

# MARKUP OF VARIOUS MEASURES

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

FIRST SESSION

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## MARKUP OF VARIOUS MEASURES

Thursday, October 19, 2023

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:33 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.Res. 559, Declaring it is the policy of the United States that a nuclear Islamic Republic of Iran is not acceptable; H.R. 5826, No Paydays for Hostage-Takers Act; H.R. 340, Hamas International Financing Prevention Act; H.R. 3266, Peace and Tolerance in Palestinian Education Act; H.R. 3774, the SHIP Act; H.R. 2973, the Maritime Act of 2023; H.R. 599, Urging the European Union to designate Hezbollah in its entirety as a terrorist organization, and finally, H.R. 1809, Block the Use of Transatlantic Technology in Iranian Made Drones Act.

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.

I also want to notify members that we will be using a new electronic voting system today for the first time, and we'll do a test of that with members prior to the votes. So, I think that will save us a lot of time.

So, with that, I'm going to move into the first bill to save time. I know both sides have conference at 11.

So, pursuant to notice, I'll now call up H.Res. 559, Declaring it the policy of the United States that a nuclear Islamic Republic of Iran is not acceptable.

The resolution was circulated in advance.

The clerk shall designate the resolution.

The CLERK. "H.Res. 559, Declaring it is the policy of the United States that a nuclear Islamic Republic of Iran is not acceptable."

Chairman McCAUL. Without objection, the first reading is dispensed with.

The resolution is considered read and open to amendment at any point.

[The resolution H.Res. 559 follows:]

118TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

## H. RES. 559

Declaring it is the policy of the United States that a nuclear Islamic Republic of Iran is not acceptable.

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### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JUNE 27, 2023

Mr. McCaul (for himself, Mr. SCHNEIDER, Mr. LAMBORN, Mr. GOLDEN of Maine, Mr. WILSON of South Carolina, Mr. SHERMAN, Mr. McCORMICK, and Ms. MANNING) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

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## RESOLUTION

Declaring it is the policy of the United States that a nuclear Islamic Republic of Iran is not acceptable.

Whereas an Islamic Republic of Iran that possesses a nuclear weapon would be an unacceptable threat to regional and global security;

Whereas Iran continues to enrich and stockpile uranium far in excess of the limits set under United Nations Security Council Resolution 2231 (2015);

Whereas the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) confirmed in May 2023 that Iran continues to enrich uranium to 60-percent purity;

Whereas the United States Ambassador to the Vienna Office of the United Nations and to the IAEA, Laura Holgate,

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affirmed “Iran’s production of uranium enriched up to 60 percent has no credible peaceful purpose.”;

Whereas IAEA investigators found uranium particles enriched to 83.7 percent at Iran’s Fordow nuclear facility in January 2023;

Whereas uranium enriched to 90 percent is weapons-grade material;

Whereas at a press conference in January 2023, IAEA Director General Rafael Grossi stated regarding Iran: “One thing is true: They have amassed enough nuclear material for several nuclear weapons.”;

Whereas, in March 2023, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Mark Milley, testified that “Iran could produce fissile material for a nuclear weapon in less than two weeks and would only take several more months to produce an actual nuclear weapon.”;

Whereas Iran is now in possession of irreversible and dangerous nuclear knowledge;

Whereas Iran’s ongoing nuclear escalation poses a serious threat to the United States and its partners and allies including Israel; and

Whereas international complacency toward Iran’s illicit nuclear program threatens the global nonproliferation regime: Now, therefore, be it

1       *Resolved*, That the House of Representatives declares

2       it is the policy of the United States—

3               (1) that a nuclear Islamic Republic of Iran is

4       not acceptable;

4

3

1           (2) that Iran must not be able to obtain a nu-  
2 clear weapon under any circumstances or conditions;

3           (3) to use all means necessary to prevent Iran  
4 from obtaining a nuclear weapon; and

5           (4) to recognize and support the freedom of ac-  
6 tion of partners and allies, including Israel, to pre-  
7 vent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon.

○

Chairman McCAUL. I now recognize myself for an opening Statement.

Just today, we get a report that three suicide drones were launched at U.S. forces at the al-Tanf Garrison in eastern Syria earlier today. And earlier reports are now coming in of a possible drone attack on the U.S. base at the Green Village now as well.

On October 7th, Israelis awoke to gunfire, rockets, and explosions surrounding them. Iranian-backed Hamas terrorists unleashed a brutal terrorist attack that led to the deadliest day in the history of Israel.

At least 1500 Hamas terrorists broke through the border from Gaza into Israel and brutalized every person they encountered. Terrorists were kicking in doors, storming houses, massacring women, children, and elderly.

At the same time, Hamas launched thousands of rockets into Israel, and as part of their barbaric assault, Hamas kidnapped at least 200 hostages and dragged them back into Gaza.

I spoke with the Israeli Ambassador last week, and he personally told me about some of the horrible war crimes that Hamas committed. Dozens of babies were murdered. Many were found decapitated and burned. Holocaust survivors were kidnapped, and 260 people at a music festival were slaughtered. These ISIS-like atrocities will haunt the world forever.

So, I would like to start with a moment of silence, as we remember the victims of this massacre, in honor of the lives that they lived.

[Moment of silence.]

Now, as Israel responds in self-defense, the United States stands strongly with our friend and ally as it protects itself from Iran-backed terrorism.

This is a moment of moral clarity. Hamas has shown us exactly who they are. They have no regard for human life, whether it be young or old, Israeli or Palestinian.

And they have consistently and significantly been enabled and funded by Iran. As Jake Sullivan noted last week, Iran has been providing funding, training, capabilities support, engagement, and contact with Hamas for years and years.

And now, we are hearing reports of the five attempted suicide drone attacks in Syria and Iraq threatening our troops in the region as we speak.

We need a robust response to this catastrophic war that protects the United States and our allies. That includes limiting the resources available to our adversaries and bolstering our deterrence against those actively trying to harm us.

And that's why I have introduced my bipartisan resolution to State clearly, with no caveats, that it is the policy of the United States that a nuclear Iran is not acceptable.

The resolution States that Iran must not be able to obtain a nuclear weapon under any circumstances, and the United States must use all means necessary to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon.

I would like to also talk just briefly about my trip to a kibbutz on the border of Israel and Gaza with the then-Speaker McCarthy just last year. In the month prior, they had 4500 rockets fired. And

everyone I met in that village was massacred, slaughtered. In the daycare center, the children I saw were slaughtered, shot to death, beheaded, and burned.

And when the press says it did not happen, it did, because I've seen the pictures of the burned babies and the decapitated children and the blood at cribs, baby cribs. They're monsters and this needs to stop.

Today, we will also consider Brian Mast's bill to impose sanctions on anyone supporting Hamas or Palestinian Islamic Jihad. Hamas just committed some of the worst crimes against humanity the world has ever seen. Any support to these war criminals is indefensible.

And we will consider, also, Joe Wilson's bill, the No Paydays for Hostage-Takers Act, to deter any future hostage-taking Iran and other U.S. adversaries. This bill pushes the Administration to impose Levinson Act sanctions on hostage-taking. It also requires the Administration to deny visas for travel to certain sanctioned Iranian officials and urges the Secretary of State to block travel to Iran on U.S. passports.

As Hamas holds over 200 innocent hostages in Iran—in Gaza, I should say—we are reminded again of the urgency of protecting Americans from more hostage-taking by Iran.

I want to thank Mike Lawler for his bill, the SHIP Act, to address the significant amount of Iranian oil that is still being shipped and refined around the world. These oil revenues give Iran a lifeline that is used to fund its support to terrorists and proxies around the world. His bill is a vital tool to cutting this funding off to Iran.

And with that, is there any further discussion on the resolution? Mr. Meeks is recognized.

Mr. MEEKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And I join your remarks in talking about the terrorist organization known as Hamas, the horrendous assault, killing, hostage-taking that took place on that Saturday, October the 7th, and condemn it with everything that I have. And I think that we are all unanimously in accord with that.

My remarks now are on H.Res. 559. This committee has a long history of working to halt Iran's nuclear program. We all know why the terrorist regime in Tehran should never ever obtain a nuclear weapon.

In 2015, the United States entered into a multilateral diplomatic agreement which verifiably capped Iran to uranium enrichment at 3.67 percent; closed the plutonium pathway Arak; shipped Iran's highly enriched uranium stockpile out of the country; mothballed subterfuges, and provided for a robust IAEA oversight.

Unfortunately, and however, since President Trump's hasty withdrawal from the JCPOA, the options to stop it from advancing even further to weapons grade, 90 percent highly enriched uranium are even more limited. Iran's nuclear program has now surged to extraordinarily dangerous levels.

In August, the IAEA reported that Iran's stockpile of 60 percent enriched uranium has grown since its May report. Iran now possesses almost 15 times the amount of enriched uranium allowed under the JCPOA.

Furthermore, in September, Iran informed the IAEA of its decision to remove about one-third of the IAEA inspectors from the country.

We are living in and this is a very dangerous moment in dealing with Iran's nuclear program. I would argue that we cannot take diplomacy off the table because every other option comes with a much higher risk.

In May, White House National Security Adviser Jake Sullivan said the following, and I quote, "We are also engaging Iran diplomatically regarding its nuclear program and we continue to believe that it was a tragic mistake to leave the deal with nothing at all to replace it. But we have made clear to Iran that it can never be permitted to obtain a nuclear weapon. And as President Biden has repeatedly reaffirmed, he will take the actions that are necessary to stand by this Statement, including by recognizing Israel's freedom of action." End quote.

The resolution today complements the Biden Administration's policy of leaving all options on the table, and thereby, I am pleased to support it.

The regime in Iran can never be allowed to obtain a nuclear weapon.

I yield back.

Chairman MCCAUL. Is there any further discussion on the resolution?

Mr. Mills is recognized.

Mr. MILLS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I just wanted to make a brief comment. And again, I appreciate Ranking Member Meeks' comments with regards to bipartisan support and efforts. And clearly, I respect my colleague greatly.

But I will point out the fact that one of the things that continues to be discussed is that the increase in nuclear enrichment by Iran is somehow as a result of us removing ourselves from what was very much a failed resolution on JCPOA, also known as Resolution 2231.

I would also note that, when we continue to try and look at it from a partisan perspective by saying that this was Trump's fault, or whatever, I would also like to note that we also had President Obama who released \$1.7 billion in cash. In 2020, that led to an increase in Hezbollah's activities, as well as for every one of the Iranian proxy militias of Iraq. That resulted in more attacks by Qais Khazali, Hadi Al-Amiri, and the Hashd al-Shaabi against our U.S. embassies.

So, I want to go ahead and say that we must make sure that we prevent a nuclear Iran. We must ensure that we hold our adversaries accountable. We must acknowledge Hamas, Houthis, the Hezbollah under General Hassan Nasrallah, as well as for the rest of the proxy militias of Iraq, as an enemy.

And certainly, with the atrocities that have been committed in Israel, I do not think that it's a time to necessarily have to point out the partisanship of where this comes from, but even the General-Secretary of the U.N. Ban Ki-moon and General-Secretary Guterres, both during their time as the head of U.N. said that mid-range ballistic missiles were being transferred by Iran to the Houthis in Yemen, which a clear and direct violation of JCPOA.

There must be accountability for those who actually violate these agreements, and we must be able to call it and lay the blame where it is without partisanship.

With that, I yield back.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentleman yields.

Any further discussion on the resolution.

Mr. Castro is recognized.

Mr. CASTRO. Thank you, Chairman.

I strongly oppose Iran's efforts to develop a nuclear weapon and support efforts to stop that from happening, as we all do. In fact, we did have a working strategy to do that called the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action. If the JCPOA was in effect today, Iran would have had real constraints on its nuclear capability and we would have had valuable time to figure out how to oppose its nuclear ambitions and other malign activities.

I was extremely disappointed that the Trump Administration decided to remove these constraints on Iran's nuclear program by violating, and then, withdrawing from the JCPOA.

I believe that, in this resolution, if we're discussing the threat that Iran's nuclear program poses, we need to be honest about how and why we got here.

I, additionally, have some reservations about the language in this resolution. In particular, the language that States that the United States must, quote, "use all means necessary to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon." That language is categorical, and my concern is that it could be construed as language of an AUMF.

I understand the value in making statements like this to provide leverage, but that's only relevant if there's an active diplomatic process to provide Iran an alternative. We must bring Iran back to the table, and I'm disappointed that this language is not paired with a strong call for diplomacy, so Iran has an opportunity to avoid conflict.

I yield back, Chairman.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentleman yields.

This resolution is simply one to make clear what the policy of the United States is and to provide deterrence—to allow the diplomats, then, to do their job. It seems to me that if the Congress States unequivocally that a nuclear Iran is not acceptable, that will only empower our diplomats when they go to the negotiating table.

With that, I recognize Mrs. Kim.

Mrs. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. Thank you for recognizing me, Chairman.

I strongly support your resolution to declare that it is the policy of the United States that a nuclear Islamic Republic of Iran is unacceptable.

Earlier this year, the International Atomic Energy Agency investigators found uranium particles enriched to 83.7 percent, and weapons grade uranium is 90 percent enriched.

Just last month, Iran kicked out several IAEA inspectors. And even when the JCPOA was in place, it continued to develop its ballistic missile capabilities.

Iran has made clear that its goal is to wipe Israel off the map. Its malign influence campaign and support for terrorist groups in



the Middle East, such as Hezbollah, Hamas, and Palestinian Islamic Jihad, contributes to Iran's goal of wiping out Israel.

And for far too long, we have not taken these threats seriously enough. Now, Iran is dangerously close to developing an atomic weapon and is more blatantly supporting attacks on the Israeli people.

So, I join my colleagues in stating that a nuclear Islamic Republic of Iran is unacceptable, and is a direct threat to the United States, Israel, and other allies.

So, I urge my colleagues to support your resolution, and I yield the balance of my time.

Chairman McCAUL. The gentlelady yields.

Any further discussion?

Ms. Manning is recognized.

Ms. MANNING. Thank you, Chairman Meeks and Ranking Member McCaul, for your leadership on this important issue.

I am proud to support H.Res. 559, a bipartisan resolution I helped introduce with Chairman McCaul and colleagues on both sides of the aisle, to make clear that we will never tolerate Iran acquiring a nuclear weapon.

Iran is the principal source of instability in the region. It is a major threat to our interests and remains the world's leading sponsor of terrorism, supporting terrorist groups like Hamas in their brutal quest to destroy our ally Israel.

Make no mistake, Iran has been funding, training, and supporting Hamas and Hezbollah for years. They are a threat to Israel's very existence. We've seen the gruesome result of Iran's support of Hamas over the past 11 days.

Yesterday, I met with the families of three people being held hostage by Hamas, including a 3-year-old girl whose parents were killed on October 7. The terror she must be facing, being held in Gaza alone, is unimaginable. This is the kind of terror Iran facilitates.

And I am glad that the Administration has finally decided to no longer permit Iran to access the \$6 billion in Iranian assets currently being held in restricted accounts in Qatar.

An armed Iran with a nuclear weapon would represent an even greater threat entirely unacceptable to Israel and to the world. For the past few years, Iran has flagrantly violated the terms of the nuclear deal, blown past restrictions, continued to enrich uranium to dangerous levels—bringing it closer than ever to being able to produce a nuclear weapon.

Iran has stockpiled uranium at or significantly above 60 percent purity and has limited access and cooperation with international nuclear inspectors. As Iran approaches ever closer to the nuclear threshold, we must maintain and strengthen the strong sanctions we have in place, while making clear where we stand.

That is why this resolution emphasizes that it is U.S. policy to prevent a nuclear-armed Iran using all means necessary, as well as to support our partners and allies, like Israel, in the face of such an existential threat. Sending a clear message that acquiring an illegal nuclear weapons capacity is unacceptable is all about deterring Iran, not seeking confrontation or war with them.

Mr. Chairman, colleagues on both sides of the aisle should agree that it is absolutely in our interest to restrain Iran's nuclear ambitions and in the interest of a more stable, secure, and peaceful region.

That is why I urge all members to join me in supporting the resolution, and I yield back.

Chairman McCAUL. The gentlelady yields back.

Any further discussion?

Mr. Mast is recognized.

Mr. MAST. Thank you, Chairman, and I want to thank you, Chairman McCaul, and I want thank you, Ranking Member Meeks. You have put forward strong, unapologetic policies that is necessary for the United States of America to be the United States of America. That is what this is and that is what the world expects of us. Be strong, be unapologetic, recognize your friends, recognize your enemies. Stand unapologetically alongside of your friends. Stand unapologetically against the enemies of the United States of America and against those enemies of our allies. And that is what your policy seeks to do. I think the language in there, all needs necessary, is vitally important.

Again, I think it is exactly what is expected of the powerhouse, the biggest heavy weight in the game, the United States of America, to use that kind of language, all means necessary. Were that not to be in there, are we, the United States of America, that the people, the world, the globe expects us to be, I would argue that we are not if we do not have the commitment to use all means necessary to stand against what we believe to be evil, wrong, the list of adjectives that we could use to describe what has been proven in these last couple of weeks that we knew, Iran, Hamas, Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, Palestinian Islam Jihad, Lion's Den, take your group, your pick of these groups of terrorists, Iranian tentacles, supported by the Palestinian people. Let's not gloss over that. These groups are absolutely supported by the Palestinian people from elementary school all the way up into the elderly. And so, yes, the best language that you could have used and I just want to applaud you on showing the strength that we need to be showing in this time and you have my support.

Chairman McCAUL. Thank you, sir. The gentleman yields. Any further discussion?

Ms. KAMLAGER-DOVE.

Ms. KAMLAGER-DOVE. Thank you, Mr. Chair and Ranking Member. I want to say that I support the spirit of this resolution. Yes, Iran should never have or have access to a nuclear weapon. There is no equivocation there. There is no equivocation there. And I want to remind my colleagues that the words we use in this committee matter. The messages coming from this committee matter.

This is a time when tensions are high, but the stakes are also high and when we are inflammatory with or how we talk about confronting serious threats, there are realized consequences that hurt our ability to do that effectively. We have spent a lot of time in this committee reviewing the mistakes of the past. But what is the point in doing that if we are not applying those lessons to the present and the future?

I hope that we continue to embrace the very important and critical role of diplomacy, the importance of maintaining guardrails for this democracy, because as a democracy, our foreign policy decisions are subject to checks and balances. And we have a duty to act on verifiable intelligence with thoughtful consideration.

The worst thing we ever want is to embark upon reckless actions or rhetoric that can fuel wars, that can break alliances. We cannot afford to do those things. We cannot afford to jeopardize the parts of the status quo that keep Americans safe.

Enemies of America, it is important that we elevate who they are and that we are honest about who they are. I hope at some point we have really thoughtful discussions about Russia and what it is doing to a democracy in this world. I believe that inflammatory language can turn into inflammatory actions, whether we intend it or not. And I do think it is important that we consider those things as we do the very critical, important business of this committee. It is just something that I urge my colleagues to keep in mind.

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

Chairman McCAUL. The gentlelady yields back. Mr. Wilson is recognized.

Mr. WILSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And indeed, I hope the world sees the bipartisan nature of the votes that are going to be occurring today with our Chairman Mike McCaul, Ranking Member Greg Meeks, Republicans and Democrats, are substantially, not all, in agreement that there is an understanding whether we choose it or not that we are in a war of dictators with rule of gun opposing democracies with rule of law. And we know that sadly this began on February 24th, 2022 when war criminal Putin invaded Ukraine and then on Putin's birthday, October 7, Iran invaded Israel. And we need to take this seriously and be working together and I am confident that we will.

In working last week, I was at the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. I have never seen such unity with Sweden and Finland now joining, how incredible, 200 years of neutrality being given up to understand the threat of dictatorships around the world. And working together, I believe that we can and I know we will succeed.

Additionally, we need to take our enemies seriously. They, just as Osama Bin Laden, in a fatwa, announced in 1999, his intent to kill as many Americans as he could, infidels, whether it be Jews or Christians or Buddhists or Hindus. And additionally, war criminal Putin had a treatise in August 2021 that Ukraine did not exist. Sadly, we know the Chinese Communist Party announced that Taiwan does not exist. And we have Iran forcing a view which is perverse that Israel does not exist. And we need to take seriously the Hamas covenant. And this is a covenant of the Islamic resistance movement of August 18, 1988 and this movement, and it States the Islamic resistance movement, known as Hamas. And among many of the horrible provisions they have of what they believe, it is death to America, death to Israel. But specifically it cites, I quote: "The Day of Judgment will not come about until Moslems fight Jews and kill them. Then the Jews will hide behind rocks and trees. And the rocks and trees will cry out, oh, Moslem, there is a Jew hiding behind me. Come and kill him." We need to take that seriously. I just cannot imagine anybody in America not understanding, and par-

ticularly, as Chairman McCaul cited, the horrendous burning of families alive, beheading of babies, bringing people out of their homes and shooting them as was done in Bucha, Ukraine and Sderot in Israel.

We need to stand together and I look forward to continue, all of us, in a bipartisan manner to oppose a nuclear Iran which existential to Israel, but also to America and Western civilization. I yield back.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentleman yields. Any further discussion?

Mr. Crow is recognized.

Mr. CROW. Thank you, Chairman. I join my colleagues in condemning the barbaric attacks of 2 weekends ago. It is intolerable and I stand with Israel and its right to defend itself and its goals to destroy the Hamas terrorist organization.

We are in a dangerous time and we face threats that we must be firm and resolute against. The moment calls for leadership and responsibility, but that also means that our words matter. I believe that we are in a moment of moral clarity, but I also believe that we are in a moment of policy clarity. And that is why our words matter so much.

And as terrible and as untenable as the situation is, the simple fact is it could get worse. It could get much worse. And the United States is in the position to help prevent that type of escalation.

A lot of folks have said this is a non-binding resolution, but we do know in this time that words matter a lot and words coming out of this body create a permission structure for action, sometimes in real time. I support the vast majority of this resolution. We must stand against Iran and we must not allow them to obtain a nuclear weapon.

There are two paragraphs in here that are highly problematic for me. One paragraph that says to use all means necessary to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon. Just a month ago, this committee had an almost consensus debate about AUMFs and pushing back against the executive branch and recapturing authority over matters of war and peace. We believe firmly that it is congressional imperative for us to recapture that constitutional authority. And this gets awfully close to providing AUMF language, albeit non-binding, but I think runs inconsistent and contrary to that sentiment.

The next thing that is problematic about that is the phrase all means necessary which would include nuclear, and I do not believe that we should have nuclear on the table in this debate.

The last paragraph says to recognize and support the freedom of action of partners and allies including Israel to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon. Democracies and our partners and allies absolutely have freedom of action. That is what makes us democracies. We respect the sovereignty of the other. But to say that we will support them no matter what they do, even if that doesn't include coordination or collaboration with us puts us in an untenable situation. Partners and allies coordinate and collaborate with each other when the actions of that partner and ally would inevitably draw that partner and ally into a conflict. There has to be

coordination and collaboration language in that paragraph or I will not support.

So words matter. I think this bill gets close, but I think it misses the mark and I would urge my colleagues to vote no so that we can try again and get it right. I yield back.

Chairman McCAUL. The gentleman yields. I have great respect for the gentleman. Let me just say I introduced this bill, I should—before the horrific events of late last week. But this is a resolution. It is a sense of Congress. It is not an authorized use of military force by definition and therefore cannot be considered legally as such. And so with, any further discussion?

Mr. Barr is recognized.

Mr. BARR. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And thank you and the Ranking Member for bringing a bipartisan resolution condemning the barbaric, unprovoked attack by Hamas terrorists of the Nation of Israel and Israeli civilians, women, children, innocent, innocent people killed.

I also respect my colleagues on the other side of the aisle who want to have a thoughtful conversation about this and I agree words matter, but the moral clarity of the language is something that I agree with. I agree with the moral clarity. I believe that it should be the sense of Congress that the policy of the United States is to prevent from Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon by all means necessary because it is an existential issue for the United States, Israel, and our other allies, and for peace in the world. And peace requires deterrence and strength and moral clarity. And that is what this resolution offers, moral clarity, all means necessary to prevent the leading State sponsor of terrorism to obtain a nuclear weapon.

And I do have to just take issue with the idea that the JCPoA offered meaningful constraints. For one thing, these were short-term curbs and they certainly did not constrain Iran. On the nuclear front, the IAEA admitted that it could not verify compliance. You know, Reagan famously said trust, but verify. In the case of Iran, I think there is probably bipartisan agreement that with respect to Iran, it should be distrust and verify. And the IAEA international nuclear inspectors confirmed to this Congress and to the world community that it could not under, under the active operation of the JPoA, verify compliance and in fact, found cheating by Iran which is frankly no surprise. So that is not a meaningful constraint in my view on the nuclear side.

And then, of course, on the non-nuclear side, what did the JCPoA accomplish? Increased military spending by the Mullah's in Tehran by over 50 percent and acceleration of their ballistic missile program and empowering and emboldening of Iran's regional aggression. This was not a success and that is why the previous Administration withdrew from the deal. And what I fear about the current Administration's policy prior to the invasion of Israel by Hamas terrorists was a situation where the Administration was chasing a renewal of this bad deal and again, weakness invites aggression. And I just would say in the spirit of the bipartisan nature of this agreement, I hope we have learned our lesson. I hope the Congress and the Administration have learned the lesson that when you are weak and when you chase sanctions relief to the leading State

sponsor of terrorism, you invite aggression. And I say that with respect to my colleagues. We do have a difference of opinion about how we achieve the goal that we all share of preventing a nuclear Iran, but this is dangerous, dangerous when we are weak with the sponsors of this heinous attack on the innocent civilians in Israel. And with that, I will yield back. And I appreciate all of my colleagues for supporting this resolution.

Chairman McCAUL. The gentleman yields. Any further discussion?

Mr. Schneider is recognized.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Thank you, Chairman McCaul. And let me start with saying I am very proud to have partnered with you on this resolution with our colleagues, Mr. Lamborn, Mr. Golden and Mr. Wilson, Mr. Sherman, Ms. McCormick, and Ms. Manning.

This resolution reiterates the Administration's policy that Iran must never have a nuclear weapon, must absolutely be prevented from acquiring one. I opposed joining the JCPoA in 2015 because I had grave concerns about, among other things, enforcement and sunsets. Just yesterday, the restrictions on the ballistic missiles expired and I am grateful and pleased that our Treasury Department enacted new sanctions on Iran's drone and ballistic missiles and that the United Kingdom, France, and Germany will maintain their sanctions.

My late father had a saying, if its and buts were candy and nuts, it does us no good in this room to be talking about entering the JCPoA, exiting the JCPoA, and pointing fingers. We are where we are and we have to take actions to make sure Iran never gets a nuclear weapon. That is why this resolution, I think, is so important.

Leaving the deal took away our leverage. We have to find new ways to achieve that leverage. We have to counter the program and we have to make sure that we are working with our allies, our European allies, with Israel and others, to make sure Iran never gets a nuclear weapon. That is why sanctions are so important.

It is as true in 2015 as it is in 2018 as it is today that the U.S. cannot do this alone and must work with our allies to ensure Iran never gets a nuclear weapon. This is the view of the Administration, of the Chairman and of the Ranking Member. I am proud to work across the aisle with my colleagues in this committee and across our Congress so that the leadership in Iran understands as clearly as possible that it is U.S. policy to do everything in our power, everything in our power, to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon.

And let me address my colleague's comments about coordination and collaboration and I think it is very important. But I also believe that by speaking with moral authority, with a strong voice and a clear resolve we unite our allies and we strengthen our position and in doing so we increase the likelihood of coordination, collaboration, and ultimately the success in achieving in our mission that Iran never gets a nuclear weapon. I yield back.

Chairman McCAUL. The gentleman yields. Any further discussion?

Mr. Barrett is recognized. Mr. Barrett is leaving. Mr. Lawler.

Mr. LAWLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. As I listen to the comments from colleague say inflammatory language leads to inflammatory actions and I could not agree more, which is why it was absolutely abhorrent that we had Members of Congress promulgating a disgusting lie that Israel bombed a hospital in Gaza and to today have not apologized, nor clarified those comments. And in fact, yesterday, stood at a rally in support of Hamas terrorists promulgating the same disgusting lie. That type of conduct and language is not only unbecoming and unfit for public office, that member has no business serving in Congress.

Hamas is a terrorist organization, period. The idea that Israel is an oppressor is a joke. The only oppressor of the Palestinian people is Hamas and the PA. Iran is the greatest State sponsor of terrorism in the world. They have backed and funded Hamas and Hezbollah and other terrorist organizations for the express purpose of wiping Israel off the face of the earth. They do not believe they have a right to exist. They do not believe the Jewish people have a right to practice their faith. And we have Members of Congress that do not even have the courage or clarity to denounce it. They are more outraged about a false attack on a hospital in Gaza, blaming the Israelis when, in fact, it was a terrorist organization that did it.

So yes, inflammatory language leads to inflammatory action. And we should be able to speak with moral clarity. There is no moral equivalency here. Israel is the victim. Hamas is the terrorist organization that perpetrated the greatest slaughter of Jews since the Holocaust. Women, children, babies burned, beheaded, murdered, Holocaust survivors.

It is very clear that Iran is behind this, that Iran has not business having nuclear weapons, and that the policy decisions of this Administration have been foolish at best. Unfreezing \$6 billion in sanctioned funds was moronic. I said it in August. I said it on September 11th when this Administration notified Congress officially. Think about that. September 11th, the greatest terrorist attack in our Nation's history, they notified Congress officially that they were unfreezing \$6 billions in sanctioned funds to give to the greatest State sponsor of terrorism. Are you out of your minds?

I talked about this 3 weeks ago when we held a hearing on the Taylor Force Act and the Administration's failure to enforce it, giving funds to the PA who continue to today to use pay to slay policies. And in fact, they are talking about giving \$2.8 million to the Hamas terrorists that killed Jews and nearly 30 Americans. So yes, inflammatory language leads to inflammatory actions. You are one hundred percent correct. And really stupid policy leads to people getting killed. I yield back.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentleman yields. I know our conferences are taking place right now, so the committee will stand in recess subject to the call of the chair. I intend to give members at least 15-minutes notice before we reconvene. With that we stand in recess.

[Whereupon, at 11:17 a.m., the committee recessed, to reconvene at 1:47 p.m., the same day.]

Chairman MCCAUL. The meeting will come to order.

Is there any further discussion on the resolution? Mr. Sherman is recognized.

Mr. SHERMAN. This is a good resolution. It is bipartisan. And its original cosponsors include not one but two Brads. For that reason alone, everyone should vote for it. But it is also fully consistent with the statements of the Administration and the policy of the Biden Administration. It is not an authorization to use military force. And the War Powers Act remains the law of the land.

That being said, let me respond to a few of the more partisan things that have been said. Yes indeed, two members of the Democratic Caucus have said things about the Gaza hospital that I do not think are accurate. But 198 Republicans voted in late September for a CR that would cut aid to Israel by 30 percent. I do not think that—I would love to think that one Member of Congress is important, especially when I am shaving and looking at the mirror. But the fact is 198 members is significant. Two members constitutes one-half of 1 percent of the House.

I think Mike Pence had it right when in the day after the invasion from Gaza said this is what happens when Republican leaders call for a retreat of the United States on the world stage. \$6 billion was moved from a well frozen bank in South Korea to a less frozen bank in Qatar. I would like that money returned to frozen and then returned to the deeper freeze in Seoul. But keep in mind that democracies are very vulnerable when hostages are taken. And while everyone decries the fact that Iran is closer to getting its hands on the six billion, I do not think a single elected official said do not do the deal to bring this person and that person back home from Iran.

And the vulnerability of democracies to hostage-taking is not only illustrated today by what Hamas is doing but was illustrated last decade when Gilad Shalit was freed in return for thousands of Hamas terrorists, some of whom no doubt are involved in the attacks on Israel today. That being said, under the prior Administration, Iran had its hands on many billions of dollars.

As to the AUMF, I saw the flaws of the AUMF. But I will point out that in the early stages it was both very bad and very good. Iran turned over a huge amount of fissile material. And Iran got its hands on a huge amount of money. In the middle years, including this year and including all the years of the Trump Administration, that deal was at its best. It becomes flawed, particularly flawed later this decade when the controls come off. So, if there was a time to withdraw from the deal, it was next year or the year after, not last year or not 3 or 4 years ago when it was doing its job and when Iran's nuclear program had less fissile material than at any time in the last 10, 12 years.

So we can talk about a lot of things. But let's talk about the resolution that is before us. Let's vote for it. It says what I think we all agree, and that is, we must make sure that Iran does not have a nuclear weapon. And there is no time when it is more clear than today when Iran clearly favors, may have planned, certainly financed the brutal murder of as many Israeli civilians as their henchmen could get their hands on, not to mention the rapes, the beheadings, and the hostages.



So let's pass this resolution. And let's forgive Sherman for 3 minutes of partisanship. But I was, after all, responding to other statements made.

And I yield back.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentleman yields.

Let me say I agree the sanctioned Iranian assets, \$6 billion, should be put back in the deep freezer for a long time.

There being—or is there any further discussion on the resolution, not amendments, but on the resolution? Any further discussion on the resolution?

There being no further discussion on the resolution, the committee will move to consideration of amendments. Does any member wish to offer an amendment? Ms. Jacobs is recognized.

Ms. JACOBS. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment at the desk.

Chairman MCCAUL. The clerk shall distribute the amendment.

The clerk shall report the amendment.

[The Amendment offered by Ms. Jacobs follows:]

**AMENDMENT TO H. RES. 559**

**OFFERED BY MS. JACOBS OF CALIFORNIA**

Page 2, line 1, strike “That the House of Representatives” and insert:

1 **SECTION 1. DECLARATION OF POLICY OF THE HOUSE OF**  
2 **REPRESENTATIVES.**

3 The House of Representatives

Page 3, after line 7, add the following new section:

4 **SEC. 2. RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.**

5 Nothing in this resolution may be construed as sup-  
6 porting or authorizing the use of military force or the in-  
7 troduction of United States forces into hostilities without  
8 specific statutory authorization.



The CLERK. Amendment to H.Res. 559 offered by Ms. Jacobs of California—

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

The gentlelady is recognized for 5 minutes on her amendment.

Ms. JACOBS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Like the rest of my generation, I grew up in the shadow of two protracted wars. San Diego, the largest military community in the country, the community which I am so proud to represent, paid the price. And Congress largely abdicated our responsibility. Our servicemembers were sent into harm's way to achieve impossible missions. And Congress did not take a single vote on that since I was in middle school.

I know that this resolution does not actually authorize military force. But I am incredibly concerned that the vague language in H.Res. 559 could be taken as a green light for a war against Iran, particularly in light of the current context in the region. That language, that vague language could put my own community at risk.

We all in this body agree that any use of force must be authorized by Congress. This should not be controversial. And regardless of our different views about what is most effective to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon, I hope we can at least agree that any decision about force should be made here in this body through specific statutory authorization and not through resolution with vague language.

So I was offering a simple amendment to make it clear that nothing in this resolution can be construed to authorize the use of military force. Unfortunately, with conversations with the majority, they did not support that. So I will withdraw my amendment. But without my amendment included, I cannot support this bill.

Chairman McCAUL. The gentlelady withdraws her amendment.

Are there any further amendments to the resolution?

There being no further amendments, I move that the committee report H.Res. 559, as amended, to the House with a favorable recommendation.

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 motion is agreed to. I request a roll call vote.

Pursuant to notice, I call up H.R. 2973, the Maritime Act of 2023. The bill was circulated in advance. The clerk shall designate the bill.

[The Bill H.R. 2973 follows:]

118TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 2973

To require the Secretary of Defense to develop, in cooperation with allies and partners in the Middle East, an integrated maritime domain awareness and interdiction capability, and for other purposes.

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

APRIL 27, 2023

Mrs. RODGERS of Washington (for herself, Mr. SCHNEIDER, Mr. TRONE, Mrs. WAGNER, Mr. BACON, and Mr. PANETTA) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and in addition to the Committee on Armed Services, 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

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## A BILL

To require the Secretary of Defense to develop, in cooperation with allies and partners in the Middle East, an integrated maritime domain awareness and interdiction capability, 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 “Maritime Architecture  
5 and Response to International Terrorism In the Middle  
6 East Act of 2023” or the “MARITIME Act of 2023”.

1 **SEC. 2. MIDDLE EAST INTEGRATED MARITIME DOMAIN**  
2 **AWARENESS AND INTERDICTION CAPA-**  
3 **BILITY.**

4 (a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of Defense, in con-  
5 sultation with the Secretary of State, shall seek to build  
6 upon the historic opportunities created by the Abraham  
7 Accords and the incorporation of Israel into the area of  
8 responsibility of the United States Central Command to  
9 develop a Middle East integrated maritime domain aware-  
10 ness and interdiction capability for the purpose of pro-  
11 tecting the people, infrastructure, and territory of such  
12 countries from—

13 (1) manned and unmanned naval systems, un-  
14 dersea warfare capabilities, and anti-ship missiles of  
15 Iran and groups affiliated with Iran; and

16 (2) violent extremist organizations, criminal  
17 networks, and piracy activities that threaten lawful  
18 commerce in the waterways within the area of re-  
19 sponsibility of the United States Naval Forces Cen-  
20 tral Command.

21 (b) STRATEGY.—

22 (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 60 days after  
23 the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary  
24 of Defense, in consultation with the Secretary of  
25 State, shall submit to the appropriate committees of

1 Congress a strategy for the cooperation described in  
2 subsection (a).

3 (2) MATTERS TO BE INCLUDED.—The strategy  
4 required by paragraph (1) shall include the fol-  
5 lowing:

6 (A) An assessment of the threats posed to  
7 ally or partner countries in the Middle East  
8 by—

9 (i) manned and unmanned naval sys-  
10 tems, undersea warfare capabilities, and  
11 anti-ship missiles of Iran and groups affili-  
12 ated with Iran; and

13 (ii) violent extremist organizations,  
14 criminal networks, and piracy activities  
15 that threaten lawful commerce in the wa-  
16 terways within the area of responsibility of  
17 the United States Naval Forces Central  
18 Command.

19 (B) A description of existing multilateral  
20 maritime partnerships currently led by the  
21 United States Naval Forces Central Command,  
22 including the Combined Maritime Forces (in-  
23 cluding its associated Task Forces 150, 151,  
24 152, and 153), the International Maritime Se-  
25 curity Construct, and the Navy's Task Force

1 59, and a discussion of the role of such partner-  
2 ships in building an integrated maritime secu-  
3 rity capability.

4 (C) A description of progress made in ad-  
5 vancing the integration of Israel into the exist-  
6 ing multilateral maritime partnerships de-  
7 scribed in subparagraph (B).

8 (D) A description of efforts among coun-  
9 tries in the Middle East to coordinate intel-  
10 ligence, reconnaissance, and surveillance capa-  
11 bilities and indicators and warnings with re-  
12 spect to the threats described in subparagraph  
13 (A), and a description of any impediment to op-  
14 timizing such efforts.

15 (E) A description of the current Depart-  
16 ment of Defense systems that, in coordination  
17 with ally and partner countries in the Middle  
18 East—

19 (i) provide awareness of and defend  
20 against such threats; and

21 (ii) address current capability gaps.

22 (F) An explanation of the manner in which  
23 an integrated maritime domain awareness and  
24 interdiction architecture would improve collec-  
25 tive security in the Middle East.

1 (G) A description of existing and planned  
2 efforts to engage ally and partner countries in  
3 the Middle East in establishing such an archi-  
4 tecture.

5 (H) An identification of the elements of  
6 such an architecture that may be acquired and  
7 operated by ally and partner countries in the  
8 Middle East, and a list of such elements for  
9 each such ally and partner.

10 (I) An identification of the elements of  
11 such an architecture that may only be provided  
12 and operated by members of the United States  
13 Armed Forces.

14 (J) An identification of any challenge to  
15 optimizing such an architecture in the Middle  
16 East.

17 (K) An assessment of progress and key  
18 challenges in the implementation of the strategy  
19 required by paragraph (1) using the metrics  
20 identified in accordance with paragraph (3).

21 (L) Recommendations for improvements in  
22 the implementation of such strategy based on  
23 such metrics.

24 (M) An assessment of any capabilities or  
25 lessons from the Navy's Task Force 59 that



1           may be leveraged to support an integrated mar-  
2           itime domain awareness and interdiction capa-  
3           bility in the Middle East.

4           (N) Any other matter the Secretary of De-  
5           fense considers relevant.

6           (3) METRICS.—The Secretary of Defense shall  
7           identify metrics to assess progress in the implemen-  
8           tation of the strategy required by paragraph (1).

9           (4) FORMAT.—The strategy required by para-  
10          graph (1) shall be submitted in unclassified form but  
11          may include a classified annex.

12         (c) FEASIBILITY STUDY.—

13           (1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of Defense  
14           shall conduct a study on the feasibility and advis-  
15           ability of establishing a fund for an integrated mari-  
16           time domain awareness and interdiction capability to  
17           protect the people, infrastructure, and territory of  
18           ally and partner countries in the Middle East  
19           from—

20           (A) manned and unmanned naval systems,  
21           undersea warfare capabilities, and anti-ship  
22           missiles of Iran and groups affiliated with Iran;  
23           and

24           (B) violent extremist organizations, crimi-  
25           nal networks, and piracy activities that threaten

1           lawful commerce in the waterways of the Middle  
2           East.

