# CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE

Kustoff LaHood LaLota LaMalfa Lamborn Langworthy Latta LaTurner Lawler Lee (FL) Lesko Letlow Loudermilk Lucas Luetkemeyer Luna Malliotakis Mann Mast McCarthy McCaul McClain McClintock McCormick McHenry Meuser Miller (IL) Miller (OH) Miller (WV) Miller-Meeks Mills Molinaro

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ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE The SPEAKER pro tempore (during the vote). There are 2 minutes remaining.

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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.

Stated against:

Ms. KUSTER. Mr. Speaker, I was not present for one vote during the vote series this afternoon. Had I been present, I would have voted "no" on rollcall No. 332.

## PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. DAVIS of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I missed votes due to a death in the family. Had I been present, I would have voted: "nay" on rollcall No. 331, the motion on ordering the previous question on H. Res. 597; and "nay" on rollcall No. 332, H. Res. 597-rule providing for consideration of H.R. 3941 (Schools Not Shelters Act) and H.R. 3935 (Securing Growth and Robust Leadership in American Aviation Act).

RELATING TO A NATIONAL EMER-GENCY DECLARED ΒY THE PRESIDENT ON OCTOBER 27, 2006

Mr. LAWLER. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the order of the House of July 13, 2023, I call up the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 68) relating to a national emergency declared by the President on October 27, 2006, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the order of the House of July 13, 2023, the joint resolution is considered read.

The text of the joint resolution is as follows:

#### H.J. RES. 68

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, pursuant to section 202 of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622), the national emergency declared by the finding of the President on October 27. 2006, in Executive Order 13413 is hereby terminated.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The joint resolution shall be debatable for 30 minutes equally divided among and controlled by Representative MCCAUL of Texas. Representative MEEKS of New York, and Representative BOEBERT of Colorado, or their respective designees.

The gentleman from New York (Mr. LAWLER), the gentleman from New York (Mr. MEEKS), and the gentlewoman from Colorado (Mrs. BOEBERT) each will control 10 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York (Mr. LAWLER). GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. LAWLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on H.J. Res. 68.

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

There was no objection.

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

I rise in opposition to H.J. Res. 68 and all of this afternoon's privileged resolutions on this matter.

The International Emergency Economic Powers Act created a process by which the President could declare a national emergency, create sanctions authorities for that emergency, and impose those sanctions on the malign actors that are causing the emergency in the first place.

While I agree with my colleagues about the need for congressional oversight and modernization of Presidential emergency powers, I strongly disagree with the process by which they are trying to force change.

The national emergencies we are discussing today provide the legal basis for critical sanctions programs targeting some of the most evil people on Earth. Although some of these authorities were enacted years ago, many of these sanctioned individuals continue to pose a clear and present danger to U.S. national security interests today.

These ill-thought-out joint resolutions, by terminating these national emergencies, would immediately eliminate these sanctions programs without allowing adequate time for Congress or the executive branch to establish an alternative sanctioning authority. It would also unfreeze sanctioned individuals' assets, immediately putting millions of dollars into the hands of some of the world's most dangerous criminals.

Even if a new authority were created, these monsters would not be automatically resanctioned. Each of the hundreds of sanctions designations at issue today was built on strong evidence compiled over months or even years. It is not a switch that can be flipped on or off. More time and a lot more taxpayer money would need to go into redoing the work that has already taken place to renew these sanctions.

Another reason why this is a horrendous idea is that fines collected from violating terrorist-related sanctions largely go toward the Victims of State Sponsored Terrorism Fund, which provides critical compensation for American victims of state-sponsored terrorist attacks. Since the fund was established, it has paid out over \$3 billion to eligible claimants, and by law, 50 percent of these distributions must be paid to 9/11-related claimants. 9/11 was the deadliest terrorist attack worldwide, and the attack has had a huge

July 18, 2023

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Moran

Nehls

Ogles

Owens

Palmer

Pence

Perry

Pfluger

Posey

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Salazar

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Self

Ivey

Moskowitz

Moulton

Mrvan

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Murphy

Norman

impact on the New York community, in particular. Today, we still have cops, firefighters, and first responders, suffering from 9/11-related illnesses. The worst thing that we can do is take money away from 9/11 families and give it right back to terrorists.

