

MARKUP VARIOUS MEASURES

MARKUP BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

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MARKUP OF VARIOUS MEASURES

Wednesday, June 21, 2023

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Washington, DC.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:12 a.m., in room 210, House Visitor Center, Hon. Michael McCaul (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Chairman McCAUL. A quorum being present, the Committee on Foreign Affairs will come to order.

The committee is meeting today for consideration of H.R. 3033, Solidify Iran Sanctions Act of 2023, H.Res. 492, condemning the Government of Iran's State-sponsored persecution of the Baha'i minority and its continued violation of the International Covenants on Human Rights, H.Res. 488, calling on the Biden Administration to immediately provide Army Tactical Missile Systems, otherwise known as ATACMS, to Ukraine, H.R. 4039, to prohibit the use of funds supporting any activities within Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China, H.R. 4132, to provide for the imposition of sanctions with respect to forced organ harvesting within the People's Republic of China and for other purposes, and H.R. 1150, the John Lewis Civil Rights Fellowship Act of 2023.

The chair announces that any requests for recorded votes may be rolled. And he may recess the committee at any point. Without objection, so ordered.

Pursuant to House rules, I request that members have the opportunity to submit views for any committee report that may be produced on any of today's measures. And without objection, so ordered.

Pursuant to notice, I now call up measures and their amendments that were circulated in advance, which without objection will be considered en bloc. And each measure is considered as read and the amendments to each are considered as read and are agreed to.

And without objection, after remarks the committee will vote to order the measures favorably reported en bloc as amended, if amended. And each measure so amended shall be reported as single amendment in the nature of a substitute. I hope everybody understood what I just said.

The measures in the en block package are H.R. 3033, Solidify Iran Sanctions Act of 2023, H.Res. 492, condemning the Government of Iran's State-sponsored persecution of the Baha'i minority, H.R. 4039, prohibit the use of funds supporting any activities within the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China, with the Moran amendment number 23 in the nature of a substitute, H.R. 4132, to provide for the imposition of sanctions

with respect to forced organ harvesting within the People's Republic of China and for other purposes, with the Perry amendment number 224 in the nature of a substitute, and H.R. 1150, the John Lewis Civil Rights Fellowship Act of 2023.

[The Bills H.R. 3033, H.Res. 492, H.R. 4039, H.R. 4132, and H.R. 1150 follow:]

118TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 3033

To repeal the sunset provision of the Iran Sanctions Act of 1996, and
for other purposes.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

APRIL 28, 2023

Mrs. STEEL (for herself, Mrs. LEE of Nevada, Mr. McCAUL, Mr. WALTZ, Mr. FALLON, Mr. TRONE, Mr. WITTMAN, Ms. MENG, Ms. SALAZAR, Mr. CLINE, Mr. GIMENEZ, Mr. NORCROSS, Mr. RUTHERFORD, Mr. KEAN of New Jersey, Mrs. LESKO, Ms. CRAIG, Mr. LANGWORTHY, Mr. GOTTHEIMER, Mr. LAWLER, Mr. CISCOMANI, Ms. WILD, Mr. ZINKE, Mr. CRAWFORD, Mr. SCHNEIDER, and Mr. JOYCE of Ohio) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and in addition to the Committees on Financial Services, the Judiciary, Ways and Means, and Oversight and Accountability, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

A BILL

To repeal the sunset provision of the Iran Sanctions Act
of 1996, and for other purposes.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4 This Act may be cited as the “Solidify Iran Sanctions
5 Act of 2023”.

1 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

2 Congress makes the following findings:

3 (1) The Iran Sanctions Act of 1996 (Public
4 Law 104–172; 50 U.S.C. 1701 note) requires the
5 imposition of sanctions with respect to Iran’s illicit
6 weapons programs, conventional weapons and bal-
7 listic missile development, and support for terrorism,
8 including Iran’s Revolutionary Guards Corps.

9 (2) The Government of Iran has acquired de-
10 stabilizing conventional weapons systems from the
11 Russian Federation and other malign actors, and is
12 funneling weapons and financial support to its ter-
13 rorist proxies throughout the Middle East, threat-
14 ening allies and partners of the United States, such
15 as Israel.

16 **SEC. 3. STATEMENT OF POLICY.**

17 It is the policy of the United States to fully imple-
18 ment and enforce the Iran Sanctions Act of 1996 (Public
19 Law 104–172; 50 U.S.C. 1701 note).

20 **SEC. 4. REPEAL OF SUNSET.**

21 Section 13 of the Iran Sanctions Act of 1996 (Public
22 Law 104–172; 50 U.S.C. 1701 note) is amended—

23 (1) in the section heading, by striking “; **SUN-**
24 **SET**”;

25 (2) by striking “(a) EFFECTIVE DATE.—”; and

5

3

1 (3) by striking subsection (b).

○

118TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. RES. 492

Condemning the Government of Iran's state-sponsored persecution of the Baha'i minority and its continued violation of the International Covenants on Human Rights.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JUNE 9, 2023

Ms. SCHAKOWSKY (for herself, Mr. McCAUL, Mr. MEEKS, Mr. BEYER, Mr. BILIRAKIS, Mr. BLUMENAUER, Mr. CONNOLLY, Ms. DEAN of Pennsylvania, Ms. HOULAHAN, Mr. HUFFMAN, Mr. KEATING, Mr. KILMER, Mr. KIM of New Jersey, Mr. KRISHNAMOORTHY, Mr. LAMALFA, Ms. LEE of California, Mr. MCGOVERN, Ms. MENG, Mr. MOULTON, Mr. OBERNOLTE, Mr. PETERS, Mr. SCHNEIDER, Ms. SCHRIER, Ms. TITUS, Mr. VARGAS, Ms. WEXTON, Ms. WILLIAMS of Georgia, Mr. WILSON of South Carolina, and Mr. WITTMAN) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

RESOLUTION

Condemning the Government of Iran's state-sponsored persecution of the Baha'i minority and its continued violation of the International Covenants on Human Rights.

Whereas in 1982, 1984, 1988, 1990, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2009, 2012, 2013, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2020, 2021 and 2022, Congress declared that it deplored the religious persecution by the Government of Iran of the Baha'i community and would hold the Government of Iran responsible for upholding

the rights of all Iranian nationals, including members of the Baha'i faith;

Whereas, since 1979, Iranian authorities have killed or executed more than 200 Baha'i leaders, and more than 10,000 Baha'is have been dismissed from government and university jobs;

Whereas June 18, 2023, marks the 40th anniversary of the execution of 10 Baha'i women by the Iranian Government each witnessing the hanging of those hanged before her in a final failed attempt to induce abandonment of their faith after over 6 months of imprisonment and violent abuse, with the youngest only 17 years old;

Whereas, on December 15, 2022, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution (A/C.3/77/L.34) criticizing Iran for human rights abuses and calling on Iran to carry out wide-ranging reforms, including—

(1) to end its “continuing disregard for protections under Iranian law or internationally recognized safeguards relating to the imposition of the death penalty” and “to commute the sentences for child offenders on death row”;

(2) “to ensure, in law and in practice, that no one is subjected to torture or other cruel, inhumane or degrading treatment”;

(3) “to cease the widespread and systematic use of arbitrary arrests and detention”;

(4) “to release persons detained for the exercise of their human rights and fundamental freedoms”;

(5) “to address the poor conditions of prisons”;

(6) “to eliminate, in law and in practice, all forms of systemic discrimination and other human rights violations against women and girls”;

(7) to cease the “increased harassment, intimidation, persecution, arbitrary arrest and detention of, and incitement to hatred that leads to violence against, persons belonging to recognized and unrecognized religious minorities, including Christians (particularly converts from Islam), Gonabadi Dervishes, Jews, Sufi Muslims, Sunni Muslims, Yarsanis, Zoroastrians, and, in particular, Baha’is, who have been subjected to a sudden increase in persecution, who have faced increasing restrictions and systemic persecution by the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran on account of their faith and have been reportedly subjected to mass arrests and lengthy prison sentences, as well as the arrest of prominent members and increased confiscation and destruction of property”; and

(8) “to release all religious practitioners imprisoned for their membership in or activities on behalf of a minority religious group, to cease the desecration of cemeteries and to ensure that everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion or belief”;

Whereas, in the 2023 Annual Report of the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom issued in April 2023, it is reported that—

(1) the Government of Iran “escalated its persecution of Baha’is, conducting nationwide arrests and spreading propaganda against the group”;

(2) in February [2022], Judge Mohammadghasem Ain al-Kamali of Branch 1 of the Semnan Revolutionary Court ruled that [the parastatal entity known as] the Execution of Imam Khomeini’s Order (EIKO) could legally confiscate the property of Baha’is . . . Branch 54 of the Tehran Appeals Court upheld the decision in Au-

gust following the destruction of six Baha'i houses in Rooshankoooh;

(3) government officials arrested 14 Baha'is during a religious study in Ghaemshahr; and

(4) the Government of Iran "continued its systematic campaign of Baha'i arrests" throughout the latter part of 2022;

Whereas, in response to a surge in persecution in June and July 2022, involving the subjection of over 100 Baha'is to arrests, arraignments, sentencing, and raids on their homes and businesses across Iran, including the sentencing in June of 26 individuals in the city of Shiraz to a combined total of 85 years in prison, the Department of State's Office of International Religious Freedom issued a statement on August 2, 2022, indicating that "[a]mid a continued rise in arrests, sentences, and imprisonments, the U.S. urges Iran to halt its ongoing oppression of the Baha'i community and honor its international obligations to respect the right of all Iranians to freedom of religion or belief";

Whereas the Iran section of the Department of State's 2022 Report on International Religious Freedom issued in May 2023 provides, in part—

(1) "According to the Baha'i International Community (BIC), Amnesty International, multiple international news organizations, and the United Nations, in July and August, security forces in cities across the country conducted multiple raids of Baha'i homes, confiscated property deemed 'illegitimate wealth,' and arrested Baha'is in their homes or workplaces on unsubstantiated charges including 'causing intellectual and ideological insecurity in Muslim society.'";

(2) “In August, a group of UN human rights experts released a joint statement calling on the government to stop the increasing arbitrary arrests and enforced disappearances of members of the Baha’i Faith and the destruction or confiscation of their properties in what the experts said ‘bears all the signs of a policy of systematic persecution’.”; and

(3) “In their August 22 statement, the UN experts stated that as of April, more than 1,000 Baha’is awaited imprisonment, following their initial arrest and hearings.”;

Whereas, on November 21, 2022, Ms. Mahvash Sabet and Ms. Fariba Kamalabadi, 2 former members of the disbanded informal 7-person leadership group of the Baha’is of Iran, who each served 10-year sentences from 2008 to 2018 and have been detained since July 31, 2022, in Evin prison, were sentenced to an additional 10 years in prison each after a summary trial lasting 1 hour; and on February 10, 2023, another former member of the disbanded leadership group, Mr. Afif Naimi, who had also served a 10-year sentence from 2008 to 2018, was sentenced on February 10, 2023, to 7 years in prison, which he began to serve on April 29, 2023;

Whereas, on December 11, 2022, the Baha’i International Community organization reported that, “More than 320 Baha’is have been affected by individual acts of persecution since the arrest [on July 31, 2022] of Mahvash [Sabet] and Fariba [Kamalabadi]. Dozens were arrested at various points in Shiraz, across Mazandaran province, and elsewhere throughout the country. Homes owned by Baha’is in the village of Roshankouh were demolished. Government plans to tar the Baha’is through hate speech

and propaganda were also exposed. And at least 90 Baha'is are currently in prison or subject to degrading ankle-band monitoring.”;

Whereas, on April 21, 2023, the Department of State’s Office of International Religious Freedom issued a statement in a tweet indicating that, “[w]e are deeply concerned following the news of Mahvash Sabet’s injuries sustained while in prison. No one should be punished for their faith. We call on Iranian authorities to make sure Mrs. Sabet receives medical attention immediately and release her.”;

Whereas Iran is a member of the United Nations and a signatory to both the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, among other international human rights treaties, without reservation;

Whereas section 105 of the Comprehensive Iran Sanctions, Accountability, and Divestment Act of 2010 (22 U.S.C. 8514) authorizes the President to impose sanctions on individuals who are “responsible for or complicit in, or responsible for ordering, controlling, or otherwise directing, the commission of serious human rights abuses against citizens of Iran or their family members on or after June 12, 2009”; and

Whereas the Iran Threat Reduction and Syria Human Rights Act of 2012 (Public Law 112–158) amends and expands the authorities established under the Comprehensive Iran Sanctions, Accountability, and Divestment Act of 2010 (Public Law 111–195) to sanction Iranian human rights abusers: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved*, That the House of Representatives—

1 (1) condemns the Government of Iran's state-
2 sponsored persecution of the Baha'i minority in Iran
3 and the continued violation of the Universal Dec-
4 laration of Human Rights and the International
5 Covenant on Civil and Political Rights;

6 (2) calls on the Government of Iran—

7 (A) to immediately release the imprisoned
8 or detained Baha'is and all other prisoners held
9 solely on account of their religion;

10 (B) to end its state-sponsored campaign of
11 hate propaganda against the Baha'is; and

12 (C) to reverse state-imposed policies deny-
13 ing Baha'is and members of other religious mi-
14 norities equal opportunities to higher education,
15 earning a livelihood, due process under the law,
16 and the free exercise of religious practices;

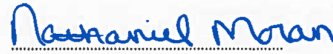
17 (3) calls on the President and the Secretary of
18 State, in cooperation with responsible nations, to im-
19 mediately condemn the Government of Iran's contin-
20 ued violation of human rights, and demand the im-
21 mediate release of prisoners held solely on account
22 of their religion; and

23 (4) urges the President and the Secretary of
24 State to utilize available authorities to impose sanc-
25 tions on officials of the Government of Iran and

- 1 other individuals directly responsible for serious
- 2 human rights abuses, including abuses against the
- 3 Baha'i community of Iran.



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(Original Signature of Member)

118TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION**H. R. 4039**To prohibit the use of funds supporting any activities within the Xinjiang
Uyghur Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. MORAN introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee
on _____**A BILL**To prohibit the use of funds supporting any activities within
the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of the People's
Republic of China.1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4 This Act may be cited as the “____ Act”.

*NO DOLLARS TO UYGHUR
FORCED LABOR*

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1 **SEC. 2. PROHIBITION ON USE OF FUNDS SUPPORTING ANY**
 2 **ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE XINJIANG UYGHUR**
 3 **AUTONOMOUS REGION OF THE PEOPLE'S RE-**
 4 **PUBLIC OF CHINA.**

5 (a) IN GENERAL.—No funds available to the Depart-
 6 ment of State or the United States Agency for Inter-
 7 national Development may be used to develop, design,
 8 plan, promulgate, implement, or execute a policy, pro-
 9 gram, or contract that uses goods, wares, articles, or mer-
 10 chandise mined, produced, or manufactured wholly or in
 11 part in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of the
 12 People's Republic of China or produced by a covered enti-
 13 ty, unless such activity is specifically authorized pursuant
 14 to subsection (b).

