24 hours into the brutal and barbaric attacks in which babies were beheaded, babies were placed into ovens, literally. Moms were raped in a house while their babies were put in an oven. This is a documented account, video evidence, and this is dismissed as resistance to an apartheid state.

My problem is that the gentlewoman is also referring to Joe Biden supporting the genocide of the Palestinian people. The gentlewoman has put forward that by virtue of the United States of America funding, in solidarity the people of Israel in defense of their right to exist, that by virtue of our position as Americans standing in

front of that flag in this Chamber representing 330 million Americans, that by funding and supporting Israel, we are somehow perpetuating the call for violence that we saw unfold right before our eyes on October 7 in the most brutal and heinous acts that some of us have ever seen.

I do not doubt the gentlewoman's sincerity of her concern for her home people and concerns about the attacks on the people of Gaza.

I had some people who called into question that I would put out my public support for my former colleague, JUSTIN AMASH, who lost cousins in a church, receiving missile fire into a building next to a church.

I genuinely pray for the people of Israel, the people of Gaza, the people throughout the world that are now dealing with all of this.

The gentlewoman cannot, as a Member of Congress, be standing up and telling the world that what we saw unfold in attacking Israel is justified. We can't.

Free speech matters. I have grave concern right now about where this institution is going with respect to censures. I voted against the censure last week because I thought it had drafting problems and I thought it had significant concerns it raised.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the work that was done by my friend from Georgia, he put forward a resolution that is worthy of support. I support the resolution and believe that we should pass it.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Massachusetts (Ms. PRESSLEY).

Ms. PRESSLEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this censure resolution that is blatantly Islamophobic, antidemocratic, and an utter waste of time.

This resolution is as dishonest as it is unproductive. Any Member who denies that Congresswoman TLAI B has opposed the killing of civilians—Israeli, Palestinian, and American alike—is willfully ignoring the truth.

Representative TLAI B was elected by voters in Michigan to do exactly what she does best: advocate for a better, safer, more just world. She leads with love, speaks truth to power, and seeks justice even when her life and that of her family and her staff are threatened.

As a daughter, mother, sister, friend, advocate, and effective, duly-elected, three-term, first-ever Palestinian-American Member of Congress, she has been a much-needed voice in an institution that has too often failed to listen.

Today, Republicans are again attacking a Democratic colleague just because they don't like what she has to say. It is another shameful but predictable ploy of distraction from the real traffickers of hate who are obsessed with policing progressive women of color.

Mr. Speaker, I oppose this offensive resolution for every little girl from Michigan to the Middle East who sees herself when they see the leadership of

Representative RASHIDA TLAI B, and I urge my colleagues to do the same.

Mr. MCCORMICK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BERGMAN), a Marine Corps general.

Mr. BERGMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am reminded of Proverbs 18:21, which says: "Words kill, words give life; they're either poison or fruit—you choose."

I take no joy in standing here today to censure a fellow Michigan Representative, but Congresswoman TLAI B's words and actions are abhorrent and beneath her office.

Representative TLAI B has tripled-down on her anti-Semitic and anti-Israel rhetoric, recently posting a video with protesters chanting, "from the river to the sea," with a follow-up comment explaining that that phrase is a peaceful aphorism about human rights.

However, that quote has long been a rallying cry for supporters of Hamas and other terrorists hell-bent on destroying Israel. "From the river to the sea" refers to the area, of course, between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea, which is the State of Israel.

Jewish Americans are being targeted in their schools and on our Nation's streets. Just yesterday, a California man supporting Israel was murdered during competing pro-Israel, pro-Palestinian rallies.

Words matter and words have real-world implications. Congresswoman TLAI B's continued assault on the only Jewish state in the world, Israel, is reprehensible and this body should come together to support this censure resolution to say to Representative TLAI B: Enough.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Michigan (Mrs. DINGELL).

Mrs. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this resolution.

Congresswoman RASHIDA TLAI B is an important member of our Democratic Caucus and our Michigan delegation. Her voice matters. She is the only Palestinian American in Congress, and this is a representative body. Her perspective reflects many that she represents, especially when it is not twisted.

Congresswoman TLAI B is entitled to the same constitutionally protected freedom of speech and expression that every other American and every other Member of this body has. This resolution is an attack on that fundamental right.

