

and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. JODY B. HICE) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 3739, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

# EXPRESSING THE SENSE OF THE HOUSE WITH RESPECT TO UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARDS YEMEN

Mr. ROYCE of California. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the order of the House of November 1, 2017, I call up the resolution (H. Res. 599) expressing the sense of the House of Representatives with respect to United States policy towards Yemen, and for other purposes, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The text of the resolution is as follows:

## H. RES. 599

Whereas the United States has longstanding strategic interests in promoting security and stability in the Arabian Peninsula;

Whereas the United States has a strategic partnership with the member states of the Gulf Cooperation Council, including Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates;

Whereas in 2014, after years of violence and insurgency, Iranian-supported Houthi rebels seized the Yemeni capital city of Sana'a, deposing the legitimate, internationally recognized Government of Yemen and further destabilizing Yemen and the region;

Whereas the Saudi-led Arab Coalition launched a military intervention in 2015 against the Houthi-Saleh alliance in response to the deposition of the legitimate Government of Yemen and Houthi-Saleh territorial gains in and around the port of Aden;

Whereas the United States has longstanding strategic interests in Yemen, including ensuring freedom of navigation at the Bab al Mandab strait and countering the threats from Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) and Al-Qaeda franchises, and the Yemen affiliate of the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS);

Whereas al-Qaeda was responsible for the bombing of the USS Cole in Aden, Yemen, in October 2000, which killed 17 United States sailors, and for multiple successful and unsuccessful terrorist attacks internationally;

Whereas in April 2015, the United Nations Security Council adopted United Nations Security Council Resolution 2216 by 14 affirmative votes to none against, with one abstention (by the Russian Federation), imposing sanctions on individuals undermining the stability of Yemen, and demanded that the Houthis withdraw from all areas seized during the latest conflict, relinquish arms seized from military and security institutions, cease all actions falling exclusively within the authority of the legitimate Government of Yemen and fully implement previous Security Council resolutions;

Whereas Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps has transferred increasingly so-

phisticated weapons systems to the Houthis, who have in turn shot missiles into Saudi Arabia from positions in northern Yemen;

Whereas in addition to weapons, Iran is reportedly providing Afghan and Shi'ite Arab specialists to train Houthi units and act as logistical advisers;

Whereas the Iranian-supported Houthis have attacked coalition or coalition-affiliated maritime targets multiple times, an American ship twice, and other shipping, forcing the United States to respond with a combination of diplomacy and calibrated military strikes against three radar facilities in Houthi-controlled territory;

Whereas the United States has participated in intelligence cooperation since 2015 and, pursuant to a cross-servicing agreement, has provided midair refueling services to Saudi-led Arab Coalition warplanes conducting aerial bombings in Yemen against the Houthi-Saleh alliance, Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), and in support of freedom of navigation threatened by Iranian-backed Houthi forces;

Whereas, according to the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, at least 10,000 Yemeni civilians have been killed in this conflict since 2015;

Whereas the Saudi-led Arab Coalition has worked to improve their targeting processes and capabilities aimed at reducing unintended civilian casualties, and convened a Joint Incident Assessment Team to investigate the coalition's adherence to the laws of armed conflict;

Whereas the war in Yemen has contributed to a humanitarian crisis in Yemen, leading to an April 2017 announcement by the World Food Program that Yemen is on the brink of "full-scale famine", with approximately 7,000,000 Yemenis, including 2,200,000 children, being classified as "severely food insecure";

Whereas over 500,000 new cholera cases have been detected in Yemen, and approximately 2,000 people have died from cholera-related issues;

Whereas the United States remains the largest donor of humanitarian assistance in Yemen;

Whereas parties to the conflict continue to obstruct access by journalists and humanitarian organizations seeking to provide assistance;

Whereas according to the Department of State's Country Reports on Terrorism 2016, the conflict between Saudi-led Arab Coalition and the Houthi-Saleh alliance is counterproductive to ongoing efforts by the United States to pursue Al Qaeda and its associated forces;

Whereas according to the intelligence community's (as such term is defined in section 3(4) of the National Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 3003(4))) 2017 Worldwide Threat Assessment, "AQAP and ISIS's branch in Yemen have exploited the conflict and the collapse of government authority to gain new recruits and allies and expand their influence"; and

Whereas to date, Congress has not enacted specific legislation authorizing the use of military force against parties participating in the Yemeni civil war that are not otherwise subject to the Authorization of Use of Military Force (Public Law 107-40) or the Authorization of Use of Military Force in Iraq (Public Law 107-243); Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the House of Representatives—

(1) expresses the urgent need for a political solution in Yemen consistent with United Nations Security Council Resolution 2216 (UNSCR 2216), or otherwise agreed to by the parties;

(2) denounces the conduct of activities in Yemen and areas affected by the conflict

that are, directly or indirectly, inconsistent with the laws of armed conflict, including the deliberate targeting of civilian populations or the use of civilians as human shields;

(3) calls on all parties to the conflict to increase efforts to adopt all necessary and appropriate measures to prevent civilian casualties and to increase humanitarian access;

(4) supports the Saudi-led Arab Coalition's commitments to abide by their no-strike list and restricted target list and improve their targeting capabilities;

(5) condemns Iranian activities in Yemen in violation of UNSCR 2216, and calls on all responsible countries to take appropriate and necessary measures against the Government of Iran, including the interdiction of Iranian weapons to the Houthis, and the bilateral and multilateral application of sanctions against Iran for its violations of UNSCR 2216;

(6) encourages other governments to join in providing the resources necessary to address the humanitarian crisis; and

(7) calls on all parties to the conflict to allow for unobstructed access for humanitarian organizations, human rights investigators, medical relief personnel, and journalists.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the order of the House of Wednesday, November 1, 2017, the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE) and the gentleman from California (Mr. KHANNA) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE).

## GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. ROYCE of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks, and to include extraneous material in the RECORD on the resolution.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. ROYCE of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I want to thank my colleagues on both sides of the aisle, including the gentleman from California (Mr. KHANNA), for working in good faith toward achieving a resolution that productively addresses a very complex issue and a very serious issue, namely, the strategic and humanitarian implications of the ongoing conflict being fought in Yemen. I should also recognize the good work of our Foreign Affairs Committee ranking member, Mr. ELIOT ENGEL of New York.

This resolution will send a strong and needed message to all involved in this conflict that is causing so much human suffering. According to the U.N., more than 20 million people in Yemen—that is 76 percent of the population—are in need of humanitarian assistance. More than 2 million people are affected by either moderate or by severe malnutrition.

