

NOT VOTING—8

Gonzalez,	Kildee	Posey
Vicente	Kilmer	Pressley
Issa	Meng	Williams (TX)

□ 1354

So the resolution was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

RAISING A QUESTION OF THE PRIVILEGES OF THE HOUSE

Mrs. LUNA. Mr. Speaker, I call up the privileged resolution noticed earlier today.

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

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 521

Whereas the allegation that President Donald Trump colluded with Russia to interfere in the 2016 Presidential election has been revealed as false by numerous in-depth investigations, including the recent report by Special Counsel John Durham, which documents how the conspiracy theory was invented, funded, and spread by President's Trump's political rivals;

Whereas Representative Adam Schiff, who served as ranking minority member and then Chairman of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence of the House of Representatives (the "Intelligence Committee"), occupied positions of extreme trust, affording him access to sensitive intelligence unavailable to most Members of Congress;

Whereas, for years, Representative Schiff abused this trust by alleging he had evidence of collusion that, as is clear from reports by Special Counsel Robert Mueller, Department of Justice Inspector General Michael Horowitz, and Special Counsel Durham, never existed;

Whereas, for years, Representative Schiff has spread false accusations that the Trump campaign colluded with Russia;

Whereas, on March 20, 2017, Representative Schiff perpetuated false allegations from the Steele Dossier accusing numerous Trump associates of colluding with Russia into the Congressional Record;

Whereas, once again abusing his privileged access to classified information, Representative Schiff released a memo justifying the accuracy of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) warrant application on Trump associate Carter Page, of which was later found by Inspector General Horowitz to have 17 major mistakes and omissions, provoking FISA Court Presiding Judge Rosemary Collyer to state unequivocally that the Federal Bureau of Investigation "misled the FISC";

Whereas, as ranking minority member and Chairman of the Intelligence Committee, Representative Schiff behaved dishonestly and dishonorably on many other occasions, including by publicly, falsely denying that his staff communicated with a whistleblower to launch the first impeachment of President Trump;

Whereas, as part of his impeachment efforts, during a hearing on September 26, 2019, Representative Schiff misled the public by reading a false retelling of a phone call between President Trump and Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky;

Whereas, on March 28, 2019, every Republican member of the Intelligence Committee signed a letter calling for Representative Schiff's immediate resignation as Chairman;

Whereas Representative Schiff hindered the ability of the Intelligence Committee to fulfill its oversight responsibilities over the Intelligence Community, an indispensable pillar of our national security; and

Whereas these actions of Representative Schiff misled the American people and brought disrepute upon the House of Representatives: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That—

(1) the House of Representatives censures Adam Schiff, Representative of the 30th Congressional District of California, for misleading the American public and for conduct unbecoming of an elected Member of the House of Representatives;

(2) Representative Adam Schiff will forthwith present himself in the well of the House of Representatives for the pronouncement of censure;

(3) Representative Adam Schiff will be censured with the public reading of this resolution by the Speaker; and

(4) the Committee on Ethics shall conduct an investigation into Representative Adam Schiff's falsehoods, misrepresentations, and abuses of sensitive information.

□ 1400

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The resolution qualifies.

MOTION TO TABLE

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

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

The Clerk read as follows:

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

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

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

RECORDED VOTE

Ms. CLARK of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. This will be a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 208, noes 218, not voting 8, as follows:

[Roll No. 276]

AYES—208

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

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

NOES—218

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

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

NOT VOTING—8

Hinson	Kilmer	Pressley
Issa	Meng	Williams (TX)
Kildee	Posey	

□ 1407

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

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Stated for:

Ms. PRESSLEY. Mr. Speaker, I was unable to physically record my vote on the motion to table H. Res. 521. Had I been present, I would have voted “aye” on rollcall No. 276.

Stated against:

Mrs. HINSON. Mr. Speaker, I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted “no” on rollcall No. 276.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. KILDEE. Mr. Speaker, I was unable to attend votes due to ongoing treatment from my recent cancer diagnosis. Had I been present, I would have voted “nay” on rollcall No. 274, “nay” on rollcall No. 275, and “yea” on rollcall No. 276.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. CRAWFORD). Pursuant to clause 2 of rule IX, the gentlewoman from Florida (Mrs. LUNA) and the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. RASKIN) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentlewoman from Florida.

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

Mr. Speaker, Americans do not trust Congress. From the highest levels of office, an elected Member of this body enabled the fraudulent spending of \$32 million out of the pockets of our American people and threw it down the drain to knowingly chase ghosts, all for political gain.

This man occupied a position of the highest trust and authority.

As Chair of the House Intelligence Committee, Representative SCHIFF launched an all-out political campaign built on baseless distortions against a sitting U.S. President at the expense of every single citizen in this country and the honor of the House of Representatives.

With access to sensitive information unavailable to most Members of Congress, and certainly not accessible to the American people, Representative SCHIFF abused his privileges, claiming to know the truth, while leaving Americans in the dark about this web of lies. These were lies so severe that they altered the course of the country forever: the lie that President Donald Trump

colluded with Russia to steal the 2016 Presidential election revealed to be completely false by numerous investigations, including the Durham report; the lie that the Steele dossier—a folder of falsified and since completely debunked collusion accusations funded by the Democratic Party—had any shred of credibility, yet Representative SCHIFF read it into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as fact; the lies concocted and compiled in a false memo that was used to lie to the FISA court, to precipitate domestic spying on U.S. citizen, Carter Page, violating American civil liberties.

Not only was this an egregious abuse of Representative SCHIFF's privileged access to classified information, but this memo was littered with 17 major mistakes and omissions. The groundless memo violated Carter Page's civil liberties, publicly assassinated his character, and subjected him to multiple, abusive, unlawful investigations.

Representative SCHIFF exploited his position as Chair of the Intel Committee at every opportunity possible, threatening national security, undermining our duly-elected President, and bringing dishonor upon the institution. Perhaps most unforgivable, Representative SCHIFF ripped apart American families across the country with repeated false narratives.

His own political good was served by permanently destroying family relationships and sowing lasting division across our land, which we live with every single day.

The perpetrators of this web of deceit became mainstays on cable news, waking up every morning with one goal: to lie, lie, lie to the American people that there was direct evidence of a Russia collusion.

Despite transcripts from Representative SCHIFF's investigation showing that the Director of National Intelligence, former Obama Attorney General, former Deputy Attorney General, and FBI Director, to name a few, went on record telling Representative SCHIFF's committee that there was no direct evidence for his criminal conspiracy, yet to this day, Representative SCHIFF actively fundraises off of his exploitation of Americans, as if robbing them from the truth and \$32 million in taxpayer dollars is not enough.

□ 1415

Can anyone in this Chamber comprehend this list of crimes and yet somehow believe there should not be an answer for it?

This is not a partisan act. This is not a conservative versus liberal vote. This is a clear vote between right and wrong, and I urge my colleagues to do the right thing.

