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House of Representatives

The House met at 10 a.m. and was called to order by the Speaker.

PRAYER

Rabbi Stephen A. Leon, Congregation B'Nai Zion, El Paso, Texas, offered the following prayer:

O Lord, ''This is the day that God has made, on it may we rejoice.''

These words from the Book of Psalms reflect the thoughts that are in my heart on this glorious day. Imagine if every person each day would arise and thank God for one more day of life, for one more precious moment to make a difference for good in this world.

How fortunate I feel to live in this blessed country of America where a rabbi from El Paso, Texas, is given the opportunity to offer a prayer before this historic assembly which represents the highest ideals of democracy.

May each of us here realize what awesome moments God gives us each day, and may we in partnership with the Almighty help speed that day when every person in the world will be privileged to live in peace and freedom.

Let us say, Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House her approval thereof.

Pursuant to clause 1, rule I, the Journal stands approved.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman from Texas (Mr. REYES) come forward and lead the House in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Mr. REYES led the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

WELCOMING RABBI STEPHEN A. LEON

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. REYES) is recognized for 1 minute.

There was no objection.

Mr. REYES. Madam Speaker, it is a real honor and privilege to have Rabbi Leon here this morning in this great people's House.

I want to especially welcome not just the rabbi but members of his family that are here. I know that back in my district, back in El Paso, people have gotten up extra early to see the rabbi give our opening prayer.

It's a real honor and a real privilege and pleasure.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER

The SPEAKER. The Chair will entertain up to 15 further requests for 1-minute speeches on each side of the aisle.

THE ECONOMY HAS NOT BEEN RESCUED

(Mr. BOEHNER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. BOEHNER. Madam Speaker, American families and small businesses are hurting. The economy has been hurting; but this morning, in previewing the President's speech tonight, our former colleague, the President's chief of staff, said this: We've rescued the economy.

Now, I'm sure that the 9.5 percent unemployment rate that we have in our country today—and from most economic experts on its way up, don't believe that we've rescued the economy. The 11.1 percent unemployment rate that we have in Ohio, I'm sure those people are looking up today wondering, wait a minute, the President's going to say we rescued the economy? I don't think so.

Not only has the stimulus bill not worked and the economy not been rescued, the President continues to promote policies that will create more unemployment in America.

The national energy tax that went through this House last month will cause millions of Americans to lose their jobs over the next 10 years, like 2.5 million per year. And we're debating the health care plan, the government takeover of health care, which according to the President's Council of Economic Advisers' model will cost 5 million more Americans their jobs.

I don't believe that the economy has been rescued.

H.R. 1503 IS A SHAMEFUL PLOY TO STIR UP FEAR AND DISSENSION

(Mr. PASCRELL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. PASCRELL. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to H.R. 1503, the so-called ''Birther Bill.'' You ought to read it.

H.R. 1503 is predicated on the vicious and false rumor that circulates among fringe elements of our society that Barack Obama is not a citizen of the United States and his Presidency is, therefore, illegitimate.

I bring you a copy—and I hold it up—of his birth certificate which has been authenticated in the State of Hawaii by the Department of Health, and I also hold up an announcement in the newspaper on August 14.

Yet, despite being proved categorically untrue time and time again, this rumor stays alive because of tacit acknowledgment embodied in this legislation from legislators in this room. Anything to bring the messenger down.

These rumors hurt America. They hurt the strength of our country. The fact that some Members of the minority would embrace this hateful rhetoric stuns me.

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These allegations have no grounding in fact, and this bill is nothing more than a shameful ploy to stir fear and dissension in the minds of the American people.

BIPARTISAN SOLUTIONS ARE BEST

(Mr. WILSON of South Carolina asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WILSON of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, Republicans agree we need to reform the health care system. Yet the Democrat leadership hide behind closed doors. They've chosen to go it alone; and as a result, they have a scheme of proposals that adds to the deficit, spends over $1 trillion, enacts a government takeover of health care, and has garnered bipartisan opposition.

Democrats should sit down at the table with Republicans and work on a bipartisan plan of reform. Republicans have commonsense solutions that will help Americans afford insurance, regardless of preexisting conditions. We want to provide small businesses the resources and freedom to offer and keep insurance for their employees.

House Republicans and the American people do not believe we need to let Big Government take over our health care, ration out the taxpayer-subsidized care, and raise taxes on small businesses that will, according to the National Federation of Independent Businesses, cost 1.6 million jobs lost, in addition to the 2.6 million jobs lost since January.

In conclusion, God bless our troops and we will never forget September the 11th in the global war on terrorism.

GUARANTEEING HEALTH CARE FOR ALL AMERICANS

(Mr. BUTTERFIELD asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. BUTTERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, one of our core Democratic principles in seeking health care reform is gaining control over health care costs. Contrary to my friend, the minority leader, what he said a few minutes ago, this is not government takeover of health care. It's about guaranteeing health care for all Americans and reducing the costs of health care which are just spiraling out of control.

If we fail to control health care costs, families will continue to be burdened with higher premiums and unaffordable out-of-pocket expenses; businesses will be forced to drop coverage or lay off workers; and our national and State budgets will become unsustainable.

Without reform, the costs of health care for the average family of four are projected to rise $1,800 annually for years to come.

In my home district of North Carolina alone, there were 400 health care-related bankruptcies last year, caused primarily by health care costs not being covered by insurance.

The reforms would cap out-of-pocket expenses at $10,000 per year, ensuring that no American will have to face financial ruin due to health care costs.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to work together to find solutions.

□ 1015

HEALTH CARE BILL

(Mr. POE of Texas asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. POE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the administration is demanding that Congress pass nationalized health care before we go back to our districts for the August work period. They said it's urgent, that we have to do it or it will be the end of health care in America forever.

That's what was said about the Wall Street bailout. Congress had to pass the Wall Street bailout in 24 hours or we were all going to die. And it passed. And it's a miserable failure.

Next came the so-called stimulus bill. It was over a thousand pages long, filed in the darkness of night. Nobody had a chance to read it. We were told we had to vote on it immediately or the world would end. Well, none of that happened. The stimulus bill, too, was a disaster for our country.

Hasn't Congress learned its lesson that quickly passing legislation because Presidents say so is a bad idea?

Most Americans don't like this health care bill. They don't want it. It's going to raise taxes. So what's the rush? We need to get health care right instead of just getting it done. The very lives of the American people depend on it. Besides, the administration's current health care bill is a sick solution for America.

And that's just the way it is.

RETURN FISCAL DISCIPLINE TO CONGRESS

(Mr. HEINRICH asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. HEINRICH. Mr. Speaker, I'm proud today to be an original cosponsor of the PAYGO legislation that we're going to see on the floor later today because it represents a return to the responsible budgeting principles that we saw in the 1990s.

During that time, the Federal Government made difficult fiscal decisions, but those tough choices took our country from record deficits to record surpluses. Yet, the Bush administration abandoned PAYGO in 2002, and our country has returned to record deficits that have since doubled our national debt.

Mr. Speaker, we owe it to the working families that elected us to match their tough household budgeting decisions during these difficult economic times. We must once again commit to reduce our national deficit and to tighten the purse strings here in Washington.

I urge my colleagues to vote for this legislation and to return fiscal discipline to the Congress.

GOVERNMENT SPENDING

(Mr. WITTMAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. WITTMAN. Mr. Speaker, I come before you today to highlight exactly how out of control government spending has become. As some in Congress charge towards a more than $1 trillion health care bill with little regard for our national debt, I think a reminder of how much we have already spent is in order.

This year's budget increased spending to $4 trillion. That's 48 percent of GDP, the highest since World War II. For FY 2009 alone, we have a $2 trillion deficit. This summer, we've been busy passing bills with double-digit increases in spending. Already, there have been mentions of tax increases to cover our financial obligations.

Where does all of this stop? Sadly, it would appear, not in this Congress.

We only have to look towards the West Coast to see a cautionary tale of a government with no fiscal discipline. In California, they've laid off thousands of workers, withheld tax refunds, and started paying contractors with IOUs. Their finances are in shambles.

We have a clear example of how reckless spending can paralyze a State. I hope all Members of this body learn from that important lesson.

LET'S GET IT DONE

(Mrs. CAPPS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mrs. CAPPS. Mr. Speaker, the time for health reform is now. The American people want it. The American economy needs it, and we will pass a comprehensive health care bill out of this Chamber before we break for August recess.

We will pass a bill to reform health care that ends the current system of insurance company executives lining their pockets by denying you the care you need. We will pass a bill that keeps your health coverage intact even if you lose your job or face a sudden illness, and we will pass a bill that brings health care spending under control.

It's easy to get caught up in the politics of Washington as we work on this legislation, but this is about so much more. It's about the American people. When we pass this legislation, when the President signs it into law, everyday families will finally be able to have access to reliable, affordable, quality health care.

Let's get it done.

SOLID SOLUTIONS

(Mr. REICHERT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. REICHERT. Mr. Speaker, under the current health care proposal in the House, the health coverage of 16 million Americans who hold individual market health plans is in jeopardy.

We've heard, ''If you like it, you can keep it,'' but this bill breaks that promise, takes away the freedom to choose, and drives up costs.

Under this bill, private providers of individual health plans will be prohibited from enrolling even one new member. It's simple economics. Without new enrollees, the existing members will only get older, get sicker. Costs will skyrocket and so will the premiums.

Cost will prevent the providers from providing quality coverage. Cost will force 16 million Americans out of their current health care coverage. This is not choice. This is not freedom.

Last week, I offered an amendment in the House Ways and Means Committee to stop this. The amendment was rejected.

I urge my colleagues to reject this bill so we can discuss solid solutions that will protect and strengthen health care of every American.

THE COST OF INACTION

(Mr. QUIGLEY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. QUIGLEY. I rise today because we cannot forget one important factor in the health care reform debate, that the cost of inaction far outweighs today's price tag.

We believe that we can live with our health care system as is; yet we forget, until we show up in the emergency room at 1 in the morning with our daughter who is sick, that there is already a bureaucrat in the room: our health insurance company.

We believe that those who are uncovered are costing us nothing; yet they are overwhelming our emergency care facilities and costing you, the taxpayer, overwhelming amounts in fees that they cannot pay out of pocket.

We believe that health care reform is synonymous with rising costs; yet we forget that costs are already on the rise. We're paying more out of pocket, whether covered by an insurance plan or not, and getting less.

If health care costs continue to increase at the rate they have, most American households will be spending 45 percent of their income on health insurance by 2016. Premiums have doubled in 9 years, three times faster than wages.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, the cost of inaction far outweighs today's price tag.

INTERNATIONAL TAX PROPOSALS

(Mr. ROSKAM asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. ROSKAM. Americans are seeing jobs sift through their fingers like so many grains of sand. We have seen 2 million jobs lost since the stimulus passed, millions more under the cap-and-tax scheme that moved through the House, and even millions more lost if the health care plan moves forward.

But our adventures don't stop there. The administration has proposed $200 billion in tax increases on worldwide American companies in the form of changes to tax deferral rules.

A report released in June, coauthored by a former Clinton administration official, acknowledged that the deferral changes would cost as many as 2.2 million American jobs.

This isn't about big, bad American companies. This is about American companies and workers having the tools to compete overseas to pursue 95 percent of the world's customers who are living outside of the United States and our borders.

Deferral is one of these tools that we need to make sure that is in place over the long run to make sure that Americans can compete in worldwide markets.

CONGRATULATING DR. JIM NAVE

(Ms. TITUS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Ms. TITUS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to congratulate a dear friend and admired leader in our community of Las Vegas, Dr. Jim Nave. Dr. Nave was recently recognized for his outstanding work as a veterinarian at the American Veterinary Medical Association's Annual Convention, where he received their award for his distinguished contributions to the advancement of veterinary medical organizations.

His achievements in the veterinary field are incomparable, both in quantity and in quality. He has served as president of the Nevada Veterinary Medical Association and on the Nevada Board of Veterinary Medical Examiners. He was also named Nevada's outstanding Veterinarian of the Year in 1988.

In addition, he has been both the chair of the AVMA executive board and president of that organization, where he helped establish a mentoring program, create the National Commission on Veterinary Economic Issues, and restore the rank of brigadier general to the leader of the Army Veterinary Corps, in which he served, earning the Bronze Star for his brave action in Vietnam.

Dr. Nave is an internationally respected leader in the field, and I congratulate him for receiving AVMA's most prestigious award. I also thank him on behalf of the people of Las Vegas and their beloved pets for all his compassion and his dedication.

SPENDING SPREE IN CONGRESS

(Ms. FALLIN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Ms. FALLIN. American families have taken a hit time and time again, and they are hurting. The stock market has tanked, gas prices spiked, hundreds of thousands of jobs have been lost, and unemployment has soared.

It is no secret that we need to reform our Nation's health care system and provide relief to American families throughout this country by helping them with access to affordable health care and quality coverage for healthy living. But we can't do this unless we rein in the excessive costs and prevent an explosive deficit in spending.

In just 7 months, this House passed an energy bill that will cost American families $846 billion in new taxes and a $1 trillion economic stimulus bill that is yet to create the jobs it was predicted to do. Our national debt now stands at $11.5 trillion.

House leaders now have been on a spending spree and are about to raise taxes even higher for this health care reform bill. This approach is wrong, and the American people know it.

Mr. Speaker, with all this spending in this bill, I cannot find a sincere attempt to rein in the cost and increase access to quality care. I only see more regulation, less choice, and major tax increases on families and businesses. There are market-based solutions to provide affordable health care and to make it more portable and to have quality access to quality care.

Unless we are able to reform this health care system, it is going to be another spending spree here in Congress.

SOME HISTORICAL FACTS

(Mr. MORAN of Virginia asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. MORAN of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, people are entitled to their own opinions but not their own set of facts. The historical facts are that it was the Reagan-Bush administration that busted the budget year after year establishing unprecedented deficits.

But then the Clinton administration came in, passed the Balanced Budget Amendment, against Republican opposition, implemented the PAYGO concept, and generated $5.6 trillion of projected surpluses. In fact, Alan Greenspan was worried about too much surplus.

Then, the Republican Bush administration comes in, rejected the PAYGO concept, passes two tax cuts, starts a war, not one dime of which were ever paid for, and now the Democrats will come back and pass statutory PAYGO because PAYGO is defining of the Democrat Party's commitment to fiscal responsibility and accountability.

DENY FUNDING TO PLANNED PARENTHOOD

(Mr. PENCE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PENCE. The time has come to deny any and all funding to Planned

Parenthood of America. The largest abortion provider in America should not also be the largest recipient of Federal funding under title X.

Today, I filed an amendment to block any funds under title X in the Labor-HHS Appropriations bill from going to Planned Parenthood again. It's the same amendment that was supported by 189 bipartisan Members in the year 2007, and I'm confident it would enjoy broad support again.

The Pence amendment would simply prevent funds under title X from going to Planned Parenthood. It would not reduce the total amount of funds available for ethical family planning services.

The truth, is title X clinics do important work in the underserved communities around this country. A number of federally funded clinics across the Nation offer beneficial services, including patient counseling, breast cancer screening, and ethical family planning.

By contrast, Planned Parenthood's annual report reports that it received $350 million in revenue from government grants and contracts. In the same annual report, they boast 305,000 abortions provided.

Title X money should go to meet the underserved community, not to provide offsetting resources for the largest abortion provider in America.

□ 1030

THE AMERICAN GRADUATION INITIATIVE

(Mr. SCHAUER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. SCHAUER. Today I want to tell you about Ray Roddy from Hillsdale, Michigan. Ray was laid off from his job making engine components and realized he would need further education to find another job. He enrolled at Jackson Community College and is working hard to become a nurse. Ray isn't alone. In the last 2 years, 6.5 million Americans have lost their jobs and many remain unemployed.

In today's economy with rising unemployment, it is critical to invest in our future by increasing the number of college graduates. That's why I support President Obama's American Graduation Initiative. This initiative will help prepare Americans for the jobs of the 21st century. It will help people like Ray gain the education and skills they need to compete in the global economy. It will also establish new grants to help community colleges improve access to education and build ties to businesses to increase graduates' chances of gaining employment. With the American Graduation Initiative, the number of unemployed Americans will be dramatically reduced in the next 10 years by helping 5 million people earn more college degrees. Ray Roddy needs a job, and he is going to get one. Thanks to this exciting initiative, so will 5 million other Americans.

URGING MEMBERS TO PASS HEALTH CARE REFORM BEFORE THE AUGUST RECESS

(Ms. PINGREE of Maine asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Ms. PINGREE of Maine. Mr. Speaker, I rise today with tremendous hope and full confidence that we are finally moving forward with legislation that will put our health care system on the right track and bring quality, affordable health care to all Americans. I strongly support H.R. 3200, America's Affordable Health Choices Act. I believe that this is the right step for families, for small businesses, and for people in Maine and all across the country. But I also have a warning, a warning that comes from my experience in the Maine Legislature, a warning that comes from taking on the pharmaceutical companies, the insurance companies and the entrenched special interests that have done everything they can to block health care reform for a generation.

Mr. Speaker, if we go home for recess without passing this bill, we will give the special interests and their lobbyists 5 weeks to dump millions of dollars into ad campaigns that spread misinformation, fear and confusion. We will give them 5 weeks to do everything they can to kill the best chance we have had in a lifetime to move forward on significant health care reform. We must pass this bill now. We absolutely cannot afford to wait. I look forward to going back to my district in August and telling the good people of Maine that we didn't let them down.

HEALTH CARE REFORM WILL MAKE INSURANCE COMPANIES COMPETE FOR CUSTOMERS

(Mr. YARMUTH asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. YARMUTH. Mr. Speaker, we already know that the Republicans have committed themselves to doing everything possible to prevent this body from passing the health care reform that the American people desperately need and want. Yesterday and today, we've heard a Greek chorus of Republican talking points designed to misrepresent what we are trying to do to help the American people maintain and gain access to affordable quality care. Among the most glaring misrepresentations is that we're somehow going to force the American people to be insured in a public plan. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The essence of our proposal is to provide choice and competition so that insurance companies will have to compete for the American people's business rather than the American people having to beg for coverage, only to find that their coverage isn't adequate when they really need it. This is the type of reform that we need for this country, for the American people; and no Republican misrepresentations will prevent this body from acting.

AMERICANS DO NOT WANT BUREAUCRATS LIMITING HEALTH CARE OPTIONS

(Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, on a daily basis we make our own choices. From decisions as simple as paper or plastic, diet or regular, decaffeinated or high-test to ones as profound as Republican or Democrat and temple or church as the place we choose to worship. We come from a Nation of freedom that has allowed us to make choices in our lives. But if Democrats have their way, government bureaucrats will soon choose our health care. There is a television advertisement about a woman whose doctor told her to go get her affairs in order because she had cancer and less than 6 months to live. She then chose to go to a different provider, and several years later, she is still alive and healthy.

Under the Democratic proposal, an unelected official in Washington will be making health decisions for individuals and families across this Nation. Patient choice will be a thing of the past unless you are wealthy enough to go outside the system. When competition dies, so does quality.

Mr. Speaker, one of the reasons this Nation has the best health care in the world is competition and compassion. Let's choose not to lose that quality and to continue to be able to go to the physician who can best serve our needs.

AMERICANS WITH PREEXISTING CONDITIONS NEED HEALTH INSURANCE TOO

(Ms. KILROY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Ms. KILROY. Mr. Speaker, as we have worked these last several months on the issue of health care, I have engaged my community in a variety of townhall meetings, forums and opportunities for them to let me know what they need out of the health care bill, to tell me their stories. I would like to share one of those with you. My constituent writes, This is not my story, but it is the story of a close friend who died last November at the age of 50. During his life, he was afflicted with diabetes and heart disease. He was self-employed and could not get health insurance because of his preexisting conditions. A few months prior to his death, he asked me to review a brochure advertising a plan to get discounts on various things, including medical services and drugs, but clearly stated it was not insurance. I told him the company was not promising anything, only a hope that discounts could be obtained. He was going to pay the $178 per month premium anyway because he couldn't get insurance or any

other kind of help. A few months later, he suddenly died.

Mr. Speaker, we have an opportunity here with H.R. 3200 to pass a bill of historic proportions to address issues such as this constituent and many Americans are facing, to have a health care plan that is affordable and accessible for all Americans, that will lower the cost of health insurance, to provide a public option that gives people a choice of doctors and plans, and puts an emphasis on prevention and wellness. I urge my colleagues to support this bill.

RESTORING FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY THROUGH THE STATUTORY PAY-AS-YOU-GO ACT

(Mr. CONNOLLY of Virginia asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CONNOLLY of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of H.R. 2920, the Statutory Pay-As-You-Go, or PAYGO, Act as a long overdue return to fiscal responsibility. We hear a lot from our colleagues and friends on the other side of the aisle talking about their newfound concern about deficits. But it was a Republican Congress that allowed PAYGO legislation to expire in 2002 even after, in fact, it worked to produce two consecutive surpluses in 1999 and 2000 under a Democratic President. Unfortunately the Republican-controlled Congress didn't renew PAYGO in 2002, leaving us, once again, with annual deficits that this year now reached $1 trillion, most of it on their watch.

Mr. Speaker, the cure for deficits is not floor speeches, catchphrases or expensively produced charts. The cure is fiscal responsibility. This House, if it's going to be serious about fiscal responsibility, must return to statutory PAYGO. I support the bill.

A HEALTH INSURANCE COMPANY HORROR STORY

(Ms. SCHAKOWSKY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Ms. SCHAKOWSKY. A health insurance company horror story about Robin Beaton, a 59-year-old woman who was a registered nurse for 30 years, healthy, with health insurance. She retired to set up her own small business and got an individual policy with Blue Cross/Blue Shield. She went to the dermatologist for acne. A word was written on her chart that, interpreted incorrectly, as meaning precancerous. Here are her words, Shortly thereafter, I was diagnosed with a very aggressive form of breast cancer and was told I needed a double mastectomy. The Friday before the Monday I was scheduled to have my double mastectomy, Blue Cross red-flagged my report due to the dermatologist's report. The dermatologist called Blue Cross directly to report I had only acne and pleaded not to hold up the surgery. Then Blue Cross called to inform her that they were launching a 5-year medical investigation into her medical history and that she would not be able to have the surgery. She was frantic. Then she found out that the insurance policy that she had been paying premiums on was canceled altogether. She says, The sad thing is Blue Cross took my premiums, and when I was suspected of having cancer, they searched for a reason to cancel me. This happened, and 7 months later the tumor doubled in size, went into her lymph nodes; and now her prognosis is worse.

