

□ 1300

I have a chance to listen every day to the opinions and the concerns of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle, as well as on my side of the aisle.

What we concluded, as we were working on scheduling issues in the Modernization Committee—because we have so many young families here, folks who are trying to balance their obligations as a mother or a father with their obligations as a Member of Congress, and we all know how taxing that can be.

And one of our witnesses, who has vast experience trying to work on House schedules, cautioned us against believing that you could wave a scheduling wand and suddenly create a more productive institution, that productivity comes from those relationships, productivity comes from that sincere effort to do better.

We are here on financial services today. I cannot tell you that, in my time on Capitol Hill, the Committee on Financial Services is the committee I would pick out as the single most collegial committee on Capitol Hill.

I think back to some of the discussions that have happened over the years there. It is a committee that takes on difficult issues and often divides along partisan lines.

We have two Members from Georgia on the Financial Services Committee, Mr. Speaker: a gentleman from the metro Atlanta area (Mr. SCOTT) and a gentleman from farther west in Georgia (Mr. LOUDERMILK). One is a Republican. One is a Democrat.

And, odds are, when we get into the real issues that are really going to make a difference for families across the district, they vote the same way.

Whenever I go and try to get into the meat of a financial services issue, I can go to what my friends, Mr. SCOTT and Mr. LOUDERMILK, are saying. Again, opposite sides of the political spectrum, but a shared goal of trying to serve the men and women of Georgia as best they can.

I confess, I don't have high hopes we are going to defeat the previous question and amend the rule and get back to focusing on what I would think are those common goals that we share. But I have been surprised before. And I have been surprised in ways that disappoint me, and I have been surprised in ways that make me proud.

I will just say to my colleagues: If you are thinking about busting out of the box a little bit, if you are thinking about should we do things the same way we have always done them or should we try something new, if you are thinking about it is working great the way it has been going or thinking maybe we can improve on it a little bit, just consider the Woodall amendment to the rule today.

Let's defeat the previous question; let's amend the rule; and then let's see if, perhaps, we can break out a new day of productivity, not based on Republicans and Democrats, but based on

Americans who are facing real problems back home and the real solutions that we are very honored to be able to work to provide.

Mr. Speaker, with that, I say to my friend from California, I don't have any speakers here. I want to encourage my friends to defeat that previous question. In the absence of defeating the previous question, Mr. Speaker, I would ask folks to defeat the rule, give us a chance to go back up to the Rules Committee room with these 13 members and try to craft something even better than what we have here today.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my friend as well. It is always a pleasure to hear the gentleman's words of wisdom.

I am reminded of a story that you will hear if the docent has the time at Monticello, when somebody asked Jefferson when he first opened: Mr. Jefferson, why do you have a bust of Mr. Hamilton opposite you? You don't agree on anything with Hamilton.

Jefferson said: That is the point. That is why it is there.

So, I appreciate the comments. I look forward to further conversations up in that room.

Mr. Speaker, in closing, I would like to thank my colleagues—Congresswoman AXNE, Congressman CASTEN, and Chairwoman WATERS—for their leadership on these commonsense bills to protect American consumers and workers, and I urge a “yes” vote on the rule and the previous question.

The material previously referred to by Mr. WOODALL is as follows:

AMENDMENT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 629

At the end of the resolution, add the following:

SEC. 3. Upon adoption of this resolution, the Committees on the Judiciary, Ways and Means, Financial Services, Oversight and Reform, and Foreign Affairs and the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence shall suspend pursuing matters referred to by the Speaker in her announcement of September 24, 2019, until such time as bipartisan legislation to lower prescription drug prices and limit patients' out of pocket costs is signed into law.

Mr. DESAULNIER. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time, and I move the previous question on the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on ordering the previous question.

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

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

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to clause 6 of rule XX, further proceedings on this question will be postponed.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

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

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

OPPOSING THE DECISION TO END CERTAIN UNITED STATES EFFORTS TO PREVENT TURKISH MILITARY OPERATIONS AGAINST SYRIAN KURDISH FORCES IN NORTHEAST SYRIA

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 77) opposing the decision to end certain United States efforts to prevent Turkish military operations against Syrian Kurdish forces in Northeast Syria.

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

The text of the joint resolution is as follows:

H.J. RES. 77

Whereas thousands of Syrian fighters, including Syrian Kurds, fought courageously with the United States against the brutality of ISIS throughout Syria, liberating nearly one-third of Syrian territory from ISIS' so-called “caliphate.”;

Whereas, on October 6, 2019, the White House announced “Turkey will soon be moving forward with its long-planned operation into Northern Syria” while the “United States Armed Forces will not support or be involved in the operation, and United States forces . . . will no longer be in the immediate area.”;

Whereas, on October 6, 2019, the White House announced “Turkey will now be responsible for all ISIS fighters in the area captured over the past two years . . .”;

Whereas an October 10, 2019, White House statement said, “This morning, Turkey, a NATO member, invaded Syria. The United States does not endorse this attack and has made it clear to Turkey that this operation is a bad idea.”;

Whereas Turkey has historically threatened, forcibly displaced, and killed Syrian Kurds, including during military operations in the Afrin District;

Whereas, on August 1, 2019, Special Envoy James Jeffrey stated in reference to the Syrian Kurds and Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF), “We are committed to defeating ISIS in northeast Syria. The SDF . . . is our partner there. We are committed to those who have fought with us not being attacked and not being harmed by anyone. The President made that clear publicly. That includes our concerns about the Turks.”;