I spent all weekend in Michigan this last weekend talking to all the communities about the meaning of this phrase. There are very strong feelings on all sides. It is very clear that people interpret words in different ways. Personally, I choose not to use a phrase that is offensive to some and that many perceive as a threat, but I also take seriously living in a country that does not restrict, forbid, or censure free speech.

Mr. MCCORMICK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. VAN DREW).

Mr. VAN DREW. Mr. Speaker, soulless, disgusting, sickening, reprehensible, and repulsive—these are not my words but the words of my Democratic colleagues when asked about the decision of 15 Members who refused to condemn Hamas' brutal terror attacks on innocent Israelis.

Some of those 15 didn't stop there. Several of these Members have gone on to use their massive platforms to accuse Israel of apartheid, genocide, and war crimes. This rhetoric by Members of Congress is not only careless, it is dangerous.

American cities and the cities around the world have been flooded with anti-Israeli protests. Protestors scream for an intifada. They demand a cleansing of Jews from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea, the destruction of Israel, and the destruction of the United States of America.

They ripped down the pictures of Jewish children and Jewish babies being held hostage in Gaza. It is reprehensible. It is unacceptable.

Hamas is a terrorist organization that does not care about the Palestinian people. Their goal is to wipe Israel from the face of the Earth. Babies were burned alive. Babies were beheaded. Women were raped, beaten, displayed, and then murdered. Children, mothers, grandmothers, fathers, grandfathers, they were all killed.

Anyone who supports this or refuses to condemn it has no place in the United States Congress. I don't like censure—I hate censure—but we have to draw a line in the sand somewhere. We do not entertain hate in this Congress. We confront it, and we must do it with absolute conviction.

This is not a freedom of speech issue. This is an issue of the Congress of the United States having the right to say this is wrong.

Mr. Speaker, I urge all of my colleagues to vote for this.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MCGOVERN), the ranking member of the Rules Committee.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, we should reject this resolution for a few simple reasons: first is protecting this institution. I don't agree with a lot of what people say around here. I think a lot of what my Republican friends say is offensive and even racist, but I don't go around introducing censure resolutions.

If we are going to start censuring anybody who says something we don't like, all we will do from now on is censure each other all day.

The second reason is freedom of speech. My Republican colleagues go on and on about cancel culture, and here they are today trying to cancel someone.

I don't want any lectures from people who are trying to create a 1984-style

thought police. I don't know what is wrong with them, Mr. Speaker. If this is not the high point of Republican hypocrisy, I don't know what is.

Mr. Speaker, I say to my Republican colleagues that they are unleashing something very bad here. They are setting an awful precedent for this institution. This is a very slippery slope.

I strongly urge a "no" vote on this resolution to protect this institution, to protect freedom of speech, and to reject this majority's cynical attempts to divide and distract America.

Mr. Speaker, I would say that if my Republican friends don't like listening to people they disagree with, they should get a new job.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are reminded to direct their remarks to the Chair.

Mr. MCCORMICK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. MILLER), a marine.

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I rise today at what I think is a very serious moment for our country and for the world.

Hate and anti-Semitism are on the rise. Our strongest ally and great friend, Israel, is under siege at the hands of brutal terrorists. As a member of the United States Marines, I know when a Member of the House of Representatives is echoing a line that is a clear call to murder Jews and push Israel off the map—"from the river to the sea."

To be clear, "from the river to the sea," as someone who is Jewish, means to exterminate my people. Never again.

Mr. Speaker, the ADL recently reported that anti-Semitic incidents rose by roughly 400 percent in the 2 weeks following Hamas' evil attack on Israel, which began 1 month ago today.

There is no question that these incidents are a direct result of the hate-filled lies and anti-Semitic rhetoric perpetuated by Members of this body—"from the river to the sea."

What exactly does that mean, "from the river to the sea Palestine will be free." I am happy to educate all of you. It means the extermination of the Jewish people.

I understand that my colleague, the gentlewoman from Michigan (Ms. TLAIB), thinks that this is some kind of aspirational message. It is a joke.

Mr. Speaker, I do think that this is an aspirational message. But it is not an aspiration of peaceful coexistence. It is an aspiration to the erasure of the State of Israel and its people, the Jewish people who call it home and who have been refugees since the very beginning of time.

□ 1530

It is an aspiration to the genocide of Jews.

Mr. Speaker, I believe strongly that Members of this body should be able to speak their minds freely, but I also think there should be consequences for those who would use their platforms to perpetuate garbage that puts any

American at risk especially because of their religion.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that actions have consequences, and I believe that after a long string of anti-Semitic remarks and hate-filled rhetoric, censure is an appropriate consequence for the gentlewoman from Michigan.