3           (2) ELEMENT.—The study required by para-  
4           graph (1) shall include an assessment of funds that  
5           could be contributed by ally and partner countries of  
6           the United States.

7           (3) REPORT.—Not later than 90 days after the  
8           date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of  
9           Defense shall submit to the appropriate committees  
10          of Congress a report on the results of the study con-  
11          ducted under paragraph (1).

12          (d) PROTECTION OF SENSITIVE INFORMATION.—Any  
13          activity carried out under this section shall be conducted  
14          in a manner that appropriately protects sensitive informa-  
15          tion and the national security interests of the United  
16          States.

17          (e) APPROPRIATE COMMITTEES OF CONGRESS DE-  
18          FINED.—In this section, the term “appropriate commit-  
19          tees of Congress” means—

20               (1) the Committee on Armed Services, the  
21               Committee on Appropriations, the Committee on  
22               Foreign Relations, and the Select Committee on In-  
23               telligence of the Senate; and

24               (2) the Committee on Armed Services, the  
25               Committee on Appropriations, the Committee on

- 1 Foreign Affairs, and the Permanent Select Com-
- 2 mittee on Intelligence of the House of Representa-
- 3 tives.

○

**AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE  
TO H.R. 2973  
OFFERED BY MRS. WAGNER OF MISSOURI**

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

**1 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

2       This Act may be cited as the “Maritime Architecture  
3 and Response to International Terrorism In the Middle  
4 East” or the “MARITIME Act of 2023”.

**5 SEC. 2. MIDDLE EAST INTEGRATED MARITIME DOMAIN  
6                   AWARENESS AND INTERDICTION CAPA-  
7                   BILITY.**

8       (a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of Defense, with  
9 the concurrence of the Secretary of State, shall seek to  
10 build upon the historic opportunities created by the Abra-  
11 ham Accords and the incorporation of Israel into the area  
12 of responsibility of the United States Central Command  
13 to develop a Middle East integrated maritime domain  
14 awareness and interdiction capability for the purpose of  
15 protecting the people, infrastructure, and territory of such  
16 countries from—

1 (1) manned and unmanned naval systems, un-  
2 dersea warfare capabilities, and anti-ship missiles of  
3 Iran and groups affiliated with Iran; and

4 (2) violent extremist organizations, criminal  
5 networks, and piracy activities that threaten lawful  
6 commerce in the waterways within the area of re-  
7 sponsibility of the United States Naval Forces Cen-  
8 tral Command.

9 (b) STRATEGY.—

10 (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 60 days after  
11 the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary  
12 of Defense, with the concurrence of the Secretary of  
13 State, shall submit to the appropriate committees of  
14 Congress a strategy for the cooperation described in  
15 subsection (a).

16 (2) MATTERS TO BE INCLUDED.—The strategy  
17 required by paragraph (1) shall include the fol-  
18 lowing:

19 (A) An assessment of the threats posed to  
20 ally or partner countries in the Middle East  
21 by—

22 (i) manned and unmanned naval sys-  
23 tems, undersea warfare capabilities, and  
24 anti-ship missiles of Iran and groups affili-  
25 ated with Iran; and

1 (ii) violent extremist organizations,  
2 criminal networks, and piracy activities  
3 that threaten lawful commerce in the wa-  
4 terways within the area of responsibility of  
5 the United States Naval Forces Central  
6 Command.

7 (B) A description of existing multilateral  
8 maritime partnerships currently led by the  
9 United States Naval Forces Central Command,  
10 including the Combined Maritime Forces (in-  
11 cluding its associated Task Forces 150, 151,  
12 152, and 153), the International Maritime Se-  
13 curity Construct, and the Navy's Task Force  
14 59, and a discussion of the role of such partner-  
15 ships in building an integrated maritime secu-  
16 rity capability.

17 (C) A description of progress made in ad-  
18 vancing the integration of Israel into the exist-  
19 ing multilateral maritime partnerships de-  
20 scribed in subparagraph (B).

21 (D) A description of efforts among coun-  
22 tries in the Middle East to coordinate intel-  
23 ligence, reconnaissance, and surveillance capa-  
24 bilities and indicators and warnings with re-  
25 spect to the threats described in subparagraph

1 (A), and a description of any impediment to op-  
2 timizing such efforts.

3 (E) A description of the current Depart-  
4 ment of Defense systems that, in coordination  
5 with ally and partner countries in the Middle  
6 East—

7 (i) provide awareness of and defend  
8 against such threats; and

9 (ii) address current capability gaps.

10 (F) An explanation of the manner in which  
11 an integrated maritime domain awareness and  
12 interdiction architecture would improve collec-  
13 tive security in the Middle East.

14 (G) A description of existing and planned  
15 efforts to engage ally and partner countries in  
16 the Middle East in establishing such an archi-  
17 tecture.

18 (II) An identification of the elements of  
19 such an architecture that may be acquired and  
20 operated by ally and partner countries in the  
21 Middle East, and a list of such elements for  
22 each such ally and partner.

23 (I) An identification of the elements of  
24 such an architecture that may only be provided

1 and operated by members of the United States  
2 Armed Forces.

3 (J) An identification of any challenge to  
4 optimizing such an architecture in the Middle  
5 East.

6 (K) An assessment of progress and key  
7 challenges in the implementation of the strategy  
8 required by paragraph (1) using the metrics  
9 identified in accordance with paragraph (3).

10 (L) Recommendations for improvements in  
11 the implementation of such strategy based on  
12 such metrics.

13 (M) An assessment of any capabilities or  
14 lessons from the Navy's Task Force 59 that  
15 may be leveraged to support an integrated mar-  
16 itime domain awareness and interdiction capa-  
17 bility in the Middle East.

18 (N) Any other matter the Secretary of De-  
19 fense or the Secretary of State considers rel-  
20 evant.

21 (3) METRICS.—The Secretary of Defense shall  
22 identify metrics to assess progress in the implemen-  
23 tation of the strategy required by paragraph (1).



1           (4) FORMAT.—The strategy required by para-  
2       graph (1) shall be submitted in unclassified form but  
3       may include a classified annex.

4       (c) PROTECTION OF SENSITIVE INFORMATION.—Any  
5       activity carried out under this section shall be conducted  
6       in a manner that appropriately protects sensitive informa-  
7       tion and the national security interests of the United  
8       States.

9       (d) APPROPRIATE COMMITTEES OF CONGRESS DE-  
10      FINED.—In this section, the term “appropriate commit-  
11      tees of Congress” means—

12           (1) the Committee on Armed Services, the  
13       Committee on Appropriations, the Committee on  
14       Foreign Relations, and the Select Committee on In-  
15       telligence of the Senate; and

16           (2) the Committee on Armed Services, the  
17       Committee on Appropriations, the Committee on  
18       Foreign Affairs, and the Permanent Select Com-  
19       mittee on Intelligence of the House of Representa-  
20       tives.



The CLERK. H.R. 2973, to require the Secretary of Defense to develop, in cooperation with allies and partners in the Middle East, an integrated maritime domain awareness and interdiction capability and for other purposes.

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

Without objection, the Wagner amendment in the nature of a substitute circulated to members in advance shall be considered as read and will be treated as original text for purposes of the amendment.

Is there any discussion on the bill? Mrs. Wagner is recognized.

Mrs. WAGNER. I thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I want to thank you and Ranking Member Meeks for holding this urgently needed markup.

Today we are advancing legislation that will give the U.S. and Israel critical tools to defend against brutal terrorist Iran and Iranian proxies. We are also sending a message of unequivocal bipartisan support for Israel.

Israel is locked in a generational fight for survival against genocidal Hamas terrorists. The United States stands with Israel as it grieves the unthinkable loss of more than 1,400 innocent civilians. And it stands with Israel in its fight to eliminate the brutal terrorist group Hamas, period, full stop. Our ironclad commitment to Israel encompasses, as well, its ability to defend itself against the existential threat posed by Iran and its terrorist proxies.

That is why I urge each of my colleagues to support H.R. 2973, the Maritime Act, this legislation that I am leading with my good friends of the bipartisan, bicameral Abraham Accords Caucus, Chairman McMorris-Rodgers, Representative Schneider, and Representative Trone.

As we saw on October 7th when Hamas launched the deadliest assault against the Jewish people since the Holocaust, Israel is facing a complex range of threats across all domains. On that bloody front and that tragic day, Hamas terrorists infiltrated Israeli communities by air, by land, and by sea to unleash bloodshed against civilians on a scale that Israel has not seen in its history.

The Maritime Act requires the United States to develop a comprehensive strategy for the integration of maritime security capabilities with allies and partners across the Middle East. Iran and its terrorist proxies are increasingly aggressive in harassing American, Israeli, and even commercial ships. And we have seen that Hamas will use the sea domain to advance its abhorrent genocidal agenda against Israel. It is imperative that the U.S. convene responsible States to close this gap in regional security. The Maritime Act will kickstart that essential effort.

The U.S./Israel relationship is the linchpin of Middle Eastern security. The stability and the prosperity of our partnership brings to the region convinced Arab nations to take the unprecedented steps of normalizing relations with Israel, a farsighted and courageous decision that is already unleashing pent-up economic growth.

But China, Russia, and Iran, the new axis of evil, see this achievement as a threat. They want to use the tragedy unfolding in Israel to undo the Abraham Accords. And they will plunge na-

tions and regions into chaos to do so. We cannot and we will not let this happen.

For a peaceful, prosperous future for the region, Israel and its friends must draw closer together. The U.S. must continue to build ties, economic, security, and cultural, between Arab partners and Israel.

I thank the chair and the ranking member for working with the Abraham Accords Caucus to include the Maritime Act in today's markup. And I urge my colleagues to support this bipartisan legislation so the U.S. can get to work on bolstering security in the Middle East.

And I yield back, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentlelady yields back.

Is there any further discussion on the bill? Mr. Meeks is recognized.

Mr. MEEKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to thank both Rep. Brad Schneider, who was the Democratic cosponsor of this bill, along with Rep. McMorris-Rodgers, for bringing this bill to the committee today. It seeks to build on important diplomatic progress the Biden Administration has sought to expand on and deepen as we face continued and persistent threats from Iran and its proxies in the Middle East.

For some time, Iran has conducted disruptive naval operations in the Arab Gulf, threatening both U.S. personnel and interests, as well as Gulf partners and commercial shipping. The U.S. Navy, along with key partners, has worked to develop a coordinated strategy with Gulf partners to counter such activities and has included various joint patrols, training engagements, and other efforts.

This bill requires the Department of Defense, with the concurrence of the Secretary of State, to develop a strategy to broaden these efforts with partners and allies throughout the Middle East. It is a thorough and broader and more comprehensive strategy and approach to regional security and greater integration that we can better deter Iran and its proxies who continue to threaten our personnel and shared interests.

I support this bill and the important strategy requirements it contains and urge my colleagues to do so as well.

And I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentleman yields.

Is there any further discussion on the bill?

Let me say I support this as well. I want to thank Mr. Schneider and Ms. Cathy McMorris-Rodgers, Mrs. Wagner, and others for bringing this bill forward.

There being no discussion on the bill, the committee will move to consideration of amendments. Does any member wish to offer an amendment? Mr. Castro is recognized.

Mr. CASTRO. Chairman, I have number 75 at the desk.

Chairman MCCAUL. The clerk shall distribute the amendment.

The clerk shall report the amendment.

[The Amendment offered by Mr. Castro follows:]

**AMENDMENT TO THE AMENDMENT IN THE  
NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE TO H.R. 2973  
OFFERED BY MR. CASTRO OF TEXAS**

Page 6, after line 3, insert the following:

1       (c) LIMITATION.—A foreign country may be included  
2 with respect to activities carried out under this section  
3 only if the Secretary of State certifies to the appropriate  
4 congressional committees that the country does not under-  
5 take military, intelligence, or other such cooperation with  
6 the People's Republic of China that is inconsistent with  
7 the United States' national interest or national security.

Page 6, line 4, strike “(c)” and insert “(d)”.

Page 6, line 9, strike “(d)” and insert “(e)”.



The CLERK. Amendment to the amendment in the nature of a substitute to H.R. 2973 offered by Mr. Castro of Texas, page 6, after line 3, insert the following, limitation, a foreign country may be included with respect to the activities carried out under this section only if the Secretary of State certifies to the appropriate congressional committees that the country does not undertake military, intelligence, or other such cooperation with the People's Republic of China—

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

The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes on his amendment.

Mr. CASTRO. Thank you, Chairman.

There is significant and important value in supporting greater cooperation between Israel and other nations in the Middle East, particularly the Gulf countries. I support efforts like this that would facilitate cooperation between Israel and countries like the UAE, Bahrain, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia to address shared security challenges. And greater cooperation can also improve communication among these nations and set the conditions for more countries to normalize ties with Israel. And the United States is uniquely equipped to play this role. But our efforts must also be in line with our own American interests.

Both the Biden Administration and the previous Administration have rightly pointed out that the most significant national security threat the United States faces comes from the People's Republic of China. In fact, we in a bipartisan, overwhelmingly bipartisan way set up a committee to deal with that issue this Congress.

Beijing has been making significant inroads in other parts of the world, as we all know, including the Middle East. And I am concerned about reports that it is developing stronger security ties with countries in the region. There are credible reports that the security forces of the People's Republic of China are establishing bases in the region and deepening cooperation on nuclear and ballistic missile technology with countries in the Middle East.

If, under this bill, the United States is committing to continue to be an integral part of the security architecture of the Middle East, I think it is fairly reasonable to ask our partner countries to avoid a close defense or intelligence relationship with the People's Republic of China. For us to not do so would be to endanger national security secrets and American sensitive technology.

For this reason, I ask my colleagues to support this amendment and protect the national security of the United States of America.

And I will say, Chairman, that I had a different version of this amendment that I was going to file. But after consultation, my office and the office of Representative Schneider, I changed the language up so that we could work together and compromise on it. And that is the final language that you see in front of you.

With that, I yield back.

Chairman McCAUL. I thank the gentleman for his spirit of compromise.

Is there any further discussion? Mrs. Wagner is recognized.

Mrs. WAGNER. I want to thank you, Mr. Chairman. And sadly, I have to still rise today in opposition to my good friend and ASEAN Caucus co-chair, Representative Castro's amendment.

While I strongly agree with the spirit and intent of this amendment, which I believe is to bolster our national security, the language is so broad, Mr. Chairman, that it undermines these goals. In fact, I think it endangers the goals of the underlying bill.

The Maritime Act will promote peace and cooperation among Abraham Accords nations, establishing stronger security ties between Arab States, Israel, and the United States, and expanding opportunities for our militaries to work together and to build trust.

This amendment both ties our diplomats' hands and signals to Abraham Accords countries that we are open to putting these historic peace agreements back on the negotiating table. During this moment of profound crisis for Israel and the Middle East, we must send a clear message to signatory nations that we are absolutely committed to the Accords and remind them that partnership with the U.S. and Israel is the path to regional prosperity, not Iran and not the People's Republic of China.

We absolutely must counter China's influence in the Middle East. This was a national security imperative. But the answer is not to end our cooperation with regional partners who are seeking to hedge against China, Russia, and Iran. This would play right into China's hands. And it would be a gift to Putin and Iran, whose regional influence the Abraham Accords seriously threatens.

I have had the pleasure of working in a very bipartisan manner with Representative Castro for many years, as I mentioned before, on the ASEAN Caucus, which we co-chair. And I know he is sincerely committed to combating this serious threat the People's Republic of China poses to American interests.

I look forward to working with the representative to counter China's influence in Southeast Asia and beyond. But I must oppose this amendment. And I would urge my colleagues to vote no.

And I yield back, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman McCAUL. The gentlelady yields back.

Is there any further discussion? Mr. Meeks is recognized.

Mr. MEEKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

This amendment from Rep. Castro, which I thank him and Rep. Schneider for collaborating on, addresses a real and growing threat to the United States' interests and security of our personnel and facilities in the Middle East.

As China aggressively expands its overseas footprint and relationships globally, our Nation's top military, diplomatic, and intelligence leaders have expressed strong concern about the implications of such expansion and briefed many of us on potential consequences for the United States. More specifically, in the Arab Gulf, China has sought to dramatically expand its military and intelligence efforts not only through deepening direct relationships with those governments, but in some cases constructing or expanding physical bases and installations. Through several open source reports and briefings members have received, I along with many of my colleagues are cognizant of the fact, of these concerns and high stakes there.

Therefore, this amendment adds an additional, helpful reporting requirement mandating the Secretary of State certify to Congress that a country involved in the cooperative strategy described does not undertake military, intelligence, or other cooperation with

China that is inconsistent with the United States' national interests or national security.

We need to make sure, as we seek to enhance cooperation and collaboration among Gulf partners and our own military, we are not exposing or needlessly endangering our personnel, facilities, sensitive communications, or technologies to our adversaries. Mr. Castro's amendment accomplishes this and provides a helpful addition to this important initiative. And I support the amendment. And I urge all members to do as well.

And with that, I yield back.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentleman yields.

Any further discussion? There being no further discussion, the question now occurs on the amendment offered by Representative Castro, 75.

All those in favor signify by saying aye.

All those opposed signify by saying no.

Mr. CASTRO. Mr. Chairman—

Chairman MCCAUL. Well, in the opinion of the chair, the noes have it.

Mr. CASTRO. Sorry.

Chairman MCCAUL. And I see a recorded, a roll call vote has been requested. Pursuant to the chair's previous announcement, this vote will be postponed.

Are there any further amendments?

Pursuant to notice, I now call up H.R. 5826, the No Paydays for Hostage-Takers Act. The bill was circulated in advance. And the clerk shall designate the bill.

[The Bill H.R. 5826 follows:]

118TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 5826

To require a report on sanctions under the Robert Levinson Hostage Recovery and Hostage-Taking Accountability Act, and for other purposes.

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 28, 2023

Mr. WILSON of South Carolina (for himself and Mr. MOSKOWITZ) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and in addition to the Committee on the Judiciary, 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

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## A BILL

To require a report on sanctions under the Robert Levinson Hostage Recovery and Hostage-Taking Accountability Act, 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 “No Paydays for Hos-  
5 tage-Takers Act”.

6 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

7 Congress finds the following:



1           (1) The Islamic Republic of Iran has a long his-  
2       tory of hostage-taking and wrongful detention of  
3       United States nationals, including its illegal deten-  
4       tion of 52 American diplomats from 1979 to 1981.

5           (2) The Robert Levinson Hostage Recovery and  
6       Hostage-Taking Accountability Act (22 U.S.C. 1741  
7       et seq.), named in honor of Robert Levinson, the  
8       longest-held hostage in United States history who is  
9       presumed to have been killed by the regime while in  
10      Iranian custody, authorizes sanctions with respect to  
11      foreign persons who are responsible for or complicit  
12      in hostage-taking or unlawful or wrongful detention  
13      of United States nationals abroad.

14 **SEC. 3. STATEMENT OF POLICY.**

15       It shall be the policy of the United States to under-  
16      take additional actions and impose strict penalties to deter  
17      the Government of Iran and other hostile governments and  
18      non-state actors from hostage-taking or wrongfully detain-  
19      ing United States nationals.

20 **SEC. 4. REPORT AND CERTIFICATION ON RESTRICTED IRA-**  
21 **NIAN FUNDS RELEASED TO QATAR.**

22       (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 90 days after the  
23      date of the enactment of this Act, and every 180 days  
24      thereafter for 6 years, the President shall submit to the  
25      Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on Fi-

1 nancial Services of the House of Representatives and the  
2 Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on  
3 Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs of the Senate the  
4 following:

5 (1) A report on the \$6,000,000,000 in funds  
6 transferred from restricted Iranian accounts in the  
7 Republic of South Korea to restricted accounts in  
8 Qatar on or after August 9, 2023.

9 (2) A certification as to whether credible evi-  
10 dence or intelligence exists that any of the funds  
11 transferred have been used for any purpose other  
12 than humanitarian purposes.

13 (3) A certification as to whether credible evi-  
14 dence or intelligence exists that the funds trans-  
15 ferred have enabled the Government of Iran to in-  
16 crease spending on defense, intelligence, or malign  
17 foreign activities.

18 (b) MATTERS TO BE INCLUDED.— The report re-  
19 quired by subsection (a)(1) shall include the following:

20 (1) An itemized list of all transactions involving  
21 the use of funds transferred, including the value of  
22 such transactions, the parties to such transactions,  
23 the financial institutions involved, the goods pur-  
24 chased in each transaction, the destinations and end  
25 user of such goods, the date on which the United

1 States was notified of such transaction, and the date  
2 the transaction occurred.

3 (2) The quantity of funds described in sub-  
4 section (a)(1) in restricted accounts in Qatar at the  
5 beginning and end of each reporting period.

6 (3) A thorough description of the process the  
7 United States Government utilized during the re-  
8 porting period to review transactions involving the  
9 use of funds transferred in order to verify that such  
10 transactions were humanitarian in nature.

11 **SEC. 5. REVIEW AND DETERMINATION AND REPORTS ON**  
12 **SANCTIONS UNDER THE ROBERT LEVINSON**  
13 **HOSTAGE RECOVERY AND HOSTAGE-TAKING**  
14 **ACCOUNTABILITY ACT.**

15 (a) REVIEW AND DETERMINATION.—Not later than  
16 180 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, and  
17 on an annual basis thereafter for 6 years, the President  
18 shall—

19 (1) review all cases of the hostage-taking of a  
20 United States national in Iran or at the direction of  
21 the Government of Iran and all cases of the unlawful  
22 or wrongful detention of a United States national in  
23 Iran or at the direction of the Government of Iran  
24 that have occurred during the preceding 10-year pe-  
25 riod; and

1           (2) make a determination as to whether any  
2       foreign person, based on credible evidence—

3           (A) is responsible for or complicit in, or re-  
4       sponsible for ordering, controlling, or otherwise  
5       directing, the hostage-taking of the United  
6       States national or the unlawful or wrongful de-  
7       tention of the United States national; or

8           (B) knowingly provides financial, material,  
9       or technological support for, or goods or serv-  
10      ices in support of, an activity described in sub-  
11      paragraph (A).

12      (b) REPORTS.—Not later than 180 days after the  
13      date of the enactment of this Act, and on an annual basis  
14      thereafter for 6 years, the President shall submit to the  
15      appropriate congressional committees a report that—

16           (1) identifies all foreign persons with respect to  
17      which the President has made a determination under  
18      subsection (a)(2); and

19           (2) with respect to each such foreign person—

20           (A) states whether sanctions have been im-  
21      posed under section 306 of the Robert Levinson  
22      Hostage Recovery and Hostage-Taking Ac-  
23      countability Act (22 U.S.C. 1741d) or will be  
24      imposed within 30 days of the date of the sub-  
25      mission of the report; and

1 (B) for whom sanctions have not been im-  
2 posed or will not be imposed under section 306  
3 of such Act, provides a description of the spe-  
4 cific authority under which otherwise applicable  
5 sanctions are being waived, have otherwise been  
6 determined not to apply, or are not being im-  
7 posed and a complete justification of the deci-  
8 sion to waive or otherwise not apply the sanc-  
9 tions authorized by such sanctions programs  
10 and authorities.

11 **SEC. 6. REQUIREMENT TO LIMIT TRAVEL OF IRANIAN DIP-**  
12 **LOMATS AT THE UNITED NATIONS.**

13 (a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following:

14 (1) United States visa restrictions on sanc-  
15 tioned individuals often contain exceptions for activi-  
16 ties in order to permit the United States to comply  
17 with the Agreement regarding the headquarters of  
18 the United Nations signed at Lake Success June 26,  
19 1947, and entered into force November 21, 1947,  
20 between the United Nations and the United States.

21 (2) Section 6 of Public Law 80-357 (commonly  
22 known as the “United Nations Headquarters Agree-  
23 ment Act”) provides “Nothing in the agreement  
24 shall be construed as in any way diminishing,

1       abridging, or weakening the right of the United  
2       States to safeguard its own security.”.

3           (3) Congress has directed the President to use  
4       the President’s authority, including the authorities  
5       contained in section 6 of Public Law 80–357, to  
6       deny any individual’s admission to the United States  
7       as a representative to the United Nations if the  
8       President determines that such individual has been  
9       found to have been engaged in espionage activities  
10      or a terrorist activity directed against the United  
11      States or its allies and may pose a threat to United  
12      States national security interests.

13      (b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Con-  
14      gress that Iran’s longstanding hostage-taking and wrong-  
15      ful detention of United States nationals, assassination  
16      plots against United States nationals outside and within  
17      the United States, and intelligence activities are a security  
18      or terrorist threat to the United States and United States  
19      interests and shall be a primary consideration in limiting  
20      travel of Iranian diplomats seeking admission to the  
21      United States for United Nations activities and their fam-  
22      ily members.

23      (c) DENIAL OF VISAS.—Section 407(a)(1) of the For-  
24      eign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1990 and  
25      1991 (8 U.S.C. 1102 note) is amended—

1 (1) by striking “(1)” and inserting “(1)(A)”;  
2 (2) by striking “and” at the end and inserting  
3 “or”; and  
4 (3) by adding further at the end the following:  
5 “(B) has been sanctioned pursuant to Executive  
6 Order 13224 (66 Fed. Reg. 49079; relating to block-  
7 ing property and prohibiting transactions with per-  
8 sons who commit, threaten to commit, or support  
9 terrorism) or Executive Order 13382 (70 Fed. Reg.  
10 38567; relating to blocking property of weapons of  
11 mass destruction proliferators and their supporters)  
12 as of the date of the enactment of the No Paydays  
13 for Hostage-Takers Act; and”.

14 (d) REPORT.—Not later than 180 days after the date  
15 of the enactment of this Act, and annually thereafter for  
16 6 years, the President shall submit to the appropriate con-  
17 gressional committees a report on whether the President  
18 has taken action to restrict the travel of Iranian diplomats  
19 seeking admission to the United States for United Nations  
20 activities and their family members and identifying each  
21 such instance in which visas were denied or travel was re-  
22 stricted.

23 **SEC. 7. REPORT ON BLOCKED IRANIAN ASSETS.**

24 Not later than 180 days after the date of the enact-  
25 ment of this Act, and annually thereafter for 6 years, the

1 President shall submit to the appropriate congressional  
2 committees a report that includes the following:

3 (1) An itemized list of any identifiable assets  
4 with a valuation of more than \$10,000 belonging to  
5 Iranian individuals and entities that are or have  
6 been blocked or otherwise frozen pursuant to any  
7 sanctions program under any jurisdiction globally, in  
8 the prior 2 years.

9 (2) Any changes to the status of such assets,  
10 including unblocking, unfreezing, or transferring  
11 such assets, in the prior 2 years.

12 (3) With respect to any changes identified in  
13 paragraph (2), whether the United States Govern-  
14 ment took any action, including waiving of sanc-  
15 tions, that related to such unblocking or unfreezing,  
16 and a justification for any such United States ac-  
17 tions.

18 **SEC. 8. REPORT ON INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO FREEZE**  
19 **AND SEIZE IRANIAN ASSETS.**

20 (a) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Con-  
21 gress that the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the  
22 Treasury, and the Attorney General should, to the extent  
23 practicable—

24 (1) carry out a coordinated international effort  
25 to find, restrain, freeze, seize, and where appro-



1        priate, confiscate or forfeit the assets of those indi-  
2        viduals and entities that have been sanctioned in  
3        connection with Iran's malign activities, including  
4        hostage-taking, wrongful detention, and human  
5        rights violations; and

6            (2) work with foreign governments—

7            (A) to share intelligence of financial inves-  
8            tigations, as appropriate;

9            (B) to oversee the assets identified pursu-  
10          ant to paragraph (1); and

11          (C) to provide technical assistance to help  
12          governments establish the necessary legal  
13          framework to carry out asset forfeitures.

14        (b) REPORT.—Not later than 180 days after the date  
15        of the enactment of this Act, and annually thereafter for  
16        6 years, the President shall submit to the appropriate con-  
17        gressional committees a report on actions described in  
18        subsection (a).

19        **SEC. 9. DETERMINATION AND REPORT ON INVALIDATING**  
20                                **UNITED STATES PASSPORTS FOR TRAVEL TO**  
21                                **IRAN.**

22        (a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following:

23            (1) The Secretary of State maintains authority  
24            to restrict the use of United States passports for  
25            travel to or use in a country or area which the Sec-

1       retary has determined is a country or area in which  
2       there is imminent danger to the public health or  
3       physical safety of United States travelers, in accord-  
4       ance with section 51.63 of title 22, Code of Federal  
5       Regulations.

6           (2) In 2017, the Secretary of State declared  
7       United States passports invalid for travel to, in, or  
8       through North Korea, unless specially validated for  
9       such travel, after United States citizen Otto  
10      Warmbier suffered grievous injuries in North Ko-  
11      rean custody, which led to his death.

12          (3) The ban on use of United States passports  
13      for travel to North Korea was renewed in 2023.

14      (b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Con-  
15      gress that the Secretary of State should declare United  
16      States passports invalid for travel to, in, or through Iran  
17      due to the imminent danger to the public health and phys-  
18      ical safety of United States travelers stemming from the  
19      threat of wrongful detention or being taken hostage by the  
20      Iranian regime.

21      (c) DETERMINATION AND REPORT.—Not later than  
22      90 days after the date of enactment of this Act and annu-  
23      ally thereafter for 6 years, the Secretary of State shall  
24      determine and report to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

1 of the House of Representatives and the Committee on  
2 Foreign Relations of the Senate—

3 (1) whether the travel of United States persons  
4 to Iran presents an imminent danger to the public  
5 health or physical safety of United States travelers;  
6 and

7 (2) whether the Secretary is exercising his au-  
8 thority to declare United States passports invalid for  
9 travel to, in, or through Iran.

10 **SEC. 10. STRATEGY TO DETER HOSTAGE-TAKING.**

11 Not later than 180 days after the date of the enact-  
12 ment of this Act, the President shall develop and submit  
13 to Congress a strategy to deter and prevent wrongful de-  
14 tention and hostage-taking by United States adversaries,  
15 including identifying penalties for wrongful detention and  
16 hostage-taking, identifying clear United States Govern-  
17 ment policies barring the payment of ransom or trans-  
18 actions that could be viewed as ransom, and detailing  
19 plans to coordinate with United States allies and partners  
20 on such strategy.

21 **SEC. 11. DEFINITIONS.**

22 In this Act:

23 (1) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT-  
24 TEES.—the term “appropriate congressional commit-  
25 tees” means—

1 (A) the Committee on Foreign Affairs and  
2 the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of  
3 Representatives; and

4 (B) the Committee on Foreign Relations  
5 and the Committee on the Judiciary of the Sen-  
6 ate.

7 (2) FOREIGN PERSON.—The term “foreign per-  
8 son”—

9 (A) means an individual or entity that is  
10 not a United States person; and

11 (B) includes a foreign state (as such term  
12 is defined in section 1603 of title 28, United  
13 States Code).

14 (3) UNITED STATES NATIONAL.—The term  
15 “United States national” has the meaning given that  
16 term in section 307(2) of the Robert Levinson Hos-  
17 tage Recovery and Hostage-Taking Accountability  
18 Act (22 U.S.C. 1741e(2)).

○

**AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE  
TO H.R. 5826  
OFFERED BY MR. WILSON OF SOUTH CAROLINA**

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

**1 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

2       This Act may be cited as the “No Paydays for Hos-  
3 tage-Takers Act”.

**4 SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

5       Congress finds the following:

6           (1) The Islamic Republic of Iran has a long his-  
7 tory of hostage-taking and wrongful detention of  
8 United States nationals, including its illegal deten-  
9 tion of 52 American diplomats from 1979 to 1981.

10          (2) The Robert Levinson Hostage Recovery and  
11 Hostage-Taking Accountability Act (22 U.S.C. 1741  
12 et seq.), named in honor of Robert Levinson, the  
13 longest-held hostage in United States history who is  
14 presumed to have been killed by the regime while in  
15 Iranian custody, authorizes sanctions with respect to  
16 foreign persons who are responsible for or complicit  
17 in hostage-taking or unlawful or wrongful detention  
18 of United States nationals abroad.

1 **SEC. 3. STATEMENT OF POLICY.**

2 It shall be the policy of the United States to under-  
3 take additional actions and impose strict penalties to deter  
4 the Government of Iran and other hostile governments and  
5 non-state actors from hostage-taking or wrongfully detain-  
6 ing United States nationals.

7 **SEC. 4. REPORT AND CERTIFICATION ON RESTRICTED IRA-**  
8 **NIAN FUNDS RELEASED TO QATAR.**

9 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 90 days after the  
10 date of the enactment of this Act, and every 180 days  
11 thereafter for 6 years, the President shall submit to the  
12 Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on Fi-  
13 nancial Services of the House of Representatives and the  
14 Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on  
15 Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs of the Senate the  
16 following:

17 (1) A report on the \$6,000,000,000 in funds  
18 transferred from restricted Iranian accounts in the  
19 Republic of South Korea to restricted accounts in  
20 Qatar on or after August 9, 2023.

21 (2) A certification as to whether credible evi-  
22 dence or intelligence exists that any of the funds  
23 transferred have been used for any purpose other  
24 than humanitarian purposes.

25 (3) A certification as to whether credible evi-  
26 dence or intelligence exists that the funds trans-

1       ferred have enabled the Government of Iran to in-  
2       crease spending on defense, intelligence, or malign  
3       foreign activities.

4       (b) MATTERS TO BE INCLUDED.—The report re-  
5       quired by subsection (a)(1) shall include the following:

6           (1) An itemized list of all transactions involving  
7       the use of funds transferred, including the value of  
8       such transactions, the parties to such transactions,  
9       the financial institutions involved, the goods pur-  
10      chased in each transaction, the destinations and end  
11      user of such goods, the date on which the United  
12      States was notified of such transaction, and the date  
13      the transaction occurred.

14          (2) The quantity of funds described in sub-  
15      section (a)(1) in restricted accounts in Qatar at the  
16      beginning and end of each reporting period.

17          (3) A thorough description of the process the  
18      United States Government utilized during the re-  
19      porting period to review transactions involving the  
20      use of funds transferred in order to verify that such  
21      transactions were humanitarian in nature.

1 **SEC. 5. REVIEW AND DETERMINATION AND REPORTS ON**  
2 **SANCTIONS UNDER THE ROBERT LEVINSON**  
3 **HOSTAGE RECOVERY AND HOSTAGE-TAKING**  
4 **ACCOUNTABILITY ACT.**

5 (a) REVIEW AND DETERMINATION.—Not later than  
6 180 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, and  
7 on an annual basis thereafter for 6 years, the President  
8 shall—

9 (1) review all cases of the hostage-taking of a  
10 United States national in Iran or at the direction of  
11 the Government of Iran and all cases of the unlawful  
12 or wrongful detention of a United States national in  
13 Iran or at the direction of the Government of Iran  
14 that have occurred during the preceding 10-year pe-  
15 riod; and

16 (2) make a determination as to whether any  
17 foreign person, based on credible evidence—

18 (A) is responsible for or complicit in, or re-  
19 sponsible for ordering, controlling, or otherwise  
20 directing, the hostage-taking of the United  
21 States national or the unlawful or wrongful de-  
22 tention of the United States national; or

23 (B) knowingly provides financial, material,  
24 or technological support for, or goods or serv-  
25 ices in support of, an activity described in sub-  
26 paragraph (A).



1 (b) REPORTS.—Not later than 180 days after the  
2 date of the enactment of this Act, and on an annual basis  
3 thereafter for 6 years, the President shall submit to the  
4 appropriate congressional committees a report that—

5 (1) identifies all foreign persons with respect to  
6 which the President has made a determination under  
7 subsection (a)(2); and

8 (2) with respect to each such foreign person—

9 (A) states whether sanctions have been im-  
10 posed under section 306 of the Robert Levinson  
11 Hostage Recovery and Hostage-Taking Ac-  
12 countability Act (22 U.S.C. 1741d) or will be  
13 imposed within 30 days of the date of the sub-  
14 mission of the report; and

15 (B) for whom sanctions have not been im-  
16 posed or will not be imposed under section 306  
17 of such Act, provides a description of the spe-  
18 cific authority under which otherwise applicable  
19 sanctions are being waived, have otherwise been  
20 determined not to apply, or are not being im-  
21 posed and a complete justification of the deci-  
22 sion to waive or otherwise not apply the sanc-  
23 tions authorized by such sanctions programs  
24 and authorities.

1 **SEC. 6. REQUIREMENT TO LIMIT TRAVEL OF IRANIAN DIP-**

2 **LOMATS AT THE UNITED NATIONS.**

3 (a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following:

4 (1) United States visa restrictions on sanc-  
5 tioned individuals often contain exceptions for activi-  
6 ties in order to permit the United States to comply  
7 with the Agreement regarding the headquarters of  
8 the United Nations signed at Lake Success June 26,  
9 1947, and entered into force November 21, 1947,  
10 between the United Nations and the United States.

11 (2) Section 6 of Public Law 80–357 (commonly  
12 known as the “United Nations Headquarters Agree-  
13 ment Act”) provides “Nothing in the agreement  
14 shall be construed as in any way diminishing,  
15 abridging, or weakening the right of the United  
16 States to safeguard its own security.”.

17 (3) Congress has directed the President to use  
18 the President’s authority, including the authorities  
19 contained in section 6 of Public Law 80–357, to  
20 deny any individual’s admission to the United States  
21 as a representative to the United Nations if the  
22 President determines that such individual has been  
23 found to have been engaged in espionage activities  
24 or a terrorist activity directed against the United  
25 States or its allies and may pose a threat to United  
26 States national security interests.

1 (b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Con-  
2 gress that Iran’s longstanding hostage-taking and wrong-  
3 ful detention of United States nationals, assassination  
4 plots against United States nationals outside and within  
5 the United States, and intelligence activities are a security  
6 or terrorist threat to the United States and United States  
7 interests and shall be a primary consideration in limiting  
8 travel of Iranian diplomats seeking admission to the  
9 United States for United Nations activities and their fam-  
10 ily members.

11 (c) DENIAL OF VISAS.—Section 407(a)(1) of the For-  
12 eign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1990 and  
13 1991 (8 U.S.C. 1102 note) is amended—

- 14 (1) by striking “(1)” and inserting “(1)(A)”;
- 15 (2) by striking “and” at the end and inserting  
16 “or”; and
- 17 (3) by adding further at the end the following:
- 18 “(B) has been sanctioned pursuant to Ex-  
19 ecutive Order 13224 (66 Fed. Reg. 49079; re-  
20 lating to blocking property and prohibiting  
21 transactions with persons who commit, threaten  
22 to commit, or support terrorism) or Executive  
23 Order 13382 (70 Fed. Reg. 38567; relating to  
24 blocking property of weapons of mass destruc-  
25 tion proliferators and their supporters) as of

1           the date of the enactment of the No Paydays  
2           for Hostage-Takers Act; and”.

3       (d) REPORT.—Not later than 180 days after the date  
4 of the enactment of this Act, and annually thereafter for  
5 3 years, the President shall submit to the appropriate con-  
6 gressional committees a report on whether the President  
7 has taken action to restrict the travel of Iranian diplomats  
8 seeking admission to the United States for United Nations  
9 activities and their family members and identifying each  
10 such instance in which visas were denied or travel was re-  
11 stricted.

12 **SEC. 7. REPORT ON BLOCKED IRANIAN ASSETS.**

13       Not later than 180 days after the date of the enact-  
14 ment of this Act, and annually thereafter for 3 years, the  
15 President shall submit to the appropriate congressional  
16 committees a report that includes the following:

17           (1) An itemized list of any identifiable assets  
18       with a valuation of more than \$100,000 belonging to  
19       Iranian individuals and entities that are or have  
20       been blocked or otherwise frozen pursuant to any  
21       sanctions program under any jurisdiction globally, in  
22       the prior 2 years.

23           (2) Any changes to the status of such assets,  
24       including unblocking, unfreezing, or transferring  
25       such assets, in the prior 2 years.

1           (3) With respect to any changes identified in  
2       paragraph (2), whether the United States Govern-  
3       ment took any action, including waiving of sanc-  
4       tions, that related to such unblocking or unfreezing,  
5       and a justification for any such United States ac-  
6       tions.

7       **SEC. 8. REPORT ON INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO FREEZE**  
8                               **AND SEIZE IRANIAN ASSETS.**

9       (a) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Con-  
10      gress that the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the  
11      Treasury, and the Attorney General should, to the extent  
12      practicable—

13           (1) carry out a coordinated international effort  
14      to find, restrain, freeze, and where appropriate and  
15      legally authorized, seize, confiscate or forfeit the as-  
16      sets of those individuals and entities that have been  
17      sanctioned in connection with Iran's malign activi-  
18      ties, including hostage-taking, wrongful detention,  
19      and human rights violations; and

20           (2) work with foreign governments—

21                   (A) to share intelligence of financial inves-  
22      tigations, as appropriate;

23                   (B) to oversee the assets identified pursu-  
24      ant to paragraph (1); and

1 (C) to provide technical assistance to help  
2 governments establish the necessary legal  
3 framework to carry out asset forfeitures.

4 (b) REPORT.—Not later than 180 days after the date  
5 of the enactment of this Act, and annually thereafter for  
6 3 years, the President shall submit to the appropriate con-  
7 gressional committees a report on actions described in  
8 subsection (a).