We have an opportunity today to bring peace of mind to all Americans and pass health insurance reform.

PAYGO LEGISLATION WILL HELP US MOVE FROM DEFICIT TO SURPLUS

(Ms. WATSON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Ms. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, the House will be taking up statutory PAYGO legislation which will restore the policy that led from deficits to surpluses under the Clinton administration. Statutory PAYGO is a necessary step to restore fiscal discipline and begin bringing down the deep deficits that face our Nation. Without reducing the deficit, we won't be able to invest in vital priorities, including health care, education and clean energy.

The bill on the floor this week requires all new policies that either reduce revenues or expand entitlement spending be offset over 5 and 10 years. Discretionary spending is not subject to PAYGO and exceptions can be made for emergencies. We also take into account the political reality that several policies will continue, as in past Congresses, and allow them to be extended without offsets. Medicare physician payments, alternative minimum tax, middle class tax cuts and the current estate tax rates. I hope that all Members will support our PAYGO bill.

HEALTH CARE WILL BENEFIT AMERICAN ENTREPRENEURIAL INITIATIVES

(Mr. POLIS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. POLIS. Mr. Speaker, before I was elected to the House of Representatives, I was an entrepreneur. I started several technology companies. Entrepreneurs across this country are a constant source of creativity, of job creation, of unleashing their creative potential to create jobs and bring new products and services to the marketplace. There are people today, Mr. Speaker, that would love to be entrepreneurs but for the fact that they are wedded and trapped in jobs because of the nontransportability of their health care. Mr. Speaker, for them and their families, they have to keep their current jobs. They can't go off on their own. They can't start new companies. They might have great ideas that would unlock great value, and yet they are prohibited from doing so.

One of the great benefits of the Obama health care plan is that we will allow people to pursue their potential, to create jobs, to go off on their own without taking that risk of losing health care for them and their families. By doing so, we can unleash the potential of the American people and entrepreneurs across the country to create value and create jobs.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Ms. Curtis, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate has passed without amendment a bill and a concurrent resolution of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 2245. An act to authorize the President, in conjunction with the 40th anniversary of the historic and first lunar landing by humans in 1969, to award gold medals on behalf of the United States Congress to Neil A. Armstrong, the first human to walk on the moon; Edwin E. ''Buzz'' Aldrin, Jr., the pilot of the lunar module and second person to walk on the moon; Michael Collins, the pilot of their Apollo 11 mission's command module; and, the first American to orbit the Earth, John Herschel Glenn, Jr.

H. Con. Res. 164. Concurrent resolution recognizing the 40th anniversary of the Food and Nutrition Service of the Department of Agriculture.

The message also announced that pursuant to Public Law 111–25, the Chair, on behalf of the Majority Leader, announces the appointment of the following individuals to serve as members of the Ronald Reagan Centennial Commission:

Sig Rogich of Nevada.

Frank Fahrenkoph of Nevada.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF STATUTORY PAY-AS-YOU-GO ACT OF 2009

Mr. ARCURI. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 665 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 665

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to consider in the House the bill (H.R. 2920) to reinstitute and update the Pay-As-You-Go requirement of budget neutrality on new tax and mandatory spending legislation, enforced by the threat of annual, automatic sequestration. The first reading of the bill shall be dispensed with. All points of order against consideration of the bill are waived except those arising under clause 9 or 10 of rule XXI. The amendment in the nature of a substitute printed in part A of the report of the Committee on Rules accompanying this resolution, modified by the amendment printed in part B of the report of the Committee on Rules, shall be considered as adopted. The bill, as amended, shall be considered as read. All points of order against provisions of the bill, as amended, are waived. The previous

question shall be considered as ordered on the bill, as amended, to final passage without intervening motion except: (1) one hour of debate equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Budget; (2) the amendment in the nature of a substitute printed in part C of the report of the Committee on Rules, if offered by Representative Ryan of Wisconsin or his designee, which shall be in order without intervention of any point of order except those arising under clause 9 or 10 of rule XXI, shall be considered as read, and shall be separately debatable for one hour equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent; and (3) one motion to recommit with or without instructions.

SEC. 2. For purposes of the concurrent resolution on the budget, the amounts specified in section 421(a)(2)(A) and section 421(a)(2)(C) shall be considered to be those reflected in section 314 and section 316, respectively, of the House companion measure.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. WEINER). The gentleman from New York is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. ARCURI. Mr. Speaker, for purposes of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. DREIER). All time yielded during consideration of the rule is for debate only.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. ARCURI. I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks and insert extraneous materials into the RECORD.

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

There was no objection.

□ 1045

Mr. ARCURI. I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today as a member of the Rules Committee and of the fiscally conservative Blue Dog Coalition and as a proud supporter of this rule and H.R. 2920, the Statutory Pay-As-You-Go bill.

When the 110th Congress convened in 2007, I strongly supported the reinstatement of the pay-as-you-go principles in the rules of the House. Today, we will take up the next step toward reinstating the statutory pay-as-you-go rule. These statutory requirements helped turn deficits into surpluses in the 1990s under the Clinton administration. When the previous statute expired, Mr. Speaker, the result was a return to unchecked deficit spending, which doubled the national debt in less than a decade. This is not a Democratic problem. This is not a Republican problem. Rather, this is a problem for all of us.

The American people deserve better. We in Congress must be forced to balance our spending the same way that every American family does. We should not spend what we cannot afford. In order to spend a dollar, we must find a dollar either in savings or in new revenue.

Mr. Speaker, my colleagues on the other side of the aisle may try to argue semantics and say that this is an imperfect bill. If this is the case, I would simply remind my colleagues that every journey is completed one step at a time. This bill is just a first step. It is part of a clearly delineated path toward fiscal responsibility.

To date, this Congress has passed critical pieces of legislation, like the expansion of the SCHIP, which provides health insurance to 11 million children, and we did so in a way that was completely paid for, showing our commitment to fiscal responsibility. Earlier this year, we adopted a budget resolution that placed the full cost of war spending on the books for the first time. These are steps in the right direction. This bill continues these important steps in the direction of fiscal responsibility.

This legislation will require that all new policies of reducing revenues or of expanding spending enacted during a session of Congress be offset over 5 and 10 years. It will require any future extension of upper-income tax cuts to be offset, and it will force a serious examination of wasteful subsidies in the budget and of tax loopholes that can be eliminated to offset more worthwhile programs.

Finally, the statute would not be complete without an enforcement mechanism. The Congressional Budget Office will continue to score legislation passed by Congress. The Office of Management and Budget will keep a running scorecard for all of the revenue generated in new spending enacted during a year. If we have not fully offset the legislation enacted during the session, it will trigger an automatic sequester of funds from mandatory spending programs.

Mr. Speaker, the American people have spoken, and they want a return to a fiscally responsible Congress that abides by pay-as-you-go principles. This is the legislation that will make that a reality. As a member of the Blue Dog Coalition, I have worked, since being elected to Congress, to reenact statutory PAYGO, and I strongly urge my fellow colleagues to vote for this rule on H.R. 2920.

I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, let me begin by expressing my appreciation to my Rules Committee colleague for yielding me the customary 30 minutes, and I yield myself such time as I might consume.

Mr. Speaker, today is the 22nd of July. We are just over halfway through calendar year 2009, and the Federal deficit has exceeded $1 trillion. That's not with an M. That's not with a B. That's with a T; $1 trillion. It's so much money that we can't even fathom exactly how much it is. You know, I've spent a while here, and I can't imagine $1 trillion. It's the amount of money already that the Federal Government not has spent; it's the amount of money, Mr. Speaker, that the Federal Government has already overspent as we are just halfway through this year. At the rate that we're going, by the end of the year, the deficit will approach $2 trillion.

Now, Mr. Speaker, if you think about that, about the amount that we have overspent and that we have spent more than was actually taken in, then actually, based on this annual number, it quite possibly could be larger than the entire Federal budget was just a decade ago.

The American people are paying attention. They're paying attention, and they don't believe that such wantonly irresponsible spending is ever justified. They're particularly outraged that it's coming at a time when they are revamping their own budgets, are cutting out every penny of waste and are saving every penny that they possibly can.

Our economic challenges have fundamentally changed Americans' budgeting habits. They're spending less; they're saving more; they're paying off their debts; and they're asking themselves, Why is my government doing precisely the opposite?

Well, the American families are spending less; they are saving more, and they are paying down their debts. We here in Washington, D.C. are doing the opposite, and they can't understand why that's continuing to happen. During very difficult and challenging economic times, why is Congress spending trillions on bailouts and proposing new taxes that will burden our families even more? Why is it racking up so much debt that our kids, grandkids and great grandkids won't even be able to pay it off?

So much concern is mounting over the profligate spending of this Congress that it comes as absolutely no surprise that the Democratic leadership wants to give the appearance of an interest in fiscal responsibility. Quite frankly, Mr. Speaker, as I go through the analysis of this, and the American people are going to understand, we will find that this is simply dealing with the appearance of trying to be fiscally responsible.

The leadership on the other side of the aisle wants to be able to send out a press release to say that they care about this $1 trillion deficit spending that has taken place in the last 6 months and that they're doing something about it.

Unfortunately, rather than actually reining in the deficit, what has happened? They've proposed a bill that will do nothing to restore any semblance of responsibility and accountability to the Federal budget.

As any hardworking American knows, living within our means during tough economic times is painful, but it's not terribly complicated. You have to reduce your spending. It's very simple. The Democratic leadership will say that the bill before us today requires Congress to spend only what it can pay for, but this claim is not terribly accurate.

First of all, this bill does absolutely nothing to limit discretionary spending, which is 40 percent of the entire

Federal budget. Let me say that again, Mr. Speaker. If you think about a family who has to reduce its expenses and who has to rein in its own personal spending, this family doesn't have the luxury of saying, Oh, well, here is 40 percent that I will exempt. That is exactly what is happening with this measure.

This bill makes it virtually impossible for Congress to implement tax reforms that will get our economy growing again and that will increase Federal revenues. If the Democratic leadership were actually interested in reducing the deficit, they would simply implement spending caps, caps on spending. That's the way to do it. Instead, they have merely produced a fig leaf of a bill, a fig leaf so they can send out that press release and can then go right on spending this country into oblivion, which is exactly what has been happening. The proposal before us does nothing but mandate tax increases while leaving discretionary spending completely unchecked.

Now, Mr. Speaker, this is not a theoretical discussion that I am engaging in right now. We've been living under the Democratic leadership's so-called ''PAYGO rules'' for 2½ years. When they reinstated PAYGO at the start of the last Congress, they said it would eliminate deficit spending. Now what has actually happened? The deficit has skyrocketed from $162 billion in fiscal '07 to, as I said, this estimated $1.8 trillion. So from $162 billion in 2007 to $1.8 trillion. Again, that's just the deficit. That's a tenfold increase, and it all happened under this Democratic majority with these brilliant PAYGO rules that have been put into place.

This bill will not cut the deficit. This bill will not help to restore our economy. I will say quite frankly, Mr. Speaker, I am really quite concerned that some will believe, with the passage of this bill, that we have now addressed the problems and that it will lure many on the other side of the aisle to continue on the road that they've been going down for the past 2½ years.

The true purpose of this bill is a very, very unfortunate one. The first is to attempt to provide political cover for Members who want to have it both ways, carrying the mantle of fiscal responsibility while voting for trillion-dollar spending boondoggles.

The second is to make meaningful tax reform impossible to implement. If we abide by the plan that was laid out in this bill, we cannot offer tax relief to a single working American without raising one's taxes at the same time. This includes tax relief that has been proven to increase Federal revenues. We won't be able to do that under this measure. Tax relief that has proven to increase dramatically the flow of revenues of the Federal Treasury would not be allowed under this measure.

In 2003, we cut the capital gains tax rate by 5 percent. Guess what happened, Mr. Speaker? Capital gains tax revenues, that's revenues to the Federal Treasury. And we cut the capital gains rate by 5 percent, doubled in a 2-year period of time. This tax relief is set to expire next year. Guess what? Under this bill, we can't extend it without raising taxes.

So, if we double revenues by cutting the capital gains tax, it doesn't take a Ph.D. to guess what will happen if we are forced to raise taxes. This bill ties our hands where flexibility is necessary, and it fails to implement strict guidelines where accountability is desperately needed.

Even the Democratic leadership doesn't take this bill very seriously, adding in five pages of exemptions to an already worthless attempt at fiscal responsibility. I find it interesting that they would even bother with these exemptions, considering that they waive their own PAYGO rules all the time. In the last Congress alone, they waived these rules to allow for legislation that increased the deficit by $420 billion. Now, in this Congress, they continue to use procedural gimmicks to get around their own budget rules, which is why it comes as no surprise that we've already passed the trillion-dollar deficit spending mark here on July 22.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues: don't be fooled by what is clearly an attempt to cover up the worst spending pattern that we have seen in the history of the United States of America. The American people are figuring this out. They know what it takes to make ends meet; and while they are reining in their spending and are dealing with the economic challenges that they're facing at this time, they know that we are moving in the opposite direction. Reject this rule and the bill. Instead, we must demand true accountability for our constituents' tax dollars.

With that, I am pleased and privileged to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. ARCURI. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts, a member of the Rules Committee (Mr. MCGOVERN).

Mr. MCGOVERN. I thank my colleague for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this rule and in support of the underlying statutory PAYGO legislation.

As a member of the Budget Committee, I am proud to be an original cosponsor of this bill, and I want to thank our incredible chairman, JOHN SPRATT, for all of his hard work.

Now, some of my colleagues may be asking themselves, Why in the heck is a liberal Democrat from Massachusetts speaking in support of PAYGO? Well, it's true, Mr. Speaker, that I have never been mistaken for a Blue Dog. I support this legislation because I despise this debt just as strongly as any Member of this House. I support this legislation because I have two young children, and I don't want to saddle them with a bankrupt Nation. I support this legislation precisely because it helps support the programs that I care most deeply about.

□ 1100

Every single dollar that we spend on interest on the debt is a dollar that we can't spend on health care. It's a dollar that we can't spend on education or environmental protection or on transportation projects or tax breaks for middle class Americans. It's a dollar we can't spend on supporting our servicemen and -women or ending hunger. In short, every dollar we spend on this debt is a dollar that we cannot invest in the American people, and that is why we need this bill.

I am also pleased that this bill before us today protects the most vulnerable Americans. The bill protects Social Security, veterans programs, food stamps, and child nutrition programs and other essential services.

Now, we hear a lot of rhetoric from the other side about how awful the deficit is, and they're right. But here's a question: Where were you for the last 8 years? Why did you allow PAYGO to expire when you were in the majority? Where were you when the Bush administration inherited a surplus and proceeded to squander it on tax cuts for the wealthy few?

Now, if someone wants to argue that bigger tax breaks for millionaires is good economic policy, that's fine, but under this bill, they will be forced to acknowledge the cost of those tax cuts and show how they would pay for them. I don't think that's too much to ask. This bill before us at long last will take a good long look at wasteful subsidies and special-interest tax loopholes.

Mr. Speaker, all of us, Democrats and Republicans, like to talk a good game about deficit reduction, but this is where the rubber meets the road. It's our time to put our votes where our rhetoric is.

It's time to pass statutory PAYGO. It's time to dig this economy out of the ditch that the Republican leadership created, and I urge my colleagues to support this good bill.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I might consume to simply say to my good friend from Worcester, I absolutely look forward to the day when we will not be constantly looking backward and blaming the last Congress and President Bush for every ailment of society. We need to look forward. And the thing that's been happening in the last 6 months is we've seen this dramatic surge in spending and the idea of engaging in class warfare. Taxing those who are job creators, who have created opportunity for millions of working Americans, is, I don't believe, the best way to deal with the challenges that we have.

At this point, I'm happy to yield to our hardworking colleague from Jefferson, Louisiana (Mr. SCALISE).

Mr. SCALISE. I want to thank the gentleman from California for yielding time and for the comments that he made earlier against the bill and the rule. And I rise, as well, in opposition to the bill because this bill, this

PAYGO bill as it's dubbed, does nothing to control spending. I strongly believe we need to get our fiscal house in order.

I think if you look at the actions of this administration since President Obama became President in January and Speaker PELOSI continued her reign, and she has been in office for 2½ years now as the Speaker, Harry Reid over in the Senate as well, you have seen spending get out of control here in this Congress, and it's done so under PAYGO.

The PAYGO rule that they are trying to put into law has gotten us to a point today where we're facing a $1.8 trillion, with a ''T,'' deficit.

Just last week the Federal deficit this year exceeded $1 trillion. These are numbers that have never been seen before in the history of our country, and it all happened under this rule that we're hearing all of these Fourth of July speeches about how great PAYGO is and how PAYGO is going to require fiscal responsibility. We have PAYGO today, and it has given us a $1.8 trillion deficit this year.

And so what I proposed in the Rules Committee last night was an actual ability to require some strict discipline on PAYGO by taking out the exemptions, the loopholes. You would ask yourself if we've got PAYGO, and if the people on the other side that are talking about it and they say how wonderful it's going to be, well, if it's so good, how could it have yielded us a $1.8 trillion deficit?

That's because PAYGO is a hoax. PAYGO is waived every time they want to spend money that we don't have. So they simply waive it. In fact, in the stimulus bill earlier this year, the largest spending bill in the history of our country, $787 billion of money that we don't have, it was rammed through Congress. Not one person who voted for it had the opportunity to read it, but the President said it had to be done quickly because it's going to create millions of jobs. Well, we've seen now that is a failure.

Where are the jobs? Two million more Americans have lost their jobs since the stimulus bill passed. And the bill passed without the funding in place, without any kind of offsets, no cuts at all; in fact, $787 billion of new spending under the PAYGO rule.

So you would ask yourself if PAYGO is so good, how could a $787 billion unfunded bill pass under that rule? Well, that's because they simply waived the rule. It's right here in the rule that they passed on the stimulus bill. Many of the people that are coauthors of this bill were happy to vote to waive it, and they were able to waive it with a simple majority vote. And this bill that they're talking about today has the same language that still allows PAYGO to be waived any time they feel like looking the other way.

And you would say, Oh, they wouldn't do that. Well, sorry to tell you, in the last Congress, 12 times they waived PAYGO.

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

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I'm happy to yield my friend an additional 2 minutes.

Mr. SCALISE. So 12 times in the last Congress alone they waived PAYGO by a simple majority vote.

I had an amendment last night in the Rules Committee to require a three-fifths vote to say if you really want to install fiscal discipline, then put a high bar so you can't just waive it every time you want to spend money you don't have. Guess what? Not one person on the other side supported that amendment.

I've cosponsored a constitutional amendment that requires that we balance our Federal budget. Many States have a similar fiscal discipline that's placed in their constitutions. Unfortunately, we don't have anything like that here in Washington, and the results are that this Congress is spending at unprecedented levels that's led to these debts.

And one other hidden secret about PAYGO. It is allowed to cut spending. Some people around here don't know what cutting spending means; they just keep growing spending. But when PAYGO has been used, 34 times in the last Congress it was used not to cut spending but to raise taxes.

So once again, not only is PAYGO a hoax, it doesn't stop spending from being out of control at all because it's been waived every time they wanted to spend money, like in the stimulus bill, but 34 times in the last 2 years, PAYGO was used to raise taxes on American families.

And so if you wonder why your tax burden keeps going up and up and up and then you've got this thing called PAYGO that sounds really good and you hear all of these Fourth of July speeches on the other side about fiscal discipline, well, fiscal discipline to them means raising taxes on American families or just waiving it when you feel like spending money that you don't have.

The American people deserve better. They deserve honesty and transparency in their government, not some bill that purports to be about fiscal discipline and yet can be waived any time they want to just look the other way. And judging by history, they've waived it every time they wanted to spend money that this country doesn't have.

We can hear about George Bush all day and about Republicans. For the last 2½ years the Democrats have been running Congress. NANCY PELOSI has been the Speaker. HARRY REID has been the Senate President and Barack Obama today is the President, and in the last 6 months we've seen spending at unprecedented levels with a $1.2 trillion deficit. PAYGO is a hoax. Let's get real fiscal discipline.

Mr. ARCURI. Methinks thou doth protest too much.

I listened to my friend from Louisiana, and all I hear are complaints about PAYGO. And then I see a sign that says, PAYGO equals tax increase, which actually means nothing at all, but it is a very nice sign. But, in fact, that's not at all what PAYGO is about. In fact, if PAYGO did nothing more than put a check on spending, I would say it's worth voting for. But my friend on the other side of the aisle says he doesn't support it.

You know, we see a lot of finger-pointing going on in Congress, everybody blames the other side, but the fact of the matter is, when they talk about spending, we are spending now because we are in the throes of a recession.

When the Republicans were in control of the House of Representatives, we see that they didn't reinstate PAYGO and they continued to spend. We have put the war on the books for the first time, which is a step in the right direction towards fiscal responsibility.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ARCURI. When I finish, I will be happy to yield.

When we hear my friend from Louisiana talk about PAYGO and talk about all of the problems with PAYGO, he doesn't acknowledge the fact that PAYGO does require that we spend only what we have. And if it did nothing else, he should support it. Yet he doesn't support it because it's more of the finger-pointing that we see in Congress.

I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DREIER. I thank my friend for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I would simply like to inquire of my friend as he talks about how great this PAYGO—

Mr. ARCURI. Reclaiming my time, I never said PAYGO was great. I said PAYGO is a step in the right direction. PAYGO is a step that we need to take, and that is what I said.

I would be happy to yield.

Mr. DREIER. I thank my friend for yielding. I apologize profusely, Mr. Speaker, if I put words into my friend's mouth. He did not use the word ''great'' to describe it, but I will say—and this is probably not much of a stretch—that he is here propounding the benefits of this legislation that is before us.

And in light of that, I would like to ask my friend, Mr. Speaker, if, in fact, we were to see this statutory implementation of PAYGO, if it would have any way diminished the kinds of increases that we've seen in the appropriations process that have already taken place in the nine bills passed, one of which had a 22 percent increase in spending. And I'd appreciate it if my friend would respond as to whether or not this bill would in any way turn the corner on that spending that we've seen.