Never again, damn it, means never again.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from the Virgin Islands (Ms. PLASKETT).

Ms. PLASKETT. Mr. Speaker, I come before you today in support of my colleague Congresswoman RASHIDA TLAIB.

All Members of Congress are entitled to freedom of speech. We also recognize that words matter and that they have the power to uplift or to harm others.

While I have joined the statement rejecting certain harmful phraseology that has been used, I believe Congresswoman TLAIB's statement that she did not intend to wish harm to the Jewish community by her words.

Congresswoman TLAIB has all since clarified that she was intending to make an aspirational call for freedom, human rights, and peaceful coexistence, not death, destruction, or hate.

The ability to have free speech but to be willing to discuss and to change and clarify is not just mature but democratic. No Member should express harm to others, and Congresswoman TLAIB has been willing to listen, clarify, and express compassion.

Yet on the other side of the aisle, we have seen repeatedly Republican Members make disparaging comments that have threatened our fellow colleagues and their families.

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

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 10 seconds to the gentlewoman from the Virgin Islands.

Ms. PLASKETT. We have had members of the Republican Conference make floor speeches about the great replacement theory that is suggestive of white nationalism.

As a Black woman, I am offended.

Will you censure the co-chair of your Conference, Mr. Speaker?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentlewoman's time has expired.

Ms. PLASKETT. We need to uplift. We need to allow free speech.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentlewoman from the Virgin Islands is no longer recognized.

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

Mr. MCCORMICK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. WILSON).

Mr. WILSON of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of Congressman Rich McCormick's resolution of censure.

Enemies of civilization are gruesomely bold and clear on their murderous intentions. A heinously revealing declaration of their barbaric intentions by the Iranian puppet Hamas is detailed in the Hamas Covenant of Au-

gust 18, 1988. In the midst of insane provisions is article 7: "The Day of Judgment will not come about until Muslims fight the Jews and kill them. Then, the Jews will hide behind rocks and trees, and the rocks and trees will cry out: 'O Muslim, there is a Jew hiding behind me, come and kill him.'"

They are very clear. What they are talking about is death to Israel and then death to America.

The New York Post is correct in warning last week that we in America are subject to another 9/11 attack being imminent by such people.

The goal of Hamas puppets of Iran is to murder the Jews worldwide. It is fake news about caring for the Palestinian people. This is not about territory. Suffering by the Hamas-oppressed people of Gaza is solely Hamas dictated.

We know the duplicitous wording of "from the river to the sea" is nothing more than a call of mass murder to Jewish people and will then lead to mass murder in America.

Hamas, Houthis, and also Hezbollah are puppets of Iran with their intent, and we are actually in a war we did not choose between dictators with rule of gun attacking democracies with rule of law. This began with the war criminal Putin's invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022, and led to the Hamas invasion of Israel on Putin's birthday, October 7.

Over 30 missile attacks have already seriously injured American troops who are serving in this war.

Bold and clear are the dictators with Putin's treatise of July 2021 that Ukraine does not exist; that the Chinese Communist Party that threatens the 24 million people of Taiwan, they don't exist; and Iran chants in English, "death to Israel, death to America."

It is sad to hear how the Iranian propaganda is being promoted by our media and colleges.

As the grateful father of four sons who have served in Iraq, Egypt, and Afghanistan, I appreciate the Israeli and Ukrainian troops for their courage.

Democracies will prevail by building peace through strength.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Washington (Ms. JAYAPAL).

Ms. JAYAPAL. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to this resolution.

Congresswoman RASHIDA TLAIB is one of only two Muslim-American women elected to this body, and the only Palestinian-American in Congress. She has fought tirelessly and successfully to get clean drinking water for her constituents and to ensure that people have housing and environmental justice.

If we truly want Congress to be a diverse body that represents the diversity of views across this country, then we have to be willing to stand up for those diverse views to be expressed. We don't have to agree with them, but we do have to protect the right to the freedom of speech which this body is absolutely required to do.

Our country and our world are in crisis. People are suffering everywhere. Historic and present traumas for Jews, Muslims, Arabs, South Asians, Sikhs, and so many others are playing themselves out, and we as the elected Representatives of the people should be working together to protect the rights of every American to say what they believe and ensure that we preserve our democracy.

Vote “no” on this terrible resolution.