9 **SEC. 9. DETERMINATION AND REPORT ON INVALIDATING**  
10 **UNITED STATES PASSPORTS FOR TRAVEL TO**  
11 **IRAN.**

12 (a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following:

13 (1) The Secretary of State maintains authority  
14 to restrict the use of United States passports for  
15 travel to or use in a country or area which the Sec-  
16 retary has determined is a country or area in which  
17 there is imminent danger to the public health or  
18 physical safety of United States travelers, in accord-  
19 ance with section 51.63 of title 22, Code of Federal  
20 Regulations.

21 (2) In 2017, the Secretary of State declared  
22 United States passports invalid for travel to, in, or  
23 through North Korea, unless specially validated for  
24 such travel, after United States citizen Otto

1 Warmbier suffered grievous injuries in North Ko-  
2 rean custody, which led to his death.

3 (3) The ban on use of United States passports  
4 for travel to North Korea was renewed in 2023.

5 (b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Con-  
6 gress that the Secretary of State should declare United  
7 States passports invalid for travel to, in, or through Iran  
8 due to the imminent danger to the public health and phys-  
9 ical safety of United States travelers stemming from the  
10 threat of wrongful detention or being taken hostage by the  
11 Iranian regime.

12 (c) DETERMINATION AND REPORT.—Not later than  
13 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act and annu-  
14 ally thereafter for 3 years, the Secretary of State shall  
15 determine and report to the Committee on Foreign Affairs  
16 of the House of Representatives and the Committee on  
17 Foreign Relations of the Senate—

18 (1) whether the travel of United States persons  
19 to Iran presents an imminent danger to the public  
20 health or physical safety of United States travelers;  
21 and

22 (2) whether the Secretary is exercising his au-  
23 thority to declare United States passports invalid for  
24 travel to, in, or through Iran.

1 **SEC. 10. STRATEGY TO DETER HOSTAGE-TAKING.**

2 Not later than 180 days after the date of the enact-  
3 ment of this Act, the President shall develop and submit  
4 to Congress a strategy to deter and prevent wrongful de-  
5 tention and hostage-taking by United States adversaries,  
6 including identifying penalties for wrongful detention and  
7 hostage-taking, identifying clear United States Govern-  
8 ment policies barring the payment of ransom or trans-  
9 actions that could be viewed as ransom, by the United  
10 States Government, and detailing plans to coordinate with  
11 United States allies and partners on such strategy.

12 **SEC. 11. DEFINITIONS.**

13 In this Act:

14 (1) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT-  
15 TEES.—the term “appropriate congressional commit-  
16 tees” means—

17 (A) the Committee on Foreign Affairs and  
18 the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of  
19 Representatives; and

20 (B) the Committee on Foreign Relations  
21 and the Committee on the Judiciary of the Sen-  
22 ate.

23 (2) FOREIGN PERSON.—The term “foreign per-  
24 son”—

25 (A) means an individual or entity that is  
26 not a United States person; and



1 (B) includes a foreign state (as such term  
2 is defined in section 1603 of title 28, United  
3 States Code).

4 (3) UNITED STATES NATIONAL.—The term  
5 “United States national” has the meaning given that  
6 term in section 307(2) of the Robert Levinson Hos-  
7 tage Recovery and Hostage-Taking Accountability  
8 Act (22 U.S.C. 1741e(2)).



The CLERK. H.R. 5826, to require a report on sanctions under the Robert Levinson Hostage Recovery and Hostage-Taking Accountability Act and—

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

Without objection, the Wilson amendment in the nature of a substitute, number 68, circulated to members in advance shall be considered as read and will be treated as original text for purposes of amendment.

Is there any discussion on the bill? Mr. Wilson is recognized.

Mr. WILSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am grateful for the inclusion of H.R. 5826, the No Paydays for Hostage-Takers Act, in today's markup.

The dictatorial regime in Tehran, which oppresses its citizens of Iran, has increased its inhuman policy of hostage-taking in recent years as it looks for ways to fund its murderous terrorist activities and oppression of the people of Iran. In 2021, Mohsen Rezaei, the former commander of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, former Vice President of Iran for Economic Affairs said, "We'll take 1,000 American hostages. America will have to pay billions to get every single one freed. This is how we can solve our economic problems."

How clear could it be, their threats of death to Israel, death to America? Taking hostages is a murderous tactic in the war between dictators of rule of gun opposing democracy's rule of law. The axis of evil, Putin, Raisi, and Xi, must be stopped by peace through strength.

Sadly, the September 11th announcement, of all days, of the release of \$6 billion to the terrorist regime in Tehran in exchange for 5 Americans detained confirms this tactic works. American policies should be what was declared in 1797 by South Carolinian, American ambassador Charles Cotesworth Pinckney to France, millions for defense, not a penny for tribute.

This bipartisan legislation deters the regime from hostage-taking and imposes penalties by requiring strict line by line accounting and oversight of the \$6 billion should it be irresponsibly released, limits the ability for Iranian diplomats to travel at the United Nations, reiterates the ability of the U.S. to restrict the use of U.S. passports of travel to Iran to protect Americans.

The horrific terror attacks on Israel by Iran-backed Hamas further underscores the barbarity of the regime as it seeks to fulfill its mandate of death to America and death to Israel. The Tehran regime must be held accountable for their murderous destabilization and barbaric, heinous crimes against humanity.

I yield back.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentleman yields back.

Is there any further discussion on the bill? Mr. Meeks is recognized.

Mr. MEEKS. While I appreciate the work and I understand to be my colleague's aim to deter hostile actors in Iran or elsewhere from taking American hostages or wrongfully detaining them overseas, we must all work together and ensure that the State Department has all the resources and authorities from Congress that it needs

to bring Americans home who have been unjustly held abroad and to offer them support that they need when they return home.

I also understand and agree with my colleague's intent to disincentivize this sort of behavior in the future and make it clear to anyone who would wrongfully detain one of our citizens that it will not be tolerated.

However, I must also note my concern that some of the messages sent in this bill risk undermining our key partners in the broader community of the United States, government institutions, families, advocates, and others. This includes the current latitude afforded to the State Department's Special Presidential Envoy for Hostage Affairs, Roger Carstens, and his team who are doing the challenging work to bring Americans wrongfully detained abroad home.

And I would like to offer my appreciation to the SPEHA team for the hard and difficult work it continues to undertake on behalf of the American people. We need to empower that office and the families of wrongfully, the detainees that rely on its vital assistance and advocacy, not inadvertently burden it with extensive reporting or overly restrictive policy prescriptions.

I am also deeply concerned by the notion that we would restrict the freedom of movement of the American people, something that is fundamental to our liberty, and specifically the impact such a move would have on hundreds of thousands of Iranian Americans who expect our government, unlike the regime in Tehran, to respect their fundamental rights. As such, we should not take lightly the proposed invalidation of U.S. passports for travel to Iran or anywhere else. And I would request this language be removed before I could support this bill being on the suspension calendar.

The legislation also requires the executive branch to submit 37 reports to Congress, many with extensive and burdensome requirements. We want our sanctions and hostage affairs officials focused on freezing assets and freeing Americans, not necessarily box checking exercises.

I would think that there could be a bipartisan agreement to get the reports in the bill down to a more reasonable number. With these concerns aired, I nevertheless welcome the commitment of Representative Wilson and many other members on this committee on both sides of the aisle to make sure the U.S. government's approach on hostages and wrongful detention is smart and effective. So I hope our colleagues will work with us to address these concerns before this bill moves forward.

And with that, I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentleman yields back.

Any further discussion on the bill? Mr. Moskowitz is recognized.

Mr. MOSKOWITZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Again, thank you, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, for bringing H.R. 5826 and, Representative Wilson, for sponsoring this legislation, the No Paydays for Hostage-Takers Act, before the committee this morning.

The legislation that Rep. Wilson and I have introduced earlier this month would deter Iran and other hostile governments and individuals from hostage-taking or wrongfully detaining U.S. nationals by imposing sanctions and other strict penalties.

While I served in the Florida legislature, I represented the family of Bob Levinson, who was the longest held hostage in U.S. his-

tory, who died in Iranian custody. During his captivity, I watched and worked with the family as he missed birthdays, graduations, weddings, as the U.S. Government tried to get information about him and how his well-being was. I saw the weight that the family bore, constantly afraid for their loved one, never knowing if he would come home, having to miss all that his family was experiencing while living in the hell of the Iranian regime.

We now see families of approximately 200 people, including a number of Americans, living in hell in Gaza under the hostage-taking of Hamas. It just came out that of the 200 hostages that Hamas has taken 30 of them are children. We have seen these videos of babies and children and teens, mothers, fathers. We have seen a Holocaust survivor taken, a person who never thought again in their life they would ever be taken hostage.

And so this is unacceptable. And it breaks my heart. And it is why I am working on a bipartisan basis on this piece of legislation. The No Paydays for Hostage-Takers Act will ensure that hostile groups who take American hostages face sharp reprisals and do not receive financial incentive.

With that being said, it is an important note because of the misinformation that was put out in the weeks after the deal was announced, that not a single dollar of the six billion, not a single dollar of the six billion has moved. And that is an important correction because information in today's day and age is important to make sure that the facts, as they are, are displayed.

And with that, I urge my colleagues to support this important piece of legislation.

And I yield back the balance of my time, Mr. Chairman. Thank you.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentleman yields back.

Any further discussion on the bill?

There being no further discussion of the bill, the committee will move to consideration of amendments. Does any member wish to offer an amendment? Ms. Jacobs is recognized.

Ms. JACOBS. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment at the desk.

Chairman MCCAUL. The clerk will distribute the amendment.

The clerk shall report the amendment.

[The Amendment offered by Ms. Jacobs follows:]

**AMENDMENT TO THE AMENDMENT IN THE  
NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE TO H.R. 5826  
OFFERED BY MS. JACOBS OF CALIFORNIA**

Strike section 9 and insert the following:

**1 SEC. 9. REPORT ON STRATEGY TO COMMUNICATE RISKS**  
**2 FOR TRAVEL TO IRAN.**

**3 (a) SENSE OF CONGRESS.**—It is the sense of Con-  
**4 gress** that the Secretary of State should engage in a strat-  
**5 egy** to underscore the imminent danger to the public  
**6 health** and physical safety of United States travelers stem-  
**7 ming** from the threat of wrongful detention or being taken  
**8 hostage** by the Iranian regime.

**9 (b) DETERMINATION AND REPORT.**—Not later than  
**10 90** days after the date of enactment of this Act and annu-  
**11 ally** thereafter for 3 years, the Secretary of State shall  
**12 determine** and report to the Committee on Foreign Affairs  
**13 of the House of Representatives** and the Committee on  
**14 Foreign Relations of the Senate—**

**15 (1)** whether the travel of United States persons  
**16 to Iran** presents an imminent danger to the public  
**17 health** or physical safety of United States travelers;

**18 (2)** steps that the Secretary is taking to com-  
**19 municate** the risks of wrongful detention in the Is-

1       lamic Republic of Iran to the general public, in both  
2       the English and Persian language; and

3               (3) whether additional steps or authorities are  
4       needed to underscore the risks of wrongful detention  
5       in Iran and deter Iranian authorities from engaging  
6       in wrongful detention of United States citizens and  
7       individuals with residence in the United States.



The CLERK. Amendment to the amendment in the nature of a substitute to H.R. 5826 offered by Ms. Jacobs of California, strike Section 9 and insert the following, Section 9 report on strategy to communicate risks for travel to Iran, Sense of Congress, it is the sense of Congress that the Secretary of State should engage in a strategy to underscore the imminent——

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

The gentlelady is recognized for 5 minutes on her amendment.

Ms. JACOBS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am incredibly proud that San Diego has a strong, vibrant diaspora community, including many from Iran. And annually tens of thousands of Americans travel to Iran to reunite with relatives, to celebrate milestones, and to maintain the familial bonds that distance and politics stretch but never break. That is why I find Section 9 of H.R. 5826, with its directive to the Secretary of State to invalidate U.S. passports for travel to Iran, to be so concerning.

Restricting the freedom of movement of ordinary families in the U.S. doesn't make any sense. And it doesn't enhance our national security. The State Department has already recognized and warned Americans of the risks of traveling to Iran, like kidnaping, detention, or instability. Instead of imposing punitive restrictions on our citizens, we should enhance our strategies to protect them.

Rather than an outright ban, my amendment would direct the State Department to report to Congress the current dangers associated with travel to Iran, assess the efficacy of existing advisories, and propose enhanced measures for communicating risks and protecting our citizens abroad.

I urge my colleagues to support this amendment, which upholds our core values while addressing the geopolitical complexities we face.

I yield back.

Mr. CONNOLLY. Would my friend yield?

Ms. JACOBS. I yield to my friend.

Mr. CONNOLLY. I thank my good friend.

And I want to support this amendment. You know, we are the land of the brave and home of the free or home of the brave and land of the free. We ought not to be in the position of prohibiting Americans from traveling frankly anywhere. And as Ms. Jacobs points out, by actually facilitating family visits and other interchanges with Iran, we have a better chance over time of effectuating the kind of positive change we want to see. We have other examples where, in fact, we have had strict travel bans. And they did not produce at all the desired results we sought. In fact, they managed to shore up the regime and keep it in power for more than half a century.

So allowing flexibility and respecting the fact that there are Iranian Americans with family in Iran and allowing them to have their family connections, their family celebrations I think is really important. And I think this amendment does that while also allowing us to monitor it to make sure that if there were some severe reason to restrict that travel the State Department would be monitoring it and informing Congress as to the whys and wherefores of that.

So I think this is a thoughtful amendment. I think it improves the bill. I am happy to support it. And I thank my friend for yielding.

Ms. JACOBS. Thank you. I yield back.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentlelady yields back.

Any further discussion on the amendment? Mr. Meeks is recognized.

Mr. MEEKS. This amendment addresses my concerns about hasty and unhelpful restrictions on Americans' freedom of movement for the Secretary of State to take the step to invalidate U.S. passports for travel to Iran.

I appreciate the serious risks that U.S. travelers to Iran may encounter and have welcomed the State Department's Level 4 travel advisory warning Americans not to travel to Iran "due to the risk of kidnapping, the arbitrary arrest and detention of U.S. citizens, and the danger of civil unrest." I also welcome the Department's effort with respect to Iran and globally to expand indicators in its travel advisories, specifically related to the risk of wrongful detention abroad.

But it is not a small thing to potentially limit the freedom of movement of thousands of Americans, including Iranian Americans with loved ones in Iran by invalidating U.S. passports for travel to Iran. I have expressed similar concerns in other situations such as Cuba, where Americans' freedom of movement has been curtailed. The U.S. Government is not an authoritarian or anti-democratic regime. We have long committed to do all in our power to protect our citizens' most fundamental human rights.

So I support this amendment, which asks only for precisely what we need here, a more detailed understanding of the imminent danger to public health or physical safety of U.S. travelers to Iran, with the State Department and what the State Department is doing to communicate travel risk and what more it needs to do so effectively.

And with that, I yield back.

Mr. CONNOLLY. Would my friend yield for a question?

Mr. MEEKS. Yes.

Mr. CONNOLLY. Is my friend aware of any evidence, empirical evidence, that a ban on travel of American citizens has led to goals being achieved with respect to relations between us and that particular country?

Mr. MEEKS. No.

Mr. CONNOLLY. I thank my friend.

Mr. SHERMAN. Would the gentleman yield?

Mr. MEEKS. Yes.

Mr. SHERMAN. I will just comment that there is a range of different approaches to different countries. We have a virtual travel ban with, State Department can give waivers, to going to North Korea because a very high percentage of the people from the United States that go to North Korea are held hostage.

As the gentlelady from California points out, there are tens of thousands of Americans who visit Iran, and only a few are held hostage. But we do see that, in spite of the travel ban, when somebody is held hostage by the Iranian government the response of ordinary Americans isn't, oh, well, we warned you, so you are on your



own. We do everything possible to bring Americans back. And Iran will occasionally find this useful. But I am not, you know, given the fact that so many Americans go, I am not prepared to ban at all right now.

I yield back.

Mr. CONNOLLY. Would Mr. Meeks yield again?

I think it is important with respect to Mr. Sherman's intervention that the question I put to you was not are individuals at risk. People take risks all the time when they travel. The question was is there any evidence of that kind of broad prohibition effectuating change in the behavior of the country involved. And your answer was——

Mr. MEEKS. No.

Mr. CONNOLLY. I thank my——

Mr. SHERMAN. And I will ask the gentleman to yield as well and point out we are not doing this—obviously, the purpose of this bill is not to improve relations with the Islamic Republic. The purpose of this bill is to protect Americans from being held hostage.

And it is true that we warn Americans that they might be held hostage. But the harm is not just to the individual American. Yes, they and their families suffer while they are held hostage. But then America suffers when we make major concessions to get them out. And no one on this committee is going to say that we will turn our back on an American simply because they did not notice that it was a Level 4 restriction.

So, as I say, I am not ready to go for this bill. But I would say that if this was some country that did not hold our people hostage ever, that improving relations through travel would be high up on my list. But for every tens of, you know, every American that goes to Iran could be a hostage. And as a hostage, the harm is to the family, the person, and the United States.

I yield back.

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

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentleman yields.

Any other members seek recognition? Mr. Wilson is recognized.

Mr. WILSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I oppose this amendment by my friend Congresswoman Jacobs, and President Connolly, and Ranking Member Meeks, which removes a critical provision urging the Secretary of State to declare United States passports invalid for travel to Iran.

I have been honored to work with Iranian Americans who are such an inspiration as they pursue justice and freedom for their families, while contributing so meaningfully to America. I know their commitments to their loved ones who are oppressed by the murderous regime in Tehran. Sadly, we are in a situation today we did not choose where we must act to prevent further hostage taking by—of Americans by a dictatorial regime in the war of dictators against democracies, the Axis of Evil, Putin, the regime in Tehran, the Chinese Communist Party.

I was grateful to work on bipartisan legislation to prevent Americans from traveling to North Korea, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea using a United States passport following the murderous death of Otto Warmbier at the hands of Dictator Kim Jung Uns' regime. And appreciate Congressman Sherman reiterating

again we have this in place already for the dictatorial regime in North Korea.

I appreciate that there are differences as we want Iranian Americans to maintain close ties—ties with their families in Iran. It is important to note that Iran already does not recognize dual nationality, and treats Iranian Americans as Iranian, requiring an Iranian passport for entry and exit. The inability to travel on a United States passport would likely have little effect on the appreciated Iranian diaspora, which is so important all across America.

This amendment calls for a strategy to underscore the dangers of travel to Iran. The dangers could not be more clear.

I urge opposition to this amendment. And I yield back.

Mr. CONNOLLY. Would my friend yield?

Mr. WILSON. Yes, Mr. President.

Mr. CONNOLLY. I thank you so much, Mr. Wilson.

I really appreciate the motivation behind the amendment. But I think there is a certain paternalism we need to guard against in protecting people from themselves. We are Americans. We are free people. We are free to make decisions, including bad ones.

There are lots of countries, not only Iran, where Americans are at risk when they travel, including at risk of being imprisoned under false charges. You mentioned North Korea, but there is Cuba, there is China, there is Russia, there is Nicaragua, there is a whole host of countries where Americans put themselves at risk when they travel there.

And I do not think the solution is for us to have a blanket prohibition country by country, you know, cordoning off large chunks of the world's geography because Americans are at risk. I do not want any Americans to be at risk. I do not want any American harmed or jailed. But I am not sure, in fact I am pretty sure the solution is not a blanket prohibition on the right to travel, even if you know the risks in advance.

I thank my good friend for yielding.

Mr. WILSON. And, Mr. President, I would like to point out the former president of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, I want to clarify on the position of Congressman Connolly.

But in light of that, indeed, where you have this North Korea, we already have, or they, Iran, already restricts persons from the United States coming into their country. But with the \$6 billion ransom announced on the anniversary of 9 11, how crazy is this, the potential of a billion dollars per person. And then we can only go back to the statement by the Iranian officials was 2021, it was 2 years ago that they said they looked forward to holding Americans as ransom for a billion dollars each.

Now, I would have thought that was absurd, except it has happened.

I yield back.

Chairman McCAUL. The gentleman yields.

Any further discussion on the amendment?

There being no further discussion, the question now occurs on the amendment offered by Representative Jacobs, Number 129.

All those in favor, signify by saying aye.

All those opposed, signify by saying no.

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

For what purpose does the gentlelady seek recognition?

Ms. JACOBS. A roll call.

Chairman MCCAUL. A roll call has been requested.

Pursuant to the chair's previous announcement, this vote will be postponed.

Are there any further amendments?

Further proceedings on this bill are postponed.

Pursuant to notice, I now call up H.R. 340, the " Hamas International Financing Prevention Act."

[The Bill H.R. 340 follows:]

118TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 340

To impose sanctions with respect to foreign support for terrorist organizations, including Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad.

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JANUARY 12, 2023

Mr. MAST (for himself and Mr. GOTTHEIMER) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and in addition to the Committee on Financial Services, 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

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## A BILL

To impose sanctions with respect to foreign support for terrorist organizations, including Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad.

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 “Hamas International  
5 Financing Prevention Act”.

### 6 **SEC. 2. STATEMENT OF POLICY.**

7 It shall be the policy of the United States—

1 (1) to prevent Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic  
2 Jihad, or any affiliate or successor thereof from ac-  
3 cessing its international support networks; and

4 (2) to oppose Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic  
5 Jihad, or any affiliate or successor thereof from at-  
6 tempting to use goods, including medicine and dual  
7 use items, to smuggle weapons and other materials  
8 to further acts of terrorism.

9 **SEC. 3. IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO FOR-**  
10 **EIGN PERSONS AND AGENCIES AND INSTRU-**  
11 **MENTALITIES OF FOREIGN STATES SUP-**  
12 **PORTING HAMAS, THE PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC**  
13 **JIHAD, OR ANY AFFILIATE OR SUCCESSOR**  
14 **THEREOF.**

15 (a) IDENTIFICATION.—

16 (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days  
17 after the date of the enactment of this Act, and an-  
18 nually thereafter for a period not to exceed 3 years,  
19 the President shall submit to the appropriate con-  
20 gressional committees a report that identifies each  
21 foreign person or agency or instrumentality of a for-  
22 eign state that the President determines—

23 (A) knowingly assists in, sponsors, or pro-  
24 vides significant financial or material support  
25 for, or financial or other services to or in sup-

1 port of, the terrorist activities of any person de-  
2 scribed in paragraph (2); or

3 (B) directly or indirectly, knowingly and  
4 materially engaged in a significant transaction  
5 with any person described in paragraph (2).

6 (2) PERSON DESCRIBED.—A person described  
7 in this paragraph is a foreign person that the Presi-  
8 dent determines—

9 (A) is a senior member of Hamas, the Pal-  
10 estinian Islamic Jihad, or any affiliate or suc-  
11 cessor thereof;

12 (B) is a senior member of a foreign ter-  
13 rorist organization designated pursuant to sec-  
14 tion 219 of the Immigration and Nationality  
15 Act (8 U.S.C. 1189) whose members directly or  
16 indirectly support the terrorist activities of  
17 Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, or any  
18 affiliate or successor thereof by knowingly en-  
19 gaging in a significant transaction with, or pro-  
20 viding financial or material support for Hamas,  
21 the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, or any affiliate  
22 or successor thereof, or any person described in  
23 subparagraph (A); or

24 (C) directly or indirectly, supports the ter-  
25 rorist activities of Hamas, the Palestinian Is-

1        lamie Jihad, or any affiliate or successor there-  
2        of by knowingly and materially assisting, spon-  
3        soring, or providing financial or material sup-  
4        port for, or goods or services to or in support  
5        of, Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, or  
6        any affiliate or successor thereof, or any person  
7        described in subparagraph (A) or (B).

8        (3) FORM OF REPORT.—Each report required  
9        under paragraph (1) shall be submitted in unclassi-  
10        fied form, but may contain a classified annex.

11        (4) EXCEPTION.—

12        (A) IN GENERAL.—The President shall not  
13        be required to identify a foreign person or an  
14        agency or instrumentality of a foreign state in  
15        a report pursuant to paragraph (1)(B) if—

16                (i) the foreign person or agency or in-  
17                strumentality of a foreign state notifies the  
18                United States Government in advance that  
19                it proposes to engage in a significant  
20                transaction as described in paragraph  
21                (1)(B); and

22                (ii) the President determines and noti-  
23                fies the appropriate congressional commit-  
24                tees in a classified form not less than 15  
25                days prior to the foreign person or agency

1 or instrumentality of a foreign state engag-  
2 ing in the significant transaction that the  
3 significant transaction is in the national  
4 interests of the United States.

5 (B) NON-APPLICABILITY.—Subparagraph  
6 (A) shall not apply with respect to—

7 (i) an agency or instrumentality of a  
8 foreign state which the Secretary of State  
9 determines has repeatedly provided support  
10 for acts of international terrorism pursu-  
11 ant to section 1754(e) of the Export Re-  
12 form Control Act of 2018, section 40 of  
13 the Arms Export Control Act, section  
14 620A of the Foreign Assistance Act of  
15 1961, or any other provision of law; or

16 (ii) any significant transaction de-  
17 scribed in paragraph (1)(B) that involves,  
18 directly or indirectly, a foreign state de-  
19 scribed in clause (i).

20 (b) IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS.—

21 (1) IN GENERAL.—The President shall impose  
22 two or more of the sanctions described in paragraph  
23 (2) with respect to a foreign person or an agency or  
24 instrumentality of a foreign state identified pursuant  
25 to subsection (a).



1           (2) SANCTIONS DESCRIBED.—The sanctions re-  
2       ferred to in paragraph (1) are the following:

3           (A) The President may direct the Export-  
4       Import Bank of the United States not to give  
5       approval to the issuance of any guarantee, in-  
6       surance, extension of credit, or participation in  
7       the extension of credit in connection with the  
8       export of any goods or services to the foreign  
9       person or agency or instrumentality of the for-  
10      eign state, and the Export-Import Bank of the  
11      United States shall comply with any such direc-  
12      tion.

13          (B) No sales of any defense articles, de-  
14      fense services, or design and construction serv-  
15      ices under the Arms Export Control Act (22  
16      U.S.C. 2751 et seq.) may be made to the for-  
17      eign person or agency or instrumentality of the  
18      foreign state.

19          (C) No licenses for export of any item on  
20      the United States Munitions List that include  
21      the foreign person or agency or instrumentality  
22      of the foreign state as a party to the license  
23      may be granted.

24          (D) No exports may be permitted to the  
25      foreign person or agency or instrumentality of

1 the foreign state of any goods or technologies  
2 controlled for national security reasons under  
3 the Export Administration Regulations, except  
4 that such prohibition shall not apply to any  
5 transaction subject to the reporting require-  
6 ments of title V of the National Security Act of  
7 1947 (50 U.S.C. 413 et seq.; relating to con-  
8 gressional oversight of intelligence activities).

9 (E) The President shall prohibit any  
10 United States financial institution from making  
11 loans or providing any credit or financing total-  
12 ing more than \$10,000,000 to the foreign per-  
13 son or agency or instrumentality of the foreign  
14 state, except that this subparagraph shall not  
15 apply—

16 (i) to any transaction subject to the  
17 reporting requirements of title V of the  
18 National Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C.  
19 413 et seq.; relating to congressional over-  
20 sight of intelligence activities);

21 (ii) to the provision of medicines,  
22 medical equipment, and humanitarian as-  
23 sistance; or

24 (iii) to any credit, credit guarantee, or  
25 financial assistance provided by the De-

1           partment of Agriculture to support the  
2           purchase of food or other agricultural com-  
3           modities.

4           (F)(i) The President may exercise all pow-  
5           ers granted to the President by the Inter-  
6           national Emergency Economic Powers Act (50  
7           U.S.C. 1701 et seq.) (except that the require-  
8           ments of section 202 of such Act (50 U.S.C.  
9           1701) shall not apply) to the extent necessary  
10          to block and prohibit all transactions in all  
11          property and interests in property of a foreign  
12          person or agency or instrumentality of the for-  
13          eign state if such property and interests in  
14          property are in the United States, come within  
15          the United States, or are or come within the  
16          possession or control of a United States person.

17          (ii) The penalties provided for in sub-  
18          sections (b) and (c) of section 206 of the Inter-  
19          national Emergency Economic Powers Act (50  
20          U.S.C. 1705) shall apply to a person that  
21          knowingly violates, attempts to violate, con-  
22          spires to violate, or causes a violation of regula-  
23          tions promulgated under section 6(b) to carry  
24          out clause (i) to the same extent that such pen-  
25          alties apply to a person that knowingly commits

1 an unlawful act described in section 206(a) of  
2 that Act.

3 (iii) The President may exercise all au-  
4 thorities provided to the President under sec-  
5 tions 203 and 205 of the International Emer-  
6 gency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1702  
7 and 1704) for purposes of carrying out clause  
8 (i).

9 (3) EXCEPTION.—The President shall not be  
10 required to apply sanctions with respect to a foreign  
11 person or an agency or instrumentality of a foreign  
12 state identified pursuant to subsection (a) if the  
13 President certifies in writing to the appropriate con-  
14 gressional committees that—

15 (A) the foreign person or agency or instru-  
16 mentality of the foreign state—

17 (i) is no longer carrying out activities  
18 or transactions for which the sanctions  
19 were imposed pursuant to this subsection;  
20 or

21 (ii) has taken and is continuing to  
22 take significant verifiable steps toward ter-  
23 minating the activities or transactions for  
24 which the sanctions were imposed pursuant  
25 to this subsection; and

1 (B) the President has received reliable as-  
2 surances from the foreign person or agency or  
3 instrumentality of the foreign state that it will  
4 not carry out any activities or transactions for  
5 which sanctions may be imposed pursuant to  
6 this subsection in the future.

7 (c) WAIVER.—

8 (1) IN GENERAL.—The President may waive,  
9 on a case-by-case basis and for a period of not more  
10 than 180 days, a requirement under subsection (b)  
11 to impose or maintain sanctions with respect to a  
12 foreign person or agency or instrumentality of a for-  
13 eign state if the President—

14 (A) determines that the waiver is in the  
15 national security interest of the United States;  
16 and

17 (B) not less than 30 days before the waiv-  
18 er takes effect, submits to the appropriate con-  
19 gressional committees a report on the waiver  
20 and the justification for the waiver.

21 (2) RENEWAL OF WAIVER.—The President  
22 may, on a case-by-case basis, renew a waiver under  
23 paragraph (1) for additional periods of not more  
24 than 180 days if the President—

1           (A) determines that the renewal of the  
2           waiver is in the national security interest of the  
3           United States; and

4           (B) not less than 15 days before the waiv-  
5           er expires, submits to the appropriate congres-  
6           sional committees a report on the renewal of  
7           the waiver and the justification for the renewal  
8           of the waiver.

9       (d) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—The authority to im-  
10      pose sanctions under subsection (b) with respect to a for-  
11      eign person or an agency or instrumentality of a foreign  
12      state identified pursuant to subsection (a) is in addition  
13      to the authority to impose sanctions under any other pro-  
14      vision of law with respect to foreign persons or agencies  
15      or instrumentalities of foreign states that directly or indi-  
16      rectly support international terrorism.

17      (e) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

18           (1) FOREIGN STATE.—The term “foreign state”  
19           has the meaning given such term in section 1603(a)  
20           of title 28, United States Code.

21           (2) AGENCY OR INSTRUMENTALITY.—The term  
22           “agency or instrumentality” has the meaning given  
23           such term in section 1603(b) of title 28, United  
24           States Code.

1 (f) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This section shall take effect  
2 on the date of the enactment of this Act and apply with  
3 respect to activities and transactions described in sub-  
4 section (a) that are carried out on or after such date of  
5 enactment.

6 **SEC. 4. IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO FOR-**  
7 **EIGN GOVERNMENTS THAT PROVIDE MATE-**  
8 **RIAL SUPPORT FOR THE TERRORIST ACTIVI-**  
9 **TIES OF HAMAS, THE PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC**  
10 **JIHAD, OR ANY AFFILIATE OR SUCCESSOR**  
11 **THEREOF.**

12 (a) IDENTIFICATION.—

13 (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days  
14 after the date of the enactment of this Act, and  
15 every 180 days thereafter, the President shall sub-  
16 mit to the appropriate congressional committees a  
17 report that identifies the following:

18 (A) Each government of a foreign coun-  
19 try—

20 (i) with respect to which the Secretary  
21 of State determines has repeatedly pro-  
22 vided support for acts of international ter-  
23 rorism pursuant to section 1754(c) of the  
24 Export Control Reform Act of 2018, sec-  
25 tion 40 of the Arms Export Control Act,

1 section 620A of the Foreign Assistance Act  
2 of 1961, or any other provision of law; and

3 (ii) with respect to which the Presi-  
4 dent determines has provided direct or in-  
5 direct material support for the terrorist ac-  
6 tivities of Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic  
7 Jihad, or any affiliate or successor thereof.

8 (B) Each government of a foreign country  
9 that—

10 (i) is not identified under subpara-  
11 graph (A); and

12 (ii) the President determines engaged  
13 in a significant transaction so as to con-  
14 tribute knowingly and materially to the ef-  
15 forts by the government of a foreign coun-  
16 try described in subparagraph (A)(i) to  
17 provide direct or indirect material support  
18 for the terrorist activities of Hamas, the  
19 Palestinian Islamic Jihad, or any affiliate  
20 or successor thereof.

21 (2) FORM OF REPORT.—Each report submitted  
22 under paragraph (1) shall be submitted in unclassi-  
23 fied form but may contain a classified annex.

24 (b) IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS.—



1           (1) IN GENERAL.—The President shall impose  
2           the following sanctions with respect to each govern-  
3           ment of a foreign country identified pursuant to sub-  
4           paragraph (A) or (B) of subsection (a)(1):

5           (A) The United States Government shall  
6           suspend, for a period of 1 year, United States  
7           assistance to the government of the foreign  
8           country.

9           (B) The Secretary of the Treasury shall  
10          instruct the United States Executive Director  
11          to each appropriate international financial insti-  
12          tution to oppose, and vote against, for a period  
13          of 1 year, the extension by such institution of  
14          any loan or financial or technical assistance to  
15          the government of the foreign country.

16          (C) No item on the United States Muni-  
17          tions List (established pursuant to section 38 of  
18          the Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C.  
19          2778)) or the Commerce Control List set forth  
20          in Supplement No. 1 to part 774 of title 15,  
21          Code of Federal Regulations, may be exported  
22          to the government of the foreign country for a  
23          period of 1 year.

24          (2) EXCEPTIONS.—The President shall not be  
25          required to apply sanctions with respect to the gov-

1 ernment of a foreign country pursuant to paragraph  
2 (1)—

3 (A) with respect to materials intended to  
4 be used by United States military or civilian  
5 personnel at military facilities in the country; or

6 (B) if the application of such sanctions  
7 would prevent the United States from meeting  
8 the terms of any status of forces agreement to  
9 which the United States is a party.

10 (e) IMPOSITION OF ADDITIONAL SANCTIONS WITH  
11 RESPECT TO FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS IDENTIFIED  
12 UNDER SUBSECTION (a)(1)(A).—The President shall im-  
13 pose the following additional sanctions with respect to  
14 each government of a foreign country identified pursuant  
15 to subsection (a)(1)(A):

16 (1) The President shall, pursuant to such regu-  
17 lations as the President may prescribe, prohibit any  
18 transactions in foreign exchange that are subject to  
19 the jurisdiction of the United States and in which  
20 the government of the foreign country has any inter-  
21 est.

22 (2) The President shall, pursuant to such regu-  
23 lations as the President may prescribe, prohibit any  
24 transfers of credit or payments between one or more  
25 financial institutions or by, through, or to any finan-

1 cial institution, to the extent that such transfers or  
2 payments are subject to the jurisdiction of the  
3 United States and involve any interest of the govern-  
4 ment of the foreign country.

5 (d) WAIVER.—

6 (1) IN GENERAL.—The President may waive,  
7 on a case-by-case basis and for a period of not more  
8 than 180 days, a requirement under subsection (b)  
9 or (c) to impose or maintain sanctions with respect  
10 to a foreign government identified pursuant to sub-  
11 paragraph (A) or (B) of subsection (a)(1) if the  
12 President—

13 (A) determines that the waiver is in the  
14 national security interest of the United States;  
15 and

16 (B) not less than 30 days before the waiv-  
17 er takes effect, submits to the appropriate con-  
18 gressional committees a report on the waiver  
19 and the justification for the waiver.

20 (2) RENEWAL OF WAIVER.—The President  
21 may, on a case-by-case basis, renew a waiver under  
22 paragraph (1) for additional periods of not more  
23 than 180 days if the President—

1           (Λ) determines that the renewal of the  
2           waiver is in the national security interest of the  
3           United States; and

4           (B) not less than 15 days before the waiv-  
5           er expires, submits to the appropriate congres-  
6           sional committees a report on the renewal of  
7           the waiver and the justification for the renewal  
8           of the waiver.

9       (e) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—The authority to im-  
10      pose sanctions under subsection (b) or (c) with respect to  
11      each government of a foreign country identified pursuant  
12      to subparagraph (Λ) or (B) of subsection (a)(1) is in addi-  
13      tion to the authority to impose sanctions under any other  
14      provision of law with respect to governments of foreign  
15      countries that provide material support to foreign terrorist  
16      organizations designated pursuant to section 219 of the  
17      Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1189).

18      (f) TERMINATION.—The President may terminate  
19      any sanctions imposed with respect to the government of  
20      a foreign country pursuant to subsection (b) or (c) if the  
21      President determines and notifies the appropriate congres-  
22      sional committees that the government of the foreign  
23      country is no longer carrying out activities or transactions  
24      for which the sanctions were imposed and has provided

1 assurances to the United States Government that it will  
2 not carry out the activities or transactions in the future.

3 (g) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This section shall take effect  
4 on the date of the enactment of this Act and apply with  
5 respect to activities and transactions described in subpara-  
6 graph (A) or (B) of subsection (a)(1) that are carried out  
7 on or after such date of enactment.

8 **SEC. 5. EXEMPTIONS FROM SANCTIONS UNDER SECTIONS 3**  
9 **AND 4 RELATING TO PROVISION OF HUMANI-**  
10 **TARIAN ASSISTANCE.**

11 (a) SANCTIONS UNDER SECTION 3.—The following  
12 activities shall be exempt from sanctions under section 3:

13 (1) The conduct or facilitation of a transaction  
14 for the sale of agricultural commodities, food, medi-  
15 cine, or medical devices to a foreign person described  
16 in section 3(a)(2).

17 (2) The provision of humanitarian assistance to  
18 a foreign person described in section 3(a)(2), includ-  
19 ing engaging in a financial transaction relating to  
20 humanitarian assistance or for humanitarian pur-  
21 poses or transporting goods or services that are nec-  
22 essary to carry out operations relating to humani-  
23 tarian assistance or humanitarian purposes.

24 (b) SANCTIONS UNDER SECTION 4.—The following  
25 activities shall be exempt from sanctions under section 4:

1           (1) The conduct or facilitation of a transaction  
 2           for the sale of agricultural commodities, food, medi-  
 3           cine, or medical devices to Hamas, the Palestinian  
 4           Islamic Jihad, or any affiliate or successor thereof  
 5           described in section 4(a)(1).

6           (2) The provision of humanitarian assistance to  
 7           Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, or any affil-  
 8           iate or successor thereof described in section 4(a)(1),  
 9           including engaging in a financial transaction relating  
 10          to humanitarian assistance or for humanitarian pur-  
 11          poses or transporting goods or services that are nec-  
 12          essary to carry out operations relating to humani-  
 13          tarian assistance or humanitarian purposes.

14 **SEC. 6. REPORT ON ACTIVITIES OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES**  
 15           **TO DISRUPT GLOBAL FUNDRAISING, FINANC-**  
 16           **ING, AND MONEY LAUNDERING ACTIVITIES**  
 17           **OF HAMAS, THE PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC**  
 18           **JIHAD, OR ANY AFFILIATE OR SUCCESSOR**  
 19           **THEREOF.**

20           (a) REPORT.—

21           (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days  
 22           after the date of the enactment of this Act, the  
 23           President shall submit to the appropriate congres-  
 24           sional committees a report that includes—

1 (A) a list of foreign countries that support  
2 Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, or any  
3 affiliate or successor thereof, or in which  
4 Hamas maintains important portions of its fi-  
5 nancial networks;

6 (B) with respect to each foreign country on  
7 the list required by subparagraph (A)—

8 (i) an assessment of whether the gov-  
9 ernment of the country is taking adequate  
10 measures to freeze the assets of Hamas,  
11 the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, or any affil-  
12 iate or successor thereof within the terri-  
13 tory of the country; and

14 (ii) in the case of a country the gov-  
15 ernment of which is not taking adequate  
16 measures to freeze the assets of Hamas—

17 (I) an assessment of the reasons  
18 that government is not taking ade-  
19 quate measures to freeze those assets;  
20 and

21 (II) a description of measures  
22 being taken by the United States Gov-  
23 ernment to encourage that govern-  
24 ment to freeze those assets;

1 (C) a list of foreign countries in which  
2 Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, or any  
3 affiliate or successor thereof, conducts signifi-  
4 cant fundraising, financing, or money laun-  
5 dering activities;

6 (D) with respect to each foreign country  
7 on the list required by subparagraph (C)—

8 (i) an assessment of whether the gov-  
9 ernment of the country is taking adequate  
10 measures to disrupt the fundraising, fi-  
11 nancing, or money laundering activities of  
12 Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, or  
13 any affiliate or successor thereof within the  
14 territory of the country; and

15 (ii) in the case of a country the gov-  
16 ernment of which is not taking adequate  
17 measures to disrupt those activities—

18 (I) an assessment of the reasons  
19 that government is not taking ade-  
20 quate measures to disrupt those ac-  
21 tivities; and

22 (II) a description of measures  
23 being taken by the United States Gov-  
24 ernment to encourage that govern-



1                   ment to improve measures to disrupt  
2                   those activities; and

3                   (E) a list of foreign countries from which  
4           Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, or any  
5           affiliate or successor thereof, acquires surveil-  
6           lance equipment, electronic monitoring equip-  
7           ment, or other means to inhibit communication  
8           or political expression in Gaza.