I will end with repeating what I started with. The American people do not trust Congress. The cyclical pattern of lies has worn down the credibility of every institution and every official in the United States Government. You see it. I see it.

If we run away from this opportunity to hold this man accountable, there is only one fault and that is of ourselves. We will betray the people who trusted us and sent us here to do the right thing. We will be responsible for the end of any shred of justice in this body. We will reject the duty that we swore an oath to protect upon taking office.

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

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

Today, we meet not to lower the costs of prescription drugs, nor to expand President Biden's infrastructure plan, nor to protect the voting rights of the people, nor to protect the healthcare choices of women across America because we know they are definitely not interested in that. No, we meet, rather, for another stop on the GOP's endless revenge tour against Democrats who dared to tell the truth about Donald Trump and his repeated sellouts and betrayals of the American people over the last 6 years.

It is all about Donald Trump tightening his stranglehold over Republicans for the 2024 campaign and driving out anyone who dares to think for himself or herself.

Don't take my word for it. Just read Friday's statement by the twice-impeached inciter of insurrection, sexual abuser, defamer of women, and indicted pilferer of national security secrets, war plans, and top-secret classified documents himself. On Friday, Trump posted this order to his followers in this unveiled threat to anyone who would dare to defy his control over the GOP: “Any Republican voting against [ADAM SCHIFF's] censure, or worse, should immediately be primaried.”

The Luna resolution is a weapon of mass distraction from Trump's indictment by a Florida grand jury on 37 Federal charges relating to obstruction and unlawful retention of defense information for storing dozens of classified, secret, and top-secret documents at his Florida resort in his bathroom, his bedroom, and beyond, and then refusing repeatedly for more than a year to return any of these official documents to the National Archives and the FBI.

It is amazing to me that they have to change the subject from one of Donald Trump's current offenses against America to one of his older offenses, welcoming Russian interference in the 2016 Presidential campaign.

Russia repeatedly intervened in the 2016 campaign to help Donald Trump, and that is not a matter of opinion. That is a question of direct, positive fact.

Special Counsel Robert Mueller, the former FBI Director whose report is cited authoritatively by Mrs. LUNA, found right at the beginning of his report that “the Russian Government interfered in the 2016 Presidential election in sweeping and systematic fashion.”

Here is what the CIA, the FBI, the NSA, and the Office of the Director of

the National Intelligence found in 2017: "Russian President Vladimir Putin ordered an influence campaign in 2016 aimed at the U.S. Presidential election."

The Mueller investigation and the Moscow Project documented more than 250 episodes of collaboration and meetings between Russia and the Trump campaign, including Paul Manafort's repeated passing of campaign secrets, such as polling data, to Konstantin Kilimnik, a Russian agent, and the infamous meeting on June 9, 2016, at Trump Tower led by Donald Trump, Jr., Jared Kushner, and Russian lawyer Natalia Veselnitskaya.

Senator MARCO RUBIO, the Florida Republican, stated that the U.S. Senate bipartisan Select Committee on Intelligence "found irrefutable evidence of Russian meddling" in the American campaign.

The Mueller report, if you read it, makes no pronouncement on collusion, the punitive crux of the distinguished gentlewoman's complaint, because, as Mueller writes, "collusion" is not a legal offense or a legal concept.

The whole question of Trump's collusion with Russia is in the realm of opinion, and most Americans would see a lot of collusive activity, all the way up to the present day when Donald Trump refuses even to take the side of the Ukrainian people against Vladimir Putin's filthy, bloody, imperialist invasion of their country, which has been filled with lies, atrocities, and war crimes.

In any event, we don't censure Members over a difference of opinion.

Mr. Speaker, we are seeing the complete ethical collapse of a once-great political party. The Republican Party began as a pro-freedom, antiracist, pro-immigrant, anti-Know-Nothing party. It has become an authoritarian cult of personality taking orders from an inciter of insurrection, bully, and braggart whose rage toward Mike Pence and whose spectacular disrespect for the rule of law endangered not only our entire constitutional order but everyone in this room. The party of Lincoln and his Lincolmites has become the party of LUNA and her LUNA followers.

Today's madcap antics are an obvious deflection from Trump's deepening legal troubles. His allegedly criminal conduct in pilfering, hoarding, and refusing to return national security documents has caused his own Attorney General, William Barr, to say that: "Trump's conduct is indefensible. . . . He is not a victim here. He was totally wrong." And, "There is no excuse for what he did here."

Yesterday, Representative BOEBERT offered a resolution of impeachment against President Biden. The GOP simply has no ideas for our economy, no ideas for our country, and no ideas for our people but is on an embarrassing revenge tour on behalf of Donald Trump, who treats them like a ventriloquist dummy.

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

Mrs. LUNA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. OGLES).

Mr. OGLES. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague and dear friend, Congresswoman LUNA, for leading the charge to hold our Democrat counterparts responsible for their gross misuse of power.

ADAM SCHIFF abused his power as chairman of the House Intelligence Committee to create false narratives that were sold to the American people about President Trump. The Mueller report and Durham report both proved that the basis for the so-called Russian collusion investigation was nonexistent.

The Representative from California misled the American people and compromised the interests of the United States of America in service of defeating, persecuting, attacking, and defaming President Donald Trump.

Mr. Speaker, he was hasty, prejudiced, and wrong. It is clear he was concerned for no one but himself and the advancement of the Democratic Party's political agenda. Now, \$32 million later, the American people are left with lies and the obligation to pick up the tab for this boondoggle of a political witch hunt.

The Representative from California prioritized personal political gain over the interests of our Nation, and he more than deserves to be censured by the people's House.

The Democratic Party has allowed an invasion on our southern border where every small town in America is now a border town. Every one of us knows someone who has been poisoned or overdosed because of fentanyl. Illegals are raping and killing people across our country. What do they do? They claim to have a solution, and they have none.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from California (Mr. SCHIFF).

Mr. SCHIFF. Mr. Speaker, to my Republican colleagues who introduced this resolution, I thank you. You honor me with your enmity. You flatter me with this falsehood.

You, who are the authors of a big lie about the last election, must condemn the truth-tellers, and I stand proudly before you. Your words tell me that I have been effective in the defense of our democracy, and I am grateful.

Yet, this false and defamatory resolution comes at a considerable cost to the country and to the Congress. At a moment when many millions of people in our home State of California are unable to find a place to live or afford a place to live, Speaker MCCARTHY chooses to occupy the resources of Congress for 2 straight weeks on this hollow sop to the MAGA crowd. He offers nothing to those who are homeless or addicted to opioids, or to millions of college students mired in debt, but this paltry distraction.

Donald Trump is under indictment for actions that jeopardize our national

security, and MCCARTHY would spend the Nation's time on petty political payback, thinking he can censure or fine Trump's opposition into submission.

But I will not yield, not one inch.

The cost of the Speaker's delinquency is high, but the cost to Congress of this frivolous and yet dangerous resolution may be even higher, as it represents another serious abuse of power.