Again, while I understand my colleagues' desire to reform the national emergency process, empowering terrorists, corrupt officials, and war criminals is not the answer, and draining the fund that assists victims of terrorist attacks should be a crime in and of itself.

We should address these issues directly through regular order, rather than arbitrarily removing sanctions authorities that are essential to our national security. I urge President Biden to engage with Congress on this, instead of blatantly avoiding the topic.

Now, for the specific matter at hand. I strictly oppose H.J. Res. 68, which would terminate the National Emergency with respect to the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The forced termination of that emergency would lead to the rescission of sanctions and immediate release of millions of dollars to more than 60 currently sanctioned malicious foreign actors, including notorious arms dealer Viktor Bout, Russia's "Merchant of Death," whose freedom Vladimir Putin demanded in exchange for American hostage Brittney Griner. This is the man you would be helping by passing this joint resolution, someone who was convicted of conspiracy to kill American citizens and officials, delivery of antiaircraft missiles, and providing aid to a terrorist organization. It would empower this horrific individual and embolden the Kremlin even further.

Revoking this emergency would also impact our ability to fight the Islamic State affiliate in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Africa already represents the largest growth area of terrorism in the world, and Islamic State and al-Qaida affiliates fuel these groups' global networks.

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This resolution would make it easier for ISIS to use proxies in Africa to finance its terror operations.

Further revoking the national emergency would release currently frozen money to individuals and groups that have perpetrated and profited from the ongoing deadly strife in the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo, groups like the M23 group, the armed militia primarily responsible for that bloody conflict.

In recent months, international pressure on all parties has resulted in less offensive military action and violence in the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo. This resolution could free up funds that groups like M23 would immediately use to purchase advanced weaponry, worsening the humanitarian situation and destabilizing the region.

Mr. Speaker, I urge all of my colleagues to oppose this reckless resolu-

tion, and I reserve the balance of my time.

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

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to H.J. Res. 68. For the next several hours on the House floor, we will not be discussing how to raise wages for the middle class, debating how to create a regulatory framework for next-generation artificial intelligence technology, or strategizing about competing with China in the 21st century. Instead, we will be debating a handful of resolutions that will provide immediate sanctions relief for human rights violators, illicit arms dealers, and terrorists with American blood on their hands.

I am not being hyperbolic, and I am not exaggerating. The resolutions before us terminate emergencies that were declared for the express purpose of sanctioning war criminals.

Given that we have several similar resolutions on the floor, it is worth providing background on how the sanctions process works.

In 1976, Congress passed the National Emergencies Act. This act formalized how the President can declare a normal emergency, enumerated certain powers the President can use during such an emergency, and gave Congress the ability to terminate an emergency via resolution like the one we have before us today.

A year later, Congress built on this framework with the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, often referred to as IEEPA, which further elucidated what actions the President may take to regulate international commerce in such an emergency. IEEPA is the foundation of the modern American sanctions regime.

The benefits of IEEPA are very clear. They allow the President to move quickly to impose sanctions. Though, of course, some time is needed to jump through appropriate and necessary due process hurdles, the President is able to impose sanctions without a particular congressional mandate.

It is my view, likely shared by the sponsor and hopefully many Members of this body, that the power over sanctions has moved too much to the executive branch and too far from Congress. Too often, congressionally mandated sanctions are slow-rolled or minimized while the executive presses on with its preferred targets.

I do not want to diminish the seriousness and the impressive work professionals at the State Department, the Treasury Department, and the National Security Council do on sanctions. They take the work very seriously and apply thoughtful policies with an attentional detail, executing their actions in a careful manner.

Members of Congress should not blithely substitute their judgment about existing national emergencies without conducting a thorough review of the evidence, obtaining extensive briefings from the executive branch,

and gaining a firm understanding of the consequences of a termination.

Moreover, each national emergency is reviewed at least annually. The Bush administration, the Obama administration, the Trump administration, and now the Biden administration all renewed the national emergency this resolution seeks to terminate.

Many national emergencies have been terminated. For instance, President George H.W. Bush terminated the South Africa program after apartheid ended. President Biden terminated the Burundi program not less than 2 years ago.