9           (2) FORM.—The report required by paragraph  
10          (1) shall be submitted in unclassified form to the  
11          greatest extent possible, and may contain a classified  
12          annex.

13          (b) BRIEFING.—Not later than 180 days after the  
14          date of the enactment of this Act, and every 180 days  
15          thereafter for a period not to exceed 3 years, the Secretary  
16          of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the heads of  
17          other applicable Federal departments and agencies (or  
18          their designees) shall provide to the appropriate congres-  
19          sional committees a briefing on the disposition of the as-  
20          sets and activities of Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic  
21          Jihad, or any successor or affiliate thereof related to fund-  
22          raising, financing, and money laundering worldwide.

23          (c) DEFINITION.—In this section, the term “appro-  
24          priate congressional committees” means—

1           (1) the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the  
2           Committee on Financial Services, and the Perma-  
3           nent Select Committee on Intelligence of the House  
4           of Representatives; and

5           (2) the Committee on Foreign Relations, the  
6           Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Af-  
7           fairs, and the Select Committee on Intelligence of  
8           the Senate.

9   **SEC. 7. MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS.**

10          (a) **RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.**—Nothing in this Act  
11          shall be construed to apply to the authorized intelligence  
12          activities of the United States.

13          (b) **REGULATORY AUTHORITY.**—The President shall,  
14          not later than 180 days after the date of the enactment  
15          of this Act, promulgate regulations as are necessary for  
16          the implementation of this Act.

17          (c) **EXCEPTION RELATING TO IMPORTATION OF**  
18          **GOODS.**—

19                (1) **IN GENERAL.**—The authorities and require-  
20                ments to impose sanctions authorized under this Act  
21                shall not include the authority or requirement to im-  
22                pose sanctions on the importation of goods.

23                (2) **GOOD DEFINED.**—In this subsection, the  
24                term “good” means any article, natural or man-  
25                made substance, material, supply or manufactured

1 product, including inspection and test equipment,  
2 and excluding technical data.

3 (d) TERMINATION.—This Act shall terminate begin-  
4 ning—

5 (1) 30 days after the date on which the Presi-  
6 dent certifies to the appropriate congressional com-  
7 mittees that Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic  
8 Jihad, or any successor or affiliate thereof—

9 (A) are no longer designated as a foreign  
10 terrorist organization pursuant to section 219  
11 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8  
12 U.S.C. 1189);

13 (B) are no longer subject to sanctions pur-  
14 suant to—

15 (i) Executive Order No. 12947 (Janu-  
16 ary 23, 1995; relating to prohibiting trans-  
17 actions with terrorists who threaten to dis-  
18 rupt the Middle East peace process); and

19 (ii) Executive Order No. 13224 (Sep-  
20 tember 23, 2001; relating to blocking prop-  
21 erty and prohibiting transactions with per-  
22 sons who commit, threaten to commit, or  
23 support terrorism); and

24 (C) meet the criteria described in para-  
25 graphs (1) through (4) of section 9 of the Pal-

1           estinian Anti-Terrorism Act of 2006 (22 U.S.C.  
2           2378b note); or  
3           (2) 3 years after the date of the enactment of  
4           this Act,  
5           whichever occurs earlier.

6 **SEC. 8. DEFINITIONS.**

7           Except as otherwise provided, in this Act:

8           (1) ADMITTED.—The term “admitted” has the  
9           meaning given such term in section 101(a)(13)(A) of  
10          the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C.  
11          1101(a)(13)(A)).

12          (2) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT-  
13          TEES.—The term “appropriate congressional com-  
14          mittees” means the Committee on Foreign Affairs of  
15          the House of Representatives and the Committee on  
16          Foreign Relations of the Senate.

17          (3) FOREIGN PERSON.—The term “foreign per-  
18          son” means—

19                (A) an individual who is not a United  
20                States person; or

21                (B) a corporation, partnership, or other  
22                nongovernmental entity which is not a United  
23                States person.

24          (4) MATERIAL SUPPORT.—The term “material  
25          support” has the meaning given the term “material

1 support or resources” in section 2339A of title 18,  
2 United States Code.

3 (5) PERSON.—The term “person” means an in-  
4 dividual or entity.

5 (6) UNITED STATES PERSON.—The term  
6 “United States person” means—

7 (A) a United States citizen or an alien law-  
8 fully admitted for permanent residence to the  
9 United States; or

10 (B) an entity organized under the laws of  
11 the United States or of any jurisdiction within  
12 the United States, including a foreign branch of  
13 such an entity.

○

Chairman McCAUL. The bill was circulated in advance. And the clerk shall designate the bill.

The CLERK. "H.R. 340, to impose sanctions with respect to foreign support for terrorist organizations, including Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad."

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

Without objection, the Mast amendment in the nature of a substitute, Number 117, circulated to members in advance, shall be considered as read and will be treated as original text for purposes of amendments.

[The Amendment of Mr. Mast follows:]

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**AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE  
TO H.R. 340  
OFFERED BY MR. MAST OF FLORIDA**

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

**1 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

2       This Act may be cited as the “*Hamas and Other Pal-*  
3 *estinian Terrorist Groups International Financing Preven-*  
4 *tion Act*”.

**5 SEC. 2. STATEMENT OF POLICY.**

6       It shall be the policy of the United States—

7           (1) to prevent Hamas, Palestinian Islamic  
8 Jihad, Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, the Lion’s Den, or  
9 any affiliate or successor thereof from accessing its  
10 international support networks; and

11          (2) to oppose Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic  
12 Jihad, Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, the Lion’s Den, or  
13 any affiliate or successor thereof from using goods,  
14 including medicine and dual use items, to smuggle  
15 weapons and other materials to further acts of ter-  
16 rorism, including against Israel.

1 **SEC. 3. IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO FOR-**  
2 **EIGN PERSONS SUPPORTING ACTS OF TER-**  
3 **RORISM OR ENGAGING IN SIGNIFICANT**  
4 **TRANSACTIONS WITH SENIOR MEMBERS OF**  
5 **HAMAS, PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD AND**  
6 **OTHER PALESTINIAN TERRORIST ORGANIZA-**  
7 **TIONS.**

8 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days after the  
9 date of enactment of this Act, the President shall impose  
10 the sanctions described in subsection (c) with respect to  
11 each foreign person that the President determines, on or  
12 after the date of the enactment of this Act, engages in  
13 an activity described in subsection (b).

14 (b) ACTIVITIES DESCRIBED.—A foreign person en-  
15 gages in an activity described in this subsection if the for-  
16 eign person knowingly—

17 (1) assists in sponsoring or providing signifi-  
18 cant financial, material, or technological support for,  
19 or goods or other services to enable, acts of ter-  
20 rorism; or

21 (2) engages, directly or indirectly, in a signifi-  
22 cant transaction with—

23 (A) a senior member of Hamas, Pales-  
24 tinian Islamic Jihad, Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade,  
25 the Lion's Den, or any affiliate or successor  
26 thereof; or



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1 (B) a senior member of a foreign terrorist  
2 organization designated pursuant to section 219  
3 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8  
4 U.S.C. 1189) that is responsible for providing,  
5 directly or indirectly, support to Hamas, Pales-  
6 tinian Islamic Jihad, Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade,  
7 the Lion's Den, or any affiliate or successor  
8 thereof.

9 (c) SANCTIONS DESCRIBED.—The President shall ex-  
10 ercise all of the powers granted to the President under  
11 the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50  
12 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.) to the extent necessary to block and  
13 prohibit all transactions in property and interests in prop-  
14 erty of a foreign person described in subsection (a) if such  
15 property and interests in property are in the United  
16 States, come within the United States, or are or come  
17 within the possession or control of a United States person.

18 (d) PENALTIES.—The penalties provided for in sub-  
19 sections (b) and (c) of section 206 of the International  
20 Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1705) shall  
21 apply to a person that violates, attempts to violate, con-  
22 spires to violate, or causes a violation of this section or  
23 any regulations promulgated to carry out this section to  
24 the same extent that such penalties apply to a person that

1 commits an unlawful act described in section 206(a) of  
2 that Act.

3 (e) IMPLEMENTATION; REGULATIONS.—

4 (1) IN GENERAL.—The President may exercise  
5 all authorities provided under sections 203 and 205  
6 of the International Emergency Economic Powers  
7 Act (50 U.S.C. 1702 and 1704) for purposes of car-  
8 rying out this section.

9 (2) REGULATIONS.—Not later than 60 days  
10 after the date of the enactment of this Act, the  
11 President shall issue regulations or other guidance  
12 as may be necessary for the implementation of this  
13 section.

14 (f) WAIVER.—The President may waive, on a case-  
15 by-case basis and for a period of not more than 180 days,  
16 the application of sanctions under this section with respect  
17 to a foreign person only if, not later than 15 days prior  
18 to the date on which the waiver is to take effect, the Presi-  
19 dent submits to the appropriate congressional committees  
20 a written determination and justification that the waiver  
21 is in the vital national security interests of the United  
22 States.

23 (g) HUMANITARIAN EXEMPTION.—The President  
24 may waive the application of any provision of this section  
25 if the President certifies in writing to the appropriate con-

1 gressional committees that such a waiver is vital to facili-  
2 tate the delivery of humanitarian aid and is consistent  
3 with the national security interests of the United States  
4 15 days prior to the waiver taking effect.

5 (h) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—The authority to im-  
6 pose sanctions under this section with respect to a foreign  
7 person is in addition to the authority to impose sanctions  
8 under any other provision of law with respect to a foreign  
9 person that directly or indirectly supports acts of inter-  
10 national terrorism.

11 **SEC. 4. IMPOSITION OF MEASURES WITH RESPECT TO FOR-**  
12 **EIGN STATES PROVIDING SUPPORT TO**  
13 **HAMAS, PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD AND**  
14 **OTHER PALESTINIAN TERRORIST ORGANIZA-**  
15 **TIONS.**

16 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days after the  
17 date of enactment of this Act, the President shall impose  
18 the measures described in subsection (c) with respect to  
19 a foreign state if the President determines that the foreign  
20 state, on or after the date of the enactment of this Act,  
21 engages in an activity described in subsection (b).

22 (b) ACTIVITIES DESCRIBED.—A foreign state en-  
23 gages in an activity described in this subsection if the for-  
24 eign state knowingly—

1 (1) provides significant material or financial  
2 support for acts of international terrorism, pursuant  
3 to—

4 (A) section 1754(c) of the Export Control  
5 Reform Act of 2018 (50 U.S.C. 4813(c)(1)(A));

6 (B) section 620A of the Foreign Assistance  
7 Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2371);

8 (C) section 40 of the Arms Export Control  
9 Act (22 U.S.C. 2780); or

10 (D) any other provision of law;

11 (2) provides significant material support to  
12 Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, Al-Aqsa Mar-  
13 tyrs Brigade, the Lion's Den, or any affiliate or suc-  
14 cessor thereof; or

15 (3) engages in a significant transaction that  
16 materially contributes, directly or indirectly, to the  
17 terrorist activities of Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic  
18 Jihad, Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, the Lion's Den, or  
19 any affiliate or successor thereof.

20 (c) MEASURES DESCRIBED.—The measures de-  
21 scribed in this subsection with respect to a foreign state  
22 are the following:

23 (1) The President shall suspend, for a period of  
24 at least 1 year, United States assistance to the for-  
25 eign state.

1           (2) The Secretary of the Treasury shall instruct  
2           the United States Executive Director to each appro-  
3           priate international financial institution to oppose,  
4           and vote against, for a period of 1 year, the exten-  
5           sion by such institution of any loan or financial or  
6           technical assistance to the government of the foreign  
7           state.

8           (3) The President shall prohibit the export of  
9           any item on the United States Munitions List (es-  
10          tablished pursuant to section 38 of the Arms Export  
11          Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2778)) or the Commerce  
12          Control List set forth in Supplement No. 1 to part  
13          774 of title 15, Code of Federal Regulations, to the  
14          foreign state for a period of 1 year.

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

24          (e) WAIVER.—The President may waive, on a case-  
25          by-case basis and for a period of not more than 180 days,

1 the application of measures under this section with respect  
2 to a foreign state only if, not later than 15 days prior  
3 to the date on which the waiver is to take effect, the Presi-  
4 dent submits to the appropriate congressional committees  
5 a written determination and justification that the waiver  
6 is in the vital national security interests of the United  
7 States.

8 (f) IMPLEMENTATION; REGULATIONS.—

9 (1) IN GENERAL.—The President may exercise  
10 all authorities provided under sections 203 and 205  
11 of the International Emergency Economic Powers  
12 Act (50 U.S.C. 1702 and 1704) for purposes of ear-  
13 rying out this section.

14 (2) REGULATIONS.—Not later than 60 days  
15 after the date of the enactment of this Act, the  
16 President shall issue regulations or other guidance  
17 as may be necessary for the implementation of this  
18 section.

19 (g) ADDITIONAL EXEMPTIONS.—

20 (1) STATUS OF FORCES AGREEMENTS.—The  
21 President may exempt the application of measures  
22 under this section with respect to a foreign state if  
23 the application of such measures would prevent the  
24 United States from meeting the terms of any status

1 of forces agreement to which the United States is a  
2 party.

3 (2) AUTHORIZED INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.—  
4 Measures under this section shall not apply with re-  
5 spect to any activity subject to the reporting require-  
6 ments under title V of the National Security Act of  
7 1947 (50 U.S.C. 3091 et seq.) or any authorized in-  
8 telligence activities of the United States.

9 (3) HUMANITARIAN EXEMPTION.—The Presi-  
10 dent may waive the application of any provision of  
11 this section if the President certifies in writing to  
12 the appropriate congressional committees that such  
13 a waiver is vital to facilitate the delivery of humani-  
14 tarian aid and is consistent with the national secu-  
15 rity interests of the United States 15 days prior to  
16 the waiver taking effect.

17 (h) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—The authority to im-  
18 pose measures under this section with respect to a foreign  
19 state is in addition to the authority to impose measures  
20 under any other provision of law with respect to foreign  
21 states that directly or indirectly support acts of inter-  
22 national terrorism.

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1 **SEC. 5. REPORTS ON ACTIVITIES TO DISRUPT GLOBAL**  
2 **FUNDRAISING, FINANCING, AND MONEY**  
3 **LAUNDERING ACTIVITIES OF HAMAS, PALES-**  
4 **TINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD, AL-AQSA MARTYRS**  
5 **BRIGADE, THE LION'S DEN OR ANY AFFIL-**  
6 **IATE OR SUCCESSOR THEREOF.**

7 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 90 days after the  
8 date of enactment of this Act, and every 180 days there-  
9 after, the President shall submit to the appropriate con-  
10 gressional committees a report that includes—

11 (1) an assessment of the disposition of the as-  
12 sets and activities of Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic  
13 Jihad, Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, the Lion's Den, or  
14 any affiliate or successor thereof related to fund-  
15 raising, financing, and money laundering worldwide;

16 (2) a list of foreign states that knowingly pro-  
17 viding material, financial, or technical support for,  
18 or goods or services to Hamas, the Palestinian Is-  
19 lamic Jihad, Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, the Lion's  
20 Den, or any affiliate or successor thereof;

21 (3) a list of foreign states in which Hamas, the  
22 Palestinian Islamic Jihad, Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade,  
23 the Lion's Den, or any affiliate or successor thereof  
24 conducts significant fundraising, financing, or money  
25 laundering activities;



1 (4) a list of foreign states from which Hamas,  
2 the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, Al-Aqsa Martyrs Bri-  
3 gade, the Lion's Den, or any affiliate or successor  
4 thereof knowingly engaged in the transfer of surveil-  
5 lance equipment, electronic monitoring equipment,  
6 or other means to inhibit communication or the free  
7 flow of information in Gaza; and

8 (5) with respect to each foreign state listed in  
9 paragraph (2), (3), or (4)—

10 (A) a description of the steps the foreign  
11 state identified is taking adequate measures to  
12 restrict financial flows to Hamas, the Pales-  
13 tinian Islamic Jihad, Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade,  
14 the Lion's Den, or any affiliates or successors  
15 thereof; and

16 (B) in the case of a foreign state failing to  
17 take adequate measures to restrict financial  
18 flows to Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, Al-  
19 Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, the Lion's Den or any  
20 other designated entity engaged in significant  
21 act of terrorism threatening the peace and secu-  
22 rity of Israel—

23 (i) an assessment of the reasons that  
24 government is not taking adequate meas-

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1                   ures to restrict financial flows to those en-  
2                   tities; and

3                   (ii) a description of measures being  
4                   taken by the United States Government to  
5                   encourage the foreign state to restrict fi-  
6                   nancial flows to those entities; and

7           (b) FORM.—Each report required by subsection (a)  
8   shall be submitted in unclassified form to the greatest ex-  
9   tent possible, and may contain a classified annex.

10          (c) SUNSET.—The report requirement under sub-  
11   section (a) shall terminate on the earlier of the following:

12           (1) The date that is 7 years after the date of  
13           the enactment of this Act.

14           (2) The date on which this Act terminates  
15           under section 6.

16   **SEC. 6. TERMINATION.**

17          This Act shall terminate on the date that is 30 days  
18   after the date on which the President certifies to the ap-  
19   propriate congressional committees that—

20           (1) Hamas or any successor or affiliate thereof  
21           is no longer designated as a foreign terrorist organi-  
22           zation pursuant to section 219 of the Immigration  
23           and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1189);

24           (2) Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, Al-  
25           Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, the Lion's Den, and any suc-

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1 cessor or affiliate thereof are no longer subject to  
2 sanctions pursuant to—

3 (A) Executive Order No. 12947 (January  
4 23, 1995; relating to prohibiting transactions  
5 with terrorists who threaten to disrupt the Mid-  
6 dle East peace process); and

7 (B) Executive Order No. 13224 (Sep-  
8 tember 23, 2001; relating to blocking property  
9 and prohibiting transactions with persons who  
10 commit, threaten to commit, or support ter-  
11 rorism); and

12 (3) Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, Al-  
13 Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, the Lion’s Den, and any suc-  
14 cessor or affiliate thereof meet the criteria described  
15 in paragraphs (1) through (4) of section 9 of the  
16 Palestinian Anti-Terrorism Act of 2006 (22 U.S.C.  
17 2378b note).

18 **SEC. 7. DEFINITIONS.**

19 In this Act:

20 (1) ACT OF TERRORISM.—The term “act of ter-  
21 rorism” means an activity that—

22 (A) involves a violent act or an act dan-  
23 gerous to human life, property, or infrastruc-  
24 ture; and

25 (B) appears to be intended to—

1 (i) intimidate or coerce a civilian pop-  
2 ulation;

3 (ii) influence the policy of a govern-  
4 ment by intimidation or coercion; or

5 (iii) affect the conduct of a govern-  
6 ment by mass destruction, assassination,  
7 kidnapping, or hostage-taking.

8 (2) ADMITTED.—The term “admitted” has the  
9 meaning given such term in section 101(a)(13)(A) of  
10 the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C.  
11 1101(a)(13)(A)).

12 (3) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT-  
13 TEES.—The term “appropriate congressional com-  
14 mittees” means the Committee on Foreign Affairs of  
15 the House of Representatives and the Committee on  
16 Foreign Relations of the Senate.

17 (4) FOREIGN STATE.—The term “foreign state”  
18 has the meaning given such term in section 1603 of  
19 title 28, United States Code.

20 (5) HUMANITARIAN AID.—The term “humani-  
21 tarian aid” means food, medicine, and medical sup-  
22 plies.

23 (6) MATERIAL SUPPORT.—The term “material  
24 support” has the meaning given the term “material

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1 support or resources” in section 2339A of title 18,  
2 United States Code.

3 (7) UNITED STATES PERSON.—The term  
4 “United States person” means—

5 (A) a United States citizen or an alien law-  
6 fully admitted for permanent residence to the  
7 United States; or

8 (B) an entity organized under the laws of  
9 the United States or of any jurisdiction within  
10 the United States, including a foreign branch of  
11 such an entity.



Chairman MCCAUL. Is there any discussion on the bill?

Mr. Mast is recognized.

Mr. MAST. Thank you, Chairman.

The purpose of this bill is simple: the Palestinians that conducted this attack on Israel, they did not do it by themselves. They did not do it without support from the outside. They did not do it without support from other countries, from perhaps non-profit organizations, as we might call them here in the U.S., or non-government entities, or charity groups.

The support was far reaching, and it has been for many years. Whether it is the financial support, the support of intelligence, the support of propaganda, the support of ordnance, rockets, artillery, grenades, the support of small arms. It has been expensive. And it extends well beyond the borders of the Gaza Strip and the borders of the West Bank.

The purpose of this legislation, very specifically, is to oppose Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad, and Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, and Lion's Den, and any other affiliate or successor group that is using goods to include medicines, or dual-use items, or other things to smuggle weapons and materials, and other items that are, that are used for war against Israelis, used for terrorism against Israel.

To be very specific about this, it is to name, identify, sanction all of those entities that assist in sponsoring or providing financial services, or financial goods, material services or goods, technological services or goods, any of those, those aforementioned entities that might provide any of that that absolutely enabled the attack that we just witnessed to take place; that there be sanctions in terms of asset freezes, arms embargoes, travel bans, import-export controls.

You name it, if they are finding a way to get it into the hands of the Palestinians, and those in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank that conducted these attacks by any name, we should be doing everything that we can to stop that from occurring.

We have the capabilities to prevent that from occurring. We have to exercise those capabilities to make sure that it does not happen and that we can stand by and say that we did everything possible to, to make sure that "never again" was exactly what we fought for.

And in that, Mr. Chairman, I yield you the remainder of my time.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentleman yields the remainder of his time.

Any further discussion on the bill?

Ms. Manning is recognized.

Mr. MEEKS.

Mr. MEEKS. Hamas has been since its inception a military and political entity dedicated to one thing, destruction of Israel. And rather than addressing the needs and concerns of the Palestinian people, Hamas has furthered their suffering.

This group has used Palestinians as human shields, has terrorized its own population and, of course, this October the 7th raid and destruction, kidnaping, rape of Israeli people. And it has destabilized the Gaza Strip.

Since 2001, Hamas has launched tens of thousands of rockets at Israeli and Palestinian civilians, conducted countless terror attacks, engaged in hostage taking, and tortured the Palestinian people. The State Department first designated Hamas as a foreign terrorist organization in 1997. And the EU and other western countries have done the same.

But today, passage of this legislation will provide more tools for this and future Administrations to hold Hamas accountable for its terrorism and brutality.

And while Hamas leaders do not have assets in the United States, new sanctions have been unveiled by the Biden Administration this week that will increase pressure on some of the countries that host them. With this legislation, the United States will now be able to penalize third parties who provide assistance to Hamas.

While we design to put more pressure on Hamas, we also want to make certain that American and partner NGO's and governments are still able to assist the people of Gaza with their humanitarian needs. The waiver present in this legislation, while strict, will allow that assistance to continue. We have verified this with the State and Treasury Departments.

So, therefore, I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting Mr. Mast's bill.

And I yield back.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentleman yields back.

Any further discussion on the bill?

Ms. Manning is recognized.

Ms. MANNING. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am proud to speak in support of H.R. 340, the "Hamas International Financing Prevention Act," a bipartisan bill introduced by our colleagues Brian Mast and Josh Gottheimer to impose sanctions on the terrorist group Hamas.

On October 7th, we woke in horror to find Hamas' brutal and despicable terrorist attacks, firing rockets at innocent civilians, storming the Israeli border, and invading Israel, going house to house murdering babies, executing parents in front of their children, massacring 260 young people at a music festival. Hamas has killed 31 U.S. citizens and more than 1,400 Israelis in its attacks, while taking 200 people hostage in Gaza, including babies and toddlers.

And just today we learned that an 80 year old American citizen and her 13 year old granddaughter who was kidnaped by Hamas terrorists from their kibbutz on October 7th, have now been found dead.

So, let us remember, Hamas terrorists are not militants, they are not freedom fighters, they are not a civil resistance movement, they are a brutal foreign terrorist organization which is dedicated to the destruction of Israel and the murder of Jews.

It is no secret that this is their goal. It is plainly Stated in their charter. It is important also to recognize that Hamas has no regard for the lives of innocent Palestinian civilians in Gaza, the very people they were elected to govern, who suffer under Hamas.

Let there be no mistake, Hamas bears responsibility for their pain as well.

All countries around the world should join the U.S. in demanding Hamas immediately release all of the hostages currently held in Gaza. I am pleased that yesterday the Treasury Department imposed a round of additional sanctions on senior Hamas officials and their financial backers. We need to continue to bring pressure to bear on Hamas and cutoff their flow of resources.

That is why this bipartisan legislation imposes sanctions on foreign entities that provide material and financial support to Hamas and Islamic Jihad, while also providing for important humanitarian exemptions.

Once again, I thank my colleagues for their work on this bill. I urge support for it.

And I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman McCAUL. The gentlelady yields back.

Any further discussion on the bill?

Mr. Phillips is recognized.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Ranking Member Meeks, for bringing this bill before the committee.

But let me start first by thanking my Republican friends and colleagues for defending the State of Israel, for supporting the Jewish community, both here and around the world, during days, and weeks, and months. But we surely need it. It's meaningful to us. It's important to us. And we are feeling feelings, and fears, and threats that I think none of us ever anticipated feeling in this country as Americans. And I want to thank you for that, sincerely.

The attack that Hamas perpetrated on Israel on October 7th was just despicable. Unspeakable evil, over 1,500 human beings murdered in cold blood, thousands wounded, and almost 200 believed to be held hostage in Gaza.

One of them is this little 3 year old girl, Abigail, whose father was shot with her in his arms, and she kidnaped and taken to Gaza. I just want all of us to think about her, her parents, and other little children, both in Israel and in Gaza right now. And that is why we serve on this committee, to try to prevent these nauseating experiences of loss of life.

As Members of Congress it is our responsibility to do everything in our power to ensure that these terrorists are held to account and not able to use United States financial institutions to facilitate their despicable work. And that is why I was pleased to see the Biden Administration sanction ten Hamas members to disrupt its financial network. And that is why I stand ready to support this measure, which imposes further sanctions targeting Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad.

However, I am disappointed about the implications that such a broad imposition of sanctions will have on Palestinian civilians. And I do want to separate the two. It is my belief, having spoken to many, that Hamas does not represent the majority of Palestinian civilians. In fact, I believe Hamas to be both the enemy of Israel, of Palestinians, and the free world.

The chilling effect that those proposed sanctions will have on trusted NGO partners delivering critical humanitarian assistance to Palestinian civilians is also on my mind.



So, in this moment of tragedy, I just ask that we remember that the majority of Palestinians are not Hamas, and that Hamas does not represent the Palestinian people.

So, to that end, I support Representative Jacobs' amendment that would strengthen humanitarian exceptions in the bill. And I look forward to working to further confront Hamas and other terrorist organizations, while continuing to support innocent civilians all around the world.

I yield back.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentleman yields back.

Is there any further discussion on the bill?

Mr. Moskowitz is recognized.

Mr. MOSKOWITZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I won't repeat too much of what my colleagues have said, but I want to point out a couple of things because I think it is important over the last couple of days as we saw that horrific, tragic incident at the hospital in Gaza.

First of all, the Gaza Ministry of Health is Hamas. So, any information that comes out of Gaza is put out by a terrorist organization.

It is, and was, deeply disturbing to see the international media immediately take the word of Hamas that caused protests and riots around the world, it caused meetings with our allies to be canceled for the President, to see colleagues in this body immediately blame Israel with zero proof that Israel had anything to do with the tragedy at that hospital.

But, yes, when Israel said they did not do it, everyone said, you must have proof. You must show us satellite imagery. You must show us the audio recordings. You must show us the missile trajectory. You must show us the size of the crater.

Hamas, no proof. Israel, prove it.

It is a disgusting, antisemitic, anti-Israel double standard. It is part of why this bill and resolution is so important.

There can be no cease-fire with a terrorist organization while they are holding 200 hostages: Americans, children, Holocaust survivors. What kind of policy would that be if we let people capture Americans and then immediately say cease-fire?

What kind of message would that send to all the other people that want to cause harm to Americans? Are you going to take our people and immediately we enter into a cease-fire?

You know, this is the first time that I can recall the stories my grandmother, who escaped Berlin, Germany, as part of a Kindertransport for the Holocaust. The pictures you have seen at the Holocaust Memorial, the stories you have told, the videos you have seen, Schindler's List, this is the first time that I think the Jewish community in modern times now understands that there are people, terrorist organizations, others protesting around the world and in this country, that want to see Hitler's dream fulfilled.

And that is what Hamas is committed to. Hamas is not just committed to wiping a country off the earth, they are committed to wiping its people off the earth. And, yet, they are treated as a legitimate source of news in the international media. It is abhorrent.

And so, I want to thank the sponsor, Congressman Mast, for bringing this forward. I just want to remind people when they say

there are two sides to this story, let me tell you something: raping women is not resistance. Taking children hostage is not resistance. Taking a Holocaust survivor is not resistance. And killing 1,300 civilians, children in front of their parents, parents in front of their children, decapitating people, is not resistance.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentleman yields back.

Any further discussion on the bill?

There being no further discussion of the bill, the committee will move to consideration of amendments.

Does any member wish to offer an amendment?

Mr. MAST. Yes. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment in the nature of a substitute.

[The Amendment of Mr. Mast follows:]

**AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE  
TO H.R. 340  
OFFERED BY MR. MAST OF FLORIDA**

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

**1 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

2       This Act may be cited as the “ Hamas and Other Pal-  
3 estinian Terrorist Groups International Financing Preven-  
4 tion Act”.

**5 SEC. 2. STATEMENT OF POLICY.**

6       It shall be the policy of the United States—

7           (1) to prevent Hamas, Palestinian Islamic  
8 Jihad, Al-Assad Martyr’s Brigade, the Lion’s Den,  
9 or any affiliate or successor thereof from accessing  
10 its international support networks; and

11          (2) to oppose Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic  
12 Jihad, Al-Assad Martyr’s Brigade, the Lion’s Den,  
13 or any affiliate or successor thereof from using  
14 goods, including medicine and dual use items, to  
15 smuggle weapons and other materials to further acts  
16 of terrorism, including against Israel.

1 **SEC. 3. IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO FOR-**  
2 **EIGN PERSONS SUPPORTING ACTS OF TER-**  
3 **RORISM OR ENGAGING IN SIGNIFICANT**  
4 **TRANSACTIONS WITH SENIOR MEMBERS OF**  
5 **HAMAS, PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD AND**  
6 **OTHER PALESTINIAN TERRORIST ORGANIZA-**  
7 **TIONS.**

8 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days after the  
9 date of enactment of this Act, the President shall impose  
10 the sanctions described in subsection (c) with respect to  
11 each foreign person that the President determines, on or  
12 after the date of the enactment of this Act, engages in  
13 an activity described in subsection (b).

14 (b) ACTIVITIES DESCRIBED.—A foreign person en-  
15 gages in an activity described in this subsection if the for-  
16 eign person knowingly—

17 (1) assists in sponsoring or providing signifi-  
18 cant financial, material, or technological support for,  
19 or goods or other services to enable, acts of ter-  
20 rorism; or

21 (2) engages, directly or indirectly, in a signifi-  
22 cant transaction with—

23 (A) a senior member of Hamas, Pales-  
24 tinian Islamic Jihad, Al-Assad Martyr's Bri-  
25 gade, the Lion's Den, or any affiliate or suc-  
26 cessor thereof; or

1 (B) a senior member of a foreign terrorist  
2 organization designated pursuant to section 219  
3 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8  
4 U.S.C. 1189) that is responsible for providing,  
5 directly or indirectly, support to Hamas, Pales-  
6 tinian Islamic Jihad, Al-Assad Martyr's Bri-  
7 gade, the Lion's Den, or any affiliate or suc-  
8 cessor thereof.

9 (c) SANCTIONS DESCRIBED.—The sanctions de-  
10 scribed in this subsection with respect to a foreign person  
11 described in subsection (a) are the following:

12 (1) BLOCKING OF PROPERTY.—The exercise all  
13 of the powers granted to the President under the  
14 International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50  
15 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.) to the extent necessary to block  
16 and prohibit all transactions in property and inter-  
17 ests in property of the foreign person if such prop-  
18 erty and interests in property are in the United  
19 States, come within the United States, or are or  
20 come within the possession or control of a United  
21 States person.

22 (2) INELIGIBILITY FOR VISAS, ADMISSION, OR  
23 PAROLE.—

24 (A) VISAS, ADMISSION, OR PAROLE.—An  
25 alien described in subsection (a) is—

1 (i) inadmissible to the United States;

2 (ii) ineligible to receive a visa or other

3 documentation to enter the United States;

4 and

5 (iii) otherwise ineligible to be admitted

6 or paroled into the United States or to re-

7 ceive any other benefit under the Immigra-

8 tion and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et

9 16 seq.).

10 (B) CURRENT VISAS REVOKED.—

11 (i) IN GENERAL.—An alien described

12 in subsection (a) is subject to revocation of

13 any visa or other entry documentation re-

14 gardless of when the visa or other entry

15 documentation is or was issued.

16 (ii) IMMEDIATE EFFECT.—A revoca-

17 tion under clause (i) shall take effect im-

18 mediately and automatically cancel any

19 other valid visa or entry documentation

20 that is in the alien's possession.

21 (C) EXCEPTIONS.—

22 (i) EXCEPTION FOR INTELLIGENCE

23 ACTIVITIES.—Sanctions under this section

24 shall not apply to any activity subject to

25 the reporting requirements under title V of

1 the National Security Act of 1947 (50  
2 U.S.C. 3091 et seq.) or any authorized in-  
3 telligence activities of the United States.

4 (ii) EXCEPTION TO COMPLY WITH  
5 INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS AND FOR  
6 LAW ENFORCEMENT ACTIVITIES.—San-  
7 tions under this section shall not apply  
8 with respect to an alien if admitting or pa-  
9 roling the alien into the United States is  
10 necessary—

11 (I) to permit the United States  
12 to comply with the Agreement regard-  
13 ing the Headquarters of the United  
14 Nations, signed at Lake Success June  
15 26, 1947, and entered into force No-  
16 vember 21, 1947, between the United  
17 Nations and the United States, or  
18 other applicable international obliga-  
19 tions; or

20 (II) to carry out or assist author-  
21 ized law enforcement activity in the  
22 United States.

23 (d) PENALTIES.—The penalties provided for in sub-  
24 sections (b) and (c) of section 206 of the International  
25 Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1705) shall

1 apply to a person that violates, attempts to violate, con-  
2 spires to violate, or causes a violation of this section or  
3 any regulations promulgated to carry out this section to  
4 the same extent that such penalties apply to a person that  
5 commits an unlawful act described in section 206(a) of  
6 that Act.

7 (e) IMPLEMENTATION; REGULATIONS.—

8 (1) IN GENERAL.—The President may exercise  
9 all authorities provided under sections 203 and 205  
10 of the International Emergency Economic Powers  
11 Act (50 U.S.C. 1702 and 1704) for purposes of car-  
12 rying out this section.

13 (2) REGULATIONS.—Not later than 60 days  
14 after the date of the enactment of this Act, the  
15 President shall issue regulations or other guidance  
16 as may be necessary for the implementation of this  
17 section.

18 (f) WAIVER.—The President may waive, on a case-  
19 by-case basis and for a period of not more than 180 days,  
20 the application of sanctions under this section with respect  
21 to a foreign person only if, not later than 15 days prior  
22 to the date on which the waiver is to take effect, the Presi-  
23 dent submits to the appropriate congressional committees  
24 a written determination and justification that the waiver



1 is in the vital national security interests of the United  
2 States.

3 (g) HUMANITARIAN EXEMPTION.—The President  
4 may waive the application of any provision of this section  
5 if the President certifies in writing to the appropriate con-  
6 gressional committees that such a waiver is vital to facili-  
7 tate the delivery of humanitarian aid and is consistent  
8 with the national security interests of the United States  
9 15 days prior to the waiver taking effect.

10 (h) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—The authority to im-  
11 pose sanctions under this section with respect to a foreign  
12 person is in addition to the authority to impose sanctions  
13 under any other provision of law with respect to a foreign  
14 person that directly or indirectly supports acts of inter-  
15 national terrorism.

16 **SEC. 4. IMPOSITION OF MEASURES WITH RESPECT TO FOR-**  
17 **EIGN STATES PROVIDING SUPPORT TO**  
18 **HAMAS, PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD AND**  
19 **OTHER PALESTINIAN TERRORIST ORGANIZA-**  
20 **TIONS.**

21 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days after the  
22 date of enactment of this Act, the President may impose  
23 the measures described in subsection (c) with respect to  
24 a foreign state if the President determines that the foreign

1 state, on or after the date of the enactment of this Act,  
2 engages in an activity described in subsection (b).

3 (b) ACTIVITIES DESCRIBED.—A foreign state en-  
4 gages in an activity described in this subsection if the for-  
5 eign state knowingly—

6 (1) provides significant material or financial  
7 support for acts of international terrorism, pursuant  
8 to—

9 (A) section 1754(e) of the Export Control  
10 Reform Act of 2018 (50 U.S.C. 4813(c)(1)(A));

11 (B) section 620A of the Foreign Assistance  
12 Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2371);

13 (C) section 40 of the Arms Export Control  
14 Act (22 U.S.C. 2780); or

15 (D) any other provision of law;

16 (2) provides significant material support to  
17 Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, Al-Assad  
18 Martyr's Brigade, the Lion's Den, or any affiliate or  
19 successor thereof; or

20 (3) engages in a significant transaction that  
21 materially contributes, directly or indirectly, to the  
22 terrorist activities of Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic  
23 Jihad, Al-Assad Martyr's Brigade, the Lion's Den,  
24 or any affiliate or successor thereof.

1 (c) MEASURES DESCRIBED.—The measures de-  
2 scribed in this subsection with respect to a foreign state  
3 are the following:

4 (1) The President may suspend, for a period of  
5 at least 1 year, United States assistance to the for-  
6 eign state.

7 (2) The President may instruct the United  
8 States Executive Director of each international fi-  
9 nancial institution to oppose, and vote against, for  
10 a period of 1 year, any loan or financial or technical  
11 assistance to the foreign state.

12 (3) The President may prohibit the export of  
13 any item on the United States Munitions List (es-  
14 tablished pursuant to section 38 of the Arms Export  
15 Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2778)) or the Commerce  
16 Control List set forth in Supplement No. 1 to part  
17 774 of title 15, Code of Federal Regulations, to the  
18 foreign state for a period of 1 year.

19 (d) PENALTIES.—The penalties provided for in sub-  
20 sections (b) and (c) of section 206 of the International  
21 Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1705) shall  
22 apply to a person that violates, attempts to violate, con-  
23 spires to violate, or causes a violation of this section or  
24 any regulations promulgated to carry out this section to  
25 the same extent that such penalties apply to a person that

1 commits an unlawful act described in section 206(a) of  
2 that Act.

3 (e) WAIVER.—The President may waive, on a case-  
4 by-case basis and for a period of not more than 180 days,  
5 the application of measures under this section with respect  
6 to a foreign state only if, not later than 15 days prior  
7 to the date on which the waiver is to take effect, the Presi-  
8 dent submits to the appropriate congressional committees  
9 a written determination and justification that the waiver  
10 is in the vital national security interests of the United  
11 States.

12 (f) IMPLEMENTATION; REGULATIONS.—

13 (1) IN GENERAL.—The President may exercise  
14 all authorities provided under sections 203 and 205  
15 of the International Emergency Economic Powers  
16 Act (50 U.S.C. 1702 and 1704) for purposes of car-  
17 rying out this section.

18 (2) REGULATIONS.—Not later than 60 days  
19 after the date of the enactment of this Act, the  
20 President shall issue regulations or other guidance  
21 as may be necessary for the implementation of this  
22 section.

23 (g) ADDITIONAL EXEMPTIONS.—

24 (1) STATUS OF FORCES AGREEMENTS.—The  
25 President may exempt the application of measures

1 under this section with respect to a foreign state if  
2 the application of such measures would prevent the  
3 United States from meeting the terms of any status  
4 of forces agreement to which the United States is a  
5 party.

6 (2) AUTHORIZED INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.—  
7 Measures under this section shall not apply with re-  
8 spect to any activity subject to the reporting require-  
9 ments under title V of the National Security Act of  
10 1947 (50 U.S.C. 3091 et seq.) or any authorized in-  
11 telligence activities of the United States.