Mr. Speaker, H. Res. 599 is a bipartisan alternative to H. Con. Res. 81. That initial proposal had claimed procedural privileges by invoking section 5(c) of the War Powers Resolution, which applies only when U.S. forces are

engaged in hostilities abroad without authorization. Though we provide logistics to our Saudi partners in the region, United States forces are not conducting hostilities against Houthi forces in Yemen.

The initial resolution also neglected a key facet of the Yemen crisis, and that is Iran, which has been providing increasing support—very nefarious support—to the Houthi rebels. We must not forget that in April of 2015, the U.N. Security Council, acting under Chapter 7 of the U.N. Charter, condemned the violent Houthi government overthrow “in the strongest terms” and obligated all U.N. member states to comply with and enforce an embargo on arms and military assistance “of all types” to the Houthi forces. This makes Iran’s acts to fuel this deadly conflict a gross violation of international law, as our ambassador has pointed out.

I am glad that the new H. Res. 599 addresses these shortcomings, and I rise to support it today.

Even before this latest conflict, Yemen was the poorest country in the region. It was wracked by violence and unrest. For years, the countries of North and South Yemen were in conflict before they became a single state. That was in 1990. After an uprising in 2011, Yemen embarked on a path of attempted national dialogue, of unification, and of constitutional reform; but hopes for stability and progress were dashed in 2014. That is the time when an Iranian-backed Houthi rebel group in alliance with former Yemeni strongman, Ali Abdullah Saleh, forcibly deposed the internationally recognized government of President Hadi.

In response, the United States Security Council adopted Resolution 2216, which sanctioned individuals involved in destabilizing Yemen and demanded that the Houthis unconditionally end their use of violence, withdraw their forces, relinquish their seized weapons, and refrain from threats to neighboring states.

Unfortunately, the Houthi-Saleh rejection of this U.N. Security Council resolution, with Iran’s backing, has sabotaged the prospects for peace.

Mr. Speaker, the United States has longstanding, critical national security interests in this region. Members will recall that the deadly bombing of the USS *Cole* occurred there in Yemen. Other terrorist plots against Americans originated in Yemen, including the unsuccessful 2009 underwear bomber attack on a Northwest Airlines flight that was going to Detroit.

We and our partners continue to conduct operations against al-Qaida inside Yemen, and that is pursuant to the 2001 Authorization for Use of Military Force with the permission of the internationally recognized Government of Yemen.

Although al-Qaida in the Arabian Peninsula may not grab a lot of international headlines, it still continues to threaten Western nations, and it still

maintains a significant network in South Yemen, which we are working to disrupt.

Making matters worse, Yemen has become another front in Iran’s quest for regional dominance, which has accelerated in the wake of the previous administration’s nuclear deal.

□ 1700

Consider that Iran’s Revolutionary Guard Corps has transferred increasingly sophisticated weapons systems to the Houthis and specialists to train and advise their units.

Also consider that Iran’s top terror proxy, Hezbollah, is helping the Houthis, who have launched numerous missiles and raids into Saudi Arabia, killing innocent civilians. Just last week, a ballistic missile was intercepted over the Saudi capital of Riyadh.

This Iranian meddling in Yemen thwarts peace by empowering the Houthis to resist a return to political negotiations. The Iranian regime could not care less about the human suffering it is responsible for.

Of course, beyond our national security, the region is also vital to the U.S. and the global economy. The southwest coast of Yemen constitutes one side of the Bab al-Mandab Strait, a narrow, strategic chokepoint in the flow of international goods headed to and from Europe, Asia, and the United States.

At times, Iranian-supported Houthis have attacked international shipping, including an American vessel. Disruptions to shipping along the waterway mean disruptions to employment and wages.

So it is no wonder that, in response to these threats, a Saudi-led coalition of 10 nations began military operations against Houthi-Saleh forces in March of 2015. Its mission was to reinstate the internationally recognized government.

However, 2½ years later, military progress remains elusive and battle lines are hardened. The Saudi-led coalition controls the port city of Aden and the lowland areas in the south, while the Houthis continue to hold the capital and the highlands of northern Yemen. Civilian casualties have been distressingly high, including from Saudi airstrikes in the early months of the campaign.

Today, Yemen is in shambles. It is simultaneously experiencing the world’s largest food insecurity crisis and largest cholera outbreak, with more than 900,000 suspected cases. Last week’s moves by the Saudis to further close ground, air, and seaports only threaten to make things worse.

The United States remains committed to providing much-needed relief to innocent men, women, and children affected by this crisis. In fact, we remain the single largest donor of humanitarian aid to Yemen, by far.

USAID and U.N. aid to agencies report that all parties to the conflict, including the Saudi-led coalition, have

been responsible for bureaucratic impediments and disruptions to humanitarian operations, complicating our ability to effectively deliver lifesaving assistance. Our resolution says this must stop, by all sides.

Mr. Speaker, this all provides for a very complex policy challenge. Some say the United States should distance itself from longstanding military cooperation with Saudi Arabia, the UAE, and other Gulf Cooperation Council partners. But this would only strengthen Iran’s malign influence in the region and would not solve the humanitarian crisis. Indeed, it would likely worsen it.

At the same time, others say our only focus should be neutralizing Iran and terrorist threats. But we cannot ignore the moral and strategic costs of civilian casualties and deteriorating humanitarian conditions.

To this end, I believe that H. Res. 599 appropriately balances the shared, bipartisan concerns of this body:

The urgent need for a political solution in Yemen consistent with Security Council Resolution 2216;

A call for all parties to prevent civilian casualties;

Support for the Saudi-led coalition’s commitments to improve targeting and abide by their no-strike list; and,

Condemnation and sanctions for Iran’s destabilizing activities in Yemen in violation of Security Council Resolution 2216.

Here, we should note that this body has taken strong, bipartisan action in recent months to challenge Iran’s aggression, including by sanctioning its ICBM program and its support for the terrorist group Hezbollah.

Make no mistake about it: Iran is an avowed enemy and our biggest security threat in the region; on the other hand, the Saudis are our partners.

The resolution calls for all parties to allow unobstructed access for humanitarian organizations, human rights investigations, medical personnel, and journalists. In general, it brings attention to a Yemeni conflict that deserves more international notice.

As we debate this measure, I suspect we may hear different views of War Powers and authorizations for use of military force as they relate to Yemen.

As I said, I don’t believe our security cooperation with the Saudis triggers War Powers. This is the type of support we provide to many other governments. But just because it does not arise under that particular statute does not make it immune from our scrutiny.

I share Members’ concerns that Congress must be as attentive as possible to the roles and missions of our Armed Forces overseas and monitor the ways in which our security assistance is being used. In this sense, Yemen does warrant closer watching. That is what I believe this resolution does.

