

fact, it permits many of these companies to funnel even more of their profits into tax havens where their liability in America will end up being zero, and much of their profit will not be taxed anywhere, by anybody.

Whatever happened to making America great?

For Republicans, it is not enough to reward future tax dodging. No. They want to go back and reward tax dodging from the past. And we sure have had plenty of that because, for years, large multinational firms have exploited these island tax havens, setting up artificial offices in the Bahamas or the Caymans to get their tax bill down to little or nothing, leaving working families and those American-oriented businesses, small businesses, large domestic-oriented businesses, to pay the bill for our national security that they decline to pay.

The recent revelations of the Panama Papers and, more recently, the Paradise Papers, have exposed how these companies use these tax laws.

How did the Republicans respond? By granting multinationals with hoards of taxes that they hold in separate accounts they call offshore but sit right there on Wall Street, by letting them pay less than half of what they owe at a rate much lower than most middle-class families pay. It is another Republican myth meant to convince working families to go along with this proposal. Many of these profits come from those companies that claim they are trapped offshore, but it is only the American people who are trapped by this proposal.

Goldman Sachs, itself, has said repatriation is likely to have a limited effect because repatriated earnings are already working here for domestic activities. There is nothing patriotic about repatriation. This is a tax bill borne by the middle class to benefit the wealthy few and these multinationals, to reward them for what they have been doing in the past, and it must be rejected.

#### CONGRATULATING DIRECTOR GLENN COSTIE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Ms. ROSELEHTINEN). The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. TURNER) for 5 minutes.

Mr. TURNER. Madam Speaker, today I rise to thank and honor an integral member of my community, Director Glenn Costie of the Dayton VA Medical Center, and congratulate him on his retirement.

Director Costie turned the Dayton VA into one of the top medical facilities for our veterans in the country. Director Costie's success as a director of the VA Medical Center in Dayton has gained him national recognition. He has been sent throughout the country to save multiple VA medical facilities plagued with issues, particularly including veteran patient backlogs.

Furthermore, Director Costie has worked tirelessly to integrate the Day-

ton VA into our community to serve our veterans in a way that it hadn't in several decades. Director Costie's time at the VA has been dedicated to bettering the lives of our veterans.

I was very honored to work with Director Costie on the issue of bringing creative housing options for Dayton's veterans, a place known as Lyons Place II. We also worked together on the successful campaign to bring the VA National Archives to Dayton.

Director Costie's leadership and expertise will be deeply missed at the Dayton VA. I wish to thank him, give him all the best, and look forward to what he will be doing in his leadership in the future in our community, and I thank him again for everything he has done for Dayton veterans.

#### PAYING TRIBUTE TO AMINA OKUYEVA

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentlewoman from Ohio (Kaptur) for 5 minutes.

Ms. KAPTUR. Madam Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to a freedom fighter, a beloved mother of her embattled country, Ukraine, Amina Okuyeva.

Amina Okuyeva was killed on October 30 in a cowardly act. Hitmen fired on Amina and her husband, Adam Osmayev, from behind bushes as they drove by. Amina was struck in the head. The world lost a brave and beautiful soul, but her loss will not be in vain.

Born in the southern Ukrainian city of Odessa, Amina was a mother, a medical surgeon, a Ukrainian police lieutenant, and a Muslim activist known for her stance on equal rights for men and women in uniform.

She was a born leader. At the start of the Euromaidan movement, Amina joined the peaceful protest in Ukraine in the bitter cold, a protest against repression. To show solidarity, she lived with her husband on the streets in a tent.

When Russia illegally invaded Crimea in eastern Ukraine, Amina was the first woman to join the Kyiv-2 volunteer battalion. She was awarded the Hero of Ukraine Medal to honor her bravery at the battle of Debatesevo in the grizzly fight against Russian aggression.

She fought valiantly towards progress and against oppression. Her bravery symbolizes the extraordinary strength of Ukrainian women as the fountainhead of that society, holding the country together during significant duress.