12 (3) HUMANITARIAN EXEMPTION.—The Presi-  
13 dent may waive the application of any provision of  
14 this section if the President certifies in writing to  
15 the appropriate congressional committees that such  
16 a waiver is vital to facilitate the delivery of humani-  
17 tarian aid and is consistent with the national secu-  
18 rity interests of the United States 15 days prior to  
19 the waiver taking effect.

20 (h) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—The authority to im-  
21 pose measures under this section with respect to a foreign  
22 state is in addition to the authority to impose measures  
23 under any other provision of law with respect to foreign  
24 states that directly or indirectly support acts of inter-  
25 national terrorism.

1 **SEC. 5. REPORT ON ACTIVITIES TO DISRUPT GLOBAL**  
2 **FUNDRAISING, FINANCING, AND MONEY**  
3 **LAUNDERING ACTIVITIES OF HAMAS, PALES-**  
4 **TINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD, AL-ASSAD MARTYR'S**  
5 **BRIGADE, THE LION'S DEN OR ANY AFFIL-**  
6 **IATE OR SUCCESSOR THEREOF.**

7 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 90 days after the  
8 date of enactment of this Act, the President shall submit  
9 to the appropriate congressional committees a report that  
10 includes—

11 (1) an assessment of the disposition of the as-  
12 sets and activities of Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic  
13 Jihad, Al-Assad Martyr's Brigade, the Lion's Den,  
14 or any affiliate or successor thereof related to fund-  
15 raising, financing, and money laundering worldwide;

16 (2) a list of foreign states that knowingly pro-  
17 viding material, financial, or technical support for,  
18 or goods or services to Hamas, the Palestinian Is-  
19 lamic Jihad, Al-Assad Martyr's Brigade, the Lion's  
20 Den, or any affiliate or successor thereof;

21 (3) a list of foreign states in which Hamas, the  
22 Palestinian Islamic Jihad, Al-Assad Martyr's Bri-  
23 gade, the Lion's Den, or any affiliate or successor  
24 thereof conducts significant fundraising, financing,  
25 or money laundering activities;

1 (4) a list of foreign states from which Hamas,  
2 the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, Al-Assad Martyr's  
3 Brigade, the Lion's Den, or any affiliate or suc-  
4 cessor thereof knowingly engaged in the transfer of  
5 surveillance equipment, electronic monitoring equip-  
6 ment, or other means to inhibit communication or  
7 the free flow of information in Gaza; and

8 (5) with respect to each foreign state listed in  
9 paragraph (2), (3), or (4)—

10 (A) a description of the steps the foreign  
11 state identified is taking adequate measures to  
12 restrict financial flows to Hamas, the Pales-  
13 tinian Islamic Jihad, Al-Assad Martyr's Bri-  
14 gade, the Lion's Den, or any affiliates or suc-  
15 cessors thereof; and

16 (B) in the case of a foreign state failing to  
17 take adequate measures to restrict financial  
18 flows to Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, Al-  
19 Assad Martyr's Brigade, the Lion's Den or any  
20 other designated entity engaged in significant  
21 act of terrorism threatening the peace and secu-  
22 rity of Israel—

23 (i) an assessment of the reasons that  
24 government is not taking adequate meas-

1           ures to restrict financial flows to those en-  
2           tities; and

3           (ii) a description of measures being  
4           taken by the United States Government to  
5           encourage the foreign state to restrict fi-  
6           nancial flows to those entities; and

7       (b) FORM.—The report required by subsection (a)  
8       shall be submitted in unclassified form to the greatest ex-  
9       tent possible, and may contain a classified annex.

10 **SEC. 6. TERMINATION.**

11       This Act shall terminate on the date that is 30 days  
12       after the date on which the President certifies to the ap-  
13       propriate congressional committees that—

14           (1) Hamas or any successor or affiliate thereof  
15       is no longer designated as a foreign terrorist organi-  
16       zation pursuant to section 219 of the Immigration  
17       and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1189);

18           (2) Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, Al-  
19       Assad Martyr's Brigade, the Lion's Den, and any  
20       successor or affiliate thereof are no longer subject to  
21       sanctions pursuant to—

22           (A) Executive Order No. 12947 (January  
23       23, 1995; relating to prohibiting transactions  
24       with terrorists who threaten to disrupt the Mid-  
25       dle East peace process); and



1 (B) Executive Order No. 13224 (Sep-  
2 tember 23, 2001; relating to blocking property  
3 and prohibiting transactions with persons who  
4 commit, threaten to commit, or support ter-  
5 rorism); and

6 (3) Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, Al-  
7 Assad Martyr's Brigade, the Lion's Den, and any  
8 successor or affiliate thereof meet the criteria de-  
9 scribed in paragraphs (1) through (4) of section 9  
10 of the Palestinian Anti-Terrorism Act of 2006 (22  
11 U.S.C. 2378b note).

12 **SEC. 7. DEFINITIONS.**

13 In this Act:

14 (1) ACT OF TERRORISM.—The term “act of ter-  
15 rorism” means an activity that—

16 (A) involves a violent act or an act dan-  
17 gerous to human life, property, or infrastruc-  
18 ture; and

19 (B) appears to be intended to—

20 (i) intimidate or coerce a civilian pop-  
21 ulation;

22 (ii) influence the policy of a govern-  
23 ment by intimidation or coercion; or

1 (iii) affect the conduct of a govern-  
2 ment by mass destruction, assassination,  
3 kidnapping, or hostage-taking.

4 (2) ADMITTED.—The term “admitted” has the  
5 meaning given such term in section 101(a)(13)(A) of  
6 the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C.  
7 1101(a)(13)(A)).

8 (3) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT-  
9 TEES.—The term “appropriate congressional com-  
10 mittees” means the Committee on Foreign Affairs of  
11 the House of Representatives and the Committee on  
12 Foreign Relations of the Senate.

13 (4) FOREIGN STATE.—The term “foreign state”  
14 has the meaning given such term in section 1603 of  
15 title 28, United States Code.

16 (5) HUMANITARIAN AID.—The term “humani-  
17 tarian aid” means food, medicine, and medical sup-  
18 plies.

19 (6) MATERIAL SUPPORT.—The term “material  
20 support” has the meaning given the term “material  
21 support or resources” in section 2339A of title 18,  
22 United States Code.

23 (7) UNITED STATES PERSON.—The term  
24 “United States person” means—

1 (A) a United States citizen or an alien law-  
2 fully admitted for permanent residence to the  
3 United States; or

4 (B) an entity organized under the laws of  
5 the United States or of any jurisdiction within  
6 the United States, including a foreign branch of  
7 such an entity.

8 **SEC. 8. EXCEPTION RELATING TO THE IMPORTATION OF**  
9 **GOODS.**

10 (a) IN GENERAL.—The authorities and requirements  
11 to impose sanctions under this Act shall not include the  
12 authority or requirement to impose sanctions on the im-  
13 portation of goods.

14 (b) GOOD DEFINED.—In this section, the term  
15 “good” means any article, natural or man-made sub-  
16 stance, material, supply or manufactured product, includ-  
17 ing inspection and test equipment, and excluding technical  
18 data.



Chairman McCAUL. The clerk shall distribute the Mast amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The clerk shall report the amendment.

The CLERK. "Amendment in the nature of a substitute to H.R. 340, offered by Mr. Mast of Florida.

"Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

"Section 1, Short Title.

"This Act may be cited as the ' Hamas and Other Palestinian Terrorist Groups International Financing Prevention Act.' Section—"

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

The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes on his amendment.

Mr. MAST. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman McCAUL. The gentleman yields back.

Any further discussion on the amendment?

Mr. Meeks is recognized.

Mr. MEEKS. There are both positive and negative aspects of this ANS vis—vis the introduced version of this legislation. Importantly the ANS removes the counterproductive exception of for importation of goods which undermines sanctions programs. More concerning, it changes the humanitarian exception to a humanitarian waiver which will cause more de-risking from potential donors. Given that the bill's sanctions currently do not sunset, this change in language is concerning. And I would ask for continued dialog on redeeming—on re-mending this issue.

Nonetheless, given the important of Congress demonstrating unity against Hamas, which is in the forefront of all of our minds at this moment, I will not oppose the ANS.

Chairman McCAUL. The gentleman yields back. Any further discussion on the amendment, the Mast amendment?

There being no further discussion, do any members wish to offer an amendment to the Mast amendment in the nature of a substitute?

Ms. Jacobs is recognized.

Ms. JACOBS. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment at the desk. [The Amendment offered by Ms. Jacobs follows:]

**AMENDMENT TO THE AMENDMENT IN THE  
NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE TO H.R. 340  
OFFERED BY MS. JACOBS OF CALIFORNIA**

Page 4, beginning line 23, amend subsection (g) to read as follows:

1       (g) HUMANITARIAN EXEMPTION.—The following ac-  
2       tivities shall be exempt from sanctions under this section:

3               (1) The conduct or facilitation of a transaction  
4       for the sale of agricultural commodities, food, medi-  
5       cine, or medical devices to a foreign person described  
6       in subsection (a).

7               (2) The provision of humanitarian assistance to  
8       a foreign person described in subsection (a), includ-  
9       ing engaging in a financial transaction relating to  
10      humanitarian assistance or for humanitarian pur-  
11      poses or transporting goods or services that are nec-  
12      essary to carry out operations relating to humani-  
13      tarian assistance or humanitarian purposes.

Page 9, beginning line 9, amend paragraph (3) to read as follows:

1           (3) HUMANITARIAN EXEMPTION.—The fol-  
2       lowing activities shall be exempt from measures  
3       under this section:

4           (A) The conduct or facilitation of a trans-  
5       action for the sale of agricultural commodities,  
6       food, medicine, or medical devices to Hamas,  
7       the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, Al-Aqsa Martyrs  
8       Brigade, the Lion's Den, or any affiliate or suc-  
9       cessor thereof.

10          (B) The provision of humanitarian assist-  
11       ance to Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad,  
12       Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, the Lion's Den, or  
13       any affiliate or successor thereof, including en-  
14       gaging in a financial transaction relating to hu-  
15       manitarian assistance or for humanitarian pur-  
16       poses or transporting goods or services that are  
17       necessary to carry out operations relating to  
18       humanitarian assistance or humanitarian pur-  
19       poses.



Chairman MCCAUL. The clerk shall distribute the amendment.

The CLERK. Amendment to the amendment in the nature of a substitute to H.R. 340 offered by Ms. Jacobs of California. Page 4, beginning line 23, amend Subsection G to read as following: Humanitarian exemption. The following activities shall be exempt from sanctions under this section.

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

The gentlelady is recognized for 5 minutes on her amendment.

Ms. JACOBS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The actions of Hamas, particularly the reprehensible attack on October 7, are beyond justification. They have destabilized the region and destroyed and changed lives forever. I condemn these attacks and I support Israel's right to defend itself and echo the calls for Hamas to immediately release all hostages, but in our pursuit of security we cannot lose our humanity. The sanctions proposed in this bill, while aimed at upholding peace, potentially restrict humanitarian aid from reaching innocent Palestinians in need.

The situation in Gaza is dire and it is not about politics; it is about people. It is about preventing humanitarian catastrophe. So I am thankful for the Biden Administration's efforts especially the recent breakthrough allowing aid trucks through the Rafah Crossing. However, this bill in its current form risks undermining these diplomatic and humanitarian efforts.

The original draft, Mr. Mast's own original draft of this bill, had a more straightforward humanitarian exemption, one that provided a more viable pathway for essential aid: food, medicine, and other life-saving supplies, to reach those trying to survive in Gaza.

Both the State Department and the Treasury Department prefer this version of the humanitarian exemption to ensure that humanitarian assistance can get in. And so I was incredibly disappointed to see that the majority modified this humanitarian clause by requiring a case-by-case waiver which will inevitably slow down the provision of assistance.

All my amendment would do is return to the original language, again the original language in Mr. Mast's own original draft, which provides an exemption only for the life-saving necessary humanitarian assistance to those most in need. I urge my colleagues to support this common-sense amendment that takes the humanitarian exemption back to Mr. Mast's own original draft, and I yield back.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentlelady yields back.

Any further discussion of the amendment?

Mr. Mast is recognized.

Mr. MAST. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And thank you for offering an amendment. I disagree with your amendment. And the purpose of submitting any piece of legislation is to make the bill better, to make the legislation better. And my friend Mr. Moskowitz, I think he spoke very passionately, very eloquently, and from the heart about what it is that we are doing with here. And I think if you reflect on what he said, and to reflect on what you just said, my colleague Ms. Jacobs, any assistance should be slowed down. Any assistance.

Because I would challenge anybody in here to point to me which Palestinian is Hamas and which one is an innocent civilian. Which is the one—the child that was poking the Israeli children, the children that were poking other Israeli children and which one exactly are the innocent ones? Which are the ones that were standing by somewhere along the border saying no, turn around; no, return that person; no, do not take that person hostage; no, do not conduct that rape, that murder, that beheading, that whatever? It should absolutely be every effort made to slow down any perceived assistance that is going there.

And to perhaps bring any equivalencies in some part, have the conversation of would this be something we would talk about immediately following Pearl Harbor or immediately following 9/11?

I will be happy to yield to you in a moment, if you like. I see you reaching for your button.

And I would argue that should not be something that we should argue, that after Pearl Harbor or after 9/11 we should seek cease-fire, seek not having the greatest violence of action over anybody that comes against us, seek finding ways to support them and assist them in the most expedient way. That would be the opposite of what I would propose supporting.

It looks like you want to have a dialog on this. I am happy to do so.

Ms. JACOBS. Well, thank you, Mr. Mast, and I think we both agree that Israel has a right to defend itself, should be doing everything it can to get the hostages back. I think what we disagree on is this question of humanitarian assistance and the humanitarian circumstances in Gaza.

I feel very strongly that the 5-year-old who currently is having a hard time being able to get access to any water, to any food has nothing to do with Hamas, that you cannot blame the children who are living in Gaza for the actions of adults that do not represent them. And I think it is not only about the Palestinian children; it is about our own humanity. That is the reason why we should make humanitarian assistance should get it.

And to your comparison to after Pearl Harbor, after Pearl Harbor the U.S. Government put American citizens of Japanese descent into camps because we let our fear and our anger get in the way of our humanity. And I wish that there had been Members of Congress who were there saying that we need to pause. We need to make sure we are doing the humanitarian thing in addition to doing the security thing and that actually doing the humanitarian in the long term is better for our and Israel's safety and security. Thank you.

Mr. MAST. Always happy to hear you out. Again, I think there are other things we could speak about peripheral to this that haven't really been brought up in this. Another reason for the purpose of slowing any aid is that to get anything into the Gaza Strip—that is the mechanism by which smuggling takes place, to smuggle the things that are used to kill Jews, to kill Israelis, to make capable what they have proven their resolve, which is they will live alongside Jews only so long as they need to up until the point that they can conduct enough planning, reconnaissance, intelligence, and strategizing to execute a mass murder.



And that being the resolve of the entity that may receive some sort of humanitarian assistance somewhere from some entity, yes, I believe it should absolutely have the greatest deliberation no matter how much it slows it down.

And, Mr. Chairman, I yield back to you.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentleman yields back.

Any further discussion on the amendment? Mr. Meeks is recognized.

Mr. MEEKS. I support Representative Jacobs' amendment. One of the most difficult—and I really appreciate her response to Mr. Mast. One of the most difficult and daunting events that happened in the United States was 9/11. I voted because I wanted to go and get everyone that was involved. IS came later. Al Qaeda. But I did not want to—and if we bomb anywhere; and we did make mistakes then, that we should make sure that we were able to make sure that our humanitarian side prevailed and we gave—and give assistance to those in need and not just say we do not care about innocent individuals, because then we lose our humanitarian argument.

Completely this Hamas terrorist group, there is nothing that is humane about them, but Hamas is not all of the Palestinian people. We have got to make sure that that distinction is clearly made. Hamas is not the Palestinian people.

I can recall times in the United States of America where a Black person would be accused of something and as result the whole town was wiped out and no aid coming in. Those that commit the crime, we have got to go after them.

This amendment restores what I know was the humanitarian exemption that was introduced in the version of the bill, which I would have liked to have seen retained. I believe it offers a clear and transparent and vetted pathway to provide crucial life-saving materials to those suffering in Gaza. And I think when we show that that helps us and helps them on the ground to point out those who are members of Hamas.

Such exemptions have proven effective throughout America sanctions policy. Humanitarian relief in Gaza is morally the right thing to do but also in America's foreign policy interests. A waiver as opposed to an exception will create more bureaucratic and more derisking by leading humanitarian organizations.

The original language in Mr. Mast's bill—Mr. Mast had in his bill; and it was there for years until it was changed earlier this week, I believe was more thoughtfully crafted than the language in the current ANS, and as such I firmly support the Jacobs amendment. And I think that we could have a clearer message from everyone, because I think that—I know Mr. Mast has the best of intent and he wants to go and make sure that those that committed these horrendous acts do not get anything to help them further kill anyone. I know his intent on this. It is a good cause.

But I just ask that we have got to make sure that we try to make sure that innocent folks get access to humanitarian need and not say that because of Hamas you have got to starve, too, and we are not going to try to do something that is humane.

But again, this is so serious and I just would hope that—hate that we even have to have this argument because I know at the

basis of what we are talking about we all agree upon. And with that I yield back.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentleman yields back.

Do any other members seek recognition?

Mr. Castro is recognized.

Mr. CASTRO. Thank you, Chairman.

I strongly support Representative Jacobs' amendment. As all of us watched and heard about the events of October 7 I think it filled all of us rage. And we as Americans were enraged after September 11, so I think there is an understanding of that. But as President Biden alluded to a few days ago I believe while he was in Israel, that rage, that anger also led us to make mistakes. And I think it is dangerous when we legislate in rage.

One of the basic things that we should be able to agree on I think is that humanitarian aid should be provided to the people of Gaza, or at least allowed in. Many if no most of the people living in Gaza; and there are millions of people living in Gaza, never voted for Hamas. There haven't been elections since 2006. And we hearing and we believe that Hamas is not the Palestinian people, but there are many Palestinians who are paying the price for what Hamas did including many Palestinian children who are dying now because of what Hamas did.

And so I believe in all of it, that as a baseline we should be able to say that humanitarian aid should be able to get in there efficiently and effectively. So for that reason I support Ms. Jacobs' amendment. I am going to yield back to the chairman. I yield back.

Chairman MCCAUL. The gentleman yields back.

Is there any further discussion on the amendment?

There being no further discussion the question now occurs on the amendment offered by Ms. Jacobs, No. 128 to the amendment in the nature of a substitute. All those in favor, signify by saying aye.

All those opposed, signify by saying no.

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

Ms. Jacobs?

Ms. JACOBS. I request a recorded vote.

Chairman MCCAUL. A roll call vote has been requested. Pursuant to the chair's previous announcement this vote will be postponed.

Are there any further amendments?

Hearing no further amendments further the proceedings on this bill are postponed.

Ms. KIM OF CALIFORNIA [presiding]. Pursuant to notice I now call up H.R. 3266, The Peace and Tolerance in Palestinian Education Act.

[The Bill H.R. 3266 follows:]

118TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 3266

To require the Secretary of State to submit annual reports reviewing the curriculum used by the Palestinian Authority, and for other purposes.

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MAY 11, 2023

Mr. SHERMAN (for himself, Mr. MAST, Mr. GOTTHEIMER, Ms. STEFANIK, and Mr. TRONE) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

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## A BILL

To require the Secretary of State to submit annual reports reviewing the curriculum used by the Palestinian Authority, 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 “Peace and Tolerance  
5 in Palestinian Education Act”.

6 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

7 Congress finds the following:

1           (1) In 2016 and 2017, the Palestinian Author-  
2       ity published modified curricula for school-aged chil-  
3       dren in grades 1 through 11.

4           (2) Textbooks used by the Palestinian Author-  
5       ity (PA) in the West Bank and Gaza include graph-  
6       ics portraying violence against Israeli soldiers, posi-  
7       tive portrayals of individuals who have committed at-  
8       tacks against citizens of Israel, and references to  
9       Palestinian efforts to target the “Zionists”.

10          (3) PA textbooks are used at schools sponsored  
11       by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency  
12       (UNRWA) because UNRWA schools use the text-  
13       books of the host government.

14          (4) On April 26, 2018, the Government Ac-  
15       countability Office (GAO) published a report that  
16       found the following:

17               (A) Textbooks in PA schools feature inac-  
18               curate and misleading maps of the region and  
19               include militaristic, adversarial imagery and  
20               content that incite hatred.

21               (B) The Department of State raised with  
22       Palestinian officials the objectionable content in  
23       textbooks, including a specific math problem  
24       using the number of Palestinian casualties in  
25       the First and Second Intifadas.

1 (C) The United Nations Relief and Works  
2 Agency (UNRWA), in its review of the text-  
3 books, identified content not aligned with  
4 United Nations values, the majority of which  
5 content related to neutrality or bias issues, in-  
6 cluding issues related to maps and references to  
7 Jerusalem as the capital of Palestine.

8 **SEC. 3. SENSE OF CONGRESS.**

9 It is the sense of Congress that the Palestinian Au-  
10 thority has not sufficiently eliminated content and pas-  
11 sages encouraging violence or intolerance toward other  
12 countries or ethnic groups from the curriculum used in  
13 their schools.

14 **SEC. 4. REPORTS REQUIRED.**

15 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days after the  
16 date of the enactment of this Act and annually thereafter  
17 for two years in accordance with subsection (c), the Sec-  
18 retary of State shall submit to the Committee on Foreign  
19 Affairs of the House of Representatives and the Com-  
20 mittee on Foreign Relations of the Senate a report review-  
21 ing curriculum, including textbooks, leaflets, pamphlets,  
22 magazines, and other instructional materials, used in  
23 schools in areas controlled by the Palestinian Authority  
24 or located in Gaza and controlled by any other entity.  
25 Each such report shall include the following:

1           (1) A determination of whether there is content  
2           or passages encouraging violence or intolerance to-  
3           ward other countries or ethnic groups in such cur-  
4           riculum, and a detailed explanation of the reasons  
5           for reaching such determination.

6           (2) An assessment of the steps the Palestinian  
7           Authority is taking to reform such curriculum at  
8           schools to conform with standards of peace and tol-  
9           erance in the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance  
10          by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and  
11          Cultural Organization (adopted November 16,  
12          1995).

13          (3) A determination whether United States for-  
14          eign assistance is used, directly or indirectly, to fund  
15          the dissemination of such curriculum by the Pales-  
16          tinian Authority.

17          (4) A detailed report on how United States as-  
18          sistance is being used to address curriculum that en-  
19          courages violence or intolerance toward other nations  
20          or ethnic groups.

21          (5) A detailed report about United States diplo-  
22          matic efforts in the preceding five years to encour-  
23          age peace and tolerance in Palestinian education.

1           (6) If any diplomatic efforts referred to in para-  
2       graph (5) were stopped by the Secretary of State,  
3       the reasons for such stoppages.

4       (b) PUBLIC AVAILABILITY.—The Secretary of State  
5       shall post on a publicly available website of the Depart-  
6       ment of State each report required under subsection (a).

7       (c) SUBSEQUENT DEADLINES.—Each report required  
8       by subsection (a), other than the first such report, shall  
9       be submitted not later than 90 days after the date on  
10      which a new school year begins for schools controlled by  
11      the Palestinian Authority.

○

Ms. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. The bill was circulated in advance. The clerk shall designate the bill.

The. CLERK. H.R. 3266 to require the Secretary of State to submit annual reports reviewing the curriculum used by the Palestinian authority and for other purposes.

Ms. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. Without objection, the first reading is dispensed with and the bill is considered read and open the amendment—open to amendment at any point.

Is there any discussion on the bill?

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes.

Ms. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. I recognize Representative Sherman.

Mr. SHERMAN. I am pleased to introduce this bill as I have in the prior two Congresses. I want to thank Chairman McCaul for bringing this bill to this markup. It is The Peace and Tolerance in Palestinian Education Act.

This bill has passed this committee without dissent in two prior Congresses. Those were voice votes. This time I will ask for a recorded vote because I am told that the majority is more likely to bring up a bill at—on the House floor as a suspension if it has been the subject of a roll call vote. I won't call a roll call vote to try to put anybody on the spot or waste any time, but I will call for a roll call vote this time.

I want to thank so many of my colleagues on this committee who have supported and co-sponsored this legislation over the years. I want to thank Representative Mast as the lead Republican and thank co-sponsors Moskowitz, Salazar, Schneider, Manning, Chris Smith, Castro, Lawler, Radewagen, Cherfilus-McCormick, regular McCormick, Kean, and Liu. Roughly equal numbers of Democrats and Republicans have co-sponsored this bill.

What we saw on October 7 shattered all of our hearts. What we understand is that this is the outcome of how generations of children in Gaza and the West Bank are taught to embrace death and terrorism.

The schools receive very substantial U.S. aid. They are run chiefly by UNRWA, the U.N. agency, and this agency receives U.S. aid without sufficient accountability. For years the United States has been the top donor to the Palestinian people. Keep that in mind. The government whose president was there in Israel yesterday saying that we stand by Israel is also the top donor to the Palestinian people, exceeding the amount of any of the oil-rich States with whom the Palestinians share a heritage and language. And of course our aid goes to the Palestinian authority and the U.N. agency UNRWA.

But American support should not be a blank check. American dollars must be spent in accordance with American values.

Just one example: On March 11, 1978 Dalal Mughrabi and 10 other PLO militants, terrorists, hijacked two civilian buses and killed 38 of their civilian passengers including 13 children in what is now known as the Coastal Road Massacre. Today and last year and the year before that and the year before that Palestinian children educated in schools run by the U.N. and the Palestinian authority used textbooks describing Mughrabi as a crown of the Nation with a full chapter discussing the massacre in detail and exalt-



ing her for heroism. It is not surprising that when we look at Gaza today we see death because of the education that has gone on.

UNRWA has made commitments to address this issue in its 2021 Framework of Cooperation, but it doesn't actually come through on those commitments. What this bill does is require the State Department to give us a report on the educational materials used in the West Bank and Gaza with our money. The bill will provide Congress with the information we need to respond. Hopefully it will be used by the State Department to push UNRWA and to push the Palestinian authority in the right direction.

It is time to stop educating Palestinian children for death and terrorism. It is not a great accomplishment and should not be taught as a great accomplishment to Palestinian children, to die or to kill civilians. That is why this bill takes the first step. It is a modest bill and it is just a first step toward a—hopefully a future generation of Palestinians who are educated for peace rather than for terrorism. With that I yield back.

Ms. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. The gentleman yields back.

Is there any further discussion?

Mr. Mast is recognized.

Mr. MAST. Thank you, Madam Chairwoman.

And I want to thank my friend Mr. Sherman for his work on this bill and for allowing me to work on with him. I think there needs to be a realization among many of our colleagues, a coming to Jesus moment, as you might say, that Hamas is literally Palestinians. I keep hearing it said that Hamas is not Palestinians, it doesn't represent all of Palestine. And I would not use it as an absolute, but young people from the time of grade school in the Gaza Strip are given the pedigree to become Hamas, trained to become Hamas from their algebra and arithmetic to their reading, writing, and geography.

We have a picture up here. This is obviously an historic photo dated back to World War II, eerily similar to what just happened in the last couple days. A young child saying—calling for the mother. Prodded by Palestinian youth. Those Palestinian youth with the pedigree being trained up to become the next Hamas. So do not confuse it that it is somebody else.

Year after year after year in this committee, every time—whether it is in this room or in another committee room that we have somebody in here to talk about the relationship between Israelis and Palestinians, or the Taylor Force Act, or another barrage of rockets going on, that happens year after year. Whenever we have people in here, I ask them the same question, and I get the same answer over and over, whether it is a Republican witness or a Democrat witness, whether it is somebody that claims to be self-proclaimed polling experts of any Palestinian-controlled area. You name it, the answer is the same, that Hamas would win a popular election and that is why they do not have the elections there.

We know Hamas has won popular elections there, though not since I believe 2006, as was mentioned before because they do not have them anymore at this point. But it is well-documented on both sides that Hamas is the Palestinians. Everybody should let that sink in and recognize that. They weren't out there reporting their cousins, their nephews, their uncles, their whomever saying

this is what they are about to do; stand ready and do what you can to prevent this. Those weren't the videos that you saw.

They weren't out there creating mobs standing against the people being pulled into the Gaza Strip who would become hostages, hundreds of hostages in tunnels, we do not know if being tortured, killed, used as human shields. We do not know, but we did not see them being stopped by the—that people keep saying the innocent Palestinians. That did not take place.

Let's give some examples of how they are pedigree is shaped from the very beginning: Palestinian sixth graders' grammar exercise requires them to add the correct verb to the sentences. The Jihad warriors fought in defense of their homeland and the believers rushed to respond the case to Jihad. That is a little bit of their grammar.

Another example: Fourth grade Palestinian math problem. The number of martyrs in the First Intifada is 2,026 martyrs and the number of martyrs of the al-Aqsa Intifada is 5,050. The number of martyrs in the two intifadas is how many martyrs? That is their pedigree.

Let's go to another one: Seventh grade physics problem, Newton's second law. During the first Palestinian uprising Palestinian youths used slingshots to confront the soldiers of the Zionist occupation and defend themselves from their treacherous bullets. What is the relationship between the elongation of slingshots rubber and the tensile strength affecting it? Using it for science.

Let's use another one: Geography question, Palestinian sixth graders, to define the borders of Palestine which completely erases Israel's existence.

People need to move away from this idea of saying that the Palestinians are not Hamas and that Hamas are not the Palestinians. This is what they train them up to be. This is their pedigree. This is what they have proven to be. And I think you would be hard-pressed right now to find the Palestinian that is not support of the hostages and the killing that took place as opposed to the ones that stood against it. I yield.

Ms. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. The gentleman yields back.

Is there any further discussion? Ranking Member?

Mr. MEEKS. I have got to respond to that and then I am going to give my remarks. Mr. Mast, are you Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. MAST. No.

Mr. MEEKS. Because it was Ku Klux Klan that raised White people to hate Black people. And in their books and what they taught every day—

Mr. MAST. Let me know when you want me to respond.

Mr. MEEKS. And the Ku Klux Klan today, they are still here. I get remarks, I get phone calls in my office from people calling me and folks in my office and teaching other kids that I am less than a human being. I do not say all White people are Ku Klux Klan. I do not put them all in one category. Everybody do not belong—all Palestinians do not belong to Hamas just like all White people do not belong to the Ku Klux Klan.

Mr. MAST. Do you want a response?

Mr. MEEKS. No.

Mr. MAST. You sure, because you have made—

Mr. MEEKS. I am sure. I heard you already.

Mr. MAST. You did not hear enough yet though.

Mr. MEEKS. I heard you, and I do not want to hear any more.

Mr. MAST. You should hear some more because——

Mr. MEEKS. I do not want to hear any more of it. We can——

Mr. MAST. If you want to be——

Mr. MEEKS [continuing]. My time.

Mr. MAST [continuing]. Willfully naive, do so.

Mr. MEEKS. I do not want to—it is my time, Mr. Mast.

Mr. MAST. Then be willfully naive.

Mr. MEEKS. It is my time.

Mr. MAST. Willfully naive.

Mr. MEEKS. I am tired of hearing that.

Mr. MAST. You are ignoring the truth.

Mr. MEEKS. We came here today to talk about a terrorist group that has killed individuals in Israel, not a people.

Mr. MAST. We should have a real dialog.

Mr. MEEKS. And it wasn't all people. My time. I do not want to hear from you.

Mr. MAST. You are going to.

Mr. MEEKS. My time. I do not want to hear from you.

Mr. MAST. You still will.

Mr. MEEKS. Yes?

Mr. MAST. Yes. Absolutely.

Mr. MEEKS. You say something.

Mr. MAST. OK. Let's have this conversation.

Mr. MEEKS. No, I am not having a conversation with you.

Mr. MAST. You just said say something.

Mr. MEEKS. You are not worthy of having a conversation with on this.

Mr. MAST. I would argue differently.

Mr. SHERMAN. Madam Chair, we need order. It is the gentleman's time.

Mrs. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. Right now the time is Mr. Meeks'. Continue.

Mr. MEEKS. The United States and many of our allies have long been concerned about Palestinian textbooks that contain blatant antisemitic and anti-Zionist references that incite hatred and violence toward Jewish people.

In May, the European Parliament went so far as to pass a resolution condemning the Palestinian Authority over the hateful content of the textbooks and conditioning future funding for education on the removal of antisemitic material.

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency, known as UNRWA, who administers many schools in the Gaza Strip and West Bank, is required by their mandate to use host country books. Let me say that again in another way. UNRWA does not write Palestinian textbooks; the Palestinians do. And UNRWA is required to use host nation books under their mandate.

The bill before us asks the Secretary of State to write a report to Congress that reviews the curriculum, including textbooks, leaflets, pamphlets, magazines, and other instructional materials used in hundreds of schools.

This report will be important, and it will help both the Congress and the executive branch understand the full scope of the problem, work to improve these textbooks, and remove the content that is not only untrue, but leads to further violence and instability in the region.

I plan on voting for Mr. Sherman's bill. I would like to add one more comment about UNRWA.

Despite the issue related to the Palestinian Authority's textbooks, we are discussing at this moment thousands of UNRWA employees, many of whom have years-long relationship with the United States, that remain in Gaza doing incredibly dangerous humanitarian work, and we must keep them in mind as this conflict unfolds.

And I yield back.

Mr. SHERMAN. Will the gentleman yield? Yes.

It is not in the interest of Israel, not in the interest of America for us to embrace the lie of Hamas that they are the official representative of the Palestinian people or that Palestinians—or that they are representative of the vast majority.

Now, I do not know how what percentage of Palestinians would vote for Hamas. No one knows. And we do not know what would happen if there was a fair election where speaking against Hamas did not get you killed.

But we do know one thing, and that is the goal of Israel is to destroy Hamas. The goal of Israel is not to destroy the Palestinian people.

And if we take the position that they are one and the same, we play into Hamas' propaganda, and we create a circumstance in which Israel cannot achieve its objective. So that is a separate debate. This is, because to the extent Hamas has any support, it is precisely because of an educational system that is so awful.

And so taking a step toward improving that education system is an important step. This bill should not be controversial. It should not be where we debate whether Hamas has 10 percent or 90 percent or 3 percent or 42 percent of popular support.

Nor does it make any sense to evaluate the popular support anything has in an atmosphere where there is not free speech and democracy. God knows Putin has a lot of support in Russia, because you cannot find out anything—you cannot get information on the other side.

So I think that we have to drive a wedge between Hamas and the Palestinian people. I think we need to pass this bill. And I do not think we need to say that all Palestinians are responsible for what Hamas has done. Keep in mind that Palestinians live in three areas—many areas, but three that are there in the area nominally controlled by Israel.

Those who are Palestinian Israelis have—as one of their chief leaders came forward and said now is the time to be calm and expressed their just terrible pain at those who had been killed. We have Palestinians on the West Bank who have had more freedom than those in Gaza, and their support for Hamas seems to be considerably less.

And then you have those Palestinians who have lived under the thumb of Hamas, who has controlled the information. Unfortu-

nately controlled the textbooks. Let's pass this bill, and let's take one step toward letting the Palestinian people have honest information. And if we want to debate the degree to which Hamas has support among Palestinians, let's do it some other day.

I yield back.

Mrs. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. The gentleman yields back. Does any member want recognition?

Mr. LAWLER. Madam Chair?

Mrs. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. Mr. Lawler?

Mr. LAWLER. Yes, Madam Chair, I yield my time to Mr. Mast.

Mrs. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. Mr. Mast is recognized.

Mr. MAST. Thank you, Mr. Lawler.

I could ask for my colleagues' words to be taken down, but I won't, because I believe in free speech, and I believe in your right to speak. I also believe that I am worthy to speak. I believe that I am worthy to speak simply because I am an American. And I offered to present thoughtful information that has been brought forward, literally in this committee, as I mentioned.

And I will say it again, it has been brought forward by Republicans and Democrats, Republican witnesses and Democrat witnesses. Not just in 2023, but 2022 and 2021 and 2018, 2019. You name the year. It is continually brought forward, that they would win popular election, that they are the popular group.

We do not separate Gaza and the West Bank in terms of government, that is a different conversation that should perhaps be had. But it is continually said by entity after entity after entity.

And the equivalency that is being made here would be like trying to separate the bulk of the German population from those that were Nazis in World War II. The argument that, you know, you want to ask me if I was a member of the—if I am a member of the Ku Klux Klan because I am White?

Well, I am half White, I am half Mexican. I know there's a lot of identity politics that gets played here. But no, of course I am not. I am not a part of that hate organization, which I would absolutely despise.

But let's recall that they are not our government. They are not. And there's instance after instance after instance of the vast majority of our population that stood up against such hatred, thank God.

And if you want to have another argument about the history of the Democratic Party, we could do that in length. But I suspect you do not, because you would lose the factual argument on that one as well. Because I will bring facts. I will bring facts.

Mr. MEEKS. Let's bring facts.

Mr. MAST. Yes, let's talk about the—look, I do not want to bastardize Mr. Sherman's bill because it is good policy. But we could talk about the stance of your party, the fugitive slave laws, you know, the history of amendments for people to vote over and over.

I mean, we could have another debate on that another day, I am not going to bastardize Mr. Sherman's amendment for the purpose of your party.

But the fact is, I brought facts about exactly what the Palestinian people have been doing. The fact that they weren't standing up against taking these hostages, are not turning over these hostages as we speak. That is just simply not what is happening.

And Mr. Lawler, I thank you for the time.

Mr. LAWLER. Thank you, Madam Chair. Madam Chair, I yield back.

Mrs. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. Thank you, the gentleman yields back. Is there any further discussion?

Mr. PHILLIPS. I will make this quick, Madam Chair. But I just—

Mrs. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. Mr. Phillips is recognized.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Thank you, thank you, Madam Chair.

I am a fierce defender of Israel, I have great affection for its people. I despise Hamas, I think like every one of us in this room. But above all, I have affection for humanity. And I think like every one of you in this room, no matter your politics, do.

And Mr. Mast, you know my affection and appreciation of you and your Service and sacrifices to this country.

I just want to make it clear, as a defender of Israel, that I have spoken with a lot of Palestinians. Because I want to learn about the very question we are talking about right now. You know, does Hamas represent you?

Truth is, the last election was in the early 2000's. An overwhelming majority of Gazans have never had the chance to actually vote for those who represent them. And I just need to say this publicly, I think it is analogous to saying that all Americans are Democrats or all Americans are Republicans. That is not the case.

And I just think as we have these discussions that we will be collectively more effective if we recognize that we might be able to play a role in legitimate Palestinian self-determination with a legitimately democratically elected government, with legitimate rights and freedoms and protections and safety and security and prosperity.

And I would just ask that we perhaps consider that. Because it is my belief, as a man of the Jewish faith, as a supporter of Israel, that we all have a responsibility to care about the Palestinian suffering, the same kids just like little Abigail here, who is being held hostage in Gaza.

There are many like her who have nothing to do with this who are losing their lives. And I just think we need that equal dose of compassion.

And I just want to say thank you. This is the kind of discussion that I hope we can turn chicken crap into chicken salad. Thank you.

Mrs. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. Thank you, the gentleman yields back. Mr. Moskowitz, you are now recognized.

Mr. MOSKOWITZ. Thank you, Madam Chair.

I just want to make one point. And you all have heard how I feel on this subject. But I do not believe that everyone in Gaza is Hamas, and I do not believe that every Palestinian is Hamas. But I will make one analogous point.

If you go to any Holocaust museum, you will learn about all of the Germans that hid Jews in their attic, saved Jews. There are gardens built to these people who stood up during that time. I look forward to hearing the stories out of Gaza for the people who did that for the Jewish people who were held hostage.

With that, I will yield the balance of my time to Ranking Member Meeks.

Mr. MEEKS. I just want to say this—

Mrs. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. Mr. Meeks, you are recognized.

Mr. MEEKS. You know, being raised, and I thank Mr. Phillips for his comments, Mr. Sherman. But it becomes really personal to me.

I can recall in my community, because it is personal, when African Americans were being brutalized in the South, in the North. Didn't have the right to vote. Was whipped, was hung.

You say the Ku Klux Klan wasn't the government. Many of them were elected. They were senators, they were members of the House, they were judges. So they were part of the government.

And I would urge in my community people who would grow up and say I hate White people. Because their vision was they were all the same. And I fought to say you cannot hate all White people. You cannot say they are all the same.

Many of them did not come to my aid or to my parents' aid, or to my grandparents' aid. I have lived it. It would have been easy to say all White people were bad, and many of my folks wanted to do that.

Dr. King died. He walked arm-in-arm with Jewish people to make it so that we would all have a better life. There was people that was against Dr. King because he said I am not going to, I do not hate. I do not put them all in the same category.

You cannot put human beings all in the same category. And that is what really got me upset here, because what I saw was you are putting human beings all in the same category and saying that there is no difference between the two. I have fought against that all of my life.

And I am going to fight for that, because we are all human beings. And we are not all the same. There's good and there's bad. Hamas is bad. And I cannot stand for just broadly saying everybody, because of one nationality or who they are, that they are all the same. That never brings us to any peace.

I am looking for the day when we can say, and what I love about America and moving forward is that it is allowing people, through all the problems, we are moving toward and now we are seeking to be a more perfect nation so that everybody can live collectively and not classified as this or that, but as humans.