I again want to thank the gentleman from California (Mr. KHANNA), the majority leader and minority whip of the

House, and my good friend Ranking Member ELIOT ENGEL for the good work that went into this text, which I support.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I thank Chairman ROYCE for his work on this resolution, Ranking Member ENGEL, and leadership on both sides: Majority Leader MCCARTHY and the Speaker, and Minority Whip HOYER and Leader PELOSI.

I think one thing we can all agree on, as Chairman ROYCE mentioned, is the humanitarian crisis in Yemen. It is, arguably, the largest humanitarian crisis currently in the world. There are almost a million people suffering from cholera. This is a manmade crisis because of the bombing of civilian targets that has made the treatment of water impossible. Almost 7 million people face famine.

One hope out of this debate, the first one on the House floor on Yemen, is that we will collectively demand humanitarian access to people in Yemen. There is no justification for the ports to be closed. There is no justification for the Sanaa Airport to be closed.

In *The New York Times* just this morning, there was an article stating that chlorine medicine tablets are not being allowed in for people suffering from cholera. That is not a Republican or Democratic issue. That is an American issue. This Nation stands for human rights. We stand for compassion and decency.

We should demand, collectively, that there is humanitarian access to people who are suffering and that the ports and airports be opened. This resolution calls for that, as has our U.N. Ambassador, Nikki Haley, who made that clear.

The second part of this resolution, which I think goes a long way, is the acknowledgment of our own role in the refueling of Saudi planes and in the assistance of Saudi targeting.

The resolution explicitly acknowledges that the United States has been engaged in the assistance of Saudi refueling and assisting the Saudis in targeting. It explicitly also recognizes that the 2001 authorization of force that the United States Congress passed does not apply to the Yemeni civil war.

Chairman ROYCE was absolutely correct that there is an al-Qaida threat in Yemen to the United States. Our military, under the 2001 authorization of force, has the full authority to take counterterrorism measures to deal with al-Qaida; but what our military is not authorized to do is assist the Saudi Arabian regime in fighting the Houthis. In many cases, the Saudis have aligned with al-Qaida to fight the Houthis, undermining our very counterterrorism operations.

This resolution makes abundantly clear that we cannot be assisting the Saudi regime in any of its fight with the Houthi regime. We have to limit

our involvement in Yemen to take on al-Qaida and to take on the terrorists that threaten the United States.

The chairman and I have a disagreement about the War Powers Resolution, but I will say that the negotiations were in good faith. As I told some of the groups that were upset about the resolution, this is a body of 435 Members. Every Member has their perspective. Ultimately, we have to come to a consensus that moves the debate forward. In our view, the War Powers Resolution does apply.

If I can quote from a plain reading of section 8(c), it says that, for purposes of the War Powers Act: "the term 'introduction of the United States Armed Forces' includes the assignment of members of such Armed Forces to command, coordinate, participate in the movement of, or accompany the regular or irregular military forces of any foreign country or government. . . ."

I believe a plain reading of that statute suggests that refueling Saudi planes constitutes coordination with a foreign government in a foreign conflict. Frankly, it is precisely what the drafters of the statute wanted to prevent after Vietnam. They wanted to prevent us from getting entangled in foreign conflicts where our national security was not at stake without a debate on the floor of Congress.

We currently have troops in harm's way in 13 countries around the world. In many of those countries, we have not debated in the United States what the mission is or whether we should be there or whether it is making us any safer. That is certainly the case in Yemen.

We know that, to the extent Iran is involved with the Houthis, that has been exacerbated because of the Saudi actions. It is debatable how much Iran was involved in the first place, but what we do know is that their minimal involvement—or, perhaps, now, greater involvement—was triggered because of the Saudi escalation in bombing Yemen.

What is the United States' stake in a proxy war in Yemen? How is that making us any safer?

If anything, it is creating another generation of Yemeni who will view the United States with suspicion.

Nicholas Kristof wrote, in *The New York Times*: "We Americans have sometimes wondered how Russia can possibly be so Machiavellian as to support its Syrian Government allies as they bomb and starve civilians. Yet we're doing the same thing with Saudi Arabia, and it's just as unconscionable when we're the ones complicit. . . ."

Our military has the highest standards. We take such great care in minimizing civilian casualties. Why would we want to aid Saudi Arabia, which doesn't share American values, which doesn't have the regard for human life that we in the United States do? We are bearing the brunt of their horrible actions.

So it is time, I believe, not just to stand up for humanitarian access in

Yemen, but to question whether the aid that we are providing Saudi Arabia is making our country any safer and whether it is consistent with American values.

□ 1715

Finally, I will say to those who argue that we need to support the Saudis as a counter to Iran, there is no question that Iran has taken actions that are not in the United States' interest, but I suggest that we learn from our own history.

I remember, from history, the time when so many in our country said: Let us arm Saddam Hussein to be a counter to Iran.

That didn't work out so well for the United States. It was our arms that fueled Saddam Hussein's rise that led to two costly wars for the United States.

My belief is the balance-of-power framework that has dictated our foreign policy and the interventionism has not made us any safer. I wish we would exercise more restraint in our foreign policy and return to the traditions of John Quincy Adams who said:

We should not go overseas for monsters to destroy. These are not conflicts where we can judge who is on the right side; rather, we should be restrained, offer our hopes and prayers to those fighting for freedom, offer our humanitarian good will but not engage in interventionism abroad.

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

Mr. ROYCE of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN), chairman emeritus of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and current chair of the Subcommittee on the Middle East and North Africa.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, I thank my good friend, the chairman of our committee, for yielding me the time, and I rise today in support of H. Res. 599—expressing the sense of the U.S. House of Representatives with respect to United States policy toward Yemen.

I want to thank my other colleague from California, Mr. KHANNA, and Mr. MCGOVERN from Massachusetts for offering this important resolution before us.

I want to thank Chairman ROYCE and Ranking Member ENGEL for always working in a bipartisan manner in our committee, including with our leadership, to bring this resolution before us today.

Mr. Speaker, there are approximately 2 million internally displaced persons in Yemen right now. International aid agencies consider Yemen to be one of the four current famine countries alongside South Sudan, Somalia, and Nigeria. We must ensure that access and safe passage is being given to reach the people of Yemen who desperately need this assistance.

Saudi Arabia and the UAE have security and terror concerns in Yemen, and they have to mitigate those, but there

should not be any obstacles to prevent the delivery of vital humanitarian assistance to Yemen.

It is positive news that this morning Saudi Arabia announced that it will begin reopening airports and seaports in Yemen; so, hopefully, that aid will come quickly for those starving people.