Whereas in January 2019, Director of National Intelligence Dan Coats stated in Congressional testimony that “The conflicts in Iraq and Syria have generated a large pool of skilled and battle-hardened fighters who remain dispersed throughout the region . . . and the group has returned to its guerilla-warfare roots while continuing to plot attacks and direct its supporters worldwide. ISIS is intent on resurging.”;

Whereas, during the counter-ISIS campaign in Syria, the SDF captured thousands of ISIS fighters, including foreign terrorist fighters from around the world who pose threats to our allies in the region;

Whereas in addition to ISIS fighters in detention approximately 70,000 women and children are currently held at the Al-Hol internally displaced persons camp and at other camps in northeast Syria;

Whereas the Lead Inspector General for Combined Joint Task Force Operation Inherent Resolve stated in August 2019, ISIS is already “seeking to establish safe haven in al-Hol” aiming to recruit individuals who are “susceptible to ISIS messaging, coercion, and enticement.”;

Whereas the SDF has warned the United States and international community that a Turkish incursion into Northeast Syria would significantly decrease the SDF’s ability to combat ISIS and to continue providing security and management for ISIS detainees and their family members;

Whereas, on October 6, 2019, President Trump conducted a call with President Erdogan in which, according to the official White House press release, they discussed the upcoming Turkish incursion, and soon after this call, a White House press release announced the withdrawal of the United States military from the immediate area, which was completed within hours; and

Whereas an abrupt withdrawal of United States military personnel from certain parts of Northeast Syria is beneficial to adversaries of the United States government, including Syria, Iran, and Russia: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Congress—

(1) opposes the decision to end certain United States efforts to prevent Turkish military operations against Syrian Kurdish forces in Northeast Syria;

(2) calls on Turkish President Erdogan to immediately cease unilateral military action in Northeast Syria and to respect existing agreements relating to Syria;

(3) calls on the United States to continue supporting Syrian Kurdish communities through humanitarian support, including to those displaced or otherwise affected by ongoing violence in Syria;

(4) calls on the United States to work to ensure that the Turkish military acts with restraint and respects existing agreements relating to Syria; and

(5) calls on the White House to present a clear and specific plan for the enduring defeat of ISIS.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from New York (Mr. ENGEL) and the gentleman from Texas (Mr. MCCAUL) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on H.J. Res. 77.

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

There was no objection.

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

Mr. Speaker, since the beginning of this Congress, when I became chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee, I have tried to work across the aisle to advance a bipartisan vision of what American foreign policy should be, what it can be, when we are at our

best. And that is a foreign policy rooted in our values—values like support for human rights and human dignity, a foreign policy that projects American leadership as a force for good in the world, a foreign policy that thrives on the power of partnerships and alliances.

I have worked with my friend from Texas, the ranking member of the Foreign Affairs Committee (Mr. MCCAUL) to make sure that this vision is enshrined in the committee’s work and that we do all we can to push the administration toward this approach.

So, Mr. Speaker, for me, the last week has been just devastating. A week ago, President Trump had a phone call with Turkey’s thuggish leader, President Erdogan.

Against the advice of national security experts and military advisers, the President gave Erdogan the green light to charge into northern Syria, unleashing what has become a brutal campaign of violence against the Syrian Kurds—our partners, the Syrian Kurds, who courageously stood alongside us for many, many months and years in the fight against ISIS.

Mr. Speaker, that reckless and impulsive decision was a betrayal of our partners. It was a gift to Russia, a gift to Iran, a gift to ISIS, and a gift to Assad. And it was a blow to our national security.

Now, a week later, the same Kurdish forces who fought with American Special Forces to combat ISIS are now fighting tooth and nail to survive Turkey’s slaughter. Russian and Syrian regime forces have quickly filled the vacuum left by the United States.

President Trump’s decision has allowed ISIS fighters in northern Syria to escape from prison, paving the way for a resurgence of the terrorist group. It is a “Get Out of Jail Free” card, if you remember Monopoly from the old days.

And the humanitarian crisis is staggering. Already, tens of thousands have been displaced: families, women and children. There are stories of gruesome beatings, torture, and abuse, all set into motion, unfortunately, by the actions of the President of the United States.

What kind of message does this send to the world? How can America be trusted to keep its word when we betray one of our close partners, our loyal and faithful partners, just throw them out like an old shoe?

How can America be trusted to keep its word when we make impulsive decisions that have such an immediate, catastrophic impact on so many thousands of people?

Congress must speak out against this disgrace.

The measure we are considering today will send an unambiguous, bipartisan, and, hopefully, bicameral rejection of Trump’s policy in Syria.

This measure calls on the White House to develop a strong, clear strategy on how to defeat ISIS now that

President Trump has sparked its resurgence. It expresses strong support for Syrian Kurdish forces, recognizing their commitment and sacrifices in the fight against ISIS. And it calls on Turkey to immediately stop its military action in Syria.

At President Trump’s hands, American leadership has been laid low and American foreign policy has become nothing more than a tool to advance his own interests.

Today, we make clear that the Congress is a coequal branch of government and that we want nothing to do with this disastrous policy.

So, Mr. Speaker, I say to our colleagues: It is on us. It is on us to uphold our country’s values, to strengthen our national security, to defend America’s standing in the world.

Mr. Speaker, I call on all Members, on both sides of the aisle, to support this resolution and make it clear where we stand, and I reserve the balance of my time.

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

Mr. Speaker, I would like to first begin with thanking Chairman ENGEL for his bipartisan work to craft legislation in response to this week’s developments.

We often say in our committee that politics stops at the water’s edge. And, in this time of crisis, I am proud to work with him to lead the most bipartisan committee in the Congress.

Today may be a dark day, but it would be much darker if we were divided instead of standing united.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this joint resolution. Simply put, the catastrophe that has unfolded in Syria over the past 10 days is almost beyond words.