Let's take a quick look at some of the individuals currently sanctioned under the DRC program. One is Viktor Bout. For decades, Bout flooded the DRC with illegal weapons. He has bragged about his many contacts in financial institutions who have helped him evade sanctions, and Bout likely has significant assets that can easily be unfrozen. If this body votes to terminate the executive order that imposes sanctions on Bout, he stands to gain a windfall of cash within mere minutes.

The DRC program currently places sanctions on ISIS-Congo. That is right, the foreign terrorist organization ISIS. If Congress votes to pass this resolution, ISIS can set up a brokerage account, trade stocks, transfer funds, or keep money in a checking account in the United States of America.

Mr. Speaker, in my humble opinion, ISIS-Congo should not be permitted to do any of the above, and neither should the numerous war criminals currently covered under the Congo emergency.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly oppose H.J. Res. 68, and I implore all of my colleagues to do the same.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of my bill receiving consideration on the House floor that would terminate the national emergency related to the Congo.

National emergencies are supposed to be temporary by definition and limited to 6 months by law unless there is a justifiable reason for an extension. They aren't supposed to linger on for decades with no oversight from Congress or the executive branch.

Clearly, this process is broken for national emergency declarations, and it needs reform. Having been in Washington, D.C., for over 2 years now, I clearly realize nothing gets accomplished here without force.

Today, we are raising the issue of this broken system, and that should be something that Members on both sides of the aisle can all agree with. Congress needs to do its job.

By law, Congress shall meet to consider a vote on a joint resolution to determine whether a national emergency shall be terminated after 6 months. Do you hear that? Congress shall do its job. Then, they should meet again for that same consideration of each extension of any national emergency every 6 months.

Congress has been required by law to consider a joint resolution for the Congo since April 27, 2007, 16 years ago, and 31 more times since.

Shockingly, Congress has never once reviewed the national emergency related to the Congo over that 16-year timeframe, despite the clear language in section 202 of the NEA requiring review every 6 months.

Administration after administration just keeps on unilaterally rubberstamping these extensions without even providing a report or update to Congress on how much taxpayer money is actually being spent. What are they spending it on? What is the need to extend this temporary national emergency authority?

These national emergency declarations have become the deep state's favorite foreign affairs slush fund. There is literally no spending transparency whatsoever out there on the 41 national emergencies currently in place. Congress is allowing the swamp to continue to shift and funnel an unknown amount of taxpayer dollars to an overseas dark hole.

I know that some of my colleagues will argue that some of the national emergencies we are terminating today won't save that much money. If that is the case and we are only sending a couple hundred thousand dollars in aid and munitions to a particular country, then that country no longer meets the definition of a national emergency. If it is tens of millions of dollars or even hundreds of millions of dollars that we are sending to certain countries as a result of these 41 national emergency authorizations, then taxpayers have the right to know these costs, and Congress has a responsibility to provide oversight on these dollars.

The current sanctions in the Congo have also not addressed the real issue that is there, which is the Congo mineral conflict. Nearly 40,000 children are estimated to be mining cobalt with their bare hands in the Democratic Republic of the Congo right now. They are working in unsafe conditions.

This is the real humanitarian crisis taking place in the Congo. If we want to talk about sanctioning anyone for what is going on in the Congo, it should be China, which is exploiting these children and sucking up the Congo cobalt.

Mr. Speaker, I have heard scare tactics that voting for this bill to end Congo's national emergency would unfreeze the assets of Viktor Bout, an arms dealer who was accused of supplying arms to al-Qaida. I encourage everyone on both sides of the aisle to not be tricked into voting against my bill based on this false assertion.

Viktor Bout was never a citizen of the Congo or of the United States, and the current sanctions only apply to United States assets. Viktor Bout is

currently living and running for political office in Russia.

If the U.S. wants to impose further sanctions against him—and I think we probably should—it can do so under the same mechanisms it has imposed more than 2,200 sanctions against Russia in the last year and a half. This is not the only way to sanction a terrorist. We have many other avenues that we can go down, as is seen in these 2,200 sanctions from just the past year and a half.

Mr. Speaker, I agree that Viktor Bout is a threat, so much so that I condemn the President's action and this administration for having traded him for a professional women's basketball player that was locked up for bringing marijuana into Russia.

Mr. Speaker, I have not yet heard a compelling argument to vote against my bill.