15 (b) SPECIFIC AUTHORIZATION.—The Secretary of
 16 State may specifically authorize an activity otherwise pro-
 17 hibited by subsection (a) if—

18 (1) the Secretary—

19 (A) determines, by clear and convincing
 20 evidence, that the good, ware, article, or mer-
 21 chandise was not mined, produced, or manufac-
 22 tured wholly or in part by forced labor; and

23 (B) provides notice to the Chair and Rank-
 24 ing Member of the Committee on Foreign Af-
 25 fairs of the House of Representatives and the
 26 Chair and Ranking Member of the Committee

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1 on Foreign Relations of the Senate not later
2 than 15 days before authorizing the activity;
3 and

4 (2) Congress has not otherwise prohibited the
5 activity pursuant to enactment of a joint resolution.

6 (c) DEFINITIONS.—In this section—

7 (1) the term “covered entity” means an entity
8 listed pursuant to clause (i), (ii), (iv), or (v) of sec-
9 tion 2(d)(2)(B) of Public Law 117–78 (135 Stat.
10 1527) under the strategy developed by section 2(c)
11 of such Public Law 117–78; and

12 (2) the term “forced labor” has the meaning
13 given that term in section 307 of the Tariff Act of
14 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1307).

**AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE
TO H.R. 4039
OFFERED BY MR. MORAN OF TEXAS**

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

1 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

2 This Act may be cited as the “No Dollars to Uyghur
3 Forced Labor Act”.

**4 SEC. 2. PROHIBITION ON USE OF FUNDS SUPPORTING ANY
5 ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE XINJIANG UYGHUR
6 AUTONOMOUS REGION OF THE PEOPLE’S RE-
7 PUBLIC OF CHINA.**

8 (a) IN GENERAL.—No funds available to the Depart-
9 ment of State or the United States Agency for Inter-
10 national Development may be used to develop, design,
11 plan, promulgate, implement, or execute a policy, pro-
12 gram, or contract that knowingly uses goods, wares, arti-
13 cles, or merchandise mined, produced, or manufactured
14 wholly or in part in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Re-
15 gion of the People’s Republic of China or produced by a
16 covered entity, unless such activity is specifically author-
17 ized pursuant to subsection (b).

1 (b) SPECIFIC AUTHORIZATION.—The Secretary of
2 State may specifically authorize an activity otherwise pro-
3 hibited by subsection (a) if—

4 (1) the Secretary—

5 (A) obtains in writing an assurance from
6 the relevant program partner, implementor, or
7 contractor that such partner, implementor, or
8 contractor—

9 (i) will not use goods, wares, articles,
10 or merchandise mined, produced, or manu-
11 factured wholly or in part in Xinjiang
12 Uyghur Autonomous Region of the PRC
13 with respect to the program; and

14 (ii) will develop a system to ensure
15 compliance with the requirements in sub-
16 section (a); and

17 (B) provides notice to the Chair and Rank-
18 ing Member of the Committee on Foreign Af-
19 fairs of the House of Representatives and the
20 Chair and Ranking Member of the Committee
21 on Foreign Relations of the Senate not later
22 than 15 days before authorizing the activity;
23 and

24 (2) the activity is not otherwise prohibited.

1 (c) REPORT.—The Secretary of State shall submit to
2 the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Rep-
3 resentatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations of
4 the Senate a report on an annual basis for three years
5 that describes—

6 (1) all activities prohibited by subsection (a)
7 that were carried out in violation of such prohibition
8 and not specifically authorized pursuant to sub-
9 section (b) in the previous year;

10 (2) any challenges in enforcing the require-
11 ments of this section; and

12 (3) a plan to improve enforcement of the re-
13 quirements of this section.

14 (e) DEFINITIONS.—In this section—

15 (1) the term “covered entity” means an entity
16 listed pursuant to clause (i), (ii), (iv), or (v) of sec-
17 tion 2(d)(2)(B) of Public Law 117–78 (135 Stat.
18 1527) under the strategy developed by section 2(c)
19 of such Public Law 117–78; and

20 (2) the term “forced labor” has the meaning
21 given that term in section 307 of the Tariff Act of
22 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1307).



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[117H6319]

.....
 (Original Signature of Member)

118TH CONGRESS
 1ST SESSION

H. R. 4132

To provide for the imposition of sanctions with respect to forced organ
 harvesting within the People's Republic of China, and for other purposes.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. PERRY introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee
 on _____

A BILL

To provide for the imposition of sanctions with respect to
 forced organ harvesting within the People's Republic of
 China, and for other purposes.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
 2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4 This Act may be cited as the “Falun Gong Protection
 5 Act”.

6 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

7 Congress finds the following:

1 (1) Falun Gong is a spiritual practice in the
2 Buddhist tradition that espouses the principles of
3 truthfulness, compassion, and forbearance. The
4 practice was introduced in China by Mr. Li Hongzhi
5 in 1992 and aims to improve physical, psychological,
6 and spiritual well-being through exercise, meditation,
7 and moral improvement.

8 (2) On July 20, 1999, after years of escalating
9 harassment by the government, then-General Sec-
10 retary Jiang Zemin launched an intensive, nation-
11 wide persecution designed to eradicate Falun Gong.
12 Since then, the People's Republic of China (PRC)
13 has detained hundreds of thousands of Falun Gong
14 practitioners.

15 (3) In its 2020 Report on International Reli-
16 gious Freedom, released on May 12, 2021, the De-
17 partment of State stated in its entry on China,
18 "Prior to the government's 1999 ban on Falun
19 Gong, the government estimated there were 70 mil-
20 lion adherents. Falun Gong sources estimate tens of
21 millions continue to practice privately, and Freedom
22 House estimates seven to 20 million practitioners."

23 (4) Freedom House in its Freedom in the
24 World 2021 report entry on China stated that "the
25 regime's campaign to eradicate the Falun Gong spir-

1 itual group continued in 2020. Hundreds of Falun
2 Gong practitioners have received long prison terms
3 in recent years, and many others are arbitrarily de-
4 tained in various ‘legal education’ facilities. Detain-
5 ees typically face torture aimed at forcing them to
6 abandon their beliefs, sometimes resulting in deaths
7 in custody.”.

8 (5) In its 2021 report, the United States Com-
9 mission on International Religious Freedom stated
10 in its key findings for China, “according to reports,
11 thousands of Falun Gong practitioners were har-
12 assed and arrested during 2020 for practicing their
13 faith, and some likely died due to abuse and torture
14 while in custody. Credible international reports also
15 suggested that organ harvesting, including from
16 Falun Gong practitioners, likely continued.”.

17 (6) The widespread, systematic, state-sponsored
18 persecution of the Falun Gong by the Chinese Com-
19 munist Party leadership of the PRC constitutes a
20 clear violation of Falun Gong practitioners’ basic
21 human rights and may constitute genocide.

22 (7) The campaign against Falun Gong is over-
23 seen by central branches of the Chinese Communist
24 Party, including the so-called “Central Leading
25 Group on Preventing and Dealing with Heretical Re-

1 ligions”. On May 12, 2021, Yu Hui, a former Office
2 Director of this group, was targeted for sanctions by
3 the United States Government.

4 (8) Reports, such as those mentioned in this
5 legislation, suggest that China’s organ transplan-
6 tation system does not comply with the majority of
7 the World Health Organization’s Guiding Principles
8 on Human Cell, Tissue and Organ Transplantation,
9 insofar as organs are said to be primarily sourced
10 from prisoners without voluntary consent, organs are
11 reported to be traded for payment, the level of trans-
12 parency and traceability in the organ procurement
13 process is low, and the Chinese Communist Party
14 has prevented independent or impartial inspection,
15 scrutiny and verification of its transplant system.

16 (9) On June 14, 2021, a joint statement by
17 United Nations human rights experts expressed ex-
18 treme alarm over “reports of alleged ‘organ har-
19 vesting’ targeting minorities, including Falun Gong
20 practitioners, Uyghurs, Tibetans, Muslims, and
21 Christians in detention in China”.

22 (10) Based on independent research and official
23 statistics, it is clear that many organ transplants
24 conducted in the PRC do not meet internationally
25 accepted ethical standards.

1 (11) Freedom House in its Freedom in the
2 World 2021 report entry on China stated that “The
3 government claims it has ended the transplantation
4 of organs from executed prisoners. However, the
5 scale of the transplantation industry and the speed
6 with which some organs are procured far exceed
7 what is feasible via the country’s nascent voluntary
8 donation system and there is growing international
9 attention to possible crimes against humanity in con-
10 nection with the practice.”.

11 (12) A 2019 forensic statistical analysis of
12 organ donation data in the PRC, published in the
13 BMC Medical Ethics journal, concluded the fol-
14 lowing: “China’s apparent systematic falsification of
15 national organ donation data severely undermines
16 the good faith efforts being made to integrate China
17 into the international transplantation community.”.

18 (13) The United States had approximately 145
19 million registered organ donors in 2019: 19,257 per-
20 sons donated their organs, resulting in 39,719 trans-
21 plants; the ratio of actual donors to registered do-
22 nors is approximately 0.00013. Similar ratios are
23 observed in the United Kingdom, Canada and other
24 countries. By contrast, the PRC claimed to have
25 more than 900,000 registered organ donors by early

1 2019; data from China also indicates 5,818 organ
2 donors and 19,454 transplants in 2019, resulting in
3 a ratio of actual donors to registered donors of
4 0.0057. Although this comparison does not control
5 for other possible variables, the fact that China's
6 nascent organ donation program yielded 44 times
7 more organ donors from its organ donation pool
8 than that of the United States in 2019 merits inter-
9 national scrutiny.

10 (14) Credible evidence suggests that Falun
11 Gong practitioners are subject to widespread forced
12 organ harvesting and are specifically targeted for
13 this barbaric practice.

14 (15) In January of 2007, Canadian human
15 rights attorney David Matas and former Canadian
16 Secretary of State for the Asia Pacific region David
17 Kilgour published findings confirming the likelihood
18 that forced organ harvesting of Falun Gong practi-
19 tioners was occurring in China. They also concluded
20 that there was no evidence of a voluntary donation
21 system in the PRC at the time and that, in spite of
22 this, the Chinese Government reported a dramatic
23 escalation in its organ transplantation infrastructure
24 (a three-fold increase) between 1999 and 2004, par-
25 allel to the onset of the persecution of Falun Gong.

1 (16) In 2016, Matas, Kilgour, and investigative
2 journalist Ethan Gutmann published an exhaustive
3 report concluding that it is likely that between
4 60,000 and 100,000 organ transplants had been
5 conducted per year since 2000, and that Falun Gong
6 practitioners are the main source of organs for
7 transplant in China.

8 (17) In its annual report for 2020, the Con-
9 gressional-Executive Commission on China ref-
10 erenced reports raising concerns about the PRC fal-
11 sifying organ donation data, casting additional doubt
12 on the CCP's claim to have ended forced organ har-
13 vesting.

14 (18) On March 1, 2020, the Independent Tri-
15 bunal into Forced Organ Harvesting from Prisoners
16 of Conscience in China, an investigative entity
17 known as a people's tribunal commissioned by the
18 International Coalition to End Transplant Abuse in
19 China, composed of relevant legal, cultural, and
20 medical experts and led by Sir Geoffrey Nice, re-
21 leased its final judgment, including—

22 (A) very large numbers of transplant oper-
23 ations have been carried out in the PRC. The
24 Tribunal assessed as credible the numbers of
25 operations being between 60,000 and 90,000

1 annually in the years 2000 to 2014. The num-
2 ber of eligible registered donors was reportedly
3 5,146 in 2017, leaving an incomprehensible
4 gap;

5 (B) “Forced organ harvesting has been
6 committed for years throughout China on a sig-
7 nificant scale and that Falun Gong practi-
8 tioners have been one—and probably the
9 main—source of organ supply”;

10 (C) “Falun Gong practitioners in detention
11 were systematically subjected to blood tests and
12 organ examinations” while other prisoners were
13 not tested, suggesting that Falun Gong practi-
14 tioners were specifically selected or targeted for
15 these medical examinations; and

16 (D) “. . . the PRC and its leaders actively
17 incited the persecution, the imprisonment, mur-
18 der, torture and the humiliation of Falun Gong
19 practitioners with the sole purpose of elimi-
20 nating the practice of, and belief in, the value
21 of Falun Gong.”.

22 (19) The international nongovernmental organi-
23 zation Doctors Against Forced Organ Harvesting
24 presented a petition with over three million signa-
25 tures collected worldwide between 2012 to 2018 to

1 the United Nations High Commissioner for Human
2 Rights, calling for an investigation into forced organ
3 harvesting of Falun Gong that went unheeded.

4 (20) In June 2016, the House of Representa-
5 tives passed its fifth resolution condemning China's
6 persecution of Falun Gong with H. Res. 343 114,
7 "Expressing concern regarding persistent and cred-
8 ible reports of systematic, state-sanctioned organ
9 harvesting from non-consenting prisoners of con-
10 science in the People's Republic of China, including
11 from large numbers of Falun Gong practitioners and
12 members of other religious and ethnic minority
13 groups" and calling for an end to the "eradication"
14 campaign of Falun Gong and forced organ har-
15 vesting.

16 **SEC. 3. SENSE OF CONGRESS.**

17 It is the sense of Congress that—

18 (1) killing a human being through involuntary
19 organ extraction is an egregious violation of uni-
20 versal standards of medical ethics and is in direct
21 contradiction of basic standards of human decency;

22 (2) the forced harvesting of organs violates Ar-
23 ticle 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human
24 Rights, which states that "Everyone has the right to
25 life, liberty and security of person.", and Article 4,

1 which states that “No one shall be held in slavery
2 or servitude.”;

3 (3) the United Nations Human Rights Council
4 should issue a formal condemnation of the People’s
5 Republic of China (PRC) for its persecution of
6 Falun Gong;

7 (4) any collaboration with or participation in
8 the PRC’s organ transplant system by the United
9 States Government or a United States person or or-
10 ganization presents serious ethical challenges that
11 would jeopardize the integrity of the United States
12 organ transplantation system; and

13 (5) the Chinese Communist Party’s state-spon-
14 sored persecution of Falun Gong must come to an
15 immediate end.

16 **SEC. 4. STATEMENT OF POLICY.**

17 It is the policy of the United States to—

18 (1) avoid any cooperation with the PRC in the
19 organ transplantation field while the Chinese Com-
20 munist Party remains in power;

21 (2) take appropriate measures, including using
22 relevant sanctions authorities, to coerce the Chinese
23 Communist Party to end any state-sponsored organ
24 harvesting campaign; and

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1 (3) work with allies, partners, and multilateral
2 institutions to highlight China's persecution of
3 Falun Gong and coordinate closely with the inter-
4 national community on targeted sanctions and visa
5 restrictions.