I am concerned about the extreme, long-term damage this has caused the United States interests in the Middle East and to the Syrian people, including the Kurds.

The United States has worked for years to prevent an armed conflict between our NATO ally Turkey and our Syrian Kurdish partners. Our presence in Syria was critical to countering and defeating ISIS, and, until last week, it helped prevent unnecessary bloodshed.

Working with the Syrian Democratic Forces, the U.S. and our coalition partners eliminated ISIS’ control of territory in Syria and were continuing to fight ISIS insurgents.

I understand the administration’s legitimate concerns about engaging our U.S. forces in long-term military operations. I, too, want to wind down our overseas conflicts and bring our troops home. But, leaving northwest Syria now does not resolve the problem that brought us there in the first place; it only creates more.

We need a residual force in place. The consequences of this decision have already unfolded before our very eyes. We have betrayed the trust of our Kurdish partners who fought bravely with us against ISIS to defeat and destroy the caliphate, and they paid a heavy price in thousands of lives lost.

We must remember that Turkey's offensive affects not only Kurds but also the people of northeastern Syria. So far, dozens of civilians have been killed and over 160,000 people have been displaced.

Islamic State prisoners, Jihadists and affiliates, are already breaking free, reversing our hard-fought gains to defeat these dangerous terrorists.

And, now, our Syrian Kurdish partners have struck a deal with the Syrian regime. This gives Assad and his Russian and Iranian backers more territory and opportunity to advance their destabilizing agendas, including their war on the Syrian people.

□ 1315

My colleague ELIOT ENGEL and I drafted this resolution to show that we do not support this decision by the administration and to call on Turkey to end this destructive campaign in Syria.

We urge the United States to support the affected communities of northeast Syria, including the Kurds. We call upon the administration to support our Kurdish partners and stand with them just like they have stood with us for so long.

Given the grave implications that an ISIS resurgence would have for our homeland security, we call on the administration to provide an updated counter-ISIS strategy.

I do support the administration's decision to impose sanctions on key Turkish officials and make clear that there are more consequences for continuing this invasion. But more pressure is needed.

Congress is only just beginning its work to repair the damage this decision has caused. Chairman ENGEL and I are working together on a bipartisan bill to sanction Turkey for as long as it continues this destructive offensive. I look forward to working with the chairman to bring this bill to the floor as soon as possible.

I urge all Members to support this joint resolution.

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

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Rhode Island (Mr. CICILLINE), a valued member of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Mr. CICILLINE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding.

I rise today with a heavy heart. Ten days ago, President Trump sealed the fate of our Kurdish partners in Syria when he gave President Erdogan of Turkey the green light to invade.

I believe this callous and reckless decision will go down in history not only for its disregard for human life but for the strategic malpractice of placing American troops in harm's way, allowing thousands of ISIS prisoners to go free, and ceding influence over the region to Russia and the Assad regime. It was truly an unbelievably dangerous and stupid decision that undermines our national security and diminishes our moral authority in the world.

I am pleased that this resolution has widespread bipartisan support. We need to pass it and get it on the President's desk as quickly as possible.

But resolutions—and sanctions, when they come—can't bring Kurdish children back to life. They can't reclaim our American military positions and equipment seized by the Russians. They can't restore our credibility, which has been squandered as we have betrayed the trust of our Kurdish allies.

I am sickened by this administration's actions. We need to do everything we can, as a Congress, to make this right.

I urge my colleagues to support this bipartisan resolution. I thank Mr. MCCAUL and Mr. ENGEL for working together, in a bipartisan way, to send a very strong message that the Congress of the United States does not support this horrific decision that betrayed our allies and undermines American leadership in the world.

Mr. MCCAUL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. HURD).

Mr. HURD of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague for yielding.

I am proud to rise today in support of this bipartisan resolution that opposes this disastrous decision to remove U.S. Forces from northern Syria and abandon our allies, the Kurds, to a Turkish invasion.

Since 2014, the U.S. and our allies in the global coalition to defeat ISIS have fought side by side with the Kurds to end the caliphate and degrade the threat of terrorism to our homeland.

Today, ISIS is beaten, but it is not broken. They remain a threat that requires continued engagement by both the United States and our partners.

Just as the Kurds had our backs against ISIS, we need to have theirs. Instead, we are abandoning not just the Kurds but also our coalition allies in Syria. We are eroding all the progress we have made. We are showing our friends and our enemies that a partnership with America means nothing.

We are providing ISIS with the opportunity to reemerge and once again threaten the United States. We are allowing Bashar al-Assad and Vladimir Putin to play the role of humanitarian saviors in Syria.

As an undercover CIA officer, I chased terrorists around the globe and saw firsthand the threats facing our Nation from the Middle East. One of the things I learned when I was in the CIA was to be nice with nice guys and tough with tough guys, not the other way around.

Because of this decision, and all the actions and inactions that led up to this decision, we have let our friends down; we have hurt our national security; and we have ceded leadership in the region to Russia and Iran.

I hope we can change our course, but I fear it may be too late.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MOULTON).

Mr. MOULTON. Mr. Speaker, right now, with President Trump's permission, Turkey is slaughtering our Kurdish allies, the only people who stand between us and ISIS, men and women who have died by the thousands to protect Americans from terrorism, the families of our American constituents, like Seyhmus Yuksekkaya from my district.

As a result, Russian and Syrian forces are taking our positions next to them. ISIS prisoners are escaping, and, Mr. Speaker, the crisis has only just begun.