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

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

Mr. LAWLER. Mr. Speaker, in 1893, Katharine Lee Bates wrote “America the Beautiful.” In it she wrote: “God shed His grace on thee and crown thy good with brotherhood from sea to shining sea.”

As the Bible says in Psalm 72:8: He shall have dominion from sea to sea and from the river unto the ends of the Earth.

That is aspirational.

Chanting “from the river to the sea” is not. Chanting “from the river to the sea” is calling for the eradication of Israel. I would hardly define that as aspirational.

My colleague Representative RASHIDA TLAIIB has parroted the talking points and the message of Hamas, a terrorist organization whose sworn mission is the destruction of Israel and the eradication of the Jewish people.

Israel is our strongest ally in the Middle East, a beacon of hope, peace, and liberty in the region. It is the only multicultural, multiethnic, and multi-religious democracy. It is not an apartheid state. The oppressor of the Palestinian people is Hamas and the Palestinian Authority.

Mr. Speaker, if you want Palestinians to be free, then reject Hamas, reject the Palestinian Authority, and demand that Hamas surrender.

Calling for a cease-fire that they won't abide to is outrageous. They need to immediately surrender and return the hostages to their families.

My colleague repeated a vile and disgusting lie that Israel bombed a hospital knowing full well that was factually inaccurate and knowing full well that this administration, the Biden administration, advised her it was inaccurate, gave her a private briefing, and still she continued to repeat this vile and disgusting lie.

Why?

It was intended to undermine. It was intended to turn the world against Israel.

Why?

It is because when she chants “from the river to the sea,” she believes it. Mr. Speaker, she believes Israel should be eradicated because otherwise you would never, ever repeat that vile, vile statement.

It is not a lie.

That is why we are here. It is not a lie, and that is why we are here.

Paul Kessler was killed for holding an Israeli flag in the United States of America. We are losing respect for the sanctity of life, the rule of law, and the important role of faith.

We must combat anti-Semitism, and it starts with this censure.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Missouri (Ms. BUSH).

Ms. BUSH. St. Louis and I rise today in opposition to this censure resolution and also in opposition to the reckless manner that people in this House speak when they don't realize or don't care that they put targets on the backs of actual people, most of whom are Black and Brown, because of a lack of care and the lack of understanding and a lack of seeing the humanity of folks who look like RASHIDA TLAIIB.

It is outrageous that my colleagues are blatantly, blatantly attempting to silence the only Palestinian-American Representative right here.

It is outrageous, but it is not surprising. Let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, it is not surprising because this place is where 1,700 Members of Congress, this elected body, enslaved Black people. It is not surprising, because they thought it was right.

It is not surprising because this is a place where Members continue to claim that the insurrection on the Capitol just appeared to look like a normal tourist visit.

It is not surprising because this is the place where our Black and Brown staff members repeatedly speak of experiencing racism, sexism, Islamophobia, get pushed off of elevators, xenophobia and more right here in this workplace. This is the place.

Let me say this: She mourns for the 1,400 Israelis who lost their lives.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentlewoman's time has expired.

Ms. BUSH. She mourns for the 10,000, and she will not stop.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentlewoman's time has expired.

Ms. BUSH. No more lies. Cease-fire now. She takes the death threats that you all send her, Mr. Speaker—The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentlewoman from Missouri is no longer recognized.

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

Mr. MCCORMICK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. FALLON).

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, I was sitting here not planning to speak at all, then I heard words from the other side of the aisle. They were flowery, they were eloquent, they had passion, they were articulate, they were powerful, and even moving probably to some.

Nevertheless, were they true?

I heard about protecting speech, the First Amendment, and our beloved Constitution.

Who is not for protecting speech, our beloved Constitution, and the First Amendment?

So does the gentleman from Maryland and our friends across the aisle really believe that?

Then when I heard about slippery slope and setting a precedent, on February 4, 2021, MARJORIE TAYLOR GREENE was removed from her committees for things that she said before she was a Member of Congress.

On November 17, 2021, PAUL GOSAR was censured for a cartoon that his staff posted. A tasteless cartoon though it be, it was speech.

So we are protecting speech, are we?

It is speech that we disagree with, calling the deliberate killing of innocent civilians resistance, claiming a bombing of a Gaza hospital was done by the Israelis that killed hundreds of people when we knew that was not true, and yet Ms. TLAIIB doubled and tripled down on that. That was false, and that was a lie. And then repeating and celebrating a genocidal chant “from the river to the sea.” That is not a cartoon, and that is not saying some things, Mr. Speaker, that you said before you were a Member of Congress.