6 **SEC. 5. IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO**
7 **FORCED ORGAN HARVESTING WITHIN THE**
8 **PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.**

9 (a) IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS.—The President shall
10 impose the sanctions described in subsection (c) with re-
11 spect to each foreign person included in the most recent
12 list submitted pursuant to subsection (b).

13 (b) LIST OF PERSONS.—

14 (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days
15 after the date of the enactment of this Act, the
16 President shall submit to the appropriate congres-
17 sional committees a list of foreign persons, including
18 senior government officials, military leaders, and
19 other persons who the President determines are
20 knowingly responsible for or complicit in, or have di-
21 rectly or indirectly engaged in, the involuntary har-
22 vesting of organs within the People's Republic of
23 China.

1 (2) UPDATES OF LISTS.—The President shall
2 submit to the appropriate congressional committees
3 an updated list under paragraph (1)—

4 (A) as new information becomes available;

5 (B) not later than one year after the date
6 of the enactment of this Act; and

7 (C) annually thereafter for five years.

8 (3) FORM.—The list required by paragraph (1)
9 shall be submitted in unclassified form, but may in-
10 clude a classified annex.

11 (c) SANCTIONS DESCRIBED.—The sanctions de-
12 scribed in this subsection are the following:

13 (1) BLOCKING OF PROPERTY.—The President
14 shall exercise all of the powers granted to the Presi-
15 dent by the International Emergency Economic
16 Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.) (except that
17 the requirements of section 202 of such Act (50
18 U.S.C. 1701) shall not apply) to the extent nec-
19 essary to block and prohibit all transactions in prop-
20 erty and interests in property of the person if such
21 property and interests in property are in the United
22 States, come within the United States, or are or
23 come within the possession or control of a United
24 States person.

1 (2) INADMISSIBILITY OF CERTAIN INDIVID-
2 UALS.—

3 (A) INELIGIBILITY FOR VISAS, ADMISSION,
4 OR PAROLE.—A foreign person included in the
5 most recent list submitted pursuant to sub-
6 section (b) is—

7 (i) inadmissible to the United States;

8 (ii) ineligible to receive a visa or other
9 documentation to enter the United States;
10 and

11 (iii) otherwise ineligible to be admitted
12 or paroled into the United States or to re-
13 ceive any other benefit under the Immigra-
14 tion and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et
15 seq.).

16 (B) CURRENT VISAS REVOKED.—A foreign
17 person described in subparagraph (A) is also
18 subject to the following:

19 (i) Revocation of any visa or other
20 entry documentation regardless of when
21 the visa or other entry documentation is or
22 was issued.

23 (ii) A revocation under clause (i) shall
24 take effect immediately and automatically
25 cancel any other valid visa or entry docu-

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1 mentation that is in the foreign person's
2 possession.

3 (3) EXCEPTION.—Sanctions under paragraph
4 (2) shall not apply to an alien if admitting or parol-
5 ing the alien into the United States is necessary to
6 permit the United States to comply with the Agree-
7 ment regarding the Headquarters of the United Na-
8 tions, signed at Lake Success June 26, 1947, and
9 entered into force November 21, 1947, between the
10 United Nations and the United States, or other ap-
11 plicable international obligations of the United
12 States.

13 (d) PENALTIES.—The penalties provided for in sub-
14 sections (b) and (c) of section 206 of the International
15 Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1705) shall
16 apply to a person who violates, attempts to violate, con-
17 spires to violate, or causes a violation of regulations pro-
18 mulgated to carry out subsection (a) to the same extent
19 that such penalties apply to a person who commits an un-
20 lawful act described in section 206(a) of that Act.

21 (e) EXCEPTION TO COMPLY WITH NATIONAL SECU-
22 RITY.—The following activities shall be exempt from sanc-
23 tions under this section:

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1 (1) Activities subject to the reporting require-
2 ments under title V of the National Security Act of
3 1947 (50 U.S.C. 3091 et seq.).

4 (2) Any authorized intelligence or law enforce-
5 ment activities of the United States.

6 **SEC. 6. REPORT.**

7 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than one year after the
8 date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State,
9 in consultation with the Secretary of Health and Human
10 Services and the Director of the National Institutes of
11 Health, shall submit to the appropriate congressional com-
12 mittees a report on the organ transplant policies and prac-
13 tices of the People's Republic of China.

14 (b) MATTERS TO BE INCLUDED.—The report re-
15 quired under subsection (a) shall include—

16 (1) a summary of de jure and de facto policies
17 toward organ transplantation in the PRC, including
18 with respect to prisoners of conscience (including
19 Falun Gong) and other prisoners;

20 (2)(A) the number of organ transplants that
21 are known to occur or are estimated to occur on an
22 annual basis in the PRC;

23 (B) the number of known or estimated vol-
24 untary organ donors in the PRC;

1 (C) an assessment of the sources of organs for
2 transplant in the PRC; and

3 (D) an assessment of the time, in days, that it
4 takes to procure an organ for transplant within the
5 Chinese medical system and an assessment of wheth-
6 er such timetable is possible based on the number of
7 known or estimated organ donors in the PRC;

8 (3) a list of all United States grants over the
9 past ten years that have supported research on
10 organ transplantation in the PRC or in collaboration
11 between a Chinese and a United States entity; and

12 (4) a determination as to whether the persecu-
13 tion of Falun Gong practitioners within the People's
14 Republic of China constitutes an "atrocity" (as such
15 term is defined in section 6 of the Elie Wiesel Geno-
16 cide and Atrocities Prevention Act of 2018 (Public
17 Law 115-441; 22 U.S.C. 2656 note)).

18 (e) FORM.—The report required under subsection (a)
19 shall be submitted in unclassified form, but may include
20 a classified annex.

21 **SEC. 7. APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES DE-**
22 **FINED.**

23 In this Act, the term "appropriate congressional com-
24 mittees" means—

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- 1 (1) the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the
- 2 House of Representatives; and
- 3 (2) the Committee on Foreign Relations of the
- 4 Senate.

**AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE
TO H.R. 4132
OFFERED BY MR. PERRY OF PENNSYLVANIA**

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

1 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

2 This Act may be cited as the “Falun Gong Protection
3 Act”.

4 SEC. 2. STATEMENT OF POLICY.

5 It is the policy of the United States to—

6 (1) avoid any cooperation with the PRC in the
7 organ transplantation field while the Chinese Com-
8 munist Party remains in power;

9 (2) take appropriate measures, including using
10 relevant sanctions authorities, to coerce the Chinese
11 Communist Party to end any state-sponsored organ
12 harvesting campaign; and

13 (3) work with allies, partners, and multilateral
14 institutions to highlight China’s persecution of
15 Falun Gong and coordinate closely with the inter-
16 national community on targeted sanctions and visa
17 restrictions.

1 **SEC. 3. IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO**
2 **FORCED ORGAN HARVESTING WITHIN THE**
3 **PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.**

4 (a) IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS.—The President shall
5 impose the sanctions described in subsection (c) with re-
6 spect to each foreign person included in the most recent
7 list submitted pursuant to subsection (b).

8 (b) LIST OF PERSONS.—

9 (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days
10 after the date of the enactment of this Act, the
11 President shall submit to the appropriate congres-
12 sional committees a list of foreign persons who the
13 President determines to have knowingly and directly
14 engaged in or facilitated the involuntary harvesting
15 of organs within the People's Republic of China.

16 (2) UPDATES OF LISTS.—The President shall
17 submit to the appropriate congressional committees
18 an updated list under paragraph (1)—

19 (A) as new information becomes available;

20 (B) not later than one year after the date
21 of the enactment of this Act; and

22 (C) annually thereafter until the date of
23 termination under subsection (h).

24 (3) FORM.—The list required by paragraph (1)
25 shall be submitted in unclassified form, but may in-
26 clude a classified annex.

1 (c) SANCTIONS DESCRIBED.—The sanctions de-
2 scribed in this subsection are the following:

3 (1) BLOCKING OF PROPERTY.—The President
4 shall exercise all of the powers granted to the Presi-
5 dent by the International Emergency Economic
6 Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.) (except that
7 the requirements of section 202 of such Act (50
8 U.S.C. 1701) shall not apply) to the extent nec-
9 essary to block and prohibit all transactions in prop-
10 erty and interests in property of the person if such
11 property and interests in property are in the United
12 States, come within the United States, or are or
13 come within the possession or control of a United
14 States person.

15 (2) INADMISSIBILITY OF CERTAIN INDIVID-
16 UALS.—

17 (A) INELIGIBILITY FOR VISAS, ADMISSION,
18 OR PAROLE.—A foreign person included in the
19 most recent list submitted pursuant to sub-
20 section (b) is—

21 (i) inadmissible to the United States;
22 (ii) ineligible to receive a visa or other
23 documentation to enter the United States;
24 and

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1 (iii) otherwise ineligible to be admitted
2 or paroled into the United States or to re-
3 ceive any other benefit under the Immigra-
4 tion and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et
5 seq.).

6 (B) CURRENT VISAS REVOKED.—A foreign
7 person described in subparagraph (A) is also
8 subject to the following:

9 (i) Revocation of any visa or other
10 entry documentation regardless of when
11 the visa or other entry documentation is or
12 was issued.

13 (ii) A revocation under clause (i) shall
14 take effect immediately and automatically
15 cancel any other valid visa or entry docu-
16 mentation that is in the foreign person's
17 possession.

18 (3) EXCEPTION.—Sanctions under paragraph
19 (2) shall not apply to an alien if admitting or parol-
20 ing the alien into the United States is necessary to
21 permit the United States to comply with the Agree-
22 ment regarding the Headquarters of the United Na-
23 tions, signed at Lake Success June 26, 1947, and
24 entered into force November 21, 1947, between the
25 United Nations and the United States, or other ap-

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1 plicable international obligations of the United
2 States.

3 (d) PENALTIES.—The penalties provided for in sub-
4 sections (b) and (c) of section 206 of the International
5 Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1705) shall
6 apply to a person who violates, attempts to violate, con-
7 spires to violate, or causes a violation of regulations pro-
8 mulgated to carry out subsection (a) to the same extent
9 that such penalties apply to a person who commits an un-
10 lawful act described in section 206(a) of that Act.

11 (e) EXCEPTION TO COMPLY WITH NATIONAL SECUR-
12 ITY.—The following activities shall be exempt from sanc-
13 tions under this section:

14 (1) Activities subject to the reporting require-
15 ments under title V of the National Security Act of
16 1947 (50 U.S.C. 3091 et seq.).

17 (2) Any authorized intelligence or law enforce-
18 ment activities of the United States.

19 (f) EXCEPTION RELATING TO PROVISION OF HUMAN-
20 ITARIAN ASSISTANCE.—Sanctions under this section may
21 not be imposed with respect to transactions or the facilita-
22 tion of transactions for—

23 (1) the sale of agricultural commodities, food,
24 or medicine;

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1 (2) the provision of vital humanitarian assist-
2 ance;

3 (3) financial transactions relating to humani-
4 tarian assistance or for humanitarian purposes; or

5 (4) transporting goods or services that are nec-
6 essary to carry out operations relating to humani-
7 tarian assistance or humanitarian purposes.

8 (g) WAIVER AUTHORITY.—

9 (1) WAIVER.—The President may, on a case by
10 case basis, waive the imposition of any sanction
11 under this section if the President determines such
12 waiver is in the vital national security interest of the
13 United States.

14 (2) REPORTS.—Not later than 120 days after
15 the date on which the President submits the list
16 under subsection (b), and every 120 days thereafter
17 until the date of termination under subsection (h),
18 the President shall submit to the appropriate con-
19 gressional committees a report on the extent to
20 which the President has used the waiver authority
21 under paragraph (1) during the period covered by
22 that report.

23 (h) SUNSET.—The authority to impose sanctions
24 under this section shall terminate on the date that is 5
25 years after the date of the enactment of this Act.

1 **SEC. 4. REPORT.**

2 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than one year after the
3 date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State,
4 in consultation with the Secretary of Health and Human
5 Services and the Director of the National Institutes of
6 Health, shall submit to the appropriate congressional com-
7 mittees a report on the organ transplant policies and prac-
8 tices of the People’s Republic of China.

9 (b) MATTERS TO BE INCLUDED.—The report re-
10 quired under subsection (a) shall include—

11 (1) a summary of de jure and de facto policies
12 toward organ transplantation in the PRC, including
13 with respect to prisoners of conscience (including
14 Falun Gong) and other prisoners;

15 (2)(A) the number of organ transplants that
16 are known to occur or are estimated to occur on an
17 annual basis in the PRC;

18 (B) the number of known or estimated vol-
19 untary organ donors in the PRC;

20 (C) an assessment of the sources of organs for
21 transplant in the PRC; and

22 (D) an assessment of the time, in days, that it
23 takes to procure an organ for transplant within the
24 Chinese medical system and an assessment of wheth-
25 er such timetable is possible based on the number of
26 known or estimated organ donors in the PRC;

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1 (3) a list of all United States grants over the
2 past ten years that have supported research on
3 organ transplantation in the PRC or in collaboration
4 between a Chinese and a United States entity; and

5 (4) a determination as to whether the persecu-
6 tion of Falun Gong practitioners within the People's
7 Republic of China constitutes an "atrocious" (as such
8 term is defined in section 6 of the Elie Wiesel Geno-
9 cide and Atrocities Prevention Act of 2018 (Public
10 Law 115-441; 22 U.S.C. 2656 note)).

11 (c) FORM.—The report required under subsection (a)
12 shall be submitted in unclassified form, but may include
13 a classified annex.

14 **SEC. 5. APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES DE-**
15 **FINED.**

16 In this Act, the term "appropriate congressional com-
17 mittees" means—

18 (1) the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the
19 House of Representatives; and

20 (2) the Committee on Foreign Relations of the
21 Senate.



118TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 1150

To establish the John Lewis Civil Rights Fellowship to fund international internships and research placements for early- to mid-career professionals to study nonviolent movements to establish and protect civil rights around the world.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 21, 2023

Ms. WILLIAMS of Georgia (for herself, Ms. MACE, Ms. ADAMS, Ms. BLUNT ROCHESTER, Ms. BROWN, Mr. CASTEN, Ms. CLARKE of New York, Mr. COHEN, Mr. DOGGETT, Mr. ESPAILLAT, Mr. EVANS, Mrs. FOUSHEE, Mr. GOLDMAN of New York, Ms. NORTON, Mr. HORSFORD, Mr. JOHNSON of Georgia, Mr. KHANNA, Mr. KILMER, Mrs. MCBATH, Mr. PAYNE, Ms. PORTER, Mr. QUIGLEY, Mr. RASKIN, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Ms. SEWELL, Mr. SHERMAN, Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi, Ms. TITUS, Ms. TLAIB, Mr. TONKO, Mrs. TRAHAN, Mr. TRONE, Mr. VARGAS, Ms. WILD, Ms. WILSON of Florida, Mr. KILDEE, Mr. COURTNEY, Ms. WATERS, Mr. DAVID SCOTT of Georgia, Mr. CLYBURN, Mr. MEEKS, Mr. GREEN of Texas, Mr. ALLRED, Ms. KAMLAGER-DOVE, Mr. CLEAVER, Ms. PRESSLEY, Ms. DELBENE, and Mr. CARBAJAL) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

A BILL

To establish the John Lewis Civil Rights Fellowship to fund international internships and research placements for early- to mid-career professionals to study nonviolent movements to establish and protect civil rights around the world.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

1 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

2 This Act may be cited as the “John Lewis Civil
3 Rights Fellowship Act of 2023”.

4 **SEC. 2. JOHN LEWIS CIVIL RIGHTS FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM.**

5 The Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act
6 of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2451 et seq.) is amended by adding
7 at the end the following:

8 **“SEC. 115. JOHN LEWIS CIVIL RIGHTS FELLOWSHIP PRO-**
9 **GRAM.**

10 “(a) ESTABLISHMENT.—There is established the
11 John Lewis Civil Rights Fellowship Program (referred to
12 in this section as the ‘Fellowship Program’) within the J.
13 William Fulbright Educational Exchange Program.

14 “(b) PURPOSES.—The purposes of the Fellowship
15 Program are—

16 “(1) to honor the legacy of Representative John
17 Lewis by promoting a greater understanding of the
18 history and tenets of nonviolent civil rights move-
19 ments; and

20 “(2) to advance foreign policy priorities of the
21 United States by promoting studies, research, and
22 international exchange in the subject of nonviolent
23 movements that established and protected civil
24 rights around the world.

25 “(c) ADMINISTRATION.—The Bureau of Educational
26 and Cultural Affairs (referred to in this section as the ‘Bu-

1 reau') shall administer the Fellowship Program in accord-
2 ance with policy guidelines established by the Fulbright
3 Foreign Scholarship Board, in consultation with the bina-
4 tional Fulbright Commissions and United States Embas-
5 sies.

6 “(d) SELECTION OF FELLOWS.—

7 “(1) IN GENERAL.—The Board shall annually
8 select qualified individuals to participate in the Fel-
9 lowship Program. The Bureau may determine the
10 number of fellows selected each year, which, when-
11 ever feasible, shall be not fewer than 25.

12 “(2) OUTREACH.—To the extent practicable,
13 the Bureau shall conduct outreach at institutions
14 the Bureau determines are likely to produce a range
15 of qualified applicants.

16 “(e) FELLOWSHIP ORIENTATION.—The Bureau shall
17 organize and administer a fellowship orientation that
18 shall—

19 “(1) be held in Washington, DC, or at another
20 location selected by the Bureau;

21 “(2) include programming to honor the legacy
22 of Representative John Lewis; and

23 “(3) be held on an annual basis.

24 “(f) STRUCTURE.—

1 “(1) WORK PLAN.—To carry out the purposes
2 described in subsection (b)(2)—

3 “(A) each fellow selected pursuant to sub-
4 section (d) shall arrange an internship or re-
5 search placement—

6 “(i) with a nongovernmental organiza-
7 tion, academic institution, or other organi-
8 zation approved by the Bureau; and

9 “(ii) in a country with an operational
10 Fulbright U.S. Student Program; and

11 “(B) the Bureau shall, for each fellow, ap-
12 prove a work plan that identifies the target ob-
13 jectives for the fellow, including specific duties
14 and responsibilities relating to those objectives.

15 “(2) CONFERENCES; PRESENTATIONS.—Each
16 fellow shall—

17 “(A) attend the fellowship orientation de-
18 scribed in subsection (e);

19 “(B) not later than the date that is 1 year
20 after the end of the fellowship period, attend a
21 fellowship summit organized and administered
22 by the Bureau, which, whenever feasible, shall
23 be held in a location of importance to the civil
24 rights movement in the United States and may

1 coincide with other events facilitated by the Bu-
2 reau; and

3 “(C) at such summit, give a presentation
4 on lessons learned during the period of fellow-
5 ship.

6 “(3) FELLOWSHIP PERIOD.—Each fellowship
7 under this section shall continue for a period deter-
8 mined by the Bureau, which, whenever feasible, shall
9 be not shorter than 10 months.

10 “(g) FELLOWSHIP AWARD.—The Bureau shall pro-
11 vide each fellow under this section with an allowance that
12 is equal to the amount needed for—

13 “(1) the fellow’s reasonable costs during the fel-
14 lowship period; and

15 “(2) travel and lodging expenses related to at-
16 tending the orientation and summit required under
17 subsection (e)(2).

18 “(h) REPORTS.—Not later than 1 year after the date
19 of completion of the Fellowship Program by the initial co-
20 hort of fellows selected under subsection (d), and on an
21 annual basis thereafter, the Secretary of State shall sub-
22 mit to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House
23 of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Rela-
24 tions of the Senate a report providing information on the

1 implementation of the Fellowship Program, including
2 on—

3 “(1) the demographics of the cohort of fellows
4 who completed a fellowship during the preceding 1-
5 year period;

6 “(2) a description of internship and research
7 placements, and research projects selected, under
8 the Fellowship Program, including participant feed-
9 back on program implementation and feedback of
10 the Department on lessons learned;

11 “(3) a plan for factoring such lessons learned
12 into future programming; and

13 “(4) an analysis of trends relating to the diver-
14 sity of the cohorts of fellows and the topics of
15 projects completed over the course of the Fellowship
16 Program.”.

17 **SEC. 3. TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENTS TO**
18 **THE MUTUAL EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL**
19 **EXCHANGE ACT OF 1961A.**

20 Section 112(a) of the Mutual Educational and Cul-
21 tural Exchange Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2460(a)) is
22 amended—

23 (1) in paragraph (8), by striking “; and” and
24 inserting a semicolon;

1 (2) in paragraph (9), by striking the period and
2 inserting “; and”; and

3 (3) by adding at the end the following:

4 “(10) the John Lewis Civil Rights Fellowship
5 Program established under section 115, which pro-
6 vides funding for international internships and re-
7 search placements for early- to mid-career individ-
8 uals from the United States to study nonviolent civil
9 rights movements in self-arranged placements with
10 universities or nongovernmental organizations in for-
11 eign countries.”.

12 **SEC. 4. SUNSET.**

13 The authority to carry out the John Lewis Civil
14 Rights Fellowship Program established under section 115
15 of the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of
16 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2451 et seq.), as added by section 2,
17 shall expire on the date that is 7 years after the date of
18 the enactment of this Act.

○

Chairman McCAUL. I now recognize myself for a statement on the en bloc.

The Iran Sanctions Act of 1996 has been the backbone of U.S. sanctions on Iran. The law sets a sunset in 2026. The Solidify Iran Sanctions Act strikes the sunset provision for this law. Instead of expiring on an arbitrary deadline, sanctions will remain until Iran shows it no longer poses a threat.

Last week I was disturbed the Administration was negotiating a secret deal with Iran, including possible payments. It is reckless and dangerous to reward Iran for its escalatory and provocative behavior, such as enriching uranium, attacking Americans in the Middle East, arming the Kremlin, and its violent crackdown on the Iranian people.

It is important that Congress lead the way in showing our sanctions on Iran will only be lifted if Iran stops its malign behavior. The Solidify Iran Sanctions Act will ensure that our adversaries and those who enable them cannot wait out our sanctions programs. They must change their behavior or face the consequences.

On the John Lewis resolution, I want to thank Mr. Meeks for bringing this forward. It is very thoughtful. We all were honored to serve with John Lewis, who we all know served in the Civil Rights Movement, was arrested 40 times. He marched with Martin Luther King.

He was really walking history in the halls of Congress. And I was honored to be associated with him. And I will never forget going to his office, having just a private conversation with him about his experiences and what he did with his life. We all had tremendous respect for him.

Part of the Freedom Riders protesting segregated bus terminals in the South, helped organize the march on Washington where Martin Luther King gave the I Have a Dream speech. He was the youngest speaker at that very historical event. He organized the Selma to Montgomery marches and became one of the victims in the Sunday Bloody Sunday attacks. Footage of him being beaten by the police was a catalyst for the signing of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. He was recognized as one of the big six leaders of the Civil Rights Movement. He served 18 terms in Congress. And he really reached out to a younger generation.

He passed away, as we all saw, in 2020 at the age of 80. But his dream, his life still lives on in the halls of this Congress and in the hearts and minds of us here today. He had numerous awards that I could go on and on. But just suffice it to say he was a great man and one I had tremendous respect and admiration for. And again, it was an honor to serve with him.

This act, this bill will amend the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act and establish the John Lewis Civil Rights Fellowship under the Fulbright educational exchange program. It honors his legacy. It promotes greater understanding of non-violent civil rights movements. It advances U.S. foreign policy priorities by studying and understanding non-violent civil rights movements. And it is intended to find international internships, research and placements for qualified professionals. And it will live, it will honor this man, this great man and the dream that he had that he actu-

ally saw fulfilled in his lifetime, although the struggle still continues in some respects.

So, with that, I now recognize the ranking member, Mr. Meeks, for a statement.

Mr. MEEKS. And with that, thank you, Chairman McCaul, for work and working collectively on this.

I support all of the measures in the en bloc package. This committee works best, accomplishes the most, and speaks with power when we act and legislate in a bipartisan way. Of course, we will have our differences. And sometimes those will manifest in the disagreement over certain pieces of legislation. But there is more agreement than disagreement. And we start from the same shared principles of peace, democracy, development, and human rights here in the United States and around the world. These measures reflect these principles and the bipartisan spirit of this committee.

Another man who reflected these principles and a man a few of us cannot imagine or even aspire to be was the late, great Congressman John Lewis. July 17th of this year will mark the third anniversary of the passing of our dear colleague, civil rights icon, and a true catalyst for change in this Nation. Congressman John Lewis was often referred to as the conscience of this congressional body, a sentiment of which I wholeheartedly agree. And I miss hearing his voice in this body.

The bill before us today, introduced by his successor, Representative Nikema Williams, establishes the John Lewis Civil Rights Fellowship under the Fulbright program. I extend my deep appreciation to Representative Williams for her steadfast commitment to upholding the legacy of Mr. Lewis by reintroducing this bill, which also passed the House in the 117th Congress.

In reflecting on his legacy, I am reminded of a quote from his 2017 memoir. He stated, "Freedom is not a State. It's an act. It is the continuous action we all must take, and each generation must do its part to create an even more fair, more just society." This bill honors that call to action.

The John Lewis Civil Rights Fellowship program presents an opportunity for young scholars to engage in international internships and research related to global civil rights movements and non-violent means of promoting change. These scholars will promote the teaching of human rights advocacy, while also promoting international and intercultural exchange.

Although we may not ever live up to the life and legacy of the incomparable Congressman John Lewis, let this fellowship be a reminder to never stop trying. So I hope everyone on this committee joins me in supporting this bill.

This markup also includes two important bills related to a country that does not embrace freedom or human rights or genuine democracy, and that is Iran.

The first of these bills, the Iran Sanctions Act, or ISA, would remove the sunset from this foundational Iranian sanctions legislation. Strong multilateral sanctions drove Iran to the negotiating table to finalize the joint plan of action, which effectively shut off every pathway to an Iranian nuclear weapon before it was unwisely torn down in 2018, leaving us in the dangerous position we are now in. The ISA is the only major Iran sanctions statute that

contains a sunset provision, which has been reauthorized numerous times. This legislation goes an additional step further and sends an important message to Iran and promotes our national security.

I would also like to thank Representative Schakowsky for her resolution in support of the Baha'i people. This resolution has passed the House several times and calls for support of the Baha'i and all others that suffer persecution in Iran.

I also support two measures on this markup that concern human rights issues in China.

The measure from Representative Moran prohibits the State Department and USAID funding any programs or projects that use materials made using forced labor. In the last Congress, this committee led on human rights and democracy issues in China. And I was proud to chair a hearing on the ongoing genocide in Xinjiang.

In April 2021, we also marked up the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act, perhaps the most significant China human rights legislation in decades. Speaker Pelosi, Chairman McGovern, and I worked in a bipartisan way to get that bill signed into law to prevent goods and products made with forced labor being sold in the United States.

By passing this bill, we will once again walk the walk and the talk, and talk the talk on our values. We must act to protect human rights and stand up to end atrocities and human rights abuses.

And finally, I support H.R. 4132, which imposes sanctions on persons who participate or facilitate in the forced harvesting of organs. This is an abhorrent practice. The House has already spoken on this issue by passing Mr. Smith's Stop Forced Organ Harvesting Act in March. And I am happy to again draw attention to this issue and support this bill.

So, again, Chairman McCaul, thank you for working with me on this bipartisan markup. And I am proud to join with you in urging support of all the measures in the en bloc and on today's markup.

Chairman MCCAUL. And I thank the ranking member.

Do any other members seek recognition? Mr. Perry is recognized.

Mr. PERRY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I thank you for bringing this markup to us and for the bills in it, for you and the ranking member.

I support all the bills, obviously, in the en bloc amendment and the one not in the en bloc amendment. I want to speak particularly to the one that I have offered.

Since the early 1990's, the Falun Gong have been targeted by the Chinese Communist Party. And on July 20, 1999, the CCP detained hundreds of thousands of Falun Gong practitioners and banned the practice of the religion. Since this date, the Chinese Communist Party has continued to escalate its systematic oppression against the Falun Gong practitioners.

Multiple studies have shown that the number of organ transplants in China are impossible compared to the number of those on the organ transplant list and that you can schedule appointments to get certain organs that are currently impossible to know in advance if they are available. I mean, you could just do the math. And everybody knows what is happening here, even though it is

hard to prove because the CCP makes sure that China is closed to actual scrutiny.

On March 1, 2020, the Independent Tribunal into Forced Harvesting from Prisoners of Conscience in China found that all the number of organ transplants were not possible. They concluded that, and I quote, “forced organ harvesting has been committed for years throughout China on a significant scale and that the Falun Gong practitioners have been one and probably the main source of organ supply.” It is staggering. It is astounding.

The report continues, the PRC and its leaders actively incited the persecution, the imprisonment, murder, torture, and humiliation of the Falun Gong practitioners with the sole purpose of eliminating the practice of and belief in the value of the Falun Gong. The CCP has no regard for the individual citizens of China and continues to carry out horrendous practices that never had a place in society whatsoever.

This barbaric practice absolutely must stop. It shocks the conscience to think about it. And to know that it is happening as we sit here is unnerving to say the least.