Mr. Speaker, I urge adoption of my bill. I urge Congress to actually roll up their sleeves and do the hard work of authorizing stuff like this or putting an end to it, exposing to the American taxpayer exactly where their tax dollars are going and what it is being spent on so we know if we are sending our tax dollars overseas to terrorists with no oversight.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. GOSAR), my colleague.

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Mr. GOSAR. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding.

Is it what I hear? Is it really what I hear, that we are too lazy to do our job? Because that is what I heard.

Every 6 months we are supposed to come here to this floor and ante up in regards to the national emergencies. A national emergency, by its whole name, is temporary and short-lived. It is temporary and short-lived.

I guess that is why I would have to quote Milton Friedman: "Nothing is so permanent as a temporary government program."

Mr. Speaker, that says it all. That says it all.

There is a whole different way of getting to these perpetrators, these bad actors, and we should do that. However, we are rushing through this thing, and all I hear is: Wait a minute, if we take this down, then all these people are going to get off.

That is not what happens. Remember, we are bicameral, so the House will pass something, then it will go to the Senate where most of the time it will die, but at least they might get something right in this case as foreign affairs. They probably will get something right in regards to who the people are and what is the vehicle to do this in.

This is exactly why Senator Church did this in 1976. It was to try to orchestrate how do we put this together, how do we have checks and balances, and how do we make this work for everybody?

This isn't the way. We just saw a COVID national emergency. Today there is not one inventory in that disbursement record—not one, not one—of \$4.8 trillion. That isn't chump change, Mr. Speaker. That is a bunch of money. That is a bunch of money.

So I look at this, and I will tell you, Mr. Speaker, it is time to get rid of these national emergencies. We can do this. We can do it right. We can make everybody look all right.

Mr. LAWLER. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to close, and I reserve the balance of my time.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, we have heard a lot about the forced termination of these emergencies as being reckless and dangerous because it would remove sanction designations from hostile foreign actors.

I agree that the people who are on this list should be sanctioned, but also I see what is reckless and dangerous is continuing to funnel hundreds of millions of dollars to foreign countries, many with bad actors, over a 20-year period with no congressional oversight of how much taxpayer money the deep state is sending out the door.

It is also irresponsible that Congress is ignoring the law and not reviewing these 41 national emergency declarations every 6 months as required by law.

It is also reckless and dangerous that Congress is allowing Joe Biden to have unilateral authority from these national emergency declarations to draft Americans without consent into Active Duty, authorize chemical and biological weapons testing on humans-including Americans-and seize private property of the United States citizens. Joe Biden decided to release and trade Viktor Bout when he still had nearly 15 years on his sentence. We can find another way to sanction him rather than just giving him a free pass, like the other terrorists who are on this list, without going outside of the bounds of Congress' official duties.

Mr. Speaker, I urge adoption of this bill, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. MEEKS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time for the purpose of closing.

Mr. Speaker, I am not going to be long, but I am sitting here scratching my head trying to figure out what the gentlewoman from Colorado is talking about.

This is not money that is taxpayer money that is appropriated by the people. I don't understand. This is money that these criminals, people who commit acts of terror, have. It is money that happens to be in some of our financial institutions that we know about. So we freeze it. They are sanctioned so that they can't get the money to continue the harm and damage to people. She talks about children. Many of them, these individuals, were having child soldiers. They were putting children's lives at risk in war. I don't understand the rationality.

We should sanction ISIS. We should sanction Viktor Bout.

Mr. Speaker, I can't believe that any Member of this august body will vote for this resolution. Every Member should vote against this, and I yield back the balance of my time.

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

Mr. Speaker, I want to reiterate, again, that I appreciate the engagement from my colleagues on these matters, and I would be happy to work with them on ways to modernize IEEPA or increase oversight of the President's authorities, but this is not the way to do it.

Passing this joint resolution would seriously hinder our ability to fight terrorism in Africa and allow criminals like Mr. Bout to operate more efficiently. That absolutely should not be the message that Congress sends.

I hear often from my colleagues about the need for regular order. We had a whole discussion on it as a conference in our rules: regular order. This should be going through the Foreign Affairs Committee to have regular order. By introducing a privileged resolution, this is bypassing regular order. It is bypassing the work that all of us collectively as 435 Members of Congress have to do.