And what I feel about Hamas is the way I felt about the Ku Klux Klan. The Ku Klux Klan did not look at African Americans as humans. Hamas doesn't look at Jews as humans. And that has got to stop. And we can only do it collectively when we recognize that there are good and bad. Let's go after the bad, but let's try to help the good.

Because in the end, if we do that, this place will be a better place. And so I cannot tolerate, that just upsets me when we try to put everybody in one circle. It should not happen that way. I yield back.

Mrs. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. The gentleman yields back. Thank you for that discussion.

Mr. SHERMAN. I would ask—Madam Chairman, the opportunity to speak for 2 minutes. Or I know Mr. Keating—

Mrs. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. Mr. Keating, would like to speak?

Mr. KEATING. Madam Chair—

Mrs. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. OK, you are now recognized.

Mr. KEATING. Perhaps this is a good time. I sat here and thought back at the early lessons of my life. And I had a grandmother and grandfather who came from Ireland.

They worked hard. They brought up eight children. One of them saved a gentleman's life when he was carrying lead and lost his life, he was machine-gunned to death doing that. They have given a lot to this country.

And when they wanted and saved and scrimped, my grandmother was a house servant, my grandfather worked in local farms. And they saved and they scrimped, and they wanted to buy a house.

And when it was heard that Irish Catholics wanted to purchase a house in the neighborhood back then, people in that neighborhood, Yankee people, people with prejudice, called an emergency meeting in the neighborhood. They said we have to gather together. We cannot let these Irish Catholics buy a house in our neighborhood and own a home.

My grandmother told me this story about the meeting. They weren't successful. But a few years later, right down the street, a 2-minute walk, they wanted to purchase some land to build a temple in that neighborhood, a synagogue in that neighborhood.

And the same woman went around to the neighborhood with the alarm and said we have to have a neighborhood meeting so that Jewish people cannot have this synagogue in our neighborhood. It will destroy our neighborhood.

And at that time, my grandmother even took the town meeting floor to speak in favor of having a temple in that neighborhood, particularly when the same woman called her up and said we have an emergency meeting, we need you there. They want to build a Jewish temple in the neighborhood.

And my grandmother with her brogue said, "Well, this would not be the same type of meeting you had about me, would it?" And she told me this lesson as a young child. And she told me because she wanted me to know that discrimination against one is discrimination against all, an important lesson that we should remember today.

Because Palestinians are being lumped into a category where a terrorist group is there. And you know, when we do this and have this discussion, we are playing right into their hands. We are playing into the hands of Hamas, who have other kind of weapons, other than what we saw just a short time ago in Israel.

They have weapons of hate. They want to create violence and turmoil. And they want to stir those up and weaponize those things too.

So I think we should realize that be careful how we categorize things, especially in this position here, where the world will be watching and listening. Because we cannot play into their hands. They have to be defeated at every level, and that includes making sure that we are not engaging in rhetoric that is divisive, unfair, and discriminatory.

I yield back.

Mr. SHERMAN. Will the gentleman yield?



Mr. KEATING. Yes.

Mr. SHERMAN. It is—first of all, as to the righteous who protected Jews from the Nazis, they had the opportunity to do so. There are 200, 250 Jews in Gaza, there is no opportunity for a Schindler to hire them or for a Dutch family to shelter them.

But there are Palestinians who are helping Mossad, helping Israeli intelligence as we speak. And that is the only practical way, and I would not be surprised if there are Palestinians who identify the location of some of the hostages.

So equating Hamas with the Palestinians is wrong for several reasons. First, it is not true. But second, even if it were true, and it is true to some extent, obviously Hamas has some support, it is extremely harmful to Israel to equate the two.

Israel may be able to deal with 30,000 Hamas fighters. Israel would prefer not to deal with two million people and identify each one of them as an implacable enemy.

The fact is that if this operation goes as it should, there are people who will have leaned in the direction of Hamas when Hamas is in power and will lead in another direction especially when we all hope that the Gaza has better governance a year or two from now.

So there may be some people who kind of root for Hamas today and will turn their backs on them tomorrow. But for God's sakes, please vote for the bill. It has nothing to do with what we are talking about.

Mrs. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. Thank you. All right.

There being no further discussion of the bill, the committee will move to consideration of amendments. So does any member wish to offer an amendment?

OK, there being no amendments, I move that the committee report H.R. 3266 to the House with a favorable recommendation.

Mr. SHERMAN. I would like a recorded vote.

Mrs. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. All those in favor, signify by saying aye.

(Chorus of aye.)

Mrs. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. All those opposed, signify saying no.

Mr. SHERMAN. Madam Chair, I am requesting a recorded vote.

Mrs. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. Yes. In my opinion of the chair, the ayes have it, and the motion is agreed to.

You still want recorded vote? It is agreed to.

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes, as I indicated the—

Mrs. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. OK.

Mr. SHERMAN. People in your party have—give a committee more credibility if it has a recorded vote on the bill.

Mrs. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. Good, a roll call vote has been requested, and pursuant to the chair's previous announcement, this vote will be postponed.

Mr. SHERMAN. Thank you.

Mrs. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. Pursuant to notice, I now call up H.R. 3774, the SHIP Act.

[The Bill H.R. 3774 follows:]

118TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 3774

To impose additional sanctions with respect to the importation or facilitation of the importation of petroleum products from Iran, and for other purposes.

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MAY 31, 2023

Mr. LAWLER (for himself and Mr. MOSKOWITZ) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and in addition to the Committee on the Judiciary, 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

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## A BILL

To impose additional sanctions with respect to the importation or facilitation of the importation of petroleum products from Iran, 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 “Stop Harboring Ira-  
5 nian Petroleum Act” or the “SHIP Act”.

6 **SEC. 2. STATEMENT OF POLICY.**

7 It is the policy of the United States—

1           (1) to deny Iran the ability to engage in desta-  
2       bilizing activities, support international terrorism,  
3       fund the development and acquisition of weapons of  
4       mass destruction, and the means to deliver them by  
5       limiting Iran's export of petroleum and petroleum  
6       products;

7           (2) to deny Iran funds to oppress and commit  
8       human rights violations against the Iranian people  
9       assembling to peacefully redress the Iranian regime;

10          (3) to sanction those entities who violate United  
11       States law by providing support to the Iranian en-  
12       ergy sector; and

13          (4) that Iran's actions to finance and facilitate  
14       the participation of foreign terrorist organizations in  
15       ongoing conflicts and illicit activities is detrimental  
16       to the security interests of the United States.

17 **SEC. 3. IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO IRA-**  
18 **NIAN PETROLEUM.**

19       (a) IN GENERAL.—On and after the date that is 90  
20       days after the date of the enactment of this Act, and ex-  
21       cept as provided in subsection (e)(2), the President shall  
22       impose the sanctions described in subsection (c) with re-  
23       spect to each foreign person that the President deter-  
24       mines, on or after such date of enactment, engages in an  
25       activity described in subsection (b).

1 (b) ACTIVITIES DESCRIBED.—A foreign person en-  
2 gages in an activity described in this paragraph if the for-  
3 eign person—

4 (1) knowingly owns or operates a foreign port  
5 where at least 1 designated vessel has landed on or  
6 after the date of enactment of this Act at such port  
7 for the purpose of transporting Iranian crude oil;

8 (2) knowingly transports, offloads, or otherwise  
9 deals in petroleum or petroleum products, including  
10 petrochemicals, originating from Iran;

11 (3) knowingly owns or operates a vessel used to  
12 conduct ship-to-ship transfers of petroleum or petro-  
13 leum products originating from Iran;

14 (4) owns or operates a refinery that knowingly  
15 processes, refines, or otherwise deals in petroleum or  
16 petroleum products originating from Iran;

17 (5) is an adult family member of a foreign per-  
18 son described in any of paragraphs (1) through (4);

19 (6) is owned or controlled by a foreign person  
20 described in any of paragraphs (1) through (5); or

21 (7) knowingly engages in a significant trans-  
22 action with, or provides material support to or for,  
23 a foreign person described in any of paragraphs (1)  
24 through (6).

1 (c) SANCTIONS DESCRIBED.—The sanctions de-  
2 scribed in this subsection with respect to a foreign person  
3 described in subsection (a) are the following:

4 (1) BLOCKING OF PROPERTY.—The President  
5 shall exercise all of the powers granted to the Presi-  
6 dent under the International Emergency Economic  
7 Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.) to the extent  
8 necessary to block and prohibit all transactions in  
9 property and interests in property of the foreign per-  
10 son if such property and interests in property are in  
11 the United States, come within the United States, or  
12 are or come within the possession or control of a  
13 United States person.

14 (2) INELIGIBILITY FOR VISAS, ADMISSION, OR  
15 PAROLE.—

16 (A) VISAS, ADMISSION, OR PAROLE.—An  
17 alien described in subsection (a) is—

18 (i) inadmissible to the United States;

19 (ii) ineligible to receive a visa or other  
20 documentation to enter the United States;

21 and

22 (iii) otherwise ineligible to be admitted  
23 or paroled into the United States or to re-  
24 ceive any other benefit under the Immigra-

1           tion and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et  
2           seq.).

3           (B) CURRENT VISAS REVOKED.—

4                 (i) IN GENERAL.—An alien described  
5           in subsection (a) is subject to revocation of  
6           any visa or other entry documentation re-  
7           gardless of when the visa or other entry  
8           documentation is or was issued.

9                 (ii) IMMEDIATE EFFECT.—A revoca-  
10          tion under clause (i) shall take effect im-  
11          mediately and automatically cancel any  
12          other valid visa or entry documentation  
13          that is in the alien's possession.

14          (C) EXCEPTIONS.—Sanctions under this  
15          paragraph shall not apply with respect to an  
16          alien if admitting or paroling the alien into the  
17          United States is necessary—

18                 (i) to permit the United States to  
19           comply with the Agreement regarding the  
20           Headquarters of the United Nations,  
21           signed at Lake Success June 26, 1947,  
22           and entered into force November 21, 1947,  
23           between the United Nations and the  
24           United States, or other applicable inter-  
25           national obligations; or

1 (ii) to carry out or assist law enforce-  
2 ment activity in the United States.

3 (3) PENALTIES.—The penalties provided for in  
4 subsections (b) and (c) of section 206 of the Inter-  
5 national Emergency Economic Powers Act (50  
6 U.S.C. 1705) shall apply to a person that violates,  
7 attempts to violate, conspires to violate, or causes a  
8 violation of this section or any regulations promul-  
9 gated to carry out this section to the same extent  
10 that such penalties apply to a person that commits  
11 an unlawful act described in section 206(a) of that  
12 Act.

13 (d) IMPLEMENTATION; REGULATIONS.—

14 (1) IN GENERAL.—The President may exercise  
15 all authorities under sections 203 and 205 of the  
16 International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50  
17 U.S.C. 1702 and 1704) for purposes of carrying out  
18 this section.

19 (2) DEADLINE FOR REGULATIONS.—Not later  
20 than 180 days after the date of the enactment of  
21 this Act, the President shall prescribe such regula-  
22 tions as may be necessary for the implementation of  
23 this Act.

24 (3) NOTIFICATION TO CONGRESS.—Not later  
25 than 10 days before the prescription of regulations

1 under paragraph (2), the President shall brief and  
2 provide written notification to the appropriate con-  
3 gressional committees regarding—

4 (A) the proposed regulations; and

5 (B) the specific provisions of this Act that  
6 the regulations are implementing.

7 (c) WAIVER.—

8 (1) IN GENERAL.—The President may, on a  
9 case-by-case basis and for periods not to exceed 180  
10 days each, waive the application of sanctions im-  
11 posed with respect to a foreign person under this  
12 section if the President certifies to the appropriate  
13 congressional committees, not later than 15 days be-  
14 fore such waiver is to take effect, that the waiver is  
15 vital to the national security interests of the United  
16 States.

17 (2) SPECIAL RULE.—The President shall not be  
18 required to impose sanctions under this section with  
19 respect to a foreign person described in subsection  
20 (a) if the President certifies in writing to the appro-  
21 priate congressional committees that the foreign per-  
22 son—

23 (A) is no longer engaging in activities de-  
24 scribed in subsection (b); or



1 (B) has taken and is continuing to take  
2 significant, verifiable steps toward permanently  
3 terminating such activities.

4 (f) TERMINATION.—The authorities provided by this  
5 section shall cease to have effect on and after the date  
6 that is 30 days after the date on which the President cer-  
7 tifies to the appropriate congressional committees that—

8 (1) the Government of Iran no longer repeat-  
9 edly provides support for international terrorism as  
10 determined by the Secretary of State pursuant to—

11 (A) section 1754(e)(1)(A) of the Export  
12 Control Reform Act of 2018 (50 U.S.C.  
13 4318(e)(1)(A));

14 (B) section 620A of the Foreign Assistance  
15 Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2371);

16 (C) section 40 of the Arms Export Control  
17 Act (22 U.S.C. 2780); or

18 (D) any other provision of law; and

19 (2) Iran has ceased the pursuit, acquisition,  
20 and development of, and verifiably dismantled, its  
21 nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons, ballistic  
22 missiles, and ballistic missile launch technology.

1 **SEC. 4. REPORT ON IRANIAN PETROLEUM AND PETRO-**  
2 **LEUM PRODUCTS EXPORTS.**

3 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 120 days after the  
4 date of enactment of this Act, and annually thereafter  
5 until the date described in subsection (d), the Adminis-  
6 trator of the Energy Information Administration shall  
7 submit to the appropriate congressional committees a re-  
8 port describing Iran’s growing exports of petroleum and  
9 petroleum products, that includes the following:

10 (1) An analysis of Iran’s exports and sale of pe-  
11 troleum and petroleum products, including—

12 (A) an estimate of Iran’s petroleum export  
13 and sale revenue per year since 2018;

14 (B) an estimate of Iran’s petroleum export  
15 and sale revenue to China per year since 2018;

16 (C) the amount of petroleum and crude oil  
17 barrels exported per year since 2018;

18 (D) the amount of petroleum and crude oil  
19 barrels exported to China per year since 2018;

20 (E) the amount of petroleum and crude oil  
21 barrels exported to countries other than China  
22 per year since 2018;

23 (F) the average price per petroleum and  
24 crude oil barrel exported per year since 2018;  
25 and

1 (G) the average price per petroleum and  
2 crude oil barrel exported to China per year  
3 since 2018.

4 (2) An analysis of Iran's labeling practices of  
5 exported petroleum and petroleum products.

6 (3) A description of companies involved in the  
7 exporting and sale of Iranian petroleum and petro-  
8 leum products.

9 (4) A description of ships involved in the ex-  
10 porting and sale of Iranian petroleum and petroleum  
11 products.

12 (5) A description of ports involved in the ex-  
13 porting and sale of Iranian petroleum and petroleum  
14 products.

15 (b) FORM.—The report required by subsection (a)  
16 shall be submitted in unclassified form but may include  
17 a classified annex.

18 (c) PUBLICATION.—The unclassified portion of the  
19 report required by subsection (a) shall be posted on a pub-  
20 licly available website of the Energy Information Adminis-  
21 tration.

22 (d) TERMINATION.—The requirement to submit re-  
23 ports under this section shall be terminated on the date  
24 on which the President makes the certification described  
25 in section 3(f).

1 **SEC. 5. APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES DE-**  
2 **FINED.**

3 In this Act, the term “appropriate congressional com-  
4 mittees” means—

5 (1) the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the  
6 Committee on Financial Services of the House of  
7 Representatives; and

8 (2) the Committee on Foreign Relations and  
9 the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Af-  
10 fairs of the Senate.

○

Mrs. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. The bill was circulated in advance, and the Clerk shall designate the bill.

The CLERK. H.R. 3774 to impose additional sanctions with respect to the importation and facilitation of the importation of petroleum products from Iran, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America—

Mrs. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. Without objection, the first reading is dispensed with and the bill is considered read and open to amendment at any point.

Without objection, the Lawler Amendment in the nature of a substitute, No. 91, circulated to members in advance, shall be considered as read and will be treated as original text for purposes of amendment.

[The Amendment offered by Mr. Lawler follows:]

**AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE  
TO H.R. 3774  
OFFERED BY MR. LAWLER OF NEW YORK**

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

**1 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

2       This Act may be cited as the “Stop Harboring Ira-  
3 nian Petroleum Act” or the “SHIP Act”.

**4 SEC. 2. STATEMENT OF POLICY.**

5       It is the policy of the United States—

6           (1) to deny Iran the ability, by limiting Iran’s  
7 export of petroleum and petroleum products, to—

8           (A) engage in destabilizing activities;

9           (B) support international terrorism; or

10           (C) fund the development and acquisition  
11 of weapons of mass destruction and weapons  
12 delivery systems;

13           (2) to deny Iran funds to oppress and commit  
14 human rights violations against the Iranian people  
15 assembling to peacefully redress the Iranian regime;

16           (3) to fully enforce sanctions against those enti-  
17 ties which provide support to the Iranian energy sec-  
18 tor; and

1           (4) to counter Iran's actions to finance and fa-  
2       cilitate the participation of foreign terrorist organi-  
3       zations in ongoing conflicts and illicit activities due  
4       to the threat such actions pose to the vital national  
5       interests of the United States.

6       **SEC. 3. IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO IRA-**  
7                               **NIAN PETROLEUM.**

8       (a) IN GENERAL.—On and after the date that is 90  
9       days after the date of the enactment of this Act, and ex-  
10      cept as provided in subsection (e)(2), the President shall  
11      impose the sanctions described in subsection (c) with re-  
12      spect to each foreign person that the President deter-  
13      mines, on or after such date of enactment, engages in an  
14      activity described in subsection (b).

15      (b) ACTIVITIES DESCRIBED.—A foreign person en-  
16      gages in an activity described in this subsection if the for-  
17      eign person—

18           (1) owns or operates a foreign port and has  
19      knowingly facilitated or accommodated at least 1  
20      designated vessel in landing at such port on or after  
21      the date of enactment of this Act for the purpose of  
22      transporting Iranian crude oil;

23           (2) knowingly transports, offloads, or otherwise  
24      engages in transactions involving petroleum or petro-

1       leum products, including petrochemicals, originating  
2       from Iran;

3           (3) knowingly owns or operates a vessel used to  
4       conduct ship-to-ship transfers of petroleum or petro-  
5       leum products, including petrochemicals, originating  
6       from Iran;

7           (4) owns or operates a refinery that knowingly  
8       processes, refines, or otherwise engages in trans-  
9       actions involving petroleum or petroleum products,  
10      including petrochemicals, originating from Iran;

11          (5) is an adult family member of a foreign per-  
12      son described in any of paragraphs (1) through (4),  
13      unless the President determines there is clear and  
14      convincing evidence that such adult family member  
15      has disassociated themselves from the foreign person  
16      described in such paragraph and has not assisted  
17      such foreign person in concealing assets; or

18          (6) is owned, as such term is defined by section  
19      510.411 of title 31, Code of Federal Regulations, by  
20      a foreign person described in any of paragraphs (1)  
21      through (5) that has been designated for such con-  
22      duct.

23      (c) SANCTIONS DESCRIBED.—The sanctions de-  
24      scribed in this subsection with respect to a foreign person  
25      described in subsection (a) are the following:



1           (1) BLOCKING OF PROPERTY.—The President  
2       shall exercise all of the powers granted to the Presi-  
3       dent under the International Emergency Economic  
4       Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.) to the extent  
5       necessary to block and prohibit all transactions in  
6       property and interests in property of the foreign per-  
7       son if such property and interests in property are in  
8       the United States, come within the United States, or  
9       are or come within the possession or control of a  
10      United States person.

11          (2) INELIGIBILITY FOR VISAS, ADMISSION, OR  
12      PAROLE.—

13            (A) VISAS, ADMISSION, OR PAROLE.—An  
14      alien described in subsection (a) is—

15                   (i) inadmissible to the United States;

16                   (ii) ineligible to receive a visa or other  
17      documentation to enter the United States;  
18      and

19                   (iii) otherwise ineligible to be admitted  
20      or paroled into the United States or to re-  
21      ceive any other benefit under the Immigra-  
22      tion and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et  
23      seq.).

24          (B) CURRENT VISAS REVOKED.—

1 (i) IN GENERAL.—An alien described  
2 in subsection (a) is subject to revocation of  
3 any visa or other entry documentation re-  
4 gardless of when the visa or other entry  
5 documentation is or was issued.

6 (ii) IMMEDIATE EFFECT.—A revoca-  
7 tion under clause (i) shall take effect im-  
8 mediately and automatically cancel any  
9 other valid visa or entry documentation  
10 that is in the alien's possession.

11 (C) EXCEPTIONS.—Sanctions under this  
12 paragraph shall not apply with respect to an  
13 alien if admitting or paroling the alien into the  
14 United States is necessary—

15 (i) to permit the United States to  
16 comply with the Agreement regarding the  
17 Headquarters of the United Nations,  
18 signed at Lake Success June 26, 1947,  
19 and entered into force November 21, 1947,  
20 between the United Nations and the  
21 United States, or other applicable inter-  
22 national obligations; or

23 (ii) to carry out or assist law enforce-  
24 ment activity in the United States.

1           (3) PENALTIES.—The penalties provided for in  
2       subsections (b) and (c) of section 206 of the Inter-  
3       national Emergency Economic Powers Act (50  
4       U.S.C. 1705) shall apply to a person that violates,  
5       attempts to violate, conspires to violate, or causes a  
6       violation of this section or any regulations promul-  
7       gated to carry out this section to the same extent  
8       that such penalties apply to a person that commits  
9       an unlawful act described in section 206(a) of that  
10      Act.

11       (d) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—For purposes of de-  
12      terminations under (a) that a foreign person engaged in  
13      activities described in (b), a foreign person shall not be  
14      determined to know that petroleum or petroleum products  
15      originated from Iran if such person relied on a certificate  
16      of origin or other documentation confirming that the ori-  
17      gin of the petroleum or petroleum products was a country  
18      other than Iran, unless such person knew or had reason  
19      to know that such documentation was falsified.

20       (e) IMPLEMENTATION; REGULATIONS.—

21       (1) IN GENERAL.—The President may exercise  
22      all authorities under sections 203 and 205 of the  
23      International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50  
24      U.S.C. 1702 and 1704) for purposes of carrying out  
25      this section.

1           (2) DEADLINE FOR REGULATIONS.—Not later  
2       than 180 days after the date of the enactment of  
3       this Act, the President shall prescribe such regula-  
4       tions as may be necessary for the implementation of  
5       this Act.

6           (3) NOTIFICATION TO CONGRESS.—Not later  
7       than 10 days before the prescription of regulations  
8       under paragraph (2), the President shall brief and  
9       provide written notification to the appropriate con-  
10      gressional committees regarding—

11                 (A) the proposed regulations; and

12                 (B) the specific provisions of this Act that  
13      the regulations are implementing.

14       (f) WAIVER.—

15           (1) IN GENERAL.—The President may, on a  
16      case-by-case basis and for periods not to exceed 180  
17      days each, waive the application of sanctions im-  
18      posed with respect to a foreign person under this  
19      section if the President certifies to the appropriate  
20      congressional committees, not later than 15 days be-  
21      fore such waiver is to take effect, that the waiver is  
22      vital to the national interests of the United States.

23           (2) SPECIAL RULE.—The President shall not be  
24      required to impose sanctions under this section with  
25      respect to a foreign person described in subsection

1 (a) if the President certifies in writing to the appro-  
2 priate congressional committees that the foreign per-  
3 son—

4 (A) is no longer engaging in activities de-  
5 scribed in subsection (b); or

6 (B) has taken and is continuing to take  
7 significant, verifiable steps toward permanently  
8 terminating such activities.

9 (f) TERMINATION.—The authorities provided by this  
10 section shall cease to have effect on and after the date  
11 that is 30 days after the date on which the President cer-  
12 tifies to the appropriate congressional committees that—

13 (1) the Government of Iran no longer repeat-  
14 edly provides support for international terrorism as  
15 determined by the Secretary of State pursuant to—

16 (A) section 1754(c)(1)(A) of the Export  
17 Control Reform Act of 2018 (50 U.S.C.  
18 4318(c)(1)(A));

19 (B) section 620A of the Foreign Assistance  
20 Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2371);

21 (C) section 40 of the Arms Export Control  
22 Act (22 U.S.C. 2780); or

23 (D) any other provision of law; and

24 (2) Iran has ceased the pursuit, acquisition,  
25 and development of, and verifiably dismantled, its

1 nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons, ballistic  
2 missiles, and ballistic missile launch technology.

3 **SEC. 4. REPORT ON IRANIAN PETROLEUM AND PETRO-**  
4 **LEUM PRODUCTS EXPORTS.**

5 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 120 days after the  
6 date of enactment of this Act, and annually thereafter  
7 until the date described in subsection (d), the Adminis-  
8 trator of the Energy Information Administration shall  
9 submit to the appropriate congressional committees a re-  
10 port describing Iran’s growing exports of petroleum and  
11 petroleum products, that includes the following:

12 (1) An analysis of Iran’s exports and sale of pe-  
13 troleum and petroleum products, including—

14 (A) an estimate of Iran’s petroleum export  
15 and sale revenue per year since 2018;

16 (B) an estimate of Iran’s petroleum export  
17 and sale revenue to China per year since 2018;

18 (C) the amount of petroleum and crude oil  
19 barrels exported per year since 2018;

20 (D) the amount of petroleum and crude oil  
21 barrels exported to China per year since 2018;

22 (E) the amount of petroleum and crude oil  
23 barrels exported to countries other than China  
24 per year since 2018;

1 (F) the average price per petroleum and  
2 crude oil barrel exported per year since 2018;  
3 and

4 (G) the average price per petroleum and  
5 crude oil barrel exported to China per year  
6 since 2018.

7 (2) An analysis of Iran's labeling practices of  
8 exported petroleum and petroleum products.

9 (3) A description of companies involved in the  
10 exporting and sale of Iranian petroleum and petro-  
11 leum products.

12 (4) A description of ships involved in the ex-  
13 porting and sale of Iranian petroleum and petroleum  
14 products.

15 (5) A description of ports involved in the ex-  
16 porting and sale of Iranian petroleum and petroleum  
17 products.

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

21 (c) PUBLICATION.—The unclassified portion of the  
22 report required by subsection (a) shall be posted on a pub-  
23 licly available website of the Energy Information Adminis-  
24 tration.

1 (d) TERMINATION.—The requirement to submit re-  
2 ports under this section shall be terminated on the date  
3 on which the President makes the certification described  
4 in section 3(f).

5 **SEC. 5. APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES DE-**  
6 **FINED.**

7 In this Act, the term “appropriate congressional com-  
8 mittees” means—

- 9 (1) the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the  
10 Committee on the Judiciary, and the Committee on  
11 Financial Services of the House of Representatives;  
12 and  
13 (2) the Committee on Foreign Relations, the  
14 Committee on the Judiciary, and the Committee on  
15 Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs of the Senate.





Mrs. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. Is there any discussion on the bill? Mr. Lawler, you are now recognized.

Mr. LAWLER. Thank you, Madam Chair.

In the wake of the reprehensible terrorist attacks against our closest ally, Israel, on October 7, it is paramount that we work to break down the dark web of connections that enable such violence. We have stood by Israel in its darkest hours, and today we reiterate that support, ensuring the safety and security of the Israeli people from these threats.

A primary source of the threats against Israel comes from the funding that these terror groups receive from Iran. Which is why it is so critical that we kneecap Iran's ability to provide this support.

The Stop Harboring Iranian Petroleum Act, otherwise known as the SHIP Act, which I introduced earlier this year with my House Foreign Affairs Committee colleague Jared Moskowitz of Florida, does just that by going after one of its primary funding sources, the Iranian oil trade.

The U.S. has rightly sanctioned Iranian oil, a commonsense measure in the fight to prevent Iran from acquiring additional capital with which to fund terrorism. However, it is disheartening to see other nations do not share this commitment.

In August of this year alone, China imported a staggering 1.5 million barrels per day of Iranian oil. China is sending a clear message to the rest of the world by supporting the Iranian regime. In doing so, China and other importers of Iranian oil have become complicit in the nefarious acts carried out with that funding.

The SHIP Act, which we are marking up here today, currently has over 200 bipartisan cosponsors. The support is a testament to Congress' united resolve against Iran and against its enablers. The SHIP Act specifically mandates that the President impose sanctions on entities that knowingly process illicit Iranian oil.

From individuals operating ports that accept vessels transporting Iranian oil, to those refining this oil, every enabler in this supply chain must face consequences.

The bill also clearly States that these sanctions are not a permanent feature. They can be terminated if Iran stops supporting international terrorism and halts the development of biological and chemical weapons and missiles.

Yet beyond the provisions of the SHIP Act, there is a larger message here, a message about the kind of world we want to live in, a world where nations collaborate to thwart terrorism. One where allies stand up against any entity that compromises global peace and prosperity.

Israel's pain is a somber reminder of the consequences of complacency. We must ensure that Iran has no money with which to fund extremist groups that destabilize the Middle East and the world. We need to send a clear message that countries, that they must reconsider their priorities and not allow the weight of their transactions to indirectly shed innocent blood.

We as the United States possess the power and the moral obligation to shape the global order. The SHIP Act is more than just a piece of legislation. It is our commitment to a safer, more peaceful

world. It is our pledge to Israel and every nation that the United States values above all else peace, security, and freedom.

Let us work together to get this bill passed to ensure the peace, safety, and security in the Middle East, especially for our ally Israel. I look forward to engaging in discussion today about the merits of the bill and why it is so critical that the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the U.S. Congress is united in opposition to Iran and its enablers.

I have here amendments in the nature of a substitute to make a few changes to this bipartisan bill, largely technical corrections and other additions to ensure there are no unintended consequences of the bill.

The goal here is to impose sanctions on Iran and its enablers and cutoff their funding that they have used to massacre the Jewish people. That's exactly what this bill and this ANS is targeted to do.

At a time like this, we cannot be passive, we must take action. I yield back.

Mrs. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. The chair now recognizes Mr. Castro for 5 minutes.

Mr. CASTRO. Thank you, Chairwoman.

I speak in opposition to H.R. 3774, which I believe would undermine our national security, harm our allies, and hurt our economy.

This bill is based on a flawed premise that we know all too well by now, that more sanction on Iran will coerce their leaders to engage in good-faith negotiations with the United States. The reality is that this bill would do the opposite of what it intends to do. It would isolate the United States, alienate our partners, and empower Iran's hardliners.

This bill would sanction any ships, shipping company, or port that handles Iranian oil. This would have devastating effects on the global economy and on oil prices.

If this bill were enacted, U.S. companies would be prohibited from doing any business, including transferring goods, at many of the world's biggest ports, including in some of our largest allies and economic partners.

This bill would disrupt global trade supply chains and damage our relations with important allies and partners. Not only would this bill cause a wholesale disruption of the global economy, but it would also raise gas prices and consumer prices here at home.

This bill would also have a devastating effect on our constituents domestically by raising those gas and consumer prices. If this broad, sweeping bill were enacted, Americans would feel the pain at the gas pump and the grocery store. This is irresponsible legislation, I believe.

Mr. Chairman, or Madam Chairwoman, I have been a consistent supporter for diplomacy, dialog, and even sensible sanctions when it comes to Iran. I have also been a vocal critic of Iran's human rights abuses, its support for terrorism, and its destabilizing activities in the region.

I believe that we need to hold Iran accountable for its actions, but we also need to pursue a realistic and pragmatic approach that advances our interest and values. For that reason, I oppose the bill as drafted and urge my colleagues to also oppose this measure.

I yield back.

Mrs. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. Thank you, Mr. Castro.

I'd now like to recognize myself to say a few words about this bill and I speak in strong support of Representative Lawler's Stop Harboring Iranian Petroleum Act, which I am a co-sponsor.

This bipartisan legislation will close a loophole in our sanctions policy that allows Iran to move oil through refineries and ports that are not directly sanctioned.

Iran exploits this loophole and uses the revenue it earns from oil sales to continue financing terrorism abroad including Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad.

Iran has provided Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad with tens of millions of dollars and these groups in turn used this funding to build the rockets that are falling on Israel as we speak.

Iran also provides Hezbollah with most of its funding, training, weapons, and explosives. In the aftermath of Hamas terrorist attacks on Israel and as Hezbollah continues escalating on Israel's northern border it is critical that we take all actions necessary to ensure that the Iranian regime cannot continue exploiting loopholes in our sanctions policy to fund Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, and Hezbollah's horrific activities in the Middle East.

So I urge my colleagues to support this bill and I yield the balance of my time.

Now I would like to recognize Ranking Member Meeks.

Mr. MEEKS. I share the same goal as the sponsors of this legislation and that is to prevent Iran from profiting off its petroleum reserves.

The tyrannical Iranian regime uses these profits to fund its terrorism and proxy activities as well as to make advancements in its nuclear program.

In fact, it was strict targeted multilateral sanctions applied on Iranian petroleum and banking that drove Iran to the table to negotiate the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, resulting in a verifiable agreement that cutoff every pathway to an Iranian nuclear weapon.

The bill before us today aims to apply unilateral mandatory sanctions on anyone who does any of the following with Iranian oil: operate a port that accepts or transfers the oil, operate a refinery that processes Iranian oil, runs a business that purchases, sells, or finances Iranian oil, ships Iranian oil, or knowingly works at any facility that handles Iranian oil.

Without a doubt the target of these sanctions is China, the largest purchaser of Iranian oil. If China stopped buying oil from Iran, Iran would be starved of the funds it uses to destabilize this region and the world.

But this is not something we can achieve overnight without causing ripples in the global economy. In today's interconnected world where China is a major player and trading partner of the United States we cannot expect—we cannot be expected to be shielded from economic impacts at home.

We must acknowledge that the scope of these proposed sanctions is massive. Without a doubt, if fully implemented there will be sufficient chaos in the global energy markets, commercial shipping, and port operations when we go after China's oil purchases in this manner.

Gas prices in our own country would certainly rise and the middle class families would be immediately impacted. Shipping from Asia to the United States could be stalled, denying American goods they require.

Again, the scope of this bill is massive. Throughout my career in Congress I have viewed sanctions as a diplomatic tool and not necessarily as an end on their own. The Foreign Affairs Committee is the committee of diplomacy and sanctions are one of the most important and impactful tools that we have in managing our relationships and security around the globe.

Sanctions have to be limber. The executive branch that administers them needs to be able to adjust and scale them up and down as needed to make them successful.

Unfortunately, the waiver within this bill—within this bill provides the executive with very limited flexibility. It is one of the strictest standards that can be found in law.

In other words, the waiver provision is nearly unusable and I think this standard must be adjusted to make this bill workable.

Another problem is that it is an extreme tool we do not even know will work. During the height of the Trump Administration's maximum pressure campaign sanctions were levied against a major Chinese shipping company, COSCO, that at times had moved shipments of Iranian oil.

The Trump Administration had to pull these sanctions off the books after only a few months because they quickly learned the impact of global energy and logistics markets was far too damaging, and that was just one company. The scope of this legislation is much, much larger.

Finally, the difference between this proposal and the petroleum sanctions of the pre-JCPOA era is that this effort is unilateral whereas previous sanctions were done in a multilateral manner.

We did the hard work of uniting the world behind the policy before implementation of the sanctions. Here we will be going at it alone, and we must keep in mind that taking this oil—this oil immediately off the market in this manner will be a direct benefit to Russia, who will profit from higher oil prices and increased demand. The infusion of cash for Putin will be a body blow to our Ukrainian friends.

And I want to be able to support this bill but it is not ready for prime time. But I do much thank Chairman McCaul and his staff who's worked hard—his staff for making some meaningful changes to the original bill leading up to this markup.

The unprecedented sanctions have been removed that quite literally would have sanctioned the entire world. There is a new safe harbor for companies that takes significant and variable steps toward permanently terminating Iranian oil dealings and they are better protection for family members that have nothing to do with their family members' crimes.

Mr. BARR [presiding]. The gentleman's time has expired and I recognize myself now for 5 minutes in support of Representative Lawler's legislation, the Stop Harboring Iranian Petroleum Act of 2023.

This is a crucial, crucial piece of legislation that seeks to impose targeted sanctions on foreign persons and entities engaging in ac-

tivities that undermine international efforts to curb Iran's illicit trade in petroleum and petrochemicals.

I want to address the ranking member's concerns and the gentleman from Texas' concerns in a minute but let me just first tell you why I support Mr. Lawler's bill.

As a member of both the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the National Security Subcommittee of the House Financial Services Committee with oversight over the Treasury Department's implementation and enforcement of sanctions, I firmly believe that this bill is a vital step in stopping a key source of illegal funding to Iran and cutting off the mullahs' cash cow to fund their ongoing terrorist activities in support of Hamas' brazen and illegal war against Israeli citizens.

The measures outlined in this legislation specifically target foreign persons or entities that knowingly facilitate the transport of Iranian crude oil, engage in transactions involving petroleum products from Iran, operate vessels from ship-to-ship transfers of these products, or own and operate refineries processing Iranian petroleum products.

In addition, the bill addresses those who are associated with these entities and those who attempt to hide their assets.

The significance of these sanctions, one, it curbs Iranian oil trade; two, it disrupts the petrochemical trade; three, it prevents ship-to-ship transfers; four, it hinders refining activities; and five, it holds associated individuals accountable, and finally blocked or owned control entities. By imposing sanctions on entities owned or controlled by these entities engaged in these activities we cutoff the avenues for evasion and deter foreign actors from participating in such conduct.

In light of Iran's support for the unprovoked attacks against Israel by Hamas it is essential for us to stand together united in our commitment to cutoff all financing to Iran's war machine and I would note significant bipartisan support for Mr. Lawler's bill notwithstanding the opposition voiced by the gentleman from Texas and the ranking member's reservations.

The bill before us is not just a message to Iran but to the entire world that we are unwavering in our resolve to combat illicit activities that threaten global stability. I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting this legislation.

Now let me turn to some of the objections offered by my colleague from Texas and then the ranking member. Why? Why are my colleagues so determined to be soft on Iran after what we have witnessed over the last several days?

Why? Why are we chasing sanctions relief? Why are we afraid to punish the very perpetrators of this act against humanity? Why are we so appeasing to terrorists?

This is a moment to stand side by side with our allies in Israel, not to go soft on the very sponsors and enablers of these heinous war crimes against humanity. Why would we accommodate and help the financing of this outrageous war?

My friends talk about the impact on global energy markets. They talk about pain at the gas pump. Well, then why on earth are my colleagues who are worried about pain at the gas pump declaring

war on American energy production? Why do they vote against H.R. 1?

If You're worried about rewarding Putin, my goodness, vote for more energy production here at home. Oppose this crazy idea of politicizing financial flows to American companies through ESG.

Stop blocking the Keystone XL Pipeline. Stop blocking licenses for oil and gas producers in the United States. If you want to lower the price at the pump and be able to have the geopolitical tools to punish Iran without hurting our allies or the United States then you can chew gum and walk at the same time.

You can impose tough sanctions on the financing of this war and cripple the Iranian oil industry and those who help it while at the same time increasing production to the rest of the world.

This is why the Democrats' war on American energy has geopolitical ramifications. It ties our hands and disables our ability to use the tools of foreign policy available to us—our sanctions.

So what I would say if You're concerned about global energy prices, if You're concerned about Americans feeling pain at the pump, then support Mr. Lawler's bill and support American energy production at the same time.

What planet are we living on when you express concern about pain at the pump and wanting to go easy on Iran's oil industry, which by the way has emissions much higher than American oil production but you want to punish and discriminate against American energy production?

It makes absolutely zero sense. I guess climate change only applies to American energy but it doesn't apply to Iranian energy.

Let's get real, people. Get tough on Iran, block the financing, and if You're worried about the impact on global energy markets, my gosh, vote for Republicans' bill to increase energy production in the United States both to lower the price at the pump for Americans but also—but also to give us the geopolitical tools that we can use and not reward Putin and not reward the mullahs in Tehran.

With that, I yield.

Is there any further discussion on the—on the gentleman's bill?

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

Mr. Castro?

Mr. CASTRO. Thank you. I have Castro Amendment No. 1.

Mr. BARR. The clerk shall distribute the amendment. The clerk shall report the amendment.

The CLERK. Amendment to the amendment in the nature of a substitute to H.R. 3774 offered by Mr. Castro of Texas. Page 2 line 10 insert the subsection (g) after subsections (e)(2). Page 9 after—

Mr. BARR. Without objection further reading of the amendment is dispensed with.

[The Amendment offered by Mr. Castro follows:]

**AMENDMENT TO THE AMENDMENT IN THE  
NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE TO H.R. 3774  
OFFERED BY MR. CASTRO OF TEXAS**

Page 2, line 10, insert “and subsection (g)” after  
“subsection (e)(2)”.

Page 9, after line 2, insert the following:

- 1       (g) STUDY AND REPORT; EFFECTIVE DATE.—
- 2       (1) STUDY AND REPORT.—The Comptroller
- 3       General of the United States shall conduct a study
- 4       and submit to the appropriate congressional commit-
- 5       tees a report on the effect of the proposed applica-
- 6       tion of sanctions with respect to foreign persons
- 7       under this section on the price of refined gasoline in
- 8       the United States.
- 9       (2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The authority to im-
- 10      pose sanctions with respect to foreign persons under
- 11      this section shall take effect only if—
- 12              (A) the findings of the report submitted
- 13              pursuant to paragraph (1) are that the applica-
- 14              tion of such sanctions will not raise the price of
- 15              refined gasoline in the United States; and

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1 (B) the President submits to the appro-  
2 priate congressional committees a certification  
3 concurring in the findings of such report.