This bill would begin to pave the way to sanctions, to actual punishment, to actual acknowledgment coupled with action on those individuals involved in this appalling practice. The United States cannot stand by and do nothing. The United States must use its sanctioning authority to curb those who would be involved in such practices.

Mr. Chairman, I thank you for the time. Again, I support the en bloc package. I support the entire package generally speaking. And again, I appreciate the opportunity to have the bill heard and voted on. With that, I yield.

Chairman McCAUL. Thank you, Mr. Perry. And I appreciate you bringing that bill forward. It is absolutely just reprehensible that practice is happening as we speak.

The chair recognizes Ms. Manning.

Ms. MANNING. Thank you, Chairman McCaul and Ranking Member Meeks, for your work on these measures.

I am proud to support the en bloc package, including H.R. 3033, the Solidify Iran Sanctions Act, a bipartisan bill I cosponsored to permanently extend the Iran Sanctions Act of 1996.

Mr. Chairman, Iran is the principal source of instability in the region and a threat to our interests around the world. As the leading State sponsor of terrorism, Iran backs terrorist proxies like Hamas and Hezbollah, which are dedicated to Israel’s destruction. Iran is arming Russian forces with drones used on the battlefield against Ukraine and is deepening its defense cooperation with Putin. We must continue to counter these efforts and hold Iran accountable for its malign and destructive behavior.

But an armed Iran with nuclear weapons would represent an even greater and entirely unacceptable threat. Members of both parties agree that Iran must never be permitted to acquire a nuclear weapon. And the president has made clear that all options are on the table to ensure it will never happen.

However, Iran continues to enrich uranium to dangerous levels, bringing it closer than ever to being able to produce a nuclear weapon. Iran has stockpiled uranium at 60 percent purity. And in

one recent instance, the IAEA inspectors even detected the presence of uranium particles enriched up to 84 percent. Iran's break-out time, once up to a year, could be down to a matter of weeks.

And in the meantime, Iran has made significant advancements to its nuclear infrastructure and know-how that are unlikely to be reversed. If Iran continues down this path, it threatens to become a nuclear threshold State. That is why now is the time to maintain pressure on Iran and continue to enforce the strong economic sanctions that we have in place.

Extending the Iran Sanctions Act, which authorizes critical sanctions against investment in Iran's petroleum sector are set to expire in 2026, sends a clear message about Congress' commitment to hold Iran accountable. Going forward, I hope we can implement a comprehensive, long-term strategy for dealing with Iran's malign behavior and preventing its nuclear program.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, I am proud to support the Solidify Iran Sanctions Act and maintaining pressure on Iran. I encourage all of my colleagues to join me in supporting this bill. Thank you. And I yield back.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentlelady yields back.

Do any other members seek recognition? Mr. Moran is recognized.

Mr. MORAN. Thank you, Chairman McCaul, for bringing my bill, H.R. 4039, the No Dollars to Uyghur Forced Labor Act, to committee for consideration as part of this en bloc package.

To counter China's Belt and Road Initiative, we need to continue to invest in strategic partnerships and projects overseas. What defeats this purpose is being complicit in the Chinese Communist Party's horrific atrocities against Uyghur Muslims and others. We must not lower ourselves to the level of the CCP in the way that we treat our fellow man. We are simply better than that. And we must defeat the threat of China's malign influence worldwide by sending a message that we will not in any way, shape, or form condone the CCP's detainment and persecution of Uyghurs and other Muslim minorities.

The No Dollars to Uyghur Forced Labor Act ensures that no American taxpayer dollars be used to give China profit for raw materials or goods produced using forced labor in the Xinjiang region of China. For those unaware, many basic goods are being produced in the Xinjiang region today, products like bricks, nails, cotton, hair products, gloves, and polysilicon, all foundational resources to commerce. And they are doing so on the backs of slave labor.

But the U.S. has strengthened our companies and partners globally to build other robust supply chains that are free of slave labor. And we should not subsidize or support entities that base their production and profits in the Xinjiang region. The blatant disregard for human rights and religious freedom for minorities in the People's Republic of China is detestable. And the United States should not be a party to it.

More than one million people are held hostage by the CCP and placed in re-education centers, modern-day concentration camps, and forced to assimilate by disavowing their own ethnic backgrounds and involuntarily being taught a whitewashed version of Chinese history, as described by the CCP.

There is witness testimony that some Uyghurs were paid two pennies to make a pair of gloves. One witness said she could only make 11 pairs per day. That is 22 cents a day for forced labor. Those detained are unable to leave, unable to see their families, unable to communicate with their loved ones. Victims simply have no hope of leaving that system. They know they will be monitored by the police and oppressive surveillance systems if they try to. And survivors recount that the CCP regularly canceled passports and lured minorities to China only to detain them and use them for forced labor.

The CCP also manipulates people by purporting to offer free health checks, only then to use that opportunity to collect their personal identification information, such as DNA, fingerprints, and blood samples. If this is the society and culture the CCP is creating, we must stand against every facet of it to ensure that U.S. tax dollars are not directly or indirectly furthering the CCP's brutal and cruel regime.

We are fortunate to live in a country where we can practice our faiths freely, whether Christian, Muslim, or otherwise. And I wholeheartedly believe in these values and will uphold them to the best of my abilities. We are a country of freedom. We must stand for freedom. We must ensure that our State Department and our entities here as government agents do not engage in business that supports slave or forced labor in the Uyghur, within the Uyghur people and within the Xinjiang province. One more penny to the oppressive PRC government to fund slave labor is a penny too many.

That said, I urge support of my bill, H.R. 4039, and support the bills en bloc presented today.

Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I yield back.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentleman yields back.

Do any other members seek recognition?

There being no further discussion, the committee will proceed to consider the noticed items en bloc. Pursuant to the previous order, the question occurs on the measures en bloc as amended, if amended.

All those in favor, signify by saying aye.

All those opposed, signify by saying no.

In the opinion of the chair, the ayes have it. And the measures en bloc are agreed to.

I request a recorded vote. Pursuant to the chair's previous announcement, this vote will be postponed.

Pursuant to notice, I now call up H.Res. 488, calling on the Biden administrative to immediately provide Army Tactical Missile Systems, or ATACMS, to Ukraine. The resolution was circulated in advance. And the clerk shall designate the resolution.

[The Bill H.Res. 488 follows:]

118TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. RES. 488

Calling on the Biden administration to immediately provide Army Tactical Missile Systems to Ukraine.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JUNE 9, 2023

Mr. KEAN of New Jersey (for himself, Mr. KEATING, Mr. MCCAUL, Mr. LIEU, Mr. GOLDEN of Maine, and Mr. WILSON of South Carolina) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

RESOLUTION

Calling on the Biden administration to immediately provide Army Tactical Missile Systems to Ukraine.

Whereas the Russian Federation's brutal and unprovoked war of aggression continues to cause death and destruction across Ukraine, wreaking a massive human and economic cost on Ukraine;

Whereas, following the full-scale invasion on February 24, 2022, the Government of Ukraine has been requesting long-range missiles, including the nearly 200-mile-range Army Tactical Missile System (ATACMS), from its partners to be able to strike key Russian logistics nodes, command and control posts, and other high-value military targets deeper into occupied territory that are currently out of reach;

Whereas the United States has yet to fulfill this request from the Government of Ukraine out of stated concerns about escalating the conflict and cutting too deeply into United States stockpiles;

Whereas the United Kingdom’s provision to the Government of Ukraine of “Storm Shadow” cruise missiles, with a similar range of over 155 miles, was met with no significant response from the Russian Federation, and provided the Ukrainian military with a vital long-range strike capability;

Whereas the Government of France announced it will provide long-range missiles, reportedly the 155-mile range SCALP-EG cruise missile, the French variant of the Storm Shadow, to the Government of Ukraine;

Whereas the United States and allied countries collectively possess thousands of ATACMS that could be transferred to Ukraine and fired from the High Mobility Artillery Rocket Systems and Multiple Launch Rocket Systems that the Government of Ukraine already operates;

Whereas the Russian Federation’s arsenal of long-range missiles largely outranges and outnumber the weapons systems that the Government of Ukraine possesses, forcing Ukrainian forces to fight at a significant disadvantage; and

Whereas, reportedly many of the Iranian-made drones that devastated Ukrainian civilian infrastructure over the winter of 2022–2023 were based in the illegally occupied Crimean Peninsula, which would be in range of ATACMS: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved*, That the House of Representatives—

1 (1) calls on the United States to immediately
2 provide Army Tactical Missile Systems to Ukraine in
3 sufficient quantity to hasten Ukraine's victory
4 against Russia's unprovoked war of aggression while
5 still maintaining United States military readiness;

6 (2) calls on United States allies and partners to
7 transfer similar systems to Ukraine;

8 (3) expresses concern that the delay in the pro-
9 vision of this critical weapon system could prolong
10 the war; and

11 (4) expresses belief that the expeditious provi-
12 sion of this critical weapon system will provide the
13 Ukrainian military with a critical deep-strike capa-
14 bility they currently lack, disrupt Russia's
15 warfighting ability, and could hasten Ukraine's vic-
16 tory.

○

The CLERK. H.Res. 488, calling on the Biden Administration to immediately provide Army Tactical Missile Systems to Ukraine. Whereas, the—

Chairman MCCAUL. Without objection, the first reading is dispensed with. The resolution is considered read and open to amendment at any point.

I recognize myself in support of the measure.

This resolution urges the Administration to send ATACMS to Ukraine. It is bipartisan. ATACMS are critical to Ukraine's success in the counteroffensive. ATACMS have a range of about 190 miles, allowing Ukrainians to strike into Russian-held territory.

Last summer GMLRs, rockets launched from HIMARs, changed the face of the war. Ukrainians hit Russian logistics hubs, ammunition dumps, and command and control posts behind enemy lines. This crippled Russia's artillery advantage in resisting Ukraine's successful fall counteroffensives in the northeast and south. ATACMS could also be used to strike Iranian-made drones in Crimea.

The Biden Administration's fear of "escalation" surrounding ATACMS is misguided. Ukraine has pledged not to use them to strike Russian territory. The U.K. has also sent air launched Storm Shadow missiles to Ukraine with a similar range as ATACMS.

There is no reason to give Ukraine just enough to bleed but not enough to win. That has been my criticism all along. If we are going to be helping them, you either go all in or you get out. And we are not going all in, and we give them enough to survive but not for victory.

So I would urge this Administration to put what they need. I urge them—first it was the Stingers, then Javelins. That is too provocative. And then they finally went in. And the HIMARs are too provocative, now the ATACMS. Cluster munitions should be going in. The Russians are using them.

I urged them to test, train pilots with F-16s in the event they ever did go forward with the F-16s. The G7 put pressure on the president to unleash F-16s from countries like Denmark and others. But we do not have the pilots.

The counteroffensive has started. And it is unfortunate they do not have everything they need to win and for victory. But I support this resolution because it is the right thing to do.

I now recognize—or is there any further discussion on the resolution? Mr. Meeks is recognized.

Mr. MEEKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I support H.R. 488 put forward by Rep. Kean. It is a further statement from this committee regarding bipartisan support for Ukraine. I hope we can—and keep that bipartisan support, which is really important. As Ukraine continues its counteroffensive to liberate its territory, the United States, along with our partners and allies, must consider all ways that we can help Ukraine win and bring us closer to peace.

For Ukrainians living in occupied territories every day brings horror in the face of the Kremlin's genocidal aims. Any Russian push toward victory is keenly watched by other authoritarians in the world, not the least China. So I support the Administration working with our allies joining efforts together and to prudently

send long-range missile capabilities to Ukraine's capable war fighters.

And I yield back.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentleman yields back.

Any further discussion on the resolution? Mr. Davidson is recognized.

Mr. DAVIDSON. I thank the chairman.

And I think the observation, that there is bipartisan support and frankly support around the United States of America for the people of Ukraine. The problem is we haven't committed to a mission. I have asked Secretary Blinken to define what he thinks the mission is.

And the reality is how we allocate resources to support Ukraine is entirely different based on the mission. Now, for the people of Ukraine, they may have a different mission than the United States. And we should recognize that.

But there are a whole range of just wars that could be waged in Ukraine. We could say that we support a mission that this war doesn't spread to NATO. We have an obligation as a member of NATO to make sure that we protect NATO. It is supposed to be a defensive alliance. And that would be the most narrow mission that we might pursue in our own self-interest.

But that is a different resource set than if we said we support a mission to make sure there are no more Russians in Ukraine, a lot more resources, and far more resources still to say that we support a mission where there are no Russians in Ukraine or Crimea. That takes different resources.

And the most aggressive kind of unlimited war, unrestricted war that it would take to have what Victoria Nuland has said she thinks the mission is or should be, which is regime change in Russia, including war crimes tribunals for Vladimir Putin. We have to recognize that would include occupying part of Russia, toppling their government, and replacing them with a different government.

And when you do not define the mission, no one can be held accountable for success. What is actually happening, and I appreciate the chairman for recognizing, by giving them a few resources and an open checkbook, we are not defining what it takes to win.

In fact, Senator Warner stated what he thinks the mission is apparently. He thinks it is great that we are grinding down the Russian army. And we are, except it is coming at the expense not just of the Ukrainian army, as he pointed out, but the entire nation of Ukraine. It is also coming at the expense of our own government and frankly other Western governments that are supporting Ukraine without a path to achieve an actual victory, unless the simple goal is to grind down the army.

That is not a just war. It is certainly not being waged justly. And we owe it to the men and women, if we commit to a war, even a proxy war, that we define the mission before we commit to the mission.

This is not a just war the way it is being waged, but it could be. And I cannot support another dime for a cause where we won't define the outcome. We cannot have any more presidents waving banners declaring victory when the world knows that is just not true. And by continuing this without insisting that we define the mis-

sion, that is exactly the conditions we are setting, is another endless war with no defined end state, no exit strategy tied to no coherent strategy whatsoever.

In the meantime, as this war goes on, a long war benefits Russia. A long war means that Ukraine is not part of NATO and Ukraine is not fully integrated into the European Union. While it has united Europe broadly, it is being used to divide it to this day, because the other big celebrator of this war is China. China just this week was in Germany. China has already convinced France to somehow break with Europe and become an ally of China.

And our national security interests are represented, not just in NATO and the defensive alliance, but in the, as Secretary Blinken refers to it, the rules-based order that came at the end of World War II. The monetary system that we have today is seeing the dollar diminished and displaced by the block that China is organizing.

And so when we do not define the mission, when we do not tie it to a coherent strategy, we aren't advancing America's national security interests. We are undermining it. And that is exactly what happened with the misguided, two-decade long funding of an endless war with Central Command, no defined end State, no one held accountable for success or celebrated for victory.

It is time we learned the lessons of the past, and we define the mission. We define what success looks like. We set an achievable end State. And then we match the resources to the mission.