Now, I would remind my colleagues that these declarations are renewed every year by the President, including President Trump, who did it four times. Annual reports come to Congress every year. They come to the Foreign Affairs Committee of which I am a member.

There are no additional spending authorities tied to these national emergency declarations. They cost about \$300,000 a year to administer.

I would remind my colleagues that we cannot sanction American citizens. It is unconstitutional. We are sanctioning foreigners. We can only freeze assets within our jurisdiction. That is the intent of this.

So while I do agree that we need to modernize IEEPA and we need to evaluate any of these declarations, Congress already has the tools to do it through regular order. So let's actually follow the rules that many of my colleagues who are introducing these resolutions demanded, and let's do it the proper way.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. JOYCE of Pennsylvania).

All time for debate has expired.

Pursuant to the order of the House of July 13, 2023, the previous question is ordered.

The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time. The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on passage of the joint resolution.

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

Mrs. BOEBERT. 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 will be postponed.

## RELATING TO A NATIONAL EMER-GENCY DECLARED BY THE PRESIDENT ON FEBRUARY 25, 2011

Mr. LAWLER. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the order of the House of July 13, 2023, I call up the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 70) relating to a national emergency declared by the President on February 25, 2011, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the order of the House of July 13, 2023, the joint resolution is considered read.

The text of the joint resolution is as follows:

#### H.J. RES. 70

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, pursuant to section 202 of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622), the national emergency declared by the finding of the President on February 25, 2011, in Executive Order 13566 is hereby terminated.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The joint resolution shall be debatable for 30 minutes equally divided among and controlled by Representative MCCAUL of Texas, Representative MEEKS of New York, and Representative GOSAR of Arizona, or their respective designees.

The gentleman from New York (Mr. LAWLER), the gentleman from New York (Mr. MEEKS), and the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. GOSAR) each will control 10 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York (Mr. LAWLER).

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

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

H.J. Res. 70 would terminate Executive Order No. 13566, which established a state of emergency in Libya due to Qadhafi's attacks on his own people, a deterioration of security in Libya, and prolonged violence that caused serious destabilization.

This executive order was enacted during the first Libyan civil war, was kept in place throughout the second Libyan civil war, and remains critical now as Libya has yet to make a transition to stable governing.

On each annual renewal of the emergency, President Obama, President Trump, and now President Biden have carefully reviewed the circumstances

in Libya and each time determined that we need to maintain associated sanctions. It is simple to see the issues in Libya are ongoing, and it is not partisan to know sanctions are a key element.

One of the most critical sanctions that would be removed if Congress passed this joint resolution is against Saif Qadhafi, one of Qadhafi's sons, who has well-known links to the Wagner Group and is wanted for murdering Libyan civilians. Sanctions related to Libya are still, to this day, critical to our national security.

In the last 2 years alone, our Libya sanctions have blocked approximately \$18 million from reaching hostile foreign actors. The forced termination of the national emergency regarding Libya would lead to the immediate release of millions of dollars for wanted war criminals backed by the Kremlin, like Saif Al Islam Qadhafi. Again, this money would empower Putin's regime and secure Russia's interests in Libya, a strategically important country along NATO's southern flank.

I also, again, want to mention the importance of the U.S. state-sponsored terrorism fund. There is no question that this money is better served by helping 9/11 families than quite literally financing terrorists. Like most Americans, I remember exactly where I was when I heard the news. I was in my first week of classes as a freshman at Suffern High School.

September 11 had a profound impact on our Nation, but particularly impacted the residents of New York. Thousands of families have faced the repercussions of that day, especially the families of those who worked tirelessly on the pile, trying to find survivors and helping others find closure.

Every September 11, I attend numerous 9/11 ceremonies with the families and our first responders who sacrificed so much, and still today we are adding names to the various monuments of 9/ 11 first responders who are losing their lives to 9/11-related illnesses. These sanctioned moneys are used to help them and their families.

We will never forget that tragedy, and it is abhorrent that any of these resolutions are coming before us today in this manner.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to H.J. Res. 70.

For decades, Muammar Qadhafi ruled Libya with an iron fist and with a corrupt, self-serving economic policy that stunted Libya's development and, through a security state, engaged in international terrorism, including the Lockerbie airline bombing that remains the deadliest event in aviation history.

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For the past 12 years, Libya has seen its share of continuous turmoil and