We must act today because the President has taken the side of dictators and butchers. The President has never put his life on the line for our country, like our Special Forces soldiers who have been fighting terrorists in Syria, whom he mocked earlier today by saying they are shooting each other.

Perhaps if he had not dodged the draft by lying about his feet, sending another American in his place to Vietnam, he would know something that all veterans know well, that there are a lot of ways you can fail in battle. You can fail physically. You can fail to summon the mental courage. You can have a bad strategy or bad tactics. But nothing is worse, nothing is more evil, than betrayal.

Yet, betrayal is exactly what this President has done. It sends exactly the wrong message to our allies, to our troops, and to our enemies.

Our Commander in Chief should lead with American values. He should lead by the idea that there is no better friend and no worse enemy than the United States of America.

Today's vote is necessary because there has been no worse enemy to the Kurds and no better friend to our enemies than this President.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are reminded to refrain from engaging in personalities toward the President.

Mr. MCCAUL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Arkansas (Mr. HILL).

Mr. HILL of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend from Texas (Mr. MCCAUL) and my friend from New York (Mr. ENGEL) for their leadership on this issue and the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Mr. Speaker, let me be clear: I did not support the failed Obama-Kerry policy in Syria. During 2017 and 2018, I was proud to see President Trump hold Assad accountable for his use of chemical weapons.

However, I have not supported the United States disengaging from Syria without a strategy since such was first proposed by the President in December.

So I rise in disappointment today over this policy change and Turkey's violations of all of its "promises."

A small group of American Forces in northeast Syria advising and assisting local forces in order to prevent instability from coming to power does not constitute an "endless war."

Despite being in NATO, Turkey is not acting as an ally. By our actions in this House today, Turkey will pay a steep price for its provocation.

I have been told by experts with contacts on the ground that American lives are at risk directly because of Turkish actions. U.S. Forces have been shelled by Turkish artillery. Our NATO ally since 1952, Turkey, which we allowed to conduct this mission, has thanked us by shelling American positions.

What a sad day for the Atlantic alliance that has shouldered so many burdens and shared so much loss in men and treasure.

Syrian Kurds also announced that they had come to an agreement with the Assad regime's forces to help against the Turkish invasion, which further entrenches Russia, Mr. Speaker, in this conflict. So now Assad and his Russian backers will bring their bloodbath over the Euphrates.

We also put all the gains we have made against Daesh at risk of reversal.

This all could have been avoided. Mr. Speaker, when critical American leadership disengages, America's global adversaries fill the void.

Turkey must cease its military invasion of Syria. The United States must support the Kurdish communities that have been our allies against ISIS. And the White House must present a clear and specific plan for ensuring the defeat of ISIS and border integrity with Turkey.

I urge all of my colleagues to support the passage of this important legislation.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. CASTRO), the vice chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Mr. CASTRO of Texas. Mr. Speaker, we are in the midst of a foreign policy disaster that will be a stain on the conscience of our Nation for many years to come. The situation in Syria is costing lives as we speak.

Until recently, our strategy to defeat ISIS by, through, and with our allies was working. Our small military presence in Syria was a sustainable force that denied ISIS the ability to plan and launch attacks from Syria or resurge back into Iraq.

The President's impulsive decision to leave Syria without any deliberation has ignited a conflict in one of the most volatile regions on Earth. This administration has managed to turn our Middle East policy on its head in a week's time.

Turkey is slaughtering the Kurdish forces that have fought and died on our behalf in the fight against ISIS. In our place, Syria and Russia have quickly filled the void of American leadership.

We have betrayed our allies. This is not a foreign policy that displays America's core values. It is a shameful choice that will cause irreparable damage to American interests and alliances around the world.

I believe this joint resolution is what we need in this moment to combat this

President's worst instincts. The joint resolution will rebuke the White House and attempt to rebalance the situation in Syria. I urge all of my colleagues, Republican and Democrat, to support it.

Mr. McCAUL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. REED).

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, I thank the ranking member and the chairman for their work on this proposed resolution. But I want to remind my colleagues that one of the problems that we face in Turkey and Syria today is the failure of congressional leadership to address this issue.

When I stood on this very floor during the Obama administration and the question of Syria came up, I remember many of my colleagues agreeing with me that we should not be in Syria with boots on the ground, risking our most precious assets of our young men and women, without a clear Authorization for Use of Military Force and congressional approval of a resolution to do so.

We failed in the leadership here in this body. That is why, as we go through this resolution, I understand the Turkish sanctions. I understand. But make no mistake about it, by voting "yes" on this resolution, you are authorizing the use of military force of our men and women on Syrian soil.

If force needs to be redeployed to this area, I do not want to hear from any Member of this Chamber, nor the Senate, that we have not authorized our men and women to be there.

It is time for us to set aside political cowardice because we cannot make the hard choices of approving a military force resolution. We should join and unite—the House, the Senate, and the White House—in one congressional declaration that we, if we put our men and women in harm's way, stand by it and stand by the Commander in Chief in regard to that request.

□ 1330

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. CROW).

Mr. CROW. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the distinguished chair and ranking member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Mr. ENGEL and Mr. McCAUL, for their leadership in crafting this joint resolution condemning the administration's decision to withdraw and abandon our Kurdish allies in Syria and leave them to an unlawful assault by Turkish forces.

As a combat veteran, I know firsthand the strength of our Nation is tied to our partnerships and alliances around the globe. During my three deployments to Iraq and Afghanistan, I counted on our local partners for the safety of our soldiers. And those partners depended on the U.S. commitment to them. That relationship forged in a combat zone is built on trust and the belief that our word is our bond.