Then we were accused of, oh, it is Islamophobic, or it was pointed out that she was a woman of color or she was the only Palestinian.

What does any of that matter?

This is about words and actions, and we hold everyone to the same standard. We are not trying to jail her. We are not trying to expel her. We are not levying a civil fine. We are not even talking about removing her from committees.

We are simply firmly and formally disagreeing with her and chastising her for her words and her actions.

What she did was not leadership. It was demagoguery of the worst kind, and it was beneath the dignity of this office, her office, and the alleged commitment to peace she claims.

□ 1545

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. BOWMAN).

Mr. BOWMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this resolution.

First and foremost, can we please stop misrepresenting Representative TLAIIB's words? She does not want to kill Jews. She is not in support of Hamas. She is speaking as someone who is the only Palestinian American in U.S. history to serve in this body.

Without her voice, we would lack even more empathy for the people of Palestine. We would not have someone with direct personal experience speaking against the siege that is happening now in Gaza.

This body needs empathy and compassion for all people, not just people who look like the majority of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle. Maybe because of your lack of diversity, you lack the cognitive and emotional ability to recognize diverse opinions when they speak truth to power. You absolutely need to open up your mind to other people and other experiences, especially when they are Muslim, when they are women, and when they are people of color.

You had a Member of your party call my colleague a terrorist and didn't censure her, but we are having this conversation now about your interpretation of words.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are reminded to direct their remarks to the Chair.

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

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire as to the time remaining.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Georgia has 1½ minutes remaining. The gentleman from Maryland has 5 minutes remaining.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. CARSON).

Mr. CARSON. Mr. Speaker, this censure measure is a sham.

When someone who is an American, a Muslim, a woman, and a Palestinian dares to speak out for her people, she is told to be quiet. She is told to stop talking about Palestinian brothers and sisters in the same breath as Jewish brothers and sisters.

My sister RASHIDA is a child of the Midwest, representing the best of Midwestern sensibilities. She also exemplifies a rich tradition of the Islamic faith in the Midwest. She is a bold leader. She is a fair leader. She is a compassionate leader. Most importantly, she is an American.

Standing up for one oppressed people does not negate the oppression of another.

We should be working together to end this terrible suffering, eliminate these sham censures, and get back to the work of the people. That is why they elected us.

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

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Illinois (Mrs. RAMIREZ).

Mrs. RAMIREZ. Mr. Speaker, words hold power. They are intentional representations of our values and our beliefs. Our democracy is at its strongest when we protect the right to dissent, to resist, and to speak truth to power.

However, over the past few weeks, this body has wrongfully and dangerously conflated dissent with hate speech and has willfully characterized acts of resistance as acts of bigotry. Bigotry and hateful speech are real, tangible threats to our shared humanity and our multiracial democracy, and we must address them.

As someone who has heard Members of this body who are not being brought up for censure casually use their platforms to carelessly promote violent, racist, anti-Semitic, Islamophobic, xenophobic, and anti-immigrant language and ideals, I am clear that this resolution is another ill-intentioned attempt to persecute dissenting voices who refuse to stay silent and whose perspective challenges this body and the dominant narrative.

We must resist the urge to scapegoat and vilify those who disagree with us,

and I unequivocally stand with my friend, RASHIDA TLAIB. I will be voting against the resolution, and I encourage my friends to do your job.

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

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentlewoman from Minnesota (Ms. OMAR).

Ms. OMAR. Mr. Speaker, it is glaring hypocrisy when you have Republicans on the other side of the aisle trying to create definitions and say RASHIDA wants to annihilate people when MAX MILLER himself went on TV and said we are turning Gaza into a parking lot and we want to annihilate Palestinians. Nobody condemned him on that side of the aisle.

What is true here is that every single one of them has not acknowledged the fact that Palestinians are dying in the tens of thousands but will continue to say it is us who are not acknowledging humanity.

RASHIDA will stand strong, and the Palestinian movement will continue for liberation until every single Palestinian has the right to live in liberty.

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

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Colorado (Mr. BUCK).

Mr. BUCK. Mr. Speaker, on October 7, Hamas terrorists paraglided into a music festival and began an unprovoked spree of violence. Babies were beheaded, young girls raped, hundreds kidnapped, and many murdered in vile ways.