Since this campaign began in 2015, the United States has been the largest contributor of humanitarian aid to Yemen. We must ensure that the aid is not being diverted and is actually reaching the right people who need it the most.

A political solution is needed in Yemen where all parties can sit down and negotiate a path forward, but that becomes increasingly more difficult when we have to deal with the negative influence of Iran and the Houthis.

Here are some examples. In February 2017, General Soleimani, commander of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, the Quds Force, reportedly pledged to increase Iran's assistance to Houthi-Saleh forces.

According to press reports, two incidents occurred in October 2016, off the coast of Yemen, where missiles were fired targeting our Navy destroyers.

After Houthi forces targeted U.S. warships near Yemen, the vice admiral, who heads U.S. Naval Forces Central Command, said: "We believe that Iran is connected to this."

Since April 2015, U.S. warships have intercepted at least five Iranian shipments of weapons to Houthi forces. Just last week, the U.S. Forces' central commander said that a missile fired by the Houthis at Riyadh was manufactured by Iran.

In Yemen, we cannot forget that we need to undermine Iran's influence over the Houthis. Last month, the White House released a new strategy when it comes to Iran, and it stated: "The Iranian regime has taken advantage of regional conflicts and instability to aggressively expand its regional influence and threaten its neighbors with little domestic or international cost for its actions."

I believe that targeted sanctions are needed against Iran for providing weapons to the Houthis, weapons that are being used to directly target U.S. soldiers in the region.

Lastly, Mr. Speaker, we cannot forget about the threats emanating from a U.S.-designated foreign terrorist organization, al-Qaida, in the Arabian Peninsula, also known as AQAP. The United States must continue to operate and conduct operations in Yemen to counter the threats from AQAP, but we cannot do it alone.

A few months ago, the UAE and the U.S. teamed up with local Yemeni forces to target AQAP militants. This is another positive sign in the region where we can partner with our Gulf partners to fight extremist elements jointly. These operations are essential to protecting our national security interests and to help bring regional stability in the region.

While a lot of the focus is traditionally put on Hezbollah and Hamas in the region, we cannot forget about the dangerous malign and illicit activities that Iran is undertaking through its proxy in Yemen, the Houthis.

Mr. KHANNA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MCGOVERN), who has been a real advocate and champion for the War Powers Act in this institution.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from California for yielding me the time and for his leadership to bring before this House the critical issue of U.S. policy towards Yemen.

Most importantly, I want to thank him for his determination to provide this House with at least 30 minutes to debate the complicity of the United States through its support of the Saudi-led forces in the civil war in Yemen in one of the greatest humanitarian crises taking place on this planet.

I personally believe that the House should be considering Mr. KHANNA's original resolution, H. Con. Res. 81, but Republican leaders made that impossible by threatening to put forward a rule that would have blocked the right of Congressman KHANNA to ever call his privileged resolution up for debate.

Mr. Speaker, according to the United Nations, Yemen is suffering the fastest growing cholera epidemic ever recorded. At the same time, Yemen faces the world's biggest food emergency.

Saudi Arabia has blocked Yemen's ports and airports. Just last week, it sealed the country's borders. As a result, the people of Yemen have been cut off from nearly all humanitarian aid during this horrific famine and cholera epidemic, and the ability of humanitarian agencies to provide relief has been significantly impeded.

The U.N. has called the Saudi closure of Yemen's borders to aid deliveries catastrophic. Even the International Committee of the Red Cross was forbidden to cross the northern border with a delivery of chlorine tablets to prevent cholera.

We learned today from the Saudis that two smaller southern ports and one Red Sea port will be open soon, although we don't know what that means, but the main port, where over 80 percent of Yemen's food supplies enter, will remain blockaded and closed.

Mr. Speaker, it is well documented that the Saudi-led coalition and Saudi forces, in particular, have carried out a ruthless, brutal bombing campaign that deliberately targets hospitals, schools, food markets, and civilian population, including children. The World Food Programme has warned that hundreds of thousands of children will be on the brink of starvation if the blockade lasts for even 2 weeks.

That deadline of death and starvation will arrive next Tuesday, just 2 days before we, here in the United States, sit down to enjoy our Thanks-

giving with our family, friends, and loved ones.

Will the Members of this House spare a thought for the children, mothers, and fathers of Yemen as we sit down and feast in the warmth and comfort of our own homes? Or will this Congress finally, after more than 2½ years of sheer horror, send a clear message to Saudi Arabia that its actions are intolerable?

Mr. Speaker, Saudi Arabia's actions, thus far, and the coalition it leads in the Yemen civil war may very well rise to the level of war crimes and crimes against humanity, according to the United Nations.

It is past time for this House to clearly and unambiguously declare that the United States will no longer provide or sell military aid, equipment, and munitions to potential war criminals; that the United States will no longer supply midair refueling to Saudi and coalition bombers headed to Yemen to wreak havoc on the suffering Yemeni people; that the U.S. will no longer share intelligence with the Saudi coalition; and that we will no longer remain a complicit and passive partner in carrying out one of the world's greatest humanitarian crises.

Mr. Speaker, I know the Houthi rebels attempting to take power in Yemen are also guilty of war crimes. Last November, the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission held a hearing on the human rights situation and humanitarian crisis in Yemen, so I know full well the atrocities committed by all parties in this war.

Mr. Speaker, Yemen is just one more proxy in the region of religious and political struggle for dominance between Sunnis, Saudi Arabia, and Shiite Iran. For some in Congress, that power struggle trumps every other consideration.

For me, it is yet another reason to act with extreme caution and examine whether and how we allow ourselves to support potential war criminals in pursuit of consolidating their own regional agenda and power.

I am concerned that this power struggle is escalating further throughout the region. Rather than the U.S. policy working to cool things down, we seem to be encouraging it to heat up.

I, for one, Mr. Speaker, do not want the United States to be complicit in supporting the killing and maiming of children. I do not want the United States to be complicit in the deliberate targeting and attacks against schools, hospitals, markets, and homes. I do not want the United States to be complicit in bombing water treatment plants at any time, let alone in the middle of the worst cholera epidemic in the world. I do not want the United States to be complicit in supporting a blockade that condemns tens of thousands of children to famine and death by starvation.

Once again, I thank Congressman RO KHANNA and my other colleagues who have supported this effort to have this

debate. I want to thank them for their leadership on this important issue, but this is serious.

Mr. Speaker, I include in the record a Washington Post, November 9, 2017, editorial, and an article from The Guardian.

[From the Washington Post—Editorial, Nov. 9, 2017]

#### THE CRISIS IN YEMEN

Saudi Arabia's blockade could trigger a full-blown famine.