Donald Trump has threatened that any of you who defy him and vote against this partisan resolution will be met by a primary challenge.

He calls for my imprisonment. If a transient majority can punish and attempt to silence Members who hold a corrupt President to account, there is no telling what further corruption of office will follow.

I say this to Speaker MCCARTHY and others who wish to gratify Donald Trump with this act of subservience or bend to his demands: Try as you might to expel me from Congress or silence me with a \$16 million fine, you will not succeed. You might as well make it \$160 million. You will never deter me from doing my duty.

No matter how many false justifications or slanders you level against me, you but indict yourselves. As LIZ CHENEY said: "There will come a day when Donald Trump is gone, but your dishonor will remain."

This resolution attacks me for initiating an investigation into the Trump campaign's solicitation and acceptance of Russian help in the 2016 election, even though the investigation was first led not by me but by a Republican chairman.

It would hold that when you give internal campaign polling data to a Russian intelligence operative while Russian intelligence is helping your campaign, as Trump's campaign chairman did, that you must not call that collusion, though that is its proper name, as the country well knows.

It would fine me for the costs of the critically important Mueller investigation into Trump's misconduct, even though the special counsel was appointed by Trump's own Attorney General.

It would reprimand me over a flawed FISA application, as if I were its author or I were the Director of the FBI, and over flaws only discovered years later and by the inspector general, not Mr. Durham.

In short, it would accuse me of omnipotence, the leader of some vast deep state conspiracy. Of course, it is nonsense.

Here is the real gravamen of my offense: I led the first impeachment of Donald Trump for one of the most egregious Presidential abuses of power in our history, and I led a trial which resulted in the first bipartisan vote to remove a President in history. I would do so again.

I warned that if Trump was not held accountable, he would go on to try to

cheat in even worse ways in the next election, and he did, inciting a violent attack on this very Capitol.

After that, I participated in some of the most important hearings in congressional history, hearings that exposed Donald Trump's incitement of a dangerous insurrection to prevent the peaceful transfer of power.

My colleagues, if there is cause for censure in this House, and there is, it should be directed at those in this body who sought to overturn a free and fair election.

The question, my Republican colleagues, is not why I am the subject of this false resolution for doing my constitutional duty, but why are you not? Why are you not standing beside me, the subject of a similar rebuke for speaking the truth?

Why did you not stand up to Donald Trump? Why did you not reject his immortality? Why did you not condemn his dishonesty?

Why did you not speak out when his horde attacked this Capitol or now when he treats the Nation's secrets with such carelessness, lawlessness, and disdain? Why did you hide from efforts to hold him accountable?

Why were you silent, afraid, unwilling to do your ethical, constitutional duty? Why did you cower? Why did you cower, and why do you still?

Will it be said of you that you lacked the courage to stand up to the most immoral, unlawful, and unethical President in history but consoled yourselves by attacking those who did?

Today, I wear this partisan vote as a badge of honor, knowing that I have lived my oath, knowing that I have done my duty to hold a dangerous and out-of-control President accountable, and knowing that I would do so again in a heartbeat if the circumstances should ever require it.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are reminded to direct their remarks to the Chair and not each other in the second person.

□ 1430

Mrs. LUNA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Illinois (Mrs. MILLER).

Mrs. MILLER of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I thank Mrs. LUNA for leading on this resolution.

Representative SCHIFF used his position as the chairman of the House Intelligence Committee to mislead the American people by falsely claiming that there was classified evidence of Russia colluding with President Trump, which was not true.

The Mueller report and the Durham report make clear that the Russia collusion hoax was a political lie designed to hurt President Trump and mislead the American people.

Representative SCHIFF used the Intelligence Committee to advance a political narrative against his political opponents, which violated the important nonpartisan tradition of the committee.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to join my colleagues today in holding Representative SCHIFF accountable for his actions because the American people deserve justice.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. AGUILAR), the chairman of the Democratic Caucus and a former member of the January 6th Select Committee.

Mr. AGUILAR. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong opposition to the resolution.

It is shameful that the temporary Republican majority continue to waste the American people's time with baseless accusations and rightwing conspiracy theories.

Instead of joining House Democrats to address the gun violence epidemic, we are forced to debate on gas stoves and partisan grudges. This resolution today is motivated by the same groups and individuals who to this day promote the lie that the 2020 election was stolen—a lie that ADAM SCHIFF stood up to time and time again.

I have had the privilege of serving alongside ADAM in the California delegation and the January 6th Committee. He has never shied away from taking on the toughest fights, and he is not going to be intimidated by anyone, including the former President or his allies.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to stand with the gentleman from California today, and I urge my colleagues to join me in opposition to this resolution.

Mrs. LUNA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. LANGWORTHY).

Mr. LANGWORTHY. Mr. Speaker, in this body we are privileged to serve our districts and do right by the American people. We have been entrusted with a tremendous responsibility that shapes the future of our Nation.

First and foremost, we must remember that we are not here to serve our own interests or pursue personal agendas.

Unfortunately, one of the most powerful members of the Democratic Caucus, ADAM SCHIFF, abused his role and violated the trust of the American people. As chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, SCHIFF initiated an unfounded investigation into the leftist lies around Russian collusion.

This investigation was predicated on nothing more than political propaganda. The Durham report clearly shows that the Russia hoax was manufactured by the left to divide our Nation and discredit and derail President Trump's agenda.

He not only wasted countless hours of committee work, but he also wasted nearly \$32 million in taxpayer dollars.

SCHIFF repeatedly used the authority he was afforded in his position as chairman to lie to the American people to support his political agenda. Even after the Durham report discredited the Russia hoax, he continued to knowingly lie and peddle this false narrative.

These actions leave a real and lasting stain on this institution. We cannot allow Representative SCHIFF to continue to serve in this body with no consequences for the abuse of his power.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this resolution and to send a clear message to the American people that we will hold Members of Congress accountable.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. JEFFRIES), the minority leader and a member of the first House impeachment team.

Mr. JEFFRIES. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman for yielding and for his leadership.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong opposition to this fake, phony, and fraudulent censure resolution brought against ADAM SCHIFF, the distinguished gentleman from the great State of California.

House Democrats will continue to put people over politics, to fight for lower costs, better-paying jobs, safer communities, defend democracy, fight for freedom, and build an economy that invests and grows the middle class.

This is a do-nothing Republican-controlled Congress, that is why this censure resolution is on the floor today. Extreme MAGA Republicans have no vision, have no plan, and have no agenda to make life better for everyday Americans.

House Democrats will continue to work for the people. Clearly, as this resolution demonstrates, extreme MAGA Republicans work for the twice-impeached, disgraced former President of the United States of America, the insurrectionist in chief, the extreme puppet master, who clearly ordered that this fake, phony, and fraudulent resolution be brought to the floor today after it failed last week.