With her assassination, the world has yet again witnessed how the enemy of democracy will stop at nothing to silence those who stand for freedom and justice. Amina had been a target before due to her unyielding patriotism. A failed attempt occurred in June when an assassin, pretending to be a journalist, shot at her. Tragically, evil persisted, and on Monday, October 30, it succeeded in snuffing out the beauty of

Amina and wounded her husband, but her spirit endures larger than life itself.

Amina is one of many fallen victims to Russia's illegal invasion of Ukraine and its clandestine efforts to snuff out championships of freedom. The list includes Nikolai Andrushchenko, Nikolai Volkov, Denis Voronenkov, and numerous other valiant souls who placed their lives forward in liberty's struggle.

I include in the RECORD an extensive list of lives purged by Kremlin-related assassinations.

#### LIST OF KREMLIN-RELATED ASSASSINATIONS OR ATTACKS

"Two common causes of death for contemporary Russians are heart attacks and falling to one's end from great heights. In some cases, these fatal events actually even have something to do with high cholesterol or tragic mishaps."—journalist Michael Weiss, Daily Beast

2017

April 19—Nikolai Andrushchenko, a 73-year-old Russian journalist who openly criticized President Vladimir Putin's administration died just over a month after he was attacked and beaten by unknown aggressors. The Novy Peterburg founder died in a St. Petersburg hospital from injuries attributed the 9 March 2017 attack. Andrushchenko, a former St. Petersburg city council member, was placed in a medical coma after suffering major blunt trauma to his head, but never recovered.

March 27—Nikolai Volkov, head of the Russian Interior Ministry's construction department was shot dead in Moscow in a residential neighborhood near his home at 10.30pm. A man was seen grabbing Volkov's bag and then shooting him before fleeing. Police, who stated that the body was riddled with bullets, also stated that they believed the motive to be robbery, further suggesting that they did not "believe" that the killing "was directly related" to Volkov's job.

March 23—Denis Voronenkov, 45, Russian politician who fled to Ukraine gunned down outside hotel in Kyiv.

March 21—Nikolai Gorokhov, 53, was thrown/pushed head first from fourth story window. Russian security services claim, "he fell" trying to move a bathtub that was being lifted over a balcony. Experts have replied that when people "fall" from a balcony accidentally, it is almost never headfirst. Unidentified workers were on the balcony. Gorokhov represented Sergei Magnitsky, a fellow Russian lawyer who exposed Russia's largest ever tax fraud. Gorokhov was set to testify in Moscow against investigator in Magnitsky case. He was also consultant for Preet Bharara's anti-Russian mob case in New York. He remains in intensive care, in a coma, with severe head injuries.

March 16—Yevgeny Khamaganov, 35, died in Buryatia from injuries (blunt force head trauma) suffered from when he was attacked on March 10 after reporting on corruption in Siberia.

March 2—Alex Oronov, 69, died of unexplained circumstances, apparently a heart attack. His daughter is married to brother of Michael Cohen, Trump's longtime "consigliere." Ukrainian parliamentarian Andrii Artemenko asked Oronov to set up a meeting in late January with Michael Cohen, where they were joined by former Trump Organization employee Felix Sater, a known mobster and supposed FBI informant. Oronov/Artemenko presented Mr. Cohen with a peace plan for settling territorial disputes between Russia and Ukraine, giving full control of Crimea to Putin, as well as allegedly

compromising information on Petro Poroshenko, that they hoped would force Poroshenko's resignation. Mr. Cohen took their plan and their compromising information and forwarded to then-National Security Advisor Michael Flynn.

February 20—Amb. Vitaly Churkin, 64, Russia's ambassador to the United Nations, died of an apparent heart attack; autopsy proved inconclusive.