So I stay opposed to this bill. And I yield.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentleman yields.

Any further discussion on the resolution? Mr. Crow is recognized.

Mr. CROW. Thank you, Chairman. And thank you to Chairman Kean and others for drafting this bill.

I support the spirit of this. You know, you would be hard-pressed I think to find someone in Congress who has been as all-in as I have been in supporting Ukraine. I believe it is a fight for democracy. I believe it is a fight for freedom. I believe it is a fight for the future of the Ukrainian people and that the United States also has a vested interest.

And in fact, I led, along with Tony Gonzales, my friend on the other side of the aisle, a bipartisan letter just 2 weeks ago calling for the provision of ATACMS, calling for expedited aid and increased aid. But I am going to be opposing this particular provision. And here is why.

I think it is important that we are very careful in our language. I think it is important that when we talk about these issues that we are very specific about our facts, we are very specific about the language that we are using. And there are two provisions here that give me some heartburn.

No. 1, the whereas clause that talks about the collective possession of thousands of ATACMS. The ATACMS number is a classified number, right. I know what it is. I know many people on this committee know what it is. It might be higher than that. It might be lower than that. But I think stating a number could lead to public confusion about what that number actually is and what is possible to be transferred.

So, if we are able to strike that number and just talk about the fact that we have these in our inventory, I think that would be a more prudent course of talking about this.

No. 2, the resolution clause that “expresses concern that the delay in the provision of this critical weapon system could prolong the war.” There is just no facts that support that that is indeed true, that the provision of any single weapon system could prolong the war.

Now, collectively the aid could prolong or hasten the war or break the stalemate. But I do not like the idea of saying that one system in and of itself could do that, especially in light of the fact that our allies have provided the Storm Shadow, which is actually being used effectively and significantly on the field of battle, prolonging or extending the range of fires. Other allies are also considering providing similar variants of the Storm Shadow or their own version of a long-range rocket system. So, to say that this, that a delay in this one system would prolong gives me a little bit of heartburn.

So I am going to vote against this one. But I would love to work with Mr. Kean and others to come up with some language that I might be able to support. Most of this I actually think is tremendous and I would support and would be happy to do so on the floor if it comes for a floor vote, pending resolution of my two concerns.

I yield back.

Chairman MCCAUL. I just want to note to the members that these bills were circulated a week in advance for the sole purpose that members could work out their differences. And I find in this, actually, in working with Mr. Perry, which, you know, to get these bills a week in advance gives members time to work out differences. And so I would urge the members to read the bills when they are circulated a week in advance so we can avoid this type of situation and that we can work things out in advance.

The gentleman yields.

Any further discussion? Mr. Kean is recognized.

Mr. KEAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And thank you for the support of this resolution.

We are now a year and a half into Russia’s unprovoked war of aggression. Ukraine recently kicked off its bold, long-awaited counteroffensive to liberate territory from the brutality of Russian occupation. That assault is bolstered by hundreds of tanks and infantry fighting vehicles provided by the United States and our partners and our allies.

Unfortunately, there are several weapons that Ukraine has requested that are missing from this counteroffensive because the Biden Administration has refused to provide them. One of these weapons is the Army Tactical Missile System, or ATACMS.

With a range of almost two hundred miles, in Ukrainian hands these missile could wreck havoc deep inside Russian occupied territory by striking command and control outposts, ammunition depots, and other sensitive targets. These strikes would cripple Russia’s ability to resist Ukraine’s counteroffensive, thus saving Ukrainian lives and enabling success of Ukraine’s assault.

However, due to a misguided fear of escalating the war, the Biden Administration has refused to provide these weapons to our

friends in Ukraine. This is despite the fact that Ukraine has consistently promised not to use ATACMS to strike targets within Russia itself. Having ATACMS in their arsenal would simply enable the Ukrainians to target almost all of their own territory currently occupied by the Russians. It would give the Russians few places to hide on sovereign Ukrainian land.

Sadly, the pointless delay in providing ATACMS follows a consistent theme throughout the entirety of this conflict. The Biden Administration will slow walk the delivery of a major U.S. weapon system out of fear of escalating this conflict, only to later relent and provide that very system to Ukraine. In every instance, the Kremlin has not significantly retaliated. But President Biden's delay has cost countless Ukrainian lives and only dragged this war out longer.

In the beginning of the conflict, the United States delayed the transfer of Stingers because of a so-called red line drawn by Putin. Yet there is, no wider escalation occurred when we eventually provided those to Ukraine. And later, the Administration delayed the transfer of Patriot missile batteries and HIMARs to Ukraine, as they eventually provided those with no significant response from the Kremlin.

This year we have again seen this with Western main battle tanks and now the training of Ukrainian fighter pilots on Western fighter aircraft. These were provided almost a year after they were first requested from the United States. How many more brave Ukrainians must die before this Administration determines that they have earned ATACMS?

This Administration's hesitancy to provide these missiles to Ukraine is all the more baffling because the United Kingdom recently transferred Storm Shadow missiles to Ukraine, which have a range similar to the ATACMS. Unsurprisingly, this was not met with wider escalation by the Russians outside of Ukraine.

While the United States delays, Putin sources new drones and missiles from its partners in Iran, giving him the ability to carry out attacks on civilian targets in Ukraine and sustaining his war effort.

I recognize that there are some hesitations among those in this body out of concern that the transfer of ATACMS may lower the U.S. stockpiles and decrease American readiness. But let's look at the facts.

The Fiscal Year National Defense Authorization Act authorized the purchase of 1,700 ATACMS for the United States. Since Russia launched its full-scale invasion of Ukraine a year and a half ago, the Pentagon has approved the sale of a total of 211 ATACMS missiles to six countries, none of whom are currently in a war of national survival. Clearly there are enough ATACMS to go around, and we can afford to send some to Ukraine. Let's be clear. Ukraine does not need our entire stockpile of ATACMS. A few well-placed missiles in Ukrainian hands could do the job.

Additionally, just as we have seen past systems transfers, the United States has sought out support from allies and partners who have these weapons also transferred some of their stocks. When we lead by example, our allies follow.

Also, these missiles would not be transferred via any new appropriations but by the authority already granted to the president in previous legislation.

I am proud to have introduced this bipartisan resolution with my colleagues, the chairman of the full committee, Mr. McCaul, and ranking member of the Europe Subcommittee, Mr. Keating, and Messrs. Lieu, Wilson, and Golden. I also want to thank the other members of this committee and chamber, both Republicans and Democrats alike, who have since cosponsored this resolution.

I urge this committee to favorably pass this resolution out of committee and stand with our brave partners in Ukraine.

I yield back my time. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentleman yields.

Any further discussion? Mr. Keating is recognized.

Mr. KEATING. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would like to thank you and the ranking member for holding this important markup today.

And I want to speak briefly on two measures we are considering in today's markup. The first is House Res. 488, a resolution which support U.S. provisions of Army Tactical Missile Systems to Ukraine, also known as ATACMS.

For the first 15 months, Ukraine has fought valiantly and courageously in defense of their freedom against illegal Russian aggression. As part of these efforts, the Biden Administration, in conjunction with U.S. allies and partners in NATO and around the world, have provided Ukraine with extraordinary levels of military, economic, humanitarian, and fulfilling the vast majority of Ukraine's military requests.

Ukraine has asked for ATACMS to strengthen their fighting capabilities and allow them to strike military precise targets deeper inside occupied Ukraine territory. This resolution calls on the Administration to provide Ukraine with ATACMS, while still maintaining readiness of the U.S. military. And that is an important source of bipartisan agreement, that we do nothing in this effort to compromise our readiness as a country. And the expeditious provision of this system will undoubtedly provide the Ukrainian military with the deep strike capability they needed to further disrupt Russia's war fighting ability.

This was a subject of compromise, the readiness component of this, so that we do not compromise our own inventory. It was critical in that regard.

We also address some of the language, as was brought up, and concerns by my friend and colleague about the issue of whether this would be pivotal or not. In addressing that, we changed the language to more speculative in nature. So it was a product of compromise.

I want to thank Chairman Kean for his work on this. And I urge my colleagues to support it.

Second, I want to speak on H.R. 1150, the John Lewis Civil Rights Fellowship Act of 2023. This legislation, which passed the House of the last Congress, would establish a fellowship within the Fulbright program to promote a greater understanding of the history and tenets of non-violent civil rights movements. This fellowship would advance U.S. policy priorities globally and honor the

legacy of the late Congressman John Lewis, whose 33 years in the House and his lifetime of public service moved our country forward in pursuit of a more perfect union.

Again, I want to thank the chairman and the ranking member for holding the markup, as well as the cooperation with Representative Kean. I yield back.

Chairman McCAUL. The gentleman yields back.

Any further discussion? Mr. Self is recognized.

Mr. SELF. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to emphasize something that Representative Kean mentioned. This, it neither authorizes nor appropriates additional funds for these weapon systems. Our citizens are sometimes confused when we send additional equipment and munitions to Ukraine, that this Congress has done that. We are not doing that in this bill. And it is not in this bill.

As a longtime military planner, I have been advocating for ATACMS. But I also associate myself with Mr. Davidson's comments, because I am fundamentally opposed to Congress telling the military how to fight a war.

But given the total incompetence of the Administration and their intransigence to send the appropriate equipment, if we are going to be in this war without a mission statement, without an end State stated, then I understand the frustration of my congressional colleagues to do this.

But I want to emphasize the fact this neither authorizes nor appropriates additional funds to the Administration.

Thank you. I yield back.

Chairman McCAUL. The gentleman yields back.

Any further discussion?

There being no further discussion of the resolution, the committee will move to consideration of amendments. Does any member wish to offer an amendment? Mr. Perry.

Mr. PERRY. Mr. Chairman, I have got an amendment at the desk.

Chairman McCAUL. The clerk shall distribute the amendment. And the clerk shall report the amendment.

[The Amendment offered by Mr. Perry follows:]

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AMENDMENT TO H. RES. 488
OFFERED BY MR. PERRY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Page 3, line 2, strike “provide” and insert “sell”.

Page 3, line 7, strike “transfer” and insert “sell”.



The CLERK. Amendment to H.Res. 488, offered by Mr. Perry of Pennsylvania, page 3, line 2, strike provide and insert sell, page 3, line 7, strike transfer and insert sell.

Chairman MCCAUL. Without objection, further reading of the amendment is dispensed with.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. Perry, is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. PERRY. I thank the chairman for the opportunity.

This is a pretty simple amendment. As you know, what we, our stock and trade up here is the things we say, the things that are written down. And they mean things. The language means something.

When our founding documents say provide for the common defense, provide, that means we are going to make sure it happens and we are going to give, so to speak, the American people whatever it takes to defend them. And so in this circumstance, provide means something as well. The American taxpayer is going to provide Ukraine with the ATACMS.

Now, I am not naive. America is involved in a lot of things where I think it is great when we are on the side of who we believe is right, the side of freedom, the side of liberty, against tyranny, against oppression.

There are few people currently serving that can say that they have fought more against the oligarchal Russian regime once the Soviet Union, even on my own side, for the sake of Ukraine and against Vladimir Putin and against the tyranny of the Russian government against its people and its neighbors.

There are very few people that have had the in-depth discussions with colleagues on my own side of the aisle about the Holodomor, the terror famine, that Russia promulgated against the people of Ukraine in the 1930's and how there are Russians living, ethnic Russians living in Ukraine now. Sure they are living there. The Ukrainians were murdered systematically. And the Russians moved into their empty houses. Sure they are there now.

There have been few people in this organization that have stated more loudly that Ukraine should be able to enjoy its sovereign borders and should be able to make them whole, including Crimea.

And again, I am not naive. If the United States is going to sell arms to our allies and friends and those who we like to be friends or make sure that they have them so that liberty prevails, so that freedom prevails, so that America's interests prevail, I am absolutely all for that. I am all for that.

In this circumstance, I think it is obtuse to disregard the fact that we are \$32 trillion in debt, borrowing every single day to pay our own bills, every single day, and within the last month have agreed essentially to say we are going to add in the next 18 months another \$4 trillion in debt imposed on our American citizens, who are concerned about the sovereignty of our country as an invasion occurs on our borders, north and south now.

While that occurs, we are seemingly more interested in something that is, you know, 5, 8,000 miles away. What is happening in Ukraine is important to the world. It is important to Ukraine. It is important to the United States of America.

What is also important is the United States of America and our borders and our well-being and the fact that we need to be refocusing our efforts on the rising Communist Party of China and what they have in store for the United States of America and the free world.

Now, we can walk and chew gum at the same time. We can help our friends in Ukraine and we can help ourselves. We are a force multiplier by the technology and the things we bring to bear in the armament industry. And it is awesome for America, and it is awesome for our allies. It is awesome. And it keeps us safe, and it keeps us peaceful because we have the provisions. We can push the button. We can make the decision at any time. And our adversaries know that.

I am concerned. I do have a concern that these will be used to go into Russia. And, look, Russia certainly deserves it. They certainly deserve it from Ukraine. They certainly deserve it. That having been said, I do not think the American people signed up for a war with Russia. I do not think they signed up for that. And I think we ought to have a conversation about that.

But that all having been said, all we are talking about is whether Ukraine gets the munitions they need to defend themselves and to regain their sovereignty and their freedom and their right to determine their own destiny. I support that. And I think that the EU and their neighbors in the neighborhood with the most at stake, other than Ukraine, should pony up and pay the bill. We will sell them to them, whatever they need, whatever we can produce, so that they can be successful. That is what this amendment does. And I urge adoption and support.

And I thank the chairman. And I yield the balance.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentleman yields.

Any further discussion? Mr. Hill is recognized.

Mr. HILL. I thank the chairman. I appreciate the opportunity to speak on Mr. Kean's resolution on ATACMS. And I rise in reluctant opposition to my friend from Pennsylvania's amendment.

I think it is true the American people did not sign up for war in Ukraine. But the American people have signed up since our Nation was born to support freedom and American interests. And we have seen that in president after president for 200 years.

And defeating Russia in Ukraine is fundamental to American freedom. And defeating, as the gentleman recognized, the militarization of the South China Sea is in our interest as well for the economic well-being of our families here at home.

The Ukrainians are in the midst of their counteroffensive. And we have seen how effective modern artillery methods, like our HIMARs, can be used in their struggle against Putin's aggression.

The House resolution that Mr. Kean has offered is important to get the Biden Administration to move more quickly, because that is the challenge here. The Administration has struggled with moving more quickly for 15 months. Even from the earliest days of Putin's rumored invasion and then subsequent to his illegal invasion, the Administration has drug their feet on increasing Ukraine's military capabilities. And I would say our European allies as well have drug their feet.

And yet every time the United States and the West provide greater capabilities to the Ukrainian military, we see immediate success on the battlefield and retreat by Putin.

Now, while I agree with my colleagues that they are concerned that the U.S. is doing too much and our other allied nations are doing too little, I share that view. And I have made that view consistently known for 15 months.