Mr. ARCURI. My friend knows full well what the purpose of PAYGO is. And the purpose of PAYGO is to ensure that whatever money we spend in the

future, we have a way of providing for, either by creating cuts or by raising revenues in other ways. That's what PAYGO is all about, and it's about doing it over a 5-year and a 10-year period.

With that, Mr. Speaker, I would yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. CUELLAR).

Mr. CUELLAR. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to support this bill, H.R. 2920. I rise because there are many Americans who are living paycheck to paycheck, dollar to dollar.

As I traveled around my south Texas district from Laredo through the Rio Grande Valley, my constituents, like those around the country, are gathering around the kitchen tables to figure out how to make those hard financial decisions. They're making tough choices about which basic needs they can afford. Many live by a very simple principle. If you have $5, you spend $5. We should expect Congress to do the same.

So, today, I stand in support of the statutory pay-as-you-go legislation because it will rein in national spending and help reduce our national debt during these very difficult times.

If we return to the fiscal responsibility philosophy that we had in the 1990s when PAYGO spending created record budget surpluses, we would change our economy. Americans can't spend their money recklessly right now, and Congress shouldn't either. Our children deserve more, and the people in Texas and the Nation deserve better.

Today's consideration of PAYGO is a golden opportunity to start getting this country's bank account out of the red. It's time to stop the borrow-and-spend mentality. It's time to return to pay-as-you-go, especially as we consider the health care reform bill. It's important that we spend taxpayers' dollars wisely.

I've always been supportive of good government efforts to increase fiscal responsibility to make sure that we have an accountable and effective government. This is why the Blue Dogs have been supporting the performance-based budgeting bill to make sure that we have effective, accountable government. That increases government transparency and efficiency in spending.

Americans and Texans are doing their share to be fiscally responsible. Now it's time for Congress to do our part, and this is why we need to pass pay-as-you-go.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, my friend from Laredo is a very thoughtful Member and very good personal friend of mine, and I will say that the opening statement, I think, really gets right to this point, talking about how families have to deal with the economic challenges that we are facing today.

The thing that concerns me greatly is that when I engaged in a colloquy with my friend from Utica on whether or not the implementation of PAYGO would in any way reduce the appropriation levels that we've seen, one of which had a 22 percent increase, he responded by saying that I understood the process and knew that this would not in any way be able to actually take place. So I guess the answer to the question that I posed to my friend from Utica was ''no.''

So I would say to my friend from Laredo that I think that it's very important, Mr. Speaker, for us to realize that what we all want to——

Mr. ARCURI. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DREIER. Of course. I'd be happy to yield to my friend from Utica.

□ 1115

Mr. ARCURI. Half of the nondiscretionary spending is on the military. Do you think that we should be cutting the amount of spending that we do for the military?

Mr. DREIER. If I could reclaim my time, Mr. Speaker, I will say that I believe we need to have a cost-effective national defense. I believe that when we can bring about reductions in the level of expenditures when it comes to waste, fraud and abuse within the military, absolutely. I want to bring about those reductions. But when you, Mr. Speaker, look at the dramatic increases, the $1 trillion in deficit spending that has gone into a wide range of new areas into which the Federal Government has never ever been involved before, it is essential we recognize—

Mr. ARCURI. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DREIER. Yes, of course, I will yield.

Mr. ARCURI. Do you think that any increases in military spending that we have made should have been cut as well?

Mr. DREIER. If I can reclaim my time, Mr. Speaker, of course. I think that we have yet to deal, by the way, with the Department of Defense Appropriations bill. I know that it is going to be marked up. I anxiously look forward to seeing what this will consist of. But frankly, in the proposed budget I believe that that has, as an increase, one of the smallest levels of increases compared to the 22 percent increase that we saw on other appropriations bills.

The fact is there is a role for the Federal Government. The number one priority of the Federal Government happens to be the national security of the United States of America. And so to say that because we might have an increase in the level of defense expenditures, as we live in a very dangerous world, and that somehow justifies a multi—now what we are headed towards—a multitrillion-dollar increase in deficit spending is apples and oranges when one looks at what should happen.

So I would like to engage, if I might, with my friend from Laredo and say, as I look forward to yielding to him, that as we look at this challenge that families face when they are at the kitchen table, recognizing that with the difficult economic times that we have, they have to rein in their spending. They have to pay down their debts. They have to increase their level of savings. How is it that we, in this measure, can exempt 40 percent the discretionary spending level that is here? How is it that we can say that reducing rates on things like capital gains, which doubled the flow of revenues to the Federal Treasury when reduced by 5 percent, how is it that we can't do that any longer under this so-called PAYGO provision? And I would be happy to yield to my friend if he would like to respond.

Mr. CUELLAR. Sure. And again, thank you very much. I appreciate the comments of the gentleman from California, a good friend of mine. First, to answer this question, we have to look at history. When the PAYGO was implemented back in the 1990s, it expired in 2002. The majority at that time decided not to put it back again or reimplement it. We saw from history in early 2000 there was a surplus that we got. And I believe part of the reason was because we had a statutory pay-as-you-go provision. When this was let go, and it expired in 2002, you saw that the deficit—and again this deficit that you're talking about, and I'm concerned about it just like you are, but this deficit didn't occur on January 20 of this year. It is something that has been happening for the last 4 or 5 years.

So if I can just finish my thought, what we need to do is, I know that we have some differences, but I hope we can get both the Democrats and Republicans and both sides of the aisle working together to come up with a way that we can go ahead and stop this deficit. Because as you very well know, if I can just finish this, look, this is what we have. We have over $11 trillion in debt that we have right now. Forty percent of that is owned by foreign countries. And again, the gentleman from California, if you had a business, imagine what would happen if one day you woke up and your neighbor, your friendly competitor, suddenly owned 40 percent of your mortgage. That would put us in a very difficult situation. And this is what we are facing in this country.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend for his thoughtful remarks. If I could reclaim my time, I would simply say that as we look at the discretionary spending caps that were put into place in the 1990s with the PAYGO provision that were there, they were thrown out the window in the package that my friend is touting today. And my argument is that families don't have the luxury of saying, Oh, we will just exempt—let's go and buy a new car, we are going to purchase a new car.

You know what, we don't need to worry about how much the purchase of that new car is going be to. Let's just think about maybe the cost of some addition to the house, and we have to be

concerned about that. Families don't have that luxury. And my argument, Mr. Speaker, is that as my friends on the other side of the aisle tout this PAYGO measure as somehow relating to the challenges that families are having to make today, it is preposterous to do that because there is no correlation with the ability of the Congress to simply waive these provisions and the necessity that families are facing today.

And with that, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. ARCURI. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend from California for his comments. And I would just point out that we are in unprecedented times. We are in a time when we are conducting two wars overseas, one ending in Iraq and one continuing in Afghanistan. And that requires increases in military spending. It continues to require increases in veteran spending, which we have done. We have seen unprecedented natural disasters, which we have had to spend upon. We have seen an economy in a downturn. As a result of those things, it is necessary for spending to take place. I think my friend knows that.

With that, I will yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from South Dakota, a member of the Blue Dog Coalition, Ms. HERSETH SANDLIN.

Ms. HERSETH SANDLIN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York, a fellow member of the Blue Dog Coalition, for yielding. I rise today in strong support of the rule on H.R. 2920, the Statutory Pay-As-You-Go Act of 2009. I would especially like to thank Speaker PELOSI and Majority Leader HOYER, whose steadfast support for PAYGO rules have been absolutely essential to the efforts of the Blue Dog Coalition and others across the spectrum in our caucus, including GEORGE MILLER of California and PETER WELCH of Vermont, who have worked to restore this critically important budgetary tool, a tool that helped to move the Nation from dangerous deficits to surpluses in the late 1990s, a tool that was abandoned by the Republicans during the Bush administration.

In 2007, the new majority established House PAYGO rules in an effort to restore fiscal discipline to Congress. The House PAYGO rules and this statutory PAYGO bill stand for a simple principle: new entitlement spending and new tax cuts should be paid for. We can't have everything we want. We need to do what families in South Dakota and across the Nation do: make hard choices and budget responsibly. If not, make no mistake, our Nation will pay the price.

When OMB reports that we paid, as a Nation, $249 billion in net interest to service government debt in fiscal year 2008, we know something is terribly wrong with our priorities. Think of what we could do with an extra quarter of a trillion dollars. We could invest in needed priorities, or we could pay down the debt. The House PAYGO rules are the first step in countering the bad habits throughout the 8 years of the Bush administration. The massive buildup of debt that occurred over that period not only threatens our economic future but puts our national security at risk. By August of 2008, foreign-held debt had grown more than 200 percent, increasing from $1 trillion in January 2001 to $2.7 trillion, which works out to be more than 80 cents of every dollar of new debt issued since 2001 being bought by foreign entities. China alone upped its holdings of Treasury securities by 850 percent.

Today, we finally have a President who is committed to PAYGO. The first bill he sent to Congress was a statutory PAYGO bill. Many of our friends on the other side of the aisle have suddenly become concerned about deficits. And I welcome that concern. We should all be concerned about the national debt as one of the most pressing and most consequential issues facing our country. And we should likewise recognize statutory PAYGO as one tool among many, but a very strong tool, in forcing the Congress to spend within its means. Statutory PAYGO, controlling both spending and tax policies, is absolutely critical in the long term for long-term growth and prosperity. And that is something that people across the political spectrum should be able to agree on.

Many people talk about a commitment to fiscal responsibility. But no one can be taken seriously in that claim if they do not support the strong, effective and proven tool of statutory PAYGO. So today, Mr. Speaker, on behalf of our Nation's children and grandchildren, I urge the House, for colleagues on both sides of the aisle, to vote to restore this crucial tool of fiscal responsibility for the sake of the future of the Nation. I thank the gentleman from New York for the time.

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

Mr. ARCURI. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. HARMAN).

Ms. HARMAN. I thank the gentleman for yielding. I rise in strong support of this rule and the underlying PAYGO bill. For those who worry about hemorrhaging deficits and debt, this bill is for you. I was here in the early 1990s, in another century, and remember well casting a career-risking vote in 1993—it was a totally partisan vote—for the Clinton budget that I believe history will show put the country on a glide path to a balanced budget and created surpluses for the first time in a generation. Sadly, it was also the last time in a generation that we saw those surpluses.

Today is a proud moment for the Blue Dog Coalition in our dogged pursuit of bipartisan budget solutions. As a self-proclaimed ''grandmother dog,'' I salute my colleagues in the group, and especially our former leader and colleague, Charlie Stenholm, for championing PAYGO. I know that many of us in this Chamber yearn for more bipartisanship. I would urge our colleagues to seize this moment to embrace a concept that makes absolute common sense, a concept that the government pays for the programs it enacts, including the defense programs that it enacts. One of the great promises of this legislation is that we will finally put predictable war costs on budget, as we should, and consider them in the context of a large budget at a time of deficits and debt that are much higher than any of us would like to see.

So, Mr. Speaker, with this bill, we have the opportunity to hit the reset button and to engage in more honest budgeting. Yes, some compromises had to be made, and I would support a tighter version of PAYGO than the one we are considering. But I also believe that the bill before us today makes an unequivocal statement by Congress that the delusional out-of-control spending of the past years is finally behind us. Surely, this is something that Democrats and Republicans alike can celebrate.

Mr. Speaker, millions of American families are swallowing hard, surely those families in my State of California are, and making tough financial choices right now. The Federal Government must do the same. I urge an ''aye'' vote on the PAYGO Act of 2009 and call on our friends in the Senate not to allow this much-needed legislation to languish.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I think I will continue to reserve the balance of my time in light of the fact that there are other speakers on the other side. We have one other speaker, and then I plan to close.

Mr. ARCURI. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Pennsylvania (Mrs. DAHLKEMPER).

Mrs. DAHLKEMPER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding. I rise today to address this Chamber not as a Member of the House of Representatives but as someone who knows firsthand the balancing act that American families and small businesses have to negotiate in order to make ends meet. When raising our five children, my husband, Dan, and I had to make tough choices every day. We had to choose a smaller house so that we could put the food on the table and buy shoes and clothing for the five children. We had to choose to go camping in our State park rather than Disney World so that we could save enough for our children to go to college. And every day we had to make tough choices in running our small business to ensure we could make our payroll, pay the bills and grow our business all at the same time.

Mr. Speaker, this balancing act is not unique. Any parent who has shopped for dinner at the grocery store and any entrepreneur who has handled the books for their small business understands the importance of living within their means. So this begs the question: if families and small businesses across this country have to live

within their means, why shouldn't Congress as well? That is why I rise today to support reestablishing statutory PAYGO to the House of Representatives. We have important work to do here in Congress, such as rebuilding our economy to create good-paying jobs and ensuring quality, affordable health care for all Americans.

However, it is simply irresponsible to build our children's and grandchildren's future upon a foundation of debt. If we do not begin to balance short-term deficit spending with long-term fiscal discipline, our children will face an even greater mountain of debt, even higher taxes, and cuts to Federal investments in priorities like education, health care and our national security. I thank my colleagues for making fiscal responsibility a priority. I urge passage of the rule and the important underlying legislation.

□ 1130

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, at this time I am very, very happy to yield 2 minutes to our good friend and hard-working colleague from Brentwood, Tennessee (Mrs. BLACKBURN).

Mrs. BLACKBURN. Mr. Speaker, I want to say thank you to our colleagues across the aisle for bringing forward a PAYGO statute.

I will tell you, it is of concern to me, though, that the statute, the way this is written, the way they're approaching PAYGO could lead to tax increases because what we are not seeing from our colleagues on the other side of the aisle is a willingness to reduce spending. And we know if you're going to have an effective PAYGO policy, that you have to be able to reduce what you're spending. That is a requirement.

On every appropriations bill that we have, I file a 5 percent, across-the-board reduction amendment for a spending cut. The reason I do that is because what we have learned from our States, what I learned as being a State Senator is that across-the-board spending reductions work. They work. They reduce what you are going to lay out, the amount of money that you are going to spend.

So, let's do this in a bipartisan way. Let's agree that we are actually going to reduce spending. Let's agree that we're going to have PAYGO enforcement, that we're not going to cry ''emergency'' every time we have a Katrina, every time we have a tsunami, every time we have a need for extra spending, that we don't go call for a special appropriation that allows us to circumvent the PAYGO rules. And let's be certain that we put all that spending on the table, that we put it all on the table, and that we agree we're going to reduce what we are going to spend.

What we have seen is the PAYGO rule, the way it is written, the way they've put it in place, has led to a deficit that has gone from $162 billion to over $1 trillion. That's over a 1,000 percent increase. And I think that this body would be well-served to make that 5 percent haircut; set a nickel aside out of every dollar that is going to be spent for our children and our grandchildren, their future and opportunity.

Mr. ARCURI. Mr. Speaker, before I yield, I would just like to say to my colleague from Tennessee that if Katrina was not an emergency and did not merit emergency spending, then I cannot, in my wildest imagination, imagine what would. That is the reason why we have an emergency spending exception to any PAYGO requirement, to allow government to do that which the voters sent us here to do, and that is to ensure that when a catastrophe and when an emergency strikes, that we are there to do everything that we possibly can to help the people who have been injured by it.

With that, Mr. Speaker, I would yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee, a proud member of the Blue Dog Coalition, Mr. TANNER.

Mr. TANNER. Mr. Speaker, this bill today is not what some of us would like, but it is something that we think maybe can pass the Senate, which, after all, has a hand in this statutory approach. It is the first step to restore a rule that was allowed by this Congress to expire in 2002, which effectively removes a constraint, one constraint on what almost everybody wants to see happen, and that is, you want to vote against any taxes, and you want to vote for all the programs. This is one small step to try to address that urge that, I guess, all of us share from time to time.

If you look back at this decade, in the year 2000, revenue and expenditures were both around 19 percent of GDP. The country basically was breaking even. By 2002, when PAYGO was allowed to expire, and we had seen the economic policies of the country change dramatically in the summer of 2001, shortly before 9/11, we had a situation develop where, by 2003, the expenditures were over 20 percent of GDP, and the revenue coming in was less than 17, actually 16.3 percent of GDP. And without changing our economic game plan that was enacted in June of 2001, we began to borrow money, mostly, 75 percent of it, from foreign sources. What that has done is created a situation where we now are beginning to be more and more vulnerable to our foreign creditors who may or may not see the world as this country does. And secondly, we are transferring more and more of our tax base, whatever it may be, to interest, for which we get nothing.

As my friend from New York just said, the government has to do two things, in addition, of course, the first thing to keep our country safe. But the other two things it has to do is, first, invest in infrastructure. If you go anywhere in the world where there's no infrastructure, nobody's making any money. It's almost impossible to make money on a dirt road with no water, sewer, electricity and so on. The government has to invest in infrastructure.

And the second thing is human capital. If you read history, no country has been strong and free with an uneducated, unhealthy population. And so public education and health care, particularly preventive health care for children, is necessary for the government to invest in so that we can remain a strong and healthy society.

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

Mr. ARCURI. I yield the gentleman an additional minute.

Mr. TANNER. As we transfer more and more of our tax base to interest, we necessarily cripple our own ability as Americans, not as Members of Congress, our own ability to make those investments that are necessary for our country to be successful. And so, this is, as I said, the first step to restore some sort of constraint in the system where, when we change the law regarding mandatory spending or mandatory tax reduction, then we have to figure out a way to offset it. It is common sense.

We're going to demand, if we can, that it pass the Senate so we can have a statutory backstop, a statutory constraint, not as strong as we'd like, but it is a first step.

And I would sure urge everybody who cares about the future of this country, and I know we all do—we may have different ideas about how to address it—but I wish you'd seriously consider voting for this.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of the time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman is recognized for 6 minutes.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, this has been an interesting debate. And I have to say that my fellow Angeleno, Ms. HARMAN and I, join in a desire to deal in a bipartisan way with our challenges. I will acknowledge from the get-go, that everyone, Democrat and Republican alike, decries deficit spending. I mean, we all regularly talk about the fact that we need to get our fiscal house in order. That was a plank of the platform that President Obama ran on. And it's the plank of the platform of virtually every candidate for public office. And I believe that we should work in a bipartisan way to get our fiscal house in order.

The problem that I have with the measure that's before us is that, to me, it is the quintessential example of the effort that we often see on legislation. Sometimes we tend to do what makes us feel good, rather than doing good.

The reason I say that is as I listened to the thoughtful remarks of my Blue Dog friends, they talked about exactly what I raise, that being the challenge that families are facing at the kitchen table; recognizing that because of difficult economic times, it is essential for them to reduce their spending, to increase their savings, and to pay down their debts. Those are the three things

that families across this country are doing today at the kitchen table.

And you know what, the notion of saying that the Federal Government is not going to expend dollars that it doesn't have, or able to offset, is something that does have a lot of appeal, and it makes us all feel very good. But that family sitting at the kitchen table, or a small business man or woman can't say, We're going to exempt 40 percent of our expenditures. Yes, we all want to get the auto industry going, but the idea of saying that we want to buy a nice new car, and we don't have to deal with any kind of offset for that.

It's essential for us to get the economy growing. And we know that, while it may sound counterintuitive, every shred of empirical evidence that we have going in recent history to John F. Kennedy or Ronald Reagan is that if we can bring about marginal rate reduction, we can increase the flow of revenues to the Federal Treasury. Most recently, it was done when we brought about that 5 percent reduction in capital gains.

Now I know that in the economy we're in, there are not many people who have capital gains today. But we know this, that if we were to bring about a reduction in the capital gains rate, we would have, as we've seen most recently, a doubling of the flow of revenues to the Federal Treasury. And yet, Mr. Speaker, under this measure, we're not able to do that.

So what we've got is an effort that can make us all feel good. And it is true. I mean, there have been a lot of great statements made juxtaposing the challenges that working families are facing and the challenges that we face here in Washington.

But implementation of this statutorily will in no way address the fact that, as of July 22, today, we have a Federal budget deficit that is $1 trillion. And we're headed towards 1.8, maybe even beyond that, meaning that the deficit, the Federal Government this year alone will spend more than has brought in, and that level will be higher than the entire Federal budget was just 10 years ago.

And so it's wonderful to say that we're going to work in a bipartisan way; and it's wonderful to say that we all decry deficit spending. But because the American people are hurting, and we need to get our economy growing, I do not believe that this measure before us will do one thing, other than make a lot of people feel very, very good.

With that, Mr. Speaker, I'm going to say that I believe we can get it better. This is not only not a step in the right direction, it is, in many ways, something that will create a climate whereby people will say, we've taken care of this. And I'm afraid that it will send the wrong message to the American people, and it will send the wrong message in our quest to get our economy going, to create jobs and more opportunity for the American people.

So I urge a ''no'' vote.

I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. ARCURI. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my friend from California for his management of this rule.

Mr. Speaker, since the beginning of 2007, the Democratic leadership of the House of Representatives has shown a strong commitment to the pay-as-you-go rules, first, by reinstating the PAYGO rule in the rules of the House on the opening of the 110th Congress, and now, in working to bring this important legislation before the House. I applaud the Blue Dog Coalition, my colleagues there, for their outspoken leadership on PAYGO.

When I explain to folks back home what PAYGO is, I ask them the question, if they have to balance their own books each month, if they have to ensure that they have enough income coming in to cover their expenses; and of course they respond that they do. And I then ask, shouldn't the Federal Government operate in the same way when it involves spending your tax dollars? My constituents get it. The American people get it.

Mr. Speaker, unfortunately, there are still some Members of Congress who are steadfastly against the idea of being fiscally responsible and balancing the Federal books, the same way that our constituents balance their checkbooks each and every week.

The legislation we will consider later today will require Congress to balance the books or face the harsh consequence of automatic cuts to offset the shortfall in our spending.

Now I certainly appreciate the born-again Republican commitment to fiscal responsibility. But the real question is why the Republicans allowed PAYGO to expire in the first place under the last administration. Not only did they not advance the cap discretionary spending, which they are criticizing us for not coupling with the PAYGO statute, but they wouldn't even renew the PAYGO provision, which we are now doing.