February 2—Journalist and opposition politician Vladimir Kara Murza became violently ill and temporarily paralyzed for 2nd time in less than two years due to poisoning. VKM father, in an apparent effort to save his son from Russian authorities, continues to deny that he was poisoned. However, VKM and VKM wife state that it was purposefully effort to poison. VKM wife stated that in 2015 after murder of Nemtsov, a VKM colleague, Russian special services did not want to outright kill her husband with the first poisoning did not want to kill him, only "frighten him and destroy him slowly with illness." However, now they believe they did want to kill him and effort failed since VKM was taken to doctor immediately after showing symptoms. VKM left Russia on Feb. 19 and is now in the U.S. Recently testified at a congressional hearing on the Russian opposition.

January 26—Amb. Alexander Kadakin, 67, Russian envoy to India, died after a short illness. There was nothing "special or extraordinary" about the circumstances that led to his death said his assistant.

January 25—Russian newspaper Kommersant reported the arrests of three men: Sergei Mikhailov, who heads the Center for Information Security, an arm of the Russian intelligence agency FSB; and Ruslan Stoyanov, a senior researcher with Kaspersky Lab, the computer security company. Both men were last seen the first week of December when in a Stalin-style touch, a bag was suddenly thrown over Mikhailov's head during a meeting of fellow intelligence officers, and he was dragged out. Mikhailov has not been seen since. And is now almost certainly dead. Sergei Mikhailov was believed to have been a U.S. intelligence asset within the Russian government. The third arrest was of Dmitry Dokuchayev, a hacker known by the name "Forb."

January 9—Amb. Andrey Malanin, 54, Russian envoy in Greece, was found dead in his apartment in Athens on bedroom floor. Greek police stated that "at first sight" it appears he died suddenly from natural causes. No autopsy was performed, although that is standard procedure when a diplomat dies.

2016

December 26—Oleg Erovinkin, 61, Russian intelligence official found dead in the backseat of his car parked on the streets of Moscow. Russian government agencies have not released an official cause of death. He was a former general in the FSB and served as chief-of-staff to Igor Sechin, the president of state-owned oil giant Rosneft. Russia watchers have speculated that he might have been a source of information in the 35-page dossier that detailed alleged links between the Trump campaign and Russia.

December 20—Amb. Andrey Karlov, 62, Russian ambassador to Turkey, fatally shot in the back in Ankara. The shooter, a Turkish police officer, shouted "do not forget Syria" during the assassination.

December 20—Petr Polshikov, 56, a senior Russian diplomat, was shot to death in his Moscow home. Polshikov's wife came home and found him in their bedroom with a pillow over his face. Underneath the pillow, police found Polshikov with a head wound. Russian Foreign Ministry said Polshikov's

death was likely an accident and had nothing to do with his official government duties.

November 8—Sergei Krivov, 63, Russian official in NYC dies on U.S. Election Day. Krivov worked for the FSB, his cover in the U.S. at the Russian consulate was "security guard." On November 8, NYC police received a 911 call from the Russian consulate. Emergency responders declared him dead at the scene. Krivov had served in the consulate as duty commander involved with security affairs. Russian consular officials first said Krivov fell from the roof. Then, they said he died of a heart attack. The initial police report filed on the day of the incident said Krivov was found "with an unknown trauma to the head." After conducting an autopsy, New York City Medical Examiner ruled that Krivov died from bleeding in the chest area.

August—The World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) announced that Russian runner Yulia Stepanova's online doping management account had been illegally accessed. The doping scandal, for which she blew off the lid, rocked sport and cost over 100 Russians their place at the Rio Games. The Russian runner says she fears for her life and has been forced to move after hackers tried to find her location. Stepanova has been in hiding in the United States with her husband Vitaly, a former Russian anti-doping official, after giving evidence that the Russian government for years facilitated widespread cheating across nearly all Olympic sports.

July—Interfax news agency reported that Aleksandr Poteyev, 64, an intelligence officer accused of defecting and betraying a ring of Russian spies living undercover in American suburbs, had died in the United States. However, the U.S. has not confirmed these reports. Poteyev exposed Anna Chapman and gang of 10, after defecting and entered witness protection.