To compare a modern democracy with a repressive terrorist state is wrong, but it is also wrong for Congress to take this action at a time when we have serious issues that we face. To take an action and take down the words, to strike the words, to censure a fellow Member, no matter how incorrect we believe she may be, is wrong.

We lower ourselves when we try to take action against someone else for their words. We all go back to our districts, and thank goodness social media hasn't caught every one of us with everything that we say back in our districts because we would all be standing here.

This is a wrong time to do this. It is the wrong action to take. Let's pass a resolution condemning this kind of language, condemning anti-Semitism on college campuses and elsewhere, but it is absolutely wrong to vote for this motion.

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

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, first of all, I don't think that my colleagues have caught us in any kind of contradiction when they raised the case of Representative GOSAR, who posted a video on social media depicting himself killing our colleague Representative ALEXANDRIA OCASIO-CORTEZ and also attacking President Biden. This was a true threat. These were fighting words. This is something that is totally within our First Amendment tradition.

Mr. Speaker, we live in a time of terror and war, great polarization and trauma across the world. We must grapple the rule of law to our souls with hoops of steel at this moment. In a time of all kinds of storms all over the world, the rule of law, the Constitution, is our shore, and now is a moment to hug the shore.

Let's defend the freedom of speech for today, for tomorrow, and going forward in the Congress of the United States.

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

Mr. MCCORMICK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert this article from 11 Alive News, titled: "Metro Atlanta woman killed in Jerusalem: reports," dated November 6, 2023.

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

There was no objection.

[From 11alive.com, Nov. 6, 2023]

METRO ATLANTA WOMAN KILLED IN
JERUSALEM: REPORTS
(By 11Alive Staff)

JERUSALEM, ISRAEL—A metro Atlanta woman was killed Monday morning in a stabbing attack in Jerusalem, news outlets reported.

According to the Atlanta Jewish Times, Elisheva Rose Ida Lubin, 20, grew up in Dunwoody. Gov. Brian Kemp commented on the tragedy and shared the Atlanta Jewish Times' article on social media.

"Marty, the girls, and I are heartbroken by the tragic news of Rose Lubin's death," the governor said.

Kemp said he would keep her family in his thoughts and prayers during this difficult time.

Lubin was a member of the Israel Border Police, the Wall Street Journal shared in a live updates story about the ongoing Israel-Hamas conflict. She lived in Kibbutz Sa'ad in southern Israel. The WSJ also mentioned that the area was one of the places attacked on Oct. 7.

It's been nearly a month since officials said Hamas attacked Israel in an "unprecedented" move. Thousands of lives have been lost.

Mr. MCCORMICK. Mr. Speaker, I know there is a lot of passion today. I heard a lot of screaming. I heard a lot of accusations, you could say, on both sides.

I don't really care what race, religion, or gender orientation you are. Where I come from in the Marine Corps, we are all shades of green, and we all bleed red. That is the truth. I just care about the person who has my back.

When I was student body president at Morehouse School of Medicine, I was elected by my peers—60 percent females, 80 percent Black, 95 percent liberal. Why? I was elected because I love people. I love people of all sorts. This isn't about who you are. It is about what you represent, what this body represents. That is what this debate is about.

If this is not worthy of censure, I don't know what it is. Representative TLAIB has stoked anti-Semitism in this Nation and undermined our national security.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to support this resolution to show the world, especially our adversaries, that the United States stands behind our allies and will not back down to terrorists.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All time for debate has expired. Without objection, the previous question is ordered on the resolution.

There was no objection.

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

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

Mr. RASKIN. 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 are postponed.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Ms. Deirdre Kelly, one of his secretaries.

□ 1600

TRANSPORTATION, HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2024

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 838 and rule XVIII, the Chair declares the House in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill, H.R. 4820.

Will the gentlewoman from California (Mrs. STEEL) kindly take the chair.

□ 1600

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H.R. 4820) making appropriations for the Departments of Transportation, and Housing and Urban Development, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2024, and for other purposes, with Mrs. STEEL (Acting Chair) in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Acting CHAIR. When the Committee of the Whole rose earlier today, amendment No. 30, printed in part B of House Report 118-261, offered by the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. BRECHEEN) had been disposed of.

AMENDMENT NO. 31 OFFERED BY MR. STRONG

The Acting CHAIR. It is now in order to consider amendment No. 31 printed in part B of House Report 118-261.

Mr. STRONG. Madam Chair, I have an amendment at the desk.

