

was not because they were opposed to individual liberty. They found an alternative form of providing that particular liberty in the structure of government that we have.

One of the unwritten foundations of our system of government and the Constitution is the concept of federalism. We eventually did add a Bill of Rights, which is misnamed. It actually should be called a "bill of wrongs." It is a list of things that are wrong for the government to do no matter how many people want to do it.

But in addition to that, the Founding Fathers instilled within them a system of structure to preserve those same individual liberties. They realized that increasing the number of competitors of power is more significant than increasing the number of prohibitions listed. And what Madison said in his Federalist Papers about ambition counteracting ambition, they recognized very clearly as they established a system of government that had a horizontal separation of powers between the three branches of government but equally important to them was a vertical separation of powers between the national government and States, and the sole purpose of that structure was to preserve individual liberty.

The Federal Government has its role and function. There are certain things the Federal Government does. Well, what we bring to the table as the Federal Government is uniformity, which sometimes is a necessary need. If, indeed, uniformity is important, it is the Federal Government that can preempt States. But on the other hand, our States also bring something to the issue of governance. It is a State that can be innovative.

In one of these dissenting opinions in the 1920s, Justice Brandeis, and I will paraphrase, simply called the States the great laboratory of America where experimentation could be made without actually harming the entire country, where, indeed, creativity takes place. It is the States where justice can be maintained because there are mitigating circumstances in the lives of the individuals who make up this great Nation; and when you have a system that is uniform of one-size-fits-all, it cannot take account of all those mitigating circumstances. And, indeed, in having uniformity, we often harm people in the process of doing that.

The Federal Government is not vicious. It does not intend to do harm. But its very design of one-size-fits-all means that individual needs cannot be met and only State and local government can do that.

Our goal as the Congress should not be to create a more efficient government, a kinder and gentler way of controlling people. Our goal as the Federal Government should be to do less, to move the decisions of power from this city back to States and localities where creativity, where justice, where innovation can actually take place. If we do so, if we move those decision

centers, we ennoble the spirit of this country. We empower people to solve their own problems in creative ways, and we may even learn something in the process.

In so doing, I am very grateful that the gentleman from New Jersey, who will be speaking in a minute to you, Representative GARRETT of New Jersey, has initiated a 10th Amendment Caucus aimed at trying to once again bring back those principles so we clearly understand this important lesson, the structural need that the Founding Fathers put into our system of government.

The 10th amendment, the last of the Bill of Rights, is still there. It clearly states: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution . . . are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

If we, indeed, learn that lesson, what I hope will be happening through this effort, spearheaded by Congressman GARRETT, will be an effort to illustrate, as time goes on, how the overhelpful hand of the Federal Government can actually harm people, not intentionally, but unintentionally actually harm people. We hope, as time goes on, to bring specific initiatives which will help this country reach the goal the Founding Fathers had of providing personal liberty by a strong balance of power between the national and State levels. For if Congress is willing to lose that power, the people will gain personal liberties in the process.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California (Mr. GEORGE MILLER) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

INTRODUCING THE CONGRESSIONAL CONSTITUTION CAUCUS' WEEKLY CONSTITUTION HOUR

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. GARRETT) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. GARRETT of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I come here today to announce what we begin as hopefully a regular occurrence here on the House floor. Members of the Congressional Constitution Caucus will use these opportunities to highlight for our colleagues and for the Nation the need, justification, and plan to ensure that our government is operating consistently with our Founding Fathers' intent, and that is limited, leaving most authority over domestic issues to the States, local governments, and the people themselves.

As the founder of this caucus, a caucus dedicated to the adherence of the 10th amendment, I strongly believe that this body must begin to be more squarely focused on these important

constitutional principles that we have already heard tonight.

Before I begin, let me express my sincere gratitude to my friend from Utah, who has volunteered to lead this effort here on the floor, this important education effort, but has also been a consistent and long-time champion of the notion of a limited and effective and efficient Federal Government. He routinely fights to ensure that his home State and the other States as well are entrusted with the authority and oversight promised to them as each was admitted to this Union.

I look forward to working with the other members of the caucus, as well, who share the sentiment that our Federal Government has taken far too much authority over programs that State governments have traditionally been much more effective in administering. And I invite my other colleagues to join with us.

This is really as old as our Nation itself. Our founders were very clear when establishing our system of government. They intended to set up a republic of sovereign States capable of self-governing, with a small, central government with clearly defined and limited powers.

Only the powers specifically limited and set out in the Constitution are to be administered by the Federal Government. All others are to be left to the States, local governments, or to the people themselves.

Dividing sovereignty between the Federal Government and those of the States and localities prevents an unhealthy concentration of power at any one level of government, and this is something that James Madison in *The Federalist* No. 51 wrote is a "double security" for the people.

Unfortunately, throughout the last few generations in particular, the intent of the 10th amendment, that of a limited and efficient central government, has basically melted away. There are those who support a bigger, more centralized government. They believe that a government-run bureaucracy can make the best decisions for the American people. They believe the good is in higher taxes. Well, sir, I strongly disagree. As a Member of the House Budget Committee, I am very much aware of where this leads our government, an overbloated Federal Government, consumed by deficits of over \$400 billion that delivers sub-par public service.

Congress on almost a daily basis allows our government to grow, to push us further into debt and to take away from the limits imposed on the historic day when the Constitution was first ratified. What every Member of Congress needs to ask themselves each time they slide their card into one of these spots and votes, they must ask, does the bill I am voting on violate the U.S. Constitution? Does it take away the rights promised to our constituents and put them in the hands of the bureaucracy here in D.C. instead?