In fact, the supreme puppet master even threatened the other side of the aisle with primaries if they didn't bend the knee. When he says, "bend the knee," extreme MAGA Republicans say, "how high."

ADAM SCHIFF has done nothing wrong. ADAM SCHIFF is a good man. ADAM SCHIFF has served this country with distinction. ADAM SCHIFF served this country well as a Federal prosecutor, fighting to keep communities safe. ADAM SCHIFF served this country well as the chair of the House Intelligence Committee, investigating people without fear or favor, including those at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue because he believes in the Constitution and his oath of office.

ADAM SCHIFF served his country well as the lead impeachment manager during the first impeachment trial of the former President of the United States, prosecuting his corrupt abuse of power. Yes, ADAM SCHIFF served this country well in the aftermath of the violent insurrection. He pushed back against the big lie told by the puppet master in chief and participated as a prominent member of the January 6th Committee to defend our democracy.

ADAM SCHIFF has done nothing wrong. He has worked hard to do right by the American people. The extreme MAGA Republicans have no vision, no agenda, and no plan to make life better for the American people, so we have this phony, fake, and fraudulent censure resolution.

ADAM SCHIFF will not be silenced. We will not be silenced. House Democrats will not be silenced today. We will not be silenced tomorrow. We will not be silenced next week. We will not be silenced next month. We will not be silenced next year. We will not be silenced this decade. We will not be silenced this century. You will never ever silence us.

We will always do what is right. We will always fight for the Constitution, fight to defend democracy, fight for freedom, expose extremism, and continue America's long, necessary, and majestic march toward a more perfect Union.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to vote "no" against this phony, fake, and fraudulent censure resolution.

Mrs. LUNA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. NORMAN).

Mr. NORMAN. Mr. Speaker, I proudly stand with Congresswoman LUNA to back this censure of a man that has been long overdue. I am glad the galleries are now open where people can see firsthand that you cannot get up in front of Congress or the American people and completely deny the truth and continue to spread falsehoods.

There is no TV that could have been turned on over the last couple of years when you didn't see ADAM SCHIFF being questioned: Where is your evidence on the Russia collusion? Where is it?

He couldn't answer it. It was always coming.

He used his position on the Intel Committee—and for those of you who are listening, it is information we don't get as regular Congresspeople. He used his position on the Intel Committee to spread continuous lies with no facts. How did he do that?

He had access not only to the most sensitive information, he also did not share the access or facts that backed what he was saying. The trusted and sensitive position was abused by Congressman SCHIFF to weave purposeful falsehoods around the Russia collusion.

The Mueller report and the Durham report make clear that the foundations of his investigations were bogus. It showed that the Director of National Intelligence, a former Obama Attorney General, former Deputy Attorney General, and the FBI Director, among others, all told his committee there was no direct evidence of criminal conspiracy. Yet, he kept making the statements that his evidence was coming, and it just never did.

Not only did he spread falsehoods that abused his power, he went after a man, Carter Page, who was completely innocent. Inspector General Horowitz found 17 major mistakes.

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

Mrs. LUNA. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 2 minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. NORMAN. Inspector General Horowitz later found 17 major mistakes and omissions, which provoked the FISA court presiding judge, Rosemary Collyer, to state unequivocally that the FBI misled FISA.

The public smearing of Carter Page as a Russian collaborator, and justification of spurious investigations of him were carried out with Representative SCHIFF's contribution. This is a violation of American civil liberties, and it is the very abuse that should not be warranted in Congress.

All this to spend \$32 million on an investigation that went nowhere. It is an insult to the American people. The American people deserve better.

Mr. Speaker, I appreciate Congresswoman LUNA bringing this up. Words have actions. Just because they continue to say it, does not make it true. That is the case of what ADAM SCHIFF has done.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. QUIGLEY).

Mr. QUIGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I had the honor of serving with the gentleman from California on the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence for 8 years. I had an in-the-ring view of his work.

Obviously, it is not what Mr. SCHIFF did that was wrong, it is what he did so well. That is what bothers the majority. He defended our country from threats, foreign and domestic. He defended the rule of law. He defended our democracy at one of its most critical and pivotal points. He held the ethically and legally challenged former President accountable.

What really gnaws on the majority and what really bothers them is that Mr. SCHIFF was way better than anybody on their team at debate, at leadership, at messaging, and at legal knowledge. He kicked their ass. He was better, he was more effective, and that still bothers them.

They couldn't beat him on the field, so they voted him off. We voted people off committees because they posted threats, not because they can't compete.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are reminded to refrain from profanity in their remarks.

Mrs. LUNA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. GOOD).

Mr. GOOD of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from Florida for her leadership.

Mr. Speaker, I am sorry to report to my friends on the other side that we are not voting today on whether or not to censure President Trump, but one ADAM SCHIFF.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this censure resolution. ADAM SCHIFF has denigrated the office which he holds,

and the standards of this very body. The American people, when they elect their Representatives, place trust in them that they will act with honesty and integrity.

ADAM SCHIFF had access to our Nation's secrets and then intentionally created a web of lies, falsely alleging his tales of foreign interference and Russia collusion. He perpetrated blatant falsehoods, publicly, loudly, and repeatedly to the American people.

□ 1445

How many times did we hear him claim that he had seen evidence of Russian collusion?

He betrayed the trust of the American people. This resolution will censure SCHIFF for his gross abuse of power using his position as chairman of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence to access our Nation's most sensitive information to then mislead the American people and his colleagues here in this Congress.

The other side often speaks of decorum and holding up the integrity of this body. Now it is time for them to put their actions to their words.

Will they continue to support the lies promoted by the Congressman from California, or will they vote in favor of maintaining the integrity of this distinguished body?

I challenge them to vote today for integrity, to vote for truth, and to vote to censure ADAM SCHIFF in this House.

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

Mr. GOLDMAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman from Maryland for yielding.

Boy, is ADAM SCHIFF powerful. He can, at once, be the chairman of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, the special counsel investigating Donald Trump, manage and run the FBI, and be a judge ruling on FISA applications. It is remarkable that he from his perch in Congress can do all of that.

Of course, he didn't do any of that. All he did was properly impeach the President of the United States for his gross abuse of power.

Mr. Speaker, do you want to talk about collusion?

Let me ask my Republican colleagues: If a campaign manager for a campaign is giving internal information to a Russian intelligence agent, is that collusion?

Because that was the once-classified information that is now public and now constitutes collusion. There are so many other issues. There is nothing in this resolution that is true.

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

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 20 seconds to the gentleman.

Mr. GOLDMAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, one of my colleagues said that we will hold Members accountable.

The Republicans are the party of GEORGE SANTOS.

Whom are they holding accountable?

The guy is an alleged and acknowledged liar and indicted, and the Republicans protect him every day.

Mr. Speaker, don't lecture us with your projection and your defense of Donald Trump. It is pathetic, it is beneath you, and it is beneath this body.