The Acting CHAIR. The Clerk will designate the amendment.

The text of the amendment is as follows:

Page 84, line 12, after the dollar amount, insert “(increased by \$1,000,000)(reduced by \$1,000,000)”.

The Acting CHAIR. Pursuant to House Resolution 838, the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. STRONG) and a Member opposed each will control 5 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. STRONG. Madam Chair, I offer an amendment to H.R. 4820, the Transportation, Housing and Urban Development and Related Agencies Fiscal Year 2024 appropriations bill.

My amendment is simple. It expresses Congress' support for public housing authorities to conduct drug testing as a condition of receiving benefits.

My colleagues across the aisle will argue that the purpose of this amendment is to punish. I want to be clear: The purpose of this amendment is to protect. It is to protect taxpayer-funded resources and ensure that they are available for those who truly need them and are prepared to make positive contributions to society.

Drug testing would put drug abusers on notice and provide a clear incentive to get off of drugs and to work toward self-sufficiency.

Shouldn't that be something we all support?

We must have protections in place and tools to enforce them which discourage lifelong dependency and ensure these programs are used as they are intended, as a temporary safety net for our most vulnerable and needy, not a way of life for generations.

I am under no illusion that drug testing alone would solve all the problems of abuse and dependency that plague our welfare system. However, I do believe that any tool that helps to accomplish this goal should be fully leveraged and fully supported by Congress.

Drugs are absolutely ravaging our country. It can be seen in every community. In 2020, over 37 million Americans 12 years and older—think about it, 12 years and older—were illegal drug users.

As a first responder, I have seen the devastation and impact of drug abuse on individuals, their families, and our communities. We have a real drug problem on our hands in this country, and it is not getting any better with this administration's border policies which allow massive quantities of illicit drugs, including fentanyl, to pour into our country.

Not only would drug testing ensure the responsible use of taxpayer-funded benefits, it would also provide a valuable opportunity to identify drug users and connect them with existing resources to get the help that they need.

Voting against this amendment ignores the obligation we have to the American people to be responsible stewards of their hard-earned taxpayer money.

Voting for this amendment sends a clear message to each of our constituents: Protecting Federal resources for those who wish to improve their lives and break free from the cycle of dependency is a priority of Congress.

Madam Chair, I yield back the balance of my time.

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

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. QUIGLEY. Madam Chairwoman, I rise as the designee of the gentleman from Connecticut (Ms. DELAURO), and I move to strike the last word.

The Acting CHAIR. The gentleman from Illinois is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. QUIGLEY. Madam Chairman, I yield to the gentlewoman from Massachusetts (Ms. CLARK), the distinguished Democrat whip and former member of the Appropriations Committee.

Ms. CLARK of Massachusetts. Madam Chair, we are 10 days from a GOP shutdown, and instead of finding a bipartisan way forward, instead of working with us to lower costs for families at home, instead of honoring the budget deal that we already agreed to, Republicans have turned around and become a pro-lead poisoning caucus.

Really. Read the bill. They have written a housing and transportation budget that defunds lead removal in low-income housing, lead removal in the homes of 46,000 children.

That is not all. This bill cuts affordable housing construction by two-thirds. It guts transit funding, leaving parents with longer, more dangerous, less reliable commutes.

News flash. Nobody's gas prices were ever lowered by banning Pride flags, but the open discrimination against the LGBTQ+ Americans in this bill will hurt communities in every single one of our districts.

This bill is more of the same from the MAGA Republican majority: Unserious, heartless extremism.

Madam Chair, I urge my colleagues to put children over politics and vote “no” on this bill.

Mr. QUIGLEY. Madam Chairwoman, I yield to the gentlewoman from New Jersey (Ms. SHERILL).

Ms. SHERILL. Madam Chair, yesterday President Biden announced significant new funding for passenger rail projects across New Jersey and the Northeast region, first and foremost for the Gateway Program that is the Nation's most critical infrastructure project.

It is a critical win for New Jersey families, and it comes as a result of funding through the bipartisan infrastructure law to get these important projects completed.

By making this investment in Gateway, we will prevent a shutdown of the Hudson River tunnel that could cost the United States economy \$16 billion over 4 years and reduce property values by \$22 billion in New Jersey alone. In fact, every dollar we invest in Gateway will create almost \$4 of benefits for the residents of our region, whether through lower travel costs, faster travel times, improved safety, or reduced highway congestion.