February 14—Nikita Kamaev, 52, a former executive director of the Russian anti-doping agency died suddenly apparently of a heart attack according to TASS. He planned to write a book on drug use in sports Britain's Sunday Times newspaper reported.

February 3—Vyacheslav Sinev, 52, a former general director, Russian anti-doping agency died suddenly. Official cause of death was never released.

January 14—Grigory Rodchenkov, 58, the director who ran the laboratory that handled testing for thousands of Russian Olympians and who developed a three-drug cocktail of banned substances that he mixed with liquor and provided to dozens of Russian athletes, helping to facilitate one of the most elaborate—and successful—doping ploys in sports history, fled to the U.S., seeking asylum and protective custody. Within the next month, two of his colleagues died.

January 4—Col. Gen. Igor Sergun, 59, the head of the GRU (Russia's military intelligence directorate), who has long done secretive dirty work at the order of the Kremlin in the war against Ukraine died suddenly. No information provided as to cause of death.

2015

December 27—Major General Aleksandr Shushukin, 52, deputy chief of staff of the Russian paratrooper forces and who led the Russian military invasion in Crimea died suddenly. Blood clots to the heart, Kremlin announced.

November 5—Mikhail Lesin, 57, found dead in his Dupont Circle hotel room in Washington DC. A year later, in October 2016, the Washington DC medical examiner's office confirmed that former Russian press minister died of "blunt force trauma to the head" and also suffered injuries to his neck, torso, arms and legs caused by falls, however determined the cause of death to be acci-

dental due to extreme inebriation. Lesin founded the television network Russia Today (RT). The Daily Beast reports that before his death, Lesin was considering making a deal with the FBI to protect himself from corruption charges. Lesin had been at the heart of political life in Russia and would have known a lot about the inner workings of the rich and powerful.

May—Vladimir Kara Marza, opposition journalist, deputy of Open Russia poisoned for the first time.

February—Boris Nemtsov—just hours after urging the public to join a march against Russia's military involvement in Ukraine, Nemtsov was shot four times in the back by an unknown assailant within view of the Kremlin. Putin took "personal control" of the investigation into Nemtsov's murder, but the killer remains at large.

2013

March 23—Billionaire Boris Berezovsky, instrumental in Putin's rise to power, had a falling out with Putin which led to his self-exile in the United Kingdom, where he vowed to bring down the president. Berezovsky was found dead inside a locked bathroom at his home in the United Kingdom, a noose around his neck, in what was at first deemed a suicide. However, the coroner's office could not determine the cause of death.

2012

Alexander Perepilichny, 44, a former member of the Klyuev Group, dropped dead while jogging in his adoptive home of Surrey, England. There was no cause of death stated, but the assumption by the British coroner's initial finding was that nothing looked suspicious, even though Perepilichny was a healthy 44-year-old with no known chronic or debilitating ailments. Then Monique Simmonds, a researcher at the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, hired by the coroner at the behest of Perepilichny's life insurance company, uncovered traces of a rare and toxic plant, gelsemium, in the victim's stomach. Gelsemium, as it turns out, does not grow in the verdant climes of Surrey. It is only found in China, where it is a favored poison of assassins. Russian hitmen, too, have been known to access the flower's quiet, lethal capability. At the time of his death, Perepilichny had been helping the Swiss government locate and freeze chunks of the missing \$230 million, some of which, the U.S. government concluded, wound up in Manhattan real estate and American banks.

2009

November 16—Sergei Magnitsky, anti-corruption attorney died in police custody in Moscow detention center after allegedly being brutally beaten, then denied medical care. He had been working for British-American businessman William Browder to investigate a massive tax fraud case. Magnitsky was allegedly arrested after uncovering evidence suggesting that police officials were behind the fraud.

July 15—Natalya Estemirova was kidnapped outside her home, shot several times—including a point-blank shot in the head—and dumped in the nearby woods. A journalist who investigated abductions and murders that had become commonplace in Chechnya where pro-Russian security forces waged a brutal crackdown against Islamic militants. Like fellow journalist Anna Politkovskaya, Estemirova reported on civilians who often got caught between these two violent forces. Nobody has been convicted of her murder.