Mrs. LUNA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. McCLINTOCK).

Mr. McCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I opposed the original version of this resolution, not to defend Mr. SCHIFF's lies, but to defend the process that exposed those lies. We must never punish speech in this House, only acts. The only way to separate truth from falsehoods or wisdom from folly is free and open debate. We must never impose excessive fines that would effectively replace the constitutional two-thirds vote for expulsion with a simple majority.

This new version removes the fine and focuses instead on specific acts, most particularly the abuse of his position as Intelligence Committee chairman by implying he had access to classified information that did not exist and his placement into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the Steele dossier that he knew or should have known was false.

I hope, however, that we will hereafter return to the principles of due process that the Democrats stripped from our precedents in the last session.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentlewoman from California (Ms. LOFGREN).

Ms. LOFGREN. Mr. Speaker, I could go point by point and prove that the resolution is false, but time is short. I will just say: ADAM tells the truth.

He told the truth when we were managers on the first impeachment that resulted in a bipartisan vote for conviction.

He told the truth when we served on the January 6 Committee and found that the ex-President was the leader of a plot to overturn the Constitution and the electoral vote.

Why is this before us today?

The truth hurts, doesn't it?

I think it is before us today because the ex-President has recently been charged with dozens of felonies.

I am a former chair of the Ethics Committee. This resolution is a departure from what has been the norm in the Congress in terms of censure. Not only does this resolution disgrace the MAGA Republicans who advanced it, but it also disgraces this institution.

Mrs. LUNA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Colorado (Mrs. BOEBERT).

Mrs. BOEBERT. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague, ANNA PAULINA LUNA, for leading on this very important issue.

ADAM SCHIFF is a complete disgrace to our Nation and to our Constitution. He put the American people through 4 years of an endless impeachment hoax that he knew from the beginning was a lie. He represents the worst of perma-

nent Washington, using his position of trust to lie to the American people.

He received intelligence briefings that other Members and the public did not have access to. He used this position of trust to lie and to advance his own partisan agenda. SCHIFF's disgraceful time in Congress has destroyed Americans' faith in our institutions.

Today, I am proud to stand with my colleague and friend from Florida, ANNA PAULINA LUNA, to try to undo some of the damage that ADAM SCHIFF has done by finally holding this crook accountable.

Today, we are saying that enough is enough by censuring him and referring him to the Ethics Committee.

He told the American people that he had proof that the Trump campaign asked the Russians for help in a conspiracy. That was a lie.

He claimed that he was not working with anonymous informants during the impeachment hoax. That was a lie.

Everyone with common sense knew that ADAM SCHIFF was lying all along, including the Director of Intelligence, Obama's former Attorney General, the FBI deputy director, and more. However, ADAM SCHIFF doubled down on his big lie claiming he had a smoking gun proof of a conspiracy, but the only conspiracy going on was his conspiracy to defraud the American people by taking down their duly elected President.

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

Mrs. LUNA. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 2½ minutes to the gentlewoman from Colorado.

Mrs. BOEBERT. When ADAM SCHIFF got caught lying, he did what all liars do and tried to cover the truth even more. He even used his taxpayer-funded staff to ask Twitter to censor journalists fact-checking his lies, but ADAM SCHIFF won't get out of this one by calling in a favor. Today, we are holding him accountable and censuring him for his lies to the American people.

In order to restore the trustworthiness of the House of Representatives, every Member should vote to censure ADAM SCHIFF so that we can speak with one voice to assure the American people that these lies will not be tolerated.

Mr. Speaker, I urge every one of my colleagues with good and decent intention to vote for this resolution.

If ADAM SCHIFF has a shred of human decency left, he would resign from Congress in disgrace. His tombstone should read of his failed career in Congress and should be one word: liar.

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

Mr. HIMES. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Maryland for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I just heard the gentleman from Virginia say that this is not a censure of Donald Trump, and he is right about that, and, boy, is he right about that because there is no behavior—not a discussion of how he

would handle women, not an attack on this Capitol, and not the misuse of classified information—that will ever result in a peep from the Republican majority much less a censure of that behavior. This is a question of standing, Mr. Speaker, amongst other things, if that is what you stand upon.

As my colleagues pointed out, we don't hear anything about a colleague whose entire campaign and entire resume was built on falsehood. Instead, we hear that Russia was a hoax.

Mr. Speaker, I was there. The investigation began by a Republican chairman. All these investigations were predicated on the fact that a Donald Trump foreign policy aide told the Australian ambassador that they were expecting dirt from the Russians.

The most important thing I can say is that I sat next to ADAM SCHIFF for years. He is a man of integrity and dignity. This vote, quite frankly, Mr. Speaker, is a testament to your dignity or lack thereof.

Mrs. LUNA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Georgia (Ms. GREENE).

Ms. GREENE of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, there are a lot of things that happen here in Congress that waste the American people's hard-earned tax dollars, but one of the most outrageous wastes of hard-earned taxpayer dollars has been the Russian collusion hoax led by ADAM SCHIFF.

ADAM SCHIFF lied to American people by leading the fake Russian witch hunt against President Trump. He weaponized the House Intelligence Committee to abuse all principles of due process and perpetuate the lies of Russian collusion, and he did that in the media over and over again.

His committee conducted approximately 53 interviews during its 2017–2018 Russia probe. These transcripts from the Director of National Intelligence, former Obama Attorney General, former Deputy Attorney General, and the FBI director, among others, proved that there was zero direct evidence of criminal conspiracy.

He not only refused to release these interview transcripts, but he also continued to peddle lies to the American people that Russia interfered in the elections.

He falsely claimed that Russians offered help, that the campaign accepted help, that the Russians gave help, and that the President made full use of that help when referring to allegations between President Trump and Russia during the 2016 election.

In November 2020, he specifically asked Twitter to take action against spreaders of misinformation by removing content that questioned his baseless claims of Russian collusion. The biggest spreader of misinformation was ADAM SCHIFF.

As we know, the Mueller report determined there was no criminal collusion between the Trump campaign and Russia. Thanks to the Durham report, we know now the entire Russian hoax

was bought and paid for by Hillary Clinton and the DNC.

During the probe, SCHIFF also abused his position on the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence and violated civil liberties by subpoenaing phone records from AT&T and a former Republican colleague on an entirely baseless claim.

His lies and abuse of power continued during the sham. During the Hollywood-produced January 6 Committee witch hunt, he and his staff doctored a text message between Representative JIM JORDAN and former White House Chief of Staff MARK MEADOWS to deliberately manipulate information presented to the American people. What a lie.

He displayed a graphic of a text message which cut a sentence in half—in half—and eliminated the final two paragraphs of a detailed legal summary that were contained in the original text message.

He did this to peddle more lies to the American people and to perpetuate the fake narrative that January 6 was an insurrection, and it was not.

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

Mrs. LUNA. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 1 minute to the gentlewoman.