Mr. BARR. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes on the amendment.

Mr. CASTRO. Thank you.

I offer this amendment because my concerns—my concerns that the sanctions described in this bill would significantly raise the price of gas back home in my hometown of San Antonio and all of our hometowns.

The primary and secondary sanctions in this bill are sweeping and extensive and there's a reason they've never been done before. They target our adversaries and our allies in Europe, in Asia, and around the world.

My amendment is straightforward. Before the sanctions in the bill are implemented it requires the U.S. Government Accountability Office to conduct a study on the effect of the bill's sanctions on the price of gas.

The sanctions in the bill would be able to be implemented if that review finds that the sanctions would not raise the price of gas in the United States and the President certifies a concurrence with that report.

As I'm sure my colleagues can agree, the price of gas is higher every day and our constituents face the pain. Rising gas prices means families have to make difficult decisions between the fuel needed to drive to work and the food to put on their table, medicines they need to pay for, rent they need to pay for, and so forth.

If we adopt this amendment we ensure that our efforts do not harm our constituents when the sanctions go into effect. Passing this legislation without this amendment is effectively voting to raise the price of gas for American families.

I urge my colleagues to support this amendment. With that, I yield back.

Mr. BARR. Gentleman yields. And I'll recognize myself for 5 minutes. I oppose the gentleman's amendment. I oppose it because it sends precisely the wrong message to the world and proceeds on a false assumption that the ability of the Iranian regime to sell oil somehow results in lower domestic gasoline prices.

It does not. First, nothing is worse for global oil prices than an enriched and emboldened Iranian regime that seeks to spread terror and instability throughout the Middle East. Second, America refineries are not configured to use Iranian oil.

But Chinese refineries are. More Iranian oil means cheaper fuel for China, not lower gasoline prices for the United States. As I said before, if we want to get serious about lower gasoline prices in the United States, we need to increase domestic production.

My friend and ranking member says that production is high. We need more production. We need H.R. 1. We need more domestic production now more than ever because of the situation in the Middle East.

We do not need to empower an Iranian regime that supports terrorist groups like Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad. Again, it is fascinating to me the hypocrisy of the very, very Members of Congress who are so alarmed, so alarmed at climate change, so alarmed at elevated global emissions. But when it comes to Iranian oil, more is better.

Fossil energy from Iran, good. Fossil energy from the United States, bad. Come on. Let's get serious. We need to punish Iran and the sources of financing Hamas now, immediately, yesterday.

And we need to cutoff the financing for this horrific terrorist attack against our key ally. And if You're worked about global energy markets, my goodness, stop your war on domestic American energy. I yield. Do any other members seek recognition? Mr. Meeks is recognized.

Mr. MEEKS. Thank you. And I will say we do produce more oil today than ever. We also sanction. We do not—taken any or purchase any Iranian oil in the United States of America.

So the reason why I support Mr. Castro's amendment because it requires the Comptroller General of the United States to conduct a study and submit to the appropriate congressional committees a report on the effect these proposed sanctions will have on the price of gasoline in the United States. As I mentioned in my opening remarks, the impact on global energy markets following implementation of the is policy could be severe. And I believe this reporting will help both Congress and the Administration make better policy decisions that I hope will work.

And I'm a firm believer that unilateral sanctions generally do not work. It's multilateral sanctions that work. And it's getting the rest of the world working collectively together in regards to having effect of sanctions. And with that, I intend on supporting and ask all to support Mr. Castro's amendment.

Chairman McCAUL. Does the gentleman yield back?

Mr. MEEKS. I yield back.

Chairman McCAUL. The gentleman yields back. Do any other members seek recognition? The gentleman from Florida, Mr. Mast, is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MAST. Thank you for recognizing me. I appreciate the gentleman's amendment. And I'll say it's something certainly to think about and consider. I will. And I will simply say as been pointed out already that I hope yourself and some others also take the time to apply that same rationale to the Biden Administration's policies on domestic oil production.

Ask that question for yourselves. Will it not raise the price of refined gasoline in the United States of America as outlined in Part A, Lines 14 and 15? I think it's food for thought for all of us, whether we're talking about domestic policy or foreign policy. But thank you for giving me something to think about.

Mr. MORAN [presiding]. The gentleman yields back. Do any other members seek recognition? Mr. Phillips from Minnesota, you have 5 minutes.

Mr. PHILLIPS. I have an amendment at the desk. Yes, sorry.

Mr. MORAN. We'll save that for just one moment. Any other members wish to speak on Mr. Castro's amendment?

Seeing none, there being no further discussion, the question now occurs on the amendment offered by Representative Castro, Amendment No. 1.

All those in favor, signify by saying aye.

All those opposed, signify by saying no.

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

Mr. Castro has requested a roll call vote. A roll call vote has been requested pursuant to the chair's previous announcement. This vote will be postponed. Are there any further amendments? Mr. Phillips is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Mr. Chair, I have an amendment at the desk. Yes, No. 70.

Mr. MORAN. The clerk shall distribute the amendment. The clerk shall report the amendment.

[The Amendment offered by Mr. Phillips follows:]

**AMENDMENT TO THE AMENDMENT IN THE  
NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE TO H.R. 3774  
OFFERED BY MR. PHILLIPS OF MINNESOTA**

Page 11, after line 4, insert the following:

**1 SEC. \_\_\_\_ . REPORT BEFORE IMPLEMENTATION.**

2 Not later than 60 days after the date of the enact-  
3 ment of this Act, the President shall submit to the appro-  
4 priate congressional committees a report detailing the im-  
5 plications of the implementation of the sanctions author-  
6 ized by section 3 on the following:

- 7 (1) Consumer fuel prices in the United States.
- 8 (2) Global shipping prices.
- 9 (3) Russian oil sales and the impact on its ille-  
10 gal war in Ukraine.
- 11 (4) Ongoing efforts to stop the flow of illegal  
12 opioids from China to the United States.



The CLERK. Amendment to the amendment in the nature of a substitute to H.R. 3774, offered by Mr. Phillips of Minnesota. Page 11, after Line 4, insert the following—

Mr. MORAN. Without further objection, further reading of the amendment is dispensed with. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes on his amendment.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I share the concern with the proliferation of Iranian oil all around the globe, largely in contravention of existing U.S. sanctions. Revenue from oil sales, primarily to China, provides significant resources that enable the Iranian regime to advance its nuclear program, continue its support for terrorism, and maintain its repression of the Iranian people.

As we've seen especially over these last heartbreaking weeks, Iran continues to support proxy terror all around the region that reigns on our ally Israel regularly and continues to demand the destruction of the United States of America. That's why I believe we must use all the tools at our disposal to address the illegal source of Iranian revenue. And when I say that, I mean all. That means carrots and sticks.

That's why I put forward an amendment that would require the Secretary of State in coordination with the Secretary of the Treasury to submit a diplomatic strategy to also combat Iran's illegal oil exports as well as asking the Administration to determine whether to establish a multi-lateral working group to address this challenge with our partners and allies all across the globe. Yes, sanctions are an important tool in our toolbox to deter the illicit purchase of Iranian oil. But I also believe that we should include our significant power of diplomacy as well, the power of bringing like-minded partners together to address this challenge collectively. So I urge my colleagues to support this common sense amendment, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. MORAN. The gentleman yields back. Do any other—I support this amendment by the way. Do any other members seek recognition? Mr. Meeks is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MEEKS. Thank you. This amendment requires a diplomatic strategy from the executive to combat Iran's illicit oil exports. Diplomacy, something that I believe in with every inch of my body, should be at the forefront of all of our global engagements.

I will vote in support of this amendment. I thank Mr. Phillips for bringing it forward. And I ask all of my colleagues to do the same. I yield back.

Mr. MORAN. The gentleman yields back. Do any of the members seek recognition?

There being no further discussion, the question now occurs on the amendment offered by Representative Phillips Amendment No. 70.

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 amendment is agreed to.

Mr. PHILLIPS. And I'd like a recorded vote, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MORAN. A roll call vote has been requested. Pursuant to the chair's previous announcement, this vote will be postponed. Are

there any further amendments? The gentleman from Minnesota, Mr. Phillips is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. PHILLIPS. I have an amendment at the desk, No. 71, please.

Mr. MORAN. The clerk shall distribute the amendment. The clerk shall report the amendment.

[The Amendment offered by Mr. Phillips follows:]

**AMENDMENT TO THE AMENDMENT IN THE  
NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE TO H.R. 3774  
OFFERED BY MR. PHILLIPS OF MINNESOTA**

Page 11, after line 4, insert the following:

1 **SEC. \_\_\_\_ . DIPLOMATIC STRATEGY TO COMBAT ILLEGAL**  
2 **IRANIAN OIL EXPORTS.**

3 (a) STRATEGY REQUIRED.—Not later than 90 days  
4 after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of  
5 State, in coordination with the Secretary of Treasury,  
6 shall submit to the appropriate congressional committees  
7 a diplomatic strategy to combat Iran's illegal oil exports  
8 that includes the following:

9 (1) A detailed assessment of the countries pur-  
10 chasing or supporting the sale of Iranian petroleum  
11 and petroleum products, including the quantity pur-  
12 chased and the purported rationale behind the pur-  
13 chases.

14 (2) An analysis of the diplomatic tools available  
15 to encourage countries in (1) to reduce or cease the  
16 purchase of Iranian petroleum or petroleum prod-  
17 ucts.

18 (3) A description of diplomatic steps previously  
19 taken to combat the illicit purchase of Iranian petro-

1       leum or petroleum products, including a list of the  
2       partner countries involved in multilateral diplomatic  
3       efforts and an analysis of the impact of those steps  
4       on Iranian oil shipments.

5       (4) A description of future diplomatic steps  
6       planned to combat the illicit purchase of Iranian pe-  
7       troleum or petroleum products, including a list of  
8       potential partner countries involved in multilateral  
9       diplomatic efforts.

10      (b) DETERMINATION.—Not later than 30 days after  
11     the submission of the strategy required by subsection (a),  
12     the Secretary of State, in coordination with the Secretary  
13     of the Treasury, shall submit to the appropriate congres-  
14     sional committees a determination on whether to establish  
15     a multilateral working group to combat the illicit purchase  
16     of Iranian petroleum and petroleum products.





The CLERK. Amendment to the amendment in the nature of a substitute to H.R. 3774 offered by Mr. Phillips of Minnesota. Page 11, after Line 4, insert the following: section report before——

Mr. MORAN. Without objection, further reading of the amendment is dispensed with. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes on the amendment.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I'll start by associating myself with the remarks of my friend and colleague, Mr. Mast, about fuel prices in the United States and which is what this amendment is all about. So I want to reiterate my comments about our shared commitment to deterring countries from buying illicit Iranian oil and continuing to counter the Iranian regime's malign activities, whether that be preventing Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon, providing drones to Russia for its illegal, grotesque, and unjust invasion of Ukraine, supporting Hamas terrorist attacks or committing human rights violations against its very own population.

I unequivocally stand united with all of my colleagues in these efforts. But I also want to be realistic about the impact of what we do in this committee and how the intended results no matter how important and reasonable might not be aligned with actual consequences. And that's why I'm putting forth this amendment that would require a report on the implications of the sanctions authorized by this bill on consumer fuel prices in the United States, global shipping prices, Russian oil sales and its impact on the illegal war in Ukraine, and finally on ongoing efforts to stop the flow of illegal opioids from China to the United States.

These issues, all of which have direct impacts on the citizens we represent, the American people, need to be fully understood before we move forward with any new sanctions that go beyond the existing comprehensive set that the U.S. already has in place. And with that, Mr. Chair, I yield back.

Mr. MORAN. The gentleman yields back. I oppose this amendment, Amendment No. 71 by Mr. Phillips. I oppose this amendment because it sends the wrong message and proceeds on at least two major false assumptions.

First, the assumption that Iranian oil somehow results in the lower domestic gasoline prices and it does not. Second, the assumption that we must choose between constraining Russia or constraining the Iranian regime. We can do both.

Russia already sells a lot of oil to China. We do not need to choose between constraining Iran or constraining Russia. We can prevent oil sanctions against Iran from creating a windfall for Russia by adequately enforcing our sanctions targeting Russia, measures like the Russian oil price cap. Do any other members seek recognition? Mr. Meeks, the gentleman from New York, is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MEEKS. Thank you. This amendment requires a report from the President that outlines the impact of this legislation on American consumer fuel prices, global shipping, Russian oil sales, and the impact on its illegal war in Ukraine, and ongoing efforts to stop the flow of illegal opioids from China to the United States. It is a very reasonable and I think important amendment to this bill, and

I support this amendment and I ask my colleagues to do the same. I yield back.

Mr. MORAN. The gentleman yields back. Do any other members seek recognition? The gentleman from Minnesota is recognized.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Mr. Chair, I just listened to your remarks. I just want to comment that we all know that the oil market is a global market that is affected by supply and demand, underproduction, overproduction. So indeed, sanctions have an effect on oil prices no matter where the oil might be coming from the ground.

And I have appreciation for my Republican colleagues who are looking out for American people who are suffering from inflation. It's a daily case that's made on the House floor and committees all around this complex. So I have to confess to some surprise that when it comes to protecting these very American interests and inflationary pressure that we would not at least ensure that any sanctions that we might apply even with good intention would have inflationary effects because I think American people are suffering despite a strong economy with increasing costs.

So I think this is an important amendment. And frankly I'm a little surprised that it would not generate more support on both sides of the aisle. But with that, I yield back.

Mr. MORAN. The gentleman yields back. Do any other members seek recognition?

There being no further discussion, the question now occurs on the amendment offered by Representative Phillips, Amendment No. 71.

All those in favor, signify by saying aye.

All those opposed, signify by saying no.

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

Mr. PHILLIPS. Oh, gosh. Yes, I'd like a roll call vote, please.

Mr. MORAN. A roll call vote has been requested. Pursuant to the chair's previous announcement, this vote will be postponed. Are there any further amendments? Hearing no further amendments, further proceedings on this bill are postponed.

Pursuant to notice, I now call up H. Resolution 599 urging the European Union to designate Hizballah in its entirety as a terrorist organization. The resolution was circulated in advance. The clerk shall designate the resolution.

[The Bill H. RES. 599 follows:]

118TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

## H. RES. 599

Urging the European Union to designate Hizballah in its entirety as a terrorist organization.

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### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JULY 18, 2023

Mr. SCHNEIDER (for himself, Mr. BILIRAKIS, Mr. TORRES of New York, Mr. PANETTA, Mr. SHERMAN, Ms. SALAZAR, Mr. MOSKOWITZ, Mr. PAPPAS, Mr. FITZPATRICK, Ms. STEVENS, Ms. MANNING, Ms. WILSON of Florida, Mr. AUCHINCLOSS, Ms. TITUS, Mr. TRONE, Mr. KRISHNAMOORTHY, Mr. COSTA, Mr. COHEN, Mr. GOTTHEIMER, Mr. KEATING, Ms. TENNEY, Mr. WILSON of South Carolina, Ms. LOIS FRANKEL of Florida, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Ms. LEE of Nevada, Mr. LIEU, Mr. SOTO, Mr. BACON, Ms. WASSERMAN SCHULTZ, and Ms. GARCIA of Texas) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

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## RESOLUTION

Urging the European Union to designate Hizballah in its entirety as a terrorist organization.

Whereas, in April 1983, a Hizballah terror attack against the United States Embassy in Beirut killed 63 people;

Whereas, in October 1983, a Hizballah terror attack against the United States Marine barracks in Beirut, Lebanon, killed 241 American and 58 French servicemembers supporting the Multinational Force peacekeeping mission;

Whereas, in July 2012, a Hizballah terror attack, carried out by an operative with dual Lebanese-French citizenship, in Burgas, Bulgaria, killed 5 Israeli tourists and 1 Bulgarian;

Whereas, in March 2013, a Swedish-Lebanese Hizballah operative in Cyprus was convicted of planning terror attacks against Israeli tourists;

Whereas, in June 2015, a Hizballah operative was sentenced to 6 years in prison after he stockpiled more than 8 tons of ammonium nitrate in Cyprus;

Whereas the Hizballah International Financing Prevention Act of 2015 (Public Law 114–102) and the Hizballah International Financing Prevention Amendments Act of 2018 (Public Law 115–272) broadened financial sector sanctions against Hizballah to compel foreign financial institutions to refrain from supporting the terrorist group;

Whereas, in May 2018, the Department of the Treasury imposed sanctions on Abdullah Safi-Al-Din, Hizballah's representative to Iran, Mohammad Ibrahim Bazzi, a Hizballah financier, and blacklisted 5 of Bazzi's companies, including Belgian energy services conglomerate Global Trading Group NV;

Whereas, in October 2018, French police raided the Islamic Zahra Centre on suspicion of supporting Hizballah, freezing the organization's funds, and seizing illegal weapons;

Whereas, in September 2020, 4 former leaders of the Zahra Centre France were arrested on suspicion of continuing to run that association and supporting Hizballah;

Whereas, in July 2019, the Department of the Treasury designated 2 Hizballah-backed members of Lebanese Par-

liament, Amin Sherri and Muhammad Hasan Ra'd, and Hizballah security official Wafiq Safa, stating that Hizballah uses its operatives in parliament to advance its violent activities;

Whereas, as of April 2021, Germany believed there to be 1,250 people with suspected links to Hizballah in the country;

Whereas Europol's June 2022 European Union Terrorism Situation and Trend Report outlined that Hizballah "has been using the EU as a base for fundraising, recruitment, and criminal activities", and the report also stated that Hizballah "is suspected of managing the transportation and distribution of illegal drugs into the EU, dealing with firearms trafficking and running professional money laundering operations that include the provision of money laundering services for other criminal organizations";

Whereas United States-led Project Cassandra and Operation Cedar exposed the criminal-business wing of Hizballah, the Business Affairs Component (BAC) of Hezbollah's External Security Organization;

Whereas, during Project Cassandra, Hizballah elements involved in drug trafficking were arrested in the United States, South America, and several European countries, including France, Belgium, Germany, and Italy;

Whereas Hizballah's criminal activity in Europe is run by the BAC, which reports to the External Security Organisation, also known as Unit 910, or the Islamic Jihad Organization, and Abdallah Saffeddine, Hizballah's representative in Iran, is also involved in this activity;

Whereas, in August 2020, United Nations Secretary General Guterres called on Lebanon to disarm Hizballah, citing the terror group's persistent violation of Resolution 1701 (2006);

Whereas Iran is the prime sponsor of Hizballah, harboring, financing, training, and arming the group;

Whereas the Department of the Treasury and Department of State estimate that Iran provides as much as \$700,000,000 per year to Hizballah in the form of financial and logistical support, weapons, and training;

Whereas Hizballah now has an arsenal of approximately 150,000 missiles and rockets, with increased sophistication and many of which can reach deep into Israel;

Whereas Hizballah fighters have been supporting the Assad regime in Syria, often leading operations in the conflict which has left more than 500,000 dead;

Whereas Hizballah trains and provides weapons for militias in Iraq and Yemen, further destabilizing the region and perpetuating violence in those countries;

Whereas Hizballah activities continue to plague Lebanon with profound economic and political instability and violence;

Whereas Hizballah's cross border illicit arms and drugs trafficking undermines the Lebanese Armed Forces, the legitimate security establishment of the country as outlined in United Nations Security Council Resolution 1701 (2006);

Whereas, in October 2012, Hizballah Deputy Secretary General Naim Qassem stated that "[Hizballah does not] have a military wing and a political one . . . Every element of Hizballah, from commanders to members as well as

our various capabilities, are in the service of the resistance”;

Whereas the United States, Germany, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovenia, Serbia, and Kosovo, among others, have declared Hizballah in its entirety as a terror organization;

Whereas, in March 2016, the Gulf Cooperation Council formally branded Hizballah, in its entirety, a terrorist organization, and the League of Arab States shortly thereafter adopted the same designation;

Whereas the Department of the Treasury has diligently added persons and entities to the list of Specially Designated Global Terrorists who have provided material support to the Hizballah terrorist organization, thereby hampering its financing and logistical capabilities;

Whereas the European Union, in July 2013, designated Hizballah’s so-called “military wing”, but not the organization as a whole, as a terrorist organization;

Whereas, despite restrictions put on Hizballah since the designation of its military wing, the group continues to conduct illicit narcotrafficking, money laundering, and weapons trafficking throughout Europe and the world; and

Whereas the House of Representatives has previously called on the European Union to fully designate Hizballah as a terrorist organization, passing House Resolution 359 in October 2017 and House Resolution 558 on September 20, 2022: Now, therefore, be it

1       *Resolved*, That the House of Representatives—

2               (1) applauds and expresses support for the con-

3       tinued, increased cooperation between the United

- 1 States and the European Union (EU) in thwarting  
2 Hizballah's criminal and terrorist activities;
- 3 (2) supports transcontinental efforts within Eu-  
4 rope to share intelligence information among police  
5 and security services to facilitate greater cooperation  
6 in tracking, apprehending, and prosecuting terror-  
7 ists, foreign fighters, and potential offenders;
- 8 (3) encourages the European Union to imple-  
9 ment sanctions against Hizballah-affiliated terrorists  
10 in tandem with the United States;
- 11 (4) recommends greater civil society engage-  
12 ment in both the United States and Europe to un-  
13 derSCORE Hizballah's malign regional influence; and
- 14 (5) urges the European Union to designate  
15 Hizballah in its entirety as a terrorist organization  
16 and increase pressure on the group, including  
17 through—
- 18 (A) facilitating better cross-border coopera-  
19 tion between European Union members in com-  
20 bating Hizballah;
- 21 (B) issuing arrest warrants against mem-  
22 bers and active supporters of Hizballah;
- 23 (C) freezing Hizballah's assets in Europe,  
24 including those masquerading as charities; and



- 1 (D) prohibiting fundraising activities in
- 2 support of Hizballah.

○

The CLERK. H. RES. 599, urging the European Union to designate Hizballah in its entirety as a terrorist organization.

Mr. MORAN. Without objection, the first reading is dispensed with and the resolution is considered read and open to amendment at any point. Is there any discussion on the resolution? The chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois, Mr. Schneider.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Earlier today, I spoke about the Iranian threat. That's what keeps me up at night every single night, or at least it did.

Now I'm kept up at night thinking about the more than 1,300 Israelis and Americans massacred on October 7th, about the more than 200 hostages languishing in Gaza as we speak, and about the further death and destruction that lays ahead. My entire life, I've worked toward peace between Israel and the Palestinians and the neighbors in the region. And that's why I'm proud, so proud to be a co-chair of the Abraham Accords Caucus along with my colleagues across the aisle on this committee, Ann Wagner.

Seeing countries that had no diplomatic ties with Israel suddenly develop warm bonds between people has felt like a dream. It is that dream of peace that I continue to hope for. What I know is that the threats to that dream are groups like Hamas, Hizballah, and countries like Iran.

Hizballah is an Iranian-backed terrorist organization committed to the destruction of Israel and of peace throughout the region. We saw on October 7th what that ideology can unleash. As the U.S. has done the right thing by recognizing Hizballah we're calling in others to do the same.

Unfortunately, our good friends in Europe often make a distinction between the organization's political and military wings, seeing the former as a partner they can try to work with. Looking at how Lebanon has been on the verge of becoming a failed State, we cannot underestimate the pernicious role played by Hizballah. Hizballah bombed our embassy in Beirut in April 1983 killing 63 people and in October of the same year attacked a Marine barracks killing 241 Americans.

This behavior has never stopped, never paused. The murdered Israeli tourists in Bulgaria in 2012, tried to do so again in Cypress in 2013. Two years later, they got caught in Cypress once more with eight tons of ammonium nitrate.

That year, Congress passed the Hizballah International Financing Prevention Act of 2015. And I was proud to help lead a followup to that bill in 2018. Despite our best efforts to counter it, the resolution describes in detail Hizballah's nefarious activities in Belgium, France, Germany, and throughout the European Union.

I've always said that the world is at its best when America leads. We have seen that in Ukraine. We are seeing that today in Israel. We have led on countering Hizballah, and we must now urge our European allies to join us in doing the same.

As we look at Hizballah skirmishing with Israel and loudly supporting Hamas, I hope our European partners will take this moment as a wake up call. Hizballah is a terrorist organization and must be designated as such in its entirety. I urge my colleagues to join in this bill, and I yield back.

Mr. MORAN. The gentleman yields back. Would any other member like to be recognized. The gentlelady is—I'm sorry. Mr. Meeks, the ranking member, is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MEEKS. Thank you. I want to thank my friend, Brad Schneider, for continuing to advance this important legislation first introduced by our former colleague, Ted Deutch. More than a decade ago following Hizballah's 2012 bus bombing in Burgas, Bulgaria, the European Union added the group's military wing to its terror list, leaving it supposedly separate political arm unsanctioned.

Despite all we know about Hizballah, a cutthroat terrorist organization that serves as an Iranian proxy and violent militia, our friends and partners of the European Union to this day only include Hizballah's military wing and not its political wing and on its list of sanctioned terrorist organizations. The Secretary of State's designation of Hizballah makes no distinction between its branches. And we would urge the EU to simply make no distinction and add the group to its entirety to the terror list.

And all members should reject the view of former President Trump, the leading candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination, who last week offered Hizballah's praise and declared, "You know Hizballah is very smart. They're all very smart." Smart is not how I would describe Hizballah. I would describe them as terrorists.

And I'm pleased that many individual European countries have acted as has the Arab League and the Gulf Cooperation Council. And I'm certain my colleagues join me in this view. But it is very troubling to me that the EU, an entity that shares our values and many of our policy goals, continues to allow Hizballah's political wing to freely operate advancing Hizballah's violent agenda around the world. Let's hope that Europe hears the voice of this Congress loudly and clearly and finally takes the necessary step to designate Hizballah as a whole.

It is long overdue and would be a very welcome development as Hizballah continues to threaten Israel and the United States from his approach in Southern Lebanon. And with that, I yield back.

Mr. MORAN. The gentleman yields back. Do any other members seek recognition? The gentlelady from North Carolina, Ms. Manning, is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. MANNING. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am proud to support H. RES. 599, a bipartisan resolution that I was proud to help introduce with Congressman Brad Schneider and colleagues on both sides of the aisle urging the European Union to designate Hizballah in its entirety as a terrorist organization. The terrorist group, Hizballah, is a lynchpin of Iran's axis of resistance and is responsible for thousands of civilian deaths in the Middle East and around the globe, including the 1983 Marine barracks bombing in Beirut and the 1994 AMIA Jewish Community Center bombing in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Until 9/11, Hizballah had killed more Americans than any other terrorist group. And today it maintains an arsenal of 150,000 rockets aimed at Israel. In recent days, Hizballah has fired upon Israel, threatening to open up a second front in the war along Israel's northern border, risking a wider regional confrontation, and putting civilians in Lebanon at risk.

Given these facts, it is incomprehensible that any EU member State can credibly assert any distinction between Hizballah's so-called military and political wings. The truth is there is one unified Hizballah and it is dedicated to carrying out terrorist activities around the world. That's why this bipartisan resolution calls on our partners in the EU to take a stronger stand against worldwide terrorism by designating Hizballah as a whole as a terrorist organization.

Earlier this year, I was also proud to help lead a bipartisan effort with Congressman Tom Kean, Bill Keating, and more than 130 of our colleagues urging the EU to designate the IRGC as a terrorist organization. We must continue to keep pressure on Hizballah, the IRGC, and all other terrorist groups that threaten the United States and our ally Israel that undermine peace, security, and stability throughout the region and around the world. Mr. Chairman, I urge support for this bipartisan measure, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. MORAN. The gentlelady yields back. Do any other members seek recognition to speak on House Resolution 599? There being no further discussion of the resolution, committee will move to consideration of amendments. Do any members wish to offer any amendments?

There being no amendments, I move that the committee report House Resolution 599 to the House with a favorable recommendation.

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 motion is agreed to.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Mr. Chairman, because evidently it's necessary to get consideration, I ask for the ayes and nays.

Mr. MORAN. A roll call vote has been requested. Pursuant to the chair's announcement, this vote has been or will be postponed. Pursuant to notice, I now call up House Resolution 1809, Block the Use of Transatlantic Technology in Iranian Made Drones Act. The bill was circulated in advance. The clerk shall designate the bill.

[The Bill H.R. 1809 follows:]

118TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 1809

To require the development of strategies and options to prevent the export to Iran of certain technologies related to unmanned aircraft systems, and for other purposes.

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 27, 2023

Mr. KEATING (for himself, Mr. WILSON of South Carolina, Mr. PHILLIPS, and Ms. TENNEY) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and in addition to the Committee on Armed Services, 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

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## A BILL

To require the development of strategies and options to prevent the export to Iran of certain technologies related to unmanned aircraft systems, 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 “Block the Use of  
5 Transatlantic Technology in Iranian Made Drones Act”.

6 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

7 Congress finds the following:

1           (1) On February 24, 2022, the Russian Federa-  
2           tion initiated a full-scale invasion of Ukraine.

3           (2) The Russian Federation’s war of aggression  
4           against Ukraine first began in 2014.

5           (3) In response to the Russian Federation’s  
6           brutal war of aggression against Ukraine, the  
7           United States, and allies and partners of the United  
8           States, have enacted punitive sanctions against the  
9           Russian Federation, further limiting the access of  
10          the Russian Federation to critical technologies that  
11          could support such war of aggression.

12          (4) Since February 2022, the Russian Federa-  
13          tion has bombarded Ukrainian infrastructure and lo-  
14          cations actively used by civilians, using both cruise  
15          missiles and self-detonating unmanned aircrafts  
16          packed with explosives during these waves of at-  
17          tacks.

18          (5) Following these attacks, weapons used by  
19          the Russian Federation have been thoroughly ana-  
20          lyzed and it has been discovered that the Russian  
21          Federation is increasingly using unmanned aircraft  
22          systems produced and sold by Iran.

23          (6) In November 2022, it was reported that the  
24          Russian Federation and Iran made a deal wherein

1 Iran would produce hundreds of unmanned aircrafts  
2 for the Russian Federation.

3 (7) Unmanned aircraft systems produced by  
4 Iran and used in Ukraine by the Russian Federa-  
5 tion, including unmanned aircraft downed in  
6 Ukraine, were found to have been made with compo-  
7 nents designed and built by United States and Euro-  
8 pean companies and later transferred to Iranian en-  
9 tities despite sanctions as a result of the dual use  
10 properties of such components.

11 (8) The Biden Administration has established  
12 an interagency task force to investigate how United  
13 States and Western-made technology has been incor-  
14 porated into unmanned aircraft systems produced by  
15 Iran and take appropriate steps in response.

16 (9) On January 6th, 2023, the Biden Adminis-  
17 tration enacted new sanctions targeting the un-  
18 manned aircraft industry and missile industry of  
19 Iran, designating seven individuals in leadership po-  
20 sitions with Qods Aviation Industries and the Aero-  
21 space Industries Organization of Iran.

22 **SEC. 3. SENSE OF CONGRESS.**

23 It is the sense of Congress that—

24 (1) controlling the end use of dual use tech-  
25 nology and highly ubiquitous parts thereof in the

1 global market is difficult for manufacturers and gov-  
2 ernment regulators alike;

3 (2) the United States, along with the allies and  
4 partners of the United States, must continue to sup-  
5 port Ukraine in the Ukrainian fight for freedom,  
6 independence, and democracy; and

7 (3) the United States, along with the allies and  
8 partners of the United States, must ensure that  
9 technology designed or produced by United States  
10 entities is not used to support the Russian Federa-  
11 tion's war of aggression against Ukraine, particu-  
12 larly in the case of unmanned aircraft systems pro-  
13 duced by Iran.

14 **SEC. 4. STRATEGIES TO PREVENT EXPORT TO IRAN OF**  
15 **CERTAIN TECHNOLOGIES RELATED TO UN-**  
16 **MANNED AIRCRAFT SYSTEMS.**

17 (a) DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE STRATEGY.—

18 (1) STRATEGY REQUIRED.—The Secretary of  
19 Commerce (in consultation with the Secretary of  
20 State, the Secretary of Defense, and the heads of  
21 the elements of the intelligence community) shall de-  
22 velop a strategy to supplement the existing sanctions  
23 regime of the United States against Iran by pre-  
24 venting the export to Iran by United States persons  
25 regarding technologies used or that may be used in



1 the design, development, production, or operational  
2 employment of unmanned aircraft systems by Iran,  
3 including the following microelectronics:

4 (A) Microcontrollers.

5 (B) Voltage regulators.

6 (C) Digital signal controllers.

7 (D) GPS modules.

8 (E) Microprocessors.

9 (F) Circuit board components.

10 (2) ELEMENTS.—The strategy under paragraph  
11 (1) shall include, at a minimum, the following ele-  
12 ments:

13 (A) A process for the Secretary of Com-  
14 merce (in coordination with the Secretaries and  
15 heads specified in paragraph (1)) to proactively  
16 identify—

17 (i) current and emerging technologies  
18 used or that may be used by Iran in the  
19 design, development, production, or oper-  
20 ational employment of unmanned aircraft  
21 systems (including critical components  
22 thereof); and

23 (ii) United States manufacturers of  
24 such technologies.

1 (B) A process for the Secretary of Com-  
2 merce (in coordination with the Secretaries and  
3 heads specified in paragraph (1)) to proactively  
4 identify third-party distributors and resellers of  
5 the technologies specified in subparagraph  
6 (A)(i) that, through the use of intermediaries  
7 with no or nominal operations or assets, or  
8 through other mechanisms, contrive to cir-  
9 cumvent sanctions and export controls for such  
10 items with respect to Iran.

11 (C) A methodology for the Secretary of  
12 Commerce to proactively engage the United  
13 States manufacturers identified pursuant to the  
14 process under subparagraph (A)(ii), to provide  
15 such manufacturers with timely updates to the  
16 list of third-party distributors and resellers  
17 identified pursuant to the process under sub-  
18 paragraph (B).

19 (3) SUBMISSION.—Not later than 60 days after  
20 the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary  
21 of Commerce shall submit to the appropriate con-  
22 gressional committees the strategy under paragraph  
23 (1).

24 (4) FORM.—The report required by subsection  
25 (a)(1) shall be submitted in unclassified form, but

1 portions of the report described in paragraphs (1)  
2 and (2) may contain a classified annex, so long as  
3 such annex is provided separately from the unclassi-  
4 fied report.

5 (b) DEPARTMENT OF STATE STRATEGY.—

6 (1) STRATEGY REQUIRED.—The Secretary of  
7 State (in coordination with the Secretary of Com-  
8 merce, the Secretary of Defense, and the heads of  
9 the elements of the intelligence community) shall de-  
10 velop a strategy to engage with European and Asian  
11 allies and partners of the United States regarding  
12 technologies which are used, or may be used, by Iran  
13 in the design, development, production, or oper-  
14 ational employment of unmanned aircraft systems  
15 (including the microelectronics listed in subpara-  
16 graphs (A) through (F) of subsection (a)(1)), to pre-  
17 vent the export of such technologies to Iran by such  
18 allies and partners.

19 (2) ELEMENTS.—The strategy under paragraph  
20 (1) shall include, at a minimum, the following ele-  
21 ments:

22 (A) A process for the Secretary of State  
23 (in consultation with the relevant Secretaries  
24 and heads specified in paragraph (1)) to

1       proactively identify foreign manufacturers of  
2       the technologies referred to in such paragraph.

3       (B) A process for the Secretary of State to  
4       engage with any ally or partner of the United  
5       States regarding technologies which have been  
6       incorporated into an unmanned aircraft system  
7       produced by Iran, for the purpose of synchro-  
8       nizing the export control regime of such ally or  
9       partner with the United States export controls  
10      developed by the Secretary of Commerce pursu-  
11      ant to the strategy under subsection (a) with  
12      respect to such technology.

13      (3) SUBMISSION.—Not later than 60 days after  
14      the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary  
15      of State shall submit to the appropriate congres-  
16      sional committees the strategy under paragraph (1).

17      (4) FORM.—The report required by subsection  
18      (b)(1) shall be submitted in unclassified form, but  
19      portions of the report described in paragraphs (1)  
20      and (2) may contain a classified annex, so long as  
21      such annex is provided separately from the unclassi-  
22      fied report.

23      (c) REQUIREMENT FOR SECRETARY OF DEFENSE TO  
24      DEVELOP RANGE OF OPTIONS.—

1           (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 30 days after  
2           the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary  
3           of Defense (in coordination with the Secretary of  
4           State and the heads of the elements of the intel-  
5           ligence community) shall develop a range of options  
6           that may be employed by the Armed Forces of the  
7           United States to counter or otherwise deny Iran the  
8           ability to acquire technologies used, or that may be  
9           used, in the design, development, production, or  
10          operational employment of unmanned aircraft sys-  
11          tems by Iran, including the following technologies:

- 12                   (A) Microcontrollers.
- 13                   (B) Voltage regulators.
- 14                   (C) Digital signal controllers.
- 15                   (D) GPS modules.
- 16                   (E) Microprocessors.
- 17                   (F) Circuit board components.
- 18                   (G) Computer Aided Design (CAD) soft-  
19          ware.
- 20                   (H) Computer numerical control machines.

21          (2) BRIEFING.—Not later than 45 days after  
22          the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary  
23          of Defense shall provide to the appropriate congres-  
24          sional committees a briefing on the options devel-  
25          oped under paragraph (1).

1 **SEC. 5. DEFINITIONS.**

2 In this Act:

3 (1) **APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT-**  
4 **TEES.**—The term “appropriate congressional com-  
5 mittees” means the following:

6 (A) The Committee on Foreign Affairs, the  
7 Committee on Armed Services, the Committee  
8 on Ways and Means, and the Permanent Select  
9 Committee on Intelligence of the House of Rep-  
10 resentatives.

11 (B) The Committee on Foreign Relations,  
12 the Committee on Armed Services, the Com-  
13 mittee on Finance, and the Permanent Select  
14 Committee on Intelligence of the Senate.

15 (2) **INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY.**—The term  
16 “intelligence community” has the meaning given  
17 that term in section 3 of the National Security Act  
18 of 1957 (50 U.S.C. 3003).

19 (3) **UNMANNED AIRCRAFT; UNMANNED AIR-**  
20 **CRAFT SYSTEM.**—The terms “unmanned aircraft”  
21 and “unmanned aircraft system” have the meanings  
22 given those terms in section 130i of title 10, United  
23 States Code.

○

**AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE  
TO H.R. 1809  
OFFERED BY MR. KEATING OF MASSACHUSETTS**

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

**1 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

2       This Act may be cited as the “Block the Use of  
3 Transatlantic Technology in Iranian Made Drones Act”.

**4 SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

5       Congress finds the following:

6           (1) The Iranian regime has provided financial  
7 and material support, including the provision of un-  
8 manned aircraft systems, to United States adver-  
9 saries, including terrorist organizations such as  
10 Hamas, Hezbollah, and Palestinian Islamic Jihad,  
11 and the Russian Federation as a part of its illegal  
12 war of aggression against Ukraine.

13           (2) The Biden Administration has established  
14 an interagency task force to investigate how United  
15 States and Western-made technology has been incor-  
16 porated into unmanned aircraft systems produced by  
17 Iran and take appropriate steps in response.

1           (3) On January 6th, 2023, the Biden Adminis-  
2       tration enacted new sanctions targeting the un-  
3       manned aircraft industry and missile industry of  
4       Iran, designating seven individuals in leadership po-  
5       sitions with Qods Aviation Industries and the Aero-  
6       space Industries Organization of Iran.

7       **SEC. 3. SENSE OF CONGRESS.**

8       It is the sense of Congress that—

9           (1) controlling the end use of dual use tech-  
10      nology and highly ubiquitous parts thereof in the  
11      global market is difficult for manufacturers and gov-  
12      ernment regulators alike;

13          (2) Iranian-made unmanned aircraft systems  
14      play a key role in the Russian Federation’s illegal  
15      war of aggression against Ukraine, including attacks  
16      on civilian population centers and critical infrastruc-  
17      ture such as power plants and ports; and

18          (3) the United States, along with the allies and  
19      partners of the United States, must ensure that  
20      technology designed or produced by United States or  
21      using certain United States software, technology, or  
22      production equipment, is not used to support the  
23      Russian Federation’s war of aggression against  
24      Ukraine or used by Hamas to attack Israel, particu-



1       larly in the case of unmanned aircraft systems pro-  
2       duced by Iran.

3 **SEC. 4. STRATEGIES TO PREVENT EXPORT TO IRAN OF**  
4                   **CERTAIN TECHNOLOGIES RELATED TO UN-**  
5                   **MANNED AIRCRAFT SYSTEMS.**

6       (a) DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE STRATEGY.—

7           (1) STRATEGY REQUIRED.—The Secretary of  
8       Commerce (in consultation with the Secretary of  
9       State, the Secretary of Defense, and the Director of  
10      National Intelligence) shall develop a strategy to  
11      prevent the illegal export to Iran by United States  
12      persons regarding technologies used or that may be  
13      used in the design, development, production, or oper-  
14      ational employment of unmanned aircraft systems by  
15      Iran, including the following microelectronics:

16                   (A) Microcontrollers.

17                   (B) Voltage regulators.

18                   (C) Digital signal controllers.