My colleagues on the other side of the aisle criticize the majority for the increase in the deficit since the beginning of 2007. One of the reasons for this is that we have put the full cost of the war on the books for the first time. That is a hard thing to do, but it is the responsible thing to do. The Republicans kept this off their budget balance sheet, but the Democratic majority has taken the fiscally responsible approach and placed the entire cost of the war on the books, which adds nearly $1 trillion to the deficit.

□ 1145

So to say that we have single-handedly raised the deficit over $1 trillion since 2007 is disingenuous at best.

Furthermore, the budget adopted by Congress this year cuts the deficit by nearly two-thirds in 4 years and contains even deeper cuts in the deficit than were proposed by the President. Under the concurrent budget resolution adopted by the House and the Senate, the deficit will be cut by $1.7 trillion, or 12.3 percent of GDP, in 2009 to 3 percent of GDP in 2014.

I strongly believe that we in Congress must balance our own books and maintain fiscal responsibility similar to what is asked of all taxpayers in dealing with their own personal finances. I urge all members to vote ''yes'' on the previous question, ''yes'' on the rule, and to vote ''yes'' on H.R. 2920.

Mr. CARDOZA. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of the rule and the underlying bill.

Since being elected to Congress, I have been a member of the fiscally conservative Blue Dog Coalition, fighting to rein in reckless federal spending and put an end to our spiraling deficit.

I believe we must get back on the road to fiscal responsibility before we pass the nation's keys—and our debt—onto our children and grandchildren.

You can spin this debate any way you want to, but these are the facts.

President Bush inherited a $5.6 trillion surplus from President Clinton. This was squandered leaving a record deficit of $1.8 trillion for 2009 alone.

In just 8 years under President George W. Bush, our Nation's debt—now more than $11.6 trillion—nearly doubled meaning more debt was accumulated over the past 8 years than under all of the Presidents from George Washington to Ronald Reagan combined.

We are in tough economic times and these extraordinary times call for extraordinary measures.

But plain and simple, we cannot afford to continue writing blank checks and borrowing money from countries such as China to pay our bills.

The PAYGO legislation before the House today reinstates one of the fiscal discipline tools that worked so well throughout the 1990s, and that led to the first budget surpluses since 1969.

I would point out that it was the first President Bush, working with a Democratic Congress, that instituted the first PAYGO rules.

The Clinton Administration and Democrats in Congress continued to work with Republicans on a bipartisan basis and turned decades of exploding budget deficits into 4 straight years of budget surpluses with record economic growth through the continued use of PAYGO.

Under President Clinton, for the first time in 30 years, America actually began to pay down its debt to foreign nations.

It was only when President George W. Bush and the Republican Congress abandoned any sense of fiscal discipline and allowed the proven PAYGO rules to expire in 2002, that government spending spun out of control and we rang up the largest deficits in our Nation's history.

My point is that when both the Administration and the Congress are willing to cooperate and adhere to fiscal discipline, PAYGO works.

Our side knows it. The other side of the aisle knows it. There is absolutely no denying PAYGO has worked in the past, and with a new Administration with a strong commitment to reversing the reckless fiscal policies of the past 8 years, we have that willingness to cooperate again today.

Blue Dogs know that we should not be in this situation today.

And as we all know, despite the Blue Dogs' best efforts—and the efforts of many other members on both sides of the aisle—cutting spending and making tough choices is never easy.

But enough is enough. It's time to stop blaming. It's time to stop pointing fingers. It's time we return to the fiscal accountability measures that I and my fellow Blue Dog colleagues have long advocated. And it's high time we start doing the right thing and start paying for what this country buys.

I ask my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to support this common sense legislation.

Mr. ARCURI. I yield back the balance of my time, and I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

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

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

Mr. DREIER. 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.

RAISING A QUESTION OF THE PRIVILEGES OF THE HOUSE

Mr. FLAKE. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of the privileges of the House and offer the resolution previously noticed.

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

The Clerk read as follows:

H. RES. 667

Whereas, The Hill reported that a prominent lobbying firm, founded by Mr. Paul Magliocchetti and the subject of a ''federal investigation into potentially corrupt political contributions,'' has given $3.4 million in political donations to no less than 284 members of Congress.

Whereas, the New York Times noted that Mr. Magliocchetti ''set up shop at the busy intersection between political fund-raising and taxpayer spending, directing tens of millions of dollars in contributions to lawmakers while steering hundreds of millions of dollars in earmarks contracts back to his clients.''

Whereas, a guest columnist recently highlighted in Roll Call that ''. . . what [the firm's] example reveals most clearly is the potentially corrupting link between campaign contributions and earmarks. Even the most ardent earmarkers should want to avoid the appearance of such a pay-to-play system.''

Whereas, multiple press reports have noted questions related to campaign contributions made by or on behalf of the firm: including questions related to ''straw man'' contributions, the reimbursement of employees for political giving, pressure on clients to give, a suspicious pattern of giving, and the timing of donations relative to legislative activity.

Whereas, Roll Call has taken note of the timing of contributions from employees the firm and its clients when it reported that they ''have provided thousands of dollars worth of campaign contributions to key Members in close proximity to legislative activity, such as the deadline for earmark request letters or passage of a spending bill.''

Whereas, the Associated Press highlighted the ''huge amounts of political donations'' from the firm and its clients to select members and noted that ''those political donations have followed a distinct pattern: The giving is especially heavy in March, which is prime time for submitting written earmark requests.''

Whereas, clients of the firm received at least three hundred million dollars worth of earmarks in fiscal year 2009 appropriations legislation, including several that were approved even after news of the FBI raid of the firm's offices and Justice Department investigation into the firm was well known.

Whereas, after a cursory review, the fiscal year 2010 defense appropriations earmark list recently made available includes at least seventy earmarks worth hundreds of millions of dollars for former PMA clients.

Whereas, the Associated Press reported that ''the FBI says the investigation is continuing, highlighting the close ties between special-interest spending provisions known as earmarks and the raising of campaign cash.''

Whereas, the persistent media attention focused on questions about the nature and timing of campaign contributions related to the firm, as well as reports of the Justice Department conducting research on earmarks and campaign contributions, raise concern about the integrity of Congressional proceedings and the dignity of the institution.

Now, therefore, be it: Resolved, That the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct shall immediately establish an investigative subcommittee and begin an investigation into the relationship between the source and timing of past campaign contributions to Members of the House related to the raided firm and earmark requests made by Members of the House on behalf of clients of the raided firm.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The resolution presents a question of privilege.

MOTION TO TABLE

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, I move to table the resolution.

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

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

Mr. FLAKE. 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, this 15-minute vote on the motion to table will be followed by 5-minute votes on adoption of H. Res. 665; and motions to suspend the rules on: H.R. 1675, H.R. 2938, and H. Res. 69.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 224, nays 189, answered ''present'' 14, not voting 6, as follows:

[Roll No. 605]

YEAS—224

Abercrombie
Ackerman
Adler (NJ)
Altmire
Andrews
Arcuri
Baca
Baird
Baldwin
Barrow
Bean
Becerra
Berkley
Berman
Berry
Bishop (GA)
Bishop (NY)
Blumenauer
Boren
Boswell
Boucher
Boyd
Brady (PA)
Braley (IA)
Brown, Corrine
Capps
Capuano
Cardoza
Carnahan
Carney
Carson (IN)
Chu
Clarke
Clay
Cleaver
Clyburn
Cohen
Connolly (VA)
Conyers
Cooper
Costa
Costello
Courtney
Crowley
Cuellar
Cummings
Dahlkemper
Davis (AL)
Davis (CA)
Davis (IL)
Davis (TN)
DeFazio
DeGette
Delahunt
DeLauro
Dicks
Dingell
Doggett
Doyle
Driehaus
Edwards (MD)
Edwards (TX)
Ellison
Engel
Eshoo
Etheridge
Farr
Fattah
Filner
Frank (MA)
Fudge
Gonzalez
Gordon (TN)
Grayson
Green, Al
Green, Gene
Griffith
Grijalva
Gutierrez
Hall (NY)
Halvorson
Hare
Harman
Hastings (FL)
Heinrich
Higgins
Hinchey
Hinojosa
Hirono
Holden
Holt
Honda
Hoyer
Inslee
Israel
Jackson (IL)
Jackson-Lee (TX)
Johnson (GA)
Johnson, E. B.
Kagen
Kanjorski
Kaptur
Kildee
Kilpatrick (MI)
Kilroy
Kind
Kissell
Klein (FL)
Kosmas
Kratovil
Kucinich
Langevin
Larsen (WA)
Larson (CT)
Lee (CA)
Levin
Lewis (GA)
Lipinski
Lowey
Luján
Lynch
Maffei
Maloney
Markey (CO)
Markey (MA)
Marshall
Massa
Matsui
McCollum
McDermott
McGovern
McIntyre
McMahon
Meeks (NY)
Melancon
Michaud
Miller (NC)
Miller, George
Mollohan
Moore (KS)
Moore (WI)
Moran (VA)
Murphy (CT)
Murphy, Patrick
Murphy, Tim
Murtha
Nadler (NY)
Napolitano
Neal (MA)
Nye
Oberstar
Obey
Olver
Ortiz
Pallone
Pascrell
Pastor (AZ)
Payne
Perlmutter
Peters
Peterson
Pingree (ME)
Polis (CO)
Pomeroy
Price (NC)
Rahall
Rangel
Reyes
Richardson
Rodriguez
Ross
Rothman (NJ)
Roybal-Allard
Ruppersberger
Rush
Ryan (OH)
Salazar
Sánchez, Linda T.
Sanchez, Loretta
Sarbanes
Schakowsky
Schauer
Schiff
Schrader
Schwartz
Scott (GA)
Scott (VA)
Serrano
Sestak
Shea-Porter
Sherman
Shuler
Sires
Skelton
Slaughter
Snyder
Space
Speier
Spratt
Stark
Stupak
Sutton
Tanner
Taylor
Thompson (CA)
Tierney
Titus
Tonko
Towns
Tsongas
Van Hollen
Velázquez
Wasserman Schultz
Waters
Watson
Watt
Waxman
Weiner
Wexler
Wilson (OH)
Woolsey
Wu
Yarmuth
Young (AK)

NAYS—189

Aderholt
Akin
Alexander
Austria
Bachmann
Bachus
Barrett (SC)
Bartlett
Barton (TX)
Biggert
Bilbray
Bilirakis
Bishop (UT)
Blackburn
Blunt
Boccieri
Boehner
Bono Mack
Boozman
Boustany
Brady (TX)
Bright
Broun (GA)
Brown (SC)
Brown-Waite, Ginny
Buchanan
Burgess
Burton (IN)
Buyer
Calvert
Camp
Campbell
Cantor
Cao
Capito
Carter
Cassidy
Castle
Chaffetz
Childers
Coble
Coffman (CO)
Cole
Crenshaw
Culberson
Davis (KY)
Deal (GA)
Diaz-Balart, M.
Donnelly (IN)
Dreier
Duncan
Ehlers
Ellsworth
Emerson
Fallin
Flake
Fleming
Forbes
Fortenberry
Foster
Foxx
Franks (AZ)
Frelinghuysen
Gallegly
Garrett (NJ)
Gerlach
Giffords
Gingrey (GA)
Gohmert
Goodlatte
Granger
Graves
Guthrie
Hall (TX)
Heller
Hensarling
Herger
Herseth Sandlin
Hill
Himes
Hodes
Hoekstra
Hunter
Inglis
Issa
Jenkins
Johnson (IL)
Johnson, Sam
Jones
Jordan (OH)
King (IA)
King (NY)
Kingston
Kirk
Kirkpatrick (AZ)
Kline (MN)
Lamborn
Lance
Latham
LaTourette
Latta

Lee (NY)
Lewis (CA)
Linder
LoBiondo
Loebsack
Lucas
Luetkemeyer
Lummis
Lungren, Daniel E.
Mack
Manzullo
Marchant
Matheson
McCarthy (CA)
McCaul
McClintock
McCotter
McHenry
McHugh
McKeon
McMorris Rodgers
McNerney
Mica
Miller (FL)
Miller (MI)
Miller, Gary
Minnick
Mitchell
Moran (KS)
Murphy (NY)
Neugebauer
Nunes
Olson
Paul
Paulsen
Pence
Perriello
Petri
Pitts
Platts
Posey
Price (GA)
Putnam
Quigley
Radanovich
Rehberg
Reichert
Roe (TN)
Rogers (AL)
Rogers (KY)
Rogers (MI)
Rohrabacher
Rooney
Ros-Lehtinen
Roskam
Royce
Ryan (WI)
Scalise
Schmidt
Schock
Sensenbrenner
Sessions
Shadegg
Shimkus
Shuster
Simpson
Smith (NE)
Smith (NJ)
Smith (TX)
Smith (WA)
Souder
Stearns
Sullivan
Teague
Terry
Thornberry
Tiahrt
Tiberi
Turner
Upton
Visclosky
Walz
Wamp
Westmoreland
Whitfield
Wilson (SC)
Wittman
Wolf

ANSWERED ''PRESENT''—14

Bonner
Butterfield
Castor (FL)
Chandler
Conaway
Dent
Diaz-Balart, L.
Harper
Hastings (WA)
Lofgren, Zoe
Myrick
Poe (TX)
Walden
Welch

NOT VOTING—6

Kennedy
McCarthy (NY)
Meek (FL)
Thompson (MS)
Thompson (PA)
Young (FL)

□ 1216

Messrs. FORTENBERRY, KING of New York, and BRIGHT changed their vote from ''yea'' to ''nay.''

Mr. LYNCH changed his vote from ''nay'' to ''yea.''

Ms. CASTOR of Florida and Messrs. BUTTERFIELD and CHANDLER changed their vote from ''yea'' to ''present.''

Mrs. MYRICK and Messrs. HASTINGS of Washington and WALDEN changed their vote from ''nay'' to ''present.''

So the motion to table was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider is laid on the table.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. BARRETT of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 605, I inadvertently voted "nay." Being a member of the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, I meant to vote "present."

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF 2920, STATUTORY PAY-AS-YOU-GO ACT OF 2009

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The unfinished business is the vote on adoption of House Resolution 665, 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.

This will be a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 243, nays 182, not voting 8, as follows:

[Roll No. 606]

YEAS—243

Abercrombie
Ackerman
Adler (NJ)
Altmire
Andrews
Arcuri
Baca
Baird
Baldwin
Barrow
Bean
Berkley
Berman
Berry
Bishop (GA)
Bishop (NY)
Blumenauer
Boccieri
Boren
Boswell
Boucher
Boyd
Brady (PA)
Braley (IA)
Bright
Brown, Corrine
Butterfield
Capps
Capuano
Cardoza
Carnahan
Carney
Carson (IN)
Castor (FL)
Childers
Chu
Clarke
Cleaver
Clyburn
Cohen
Connolly (VA)
Conyers
Cooper
Costa
Costello
Courtney
Crowley
Cuellar
Cummings
Dahlkemper
Davis (AL)
Davis (CA)
Davis (IL)
Davis (TN)
DeFazio
DeGette
Delahunt
DeLauro
Dicks
Dingell
Doggett
Donnelly (IN)
Doyle
Driehaus
Edwards (MD)
Edwards (TX)
Ellison
Ellsworth
Engel
Eshoo
Etheridge
Farr
Fattah
Filner
Foster
Frank (MA)
Fudge
Giffords
Gonzalez
Gordon (TN)
Grayson
Green, Al
Green, Gene
Griffith
Grijalva
Gutierrez
Hall (NY)
Halvorson
Hare
Harman
Hastings (FL)
Heinrich
Herseth Sandlin
Higgins
Hill
Himes
Hinchey
Hinojosa
Hirono
Hodes
Holden
Holt
Honda
Hoyer
Inslee
Israel
Jackson (IL)
Jackson-Lee (TX)
Johnson (GA)
Johnson, E. B.
Kagen
Kanjorski
Kaptur
Kildee
Kilpatrick (MI)
Kilroy
Kind
Kirkpatrick (AZ)
Kissell
Klein (FL)
Kosmas
Kratovil
Langevin
Larsen (WA)
Larson (CT)
Lee (CA)
Levin
Lewis (GA)
Lipinski
Loebsack
Lofgren, Zoe
Lowey
Luján
Lynch
Maffei
Maloney
Markey (CO)
Markey (MA)
Marshall
Massa
Matheson
Matsui
McCollum
McDermott
McGovern
McIntyre
McMahon
McNerney
Meeks (NY)
Melancon
Miller (NC)
Miller, George
Minnick
Mollohan
Moore (KS)
Moore (WI)
Moran (VA)
Murphy (CT)
Murphy (NY)
Murphy, Patrick
Murtha
Nadler (NY)
Napolitano
Neal (MA)
Nye
Oberstar
Obey
Olver
Ortiz
Pallone
Pascrell
Pastor (AZ)
Payne
Perlmutter
Perriello
Peters
Peterson
Pingree (ME)
Polis (CO)
Pomeroy
Price (NC)
Quigley
Rahall
Rangel
Reyes
Richardson
Rodriguez
Ross
Rothman (NJ)
Roybal-Allard
Ruppersberger
Rush
Ryan (OH)
Salazar
Sánchez, Linda T.
Sanchez, Loretta
Sarbanes
Schakowsky
Schauer
Schiff
Schrader
Schwartz
Scott (GA)
Scott (VA)
Serrano
Sestak
Shea-Porter
Sherman
Sires
Skelton
Slaughter
Smith (WA)
Snyder
Space
Speier
Spratt
Stark
Stupak
Sutton
Tanner
Teague
Thompson (CA)
Tierney
Titus
Tonko
Towns
Tsongas
Van Hollen
Velázquez
Visclosky
Walz
Wasserman Schultz
Waters
Watson
Watt
Waxman
Weiner
Welch
Wexler
Wilson (OH)
Woolsey
Wu
Yarmuth

NAYS—182

Aderholt
Akin
Alexander
Austria
Bachmann
Bachus
Barrett (SC)
Bartlett
Barton (TX)
Biggert
Bilbray
Bilirakis
Bishop (UT)
Blackburn
Blunt
Boehner
Bonner
Bono Mack
Boozman
Boustany
Brady (TX)
Broun (GA)
Brown (SC)
Brown-Waite, Ginny
Buchanan
Burgess
Burton (IN)
Buyer
Calvert
Camp
Campbell
Cantor
Cao
Capito
Carter
Cassidy
Castle
Chaffetz
Clay
Coble
Coffman (CO)
Cole
Conaway
Crenshaw
Culberson
Davis (KY)
Deal (GA)
Dent
Diaz-Balart, L.
Diaz-Balart, M.
Dreier
Duncan
Ehlers
Emerson
Fallin
Flake
Fleming
Forbes
Fortenberry
Foxx
Franks (AZ)
Frelinghuysen
Gallegly
Garrett (NJ)
Gerlach
Gingrey (GA)
Gohmert
Goodlatte
Granger
Graves
Guthrie
Hall (TX)
Harper
Hastings (WA)
Heller
Hensarling
Herger
Hoekstra
Hunter
Inglis
Issa
Jenkins
Johnson (IL)
Johnson, Sam
Jones
Jordan (OH)
King (IA)
King (NY)
Kingston
Kirk
Kline (MN)
Kucinich
Lamborn
Lance
Latham
LaTourette
Latta
Lee (NY)
Lewis (CA)
Linder
LoBiondo
Lucas
Luetkemeyer
Lummis
Lungren, Daniel E.
Mack
Manzullo
Marchant
McCarthy (CA)
McCaul
McClintock
McCotter
McHenry
McHugh
McKeon
McMorris Rodgers
Mica
Michaud
Miller (FL)
Miller (MI)
Miller, Gary
Mitchell
Moran (KS)
Murphy, Tim
Myrick
Neugebauer
Nunes
Olson
Paul
Paulsen
Pence
Petri
Pitts
Platts
Poe (TX)
Posey
Price (GA)
Putnam
Radanovich
Rehberg
Reichert
Roe (TN)
Rogers (KY)
Rogers (MI)
Rohrabacher
Rooney
Ros-Lehtinen
Roskam
Royce
Ryan (WI)
Scalise
Schmidt
Schock
Sensenbrenner
Sessions
Shadegg
Shimkus
Shuler
Shuster
Simpson
Smith (NE)
Smith (NJ)
Smith (TX)
Souder
Stearns
Sullivan
Taylor
Terry
Thompson (PA)
Thornberry
Tiahrt
Tiberi
Turner
Upton
Walden
Wamp
Westmoreland
Whitfield
Wilson (SC)
Wittman
Wolf
Young (AK)

NOT VOTING—8

Becerra
Chandler
Kennedy
McCarthy (NY)
Meek (FL)
Rogers (AL)
Thompson (MS)
Young (FL)

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (during the vote). There are less than 2 minutes remaining on this vote.

□ 1224

So the resolution was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

FRANK MELVILLE SUPPORTIVE HOUSING INVESTMENT ACT OF 2009

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The unfinished business is the vote on the motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 1675, on which the yeas and nays were ordered.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Florida (Mr. GRAYSON) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 1675.