Ms. GREENE of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, now ADAM SCHIFF is running for Senate in California. California has a lot of things messed up, and California is not the model that the United States needs. As a matter of fact, their government policies are atrocious.

So if California decides to send ADAM SCHIFF to the Senate, they will be sending a proven liar, and that is what he is aiming to do. He is raising money off of being a liar and running for Senate.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. SWALWELL).

Mr. SWALWELL. Mr. Speaker, this is not a House floor proceeding. This is a partners meeting of Insurrection, LLC.

I ask them to tell me where ADAM was wrong.

He said at the first impeachment: Can we be confident that Donald Trump will not continue to try to cheat this 2020 election?

The answer is: No, we can't.

We can't trust this President to do the right thing, not for 1 minute, and not for one election. He will not change, Mr. Speaker, and you know it.

Was he wrong when that President aimed and sent a mob into this Chamber and made all of us leave?

Was he wrong when he said that Donald Trump has betrayed our national security and will do so again? Was he wrong when he said that Donald Trump stole and shared classified information?

Was he wrong when he said that?

□ 1500

Maybe he was wrong when he said to the country, you are decent. Donald Trump is not who you are.

I ask my colleagues: Are you as indecent as Donald Trump? Will you be remembered as footnotes and foot soldiers in history's books that chronicle Donald Trump's corruption, or will you be as decent as ADAM SCHIFF?

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

Mrs. LUNA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLS).

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in favor of H. Res. 521 to censure and condemn Congressman ADAM SCHIFF.

The bottom line is this: Congressman SCHIFF utilized his position and hid behind classifications to mislead the American people.

He abused his congressional authority and security clearance to push his own party's political agenda. This was not meant to be an unbiased jurisdiction of change; this was meant to be a political witch hunt.

When Members are appointed to the select committees on intelligence, they are trusted with privileged information. Other Members of the House are taking them for their word.

As someone who has worked within the intelligence community, I can tell you that our classifications that were available to take and read is not to be abused for our own ulterior motives.

I hope my colleagues will join Congresswoman LUNA to censure and hold Congressman SCHIFF accountable and to put an end to the waste, fraud, abuse, and the gross neglect in how we take advantage of the American people.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I just want to observe that there are dozens of Members on our side who have come to stand with Mr. SCHIFF, and it appears to have been evacuated on the other side. There is nobody standing with the Luna resolution.

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

Ms. GARCIA of Texas. Mr. Speaker, ADAM SCHIFF is tough. ADAM SCHIFF is smart. ADAM SCHIFF gets the job done. ADAM SCHIFF holds the powerful accountable.

That is exactly why we are here today. Extreme MAGA Republicans are trying to punish our colleague for doing his job, holding the twice-impeached, twice-indicted former President accountable.

The MAGA wing of the Republican Party can't stop ADAM. My friend ADAM SCHIFF will always fight to defend our democracy. He will always do what is right.

Trump's pals in Congress can create whole committees to defend him. They can try threatening outrageous fines. They can try to outright waste all of our time trying to prop up a man that has threatened our democracy over and over again.

It is no surprise that former President Donald Trump was in a Miami courthouse last week, and we are here today discussing this topic.

Mr. Speaker, we have to stop enabling this nonsense. When the whole House entertains conspiracy theories, nonsense, and political vendettas, it is the entire GOP that is responsible.

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

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Pennsylvania (Ms. DEAN), a member of the second House impeachment team.

Ms. DEAN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in opposition to H. Res. 521 because this is not a serious resolution.

This is political theater by the author, who clearly was not here, to distract from Donald Trump's history of transgressions and now indictments. It is also an attempt to punish Congressman ADAM SCHIFF for effectively holding Trump to account.

Congressman SCHIFF protected us from fascism at home and abroad. First, on the so-called perfect call, Donald Trump withheld a meeting and crucial weapons from President Zelenskyy to protect Ukraine from Russia unless they gave him dirt on now-President Joe Biden.

Mr. SCHIFF stepped up as chairman of the Intelligence Committee and eventually as lead manager to defend against executive corruption.

Then, when the former President lost the 2020 election and summoned his supporters to storm this very Capitol, Mr. SCHIFF stood up again on the January 6th Committee to expose the former President's grotesque role.

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

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

Ms. DEAN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I don't know why my colleagues are so intimidated here, but I think it reveals their weakness.

They are intimidated by a bully, and this censure attempt reveals they are also intimidated by a patriot and the truth. Lucky us to serve with ADAM SCHIFF.

Mrs. LUNA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from Wyoming (Ms. HAGEMAN).

Ms. HAGEMAN. Mr. Speaker, I take my duties as Wyoming's lone congressional Representative very seriously, and my obligation to be honest and trustworthy is the foundation of my ability to carry them out.

This privileged resolution isn't about politics. It is about the seriousness of being honest and forthright as a Member of Congress and upholding the oath of office that we all take upon being sworn in.

It is true that the gentleman from California wouldn't be the first Member of Congress to exaggerate or stretch the truth; however, willfully lying about serious issues our country has faced is something entirely different and claiming that a sitting President has committed what amounts to treason is beyond simple hyperbole.

This Member's lies led to the wasting of millions of taxpayer dollars for unnecessary investigations and the deflection of our attention from the most pressing issues at hand to focus on a made-up crisis.

This Member's actions were designed to delegitimize the 2016 election and to hamstring the Trump administration.

For all the talk about not accepting the election results in 2020, perhaps Democrats and the media, which are mostly one and the same, might want to look at their actions in 2016.

To make matters worse, this Representative perpetuated these lies while he was chair of the House Intelligence Committee and consistently implied, if not outright stated, that he had inside information.

In that capacity, he lied about the following:

How the FBI and DOJ obtained and renewed a FISA warrant; that FBI and DOJ officials did not omit material information from the FISA warrant; how the DOJ used the Steele dossier; what was collected by the FISA warrant; the FBI's vetting process for the Steele dossier; that he had an alleged smoking gun showing that President Trump colluded with Russia.

Each of these claims has proven to be false.

The lies have continued. In fact, they have become compulsive, and they continue right through to this very day.

The lies weaken this body, and if left unchecked, threaten the rule of law, our election integrity, and the civil rights of his targets.

The words and actions of this Member were dangerous and untrue—knowingly untrue. There must be a serious consequence for that. Being censured is the least of what he should be subjected to, and I support this resolution.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. MULLIN).

Mr. MULLIN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong opposition to the resolution. This latest stunt reeks of partisan politics and does nothing but advance an extremist agenda. Worst of all, this resolution attacks a great defender of democracy, a Member who is among our best.

There is a legitimate role for censure in this institution, but the majority has debased it and rendered it meaningless in a cheap partisan slap. Shameful.

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

I take a second to thank all of my colleagues from across the aisle who have spoken today for putting themselves on the RECORD defending the Russia collusion hoax, even after the Burisma payments to Hunter Biden and the big guy have been made public. The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is a very useful accountability tool.