The administration's reckless decision to withdraw U.S. forces has under-

mined the value of our commitment, not only to our Kurdish allies, who are now isolated in fighting enemies on all sides, but also our other allies around the world. The message that we are sending is that the American handshake doesn't matter. Our withdrawal is an abdication of our moral responsibility to the Kurds and undermines the belief that America is a resolute partner. It has also led to our adversaries like Russia, Iran, the Assad regime, and ISIS exerting greater influence in the region.

Let me be clear, the President's decision makes us less safe and further isolates us from the very allies from whom we have drawn so much strength. The President must immediately reverse his decision to withdraw U.S. personnel from Syria, recommit to our Kurdish allies, and take a firm stance against any further aggression by Turkey against the Kurdish people.

Mr. McCAUL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. GAETZ).

Mr. GAETZ. Mr. Speaker, if Turkey is not acting like a NATO ally, perhaps the sensible solution is to remove Turkey from NATO, rather than keeping the United States inserted in Syria, presumably forever. This is why I oppose this resolution.

I have heard my colleagues say we should not leave Syria without a strategy. Perhaps it is equally logical that we should not stay in Syria without a strategy, because in Syria we have tens of Americans stuck between armies of tens of thousands who have been fighting each other for hundreds of years and who will likely be fighting each other hundreds of years from now.

Our mission to deprive ISIS of caliphate land has largely been accomplished with the help of the Kurds and with over \$9 billion being paid to the Kurds. The Kurds have been fighting bravely where they live, but they have been trained, funded, and equipped by the United States. And we cannot accept the proposition that if we support a group of people because our interests align in one case that this somehow morally binds our country to every conflict that they have past, present, or future; to do this would constrain the utility of America's future alliances, not strengthen them.

The blood of America's patriots is among our Nation's most sacred currency, and it must be spent only when absolutely vital to protect American interests. We are not the world's police force. We are not the world's piggy bank. I support an America first foreign policy, and I oppose this resolution.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I now yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. SHERMAN), the chairman of the Subcommittee on Asia, the Pacific, and Nonproliferation, a very senior and valued member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution, and I rise in

opposition to the recent decision of the Trump administration.

We had a situation in Syria that was stable. We had a modest deployment of American troops. We were successful in limiting American casualties to a very low number. We had defeated the caliphate. Our friends, the Kurds, who had incurred most of the deaths by the many thousands necessary to destroy the ISIS caliphate, were safe. In other words, the situation was stable and favorable to the United States.

Now we have taken an action in which America is humiliated, the Kurds are subject to slaughter, our word means less in the world, and ISIS stands to be revitalized. This is such an obvious mistake. It is hard to find anyone with any knowledge of foreign policy that regards it as anything other than an unforced error. It is such a great mistake that it makes you wonder whether it was an intentional mistake designed to give Russia territory in northeast Syria, for whatever reason we might want to do that.

It is time to reevaluate our policies toward Turkey. Since the 1940s, we have safeguarded Turkey through our membership in NATO and theirs. We protected Turkey from subversion in the 1940s and protected it from the Soviet Union for decades. Recently, over the last 20 years, we have had a policy of obsequious humiliation in our approach to Turkey. We have kowtowed to Ankara in failing to recognize the Armenian genocide.

In doing so, we have taken a foreign policy normally based on truth and honor, and instead, humiliated ourselves through silence and concealment. It is time to recognize the Armenian genocide by an overwhelming vote here in the House. It is time for us to stop dishonor in our relationship with Turkey.

Mr. MCCAUL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. SHIMKUS).

Mr. SHIMKUS. Mr. Speaker, it is great to come down here today and talk on this issue. I have been a little bit outspoken since the decision was made by the executive branch, so it is great to see the legislative branch take a stand and talk about what this policy decision has made. And I am good friends with Chairman MCCAUL and, of course, ELIOT ENGEL who is the chairman of the committee.

As someone who served for many years in the military, and I am very involved with the NATO Parliamentary Assembly and our alliances—alliances and values are important. Walking away from friends is the sad indication of policy that we don't want to support, we don't want to condone. Yes, we want America to be great, but we are also great because of our friends and our allies.

Coalitions are not bad. Coalitions strengthen our public policy around the world. And our relationship with the Kurds goes way back to the first Gulf war and the protection of the

northern Iraqi Kurdish area protecting the air space.

Talk to people in uniform who have been protected by Kurdish fighters throughout these 20 years of involvement in Syria. We give them our word that we will be with them. I liken it to being in a foxhole with someone from another country, and the attack is coming. You don't get out of the foxhole and go to the rear and leave your ally in the foxhole to defend themselves.

We see what is going on. I think this could have been predicted. It is unfortunate. I don't know how we get the genie back in the bottle, but I am glad we are getting a chance to make a statement from Article I of the Constitution to the legislative branch that we think this policy has been wrong and failed and we do it in a strong bipartisan matter.

So I thank both of you for bringing this, and I look forward to voting "yes" on it.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. FRANKEL).

Ms. FRANKEL. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of our Syrian Kurdish allies who have lost thousands of men and women in the fight against ISIS at the behest of the United States of America.

And I join my colleagues on a bipartisan basis to call on Turkey to end its invasion of northern Syria. Giving Turkey the green light to go into this area will go down in history as a moral and strategic disaster.

There so many consequences, Mr. Speaker. Our Kurdish friends were betrayed and slaughtered and are now forced to align with Syrian forces backed by Iran creating an even bigger threat to our friend Israel. ISIS is now unleashed, Russian troops filling our vacuum, and our other allies wondering if we can ever be trusted again.