January 19—Stanislav Markelov a human rights lawyer known for representing Chechen civilians in human rights cases against the Russian military. He also represented journalists who found themselves in

legal trouble after writing articles critical of Putin, including Novaya Gazeta reporter Anna Politkovskaya, slain in 2006. Markelov was shot by a masked gunman near the Kremlin.

January 19—Anastasia Baburova, a journalist from Novaya Gazeta, was fatally shot as she tried to help Stanislav Markelov. Russian authorities said a neo-Nazi group was behind the killings, and two members were convicted of the deaths.

2008

Semyon Korobeinikov, allegedly a clothing salesman, lost his footing on a balcony and tumbled to his demise. A year later, Korobeinikov was named as the purchaser of Universal Savings Bank, a dubious financial institution that had been fingered by investigators as a way-station for stolen Russian money. Only he didn't buy the bank. It was part of a government ruse to exonerate the true owner, an ex-convict called Dmitry Klyuev, implicated in a series of massive tax frauds that cost Russian citizens \$1 billion. Korobeinikov might have therefore borne witness against Klyuev, if he wasn't conveniently dead.

2006

November 23—Alexander Litvinenko, a former KGB agent, died three weeks after drinking a cup of tea laced with deadly polonium-210 at a London hotel. A British inquiry found that Litvinenko was poisoned by Russian agents Andrei Lugovoi and Dmitry Kovtun, who were acting on orders that had "probably been approved by President Putin." Russia refused to extradite them, and in 2015 the Russian president granted Lugovoi a medal for "services to the motherland." After leaving the Russian Federal Security Service, Litvinenko became a vocal critic of the agency, which was run by Putin, and later blamed the security service for orchestrating a series of apartment bombings in Russia in 1999 that left hundreds dead.

October 7—Anna Politkovskaya, a Russian reporter for Novaya Gazeta whose book, "Putin's Russia," accused the Kremlin leader of turning the country into a police state. She wrote extensively about abuse in Chechnya. She was shot at point-blank range in an elevator in her building.

2004

July 9—Paul Klebnikov, chief editor of the Russian edition of Forbes. He had written about corruption and dug into the lives of wealthy Russians. He was killed in a drive-by shooting in an apparent contract killing.

2003

October—Mikhail Khodorkovsky jailed for ten years.

Sergei Yushenkov, the affable former army colonel, had just registered his Liberal Russia movement as a political party when he was gunned down outside his home in Moscow. Yushenkov was gathering evidence he believed proved that the Putin government was behind one of the apartment bombings in 1999.

July 3—Yuri Shchekochikhin, a Duma deputy, journalist and author who wrote about crime and corruption in the former Soviet Union. He was investigating the 1999 apartment bombings for Novaya Gazeta when he contracted a mysterious illness in July 2003. He died suddenly, a few days before he was supposed to depart for the United States. His medical documents were deemed classified by Russian authorities.

April 17—Sergey Yushenkov, 52, the affable former army colonel, who had just registered his Liberal Russia movement as a political party was gunned down outside his home in Moscow. Yushenkov was gathering evidence he believed proved that the Putin government was behind one of the apartment

bombings in 1999. He was shot three times in the back by a single assailant using a pistol with a silencer, police said. It was the 10th killing of a member of parliament since 1994.

INTERNATIONAL PRESS INSTITUTE FIGURES ON RUSSIAN JOURNALISTS WHO WERE MURDERED OR DIED IN SUSPICIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES

2011—three Russian journalists dead (including newspaper editor Khadzhimurad Kamalov, shot 14 times as he left his office); 2010—two dead; 2009—five dead (including a young reporter from Novaya Gazeta, caught in a hail of bullets); 2008—four dead; 2007—one killed; 2006—two killed, including Anna Politkovskaya, and Yevgeny Gerasimenko—found in his Saratov flat with a plastic bag pulled over his head and computer missing; 2005—two died; 2004—three, including Paul Klebnikov; 2003—three more; 2002—eight editor (including Valery Ivanov, editor, shot in the head); 2001—one; 2000—six dead reporters and editors.