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

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, they defend the big lie, they defend the insur-

rection, they defend GEORGE SANTOS, but they attack ADAM SCHIFF.

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

Mr. CARSON. Mr. Speaker, what I do know is that ADAM SCHIFF defended the U.S. Constitution. He led an impartial investigation which followed the facts and led to the first of two impeachments of a former President.

As a senior member of the Intelligence Committee, I have had the honor of working closely with Mr. SCHIFF for years.

He is a man of integrity, and he deeply loves this country like we all do. I urge my colleagues to vote "no" on this dangerous and purely vindictive attempt to silence someone because of his work to hold Donald Trump accountable.

I urge my colleagues not to be fooled by these distractions. Don't ignore the facts. This resolution is a fig leaf to hide the very clear facts about a twice-impeached President, a twice-indicted ex-President who has put our national security at risk.

I urge my colleagues to stop these political games and get back to the business of the American people.

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

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

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, Republicans care more about personal vendettas and sucking up to Trump than about doing what is right for the country.

ADAM SCHIFF has been an incredible Member of Congress. He exposed Trump's lies and corruption, impeached him, and got a bipartisan conviction vote in the Senate. He has passed real and consequential laws that solve real problems and help real people.

What has the sponsor of this censure done? What is Congresswoman LUNA's record? I want her constituents to know in her congressional career, five of the six legislative items she has ever introduced are about ADAM SCHIFF. Doesn't she have anything better to do—like, I don't know, help her district?

This is what is known as lunacy, and it is all about deflection, retaliation, and distraction from Trump's 37 felony charges.

The people who came up with the big lie want to censure ADAM SCHIFF for telling the obvious truth, all so they can defend a three-time loser ex-President who has been indicted more times than he has been elected.

What an embarrassing day for this institution. What an insult to the American people. I urge a "no" vote, and I stand proudly with Congressman SCHIFF.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the ranking member of the Rules Committee for those astute remarks. I note that dozens of Members of our caucus

have come to stand with Mr. SCHIFF today, while the sponsor of this resolution, Mrs. LUNA, appears to be completely isolated over on her side of the aisle.

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

Mrs. LUNA. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume. I remind people that this is on behalf of the American people in restoring order to the House and in an effort to bring back trust, which is something that this institution has lacked for many years.

I am very proud and I own my vote in saying that I will be voting for the censure of ADAM SCHIFF.

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

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. KRISHNAMOORTHY).

Mr. KRISHNAMOORTHY. Mr. Speaker, in reviewing this censure measure, I am reminded of Will Rogers' quip: "I don't make jokes. I just watch the government and report the facts."

This month, despite the pressing needs of the American people, we have spent a week and a half arguing about gas stoves. Next week it will be about toaster ovens.

Today, we are voting on a joke of a measure to censure ADAM SCHIFF, a true public servant and patriot. I urge a strong "no" against this resolution targeting a true American hero.

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

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. CROW), a member of the first impeachment team.

Mr. CROW. Mr. Speaker, here are some facts.

Fact number one, Donald Trump remains one of the greatest dangers to our democracy that we have ever seen, and he is a demagogue.

Fact number two, demagogues don't like people who call them out, who speak the truth, and who pose a threat to their grand designs to destroy our democracy.

Fact number three, I have spent my life serving this country in uniform, out of uniform, and I would be hard-pressed to find somebody who is more committed to democracy, who has more integrity, and who is more committed to the rule of law than ADAM SCHIFF.

I call on my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to reject this absurd proposal, to set yourself free from your servitude of Donald Trump so we can move forward as a country.

Set yourself free. You know the truth, and the truth shall set you free.

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

As a United States Air Force veteran and a proud Mexican-American woman that happens to be almost 8 months pregnant, I say that in regard to integrity, what happened in this country, what happened with the divide that occurred after the fact that the Russia

collusion hoax was pushed down the throats of the American people is not what I would consider integrity.

If we want to talk about these little fun games and comments back and forth, we are not here about Donald Trump. We are not here about January 6. We are here about the former chairman of the Intelligence Committee who used a lie that broke apart this country.

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

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, we are here precisely because of Donald Trump, because he wants this retribution exacted against ADAM SCHIFF for standing up against Donald Trump's lies and assaults on American democracy.

I congratulate the gentlewoman on her forthcoming baby. That is awesome news. I am wondering if she would share some of her time with me because I have started to run out of time, and she has no speakers over on her side, so consider that.

In the meantime, I recognize for 1 minute the gentlewoman from Colorado (Ms. DEGETTE). I recognize for 1 minute the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. NEGUSE).

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. THOMPSON), the chairman of the January 6th Select Committee.

□ 1515

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, with all the challenges our Nation faces today, why are we relitigating the ex-President's first impeachment from 2019?

After a similar resolution failed last week, why are extreme MAGA Republicans hijacking this House yet again by devoting precious floor time to attacking my friend and colleague ADAM SCHIFF?

Maybe it has something to do with the fact that the leader of their party is facing trial on 37 felony counts of conspiracy and mishandling of classified documents. The disgraced ex-President even stored some of the Nation's most sensitive secrets in the bathroom of his Florida club.

These attempts to censure ADAM have been orchestrated to distract, but no one is fooled.

Extreme MAGA Republicans are targeting ADAM because he is everything they wish they could be. He is tough, principled, and effective.

I have stood shoulder to shoulder with ADAM.

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

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 10 seconds to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I am proud of the work we did on January 6. It speaks for itself.

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

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

Ms. SCANLON. Mr. Speaker, I rise to honor the steadfast patriotism and integrity of ADAM SCHIFF. This scurrilous resolution is so dishonest and defamatory that it would justify a lawsuit if it were made anywhere other than the Halls of Congress.

This is pure political revenge and exposes both the depths to which the House Republican majority has sunk and their threat to our constitutional order.

I encourage our colleagues to seriously consider how stunts like this bring dishonor upon this House and to condemn it unequivocally.

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

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. ROBERT GARCIA).

Mr. ROBERT GARCIA of California. Mr. Speaker, this resolution is a joke.

They are trying to smear Congressman SCHIFF for his work to defend our institutions. Meanwhile, the same people who attack ADAM SCHIFF for seeking the truth refuse to take action against a serial and admitted fraudster in their own Conference.

ADAM SCHIFF did not win his elections on false pretenses. He has not been accused of crimes in the U.S., nor has he admitted to crimes in Brazil. Unfortunately, not all my House colleagues on the Republican side can say the same.

Thirty-five days ago, every House Republican voted to defend GEORGE SANTOS. Instead, they want to censure someone who stands for truth and justice, ADAM SCHIFF.

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

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from California (Mr. SHERMAN).

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. Speaker, today is a proud day for California, but particularly for the San Fernando Valley.

Hundreds of Members of this House did their best to protect America from Donald Trump, but only one did it so well that he is the focus of this ridiculous resolution. He was effective, he was direct, and Donald Trump has demanded that he be attacked.