Saudi Arabia has charged that a missile launched from Yemen toward Riyadh's international airport on Saturday was supplied by Iran and assembled by Tehran's Lebanese client, Hezbollah. It says this could be considered "an act of war" and claims the right to "respond to Iran in the appropriate time and manner." Yet the only action taken so far by the de facto Saudi ruler, Mohammed bin Salman, has been to besiege some of the world's most desperate people—the cholera-stricken and literally famished civilian population of Yemen.

The press of multiple international crises and President Trump's monopolization of media attention have helped obscure the severity of the humanitarian emergency in Yemen, a poor country of 28 million that has been devastated by civil war and a Saudi-led military intervention. According to the United Nations, it is suffering the fastest-growing cholera epidemic ever recorded, with about 895,000 cases and nearly 2,200 deaths since April. At the same time, it is facing the world's biggest food emergency, with 7 million people requiring urgent assistance.

Children have been disproportionately afflicted. According to U.N. figures, 27 percent of the cholera victims are under the age of 5. Officials estimate that juvenile cholera cases will reach 600,000 by the end of the year. Meanwhile, hunger has left half of children under 5 stunted, and 2.2 million are affected by either moderate or severe malnutrition.

Saudi Arabia bears heavy responsibility for this suffering. For 2½ years, it has pursued a ruthless but unwinnable war against ethnic Houthis who have captured much of the country, including the capital, Sanaa, and the largest port, Hodeida. Bombing raids have repeatedly struck hospitals and food markets. Worse, in the name of preventing Iran from delivering weapons to the Houthis, the Saudis and their allies have blockaded the country by sea and air, closing Sanaa's airport to commercial traffic and slowing food imports at Hodeida.

Now, in reaction to the missile firing, the Saudis have announced a more thorough closure of "all Yemeni ground, air and sea ports." Though a government statement said it would take "into consideration the continuation of the entry and exit" of humanitarian supplies and aid workers, U.N. officials say that aid flights have been blocked. The World Food Program warned that hundreds of thousands of children would be "on the brink of starvation" if the blockade lasted even for two weeks.

Saudi officials say the siege is meant to prevent what they claim was the smuggling of missile parts into Yemen from Iran. It has offered no proof of the rocket's origin, and experts point out that Yemen is known to have imported Scud missiles from North Korea before the war. In any case, the blockade will not deter either Iran or the Houthis, but it could trigger a full-blown famine among innocent children. The Trump administration, which has blithely backed Crown Prince Salman in his reckless adventures, should consider the cost.

[From the Guardian, Nov. 7, 2017]

#### CLOSURE OF YEMEN'S BORDERS TO AID DELIVERIES IS 'CATASTROPHIC', UN WARNS

(By Karen McVeigh)

After Saudi-led coalition seals stricken country's borders, aid agencies caution that deliveries of food and medicine are critical for population's survival.

Humanitarian groups and the UN have urged the Saudi-led coalition to reopen aid channels into Yemen, after a decision to seal the stricken country's air, sea and land borders.

The UN described the closure of aid channels as "catastrophic". Food, medicine and other essential supplies are "critical for the survival" of the country's 27 million population, weakened by war, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) added. Yemen is in the grip of the world's worst cholera outbreak and 7 million people are already on the brink of famine.

The coalition said on Monday it would close the borders to stem the flow of arms from Iran, after it intercepted a missile attack by Houthi rebels near the international airport in Riyadh, the Saudi capital. Iran has denied supplying the missiles. Humanitarian operations, including UN aid flights, are blocked because the air and sea ports, including Hodeidah, where most aid is delivered, are closed.

The UN reported it was not permitted flight clearance for two humanitarian flights bound for Yemen on Monday. A Red Cross shipment of chlorine tablets, to prevent cholera, was not allowed in at the country's northern border, the ICRC said. Medical supplies, including insulin, are expected.

Yemen has been named the UN's number one humanitarian crisis.

"We hear reports this morning that prices of cooking gas and petrol for cars and so on [are] already spiralling out of control," Jens Laerke, from the UN office for the Co-ordination of Humanitarian Affairs, told a news briefing. "So this is an access problem of colossal dimensions?"

Johan Mooij, Yemen director of Care International, said: "For the last two days, nothing has got in or out of the country. Fuel prices have gone up by 50% and there are queues at the gas stations. People fear no more fuel will come into Hodeidah port."

He explained that food insecurity was helping cholera to spread. "People depend on the humanitarian aid and part of the cholera issue [is] that they do not eat and are not strong enough to deal with unclean water?"

There have also been "daily airstrikes" in Sana'a, he said, adding: "People fear the situation is escalating."

Robert Mardini, ICRC's regional director for the near and Middle East, said: "Insulin cannot wait at a shuttered border since it must be kept refrigerated."

Without a quick solution to the closure, the humanitarian consequences will be dire."

Mardini said he was also concerned at the "steadily growing" number of civilian casualties and the targeting of non-military infrastructure, such as water treatment plants and civilian airports. "Such actions are in violation of international humanitarian law," he said.

The war is between the Houthi rebels, who are allied with former president Ali Abdullah Saleh, and forces loyal to another president, Abd-Rabbu Mansour Hadi, who was ousted by the Houthis. Saudi Arabia has led a military intervention since 2015 to counter the advance of the Houthis, and aims to reinstate Hadi.

Both the coalition and rebels have been criticised by the UN for blocking aid to civilians.

Rupert Colville, a spokesman from the UN high commissioner for human rights, told

Reuters the agency would study whether the blockade amounted to "collective punishment", unlawful under international law, and said he hoped it would be temporary.

The agency has expressed concern over a series of recent attacks on markets and homes that have killed scores of civilians, including children.

Last month, the UN put the coalition on a draft of its blacklist for killing and maiming 683 children during the conflict in 2016 and for carrying out 38 verified attacks on schools and hospitals.

Mr. ROYCE of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this resolution is to pressure the Saudis to take those steps to reopen access to those ports. That is what we are doing.

We need to be talking about the other aspect of what we are also trying to do here, and that is to try to get the Houthis to respond to the actions taken by the U.N. and to try to get the Houthis to lift their impediments that they have put in place. They need to respect the neutrality of aid and stop diverting humanitarian convoys away from those who are in need, as we know from the U.N. that this is the problem.

The Houthis, according to the United Nations, need to accept the U.N. plan that would allow for neutral actors to administer the port of Hodeidah so deliveries of essential food and medicines can resume.

Part of our difficulty here is the Houthis are, or have become, under the tutelage here of their Iranian supporters. You know, they are a minority in Yemen, but Iran uses them to exploit divisions between Yemeni society. This is part of the complexity of this.