This will be a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 376, nays 51, not voting 6, as follows:

[Roll No. 607]

YEAS—376

Abercrombie
Ackerman
Aderholt
Adler (NJ)
Alexander
Altmire

Andrews
Arcuri
Austria
Baca
Bachmann
Bachus
Baird
Baldwin
Barrow
Bean
Becerra
Berkley
Berman
Berry
Biggert
Bilbray
Bilirakis
Bishop (GA)
Bishop (NY)
Bishop (UT)
Blumenauer
Boccieri
Bonner
Bono Mack
Boozman
Boren
Boswell
Boucher
Boustany
Boyd
Brady (PA)
Braley (IA)
Bright
Brown (SC)
Brown, Corrine
Brown-Waite, Ginny
Buchanan
Burton (IN)
Butterfield
Buyer
Calvert
Camp
Cantor
Cao
Capito
Capps
Capuano
Cardoza
Carnahan
Carney
Carson (IN)
Cassidy
Castle
Castor (FL)
Chandler
Childers
Chu
Clarke
Clay
Cleaver
Clyburn
Coble
Cohen
Cole
Connolly (VA)
Conyers
Cooper
Costa
Costello
Courtney
Crenshaw
Crowley
Cuellar
Culberson
Cummings
Dahlkemper
Davis (AL)
Davis (CA)
Davis (IL)
Davis (KY)
Davis (TN)
DeFazio
DeGette
Delahunt
DeLauro
Dent
Diaz-Balart, L.
Diaz-Balart, M.
Dicks
Dingell
Doggett
Donnelly (IN)
Doyle
Dreier
Driehaus
Edwards (MD)
Edwards (TX)
Ehlers
Ellison
Ellsworth
Emerson
Engel
Eshoo
Etheridge
Fallin
Farr
Fattah
Filner
Fleming
Forbes
Fortenberry
Foster
Frank (MA)
Frelinghuysen
Fudge
Gallegly
Gerlach
Giffords
Gonzalez
Goodlatte
Gordon (TN)
Granger
Graves
Grayson
Green, Al
Green, Gene
Griffith
Grijalva
Guthrie
Gutierrez
Hall (NY)
Hall (TX)
Halvorson
Hare
Harman
Harper
Hastings (FL)
Heinrich
Heller
Herger
Herseth Sandlin
Higgins
Hill
Himes
Hinchey
Hinojosa
Hirono
Hodes
Hoekstra
Holden
Holt
Honda
Hunter
Inglis
Inslee
Israel
Jackson (IL)
Jackson-Lee (TX)
Jenkins
Johnson (GA)
Johnson (IL)
Johnson, E. B.
Jones
Kagen
Kanjorski
Kaptur
Kildee
Kilpatrick (MI)
Kilroy
Kind
King (NY)
Kirk
Kirkpatrick (AZ)
Kissell
Klein (FL)
Kline (MN)
Kosmas
Kratovil
Kucinich
Lance
Langevin
Larsen (WA)
Larson (CT)
Latham
LaTourette
Lee (CA)
Lee (NY)
Levin
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (GA)
Lipinski
LoBiondo
Loebsack
Lofgren, Zoe
Lowey
Lucas
Luetkemeyer
Lungren, Daniel E.
Lynch
Mack
Maffei
Maloney
Manzullo
Marchant
Markey (CO)
Markey (MA)
Marshall
Massa
Matheson
Matsui
McCarthy (CA)
McCaul
McCollum
McCotter
McDermott
McGovern
McHenry
McHugh
McIntyre
McKeon
McMahon
McMorris Rodgers
McNerney
Meek (FL)
Meeks (NY)
Melancon
Mica
Michaud
Miller (FL)
Miller (MI)
Miller (NC)
Miller, Gary
Miller, George
Minnick
Mitchell
Mollohan
Moore (KS)
Moore (WI)
Moran (KS)
Moran (VA)
Murphy (CT)
Murphy (NY)
Murphy, Patrick
Murphy, Tim
Murtha
Nadler (NY)
Napolitano
Neal (MA)
Nunes
Nye
Oberstar
Obey
Olver
Ortiz
Pallone
Pascrell
Pastor (AZ)
Paulsen
Payne
Perlmutter
Perriello
Peters
Peterson
Petri
Pingree (ME)
Pitts
Platts
Polis (CO)
Pomeroy
Posey
Price (NC)
Putnam
Quigley
Rahall
Rangel
Rehberg
Reichert
Reyes
Richardson
Rodriguez
Roe (TN)
Rogers (AL)
Rogers (KY)
Rogers (MI)
Rooney
Ros-Lehtinen
Roskam
Ross
Rothman (NJ)
Roybal-Allard
Ruppersberger
Rush
Ryan (OH)
Ryan (WI)
Salazar
Sánchez, Linda T.
Sanchez, Loretta
Sarbanes
Schakowsky
Schauer
Schiff
Schmidt
Schock
Schrader
Schwartz
Scott (GA)
Scott (VA)
Sensenbrenner
Serrano
Sessions
Sestak
Shea-Porter
Sherman
Shimkus
Shuler
Shuster
Simpson
Sires
Skelton
Slaughter
Smith (NE)
Smith (NJ)
Smith (TX)
Smith (WA)
Snyder
Souder
Space
Speier
Spratt
Stark
Stearns
Stupak
Sutton
Tanner
Taylor
Teague
Terry
Thompson (CA)
Thompson (PA)
Tiahrt
Tiberi
Tierney
Titus
Tonko
Towns
Tsongas
Turner
Upton
Van Hollen
Velázquez
Visclosky
Walden
Walz
Wamp
Wasserman Schultz
Waters
Watson
Watt
Waxman
Weiner
Welch
Wexler
Whitfield
Wilson (OH)
Wittman
Wolf
Woolsey
Wu
Yarmuth
Young (AK)

NAYS—51

Akin
Barrett (SC)
Bartlett
Barton (TX)
Blackburn
Blunt
Boehner
Brady (TX)
Broun (GA)
Burgess
Campbell
Carter
Chaffetz
Coffman (CO)
Conaway
Deal (GA)
Duncan
Flake
Foxx
Franks (AZ)
Garrett (NJ)
Gingrey (GA)
Gohmert
Hastings (WA)
Hensarling
Issa
Johnson, Sam
Jordan (OH)
King (IA)
Kingston
Lamborn
Latta
Linder
Lummis
McClintock
Myrick
Neugebauer
Olson
Paul
Pence
Poe (TX)
Price (GA)
Radanovich
Rohrabacher
Royce
Scalise
Shadegg
Sullivan
Thornberry
Westmoreland
Wilson (SC)

NOT VOTING—6

Hoyer
Kennedy
Luján
McCarthy (NY)
Thompson (MS)
Young (FL)

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (during the vote). There are 2 minutes remaining on this vote.

□ 1231

Mr. POE of Texas changed his vote from ''yea'' to ''nay.''

So (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

EXTENDING DEADLINE FOR CONSTRUCTION OF PRICE DAM HYDROELECTRIC PROJECT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The unfinished business is the vote on the motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 2938, on which the yeas and nays were ordered.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. COSTELLO) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 2938.

This will be a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 418, nays 0, not voting 15, as follows:

[Roll No. 608]

YEAS—418

Abercrombie
Aderholt
Adler (NJ)
Akin
Alexander
Altmire
Andrews
Arcuri
Austria
Baca
Bachmann
Bachus
Baird
Baldwin
Barrow
Bartlett
Barton (TX)
Bean
Becerra
Berkley
Berman
Berry
Biggert
Bilbray
Bilirakis
Bishop (GA)
Bishop (NY)
Blackburn
Blumenauer
Blunt
Boccieri
Boehner
Bonner
Bono Mack
Boozman
Boren
Boswell
Boucher
Boustany
Boyd
Brady (PA)
Braley (IA)
Bright
Broun (GA)
Brown (SC)
Brown, Corrine
Brown-Waite, Ginny
Buchanan
Burgess
Burton (IN)
Butterfield
Buyer
Calvert
Camp
Campbell
Cantor
Cao
Capito
Capps
Capuano
Cardoza
Carnahan
Carney
Carson (IN)
Carter
Cassidy
Castle
Castor (FL)
Chaffetz
Chandler
Childers
Chu
Clarke
Clay
Cleaver
Clyburn
Coble
Coffman (CO)
Cohen
Cole
Conaway
Connolly (VA)
Conyers
Cooper
Costa
Costello
Courtney
Crenshaw
Crowley
Cuellar
Culberson
Cummings
Dahlkemper
Davis (AL)
Davis (CA)
Davis (IL)
Davis (KY)
Davis (TN)
Deal (GA)
DeFazio
DeGette
Delahunt
DeLauro
Dent
Diaz-Balart, L.
Diaz-Balart, M.
Dicks
Dingell
Doggett
Donnelly (IN)
Doyle
Dreier
Driehaus
Duncan
Edwards (MD)
Edwards (TX)
Ehlers
Ellison
Ellsworth
Engel
Eshoo
Etheridge
Fallin
Farr
Fattah
Filner
Flake
Fleming
Forbes
Fortenberry
Foster
Foxx
Frank (MA)
Franks (AZ)
Frelinghuysen
Fudge
Gallegly
Garrett (NJ)
Gerlach
Giffords
Gingrey (GA)
Gohmert
Gonzalez
Goodlatte
Gordon (TN)
Granger
Graves
Grayson
Green, Al
Green, Gene
Griffith
Grijalva
Guthrie
Gutierrez
Hall (NY)
Hall (TX)
Halvorson
Hare
Harman
Harper
Hastings (FL)
Hastings (WA)
Heinrich
Heller
Hensarling
Herger
Herseth Sandlin
Higgins
Hill
Himes
Hinchey
Hinojosa
Hirono
Hodes
Hoekstra
Holden
Holt
Honda
Hoyer
Hunter
Inglis
Inslee
Israel
Issa
Jackson (IL)
Jackson-Lee (TX)
Jenkins
Johnson (GA)
Johnson (IL)
Johnson, E. B.
Johnson, Sam
Jones
Jordan (OH)
Kagen
Kanjorski
Kaptur
Kildee
Kilpatrick (MI)
Kind
King (IA)
King (NY)
Kingston
Kirk
Kirkpatrick (AZ)
Kissell
Klein (FL)
Kline (MN)
Kosmas
Kratovil
Kucinich
Lamborn
Lance
Langevin
Larsen (WA)
Larson (CT)
Latham
LaTourette
Latta
Lee (CA)
Lee (NY)
Levin
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (GA)
Linder
Lipinski
LoBiondo
Loebsack
Lofgren, Zoe
Lowey
Lucas
Luetkemeyer
Luján
Lummis
Lungren, Daniel E.
Lynch
Mack
Maffei
Maloney
Manzullo
Markey (CO)
Markey (MA)
Marshall
Massa
Matheson
Matsui
McCarthy (CA)
McCaul
McClintock
McCollum
McDermott
McGovern
McHenry
McHugh
McIntyre
McKeon
McMahon
McMorris Rodgers
McNerney
Meek (FL)
Meeks (NY)
Mica
Michaud
Miller (FL)
Miller (MI)
Miller (NC)
Miller, Gary
Miller, George
Minnick
Mitchell
Mollohan
Moore (KS)
Moore (WI)
Moran (KS)
Moran (VA)
Murphy (CT)
Murphy (NY)
Murphy, Patrick
Murphy, Tim
Murtha
Myrick
Nadler (NY)
Napolitano
Neal (MA)
Neugebauer

Nunes
Nye
Oberstar
Obey
Olson
Olver
Ortiz
Pallone
Pascrell
Pastor (AZ)
Paul
Paulsen
Payne
Pence
Perlmutter
Perriello
Peters
Peterson
Petri
Pingree (ME)
Pitts
Platts
Poe (TX)
Polis (CO)
Pomeroy
Posey
Price (GA)
Price (NC)
Putnam
Quigley
Radanovich
Rahall
Rangel
Rehberg
Reichert
Reyes
Richardson
Rodriguez
Roe (TN)
Rogers (AL)
Rogers (KY)
Rogers (MI)
Rohrabacher
Rooney
Ros-Lehtinen
Roskam
Ross
Rothman (NJ)
Roybal-Allard
Royce
Ruppersberger
Rush
Ryan (OH)
Ryan (WI)
Salazar
Sánchez, Linda T.
Sanchez, Loretta
Sarbanes
Scalise
Schakowsky
Schauer
Schiff
Schmidt
Schock
Schwartz
Scott (GA)
Scott (VA)
Sensenbrenner
Serrano
Sessions
Sestak
Shadegg
Shea-Porter
Sherman
Shimkus
Shuler
Shuster
Simpson
Sires
Skelton
Slaughter
Smith (NE)
Smith (NJ)
Smith (TX)
Smith (WA)
Snyder
Souder
Space
Speier
Spratt
Stark
Stearns
Stupak
Sutton
Tanner
Taylor
Teague
Terry
Thompson (CA)
Thompson (PA)
Thornberry
Tiahrt
Tiberi
Tierney
Titus
Tonko
Towns
Tsongas
Turner
Upton
Van Hollen
Velázquez
Visclosky
Walden
Walz
Wamp
Wasserman Schultz
Waters
Watson
Watt
Waxman
Weiner
Welch
Westmoreland
Wexler
Whitfield
Wilson (OH)
Wilson (SC)
Wittman
Wolf
Woolsey
Wu
Yarmuth
Young (AK)

NOT VOTING—15

Ackerman
Barrett (SC)
Bishop (UT)
Brady (TX)
Emerson
Kennedy
Kilroy
Marchant
McCarthy (NY)
McCotter
Melancon
Schrader
Sullivan
Thompson (MS)
Young (FL)

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (during the vote). Members are reminded that there are 2 minutes remaining in this vote.

□ 1237

So (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

RECOGNIZING LATINO DIABETES AWARENESS MONTH

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The unfinished business is the vote on the motion to suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, H. Res. 69, 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 motion offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. BACA) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, H. Res. 69.

This will be a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 420, nays 0, not voting 13, as follows:

[Roll No. 609]

YEAS—420

Abercrombie
Ackerman
Aderholt
Adler (NJ)
Akin
Alexander
Altmire
Andrews
Arcuri
Austria
Baca
Bachmann
Bachus
Baird
Baldwin
Barrett (SC)
Barrow
Bartlett
Barton (TX)
Bean
Becerra
Berkley
Berman
Berry
Biggert
Bilbray
Bilirakis
Bishop (GA)
Bishop (NY)
Bishop (UT)
Blackburn
Blumenauer
Blunt
Boccieri
Boehner
Bonner
Bono Mack
Boren
Boswell
Boucher
Boustany
Boyd
Brady (PA)
Brady (TX)
Braley (IA)
Bright
Broun (GA)
Brown (SC)
Brown, Corrine
Brown-Waite, Ginny
Buchanan
Burgess
Burton (IN)
Butterfield
Buyer
Calvert
Camp
Campbell
Cantor
Cao
Capito
Capps
Capuano
Cardoza
Carnahan
Carney
Carson (IN)
Carter
Cassidy
Castle
Castor (FL)
Chaffetz
Chandler
Childers
Chu
Clarke
Clay
Cleaver
Clyburn
Coble
Coffman (CO)
Cohen
Cole
Conaway
Connolly (VA)
Conyers
Cooper
Costa
Costello
Courtney
Crenshaw
Crowley
Cuellar
Culberson
Cummings
Dahlkemper
Davis (AL)
Davis (CA)
Davis (IL)
Davis (KY)
Davis (TN)
Deal (GA)
DeFazio
DeGette
Delahunt
DeLauro
Dent
Diaz-Balart, L.
Diaz-Balart, M.
Dicks
Dingell
Doggett
Donnelly (IN)
Doyle
Dreier
Driehaus
Duncan
Edwards (TX)
Ehlers
Ellison
Ellsworth
Engel
Eshoo
Etheridge
Fallin
Farr
Fattah
Filner
Flake
Fleming
Forbes
Fortenberry
Foster
Foxx
Frank (MA)
Franks (AZ)
Frelinghuysen
Fudge
Gallegly
Garrett (NJ)
Gerlach
Giffords
Gingrey (GA)
Gohmert
Gonzalez
Goodlatte
Gordon (TN)
Granger
Graves
Grayson
Green, Al
Green, Gene
Griffith
Guthrie
Gutierrez
Hall (NY)
Hall (TX)
Halvorson
Hare
Harman
Harper
Hastings (FL)
Hastings (WA)
Heinrich
Heller
Hensarling
Herger
Herseth Sandlin
Higgins
Hill
Himes
Hinchey
Hinojosa
Hirono
Hodes
Hoekstra
Holden
Holt
Honda
Hoyer
Hunter
Inglis
Inslee
Israel
Issa
Jackson (IL)
Jackson-Lee (TX)
Jenkins
Johnson (GA)
Johnson (IL)
Johnson, E. B.
Johnson, Sam
Jones
Jordan (OH)
Kagen
Kanjorski
Kaptur
Kildee
Kilpatrick (MI)
Kilroy
Kind
King (IA)
King (NY)
Kingston
Kirk
Kirkpatrick (AZ)
Kissell
Klein (FL)
Kline (MN)
Kosmas
Kratovil
Kucinich
Lamborn
Lance
Langevin
Larsen (WA)
Larson (CT)
Latham
LaTourette
Latta
Lee (CA)
Lee (NY)
Levin
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (GA)
Linder
Lipinski
LoBiondo
Loebsack
Lofgren, Zoe
Lowey
Lucas
Luetkemeyer
Luján
Lummis
Lungren, Daniel E.
Lynch
Mack
Maffei
Maloney
Manzullo
Markey (CO)
Markey (MA)
Marshall
Massa
Matheson
Matsui
McCarthy (CA)
McCaul
McClintock
McCollum
McDermott
McGovern
McHenry
McHugh
McIntyre
McKeon
McMahon
McMorris Rodgers
McNerney
Meek (FL)
Meeks (NY)
Melancon
Mica
Michaud
Miller (FL)
Miller (MI)
Miller (NC)
Miller, Gary
Miller, George
Minnick
Mitchell
Moore (KS)
Moore (WI)
Moran (KS)
Moran (VA)
Murphy (CT)
Murphy (NY)
Murphy, Patrick
Murphy, Tim
Murtha
Myrick
Nadler (NY)
Napolitano
Neal (MA)
Neugebauer
Nunes
Nye
Oberstar
Obey
Olson
Olver
Ortiz
Pallone
Pascrell
Pastor (AZ)
Paulsen
Payne
Pence
Perlmutter
Perriello
Peters
Peterson
Petri
Pingree (ME)
Pitts
Platts
Poe (TX)
Polis (CO)
Pomeroy
Posey
Price (GA)
Price (NC)
Putnam
Quigley
Radanovich
Rahall
Rangel
Rehberg
Reichert
Reyes
Richardson
Rodriguez
Roe (TN)
Rogers (AL)
Rogers (KY)
Rogers (MI)
Rohrabacher
Rooney
Ros-Lehtinen
Roskam
Ross
Rothman (NJ)
Roybal-Allard
Royce
Rush
Ryan (OH)
Ryan (WI)
Salazar
Sánchez, Linda T.
Sanchez, Loretta
Sarbanes
Scalise
Schakowsky
Schauer
Schiff
Schmidt
Schock
Schrader
Schwartz
Scott (GA)
Scott (VA)
Sensenbrenner
Serrano
Sessions
Sestak
Shadegg
Shea-Porter
Sherman
Shimkus
Shuler
Shuster
Simpson
Sires
Skelton
Slaughter
Smith (NE)
Smith (NJ)
Smith (TX)
Smith (WA)
Snyder
Souder
Space
Speier
Spratt
Stark
Stearns
Stupak
Sullivan
Sutton
Tanner
Taylor
Teague
Terry
Thompson (CA)
Thompson (PA)
Thornberry
Tiahrt
Tiberi
Tierney
Titus
Tonko
Towns
Tsongas
Turner
Upton
Van Hollen
Velázquez
Visclosky
Walden
Walz
Wamp
Wasserman Schultz
Waters
Watson
Watt
Waxman
Weiner
Welch
Westmoreland
Wexler
Whitfield
Wilson (OH)
Wilson (SC)
Wittman
Wolf
Woolsey
Wu
Yarmuth
Young (AK)

NOT VOTING—13

Boozman
Edwards (MD)
Emerson
Grijalva
Kennedy
Marchant
McCarthy (NY)
McCotter
Mollohan
Paul
Ruppersberger
Thompson (MS)
Young (FL)

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. TIERNEY) (during the vote). There are 2 minutes remaining in this vote.

□ 1243

So (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the resolution was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Stated for:

Mr. BOOZMAN. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 609 on H. Res. 69 I am not recorded. Had I been present, I would have voted "yea."

REFERRAL OF H. RES. 631 TO COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND COMMERCE

Mr. GORDON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Science and Technology be discharged from further consideration of House Resolution 631 and that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

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

There was no objection.

STATUTORY PAY-AS-YOU-GO ACT OF 2009

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 665, I call up the bill (H.R. 2920) to reinstitute and update the Pay-As-You-Go requirement of budget neutrality on new tax and mandatory spending legislation, enforced by the threat of annual, automatic sequestration, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

□ 1245

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 665, the amendment in the nature of a substitute printed in part A of House Report 111–217, modified by the amendment printed in part B of the report, is adopted and the bill, as amended, is considered read.

The text of the bill, as amended, is as follows:

H.R. 2920

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the ''Statutory Pay-As-You-Go Act of 2009''.

(b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—

Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.
Sec. 2. Purpose.
Sec. 3. Definitions.
Sec. 4. PAYGO estimates and PAYGO scorecards.
Sec. 5. Annual report and sequestration order.
Sec. 6. Calculating a sequestration.
Sec. 7. Current policy adjustment to the CBO estimates.
Sec. 8. Application of BBEDCA.
Sec. 9. Technical corrections.
Sec. 10. Conforming amendments.
Sec. 11. Exempt programs and activities.

SEC. 2. PURPOSE.

The purpose of this Act is to reestablish a statutory procedure to enforce a rule of budget neutrality on new revenue and direct spending legislation.

SEC. 3. DEFINITIONS.

As used in this Act—

(1) The term ''BBEDCA'' means the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985.

(2) The definitions set forth in section 3 of the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974 and in section 250 of BBEDCA shall apply to this Act, except to the extent that they are specifically modified as follows:

(A) The term ''outyear'' means a fiscal year that occurs one or more years after the budget year.

(B) In section 250(c)(8)(C), the reference to the food stamp program shall be deemed to be a reference to the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program.

(3) The term ''AMT'' means the Alternative Minimum Tax for individuals under sections 55-59 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, the term ''EGTRRA'' means the Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2001 (Public Law 107–16), and the term ''JGTRRA'' means the Jobs and Growth Tax Relief and Reconciliation Act of 2003 (Public Law 108–27).

(4)(A) The term ''budgetary effects'' means the amounts by which PAYGO legislation changes direct spending or revenues relative to the baseline and shall be determined on the basis of estimates included by reference in the PAYGO Act or prepared under section 4(d)(3), as applicable. Budgetary effects that increase direct spending or decrease revenues are termed ''costs'' and budgetary effects that increase revenues or decrease direct spending are termed ''savings''.

(B) For purposes of these definitions, off-budget effects shall be counted as budgetary effects unless such changes flow directly from amendments to title II of the Social Security Act and related provisions of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and debt service effects shall not be counted as budgetary effects.