The Trump administration's weak sanctions are like an arsonist calling in the fire department. Mr. Speaker, we must protect United States soldiers, secure our nuclear weapons in Turkey, provide humanitarian support to the Kurds, and impose crippling sanctions on Turkey until they end their Syrian campaign, and most importantly, pursue a diplomatic solution to end the conflict.

I want to end by thanking Mr. ENGEL and Ranking Member MCCAUL for their bipartisan leadership. I urge adoption of this resolution.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, in the years I have served in this body, I have watched Presidents of both parties make a lot of tough foreign policy decisions; many good, many bad, but I cannot think of a foreign policy decision more reckless and short-sighted than this one. Through all the years that I have been working on the Foreign Affairs Committee, frankly, I have never seen a

President do something that is as aggravating and that should have never been done as what the President did last week.

You know, when the President announced that we were going to leave several months ago, it forced the resignation of the Defense Secretary, Mr. Mattis at the time, who was so upset. That was unprecedented in American history. This is something that is unbelievable and could have been avoided.

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

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I love my 1 minute. I also love my glasses, so I can read what I want to say here. Thank you very much. I rushed up from my office. I was on a conference call. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for keeping it open.

I want to thank Mr. MCCAUL for helping to bring this to the floor.

Mr. Speaker, Americans, of course, knew when President Trump took office that he was inexperienced in foreign policy and national security. That doesn't mean he didn't have opinions, he did. But he hasn't been in the day-to-day work. That was alarming. But also from my view, alarming is his penchant for putting his own self interests ahead of America's interests and America's national security. That troubles the world.

The disastrous consequences are becoming obvious to Americans more and more each day as we watch thousands of our Kurdish allies. And this is not an issue without some complexity, I understand that, but our Kurdish allies fleeing, ISIS gathering strength, and Iran and Russia and Assad advantaged.

There has rightly been broad bipartisan shock and condemnation that President Trump would so recklessly endanger America's allies, permit the release of thousands of violent ISIS extremists and give in to Vladimir Putin's aims in Syria.

In short, he just opened the door for ISIS to reclaim some power.

Any terrorist attack they now take part in will be as a direct result of this action. President Trump has betrayed the trust, in my opinion, of the American people. He has also betrayed America's friends.

The Kurdish forces in northern Syria have been among America's most reliable and effective local allies. It was their blood and sacrifice that led, in part, to us being significantly successful against ISIS. It is their young men and women in uniform who have been guarding ISIS prisoners, who, if released, have vowed to resume attacking Americans and destabilizing the Middle East. And in that effort, we may lose further American lives precious to us, precious to their families, precious to our country.

Our Kurdish allies trusted us to have their backs. Loyalty is a two-way street. It took years to build them into an effective fighting force, now America is turning its back and undoing

years of efforts and progress. How shameful. How irresponsible.

The President said he took this action because he had pledged to get American troops out of the Middle East.

□ 1345

Ironically, he took out about 2,000, or put them someplace else. And guess what? He sent an additional 2,000 troops to the Middle East. Now, it is Saudi Arabia, where ISIS is not, hopefully, doing much, at least where we are sending the troops. But how ironic it is to say that we are going to take troops out of the Middle East, and at the same time, we send more troops into the Middle East.

America's reputation as a world leader depends on the bond of our word. Can we be trusted, or are we simply responsive that day for that issue?

If we abandon our allies, we will have none when we need them to stand with us.

Not only has President Trump abandoned the Kurds, but he has also refused to join with world leaders in considering the Turkish attack in the United Nations.

Instead, he chose to stand with Vladimir Putin and is doing his bidding once again by handing large swaths of Syria over to his control. He is moving in as we speak.

Indeed, as the front page of *The Washington Post* pointed out this week, Russia is now the one country that every country in the Middle East talks to and trusts to be a mediator.

Is that an America that is great? America has abandoned that role and the power it brings.

President Trump has also chosen to stand with Bashar al-Assad, as I said, a tyrant who has gassed his own people with chemical weapons, murdered hundreds of thousands of innocent civilians, and caused the extraordinary refugee challenge that the Europeans have.

He has chosen to play into the hands of the Iranian ayatollahs. The President says Iran is not our friend. He is right. We played into their hands with this action.

In summary, Mr. Speaker, the President's actions empower ISIS, betray our Kurdish allies, embolden Russia, reward the Assad regime, benefit Iran, and endanger Israel.

These developments were sadly predictable.

Experts like Brett McGurk and Secretary Mattis said this is not the right thing to do.

This is not a partisan issue. This is about America. This is about our allies. This is about international security and stability.

From the moment the President made clear he wanted to abandon America's strategic interests in Syria, both McGurk and General Mattis, Secretary Mattis, expressed their opposition.

These developments confirm the worst fears of so many Americans from

both parties who have long questioned this President's wisdom or interest to protect our country and keep it safe in a dangerous world.

It is critical, Mr. Speaker, that this House, the peoples' House, make clear to the world that President Trump's reckless actions do not carry the support of the American people. It is critical that we condemn Turkey's incursion as well, and to do so in a bipartisan way.

That is what this legislation will do.

Mr. Speaker, I commend all of those from the Foreign Affairs Committee who brought this to the floor. I know it was difficult for some, but it is the right thing to do.

The House will do everything in its power to reassure our allies and remind our adversaries that America does not cut and run, that we stand by our word, hold true to our values, and stand with our friends.

I hope they will hear us and understand that this action by this President must not mar the goodwill or erode the steadfast principles upon which our country has engaged with the world throughout our history and surely again in the future.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to vote "yes."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are reminded to refrain from engaging in personalities toward the President.

Mr. McCAUL. Mr. Speaker, I have no more speakers, and I yield myself the balance of my time.