The Houthis' slogan is derived from Iran's own anti-U.S. slogans. Their slogan, if you listen to them on the broadcast, is: "Death to America, Death to Israel, Damn the Jews."

Now, they didn't pick that up on their own. Part of the problem here is the leaders of the Houthi militia were indoctrinated in Qom, in Iran, as part of an Iranian attempt to construct a Hezbollah-like proxy in Yemen. They have done it.

What we are trying to do is figure out a way to both convince them to reopen the port under the U.N. auspices here for these deliveries and convince the Saudis and the other members of this coalition that they should cooperate on this access as well. This is the attempt of this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. MCCAUL), chairman of the Committee on Homeland Security.

Mr. MCCAUL. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of this resolution, expressing the urgent need for a political solution in Yemen.

As the civil war in Yemen continues well into its third year, the situation on the ground becomes more dire by the day. Despite multiple international attempts to broker a political agreement to end the human suffering, peace remains elusive.

□ 1730

Meanwhile, al-Qaida in the Arabian Peninsula, also known as AQAP, has taken advantage of this power vacuum created by the conflict. This has allowed them to expand into the southern and eastern ports of Yemen, where they continue to plot external operations against the United States.

Simultaneously—much like in Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq—Iran continues its campaign of influence in Yemen, where its actions have prolonged the conflict and exacerbated the political and humanitarian nightmare.

As highlighted by Secretary Mattis, “everywhere you look, if there is trouble in the region, you find Iran.” This is not by coincidence. As Prime Minister Netanyahu emphasized to our congressional delegation on a recent trip to Israel, Iran has been working around the clock to solidify its presence across the region through the establishment of a land bridge from Iraq to Lebanon, commonly referred to as the “Shiite Crescent.”

Despite a United Nations authorized arms embargo against the Houthi forces, Iran, on multiple occasions, has been caught attempting to smuggle weapons and munitions into the region. They have also provided technical assistance to the Houthis—and Saudi Arabia is often their main target.

In order to protect the security interests of the Saudi people, the government in Riyadh has taken defense actions to both limit Iranian support to the Houthis, such as blockades, as well as offensive measures to stem attacks on the kingdom, such as the unsuccessful ballistic missile attack on the capital earlier this month. However, while Saudi Arabia has the right to prioritize its security, we cannot dismiss the effects of its actions on the grave humanitarian suffering on the ground, where more than 27 million face an unprecedented humanitarian crisis.

As such, this resolution rightly highlights the need for a political solution to this conflict and condemns Iranian activities that undermine peace efforts. Furthermore, it calls on all parties of the conflict to take additional measures to prevent civilian casualties and increase much-needed humanitarian access.

Lastly, this resolution encourages the international community to join in providing the resources necessary to address this crisis.

I commend all those involved. It is a real threat that I see as chairman of Homeland Security every day. I thank the chairman, and the gentleman on the other side of the aisle for bringing this important legislation to the floor.

Mr. KHANNA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. NOLAN), who has often been a voice for diplomacy on these issues.

Mr. NOLAN. Mr. Speaker, the simple truth is America has no business involving itself in this Saudi-led civil war in Yemen. That is why I introduced my amendment, which passed

the House just last July, declaring that none of the funds in the National Defense Authorization Act will be used to deploy ground troops in Yemen.

But the fact is that the United States is still financially supporting this Saudi-led war, and that is simply wrong for three primary reasons:

First, America's support for this Saudi-led war in Yemen is unauthorized. Congress never approved a declaration of war in Yemen. Nothing could be more clear in the Constitution of the United States as to who has responsibility for declaring wars. It is not the President. It is the Congress of the United States of America. Right now, we are still financially supporting a Saudi air war and blockade in Yemen—both, acts of war. It is time to put a stop to that.

Second, we are supporting this Saudi-led blockade that is causing horrific starvation, disease, and death in Yemen. This blockade has forced more than 7 million people in Yemen to the brink of starvation. It has sparked the world's largest cholera crisis in recorded history, and more than 8,000 people in Yemen have been killed and nearly 50,000 injured in airstrikes and fighting on the ground. It is unconscionable for us to continue support for this war.

And, finally, I can't say enough, America is already involved in too many endless wars of choice in the Middle East. The President of the United States acknowledged that we have spent \$6 trillion just on the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and they have acknowledged that we have \$2 trillion in expenses going forward taking care of the heroes who served our Nation—lost arms and legs and irreparable damage. That is \$8 trillion.

Think about it. For one of those trillion—just one of them—we could have eliminated student debt in America.

Think about it. For another one of those trillion, there is our trillion for our infrastructure.

Think about it. For another one of those trillion, we could have found a cure for cancer, diabetes, Alzheimer's, or any one of a number of things.

These endless wars of choice, where we have inadvertently been on virtually every side of the conflicts one time or another, are so costly in blood and in treasury. It is time to put a stop to spending these trillions on these wars and start reinvesting in America, reinvesting in the American people.

Mr. Speaker, the bottom line: Congress must stand up and bring an end to American involvement in these costly wars and, now, in Yemen, where we have no authorization and we have no business being involved.

Mr. ROYCE of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH), chairman of the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights, and International Organizations.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I thank my good friend for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, H. Res. 599 urges a political solution to the war in Yemen, condemns Iranian efforts to fuel the deadly violence, and calls on all parties to the conflict to increase efforts to adopt all necessary and appropriate measures to prevent civilian casualties and to increase humanitarian accesses.

Events of the past week demonstrate the urgency of resolving this perilous conflict. On Saturday, November 4, Iranian-backed Houthi rebels in Yemen fired an Iranian-made ballistic missile at Saudi Arabia's capital. By Monday, Riyadh, in the midst of a massive palace shakeup, described the attack as an “act of war” by Iran and ordered all Yemen's land, sea, and air ports of entry closed.

Saudi Arabia said the port closures were necessary to prevent Iran from continuing to arm the Houthis, but the move also spelled dire consequences for Yemen's civilian population, suffering under its third year of punishing wartime conditions. In a country where nearly 70 percent of the population needs some form of humanitarian or protection assistance, port closures have the distinct look of collective punishment.

Although Saudi Arabia, this morning, announced it would begin lifting the restrictions, this dramatic sequence of events underscores the potential this war has on any given hour or day to explode into a regional confrontation and even greater humanitarian catastrophe.