As recently as last week, I met with the Treasury Department arguing they should encourage the allies to do more, do more like President Kishida, who announced \$5.5 billion in support for Ukraine. There are many other countries that can do that level of support for buying weapons, for supporting Ukraine's budget, for supporting humanitarian purposes.

There are countries that may not want to do military support financially, but they will support humanitarian efforts. And those are needed.

And that is why yesterday I was delighted to read that the European Union, not known for speed and action, had agreed to set aside \$55 billion in support for Ukraine over the next few years. We need to get them to do more than that. And this is not reconstruction money, Mr. Chairman. This is money to support the military and budget needs of Ukraine in this fight against Putin.

So nothing in the resolution precludes the U.S. from selling Ukraine ATACMS. And I agree with my friend from Pennsylvania that where our military industrial strength can be used successfully to sell these weapons, whether it is to Taiwan or to Ukraine, we should do it. And they should pay us in hard currency for that.

But it is in America's interest, in our citizens' interest, in our economy's interest to see Ukraine victorious and ejecting Putin from its sovereign United Nations recognized borders.

And getting this material to the Ukrainians quickly should be the mission of this government and the mission of the government in Paris and the mission of the government in Bonn and in London, because we are foot dragging. We are foot dragging, Mr. Chairman. And that is why I want to take action on this committee to ensure that we take action quickly and quit delaying the defeat of Putin. Let's make this counteroffensive successful. Let's get Putin to the negotiating table. And let's get this war over in Europe.

And I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentleman yields.

Any further discussion? Mr. Keating, I'm sorry, Mr. Meeks is recognized.

Mr. MEEKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I do not support this amendment. The process by which the United States provides Ukraine with military support that it needs is designed to be both efficient and effective. And we also know that the utmost oversight and accountability also goes into this process.

By striking the word provide and inserting sell, this calls for a completely different process, one that takes longer and changes the nature of our support. This is not the intention of this bipartisan resolution in my opinion.

The United States and our allies have remained unified in providing critical military support to Ukraine in its vital effort to en-

sure that Ukraine has the tools and capability it needs to push back Russia and for Ukraine to defend its sovereignty. So we must remain united in our approach.

And this is what I think has been key to the Administration's approach, constant conversation with our allies, in NATO, the EU, and others, making sure that we are talking to one another and getting them the weapons that they need in unity. This is not just America alone, because we know to fight this evil that has been perpetuated by Russia and Vladimir Putin, it is something that we better do collectively for all, for democracy's sake, for sovereignty of territory's sake. And so we have got to do it in a manner that continues as unified but is efficient.

And I think that is what this bill and that is what we are trying to do, because what we do know, that while Ukrainian soldiers are liberating towns and civilians as we speak, Russia is bombing towns and cities and killing civilians as we speak.

So I am proud of the stance this committee has taken since the beginning of this horrific war of aggression and proudly will continue to support Ukraine in its fight for freedom and justice. And I think it is important, because all are looking at us, our allies, but also Vladimir Putin.

He is waiting for us to say we have changed our minds and we are not going to stay together and we are not going to go through this for the long haul. That is what he counted on from the beginning. He counted on us not being unified in the West. He counted on us being different, separated. He thought that he could separate the United States of America from Germany and from France and from the U.K. and others. He has not succeeded. Now, they cannot stay together. And Congress will divide. We cannot do that.

That is what I like about this, the bill. It keeps us together and speaks with one voice. And I would hope that we continue to support Ukraine in its fight for freedom and justice.

And I yield back.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentleman yields.

Any further discussion?

Mr. Huizenga is recognized.

Mr. HUIZENGA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I've got a couple of observations, and then, through you, Mr. Chairman, to the author of the amendment, I have a question that I want to give him an opportunity to respond to.

And at first, I want to say, look, no one dismisses the problems on our southern border, at least, certainly, not on this side of the aisle. This is something that we have discussed and take very, very seriously about what has been going on.

Nor do I believe many—certainly, and again, not on this side of the aisle that I've experienced—would deny the debt situation. You know, there are some debt deniers out there. I certainly am not one of those. I believe the vast majority of my colleagues are not.

And it's true, a lot of aid and money and equipment has been sent to Ukraine. And this committee has taken some pains in making sure that audits have been done. We've had the auditors in front of—three or four of the various agencies—in front of this committee not that long ago. Because I think we owe it to the Amer-

ican people where their hard-earned tax dollars are going and what are the benefits of that.

Frankly, Mr. Chairman, many of us had encouraged—and I know you are in this camp; I, certainly, was in this camp—we encouraged, cajoled, demanded that this Administration send equipment before the invasion, not waiting until the invasion. We wanted to have more equipment there to deter an invasion, and that did not—that did not happen.

And I am very concerned, Mr. Chairman—and you and I are going to have to have this conversation of some things that I've been hearing offline. Over this weekend, I was in Europe, in Sweden, who is on the cusp of becoming a member of NATO. And that's a different story. But there was a group of us that were over in Stockholm having meetings with both the Swedes as well as representatives from the European Union, where this was a significant conversation.

But some of those reports of U.S., potentially, U.S. Government officials not signing off on outside, non-governmental aid going into Ukraine is very concerning.

So, I say all that to assure the author of this amendment that he has sympathies; he has allies in his concerns. The question is, is the time and place and the spot in which to exercise that?

And here's my question to my friend from Pennsylvania, the author of this amendment: is it your position that no additional money or aid, either military or humanitarian, should be forwarded to the Ukrainian cause at this point? Like enough has been sent? Or are you having an issue with this particular transfer?

And I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. PERRY. I thank the gentleman for the question and for yielding.

I think it's important that we consider—I do not mean to say with undue scrutiny every single transaction or policy/procedure that we're envisioning for Ukraine—but this is a lot of money. We're in debt, and I think that it's appropriate and justifiable to say, how much is this costing; who should be paying the bill? I think that Americans are probably more interested, more willing to pay—and I do not want to take up all your time—for humanitarian things, but when it comes to weaponry, I think that's a little sensitive because we have other—we have other priorities as well. And we've spent a lot. And it goes through the Pentagon, with all due respect, who cannot pass an audit, who just this week talked about billions of dollars that they cannot account for in Ukraine itself.

Mr. HUIZENGA. Yes.

Mr. PERRY. And so, with all due respect to the ranking member about the oversight, Americans do not believe it; I do not believe it, and I think it's reasonable to ask them to pay—I do not know they cannot pay, but their neighbors can.

And I yield.

Mr. HUIZENGA. Reclaiming my time on that, and I saw the report as well about the accounting error that, then, discovered billions of dollars in additional money, which leaves nobody with a good feeling. And this is within our own government.

But what I didn't hear is whether yes or no on that. And I guess I would just ask, you know, if not, why this particular issue? It

seems to me that military equipment is fundamental at this point. If, yes, that we shouldn't be providing any additional aid or military equipment, that could be more problematic and it puts many of us in a difficult situation.

So, reluctantly, I have to oppose the amendment as it's currently written. I've had similar thoughts about making sure that we have accountability in utilizing dollars that have been targeted and put into this already, but I'm not sure that this is the right place.

And with that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentleman yields.

Any further discussion?

Mr. Keating?

Mr. KEATING. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I oppose this amendment. I'm curious why it would even be offered. Because we have, traditionally, been, as this resolution dictates, providing and transferring assets to Ukraine. We have been doing it through a drawdown, through the President, and we've done it through the Ukraine Security Assistance Initiative. That's the way we've done our funding for this. And I do not understand why this would deviate from that.

But I would like to take issue with the comments that our allies aren't doing enough. As of May 23d of this year, the EU has put \$78 billion in assistance to Ukraine, including financial, military, humanitarian, refugee assistance, or \$18 billion directly into military assistance. That's ammunition, air defense, Leopard tanks, fighter jets. And they have the largest military trainers of our personnel over there, too.

So, do not sit here publicly—I do not think it's productive to the overall effort, and anyone shouldn't—and criticize that kind of cooperation, which is unprecedented. There's over 50 countries now working together with the United States and our allies to help Ukraine against this illegal, criminal war that Russia is conducting.

I understand the concerns for our deficit, but where were those concerns—I didn't hear them voiced through any amendment in the process of a 2017 tax—I do not even know what it was called—modification, where over 80 percent of Americans didn't benefit from it at all. And that's over \$2 trillion in our deficit now—approaching \$3 trillion. So, be consistent with the deficit. Because, certainly, a tax change that benefits such a small number of Americans, as opposed to a fundamental security need that benefits all America, there's no question which side of the scale that should be on.

So, I hope this amendment is defeated, and I hope we go on and work as we have. We're doing a great job working together. Every month, usually, in Germany, the Ukraine Defense Contact Group is getting together, all our allies, and they're looking at assets. They're cooperating together. They are sacrificing their own treasure to help a defense that not only benefits Ukraine, but benefits all of us. It's fundamental. We cannot lose this war.

So, I hope this amendment is defeated. I hope we move forward in a bipartisan way to continue to support Ukraine. It's in our own self-interest.

And I yield back.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentleman yields.

Any further discussion?

Mr. Kean is recognized.

Mr. KEAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I oppose this amendment. My resolution calls for the Administration to provide ATACMS to Ukraine immediately to hasten Ukraine's victory. This resolution, as written, does not preclude any means by which to provide these weapons. Biden could sell ATACMS to Ukraine. The President could approve a third-party transfer from allies and partners with ATACMS in their stocks. The President could use the billions remaining in drawdown authority to transfer some of the thousands of ATACMS in U.S. stocks.

Instead, what this resolution does is pressure the Administration to finally provide this critical weapons system via any mechanism or mechanisms as soon as possible to hasten Ukraine's victory. Mr. Perry's amendment takes viable options on how to get ATACMS to Ukraine off the table and waters down the pressure on this Administration to stop slow-rolling provisions or the provision of ATACMS, which is prolonging this costly war.

Mr. Perry's amendment also calls on U.S. allies and partners to sell, rather than transfer, similar systems to Ukraine. However, we have been pushing our European allies to do more to share the burden in supporting Ukraine.

The Brits have stepped up and provided long-range Storm Shadow missiles, which have a similar range to ATACMS. The French are, reportedly, preparing to transfer SCALP long-range missiles to Ukraine as well.

In the name of burden-sharing, I think it's critical that our European allies continue sending weapons to Ukraine from their stocks, as the United States has done. And Congress should call on them to do so.

Finally, the draft of the Fiscal Year 2024 National Defense Authorization Act, which our HASC colleagues are marking up today, authorizes the Ukraine Security Assistance Initiative to direct not less than \$80 million for the procurement of ATACMS for the Ukrainian armed forces.

It's necessary and essential—there are two or three committees in this body responsible for the American national security—are in unison on this matter.

I yield back.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentleman yields.

Any further discussion?

Mr. Lieu is recognized.

Mr. LIEU. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I rise to oppose this amendment. There are three reasons why I chose to co-lead this excellent resolution by Representative Kean.

First, I'm a strong believer in peace and diplomacy. I believe the fastest way to achieve peace is to convince Vladimir Putin that he cannot win militarily in Ukraine. Until he comes to that conclusion, he will continue the war in Ukraine.

No. 2, I previously served on active duty in the United States military for a little over 4 years. I, then, served 21 years in the re-

serves. I studied military history. And it's very clear to me that the side that wins in a war is a side that chooses to win.

This is a war happening in Ukraine. And I'm very pleased that we are now starting to see NATO countries making the decision to support Ukraine, so that they can win. It is not enough simply to support the Ukrainians, so that they do not lose. Because the problem is there's a big risk, if we just do that, we will lose. Because the American public and our NATO allies are not going to be able to continue to sustain funding Ukraine year after year after year after year. The American public simply will not stand for that.

So, we've got to make the decision to win. I'm pleased to see that the Biden Administration has now changed its stance on F-16s and allow training to go forward. Having served in the Air Force on active duty, I believe, frankly, it is insane to look at modern warfare and not say that air power is critical. Air power is critical, and I'm glad that NATO countries are finally coming around to that view.

And then, the third reason that I support this resolution is because we're going to end up spending more money if Russia conquers Ukraine. Because at that point, we're going to spend a lot more money, then, funding every NATO country trying to make sure that Russia doesn't attack them next.

And it's for those reasons I believe we need to give the Ukrainians the weapons they need to win. And frankly, it doesn't make any sense why we would give them HIMARS, and just because this system goes a little bit further, somehow we say, "Oh, there's some red line here that we cannot give this system to them." Of course, we can, and we should and we need to.

With that, I yield back.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentleman yields.

Any further discussion?

Mr. Crow is recognized.

Mr. CROW. Thank you, Chairman.

I oppose this amendment for the reason that has been well-articulated by my friends on both sides of the aisle. But I did want to take a moment to speak on the larger resolution for just a moment.

My office did express our concerns in advance of the hearing. And I do not know what happened. I do not know why we're having the debate here. I won't speak to that.

But I do believe that Chairman Kean has offered this in good faith. I agree with the vast majority of it. I think we're 90 percent of the way there. I've been given a guarantee that you all will work with me to address some of my concerns and some of the wording, and I, certainly, believe that to be true.

So, I'm going to change my vote. I will support it—with the understanding that we're going to negotiate and we'll, hopefully, get where we need to be before our floor vote as well.

So, thank you. I yield back.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentleman yields.

Any other members that seek recognition?

[No response.]

There being no further discussion, the question now occurs on the amendment offered by Mr. Perry, No. 225.

All those in favor, signify by saying aye.

All opposed, signify by saying no.

In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it, and the amendment is not agreed to.

Are there any further amendments?

[No response.]

There being no further amendments, I move that the committee report H.Res. 488 to the House with a favorable recommendation.

All those in favor, signify by saying aye.

All opposed, signify by saying no.

In the opinion of the chair, the ayes have it, and the motion is agreed to.

Without objection, the motion to reconsider is laid on the table.

Staff is authorized to make any technical and conforming changes.

The committee will recess. We will reconvene at 1 p.m. for a vote, so that we have all members present to participate in that vote. And that is 1 p.m., just before the votes are called, I believe, about 1:15.

And with that, the committee is in recess.

[Recess.]

Chairman McCAUL. A quorum being present, the committee will come to order.

The committee postponed further proceedings on reporting the measure en bloc, as amended, if amended, on which the ayes prevailed by voice vote.

The question now occurs on reporting the measure en bloc, as amended, if amended, to the House with a favorable recommendation.

The clerk will call the roll.

The CLERK. Representative Smith?

Smith?

[No response.]

Representative Wilson?

Wilson?

[No response.]

Representative Perry?

Perry?

[No response.]

Representative Issa?

Issa?

[No response.]

Representative Wagner?

Mrs. WAGNER. Aye.

The CLERK. Wagner votes aye.

Representative Mast?