Ms. KAPTUR. Madam Speaker, it is hard for people of goodwill to imagine the depth of depravity that Russia's malevolent dictators will stoop to to serve the narrow, pecuniary, and political interests of the few at the price of the many.

Dr. Timothy Snyder, in his extraordinary book, "Bloodlands," recounts the intergenerational human tragedy wrought by Russian dictators, citing the 14 million civilians, women, children, and families, who were murdered at Russia's hand in eastern and central Europe.

Vladimir Putin is the latest dictator in a long line of them, and, sadly, this dark history from Stalin to Putin continues today. It is instructive that Putin, himself, has written that his grandfather was a trusted cook for Joseph Stalin, working inside the belly of the beast of tyranny.

That is the cocoon from which Russia's Putin has emerged. And now add to those millions of deaths over 10,000 Ukrainian soldiers killed by Russia, with thousands upon tens of thousands more wounded and over 2 million people displaced inside Ukraine, a country that simply wants to be free.

As co-chair of the bipartisan House Congressional Ukrainian Caucus, I can attest our Members are committed to holding Russia accountable for tyrannical and malevolent activity in Ukraine, and even here in the United States.

Madam Speaker, I rise in pursuit of justice for Amina Okuyeva and in solidarity with other freedom fighters in Ukraine. Let her bravery in life serve as an inspiration to us all, and let the international community stand with Ukraine, shoulder to shoulder, as we continue to fight back against Russia's invasion of a sovereign nation fighting for a future free of state-sponsored murder and occupation.

□ 1045

#### GIVE THEM A CHANCE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentlewoman from Missouri (Mrs. HARTZLER) for 5 minutes.

Mrs. HARTZLER. Madam Speaker, I rise today in support of an important bill that could help so many families with loved ones struggling with life-threatening diseases. I am talking about the Right to Try Act which would allow terminally ill patients to request access to experimental drugs after all other available treatment options have been exhausted as well as prevent the Federal Government from interfering with States that have already passed such laws.

While Missouri passed a right-to-try law in 2014, I was reminded of the importance of this bill just last year. As I was returning to my office one morning after votes on the House floor, I was stopped by a little boy, Zack Mongiello, who ran after me to catch my attention. Zack, who is only 11 years old, is one of the most effective advocates for the right-to-try campaign. His father, Frank, was diagnosed with ALS a few years ago.

This devastating disease has an average life expectancy of 2 to 5 years, with half of those diagnosed surviving for only 3 years. Ever since that life-changing diagnosis, Zack's family, including his mother and five siblings, have been doing all they can to ensure passage of this important bill.

When Zack came running up to me that day last year, his message was clear and powerful: "My dad is dying," he said. "Please help." I was incredibly moved by this, as I think anyone would be. Here is his picture. This precious little boy, whose family is dealing with the unimaginable, convinced me and numerous other legislators of the urgency of this legislation. We must act now.

I want Congress to help Zack's family and other families who have no other options. Washington should not stand in the way of Americans with life-ending illnesses who want to try to save themselves and have no other available options.

That is why I am a proud cosponsor of the Right to Try Act and was glad to see the Senate pass their version of this bill. It is now time for the House to act, and I call on my colleagues to support this potentially lifesaving legislation. Please join me so that we can give families like Zack's more options and hopefully more time.

#### IMPEACHMENT PROCESS UPDATE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas (Mr. AL GREEN) for 5 minutes.

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. Madam Speaker, it is always an honor to speak here in the well of the House of the Congress of the United States of America. I do want to compliment you, Madam Speaker. I heard your statements earlier, and I would like to associate myself with the portion of your statement that dealt with transgender persons.

Madam Speaker, I stand before the world today with an impeachment update. I have previously indicated that