From the regional perspective, Yemen remains a critical foothold for Iranian influence on the southern flank of the Middle East. The conflict there allows the Iranian regime to cynically sow instability that redounds to its own benefit and that of other avowed enemies of the United States and our allies. Gaps in governance around the region have served as an entryway for Iranian influence, most notably in Syria and Iraq, where Iran and Hezbollah leveraged the emergence of ISIS and al-Qaida to extend their influence.

Tehran is playing in a similar game in Yemen, where its campaign to undermine the country's government has benefited Iran-aligned Houthi militias; al-Qaida in the Arabian Peninsula, or AQAP; and Yemen's ISIS affiliate.

From the humanitarian perspective, Mr. Speaker, the ongoing costs of the war are absolutely catastrophic. In late September, the ICRC, International Committee of the Red Cross, warned that Yemen's cholera outbreak is exploding. It is now at 750,000, and could reach 1 million by the end of this year. In July, the WHO called Yemen's cholera outbreak the worst in the world.

In March of last year, Mr. Speaker, I chaired a congressional hearing on “The Growing Threat of Cholera and Other Diseases in the Middle East.” At that time, we focused especially on the outbreak in Iran and Syria brought about by the collapse of the healthcare sectors and sanitation infrastructure.



Today, that epidemic now is in Yemen, and it has overtaken even Iraq and Syria.

I appreciate the resolution.

Mr. KHANNA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. RASKIN), who is a constitutional law professor.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, what is unfolding in Yemen today is the largest humanitarian crisis in the world. The war in Yemen has already claimed more than 10,000 civilian lives, according to the U.N.

With this gruesome death toll as a backdrop, the UN is now warning that Yemen is facing the largest famine that the world has seen in many decades. According to Matthew Nims, the acting director of USAID's Food for Peace Program, who testified before Congress, famine is on the agenda now because the Saudi-led military campaign in Yemen is "using hunger as a weapon of war."

Using hunger as a weapon of war, as a way to assault and destroy the civilian population, is completely in disregard of the laws of war. That weapon is proving to be brutally effective. More than 7 million Yemenis are food insecure tonight, which is a polite way of saying that they are on the brink of starving to death. As we speak, more than two out of three Yemenis have no idea where their next meal will come from.

Meanwhile, the Saudi-imposed military blockade against Yemen and the deliberate targeting in Yemen of water and sewage systems, along with hospitals and schools, have engendered, in that country, the largest civilian cholera crisis in recorded human history. More than 900,000 people are suffering from a massive outbreak of cholera, a bacterial disease that causes severe and painful diarrhea and dehydration, and which has already killed more than 2,000 women, men, and children.

The U.S. must act to save the people of Yemen. We are implicated because we have been refueling Saudi and UAE bombers and offering weapons, intelligence, and logistical support to the Saudi military campaign, despite the fact that Congress has never declared war or authorized military operations there. We must do everything in our power to end the blockade on humanitarian assistance and to reopen the pipeline of critical supplies, food, water, and medicine to the Yemeni population.

Congress has never authorized U.S. involvement in the Saudi-led war. I could understand that happening in Saudi Arabia itself, where there is no constitution and where the oil monarchy governs according to Sharia law and promotes Wahhabist extremism all over the world, but this is America, and we have been enabling a brutal war which has driven millions of people to the point of starvation without any declaration of war or explicit legal authorization.

The U.N. Humanitarian Coordinator now says this is the greatest humani-

tarian crisis since 1945, and hundreds of thousands or millions of people may die if the blockade is not lifted. While we celebrate Thanksgiving, mass starvation may have overtaken Yemen, yet the blockade is still very much in force.

We must do everything in our power to speed humanitarian assistance to the civilian population, to work towards a diplomatic solution in Yemen, to stop the atrocities on all sides, and to bring real peace to the region.

Mr. ROYCE of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. FRANCIS ROONEY), vice chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. FRANCIS ROONEY of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise to support H. Res. 599, seeking a political solution in Yemen and putting pressure on Iran to stop their nefarious activities there. I thank Chairman ROYCE and Mr. KHANNA for bringing this to the floor today.

Like Hezbollah and Syria, these Houthi rebels are just another Iranian proxy, nurturing Iranian hegemonic ambitions in the region which continue to destabilize the Middle East and impede our efforts to reinforce the historic Sunni balance of power.

A few thousand Houthis—a distinct minority—are trying to subjugate 27 million Yemenis.

Iran supported the Houthis' overthrow of the elected President. They continue to export weapons to Yemen, including rockets and ballistic missiles. Some of these things involve antiship weapons and sea mines, which could threaten our own U.S. Navy.

Houthi rebels have directly attacked Saudi Arabia's property, further escalating the tensions and bringing us to the brink of a broader conflict in the area.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for bringing this important resolution to the floor.

Mr. KHANNA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. ENGEL), the ranking member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and I thank Mr. ENGEL for his leadership on this resolution.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I commend Mr. KHANNA for his leadership. I think it is important that our new Members come here and really make a difference for these important events all around the world, so I thank him.

□ 1745

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this measure that shines a light on the carnage and suffering that has defined the conflict in Yemen.

Mr. Speaker, I want to again thank Mr. KHANNA, who has shown real leadership on this issue. He understands the critical role Congress has to play in our foreign policy and why it is so important that this body take the time to talk about the civil war in Yemen and

America's involvement. The United States wields tremendous power, diplomatic, military, and developmental, and we have an obligation to debate how those tools are used.

We have heard about Saudi and Iranian involvement in the civil war in Yemen. Sadly, Yemenis are caught in the crossfire. The devastation of Yemen's infrastructure has led to 900,000 cholera cases. At least one Yemeni child dies every 10 minutes, on average, from malnutrition, diarrhea, or respiratory tract infections.

Last week, the Saudis intercepted a missile targeting Riyadh. In response, the Saudi-led coalition closed all Yemeni ports of entry. Since last week, no humanitarian assistance has been allowed to enter Yemen. Fuel shortages are limiting access for USAID partners at a time when more than 75 percent of Yemenis require some level of assistance, including 6.8 million people entirely reliant on food aid. The people of Yemen are facing a very dire situation.

Let's be clear, neither military action nor food aid will solve the conflict in Yemen. A political solution is essential for moving Yemen towards stability. That will require some compromise, an exit strategy for the Yemeni Government's Gulf partners, and a real commitment by the international community to prevent Iranian weapons from getting into Yemen.

So what does all this mean for America's role?

As this resolution notes, the United States provides midair refueling for the Saudi-led coalition and participates in intelligence cooperation.

Today's debate reminds us that the United States is engaged with partners around the world under a range of authorities. Some of these activities are covered by a current Authorization for Use of Military Force—AUMF—some are not.