This is one of those rare moments in Congress when we see both sides coming together, exercising our Article I constitutional responsibilities on foreign policy. I can't think of a better committee than this, the Foreign Affairs Committee, to stand unified as a Congress.

This is not just the House, Mr. Speaker. This is a joint resolution with the Senate. This is going to pass the House and the Senate, sending a strong message about our foreign policy.

I believe that we learn from history. The National Archives has an inscription that says, "What is past is prologue." You see, history repeats itself, and we need to learn the lessons from history.

I remember after we withdrew out of Europe after World War I, it allowed the forces of Nazi Germany and Adolf Hitler to raise its ugly head, and it took the Marshall Plan to finally put an end to it.

Then as recently as 2011, in the previous administration, President Obama pulled 10,000 troops out of Iraq. My side of the aisle strongly objected to that foreign policy decision, arguing that it would create a wave of terrorism, and we were right. ISIS reared its ugly head, and the caliphate was formed.

Mr. Speaker, you and I served on the Homeland Security Committee. In the years 2015 to 2016, the terror threat was frightening. My threat briefings were frightening in the SCIF.

External operations being plotted out of Iraq and Syria to kill Americans in the United States, almost one per month, we stopped 95 percent of those threats. The 5 percent is what the American people know about.

But I will tell you this—from that experience, have not we learned anything?—that we need a residual force, if anything, to protect the homeland from terror threats.

Now we have over 10,000 ISIS in-country and over 70,000 family members that are there as part of the insurgency. We had over 30,000 at the time of the peak of the ISIS caliphate. And we can't go back.

I am concerned, Mr. Speaker, that this move will embolden the Russians. The Russians have already gone to our military's campsites and mocked us. They are mocking the United States of America. Iran is there, and ISIS is now emboldened.

We need a residual force to protect us, as we had in Iraq. We need that in Syria, and, yes, we need that in Afghanistan. We can wind down the number of troops, but we need that residual force.

Mr. Speaker, I want to close by saying that I will never forget talking to Condoleezza Rice after she retired at Stanford, and she said that one axiom is true in foreign policy: Your allies must trust you.

Our allies are questioning us right now. We told them, "Trust us. We have your back."

What is happening now, the Kurds are being slaughtered as I speak in northern Syria.

She also said another thing: Our allies must trust us, and our enemies must fear us.

That is my foreign policy. It is Condoleezza Rice's foreign policy. I think it is a good foreign policy.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for working with me to stand up on this very important issue.

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

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON LEE).

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, let me thank the chairman and ranking member for coming together.

I was on the floor earlier, and I held up *The New York Times* that says: "Syrian Forces Rush Into U.S. Void," and, "Battle Lines Shifting to the Benefit of Iran, Russia and ISIS."

We worked very hard to get Turkey into NATO and to respect it for its secular position and its embracing of the ideals of democracy, but to now be the cause of thousands fleeing out of violence and bombing, now being the cause of ISIS supporters and families escaping, now being the cause of ISIS fighters escaping, and not listening to any form of reconciliation to put Russia as the mainstay is absolutely unacceptable.

I believe that these sanctions and this rebuke and this resolution that

has indicated it was wrong to green-light the Turkish military incursion into Syria's Kurdish territory, expressing strong support for Syrian Kurdish forces who were our allies, and calling on Turkey to immediately cease military action in northeast Syria is a question of our national security.

I add that there should be a no-fly zone. I know how challenging that would be for Turkey not to be flying over northern Syria.

It is important that we do what we need to do to save the precious lives of those children, some of whom have already died, and those who are fleeing the violence.

Mr. Speaker, let us pass this resolution, H.J. Res. 77, but let us find a way to bring some peace and stand down in that region, and also to thank the United States military, which should not have been moved. I ask my colleagues to support H.J. Res. 77.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, in closing, I yield myself as much time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, as I mentioned before, in the years I have served in this body, I have watched Presidents of both parties make a lot of tough foreign policy decisions, many good, many bad, but I cannot think of a foreign policy decision more reckless and shortsighted than this one that was made by President Trump.

The President of the United States, as a result, has empowered ISIS; betrayed our loyal partners, the Kurds; and jeopardized our national security.

Congress must condemn this loudly and clearly. Today's resolution sends a resounding message to the White House and the world: We reject President Trump's disgraceful failure in foreign policy.

Mr. Speaker, I urge all Members to stand by our partners, stand by our promises, stand by our values, and support this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I commend my partner on the Foreign Affairs Committee, Mr. MCCAUL. It takes a lot of courage to do what he did today, and I thank him for it. That is why, as he and I both mentioned, we are proud that the Foreign Affairs Committee is perhaps the most bipartisan committee in Congress.

When we go abroad, partisanship should stop at the water's edge. We all, Democrat and Republican, feel outraged at what the President did. We all feel that our allies need to be supported. That transcends any kind of partisan politics.

Mr. Speaker, I urge all of our colleagues to support this bipartisan measure, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New York (Mr. ENGEL) that the House suspend the rules and pass the joint resolution, H.J. Res. 77.

The question was taken.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In the opinion of the Chair, two-thirds being in the affirmative, the ayes have it.

Mr. ENGEL. 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 motion will be postponed.

□ 1400

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Proceedings will resume on questions previously postponed.

Votes will be taken in the following order:

Ordering the previous question on House Resolution 629;

Adoption of House Resolution 629, if ordered; and

The motion to suspend the rules and pass H.J. Res. 77.