(C) Solely for purposes of recording entries on a PAYGO scorecard, provisions in appropriations Acts are also considered to be budgetary effects for purposes of this Act if such provisions make outyear modifications to substantive law, except that provisions for which the outlay effects net to zero over a period consisting of the current year, the budget year, and the 4 subsequent years shall not be considered budgetary effects. For purposes of this paragraph, the term, ''modifications to substantive law'' refers to changes to or restrictions on entitlement law or other mandatory spending contained in appropriations Acts, notwithstanding section 250(c)(8) of BBEDCA. Provisions in appropriations Acts that are neither outyear modifications to substantive law nor changes in revenues have no budgetary effects for purposes of this Act.

(D) If a provision is designated as an emergency requirement under this Act and is also designated as an emergency requirement under the applicable rules of the House of Representatives, CBO shall not include the cost of such a provision in its estimate of the PAYGO legislation's budgetary effects.

(5) The term ''debit'' refers to the net total amount, when positive, by which costs recorded on the PAYGO scorecards for a fiscal year exceed savings recorded on those scorecards for that year.

(6) The term ''entitlement law'' refers to a section of law which provides entitlement authority.

(7) The term ''PAYGO legislation'' or a ''PAYGO Act'' refers to a bill or joint resolution that affects direct spending or revenue relative to the baseline. The budgetary effects of changes in revenues and outyear modifications to substantive law included in appropriation Acts as defined in paragraph (4) shall be treated as if they were contained in PAYGO legislation.

(8) The term ''timing shift'' refers to a delay of the date on which direct spending would otherwise occur from the ninth outyear to the tenth outyear or an acceleration of the date on which revenues would otherwise occur from the tenth outyear to the ninth outyear.

SEC. 4. PAYGO ESTIMATES AND PAYGO SCORECARDS.

(a) PAYGO ESTIMATES.—(1) A PAYGO Act shall include by reference an estimate of its budgetary effects as determined under section 308(a)(3) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, if timely submitted ''for printing in the Congressional Record by the chairs of the Committees on the Budget of the House of Representatives and the Senate, as applicable, before the vote on the PAYGO legislation''. ''The Clerk of the House or the Secretary of the Senate, as applicable, shall also incorporate by reference such estimate printed in the relevant portion of the Congressional Record under section 308(a)(3) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 into the enrollment of a PAYGO Act.''. Budgetary effects that are not so included shall be determined under section 4(d)(3).

(2)(A) Section 308(a) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

''(3) CBO PAYGO ESTIMATES.—Before a vote in either House on a PAYGO Act that, if determined in the affirmative, would clear such Act for enrollment, the chairs of the Committees on the Budget of the House and Senate as applicable shall request from the Director of the Congressional Budget Office an estimate of the budgetary effects of such Act under the Statutory Pay-As-You-Go Act of 2009. If such an estimate is timely provided, the chairs of the Committees on the Budget of the House of Representatives and the Senate shall post such estimate on their respective committee websites and cause it to be printed in the Congressional Record under the heading 'PAYGO ESTIMATE'. For purposes of this section, the Director of the Congressional Budget Office shall not count timing shifts in his estimates of the budgetary effects of PAYGO legislation (as defined in section 3 of the Statutory Pay-As-You-Go Act of 2009).''.

(B) The side heading of section 308(a) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 is amended by striking ''REPORTS ON''.

(b) Section 308 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

''(d) SCOREKEEPING GUIDELINES.—The Director of the Congressional Budget Office shall provide estimates under this section in accordance with the scorekeeping guidelines determined under section 252(d)(5) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985. Upon agreement, the chairs of the Committees on the Budget of the House of Representatives and the Senate shall submit updates to such guidelines for printing in the Congressional Record.''.

(c) CURRENT POLICY ADJUSTMENTS FOR CERTAIN LEGISLATION.—For purposes of calculating budgetary effects under this Act, CBO shall adjust its estimates as described below for any provision of legislation designated as meeting the criteria in subsection (b), (c), or (d) of section 7 and which the chairman of the Committee on the Budget of the House of Representatives or the Senate, as applicable, designates as meeting those criteria. A single piece of legislation may contain provisions designated as meeting criteria in more than one of the subsections listed above. For appropriately designated provisions, CBO shall exclude from its estimates for purposes of this Act any costs of a provision to the extent that those costs, when combined with all other excluded costs of any other previously designated provisions of enacted legislation under the same subsection of section 7, do not exceed the maximum applicable current policy adjustment defined under the applicable subsection of section 7 for the applicable 10-year period, using the most recent baseline estimates supplied by the Congressional Budget Office consistent with section 257 of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 used in considering a concurrent resolution on the budget; or, after the beginning of a new calendar year and before consideration of a concurrent resolution on the budget, using the most recent baseline estimates supplied by the Congressional Budget Office consistent with section 257 of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985. CBO estimates of legislation containing a current policy designation under this subsection shall include a separate presentation of costs excluded from the calculation of budgetary effects for the legislation, as well as an updated total of all excluded costs of provisions within the same subsection of section 7.

(d) OMB PAYGO SCORECARDS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—OMB shall maintain and make publicly available a continuously updated document containing two PAYGO scorecards displaying the budgetary effects of PAYGO legislation as determined under section 308 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, applying the look-back requirement

in subsection (e) and the averaging requirement in subsection (f), and a separate addendum displaying the estimates of the costs of provisions designated in statute as emergency requirements.

(2) ESTIMATES IN LEGISLATION.—Except as provided in paragraph (3), in making the calculations for the PAYGO scorecards, OMB shall use the budgetary effects included by reference in the applicable legislation.

(3) OMB ESTIMATES.—If legislation does not contain the estimate of budgetary effects under paragraph (2), then OMB shall score the budgetary effects of that legislation upon its enactment, based on the approaches to scorekeeping set forth in this Act.

(4) 5-YEAR SCORECARD.—The first scorecard shall display the budgetary effects of PAYGO legislation in each year over the 5-year period beginning in the budget year.

(5) 10-YEAR SCORECARD.—The second scorecard shall display the budgetary effects of PAYGO legislation in each year over the 10-year period beginning in the budget year.

(e) LOOK-BACK TO CAPTURE CURRENT-YEAR EFFECTS.—For purposes of this section, OMB shall treat the budgetary effects of PAYGO legislation enacted during a session of Congress that occur during the current year as though they occurred in the budget year.

(f) AVERAGING USED TO MEASURE COMPLIANCE OVER 5-YEAR AND 10-YEAR PERIODS.—OMB shall cumulate the budgetary effects of a PAYGO Act over the budget year (which includes any look-back effects under subsection (e)) and—

(1) for purposes of the 5-year scorecard referred to in subsection (d)(4), the four subsequent outyears, divide that cumulative total by five, and enter the quotient in the budget-year column and in each subsequent column of the 5-year PAYGO scorecard; and

(2) for purposes of the 10-year scorecard referred to in subsection (d)(5), the nine subsequent outyears, divide that cumulative total by ten, and enter the quotient in the budget-year column and in each subsequent column of the 10-year PAYGO scorecard.

SEC. 5. ANNUAL REPORT AND SEQUESTRATION ORDER.

(a) ANNUAL REPORT.—Not later than 14 days (excluding weekends and holidays) after Congress adjourns to end a session, OMB shall make publicly available and cause to be printed in the Federal Register an annual PAYGO report. The report shall include an up-to-date document containing the PAYGO scorecards, a description of any current policy adjustments made under section 4(c), information about emergency legislation (if any) designated under section 3(4)(D), information about any sequestration if required by subsection (b), and other data and explanations that enhance public understanding of this Act and actions taken under it.

(b) SEQUESTRATION ORDER.—If the annual report issued at the end of a session of Congress under subsection (a) shows a debit on either PAYGO scorecard for the budget year, OMB shall prepare and the President shall issue and include in that report a sequestration order that, upon issuance, shall reduce budgetary resources of direct spending programs by enough to offset that debit as prescribed in section 6. If there is a debit on both scorecards, the order shall fully offset the larger of the two debits. OMB shall include that order in the annual report and transmit it to the House of Representatives and the Senate. If the President issues a sequestration order, the annual report shall contain, for each budget account to be sequestered, estimates of the baseline level of budgetary resources subject to sequestration, the amount of budgetary resources to be sequestered, and the outlay reductions that will occur in the budget year and the subsequent fiscal year because of that sequestration.

SEC. 6. CALCULATING A SEQUESTRATION.

(a) REDUCING NONEXEMPT BUDGETARY RESOURCES BY A UNIFORM PERCENTAGE.—OMB shall calculate the uniform percentage by which the budgetary resources of nonexempt direct spending programs are to be sequestered such that the outlay savings resulting from that sequestration, as calculated under subsection (b), shall offset the budget-year debit, if any on the applicable PAYGO scorecard. If the uniform percentage calculated under the prior sentence exceeds 4 percent, the Medicare programs described in section 256(d) of BBEDCA shall be reduced by 4 percent and the uniform percentage by which the budgetary resources of all other nonexempt direct spending programs are to be sequestered shall be increased, as necessary, so that the sequestration of Medicare and of all other nonexempt direct spending programs together produce the required outlay savings.

(b) OUTLAY SAVINGS.—In determining the amount by which a sequestration offsets a budget-year debit, OMB shall count—

(1) the amount by which the sequestration in a crop year of crop support payments, pursuant to section 256(j) of BBEDCA, reduces outlays in the budget year and the subsequent fiscal year;

(2) the amount by which the sequestration of Medicare payments in the 12-month period following the sequestration order, pursuant to section 256(d) of BBEDCA, reduces outlays in the budget year and the subsequent fiscal year; and

(3) the amount by which the sequestration in the budget year of the budgetary resources of other nonexempt mandatory programs reduces outlays in the budget year and in the subsequent fiscal year.

SEC. 7. CURRENT POLICY ADJUSTMENT TO THE CBO ESTIMATES.

(a) PURPOSE.—The purpose of this section is to provide for adjustments of estimates of budgetary effects of PAYGO legislation for legislation affecting four areas of the budget—

(1) payments made under section 1848 of the Social Security Act (titled Payment for Physicians' Services);

(2) the Estate and Gift Tax under subtitle B of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986;

(3) the AMT; and

(4) provisions of EGTRRA or JGTRRA that amended the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (or provisions in later statutes further amending the amendments made by EGTRRA or JGTRRA), other than—

(A) the provisions of those two Acts that were made permanent by the Pension Protection Act of 2006 (Public Law 109–280);

(B) amendments to the estate and gift tax referred to in paragraph (2);

(C) the AMT referred to in paragraph (3);

(D) the 35 percent bracket and that portion of the 33 percent bracket that applies to taxable income greater than $200,000 for an individual and $250,000 for a couple; and

(E) provisions in those two Acts relating to taxes rates on capital gains and dividends.

(b) MEDICARE PAYMENTS TO PHYSICIANS.—

(1) CRITERIA.—Legislation that includes provisions amending or superseding the system of payments under section 1848 of the Social Security Act shall trigger the current policy adjustment required by this Act.

(2) ADJUSTMENT.—The amount of the maximum current policy adjustment shall be the difference between—

(A) estimated net outlays attributable to the payments made to physicians under that section of the Social Security Act (as scheduled on July 15, 2009, to be in effect); and

(B) what those net outlays would have been if the nominal payment rates and related parameters in effect for 2009 had been in effect thereafter without change.

(c) ESTATE AND GIFT TAX.—

(1) CRITERIA.—Legislation that includes provisions amending the Estate and Gift Tax under subtitle B of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 shall trigger the current policy adjustment required by this Act.

(2) ADJUSTMENT.—The amount of the maximum current policy adjustment shall be the difference between—

(A) total revenues projected to be collected under the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (as scheduled on July 15, 2009, to be in effect); and

(B) what those revenue collections would have been if, on the date of enactment of the legislation meeting the criteria in paragraph (1), estate and gift tax law had instead been amended so that the tax rates, nominal exemption amounts, and related parameters in effect for tax year 2009 had remained in effect thereafter without change.

(d) PERMANENT EXTENSION OF MIDDLE-CLASS TAX CUTS AND AMT RELIEF.—

(1) CRITERIA.—Legislation that includes provisions extending middle-class tax cuts or AMT relief shall trigger the current policy adjustment required by this Act if those provisions extend one or more of the following provisions—

(A) AMT relief for calendar year 2010 and subsequent years in such a manner that the number of AMT taxpayers is not estimated to exceed the number of AMT taxpayers in tax year 2008 in any year through the tenth year after enactment;

(B) the 10 percent bracket as in effect for tax year 2010, as provided for under section 101(a) of the Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2001 and any later amendments through July 15, 2009;

(C) the child tax credit as in effect for tax year 2010, as provided for under section 201 of the Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act and any later amendments through July 15, 2009;

(D) tax benefits for married couples as in effect for tax year 2010, as provided for under title III of the Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act and any later amendments through July 15, 2009;

(E) the adoption credit as in effect in tax year 2010, as provided for under section 202 of the Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2001 and any later amendments through July 15, 2009;

(F) the dependent care credit as in effect in tax year 2010, as provided for under section 204 of the Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2001 and any later amendments through July 15, 2009;

(G) the employer-provided child care credit as in effect in tax year 2010, as provided for under section 205 of the Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2001 and any later amendments through July 15, 2009;

(H) the education tax benefits as in effect in tax year 2010, as provided for under title IV of the Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2001 and any later amendments through July 15, 2009;

(I) the 25 and 28 percent brackets as in effect for tax year 2010, as provided for under section 101(a) of the Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2001 and any later amendments through July 15, 2009; and

(J) the 33 percent brackets as in effect for tax year 2010, as provided for under section 101(a) of the Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2001 and any later amendment affecting taxpayers with taxable income of $200,000 or less for individuals and $250,000 or less for couples in calendar year 2010 and increased in each subsequent year by an amount equal to the cost of living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 for the calendar year in which the taxable year begins, determined by substituting ''calendar year

2008'' for ''calendar year 1992'' in subparagraph (B) thereof.

(2) ADJUSTMENT.—The amount of the maximum current policy adjustment shall be the difference between what total revenues would have been under the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (as scheduled on July 15, 2009, to be in effect) and what revenues would be if legislation—

(A) permanently extending the AMT exemption and brackets in effect in tax year 2009 but increased in tax year 2010 and each subsequent tax year as indicated under subsection (d)(2)(B), along with any additional amount necessary to prevent the number of taxpayers who must pay AMT from increasing; and

(B) permanently extending the provisions identified in paragraph (1),

were enacted on the same day as the legislation referred to in paragraph (1).

SEC. 8. APPLICATION OF BBEDCA.

For purposes of this Act—

(1) notwithstanding section 275 of BBEDCA, the provisions of sections 255, 256, 257, and 274 of BBEDCA, as amended by this Act, shall apply to the provisions of this Act;

(2) references in sections 255, 256, 257, and 274 to ''this part'' or ''this title'' shall be interpreted as applying to this Act;

(3) references in sections 255, 256, 257, and 274 of BBEDCA to ''section 254'' shall be interpreted as referencing section 5 of this Act;

(4) the reference in section 256(b) of BBEDCA to ''section 252 or 253'' shall be interpreted as referencing section 5 of this Act;

(5) the reference in section 256(d)(1) of BBEDCA to ''section 252 or 253'' shall be interpreted as referencing section 6 of this Act;

(6) the reference in section 256(d)(4) of BBEDCA to ''section 252 or 253'' shall be interpreted as referencing section 5 of this Act;

(7) section 256(k) of BBEDCA shall apply to a sequestration, if any, under this Act; and

(8) references in section 257(e) of BBEDCA to ''section 251, 252, or 253'' shall be interpreted as referencing section 4 of this Act.

SEC. 9. TECHNICAL CORRECTIONS.

(a) Section 250(c)(18) of BBEDCA is amended by striking ''the expenses the Federal deposit insurance agencies'' and inserting ''the expenses of the Federal deposit insurance agencies''.

(b) Section 256(k)(1) of BBEDCA is amended by striking ''in paragraph (5)'' and inserting ''in paragraph (6)''.

SEC. 10. CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.

(a) Section 256(a) of BBEDCA is repealed.

(b) Section 256(b) of BBEDCA is amended by striking ''origination fees under sections 438(c)(2) and 455(c) of that Act shall each be increased by 0.50 percentage point.'' and inserting in lieu thereof ''origination fees under sections 438(c)(2) and (6) and 455(c) and loan processing and issuance fees under section 428(f)(1)(A)(ii) of that Act shall each be increased by the uniform percentage specified in that sequestration order, and, for student loans originated during the period of the sequestration, special allowance payments under section 438(b) of that Act accruing during the period of the sequestration shall be reduced by the uniform percentage specified in that sequestration order.''.

(c) Section 256(c) of BBEDCA is repealed.

(d) Section 256(d) of BBEDCA is amended—

(1) by redesignating paragraphs (2), (3), and (4) as paragraphs (3), (5), and (6);

(2) by amending paragraph (1) to read as follows:

''(1) CALCULATION OF REDUCTION IN PAYMENT AMOUNTS.—To achieve the total percentage reduction in those programs required by section 252 or 253, subject to paragraph (2), and notwithstanding section 710 of the Social Security Act, OMB shall determine, and the applicable Presidential order under section 254 shall implement, the percentage reduction that shall apply, with respect to the health insurance programs under title XVIII of the Social Security Act—

''(A) in the case of parts A and B of such title, to individual payments for services furnished during the one-year period beginning on the first day of the first month beginning after the date the order is issued (or, if later, the date specified in paragraph (4)); and

''(B) in the case of parts C and D, to monthly payments under contracts under such parts for the same one-year period;

such that the reduction made in payments under that order shall achieve the required total percentage reduction in those payments for that period.'';

(3) by inserting after paragraph (1) the following:

''(2) UNIFORM REDUCTION RATE; MAXIMUM PERMISSIBLE REDUCTION.—Reductions in payments for programs and activities under such title XVIII pursuant to a sequestration order under section 254 shall be at a uniform rate, which shall not exceed 4 percent, across all such programs and activities subject to such order.'';

(4) by inserting after paragraph (3), as redesignated, the following:

''(4) TIMING OF SUBSEQUENT SEQUESTRATION ORDER.—A sequestration order required by section 252 or 253 with respect to programs under such title XVIII shall not take effect until the first month beginning after the end of the effective period of any prior sequestration order with respect to such programs, as determined in accordance with paragraph (1).'';

(5) in paragraph (6), as redesignated, to read as follows:

''(6) SEQUESTRATION DISREGARDED IN COMPUTING PAYMENT AMOUNTS.—The Secretary of Health and Human Services shall not take into account any reductions in payment amounts which have been or may be effected under this part, for purposes of computing any adjustments to payment rates under such title XVIII, specifically including—

''(A) the part C growth percentage under section 1853(c)(6);

''(B) the part D annual growth rate under section 1860D–2(b)(6); and

''(C) application of risk corridors to part D payment rates under section 1860D–15(e).''; and

(6) by adding after paragraph (6), as redesignated, the following:

''(7) EXEMPTIONS FROM SEQUESTRATION.—In addition to the programs and activities specified in section 255, the following shall be exempt from sequestration under this part:

''(A) PART D LOW-INCOME SUBSIDIES.—Premium and cost-sharing subsidies under section 1860D–14 of the Social Security Act.

''(B) PART D CATASTROPHIC SUBSIDY.—Payments under section 1860D–15(b) and (e)(2)(B) of the Social Security Act.

''(C) QUALIFIED INDIVIDUAL (QI) PREMIUMS.—Payments to States for coverage of Medicare cost-sharing for certain low-income Medicare beneficiaries under section 1933 of the Social Security Act.''.

SEC. 11. EXEMPT PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES.

(a) DESIGNATIONS.—Section 255 of BBEDCA is amended by redesignating subsection (i) as (j) and striking ''1998'' and inserting in lieu thereof ''2010''.

(b) SOCIAL SECURITY, VETERANS PROGRAMS, NET INTEREST, AND TAX CREDITS.—Subsections (a) through (d) of section 255 of BBEDCA are amended to read as follows

''(a) SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS AND TIER I RAILROAD RETIREMENT BENEFITS.—Benefits payable under the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance program established under title II of the Social Security Act (title 42, United States Code, section 401 et seq.), and benefits payable under section 231b(a), 231b(f)(2), 231c(a), and 231c(f) of title 45 United States Code, shall be exempt from reduction under any order issued under this part.

''(b) VETERANS PROGRAMS.—The following program shall be exempt from reduction under any order issued under this part—

''All programs administered by the Department of Veterans Affairs.

''Special Benefits for Certain World War II Veterans (28–0401–0–1–701).

''(c) NET INTEREST.—No reduction of payments for net interest (all of major functional category 900) shall be made under any order issued under this part.

''(d) REFUNDABLE INCOME TAX CREDITS.—Payments to individuals made pursuant to provisions of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 establishing refundable tax credits shall be exempt from reduction under any order issued under this part.''.

(c) OTHER PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES, LOW-INCOME PROGRAMS, AND ECONOMIC RECOVERY PROGRAMS.—Subsections (g) and (h) of section 255 of BBEDCA are amended to read as follows:

''(g) OTHER PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES.—

''(1)(A) The following budget accounts and activities shall be exempt from reduction under any order issued under this part:

''Activities resulting from private donations, bequests, or voluntary contributions to the Government.

''Activities financed by voluntary payments to the Government for goods or services to be provided for such payments.

''Administration of Territories, Northern Mariana Islands Covenant grants (14–0412–0–1–808).

''Advances to the Unemployment Trust Fund and Other Funds (16–0327–0–1–600).

''Black Lung Disability Trust Fund Refinancing (16–0329–0–1–601).

''Bonneville Power Administration Fund and borrowing authority established pursuant to section 13 of Public Law 93–454 (1974), as amended (89–4045–0–3–271).

''Claims, Judgments, and Relief Acts (20–1895–0–1–808).

''Compact of Free Association (14–0415–0–1–808).

''Compensation of the President (11–0209–01–1–802).

''Comptroller of the Currency, Assessment Funds (20–8413–0–8–373).

''Continuing Fund, Southeastern Power Administration (89–5653–0–2–271).

''Continuing Fund, Southwestern Power Administration (89–5649–0–2–271).