In my view, we should have more clarity about the way we use American military might not just in Yemen, but around the world. After all, it is Congress' responsibility to declare war or to limit a President's authority to wage war when necessary.

I have said for years that we should sunset the 2001 AUMF. We voted then to give the President authorization to go after the people and groups that attacked on 9/11. We never intended it to be a blank check. Today, we face new threats, threats unrelated to the terrorists who attacked my hometown, New York City, on September 11.

We owe it to our men and women in uniform to have a thorough and honest debate before we send them into harm's way, to stand in this body and say "yes" or "no" before we ask them to put their lives on the line.

This measure helps to move that debate forward. I am glad to support it, and I urge all Members to do the same.

Mr. Speaker, I thank Mr. KHANNA for his leadership.

Mr. ROYCE of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman

from Ohio (Mr. CHABOT), a senior member on the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. CHABOT. Mr. Speaker, as former chairman of the Foreign Affairs' Subcommittee on the Middle East and having traveled to Yemen myself a couple years ago, I rise in support of H. Res. 599, a resolution that calls for an end to the conflict in Yemen and denounces the targeting of innocent civilians and the use of civilians as human shields.

It has become painfully evident that Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard continues to transfer increasingly sophisticated weapons systems to the Houthis in Yemen. These weapons are now being used to target civilians as well as one of our regional allies, Saudi Arabia.

There is an urgent need for a political solution in Yemen, with growing famine, 500,000 new cholera cases, and the death of 10,000 Yemeni civilians since 2015.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this bill and I urge my colleagues to join in condemning Iranian activities in Yemen. I call on our global partners to take appropriate measures against the Government of Iran, including the banning of Iran's weapons to the Houthis, and condemning targeting of civilians.

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

Mr. Speaker, I want to thank again Chairman ROYCE for working with us to get to this resolution.

I want to acknowledge people on my own staff: Geo Saba, who really led the efforts with Keane Bhatt from the Progressive Caucus; Chris Schloesser and Pete Spiro. I also want to recognize Mira Resnick and Mark Iozzi, who really helped with the language; of course, most of all, the peace groups who brought this important cause to the Congress.

I know there is some disappointment in wanting to go further, and people are very sincere in wanting to help civilians who literally face famine and cholera, but I believe democracy is a messy and a long process.

There are, as I mentioned earlier, 435 Members from different parts of the country. I think today we have shown good faith in taking this step forward, in highlighting the issue, in calling for humanitarian assistance, in making sure that we curtail our support for Saudi bombing.

I am confident that with the continued involvement of everyone in this body, we will ultimately uphold our values and human rights, which every person in this Chamber cares about.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, part of the complexity here in this tragedy is that Iran does want to turn the Houthis into a Yemeni version of Hezbollah, thereby turning Yemen into a second Lebanon, where a militia is constantly holding the government hostage.

We do face a challenge here in the sense that they are firing Iranian missiles on a regular basis into Saudi Arabia, at cities across Saudi Arabia, including firing on Riyadh, the capital.

Now, we have not committed American forces to fight against the Houthi rebels in Yemen, and I do not believe the American people want us to. We should not. Our main involvement has been in the form of humanitarian assistance and our longstanding pre-existing security relationships with regional partners, including Saudi Arabia, UAE, and Gulf Cooperation Council.

I don't disagree that we must push them to improve their operations to better avoid civilian casualties and humanitarian harm, but it is a dangerous delusion to think that distancing ourselves from those security relationships would serve the cause of peace and security in Yemen and the region. It would do the opposite.

House Resolution 599, in my opinion, is a very responsible reaction to the ongoing crisis, but it expresses the urgent need for a political solution in Yemen, calls on all parties to prevent civilian casualties and promote humanitarian access, and condemns Iran for its continuing destabilizing activities in Yemen in violation of the U.N. Security Council.

Mr. Speaker, I thank Mr. KHANNA for this resolution, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, the resolution rightfully expresses the urgent need for a peaceful resolution to the conflict in Yemen, which remains a stain of the conscience of the world.

The resolution condemns violations of international law and specifically denounces those actions taken by Iran that are illegal. Saudi Arabia should also be subjected to that judgement.

When the resolution "denounces the conduct of activities in Yemen and areas affected by the conflict that are, directly or indirectly, inconsistent with the laws of armed conflict, including the deliberate targeting of civilian populations or the use of civilians as human shields" and "calls on all parties to the conflict to allow for unobstructed access for humanitarian organizations, human rights investigators, medical relief personnel, and journalists," those calls should apply both to the Iranians and to the Saudis.

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

Pursuant to the order of the House of Wednesday, November 1, 2017, the previous question is ordered on the resolution.

The question is on the resolution.

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

Mr. ROYCE of California. 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.

## RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 12(a) of rule I, the Chair declares the House in recess until approximately 6:30 p.m. today.

Accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 54 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess.

□ 1831

## AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. MARSHALL) at 6 o'clock and 31 minutes p.m.

## ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, proceedings will resume on questions previously postponed.

Votes will be taken in the following order:

Adopting H. Res. 599;

Suspending the rules and passing H.R. 3071; and

Agreeing to the Speaker's approval of the Journal.

The first electronic vote will be conducted as a 15-minute vote. Remaining electronic votes will be conducted as 5-minute votes.

## EXPRESSING THE SENSE OF THE HOUSE WITH RESPECT TO UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARDS YEMEN

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The unfinished business is the vote on adoption of the resolution (H. Res. 599) expressing the sense of the House of Representatives with respect to United States policy towards Yemen, and for other purposes, on which the yeas and nays were ordered.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the resolution.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 366, nays 30, answered "present" 1, not voting 35, as follows:

[Roll No. 623]

YEAS—366

Abraham	Black	Calvert
Adams	Blumenauer	Capuano
Aderholt	Blunt Rochester	Carbajal
Aguilar	Bonamici	Cárdenas
Allen	Bost	Carson (IN)
Amodei	Boyle, Brendan	Carter (GA)
Arrington	F.	Carter (TX)
Babin	Brady (PA)	Cartwright
Bacon	Brady (TX)	Castor (FL)
Banks (IN)	Brat	Castro (TX)
Barletta	Brooks (AL)	Chabot
Barr	Brooks (IN)	Chu, Judy
Barragán	Brown (MD)	Cicilline
Barton	Brownley (CA)	Clark (MA)
Beatty	Buchanan	Clay
Bera	Buck	Cleaver
Bergman	Bucshon	Clyburn
Beyer	Budd	Coffman
Bilirakis	Burgess	Cohen
Bishop (GA)	Bustos	Cole
Bishop (MI)	Butterfield	Collins (GA)
Bishop (UT)	Byrne	Collins (NY)