Mr. Speaker, I thank ADAM for doing his job so well. California is proud, and America is grateful.

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

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. CASTRO).

Mr. CASTRO of Texas. Mr. Speaker, ADAM SCHIFF did his job. That is why they are trying to censure him today.

Mr. Speaker, he held a mirror up to today's Republican Party, and they can't stand the ugliness. Instead, they want to protect the most corrupt, indicted, and perhaps soon-to-be-convicted President of the United States.

We should vote "no" on this censure resolution.

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

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI), the former Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding and for his great presentation today.

Today, we are on the floor of the House where the other side has turned this Chamber where slavery was abolished, where Medicare and Social Security and everything were instituted, into a puppet show.

Do you know what? The puppeteer, Donald Trump, is shining a light on the strings. You look miserable. You look miserable.

The only advantage to all of this is that instead of reversing what we did on the IRA to save the planet or reversing what we did to reduce the cost of prescription drugs, we are wasting time.

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

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

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

Mrs. LUNA. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Again, as I said, this is not about Donald Trump. This is about holding accountable someone who exploited their official position and had access to information that most Members of Congress do not have access to and bringing accountability back to the American people.

Regardless of whatever the gentlewoman from California says or anyone else, you guys are not being honest about the focus of this resolution and this censure. That is exactly why we are here today to debate it out.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentlewoman has the only time remaining.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All time for debate has expired.

Without objection, the previous question is ordered on the resolution.

There was no objection.

The question is on adoption of the resolution.

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

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

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, further proceedings on this question are postponed.

CUSTOM HEALTH OPTION AND INDIVIDUAL CARE EXPENSE ARRANGEMENT ACT

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Madam Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and submit extraneous material on H.R. 3799.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Ms. HAGEMAN). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 524 and rule XVIII, the Chair declares the House in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill, H.R. 3799.

The Chair appoints the gentleman from Arkansas (Mr. CRAWFORD) to preside over the Committee of the Whole.

□ 1524

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 3799) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide for health reimbursement arrangements integrated with individual health insurance coverage, with Mr. CRAWFORD in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIR. Pursuant to the rule, the bill is considered read the first time.

General debate shall be confined to the bill and shall not exceed 80 minutes equally divided among and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Education and the Workforce, or their respective designees, and the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Ways and Means, or their respective designees.

The gentlewoman from North Carolina (Ms. FOXX), the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. SCOTT), the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SMITH), and the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SMITH).

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Chair, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chair, we are here today considering this legislation because we have listened to the American people and are taking action on their behalf.

The Ways and Means Committee has traveled over 5,000 miles to hear directly from working Americans about the impact today's economy has had on them and their communities. Whether it be in a lumber mill in West Virginia or a cattle ranch in Oklahoma, workers, families, farmers, and small businesses have told us the same thing: They need relief from the Biden economy.

The legislation before us today will help make life a little bit easier on small businesses. It allows them to provide more options to their employees

when it comes to health insurance benefits.

The CHOICE Arrangement Act gives small businesses more flexibility to provide health insurance benefits to current and future workers. Introduced by Representative HERN, this legislation codifies a Trump administration rule allowing small businesses to reimburse employees for buying their own health insurance on the individual market.

Washington should not stand in the way of workers getting the healthcare coverage that is best for them and their families. Just as important, workers should be able to take their insurance plan with them if they leave their current job. This bill gives small businesses the opportunity, if they so choose, to shed the administrative burden of managing traditional insurance coverage. At the same time, it gives workers more options for their own healthcare and makes the coverage portable.

Also included in the underlying bill is a provision from Representative TENNEY that ensures small businesses are made aware of the flexible, tax-advantaged insurance coverage options available to them and their employees. We have heard that 70 percent of small businesses are not aware of the various health insurance options out there, such as CHOICE arrangements, qualified small employer health reimbursement arrangements, or the small business healthcare tax credit. This bill would make sure small businesses are notified about the availability and tax benefits of these options so businesses can make more informed decisions about how to support their employees' healthcare choices.

This legislation also includes important provisions to increase access to stop-loss insurance and expand association health plans, which will create more choices for American small businesses to offer health benefits to their workers at lower costs.

Mom-and-pop stores did not set out to be paper pushers and benefit managers, and we should not force them into that role. I urge my colleagues to support this bill to help small businesses support their workforce and let them focus on what they do best: serving their customers and employees.

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

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Chair, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Millions of Americans are finding the security and the peace of mind that comes from having access to a family physician through the Affordable Care Act. If the gentleman has been listening to the American people, he has turned a tin ear to the 16 million Americans that have now enrolled in the marketplaces under the Affordable Care Act.

Republicans, unwilling to accept the success of what they demeaned as ObamaCare, Republicans who failed more than 60 times in this House to re-

peal ObamaCare, who failed three times in the Supreme Court to undermine ObamaCare, have now embarked on a new strategy, which is to circumvent and undermine the invaluable protections of the Affordable Care Act.

□ 1530

With this bill, Republicans are demanding that every individual who gets stuck in one of these newfangled plans that they have is denied protection from having their insurer exclude preexisting conditions, no assurance of coverage for essential medical care, and no assurance of affordability.

I offered an amendment to correct one part of this defective bill to give Americans statutory protection, so they are not back in the old pre-Affordable Care Act period of losing coverage when they needed it most because they had something the insurance company defined as a preexisting condition, but that was rejected.

At the time, they claimed that was their intent, but when you look at the specific statutory language, there is no doubt that the protection for preexisting conditions and essential conditions is excluded from their legislation.

These so-called Individual Coverage Health Reimbursement Arrangements, ICHRAs, are about as convoluted as the name suggests. They are as my grandson, Canyon, would say, they are icky.

Handing people a voucher and telling them to go shop for coverage follows the same ill-conceived Republican approach to sabotage Medicare, which they continue to promote in their latest budget. Instead of giving Medicare beneficiaries guaranteed coverage, they would give seniors a voucher with declining value and tell them to go find coverage.

Instead of the guaranteed, comprehensive coverage workers now receive, this bill would force so many people to find healthcare in a sea of junk, exposing them to misleading marketing and aggressive brokers. An estimated 2 million workers would be immediately impacted by this sorry bill, and with another provision that is in the bill that directs the Treasury Department to go out and promote access to junk plans, we could expect these numbers of impacted workers to increase.

Inevitably, the result is bare-bones, junk insurance that misleads on coverage, has high out-of-pocket costs, and abandons those with preexisting conditions. The policy's fine print takes away all the bold promises of the marketing. Those who need coverage the most will be unable to afford it or receive minimal junk coverage.

In a Nation that is as rich as America, going broke shouldn't be a side effect of trying to get healthcare, but exposing more people to financial ruin is exactly what this kind of legislative approach will achieve.

This misguided scheme suffers, I think, from a form of preexisting condition itself. It is called amnesia, because they forget the conditions that