''Dual Benefits Payments Account (60–0111–0–1–601).

''Emergency Fund, Western Area Power Administration (89–5069–0–2–271).

''Exchange Stabilization Fund (20–4444–0–3–155).

''Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, Deposit Insurance Fund (51–4596–4–4–373).

''Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, FSLIC Resolution Fund (51–4065–0–3–373).

''Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, Noninterest Bearing Transaction Account Guarantee (51–4458–0–3–373).

''Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, Senior Unsecured Debt Guarantee (51–4457–0–3–373).

''Federal Housing Finance Agency, Administrative Expenses (95–5532–0–2–371).

''Federal Payment to the District of Columbia Judicial Retirement and Survivors Annuity Fund (20–1713–0–1–752).

''Federal Payment to the District of Columbia Pension Fund (20–1714–0–1–601).

''Federal Payments to the Railroad Retirement Accounts (60–0113–0–1–601).

''Federal Reserve Bank Reimbursement Fund (20–1884–0–1–803).

''Financial Agent Services (20–1802–0–1–803).

''Foreign Military Sales Trust Fund (11–8242–0–7–155).

''Hazardous Waste Management, Conservation Reserve Program (12–4336–0–3–999).

''Host Nation Support Fund for Relocation (97–8337–0–7–051).

''Internal Revenue Collections for Puerto Rico (20–5737–0–2–806).

''Intragovernmental funds, including those from which the outlays are derived primarily from resources paid in from other government accounts, except to the extent such funds are augmented by direct appropriations for the fiscal year during which an order is in effect.

''Medical Facilities Guarantee and Loan Fund (75–9931–0–3–551).

''National Credit Union Administration, Central Liquidity Facility (25–4470–0–3–373).

''National Credit Union Administration, Corporate Credit Union Share Guarantee Program (25–4476–0–3–376).

''National Credit Union Administration, Credit Union Homeowners Affordability Relief Program (25–4473–0–3–371).

''National Credit Union Administration, Credit Union Share Insurance Fund (25–4468–0–3–373).

''National Credit Union Administration, Credit Union System Investment Program (25–4474–0–3–376).

''National Credit Union Administration, Operating fund (25–4056–0–3–373).

''National Credit Union Administration, Share Insurance Fund Corporate Debt Guarantee Program (25–4469–0–3–376).

''National Credit Union Administration, U.S. Central Federal Credit Union Capital Program (25–4475–0–3–376).

''Office of Thrift Supervision (20–4108–0–3–373).

''Panama Canal Commission Compensation Fund (16–5155–0–2–602).

''Payment of Vietnam and USS Pueblo prisoner-of-war claims within the Salaries and Expenses, Foreign Claims Settlement account (15–0100–0–1–153).

''Payment to Civil Service Retirement and Disability Fund (24–0200–0–1–805).

''Payment to Department of Defense Medicare-Eligible Retiree Health Care Fund (97–0850–0–1–054).

''Payment to Judiciary Trust Funds (10–0941–0–1–752).

''Payment to Military Retirement Fund (97–0040–0–1–054).

''Payment to the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability Fund (19–0540–0–1–153).

''Payments to Copyright Owners (03–5175–0–2–376).

''Payments to Health Care Trust Funds (75–0580–0–1–571).

''Payment to Radiation Exposure Compensation Trust Fund (15–0333–0–1–054).

''Payments to Social Security Trust Funds (28–0404–0–1–651).

''Payments to the United States Territories, Fiscal Assistance (14–0418–0–1–806).

''Payments to trust funds from excise taxes or other receipts properly creditable to such trust funds.

''Payments to widows and heirs of deceased Members of Congress (00–0215–0–1–801).

''Postal Service Fund (18–4020–0–3–372).

''Radiation Exposure Compensation Trust Fund (15–8116–0–1–054).

''Reimbursement to Federal Reserve Banks (20–0562–0–1–803).

''Salaries of Article III judges.

''Soldiers and Airmen's Home, payment of claims (84–8930–0–7–705).

''Tennessee Valley Authority Fund, except nonpower programs and activities (64–4110–0–3–999).

''Tribal and Indian trust accounts within the Department of the Interior which fund prior legal obligations of the Government or which are established pursuant to Acts of Congress regarding Federal management of tribal real property or other fiduciary responsibilities, including but not limited to Tribal Special Fund (14–5265–0–2–452), Tribal Trust Fund (14–8030–0–7–452), White Earth Settlement (14–2204–0–1–452), and Indian Water Rights and Habitat Acquisition (14–5505–0–2–303).

''United Mine Workers of America 1992 Benefit Plan (95–8260–0–7–551).

''United Mine Workers of America 1993 Benefit Plan (95–8535–0–7–551).

''United Mine Workers of America Combined Benefit Fund (95–8295–0–7–551).

''United States Enrichment Corporation Fund (95–4054–0–3–271).

''Universal Service Fund (27–5183–0–2–376).

''Vaccine Injury Compensation (75–0320–0–1–551).

''Vaccine Injury Compensation Program Trust Fund (20–8175–0–7–551).

''(B) The following Federal retirement and disability accounts and activities shall be exempt from reduction under any order issued under this part:

''Black Lung Disability Trust Fund (20–8144–0–7–601).

''Central Intelligence Agency Retirement and Disability System Fund (56–3400–0–1–054).

''Civil Service Retirement and Disability Fund (24–8135–0–7–602).

''Comptrollers general retirement system (05–0107–0–1–801).

''Contributions to U.S. Park Police annuity benefits, Other Permanent Appropriations (14–9924–0–2–303).

''Court of Appeals for Veterans Claims Retirement Fund (95–8290–0–7–705).

''Department of Defense Medicare-Eligible Retiree Health Care Fund (97–5472–0–2–551).

''District of Columbia Federal Pension Fund (20–5511–0–2–601).

''District of Columbia Judicial Retirement and Survivors Annuity Fund (20–8212–0–7–602).

''Energy Employees Occupational Illness Compensation Fund (16–1523–0–1–053).

''Foreign National Employees Separation Pay (97–8165–0–7–051).

''Foreign Service National Defined Contributions Retirement Fund (19–5497–0–2–602).

''Foreign Service National Separation Liability Trust Fund (19–8340–0–7–602).

''Foreign Service Retirement and Disability Fund(19–8186–0–7–602).

''Government Payment for Annuitants, Employees Health Benefits (24–0206–0–1–551).

''Government Payment for Annuitants, Employee Life Insurance (24–0500–0–1–602).

''Judicial Officers' Retirement Fund (10–8122–0–7–602).

''Judicial Survivors' Annuities Fund (10–8110–0–7–602).

''Military Retirement Fund (97–8097–0–7–602).

''National Railroad Retirement Investment Trust (60–8118–0–7–601).

''National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration retirement (13–1450–0–1–306).

''Pensions for former Presidents (47–0105–0–1–802).

''Postal Service Retiree Health Benefits Fund (24–5391–0–2–551).

''Public Safety Officer Benefits (15–0403–0–1–754).

''Rail Industry Pension Fund (60–8011–0–7–601).

''Retired Pay, Coast Guard (70–0602–0–1–403).

''Retirement Pay and Medical Benefits for Commissioned Officers, Public Health Service (75–0379–0–1–551).

''Special Benefits for Disabled Coal Miners (16–0169–0–1–601).

''Special Benefits, Federal Employees' Compensation Act (16–1521–0–1–600).

''Special Workers Compensation Expenses (16–9971–0–7–601.)

''Tax Court Judges Survivors Annuity Fund (23–8115–0–7–602).

''United States Court of Federal Claims Judges' Retirement Fund (10–8124–0–7–602).

''United States Secret Service, DC Annuity (70–0400–0–1–751).

''Voluntary Separation Incentive Fund (97–8335–0–7–051).

''(2) Prior legal obligations of the Government in the following budget accounts and activities shall be exempt from any order issued under this part:

''Biomass Energy Development (20–0114–0–1–271).

''Check Forgery Insurance Fund (20–4109–0–3–803).

''Credit liquidating accounts.

''Credit reestimates.

''Employees Life Insurance Fund (24–8424–0–8–602).

''Federal Aviation Insurance Revolving Fund (69–4120–0–3–402).

''Federal Crop Insurance Corporation Fund (12–4085–0–3–351).

''Federal Emergency Management Agency, National Flood Insurance Fund (58–4236–0–3–453).

''Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation (Freddie Mac).

''Federal National Mortgage Corporation (Fannie Mae).

''Geothermal resources development fund (89–0206–0–1–271).

''Low-Rent Public Housing—Loans and Other Expenses (86–4098–0–3–604).

''Maritime Administration, War Risk Insurance Revolving Fund (69–4302–0–3–403).

''Natural Resource Damage Assessment Fund (14–1618–0–1–302).

''Overseas Private Investment Corporation, Noncredit Account (71–4184–0–3–151).

''Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation Fund (16–4204–0–3–601).

''San Joaquin Restoration Fund (14–5537–0–2–301).

''Servicemembers' Group Life Insurance Fund (36–4009–0–3–701).

''Terrorism Insurance Program (20–0123–0–1–376).

''(h) LOW-INCOME PROGRAMS.—The following programs shall be exempt from reduction under any order issued under this part:

''Academic Competitiveness/Smart Grant Program (91–0205–0–1–502).

''Child Care Entitlement to States (75–1550–0–1–609).

''Child Enrollment Contingency Fund (75–5551–0–2–551).

''Child Nutrition Programs (with the exception of special milk programs) (12–3539–0–1–605).

''Children's Health Insurance Fund (75–0515–0–1–551).

''Commodity Supplemental Food Program (12–3507–0–1–605).

''Contingency Fund (75–1522–0–1–609).

''Family Support Programs (75–1501–0–1–609).

''Federal Pell Grants under section 401 Title IV of the Higher Education Act.

''Grants to States for Medicaid (75–0512–0–1–551).

''Payments for Foster Care and Permanency (75–1545–0–1–609).

''Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (12–3505–0–1–605).

''Supplemental Security Income Program (28–0406–0–1–609).

''Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (75–1552–0–1–609).''.

(d) ECONOMIC RECOVERY PROGRAMS.—Section 255 of BBEDCA is amended by adding the following after subsection (h):

''(i) ECONOMIC RECOVERY PROGRAMS.—The following programs shall be exempt from reduction under any order issued under this part:

''All programs enacted in, or increases in programs provided by, the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009.

''Exchange Stabilization Fund-Money Market Mutual Fund Guaranty Facility (20–4274–0–3–376).

''Financial Stabilization Reserve (20–0131–4–1–376).

''GSE Mortgage-Backed Securities Purchase Program Account (20–0126–0–1–371).

''GSE Preferred Stock Purchase Agreements (20–0125–0–1–371).

''Office of Financial Stability (20–0128–0–1–376).

''Special Inspector General for the Troubled Asset Relief Program (20–0133–0–1–376).

''Troubled Asset Relief Program Account (20–0132–0–1–376).

''Troubled Asset Relief Program Equity Purchase Program (20–0134–0–1–376).

''Troubled Asset Relief Program, Home Affordable Modification Program (20–0136–0–1–604).''.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. After 1 hour of debate on the bill, as amended, it shall be in order to consider the amendment in the nature of a substitute printed in part C of the report, if offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. RYAN) or his designee, which shall be considered read, and shall be debatable for 30 minutes, equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent.

The gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) and the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. RYAN) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from South Carolina.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, at this point I would also like to ask unanimous consent that Members have 5 legislative days to revise and extend and insert material relevant to the consideration of H.R. 2920 in the record.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the Statutory Pay-As-You-Go Act of 2009. To understand this bill, it's important and useful to understand its short history.

At the outset of the 1990s, Congress passed the Budget Enforcement Act to ensure that the Budget Summit Agreement would be carried out. Among these provisions was a rule called pay-as-you-go, PAYGO for short. At the time, critics distained and belittled our resort to budget process. They accused us of dodging the hard choices we had to make if we were going to wipe out the end of the deficit. But by the end of the 1990s, the budget was in surplus for the first time in 30 years, and it was clear that PAYGO had played an important part in our success.

In 2002, the Budget Enforcement Act was allowed to expire, and the President, President Bush, and the majority, the Republicans at that time, chose not to reinstate PAYGO. Without the process rule in place, the budget plunged from a surplus of $236 billion in the year 2000 to a deficit of $413 billion in the year 2004.

In April of 2005, in his congressional testimony, Alan Greenspan said, ''One of the real problems we had was allowing PAYGO to lapse in September of 2002, and were we to still be under a PAYGO regime, which I thought worked very well, I think we would have a lot fewer problems now.''

When Democrats took back the House, the reinstatement of PAYGO was at the top of our agenda. To expedite its passage, PAYGO was made a rule of the House the day we convened. Without support of the Bush administration, there was no prospect of getting statutory PAYGO enacted in law, but now with the support of the Obama administration, indeed, the underlying legislation we are pushing and advancing today was originally sent to us for filing by request from the President, Mr. Obama.

With the support of the Obama administration, we're in a position now to take a longer stride towards budget discipline by enacting statutory PAYGO into law. The Obama administration has inherited a colossal deficit swollen to accommodate massive recovery measures. As these measures pull us up out of the slump, we must focus attention on our longer-term fiscal fate.

By themselves, budget process rules cannot convert deficits into surpluses, but as in the 1990s, they can play a vital role. Statutory PAYGO works by reining in both new entitlement spending and new tax cuts. Both tend to be long lasting. They are easy to pass and hard to repeal. And by insisting in deficit neutrality for these new policies, PAYGO buffers the bottom line, holds it constant. Its terms are complex, but at its core, it's a commonsense rule that everybody can understand: When you are in deficit, don't make it worse. When you want to spend a dollar, save a dollar. Everybody can understand the commonsense logic of this bill.

I would add that PAYGO has not only been a commonsense idea that found its way into the rules of the House and the statute books, but it has traditionally received bipartisan report. Originally, it was enacted in 1990 under a Republican President and Democratic Congress. In 1997, it was extended under a Democratic President and a Republican Congress.

This is not a panacea—I wouldn't hold it out as that—but it is a significant step in the right direction. It was proven to work in the 1990s, and it needs to be reinstated for that purpose now.

I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, at this time I yield 4 minutes to myself.

Mr. Speaker, I wish the Budget Committee had an opportunity to mark up this bill; however, the decision was made to bypass the Budget Committee and go straight to the floor.

This bill is not a simple extension of current law. It bypasses the deliberate and transparent process, and we are rushing legislation to the floor. It's an ongoing trend of a disturbing trend, which is write legislation in the leadership offices, rush it to floor, ram it through Congress without legislators legislating. We have one of the most talented chairmen of the Budget Committee who knows more than anybody else how these laws work, Mr. SPRATT. It should have gone through his committee. Unfortunately, written in leadership, rushed to the floor, out it goes. That is a disturbing trend with how this Congress is working.

But let me talk about the need for fiscal restraint and fiscal discipline.

We concur, we agree that we have got to do some things to get our fiscal house in order. We need to equip Congress with more and better tools to get this budget under control. Unfortunately, this isn't the tool. This tool does not work. Let's look at PAYGO's track record thus far.

Since PAYGO was instituted as a rule here, the budget deficit under the last Republican budget was $161 billion. The budget today, the deficit is at $1.8 trillion, more than a tenfold increase.

Let me show you how much spending last year in increases were subject to PAYGO for this year's spending. Two percent. Two percent of the spending that has gone out the door this year was subject to PAYGO, 98 percent was not. That's $870 billion of new spending not subject to PAYGO.

Since the majority gave us this PAYGO rule, look at what has happened to deficits. $161 billion up to $1.8 trillion, deficits for as far as the eye can see never going below $600 billion, and in 10 years, above a trillion dollars. PAYGO does absolutely nothing to arrest that development, to address that.

More to the point, Mr. Speaker, PAYGO exempts, already, 40 percent of the budget, forty percent. All of the money the Federal Government spends on government agencies, and all that discretionary spending isn't even touched by PAYGO.

More to the point, Mr. Speaker, is that all of those unfunded liabilities we have, according to the General Accountability Office, $62 trillion of unfunded liabilities are already out there, due, promises made to taxpayers that the government right now doesn't have funded, to Medicare, to Medicaid, to Social Security. A mountain of debt is before us. And what does PAYGO do to address it? Absolutely nothing. PAYGO does nothing whatsoever to address the runaway entitlement problems we have today. It simply says if we're going to build new programs, new nondiscretionary, mandatory entitlement programs, then, and only then, should we pay for it.

We know the track record of something like this. Without spending caps, without reform to go after existing spending programs, this simply results in raising taxes.

So we believe that this is more or less a machine to raise taxes to pay for new and more costly government programs. It does nothing to attack the

fact that we have trillions upon trillions of dollars of unfunded liabilities right now. It does nothing to attack the fact that just this year alone, discretionary spending is going up 8 percent, 11 percent for domestic discretionary spending. It ignores all of those things. It's really kind of like buying a fire extinguisher after your house has burned down. Congress is going to commit all of these fiscal crimes only to put PAYGO in place after they've been committed.

So, Mr. Speaker, this bill, as well intended as it may be, is not the solution. There are better ideas. And I only wished that we could have gone through the Budget Committee and collaborated in making this bill better.

With that, I will reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas, a member of the committee, Mr. DOGGETT.

Mr. DOGGETT. As one economist concluded, it's easy to dodge your responsibilities but we cannot dodge the consequences of dodging our responsibilities.

For 8 long years, fiscal responsibility was abandoned by the Bush administration and its congressional enablers. When a difficult decision came along, they played a devastating game of dodgeball to the tune of, ''Don't worry, be happy.'' Well, record surpluses turned into record deficits and the economy began to collapse. This did not happen by accident.

Republican ideologues urged the irresponsible approach of fiscal deficit with more borrow-and-spend and tax cuts as the best tactic to starve government and ensure that Democrats would never be able to address the other deficits in our society: educational deficits, health care deficits, and more.

This year, with only 7 months so far to correct 8 years of failure, as we clean up the mess that we were given, we reaffirm our commitment to pay-as-you-go. And we're already making it a reality in one of the most significant challenges of our time, the health care deficit. We correct it without adding to the fiscal deficit. We're paying for long neglected health care reform by cutting costs in the system and taxing the few at the top who benefited the most from the Bush era.

Fiscal responsibility, fiscal security is national security. Today's vote signals that we are abandoning the Republicans' fiscal model, which is straight out of the Magic Kingdom. Their rule, like the first law of Disney, is that ''wishing will make it so.'' That may work well in the law of fairy tales, but it has been a budgeting disaster and an economic nightmare that we begin correcting today.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I would like to yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Ohio, a member of the Budget Committee, Mr. JORDAN.

Mr. JORDAN of Ohio. I thank the gentleman for yielding and for his continuing efforts to try to bring some fiscal sanity to this town and this place.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this so-called Pay-As-You-Go bill. Most Americans, frankly, would label this tax-as-you-go.

Families and businesses across the country are tightening their belts, but this Congress keeps spending like there is no tomorrow, putting our country on a path towards bankruptcy. Now they're trying to get the American people to look the other way with the smokescreen called PAYGO.

Earlier this year, we offered a balanced budget. That's pay-as-you-go. But this bill doesn't balance the budget. For 3 years, we've been offering amendments both in committee and on this floor that would hold the line on spending. That's really pay-as-you-go. But this bill doesn't hold the line on any spending. In fact, this bill is just another facade to allow spending and spending and spending.

Just remember, last week, for the first time in American history, we hit a $1 trillion deficit, and it's slated to go higher as we have a few months left in this fiscal year. Just to reiterate a couple points that the ranking member made in his opening comments.

Last year, with the pay-as-you-go rule that the majority had put in place, we exempted $420 billion worth of legislation from that very rule, and the deficit increased by $1.7 trillion. That's over a thousand percent increase over the current pay-as-you-go policy that the majority has had in place.

We need real pay-as-you-go. Our substitute offered by our ranking member, Mr. RYAN, is the right approach. It has spending caps. It has deficit targets. It takes the right approach to balance our budget. In fact, it's going to have a supermajority requirement, something we need to override the spending limits and caps in the bill. We don't need more of the smokescreens and empty promises that we always see from Washington. What we need is real fiscal responsibility.

Let me just say this. Over the next decade, the debt is slated to reach $23 trillion. Now think about what it takes to pay that off.

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

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman an additional minute.

Mr. JORDAN of Ohio. So $23 trillion. To pay that off, you first have to balance the budget, then you have to run a trillion-dollar surplus for 23 years, and that doesn't count the interest which is now approaching a billion dollars a day.

We need to get serious and not have these smokescreens and facades. We need real pay-as-you-go. We need real fiscal responsibility.

One of the things that makes this country great is the idea that parents make sacrifices for their children so they can have a better life than they did, and they in turn become adults and parents and do the same thing for their kids. And it's been that cycle that has allowed the United States to become the greatest Nation in history. When you begin to reverse that process and live for the moment and leave the debt to someone else, that is a real problem. Today we can do the right thing.

Vote this pay-as-you-go legislation down and enact the substitute version offered by Mr. RYAN. If we do that, we can start to move in the right direction and do what's right for our children and grandchildren.

□ 1300

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from California, who claims paternity of this bill, having first introduced the legislation calling for the PAYGO rule, Mr. MILLER.

(Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise in very strong support of this legislation to help restore fiscal responsibility, and I salute President Obama and Majority Leader HOYER for their leadership on this important issue. Listening to this debate might leave the American people confused about Republican values. Republicans regularly declare their fidelity to controlling Federal spending, and they claim also that they want to fix our broken health care system. And yet Republicans oppose our commonsense pay-as-you-go legislation, and Republicans oppose our historic health care reform bill.

My question to the Republicans is simple: when they controlled the House, the Senate and the White House, all of our government, for 8 long years, why didn't they control Federal spending? Why didn't you reform the health care system? But what you did when you got power for the first time was you made your highest priority your tax cut to the richest people in this country without paying for it. The rest of us have been paying for it forever.

In 2001, you did it, and in 2002 you did it, turning the budget surpluses into massive deficits. Why is it they added a record number of earmarks to the appropriations bill, running the deficit up even further? And why is it that in 8 years, they never ever made health care reform a priority? Not ever. Not ever in those 8 years.