The first electronic vote will be conducted as a 15-minute vote. Pursuant to clause 9 of rule XX, remaining electronic votes will be conducted as 5-minute votes.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 1815, SEC DISCLOSURE EFFECTIVENESS TESTING ACT, AND PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 3624, OUTSOURCING ACCOUNTABILITY ACT OF 2019

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, the unfinished business is the vote on ordering the previous question on the resolution (H. Res. 629) providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 1815) to require the Securities and Exchange Commission, when developing rules and regulations about disclosures to retail investors, to conduct investor testing, including a survey and interviews of retail investors, and for other purposes, and providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 3624) to amend the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 to require the disclosure of the total number of domestic and foreign employees of certain public companies, and for other purposes, on which the yeas and nays were ordered.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on ordering the previous question.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 228, nays 191, not voting 13, as follows:

[Roll No. 558]

YEAS—228

Adams	Bonamici	Casten (IL)
Aguilar	Boyle, Brendan	Castor (FL)
Allred	F.	Castro (TX)
Axne	Brindisi	Chu, Judy
Barragán	Brown (MD)	Cicilline
Bass	Brownley (CA)	Cisneros
Beatty	Bustos	Clark (MA)
Bera	Butterfield	Clarke (NY)
Beyer	Carbajal	Clay
Bishop (GA)	Carson (IN)	Cleaver
Blumenauer	Cartwright	Clyburn
Blunt Rochester	Case	Cohen

Connolly	Kaptur	Porter
Cooper	Keating	Pressley
Correa	Kelly (IL)	Price (NC)
Costa	Kennedy	Quigley
Courtney	Khanna	Raskin
Cox (CA)	Kildee	Rice (NY)
Craig	Kilmer	Richmond
Crist	Kim	Rose (NY)
Crow	Kind	Rouda
Cuellar	Kirkpatrick	Roybal-Allard
Cunningham	Krishnamoorthi	Ruiz
Davids (KS)	Kuster (NH)	Ruppersberger
Davis (CA)	Lamb	Rush
Davis, Danny K.	Langevin	Sánchez
Dean	Larsen (WA)	Sarbanes
DeFazio	Larson (CT)	Scanlon
DeGette	Lawrence	Schakowsky
DeLauro	Lee (CA)	Schiff
DelBene	Lee (NV)	Schneider
Delgado	Levin (CA)	Schrader
Demings	Levin (MI)	Schrier
DeSaulnier	Lewis	Scott (VA)
Deutch	Lieu, Ted	Scott, David
Dingell	Lipinski	Serrano
Doggett	Loeback	Sewell (AL)
Doyle, Michael	Lofgren	Shalala
F.	Lowenthal	Sherman
Engel	Lowey	Sherrill
Escobar	Lujan	Sires
Eshoo	Luria	Slotkin
Espallat	Lynch	Smith (WA)
Evans	Malinowski	Soto
Finkenauer	Maloney,	Spanberger
Fletcher	Carolyn B.	Speier
Foster	Maloney, Sean	Stanton
Frankel	Matsui	Stevens
Fudge	McAdams	Suozi
Gallego	McBath	Swalwell (CA)
Garamendi	McCollum	Takano
Garcia (IL)	McGovern	Thompson (CA)
Garcia (TX)	McNerney	Thompson (MS)
Golden	Meeks	Titus
Gomez	Meng	Tlaib
Gonzalez (TX)	Moore	Tonko
Gottheimer	Morelle	Torres (CA)
Green, Al (TX)	Moulton	Torres Small
Grijalva	Mucarsel-Powell	(NM)
Haaland	Murphy (FL)	Trahan
Harder (CA)	Nadler	Trone
Hastings	Napolitano	Underwood
Hayes	Neal	Van Drew
Heck	Neguse	Vargas
Higgins (NY)	Norcross	Veasey
Hill (CA)	O'Halleran	Vela
Himes	Ocasio-Cortez	Velázquez
Horn, Kendra S.	Pallone	Visclosky
Horsford	Panetta	Wasserman
Houlahan	Pappas	Schultz
Hoyer	Pascrell	Waters
Hudson	Payne	Watson Coleman
Huffman	Perlmutter	Welch
Jackson Lee	Peters	Wexton
Jayapal	Peterson	Wild
Jeffries	Phillips	Wilson (FL)
Johnson (GA)	Pingree	Yarmuth
Johnson (TX)	Pocan	

NAYS—191

Abraham	Cheney	Gonzalez (OH)
Aderholt	Cline	Gooden
Allen	Cloud	Gosar
Amash	Cole	Granger
Amodeli	Collins (GA)	Graves (GA)
Armstrong	Comer	Graves (LA)
Arrington	Conaway	Graves (MO)
Babin	Cook	Green (TN)
Bacon	Crawford	Griffith
Baird	Crenshaw	Grothman
Balderson	Curtis	Guest
Banks	Davidson (OH)	Guthrie
Barr	Davis, Rodney	Hagedorn
Bergman	DesJarlais	Harris
Biggs	Diaz-Balart	Hartzler
Bilirakis	Duncan	Hern, Kevin
Bishop (UT)	Dunn	Herrera Beutler
Bost	Emmer	Hice (GA)
Brady	Estes	Higgins (LA)
Brooks (AL)	Ferguson	Hill (AR)
Brooks (IN)	Fitzpatrick	Holding
Buchanan	Fleischmann	Hollingsworth
Buck	Flores	Huizenga
Bucshon	Fortenberry	Hunter
Burchett	Fox (NC)	Hurd (TX)
Burgess	Fulcher	Johnson (LA)
Byrne	Gaetz	Johnson (OH)
Calvert	Gallagher	Johnson (SD)
Carter (GA)	Gianforte	Jordan
Carter (TX)	Gibbs	Joyce (OH)
Chabot	Gohmert	Joyce (PA)