Mr. MAST. Aye.

The CLERK. Mast votes aye.

Representative Buck?

Buck?

[No response.]

Representative Burchett?

Mr. BURCHETT. Aye.

The CLERK. Burchett votes aye.

Representative Green?

Mr. GREEN. Aye.
 The CLERK. Green votes aye.
 Representative Barr?
 Mr. BARR. Aye.
 The CLERK. Barr votes aye.
 Representative Ronny Jackson?
 Jackson?
 [No response.]
 Representative Young Kim?
 Mrs. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. Aye.
 The CLERK. Kim votes aye.
 Representative Salazar?
 Salazar?
 [No response.]
 Representative Huizenga?
 Huizenga?
 [No response.]
 Representative Radewagen?
 Mrs. RADEWAGEN. Aye.
 The CLERK. Radewagen votes aye.
 Representative Hill?
 Hill?
 [No response.]
 Representative Davidson?
 Mr. DAVIDSON. Aye.
 The CLERK. Davidson votes aye.
 Representative Baird?
 Baird?
 [No response.]
 Representative Waltz?
 Waltz?
 [No response.]
 Representative Kean?
 Kean?
 [No response.]
 Representative Lawler?
 Mr. LAWLER. Aye.
 The CLERK. Lawler votes aye.
 Representative MILLS.
 Mr. MILLS. Aye.
 The CLERK. Mills votes aye.
 Representative McCormick?
 Mr. MCCORMICK. Aye.
 The CLERK. McCormick votes aye.
 Representative Moran?
 Mr. MORAN. Aye.
 The CLERK. Moran votes aye.
 Representative James?
 James?
 [No response.]
 Representative Self?
 Mr. SELF. Aye.
 The CLERK. Self votes aye.
 Ranking Member Meeks?

Mr. MEEKS. Aye.
 The CLERK. Meeks votes aye.
 Representative Sherman?
 Sherman?
 [No response.]
 Representative Connolly?
 Mr. CONNOLLY. Aye.
 The CLERK. Connolly votes aye.
 Representative Keating?
 Mr. KEATING. Aye.
 The CLERK. Keating votes aye.
 Representative Bera?
 Mr. BERA. Aye.
 The CLERK. Bera votes aye.
 Representative Castro?
 Castro?
 [No response.]
 Representative TITUS.
 Ms. TITUS. Aye.
 The CLERK. Titus votes aye.
 Representative Lieu?
 Mr. LIEU. Aye.
 The CLERK. Lieu votes aye.
 Representative Wild?
 Ms. WILD. Aye.
 The CLERK. Wild votes aye.
 Representative Phillips?
 Mr. PHILLIPS. Aye.
 The CLERK. Phillips votes aye.
 Representative Allred?
 Mr. ALLRED. Aye.
 The CLERK. Allred votes aye.
 Representative Andy Kim?
 Mr. KIM OF NEW JERSEY. Aye.
 The CLERK. Kim votes aye.
 Representative Jacobs?
 Jacobs?
 [No response.]
 Representative Manning?
 Ms. MANNING. Aye.
 The CLERK. Manning votes aye.
 Representative Cherfilus-McCormick?
 Mrs. CHERFILUS-McCORMICK. Aye.
 The CLERK. Cherfilus McCormick votes aye.
 Representative Stanton?
 Mr. STANTON. Aye.
 The CLERK. Stanton votes aye.
 Representative Dean?
 Ms. DEAN. Aye.
 The CLERK. Dean votes aye.
 Representative Moskowitz?
 Moskowitz?
 [No response.]
 Representative Jonathan Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON OF ILLINOIS. Aye.

The CLERK. Jackson votes aye.

Representative Kamlager-Dove?

Kamlager-Dove?

[No response.]

Representative Costa?

Costa?

[No response.]

Representative Crow?

Mr. CROW. Aye.

The CLERK. Crow votes aye.

Representative Schneider?

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Aye.

The CLERK. Schneider votes aye.

Chairman McCAUL. How am I recorded?

The chairman votes aye.

Mr. KEAN. Mr. Chairman, how am I recorded? Congressman Kean.

The CLERK. Mr. Kean?

Mr. KEAN. I vote aye.

The CLERK. Kean votes aye.

Mr. HUIZENGA. Huizenga. Unrecorded.

The CLERK. Mr. Huizenga?

Mr. HUIZENGA. Aye.

The CLERK. Huizenga votes aye.

Chairman McCAUL. Have all members voted?

Does any member wish to record or change their vote?

[No response.]

The clerk will report the tally.

The CLERK. On this vote, the ayes are 33 and the noes are zero.

Chairman McCAUL. The ayes have it, and the motion is agreed to.

Without objection, the motion to reconsider is laid on the table.

Staff is authorized to make any technical and conforming changes.

Pursuant to the previous order of the committee, each measure is ordered favorably reported, as amended, if amended, and each measure so amended shall be reported as a single amendment in the nature of a substitute.

This concludes consideration of the measures noticed by the committee for today.

And I want to thank all the members.

There being no further business to transact, the committee stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 1:18 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]

APPENDIX



**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP NOTICE
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6128**

Michael T. McCaul (R-TX), Chairman

June 16, 2023

Revised

TO: MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

You are respectfully requested to attend an OPEN markup of the Committee on Foreign Affairs to be held at 10:00 a.m. in room 210 of the House Visitor's Center. The markup is available by live webcast on the Committee website at <https://foreignaffairs.house.gov/>.

DATE: Wednesday, June 21, 2023

TIME: 10:00 a.m.

LOCATION: HVC-210

MARKUP OF: H.Res. 488, Calling on the Biden administration to immediately provide Army Tactical Missile Systems to Ukraine;

H.R. 3033, To repeal the sunset provision of the Iran Sanctions Act of 1996, and for other purposes;

****** H.Res. 492, Condemning the Government of Iran's state-sponsored persecution of the Baha'i minority and its continued violation of the International Covenants on Human Rights;

H.R. 4039, To prohibit the use of funds supporting any activities within Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China;

****** H.R. 4132, To provide for the imposition of sanctions with respect to forced organ harvesting within the People's Republic of China, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 1150, To establish the John Lewis Civil Rights Fellowship to fund international internships and research placements for early- to mid-career professionals to study nonviolent movements to establish and protect civil rights around the world.

****NOTE: Measures updated/added**

***NOTE: Measures may be added**

By Direction of the Chair

The Committee on Foreign Affairs seeks to make its facilities accessible to persons with disabilities. If you are in need of special accommodations, please call 202-226-8467 at least four business days in advance of the event, whenever practicable. Questions with regard to special accommodations in general (including availability of Committee materials in alternative formats and assistive listening devices) may be directed to the Committee.

Committee on Foreign Affairs

118th Congress

ATTENDANCE

Meeting on: Full Committee Markup

Date: June 21, 2023

Representative	Present	Absent	Representative	Present	Absent
Mr. McCaul	X		Mr. Meeks	X	
Mr. Smith	X		Mr. Sherman		X
Mr. Wilson		X	Mr. Connolly	X	
Mr. Perry	X		Mr. Keating	X	
Mr. Issa		X	Mr. Bera	X	
Mrs. Wagner	X		Mr. Castro		X
Mr. Mast	X		Ms. Titus	X	
Mr. Buck		X	Mr. Lieu	X	
Mr. Burchett	X		Ms. Wild	X	
Mr. Green	X		Mr. Phillips	X	
Mr. Barr	X		Mr. Allred	X	
Mr. Jackson		X	Mr. Kim	X	
Mrs. Kim	X		Ms. Jacobs		X
Mrs. Salazar	X		Ms. Manning	X	
Mr. Huizenga	X		Mrs. Cherfilus-McCormick	X	
Mrs. Radewagen	X		Mr. Stanton	X	
Mr. Hill	X		Ms. Dean	X	
Mr. Davidson	X		Mr. Moskowitz		X
Mr. Baird	X		Mr. Jackson	X	
Mr. Waltz		X	Mrs. Kamlager-Dove		X
Mr. Kean	X		Mr. Costa		X
Mr. Lawler	X		Mr. Crow	X	
Mr. Mills	X		Mr. Schneider	X	
Mr. McCormick	X				
Mr. Moran	X				
Mr. James		X			
Mr. Self	X				

To fill out this form online: Either use the tab key to travel through each field or mouse click each line or within blue box. Type in information.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

Note: Red boxes with red type will NOT print.

Day Wednesday Date June 21 Room HVC-210

Starting Time 1012 Ending Time 1318

Recesses ☐ (____ to ____) (____ to ____) (____ to ____) (____ to ____) (____ to ____) (____ to ____)

Presiding Member(s)

Chairman McCaul

Check all of the following that apply:

Open Session ☒

Executive (closed) Session ☐

Televised ☒

Electronically Recorded (taped) ☐

Stenographic Record ☒

To select a box, mouse click it, or tab to it and use the enter key to select. Another click on the same box will deselect it.

BILLS FOR MARKUP: (Include bill number(s) and title(s) of legislation.)

Attached

COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:

Attached

NON-COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:

None

STATEMENTS FOR THE RECORD: (List any statements submitted for the record.)

Connolly

ACTIONS TAKEN DURING THE MARKUP: (Attach copies of legislation and amendments.)

Attached

RECORDED VOTES TAKEN (FOR MARKUP): (Attach final vote tally sheet listing each member.)

Subject

Attached

Yeas

Nays

Present

Not Voting

TIME SCHEDULED TO RECONVENE _____

or

TIME ADJOURNED 1318

Clear Form

Meg Wagner

Full Committee Hearing Coordinator

**STATEMENT FOR THE RECORD FROM REPRESENTATIVE
CONNOLLY**

**Markup
House Foreign Affairs Committee
10 AM, Wednesday, June 20, 2023
Rep. Gerald E. Connolly**

**H.Res. 492, Condemning the Government of Iran's state-sponsored persecution of its
Baha'i minority and its continued violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights
and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights**

I am glad to be a cosponsor of H.Res. 492, Condemning the Government of Iran's state-sponsored persecution of its Baha'i minority and its continued violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. I was a cosponsor of a similar resolution in the 117th Congress, and I believe the persecution of the Baha'i is an issue this Committee should continue to raise until the plight of the largest minority religious group in Iran is improved. Baha'is are oppressed and denied the full rights of citizenship in Iran. They are a persecuted class in a country that specializes in using propaganda to systematically marginalize the regime's domestic and international scapegoats. This resolution is an important message for Tehran. There are deep-seated, institutional impediments to Iran emerging from its global isolation, and the nature of U.S. leadership in the world means that we cannot turn a blind eye to such human rights abuses. I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting this resolution.

**H.Res. 488, Calling on the Biden administration to immediately provide Army Tactical
Missile Systems to Ukraine**

I am proud to cosponsor this resolution and voice my support for providing Ukraine the necessary equipment and armaments to defend their sovereign territorial integrity. Not in eighty years has Europe witnessed the level of depravity and brutality inflicted upon towns, villages and cities filled with innocent people who are, in the view of the delusional pan-Russian leader in the Kremlin, guilty of one sin: they seek to be a free people. That cannot be a sin, not in Ukraine, not anywhere in the world. Some pundits and far-right politicians have disingenuously argued the conflict in Ukraine is just a simple territorial dispute and that the United States must abstain from involvement. That is wrong. The stakes are truly about the future of liberal democratic values, ways of life that infuse the human spirit with freedom, versus the alternative, the absolute suppression of those freedoms.

It is an understatement to say the Ukrainian people have displayed the utmost courage in repelling a brutal invasion from Russia. Ukrainians have shown time and time again that they have the will, bravery, and technical capacity to handle these types of systems. Under President Biden's leadership, the United States has used NATO as the arsenal of democracy to counteract the global march towards autocracy and assist Ukraine in its defense of her territorial integrity. But we must provide Ukraine what it needs to defend itself, its people, and its territory.

RECORDED VOTE FOR THE RECORD



COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP
 118th CONGRESS
 VOTES OF THE COMMITTEE

Date: June 21, 2023
 Vote: En Bloc

Representative	Yea	Nay	Representative	Yea	Nay
Representative Smith			Ranking Member Meeks	X	
Representative Wilson			Representative Sherman		
Representative Perry			Representative Connolly	X	
Representative Issa			Representative Keating	X	
Representative Wagner	X		Representative Bera	X	
Representative Mast	X		Representative Castro		
Representative Buck			Representative Titus	X	
Representative Burchett	X		Representative Lieu	X	
Representative Green	X		Representative Wild	X	
Representative Barr	X		Representative Phillips	X	
Representative Ronny Jackson			Representative Allred	X	
Representative Young Kim	X		Representative Andy Kim	X	
Representative Salazar			Representative Jacobs		
Representative Huizenga	X		Representative Manning	X	
Representative Radewagen	X		Representative Cherfilus-McCormick	X	
Representative Hill			Representative Stanton	X	
Representative Davidson	X		Representative Dean	X	
Representative Baird			Representative Moskowitz		
Representative Waltz			Representative Jonathan Jackson	X	
Representative Kean	X		Representative Kamlager-Dove		
Representative Lawler	X		Representative Costa		
Representative Mills	X		Representative Crow	X	
Representative McCormick	X		Representative Schneider	X	
Representative Moran	X				
Representative James					
Representative Self	X				
Mr. Chairman	X				

Yeas [33] Nays [0]

MARKUP SUMMARY

6/21/2023 Foreign Affairs Markup Summary

By unanimous consent, the Chair called up the following measures, previously provided to Members, to be considered *en bloc*:

1. [H.R. 3033](#), To repeal the sunset provision of the Iran Sanctions Act of 1996, and for other purposes. (Steel)
2. [H.Res. 492](#), Condemning the Government of Iran’s state-sponsored persecution of the Baha’i minority and its continued violation of the International Covenants on Human Rights. (Schakowsky)
3. [H.R. 4039](#), To prohibit the use of funds supporting any activities within Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of the People’s Republic of China. (Moran)
 - [Moran #23](#), an amendment in the nature of a substitute to H.R. 4039
4. [H.R. 4132](#), To provide for the imposition of sanctions with respect to forced organ harvesting within the People’s Republic of China, and for other purposes. (Perry)
 - [Perry #224](#), an amendment in the nature of a substitute to H.R. 4132
5. [H.R. 1150](#), To establish the John Lewis Civil Rights Fellowship to fund international internships and research placements for early- to mid-career professionals to study nonviolent movements to establish and protect civil rights around the world. (Williams)

The measures considered *en bloc* were agreed to and ordered favorably reported, as amended, if amended, to the House by a 33 to 0 vote.

The Chair called up the following measures separately:

6. [H.Res. 488](#), Calling on the Biden administration to immediately provide Army Tactical Missile Systems to Ukraine. (Kean) (ordered favorably reported to the House by a voice vote)
 - [Perry Amendment #225](#) (not adopted, voice vote)