19                   (D) GPS modules.

20                   (E) Microprocessors.

21           (2) ELEMENTS.—The strategy under paragraph  
22      (1) shall include, at a minimum, the following ele-  
23      ments:

24                   (A) A process for the Secretary of Com-  
25      merce (in coordination with the Secretaries and

heads specified in paragraph (1)) to proactively identify—

(i) current and emerging technologies used or that may be used by Iran in the design, development, production, or operational employment of unmanned aircraft systems (including critical components thereof);

(ii) United States manufacturers of such technologies; and

(iii) foreign manufacturers and proliferators of such technologies.

(B) A process for the Secretary of Commerce (in coordination with the Secretaries and heads specified in paragraph (1)) to proactively identify third-party distributors and resellers of the technologies specified in subparagraph (A)(i) that, through the use of intermediaries with no or nominal operations or assets, or through other mechanisms, contrive to circumvent export controls for such items with respect to Iran.

(C) A methodology for the Secretary of Commerce to proactively engage the United States manufacturers identified pursuant to the

1 process under subparagraph (A)(ii), to provide  
2 such manufacturers with timely updates to the  
3 list of third-party distributors and resellers  
4 identified pursuant to the process under sub-  
5 paragraph (B).

6 (3) SUBMISSION.—Not later than 60 days after  
7 the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary  
8 of Commerce shall submit to the appropriate con-  
9 gressional committees the strategy under paragraph  
10 (1).

11 (4) FORM.—The report required by subsection  
12 (a)(1) shall be submitted in unclassified form, but  
13 portions of the report described in paragraphs (1)  
14 and (2) may contain a classified annex, so long as  
15 such annex is provided separately from the unclassi-  
16 fied report.

17 (b) DEPARTMENT OF STATE STRATEGY.—

18 (1) STRATEGY REQUIRED.—The Secretary of  
19 State (in coordination with the Secretary of Com-  
20 merce, the Secretary of Defense, and the Director of  
21 National Intelligence) shall develop a strategy to  
22 prevent the export to Iran of technologies from the  
23 United States and allied and partner countries  
24 which are used, or may be used, by Iran in the de-  
25 sign, development, production, or operational em-

1      ployment of unmanned aircraft systems (including  
2      the microelectronics listed in subparagraphs (A)  
3      through (F) of subsection (a)(1))

4            (2) ELEMENTS.—The strategy under paragraph  
5      (1) shall include, at a minimum, the following ele-  
6      ments:

7            (A) A process for the Secretary of State  
8            (in consultation with the relevant Secretaries  
9            and heads specified in paragraph (1)) to  
10          proactively identify foreign manufacturers of  
11          the technologies referred to in such paragraph.

12          (B) A process for the Secretary of State to  
13          engage with any ally or partner of the United  
14          States regarding technologies which have been  
15          incorporated into an unmanned aircraft system  
16          produced by Iran, for the purpose of synchro-  
17          nizing the export control regime of such ally or  
18          partner with the United States export controls  
19          developed by the Secretary of Commerce pursu-  
20          ant to the strategy under subsection (a) with  
21          respect to such technology.

22          (3) SUBMISSION.—Not later than 90 days after  
23          the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary  
24          of State shall submit to the appropriate congres-  
25          sional committees the strategy under paragraph (1).

1           (4) FORM.—The report required by subsection  
2           (b)(1) shall be submitted in unclassified form, but  
3           portions of the report described in paragraphs (1)  
4           and (2) may contain a classified annex, so long as  
5           such annex is provided separately from the unclassi-  
6           fied report.

7           (c) REQUIREMENT FOR SECRETARY OF DEFENSE TO  
8           DEVELOP RANGE OF OPTIONS.—

9           (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 30 days after  
10          the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary  
11          of Defense (in coordination with the Secretary of  
12          State and the Director of National Intelligence) shall  
13          develop a range of options that may be employed by  
14          the Armed Forces of the United States to counter  
15          or otherwise deny Iran the ability to acquire tech-  
16          nologies used, or that may be used, in the design,  
17          development, production, or operational employment  
18          of unmanned aircraft systems by Iran, including the  
19          following technologies:

20                (A) Microcontrollers.

21                (B) Voltage regulators.

22                (C) Digital signal controllers.

23                (D) GPS modules.

24                (E) Microprocessors.

1 (F) Computer Aided Design (CAD) soft-  
2 ware.

3 (G) Computer numerical control machines.

4 (2) BRIEFING.—Not later than 45 days after  
5 the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary  
6 of Defense shall provide to the appropriate congress-  
7 sional committees a briefing on the options devel-  
8 oped under paragraph (1).

9 **SEC. 5. DEFINITIONS.**

10 In this Act:

11 (1) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT-  
12 TEES.—The term “appropriate congressional com-  
13 mittees” means the following:

14 (A) The Committee on Foreign Affairs, the  
15 Committee on Armed Services, and the Perma-  
16 nent Select Committee on Intelligence of the  
17 House of Representatives.

18 (B) The Committee on Foreign Relations,  
19 the Committee on Armed Services, the Com-  
20 mittee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs  
21 and the Permanent Select Committee on Intel-  
22 ligence of the Senate.

23 (2) UNMANNED AIRCRAFT; UNMANNED AIR-  
24 CRAFT SYSTEM.—The terms “unmanned aircraft”  
25 and “unmanned aircraft system” have the meanings

- 1 given those terms in section 130i of title 10, United
- 2 States Code.



The CLERK. H.R. 1809, to require the development of strategies and options to prevent the export to Iran of certain technologies related to unmanned aircraft systems and for other purposes.

Mr. MORAN. Without objection, the first reading is dispensed with and the bill is considered read and open to amendment at any point. Without objection, the Keating Amendment in the nature of a substitute No. 65 circulated to members in advance shall be considered as read and will be treated as original text for purposes of amendment. Is there any discussion of the bill?

Mr. KEATING. Chairman.

Mr. MORAN. I recognize Mr. Keating for 5 minutes.

Mr. KEATING. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'd like to thank Chairman McCaul and Ranking Member Meeks for holding for mark-up today. Twelve days ago, the world witnessed the horror unleashed by Hamas against the State and the people of Israel, almost 50 years to the day after Yom Kippur War.

Israel now finds itself threatened and under attack, this time by terrorists whose very charter is an anti-Semitic attack against the Jewish people. I want to be clear. The United States stands behind Israel in the face of these barbaric attacks and condemns Hamas in the harshest possible terms which we know in no way furthers the cause or represents the Palestinian's right of self-determination fact. It sets it back.

I also want to acknowledge that the attack on October 7th is not a distant tragedy but rather a deeply personal one for those of us who've been impacted in many ways right here in this room, in our many districts, the people that live there that are touched by this and many around the world. As President Biden said, there are moments in this life when the pure unadulterated evil is unleashed in this world. Israelis and the Jewish people suffered one of those moments last week and it's important we act today in this committee and in the future to ensure Israel has the resources it needs to defend itself.

Today, I want to speak briefly in support of H.R. 1809, Block the Use of Transatlantic Technology and Iranian Made Drones Act, which I've offered as an amendment in the nature of a substitute. As we face multiple crises in Israel and in Ukraine, Iran's global malign influence campaign is only growing. For example, we know Iran has been selling unmanned aircraft systems to Russia which have been used in the illegal war in Ukraine.

The White House even released findings that Iran is providing Russia with materials to build a drone manufacturing plant east of Moscow. At the same time, reports have indicated that Hamas and its devastating attack against Israel used drones to disable Israeli communications and surveillance capabilities. We also know that Iran has supported Hamas for decades.

To target Iran's drone program, H.R. 1809 requires the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense and all of government approach to each draft strategies and report to Congress on actions they take to prevent the export of U.S. and European technology to Iran that may be used in drones to attack or allies in Ukraine and Israel. In particular, this bill ensures the subcomponents that are key to the functioning of unmanned aircraft systems like micro-controllers, G.P.S. modules, and micro-



processors are not used in any way, in any aspect of design, developmental, production, or operational so that they cannot be employed in unmanned aircraft systems. The legislation also includes provisions to ensure the Secretary of State is working with allies and partners to synchronize our support on an export control that's necessary to close the loopholes related to the illegal export of U.S. and European technology for use in Iranian drones.

I want to thank Chairman Joe Wilson, Ranking Member Dean Phillips, and Representative Claudia Tenney for being original co-sponsors of this legislation and other bipartisan members who have also co-sponsored this bill. I also want to thank committee leadership for coming together on a bipartisan agreement on this text. Finally, I want to commend the Biden Administration who's working tirelessly on this issue and who have kept Congress informed of their efforts.

Just yesterday, restrictions in the U.N. Security Council in Resolution 2231 constrained Iran's ballistic missile program which had expired. In response, the Biden Administration imposed a series of additional sanctions. And Secretary Blinken released a Statement with 46 other countries recognizing the continued threat posed by the proliferation of missile-related materials, goods, and technology, including those related to unmanned aerial vehicles and the threat that Iran poses on this.

The U.S. and many allies and partners are united in recognition of the threat posed by the Iranian regime. And our multilateral efforts of the State Department are complemented by the passage of this legislation here today in this committee. I firmly believe this legislation furthers U.S. policy toward our allies and Ukraine and Israel, improves our export controls, and punishes Iran for its malign influence campaigns. I strongly urge my colleagues to support this legislation, and I yield back.

Mr. MORAN. The gentleman yields back. Do any other members seek recognition? The ranking member from New York, Mr. Meeks, is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MEEKS. I really appreciate Representative Keating for bring this bill aiming to counter Iran's procurement and production of armed drones. Over the course of several years, Iran has produced advanced micro-electronics, guidance systems, and other technologies necessary to domestically produced drones. Following Russia's invasion of Ukraine, Iran exported significant quantities of these drones to the Russian military.

Iranian origin drones have been used to bombard Ukrainian infrastructure, including residential neighborhoods, hospitals, schools, and day cares. These attacks mirror similar ones conducted by Hamas terrorists which we understand are conducted by the drones Hamas procured from or manufactured with the assistance of Iran. These drones are instrumental to Hamas' onslaught on southern Israel which resulted in the murder of scores of Israeli civilians earlier this month.

In recent months, we've been made aware of the analysis by our own intelligence community as well as outside experts and investigators that found recovered Iranian drones to contain components originating from the United States and European companies. Many Iranian entities are already sanctioned for acquisition of compo-

nents for production of drones as well as their intermediaries. But given the dual use and off the shelf availability and commercial nature of some items, regulation and interdiction is difficult.

This bill requires strategies from the State and Commerce Departments on how they intend to prevent such proliferation from continuing. It also requires the Department of State to develop a related strategy to address proliferation of dual use technology working within foreign government to prevent the export and proliferation to Iran. So again, I thank Mr. Keating and all of the co-sponsors, but Mr. Keating in particular for his leadership of this bill. And I urge all members to support it. And with that, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. MORAN. The ranking member yields back. Do any of the members seek recognition? The gentleman from Minnesota is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I also want to thank Mr. Keating for introducing this important measure along with Mr. Wilson, Ms. Tenney, and me. I'm also proud to co-lead this critical piece of legislation that seeks to prevent the use of American technology in Iranian drones from its support of Russia's brutal war in Ukraine to proxy militia attacks on U.S. personnel in Syria and Iraq.

Iran's development in deployment of drones is a threat to the United States and to our partners. The fact that U.S. materials are being used in Iranian drones that attack American and partner forces and kill Ukrainian civilians is completely unacceptable. I'm pleased that the Biden Administration is undergoing an important review of current policies and practices to ensure that American technology does not find its way into the hands of our adversaries.

I look forward to engaging with them further in its efforts to prevent the proliferation of Iranian drones. I also want to acknowledge that in July of this year, this committee marked up the bipartisan Fight Crime Act which imposes sanctions on those involved in the supply, sale, transfer, or support of Iran's missile and drone program. Unfortunately, U.N. restrictions to constrain Iran's ballistic missile program expired just yesterday.

During this time of tragedy and uncertainty, the U.S. and our partners must continue to counter Iran's destabilizing missile and drone activity, including by enforcing existing sanctions and passing the fight crime act. Congress must act soon. And that also means we need to elect a speaker so that we can use all the tools at our disposal to prevent the proliferation of Iranian missiles and drones to protect Americans both at home and abroad. With that, I yield back.

Mr. MORAN. The gentleman yields back. Do any of the members seek recognition on this matter? There being no further discussion of the bill, the committee will move to consideration of amendments. Do any members wish to offer an amendment?

There being no amendments, I move that the committee report, House Resolution 1809 as amended to the House with a favorable recommendation.

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 motion is agreed to.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Chairman, I request a roll call vote.

Mr. MORAN. A roll call vote has been requested. Pursuant to the chair's previous announcement, this vote will be postponed. The committee will now stand in recess subject to the call of the chair.

[Recess.]

Chairman MCCAUL [presiding]. The committee will come to order.

The committee postponed further proceedings on reporting House Resolution 559 favorably to the House on which the ayes prevailed by voice vote.

The question now occurs on reporting the measure to the House with a favorable recommendation. Now, here's the really hard part and let's hope this works. This will be the first time—I think we're the first committee to use this little device here but it will save a lot of time.

So members will take this test vote. It is just a test vote using the electronic voting system. So I would ask the clerk—well, first you got to turn the on button on. Some members they do not understand that. Turn the on button on. Turn it on. Green yes, red no, present yellow.

And next we're going to use this for the speaker vote if we get anywhere, OK?

[Laughter.]

Chairman MCCAUL. Yes, I nominate Ann Wagner for speaker. All right. So the clerk will open the test vote.

Will the clerk let us know when the clerk is ready?

OK, that's mine. Hey, it's working. Cool.

Mr. ISSA. I assume we're voting yes on the first bill.

Chairman MCCAUL. That's my resolution, yes.

Now, this is again a test vote. Have all members voted? Does any member wish to record or change their test vote? The clerk will close the test vote and report the tally.

The CLERK. So on this vote the ayes are 15, the noes are 10, present is 12.

Chairman MCCAUL. Wow. It worked. OK. Now this is the real vote.

Mr. PHILLIPS. I'd like to challenge the results of that election.

Chairman MCCAUL. Yes, I thought I'd get more yeses on the test vote but whatever. All right.

Committee postponed further proceedings on reporting House Resolution 559 favorably to the House in which the ayes prevailed by voice vote.

The question now occurs on reporting the measure to the House with a favorable recommendation. Members will use—vote using the electronic voting system. This is actually the real vote. The clerk will open the vote.

Mr. ISSA. We are voting on the underlying bill. Is that correct?

Chairman MCCAUL. We're voting on Resolution 559.

Mr. ISSA. What happened to the amendments that are on this thing?

Chairman MCCAUL. There are none. They were withdrawn. The amendments were withdrawn. They were not offered.

Mr. ISSA. This will be a 1-minute vote.

Chairman McCAUL. All right. Have all members voted? Does any member wish to change their votes? Clerk will close the vote and report the tally.

The CLERK. On this vote the ayes are 37. The noes are three.

Chairman McCAUL. Excellent. OK. The ayes have it and the motion is agreed to. Without objection the motion to reconsider laid on the table. Staff is authorized to make any technical and conforming changes.

Next, the committee postponed further proceedings on the roll call vote on Amendment No. 75 offered by Representative Castro to H.R. 2973 on which the noes have prevailed by voice vote.

The question now occurs on agreeing to the amendment. Members will vote using the electronic voting system. The clerk will open the vote.

Chairman McCAUL. OK. Oh, we got a few more present. OK. Have all members voted? Does any member wish to record or change their vote? The clerk will close the vote and report the tally.

The CLERK. On this vote the ayes are 17. The noes are 25.

Chairman McCAUL. The nays have it and the amendment is not agreed to.

OK. I move that the committee report H.R. 2973 as amended to the House with a favorable recommendation.

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 motion is agreed to.

Mrs. WAGNER. Mr. Chairman—Mr. Chairman, I need a recorded vote, please.

Chairman McCAUL. A roll call vote has been requested. Members will vote using our new fancy electronic voting system. Clerk will open the vote.

VOICE. What are we voting on?

Chairman McCAUL. Passage—putting the resolution on the floor.

VOICE. As amended?

Chairman McCAUL. OK. Have all members voted? Does any member wish to record or change their vote? The clerk will close the vote and report the tally.

The CLERK. On this vote the ayes are 42, present is one.

Chairman McCAUL. The ayes have it and without objection the motion to reconsider is laid on the table. Staff is authorized to make any technical and conforming changes.

Next, we have Jacobs Amendment No. 129 to H.R. 5826. Committee postponed further proceedings on the roll call vote on Amendment No. 129 offered by Representative Jacobs on which the noes had prevailed by voice vote.

The question now occurs on agreeing to the amendment. Members will vote using the electronic voting system. The clerk will open the vote.

Have all members voted?

OK. Have all members voted? Mr. Connolly—he needs help. Have all members voted? Does any member wish to record or change their vote?

The clerk will close the vote and report the tally.

The CLERK. On this vote the ayes are 17. The noes are 28.

Chairman McCAUL. The noes have it. The amendment is not agreed to. I move that the committee report H.R. 5826 as amended to the House with a favorable recommendation.

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 motion is agreed to.

VOICE. Mr. Chairman, I ask for a recorded vote.

Chairman McCAUL. Roll call vote has been requested. Members will vote using the electronic voting system. The clerk will open the vote.

Have all members voted? Does any member wish to record or change their vote? The clerk will close the vote and report the tally.

The CLERK. On this vote the ayes are 40. The noes are five.

Chairman McCAUL. The ayes have it. The amendment bill 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 chair—the committee postponed further proceedings on the roll call vote on Amendment No. 128 offered by Representative Jacobs to the Mast Amendment in the nature of a substitute on which the noes have prevailed by voice vote.

The question now occurs on agreeing to the amendment. Members will vote using the electronic voting system. The clerk will open the vote.

Have all members voted? Does any member wish to record or change their vote? The clerk will close the vote and report the tally.

The CLERK. On this vote the ayes are 18. The noes are 27.

Chairman McCAUL. The noes have it and the amendment is not agreed to. The question now occurs on the amendment in the nature of substitute offered by the Representative Mast.

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 amendment in the nature of a substitute is agreed to.

There being no further amendments, I move that the committee report H.R. 340 as amended to the House with a favorable recommendation.

All 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 motion is agreed to. A recorded vote has been requested—roll call vote. Members will vote using the electronic voting system. The clerk will open the vote.

The clerk will close the—I'm sorry. Have all members voted? Mr. Costa, how is your vote recorded? Just press the green button.

[Laughter.]

Chairman McCAUL. OK. The clerk will close the vote and report the tally.

The CLERK. On this vote the ayes are 44. The noes are two.

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.

The committee postponed further proceedings on reporting H.R. 3266 favorable to the House in which the ayes prevailed by voice vote. The question now occurs on reporting the measure to the House with a favorable recommendation. Members will vote using the electronic voting system. The clerk will open the vote.

Have all members voted? Does any member wish to record or change their vote? The clerk will close the vote and report the tally.

The CLERK. On this vote the ayes are 46. 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 or conforming changes.

The committee postponed the vote—postponed further proceedings on the roll call vote on Amendment No. 1 offered by Mr. Castro to H.R. 3774 on which the noes have prevailed by voice vote.

The question now occurs on agreeing to the amendment. Members will vote using the electronic voting system. The clerk will open the vote.

This is the Castro amendment to H.R. 3774.

VOICE. The screen says 4773.

Chairman McCAUL. Well, that's not my fault.

[Laughter.]

Chairman McCAUL. This is to 3774. Yes, that's all right. They work hard. All right. Have all members voted? Does any member wish to record or change their vote? The clerk will close the vote and report the tally.

The CLERK. On this vote the ayes are 16. The noes are 30.

Chairman McCAUL. The noes have it and the amendment is not agreed to. I ask unanimous consent to vacate the record vote on Phillips No. 70 to H.R. 3774 on which the ayes prevailed by voice vote. Without objection so ordered.

The committee postponed further proceedings on the roll call vote on Amendment No. 71 offered by Representative Phillips to H.R. 3774 on which the noes had prevailed by voice vote.

The question now occurs on agreeing to the amendment. Members will use the electronic voting system. The clerk will open the vote.

Seventy-one. This is Amendment No. 71. He vacated 70 and now this should be Amendment No. 71. Will the clerks designate that on the screen?

We're going to revote on Amendment No. 71, which is now on the screen properly. I'm trying to do the best I can. So members will use the electronic voting system. The clerk will open the vote.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Mr. Chairman, did 70—can I just ask did 70 pass?

Chairman McCAUL. I believe it did.

Mr. PHILLIPS. OK. Good.

Chairman McCAUL. Have all members voted? Well, vote. Push the button. Have all members voted? Have all members voted? Does a member wish to record or change their vote? The clerk will close the vote and report the tally.

The CLERK. On this vote the ayes are 21. The noes are 26.

Chairman McCAUL. The noes have it and the amendment is not agreed to.

I move that the committee report H.R. 3774 as amended to the House will be favorable. Recommendation 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 motion is agreed to. A roll call vote has been requested. Members will vote using the electronic system. The clerk will open the vote.

Have all members voted? Does any member wish to record or change their votes? The clerk will close the vote and report the tally.

The CLERK. On this vote the ayes are 40. The noes are seven.

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

Without objection the motion to reconsider laid on the table. Staff is authorized to make any technical conforming changes.

The committee postponed further proceedings on reporting House Resolution 599 favorably to the House on which the ayes prevailed by voice vote.

The question now occurs on reporting the measure to the House with a favorable recommendation. Members will use the electronic voting system. The clerk will open the vote.

Have all members voted? Does any member wish to record or change their vote? The clerk will close the vote and report the tally.

The CLERK. On this vote the ayes are 47. The noes are zero.

Chairman MCCAUL. The ayes have it. The motion is agreed to. Without objection motion to reconsider is laid on the table. Staff is authorized to make any technical and conforming changes.

The committee postponed further proceedings on reporting H.R. 1809 as amended favorably to the House on which the ayes prevailed by voice vote.

The question now occurs on reporting the measure to the House with a favorable recommendation. Members will use the electronic voting system. The clerk will open the vote.

Have all members voted? Does any member wish to record or change their vote? The clerk will close the vote and report the tally.

The CLERK. On this vote the ayes are 47. The noes are zero.

Chairman MCCAUL. Let's get through the vote. Ayes have it. The motion is agreed to. Without objection the motion reconsider is laid on the table. Staff is authorized to make any technical conforming changes.

We are now done with the votes. I do not know—I do not know about you all but that saved a heck of a lot of time.

Mr. STANTON. Mr. Chairman? Mr. Chairman?

Chairman MCCAUL. Mr. Stanton is recognized.

Mr. STANTON. Mr. Chairman, I believe I have had a misunderstanding on the first vote. When you referred to it as a test vote I did not realize we were actually voting on the substance.

I thought we were testing the equipment. I may have voted the wrong way. Am I able to inquire as to how I voted on H. Res. 559, the very first vote?

The CLERK. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Stanton is not recorded.

Mr. STANTON. OK. Am I able to record a vote now as a yes?

Chairman MCCAUL. You can say how you would have voted.

Mr. STANTON. I certainly would have voted yes on that. I apologize for the misunderstanding. I thought it was a—I misunderstood.

VOICE. May I make the same inquiry please?

Chairman MCCAUL. Mr. Keating is recognized.

Mr. KEATING. All right.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent for the record to reflect the following. Our office was notified of this vote at 5:34. The vote started at 5:45. From the Rayburn—I used to be the captain of our track team but I wasn't depending on the elevators and the subway at that time.

So let the record reflect that I would have voted yes on H. Res. 559. I would have voted yes on Castro Amendment No. 75 and I would have voted yes to report H.R. 2973.

Mr. CONNOLLY. Would you yield? Would you yield?

Mr. KEATING. Yes, I yield.

Mr. CONNOLLY. I thank my friend.

Mr. Chairman, I have the same to report. I also was coming from the Rayburn Building and I had been on the track team once. But I would just ask as we move forward it's easier if we set a time as opposed to try to get here as soon as you can and we inadvertently, making every effort, missed three votes.

And like Mr. Keating, I would ask that it be noted that on H. Res. 559 I would have voted yes, on H.R. 2973 I would have voted yes and on the vote to report H.R. 2973 I would have voted yes and on the Castro Amendment 75 I would have voted yes.

Chairman MCCAUL. Yes, and I get you. My understanding was the committee was notified that 5:30 was the time. If there was a breakdown at the staff level my apologies.

Mr. CONNOLLY. I thank the chair.

Chairman MCCAUL. Yes. And Ms. Wild is recognized.

Ms. WILD. Mr. Chairman, may I inquire how my vote was recorded on the first vote, 559?

The CLERK. Mr. Chairman, Representative Wild voted yes.

Ms. WILD. Thank you.

Chairman MCCAUL. Any others?

VOICE. Mr. Chairman?

Chairman MCCAUL. Ms. Dean is recognized.

Ms. DEAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I was not on anybody's track team but I was not able to get here in time. So I would have voted in support of 559 and some other bills. I thank you for this new electronic system. It's fantastic. I just wish I had had a little more time to get here. Thank you, and I yield.

Chairman MCCAUL. Well, thank you. Ms. Titus, do you have a question?

Ms. WILD. Mr. Chairman?

Chairman MCCAUL. This concludes—oh, Ms. Wild?

Ms. WILD. Chairman, completely facetiously, can we use the electronic voting system to determine whether we can go back to our districts this weekend, please. I vote yes.

Chairman MCCAUL. I would vote yes to that but I'm not, you know—

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Chairman? Mr. Chairman? Mr. Chairman?

Chairman MCCAUL. Yes, sir?



Mr. KEATING. Can this be used to vote for Speaker of the House?

Chairman McCAUL. When you weren't here I brought that up.

Mr. KEATING. Oh, all right.

VOICE. Mr. Chairman?

Chairman McCAUL. Yes, sir?

VOICE. Unanimous consent to put the chairman's name in for speakership. But the—on a more germane note I was not on the track star team are on the band but I can send a note on the five votes I believe that I missed and I can tell you just quickly now what they were. I would have voted yes.

Chairman McCAUL. Thank you. Duly noted on the record. You'll now have a chance to vote on the floor.

VOICE. I will vote on them on the floor. Thank you.

Chairman McCAUL. If there are no other members this concludes consideration of the measure 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 6:16 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**

October 17, 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 10:20 a.m. in room 210 of the House Visitor Center. The markup is available by live webcast on the Committee website at <https://foreignaffairs.house.gov/>.

**DATE:** Thursday, October 19, 2023

**TIME:** ~~10:00 a.m.~~  
10:20 a.m.

**LOCATION:** HVC-210

**MARKUP OF:** H.Res. 559, Declaring it is the policy of the United States that a nuclear Islamic Republic of Iran is not acceptable;

H.R. 340, To impose sanctions with respect to foreign support for terrorist organizations, including Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad;

H.R. 3266, To require the Secretary of State to submit annual reports reviewing the curriculum used by the Palestinian Authority, and for other purposes;

H.R. 3774, To impose additional sanctions with respect to the importation or facilitation of the importation of petroleum products from Iran, and for other purposes;

H.R. 5826, To require a report on sanctions under the Robert Levinson Hostage Recovery and Hostage-Taking Accountability Act, and for other purposes;

H.R. 2973, To require the Secretary of Defense to develop, in cooperation with allies and partners in the Middle East, an integrated maritime domain awareness and interdiction capability, and for other purposes;

H.Res. 599, Urging the European Union to designate Hizballah in its entirety as a terrorist organization;

\*\* H.R. 1809, To require the development of strategies and options to prevent the export to Iran of certain technologies related to unmanned aircraft systems, and for other purposes.

\*\*NOTE: Measures added/changed

\*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**  
MINUTES OF FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

Day Thursday Date October 19, 2023 Room HVC-210

Starting Time 1033 Ending Time 1816

Recesses    (1117 to 1347) (    to   ) (    to   ) (    to   ) (    to   )

**Presiding Member(s)**

*Chairman McCaul, Rep. Kim of California, Rep. Barr, Rep. Moran*

*Check all of the following that apply:*

Open Session ☒

Electronically Recorded (taped) ☒

Executive (closed) Session ☐

Stenographic Record ☒

Televised ☒

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

*Attached*

**COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:**

*Attached*

**NON-COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:**

*NA*

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

*Rep. Connolly, Rep. Castro*

**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

Yeas

Nays

Present

Not Voting

*Attached*

TIME SCHEDULED TO RECONVENE \_\_\_\_\_

or

TIME ADJOURNED 1816

*Mag Wagner*

Full Committee Hearing Coordinator

## Committee on Foreign Affairs

118<sup>th</sup> Congress

## ATTENDANCE

Meeting on: Full Committee Markup

Date: October 19, 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. Chertoff-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				

## STATEMENT FOR THE RECORD FROM REPRESENTATIVE CASTRO

Statements for the Record by Rep. Joaquin Castro  
House Committee on Foreign Affairs Markup  
October 19, 2023

Mr. Chairman -- The House Foreign Affairs Committee has a fundamental responsibility to advance sound policy that supports our national security, strengthens our global alliances and partnerships, and meets the needs of the American people. During the October 19 markup, I voted against several measures that represent an ineffective and counterproductive response to the horrifying terrorist attacks against Israel by Hamas. Americans are outraged by the atrocities committed by Hamas, but we must not legislate solely based on that rage. I hope that in the weeks to come, our committee will be able to advance sound bipartisan legislation to help Israel recover and defend itself while supporting the humanitarian needs of the Palestinian people.

There is broad bipartisan consensus that Hamas must be held accountable for the terror it has perpetrated against Israel, and I broadly support sanctions against Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad. However, I'm appalled by the actions of the bill's sponsor, Mr. Mast of Florida, who said during committee debate that he removed a humanitarian exemption from **H.R. 340** because all Palestinians -- including children -- are guilty and should be punished for the crimes of Hamas. I was disappointed to see the Republican majority vote against an amendment that would have reinstated this humanitarian exemption. I cannot and will not support legislation that is intentionally designed to hurt innocent children.

I have been a consistent and vocal critic of Iran's human rights abuses, its support for terrorism, and its destabilizing activities in the region. I voted against **H.R. 3744**, the SHIP Act, would prohibit U.S. companies from doing any business, including transferring goods, at many of the world's biggest ports. The SHIP Act would have a devastating effect on the global economy and on oil prices. I'm disappointed that the Republican majority declined to support my amendment to this bill, which would have required the Government Accountability Office and the president to certify that SHIP Act sanctions would not raise gas prices for American families. My constituents are already facing high inflation and pain at the pump, and I will not vote to make their lives harder.

Over the last several years, I have been deeply involved in efforts to free wrongfully detained Americans around the world, including my own constituent, Paul Rusesabagina. I broadly support the goals of **H.R. 5826**, but I was disappointed to see my Republican colleagues add a provision to this bill that would prohibit U.S. passports from being used to travel to Iran. American citizens should not be prevented from seeing their families because of the actions of Iran's government. I also strongly believe that maintaining connections with the outside world will help open the doors to greater freedom for the people of Iran. If the Republican majority had voted to remove the passport provision, this bill would have better addressed the needs of wrongfully detained Americans and their families.

As the representative for Military City U.S.A., I am proud to support our servicemembers in their work to protect our national security alongside our global partners and allies. I support the goals of **H.R. 2973**, the MARITIME Act, but I have serious concerns that the legislation could entrench our obligation to provide security assistance to nations that simultaneously host Chinese military facilities or cooperate with China on nuclear and ballistic missile research. My amendment -- which was voted down by Republican colleagues on the committee -- would have excluded countries that host Chinese military or security facilities, or countries that cooperate with China on nuclear or ballistic missile technology from MARITIME Act partnerships. I voted present on the MARITIME Act in accordance with these concerns and hope that this legislation can be revised to address these security vulnerabilities before it moves to the floor.

## STATEMENT FOR THE RECORD FROM REPRESENTATIVE CONNOLLY

**Markup**  
**House Foreign Affairs Committee**  
**10:20 AM, Thursday, October 19, 2023**  
**Rep. Gerald E. Connolly**

I would like to thank Chairman McCaul and Ranking Member Meeks for bringing this package of eight measures to this Committee for markup.

These bills and resolutions come at an extremely volatile point following last week's brutal terrorist attack against innocent Israeli citizens. I remain horrified by Hamas' attack on civilians in Israel, and I unequivocally condemn the violence committed by Hamas. I am proud to have co-led an immediate declaration of support for the Israeli people and the victims of violence committed by Hamas. This bipartisan Congressional resolution, H.Res.771, Standing with Israel as it defends itself against the barbaric war launched by Hamas and other terrorists, introduced by Chairman McCaul and Ranking Member Meeks, condemns the terrorist attacks and reaffirms the United States' commitment to Israel's security.

I have worked on issues related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict for over four decades since I served on the staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, where I worked for then-Senator Joseph Biden of Delaware. Israel, led by leaders like Golda Meir and Moshe Dayan, was David fighting Goliath – a young, bold democracy under threats from every direction. Israel has long been America's strongest ally, and our support for Israel's democracy, economic stability, and defense is ironclad.

It is not yet clear what role Iran played, if any, in the planning and execution of this horrific attack, but there is no doubt that there is blood on Tehran's hands. Iran has facilitated enormous destabilization in the region and developed military units in Hamas and Hezbollah. Iranian leadership's statements concerning the slaughter and barbarity in Israel—as well as the deaths occurring in Gaza as a consequence of Israeli military operations—are reprehensible. At the time of the attacks, not a dime of Iran's \$6 billion solely designated for humanitarian relief had been disbursed, and on October 12, 2023, Deputy Secretary of Treasury Wally Adeyemo confirmed that any plans to spend Iran's \$6 billion in frozen funds would be denied for the foreseeable future. The Biden Administration has imposed and enforced comprehensive multilateral sanctions on Iran to deny them access to global markets, and I will continue to support those efforts.

Most Palestinians have lived their entire lives under dire political and economic conditions in Gaza. I look forward to continuing this committee's advocacy for robust funding to Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank. Earlier this year I signed a letter requesting Republican House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman McCaul and Senate Foreign Relations Committee Ranking Member Risch release the hold they placed on \$75 million previously appropriated for food assistance to Palestinian refugees in the West Bank and Gaza administered by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA). And through an amendment I offered to terrorism sanctions legislation, I preserved funding for vaccines for Palestinian children. Supporting the well-being of Palestinians is not only in the interest of those that receive humanitarian assistance; it is in the interest of U.S. national security.

**H.R. 1809, To require the development of strategies and options to prevent the export to Iran of certain technologies related to unmanned aircraft systems, and for other purposes.**

H.R. 1809 is an extremely timely bill to create a comprehensive strategy to prevent Iran from supplying unmanned aircraft systems, also known as UAV's, to Russia, Hamas, or other malign actors. There is a

complex network of third-party transfers that must occur for integrated circuits, which are at times manufactured in the United States to reach Iran for Shahed Drones. The United States must develop a comprehensive strategy to thwart any individual or entity from enabling the supply, sale, or transfer of, or support for, Iran's missiles or drones.

**H.Res. 559, Declaring it is the policy of the United States that a nuclear Islamic Republic of Iran is not acceptable.**

Iran is closer than ever to producing enough fissile material for a nuclear weapon. We must be clear about how this occurred: Iran's advanced nuclear program is a direct result of the Trump Administration's incoherent Iran policy, exemplified by its fateful and reckless decision to withdraw the United States from our own agreement, the Iran nuclear deal. By all accounts, prior to our withdrawal, Iran was in compliance with the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA). It was only after our withdrawal, and re-imposition of sanctions lifted under the agreement, that Iran began to exceed its stockpile of low-enriched uranium, and then resume uranium enrichment. Following the Soleimani strike, Iran then vowed to ignore all restrictions set by the nuclear deal. Trump's "maximum pressure" policy, which alienated allies and made a nuclear-armed Iran more likely, was an abject disaster.

It defies logic that the very same members that advocated for President Trump to withdraw from the JCPOA, now decry Iran's advances in nuclear capability. More than five years after Trump abandoned the Iran Nuclear Deal, Iran is reported to be closer to producing a nuclear weapon today than at any other point in the more than twenty years of their nuclear program. Opponents of the deal have expressed more outrage about the potential for reentering a nuclear deal to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon than Iran being this close a weapon. A nuclear deal with Iran will not stop Iran's other subversive behavior, but it will stop the catastrophic outcome in which the world must deal with a nuclear Iran. I hope that this resolution will allow the committee to recognize the mistakes of the previous administration and prioritize diplomacy as a means to stop Iran from developing a nuclear capability.



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## VOTES



**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS**  
**FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP**  
 118<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS  
 VOTES OF THE COMMITTEE

Date: 10/19/2023

Vote: Castro #1 to HR 3774 ANS

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

Yeas [16] Nays [30]



**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS**  
**FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP**  
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Date: 10/19/2023

Vote: Castro 75 to HR 2973 ANS

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

Yeas [17] Nays [25]



**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS**  
**FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP**  
 118<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS  
 VOTES OF THE COMMITTEE

Date: 10/19/2023

Vote: HR 340 ANS as Amended

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

Yeas [44] Nays [2]



**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS**  
**FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP**  
 118<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS  
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Date: 10/19/2023  
 Vote: HR 1809 ANS

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

Yeas [47] Nays [0]



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Date: 10/19/2023  
 Vote: HR 2973 ANS

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

Yeas [42] Nays [0] Present [1]



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Date: 10/19/2023  
 Vote: HR 3266

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

Yeas [46] Nays [0]



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 VOTES OF THE COMMITTEE

Date: 10/19/2023  
 Vote: HR 3774 ANS

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

Yeas [40] Nays [7]



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Date: 10/19/2023  
 Vote: HR 5826 ANS

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

Yeas [40] Nays [5]





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Date: 10/19/2023  
 Vote: HRes 559

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

Yeas [37] Nays [3]



**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS**  
**FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP**  
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 VOTES OF THE COMMITTEE

Date: 10/19/2023  
 Vote: HRes 599

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

Yeas [47] Nays [0]



**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS**  
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Date: 10/19/2023

Vote: Jacobs #128 to HR 340 ANS

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

Yeas [18] Nays [27]



**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS**  
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Date: 10/19/2023

Vote: Jacobs #129 to HR 5826

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

Yeas [17] Nays [28]



**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS**  
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 118<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS  
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Date: 10/19/2023

Vote: Phillips #71 to HR 3774 ANS

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

Yeas [21] Nays [26]

## MARKUP SUMMARY

### 10/19/2023 Foreign Affairs Markup Summary

The Chair called up the following measures separately:

- [H.Res. 559](#), Declaring it is the policy of the United States that a nuclear Islamic Republic of Iran is not acceptable. (McCaul) (ordered favorably reported to the House, 37Y - 3N)
  - [Jacobs Amendment #1](#) (withdrawn)
- H.R. 2973, To require the Secretary of Defense to develop, in cooperation with allies and partners in the Middle East, an integrated maritime domain awareness and interdiction capability, and for other purposes. (McMorris Rodgers) (ordered favorably reported to the House, as amended, 42Y - 0N - 1P)
  - [Wagner Amendment in the Nature of a Substitute](#) (considered as base text by UC)
  - [Castro Amendment #75](#) (not adopted, 17Y - 25N)
- H.R. 5826, To require a report on sanctions under the Robert Levinson Hostage Recovery and Hostage-Taking Accountability Act, and for other purposes. (Wilson) (ordered favorably reported to the House, as amended, 40Y - 5N)
  - [Wilson Amendment in the Nature of a Substitute #68](#) (considered as base text by UC)
  - [Jacobs Amendment #129](#) (not adopted, 17Y - 28N)
- H.R. 340, To impose sanctions with respect to foreign support for terrorist organizations, including Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad. (Mast) (ordered favorably reported to the House, as amended, 44Y - 2N)
  - [Mast Amendment in the Nature of a Substitute #117](#) (considered as base text by UC)
  - [Mast Amendment in the Nature of a Substitute #117 Revised](#) (adopted, voice vote)
  - [Jacobs Amendment #128](#) to Mast Amendment in the Nature of a Substitute #117 Revised (not adopted, 18Y - 27N)
- [H.R. 3266](#), To require the Secretary of State to submit annual reports reviewing the curriculum used by the Palestinian Authority, and for other purposes. (Sherman) (ordered favorably reported to the House, 46Y - 0N)
- H.R. 3774, To impose additional sanctions with respect to the importation or facilitation of the importation of petroleum products from Iran, and for other purposes. (Lawler) (ordered favorably reported to the House, as amended, 40Y - 7N)
  - [Lawler Amendment in the Nature of a Substitute #91](#) (considered as base text by UC)
  - [Castro Amendment #1](#) (not adopted, 16Y - 30N)
  - [Phillips Amendment #70](#) (passed by voice)
  - [Phillips Amendment #71](#) (not adopted, 21Y - 26N)

- [H.Res. 599](#), Urging the European Union to designate Hizballah in its entirety as a terrorist organization. (Schneider) (ordered favorably reported to the House, 47Y - 0N)
- H.R. 1809, To require the development of strategies and options to prevent the export to Iran of certain technologies related to unmanned aircraft systems, and for other purposes. (Keating) (ordered favorably reported to the House, as amended, 47Y - 0N)
  - [Keating Amendment in the Nature of a Substitute #65](#) (considered as base text by UC)