Meanwhile, Americans' health care bills keep rising, the insurance companies continue denials of care, and the number of the uninsured have continued to grow. Eight years of all-Republican government, spending the taxpayers' money like a drunken sailor, and, as Ronald Reagan said, with full apologies to the sailor, raising deficits to historic levels and inaction on health care of any kind of reform. But

they have made rhetoric a priority. And they have made politics as usual a priority.

Now that they are out of power, they speak about controlling deficits and reforming health care, but they openly state that they hope our President fails. Their hope for our Nation is that our President fails. I have been a supporter for pay-as-you-go budgeting since 1982, when I introduced the first pay-as-you-go bill. When liberals and conservatives worked together with President Clinton to adopt the PAYGO rules, the Democrats reined in and erased the historic budget deficits that were left over from President Reagan and President Bush from the 1980s and the 1990s. And we recorded record budget surpluses. We ran surpluses a number of years in a row. President Bush and the Republican-controlled Congress, when they gained power, they erased it. They repealed the law.

And now what we see is the interest payments on that debt crowding out the national priorities. In 2007, Democrats made PAYGO part of our rules again. Our legislation today strengthens those rules by making it part of the law so the Senate and the House will have to abide by it. Our bill says Congress could neither cut taxes nor increase entitlement spending without first deciding how you can afford to pay for these new costs. PAYGO requires difficult decisions about national priorities and how to afford them. If we can't pay for new tax cuts or entitlement spending, we can't have them. It's simple, it's common sense, and it helps reduce the deficit.

PAYGO will strengthen the economy by helping to reduce interest payments on our debt and by helping to address health care reform, modernizing energy policy and college affordability. Our health care bill, for example, will not increase the deficit one dime. It is paid for. Our new college affordability bill is not only paid for, it returns $10 billion in deficit reduction to the American people. The Democrats are working hard to ensure that, going forward, we can exercise fiscal discipline that hard-working Americans need and expect from this Congress. I urge my colleagues to vote ''yes'' on PAYGO.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 30 seconds to simply comment on the last speaker's points.

He is right in saying the last majority did spend too much money. A number of us criticized that. A number of us, Mr. HENSARLING and I in particular, came to the floor with budget enforcement legislation. A minority of the majority at the time voted against it, and all but a few in the then-minority voted against it, supplied the votes to say ''no'' to any kind of budget enforcement. But more to the point, spending did grow by too much in the prior 8 years. But look at it now, Mr. Speaker. If you thought spending was fast then, holy cow, it is really fast now.

With that, Mr. Speaker, I would like to yield 2½ minutes to a member of the Budget Committee, Mr. MCHENRY.

Mr. MCHENRY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the ranking member for yielding. Today I rise in opposition to the Democrats' so-called PAYGO scheme. It sounds good, but the reality is far different from the sound of it. It does nothing to control out-of-control spending and reckless government spending. The proposal does nothing to hold accountable discretionary spending, which is 40 percent of the budget.

As American families face difficult decisions about every dollar they spend, the majority of this Congress believes that 40 percent of their budget should be exempt from fiscal discipline. Because Congress must show the fortitude and resolve to rein in these spending issues and to control reckless spending, I support the Republican alternative. The Republican alternative sets discretionary spending caps for the next decade. The caps would not impact defense, veterans funding or Social Security. And to adequately fulfill our obligations, discretionary spending would be allowed to grow at the rate of inflation.

Unlike the majority of this Congress, our proposal would reduce budget deficits in the years to come. It's noteworthy that this PAYGO scheme has been the rule of the House for the last 3 years. Well, what has happened in the last 3 years? Federal spending went from $2.7 trillion to $3.6 trillion. That is a 25 percent increase, Mr. Speaker. Why? Well, simple. The Democrat majority chooses to waive the rule when it is inconvenient and simply spend like drunken sailors. It is unfortunate. In order to have fiscal discipline and in order to rein in reckless spending and the debt it fuels, we need to focus on these issues and have real spending caps.

It is counterproductive for this Congress to spend so much because it will hurt our economy, and yet the folks in charge of this Congress are spending, spending, spending. I think that is going to have a negative impact on our economy, small businesses and families alike. The Nation's finances are on an unsustainable path. Everyone knows that. The majority's reckless PAYGO scheme does nothing and misses a great opportunity for us to rein in spending.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. EDWARDS) who has been a prime mover behind this bill and is the originator of the idea that it should not be a 5 or 10-year bill, but a permanent law.

Mr. EDWARDS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, we have a moral obligation to not drown our children in a sea of national debt, and that is why I'm strongly supporting this pay-as-you-go legislation. I believe history will show that one of the worst mistakes made by the Republican-led Congress of the past decade was to not extend the Federal PAYGO rules in 2002. The facts speak for themselves. We went from a projected 10-year Federal surplus of $5.6 trillion to a deficit of $4.5 trillion, an astounding $10 trillion fiscal u-turn. For the good of our children and our country's future, it is time to correct that mistake and to see that it never happens again.

The pay-as-you-go principle is one that American families and businesses understand. It's common sense, and they get it. Unfortunately, some of the Members of Congress who are the architects of the largest deficits in American history, those who created the deficits they now rail against on a daily basis, don't get it. In speech after speech, they sing the siren song of fiscal responsibility, yet today they will vote against the commonsense pay-as-you-go law. I'm proud to have led the fight to make this new pay-as-you-go bill a permanent law, not a temporary one.

The PAYGO principle makes sense for this Congress and for all future Congresses. Had it been made permanent in the 1990s, our national debt today would be trillions less and our children's future far brighter. We cannot correct overnight the irresponsible fiscal decisions of the past decade, but with this PAYGO bill as the permanent law of the land, we will begin the important process of reducing deficits and balancing the Federal budget. That, more than any speech, is what our children and our country deserve.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Yielding myself 10 seconds, Mr. Speaker, I will simply say that the majority just passed a budget resolution under the current PAYGO regime that doubles the national debt in 5½ years and triples it in 10½ years.

With that, Mr. Speaker, I would like to yield 2½ minutes to the gentlewoman from Wyoming (Mrs. LUMMIS).

Mrs. LUMMIS. I thank the gentleman for yielding. Our deficit will soar to $1.8 trillion this year. The President's budget will triple our debt in 10 years and still under this bill be PAYGO-compliant. That is how disingenuous this bill is. This bill is so disingenuous that they didn't even allow it to go through the Budget Committee for fear, perhaps, that the distinguished chairman of the Budget Committee might come up with something more reasonable.

Instead, it is the ranking member that had to come up with something more reasonable. Families in Wyoming and across the Nation don't have the luxury of exempting 40 percent of their budget from balancing. But this PAYGO bill does. Forty percent of the budget is off the table. It doesn't have to play the PAYGO game. This is sleight of hand. I ask my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to reject this bill, which falls woefully short of its goals. Let's slow entitlement growth. Let's control Congress' insatiable appetite for spending. Let's pass the Paul Ryan alternative.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. VAN HOLLEN).

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this legislation. On the day he was sworn in as President, President Obama inherited huge deficits and exploding debt in this country. The previous administration wanted to put everything on our national credit card and ask future generations to pay for it.

It's time to put an end to this, and this bill today is the beginning of the end of irresponsible spending. It's the end of sweeping our problems under the rug and saying we're going to put them off to another day. And we have seen the impact this kind of budget mechanism can have. We saw it in the 1990s, during which we had a PAYGO rule in place and we saw our deficits and debts go from record deficits to record surpluses. And when we abandon that, when we abandoned that fiscal discipline rule in 2002, we saw our Federal debt explode.

As we dig ourselves out of this economic ditch we find ourselves in, it is important that we put our economy on a long-term, sustainable basis, and this legislation is part of doing that. It will require that policies that result in revenue reduction or increased mandatory spending be offset over the next 5 and 10 years. That will require us to take a hard look at our national priorities. It will require us to look at the tradeoffs that we have to make, just like every family in America has to make those hard decisions. We say let's apply that rule to the United States Congress.

Unfortunately, as we saw from the last administration, there was a lot of talk but no action. Mr. Speaker, what this does is say this isn't just going to be a House rule. This is going to be a matter of the law of the land. And while it can never be a total substitute for our ability to muster the political will to get things done, history has been a clear guide that this helps us get the job done.

So I want to commend Leader HOYER, Mr. SPRATT and the others for bringing this important legislation to the floor. Let's finally say to our children and our grandchildren, We're going to take some responsibility. The buck stops here. Let's stop passing on our problems to the next generation.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, at this time, I would like to yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. DANIEL E. LUNGREN).

Mr. DANIEL E. LUNGREN of California. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding. When I returned to this House Chamber in 2005, it was obvious to me that we were spending too much money on the Federal level. It was obvious to me that Uncle Sam needed a diet at that time. But at this time, it is even worse. We need what I would call a budgetary gastrointestinal bypass. And instead, what do you bring to the floor? You bring us cosmetic surgery. You give us a fiscal facelift. It looks good, but there is nothing behind the mask.

All you have to do is look at the figures. Since my friend from South Carolina has been chairman, he has been allowed to be called ''chairman,'' since his colleagues on the Democratic side have been allowed to be called ''chairmen,'' ''chairwomen,'' ''chairpersons,'' in other words, since they have been in charge of this place, what has happened with the spending in this place? It has gotten worse. You complained about overspending, and then you came in and you saw the patient and you put the patient on a diet of milkshakes.

We are in real trouble today, and everybody knows it. Now what did we do last week? We decided the fiscal situation in this country was so bad we needed to have a new program for wild horses at a cost of $700 million. Seven hundred million dollars. Millions of more acres were closed up for that purpose, but $700 million dropped on the laps of the American taxpayer. And this week you're trying to sell us a story that somehow you're concerned about overspending. The American people really are a little bit sharper than that. They understand that when you complain about overspending, and yet in the first opportunity you have to have your President in the White House to control both Houses, we pass the magic trillion-dollar mark. Yes, we had in the very same week for the first time in our dictionary ''earmarks'' listed as a word that is now conventional language. In that same week, we set the record $1 trillion deficit in a single fiscal year.

So after a while, you can keep looking back, you can keep pointing to the mirror, you can keep saying, Look at what those guys did. But at some point in time, you have to use an old expression, ''You've got to man up.'' You've got to actually say you're responsible for the actions taking place right now, and those actions have given us the largest deficit in the history of the world.

□ 1315

We are going to double all of the debt that we have garnered from George Washington to George W. Bush in 5 years, and we're going to triple it in 10 years. I know that's not the intent of the gentleman from South Carolina, for whom I have great respect. I know it's a heavy burden he has to try and carry this Democratic proposal and the administration's proposal. And I understand he would rather not be in this position. But he finds himself in this position, Mr. Speaker, and all I can say to my good friend on the other side of the aisle is, I'm so sorry. I'm so sorry you have to do this.

Mr. SPRATT. Let me simply respond by saying, I'm glad to bring this to the floor. I voted for it in the past, saw it work, and I think it's going to work again. As I said, it's not a panacea, but it's a useful device to have in our arsenal of weapons to deal with the recession we're in.

By the way, the recession that we're in, which has caused us to suffer a huge swelling in the deficit, started in December of 2007, on the Bush watch. Wall Street fell apart in September of 2008. The TARP program was initiated in response to that. That too happened during the Bush watch. We're in the backwash of many fiscal policies and economic policies which happened on their watch, and we're now suffering the consequences of them.

I now yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Vermont (Mr. WELCH).

Mr. WELCH. I thank the gentleman from South Carolina, and I thank my colleagues on the other side.

You know, Mr. Speaker, sometimes the American people don't pay attention to an awful lot of what we say here. And frequently, when they don't, they're right. If this debate is really about accusations and counteraccusations about who's responsible, we're not going to get anywhere.

The American people know we have to pay our bills. We have to, as a government, just like they have to do individually. And we have some honest debates about what should be our priorities.

I've been an admirer of the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. RYAN) in his persistence in talking about fiscal responsibility. I disagree with the gentleman from Wisconsin that the way to fiscal prosperity is by radical reduction of taxes for very wealthy people. That's a fair and honest debate.

On our side, there are some folks who think that the worthiness of the goal of health care for all Americans is its own justification and a way to pay for it. I disagree with that. If it is a worthy goal, we have to turn aspiration into affordable reality by paying for it.

And on the health care bill, which is a major priority for President Obama and for Members of Congress, we are going to bring to the floor a health care bill that is paid for and does not add to the budget deficit.

One of the major reasons that we should do this legislation is so that there is discipline on those of us who are advocating, either for tax cuts, because they believe that will be good for the economy, or for reform in health care, so that before we spend an extra dollar of our taxpayer money, we kick the tires of the system that we're affecting, like health care.

And we have come to the conclusion, on our side, that to achieve one of our greatest goals, and that is health care for every single American, that we've got to kick the tires of the health care system and kick them hard to squeeze out savings that we can.

This legislation, where we're accepting the burden of responsibility to pay for those programs we think are absolutely essential to the welfare of the American people, that we have the obligation of paying for it. And before we even look at taxes, we want to look at how we're wasting money. A dollar saved by cutting down waste is a dollar avoided in taxes.

So this legislation, whatever it is characterized, as a machine for spending, which, frankly, is absurd, is a machine for responsibility. And whether or not our colleagues want to characterize this politically or not, there is a reason, on our side, that we believe fiscal responsibility is a burden we should accept, and we will, with this legislation.

I thank the Budget Committee for its leadership on this.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire as to how much time remains between the two sides?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wisconsin has 16 minutes remaining. The gentleman from South Carolina has 13½ minutes remaining.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, at this time I would like to yield 2 minutes to the senior member of the Budget Committee, Mr. GARRETT from New Jersey.

Mr. GARRETT of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I come to the floor today thrilled that the majority has finally decided to focus on their own recklessness, their out-of-control spending. So by bringing a statutory PAYGO bill now to the floor, we can definitely now conclude that, if they were left to their own devices, the Democrats would run this country's finances into the ground. I think it's basically an admission of guilt on their part that they simply cannot help themselves.

Frankly, I find it a little disingenuous that the majority is now raising the banner of fiscal responsibility, after hearing on this floor that the Republicans were the ones who were reckless when we were voting against their $800 billion stimulus bill. It's a little hard to listen to their calls now for spending restraint 4½ months after the Democrats passed, and the President signed, a $410 billion omnibus appropriation bill that contained over 9,000 earmarks.

So, lest we forget, earlier this year the House Democrats rammed a budget through this Congress that would double the national debt in 5 years, triple it in 10 years. This is spending that is already on the books, and PAYGO will do absolutely nothing to stop it.

Furthermore, their proposal now is seriously flawed. First of all, it only applies to increases or reductions in tax rates and any new or expanded entitlement programs. It basically does absolutely nothing, nothing to address the tidal wave of entitlement spending that we all know is coming in the very near future.

It also does absolutely nothing to address the waste, the fraud, the abuse of the taxpayer dollars that we have seen through the discretionary appropriation process.

So, basically, enacting their PAYGO at this point is really a little bit like closing the barn door after the horses have all gotten out.

Still, in conclusion, I want to come to this floor and say that I applaud the Democrats for their newfound interest in spending restraint. And if we truly want to do this and work in a bipartisan consensus on this issue, then I think we will achieve what we all seek.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. BISHOP).

Mr. BISHOP of New York. Mr. Speaker, I rise to support this legislation, and I thank Leader HOYER and Chairman SPRATT and Chairman MILLER for their leadership on budget enforcement.

The issue is very simple. Congress must pay for what it spends. Pay-as-you-go budget enforcement rules in the nineties helped to balance the budget, realize consecutive surpluses, and project a 10-year, $5.6 trillion surplus, all the while tough decisions were being made by the Congress and the Clinton administration during a decade of increasing defense, health care and infrastructure costs.

In 2007, our new majority immediately renewed PAYGO, a great step towards fiscal responsibility, but not enough by itself. We need statutory authority, as this legislation and the President proposes, to guarantee PAYGO is enforced.

While the minority is quick to blame the administration and our majority for the current state of the Federal budget, it is important to remember that we didn't get here overnight or by accident. When PAYGO was allowed to expire by the Republicans in 2002, so also did budget discipline. The administration and Republican Congress made conscious decisions to enact the 2001 and 2003 tax cuts for the wealthy, while fighting two wars and expanding entitlements without paying for them, except by increasing the deficit.

These fiscally irresponsible decisions, among others, turned the surplus into the $1.3 trillion annual deficit President Obama inherited on the day he took office.

Over the last several months we have been forced to invest to arrest an economic collapse. But we must quickly return to sound fiscal discipline with PAYGO as a firm pillar of rebuilding our economy. This priority is already evident in commitments by the President and our leadership to pay for the health care reform, the highway bill, and other priorities that are currently working their way through the Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this legislation.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 30 seconds.

Let me simply say I misspoke earlier when I had said that a few Democrats voted for the Budget Control Act. I was wrong. No Democrats voted for the Budget Control Act when we had it here on the floor. Not a single Democrat voted in 2004 when we had the opportunity to pass real budget reform.

Unfortunately, some members of my party at the time voted ''no'' as well, and that's why it didn't pass.

Mr. Speaker, this is a fiscal facade. Nothing can change the fact that what this bill does is it basically is a situation where we commit all the fiscal crimes, then we outlaw them after they've been committed.

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

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. I yield myself an additional 10 seconds to say we simply sweep under the rug $410 billion in spending, a $1 trillion stimulus, a new cap-and-tax system, pass this facade, and then a brand new $1 trillion health care bill.

This is a bitter pill to swallow for the American taxpayer, and we shouldn't swallow it.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. WHITFIELD).

Mr. WHITFIELD. I thank the gentleman for yielding and for the great work that he does on the Budget Committee.

Almost every economist today will tell you that they're very much concerned about the future viability of America, primarily because of the ever increasing debt that we face in this country. I am pleased today that we are simply here discussing PAYGO though, because it is such an important concept.

I would also point out that the reason that I am not supporting the Democrats' PAYGO recommendation is primarily because it exempts 40 percent of the budget, all of the discretionary spending, from PAYGO rules and requirements.

It's also important for us to realize that in the 110th Congress, the PAYGO rule was waived 12 times, exempting $420 billion from non-offset deficit increases. I look forward to the gentleman from Wisconsin's substitute bill that will be debated later today.

But I would also like to point out that I introduced this afternoon a resolution that would change the House rules and require a point of order on any waiving of a PAYGO rule by the Rules Committee, so that if a bill comes to the floor and it has waived PAYGO, any Member could make a point of order, and it would require a vote on the House floor before that waiver could take effect.

In conclusion, I would simply like to say, I can't think of a more important subject to be debating today than PAYGO, because the major challenge that America faces today is our long-term debt and ever increasing debt that we face.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. BOYD).

Mr. BOYD. Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen, I rise today in favor of the legislation before the House. This PAYGO bill is a piece of legislation of which I've been an advocate for years. It brings me great satisfaction to see this bill with such broad support here in the House of Representatives.

I'm always intrigued, Mr. Speaker, by the language used here and the words and the rhetoric. And I heard the

word used earlier by the gentlelady from Wyoming that some were disingenuous.

Mr. Speaker, I don't believe that my friend, Mr. RYAN, is disingenuous. I think he's a great American, and I think that he opposes this legislation because he believes it would create an automatic pay-for for tax cuts, and he just thinks that is wrong. I don't understand how we can consider paying for the great military we have, the Medicare programs, all of the issues that made this country a great place. I assume that they believe that we can go overseas and borrow that money from the Chinese, like we have for the last 6 or 8 years.

But, Mr. Speaker, sooner or later we will be buried under that mountain of debt. And when our creditors figure out that we can't pay it back, the house of cards will crumble.

My Blue Dog colleagues and I have, for years, introduced pay-as-you-go legislation that requires the government to pay for new programs that it creates. Throughout the Bush administration, however, it was difficult to get an audience. Thankfully, the very first bill that the Obama administration sent to this Congress was the PAYGO bill.

Furthermore, the leadership of this House, Speaker PELOSI and Majority Leader HOYER, have taken up this cause wholeheartedly. I also want to thank my chairman, the Budget Chairman, JOHN SPRATT, for his leadership, who worked with me during the creation of the fiscal 2010 budget that conditioned the enactment of some major policies this year on action of PAYGO in the House.

□ 1330

These leaders are responding to the deficit situation that we find ourselves in after years of reckless spending policies after the original bipartisan PAYGO was allowed to expire in 2002.

As you may have heard today, PAYGO was a tool used in the 1990s to help bring this country to record surpluses, Mr. Speaker. Given our current budgetary outlook, with the debt growing faster than our economy, we know we must act.

The President and our Democratic colleagues understand that we cannot continue business as usual the last 8 years in Washington on a number of levels, including our budget.

The enactment of this legislation is necessary to ensure our national security, our quality of life, and slow the drain on our economy. The world is watching to see if we are serious about turning this country's fiscal sinking ship around.

We did it in the 1990s, and we can do it again with this tool. The enactment of PAYGO, Mr. Speaker, in the 1990s was a bipartisan act. PAYGO should not be a partisan issue. Fiscal responsibility should not be a partisan issue. We all have a vested interest in making sure that our fiscal policies are sound.

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

Mr. SPRATT. I yield the gentleman 30 additional seconds.

Mr. BOYD. We know all too well that we cannot live on credit forever. This bill is the first step we need to take to ensure to restore fiscal sanity to Washington.

I believe that everyone here, Mr. Speaker, wants to leave a more prosperous country with a better standard of living for our children and grandchildren.

I urge my Republican colleagues, many of whom have stood up and supported the PAYGO concept in the past, to support this responsible legislation today. I, furthermore, challenge the Senate to share equally in our goal to balance our budget and ensure that new programs are paid for.

I urge a ''yes'' vote on this bill.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. At this time, Mr. Speaker, I'd like to yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. CAMPBELL), a member of the Budget Committee.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I thank the gentleman from Wisconsin for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, PAYGO is a sham. Now, that's a very strong word, but the facts that support it are equally strong. In the last Congress since Democrats took control and PAYGO was enacted, $420 billion of new spending was exempted from its provisions. Over the last few weeks, this House has passed nine new spending bills. Every one of those new spending bills increased spending over the last year by as much as 22 percent, and not a single dollar of those spending increases was paid for. Every one will add to the deficit, add to the debt, and about 46 cents of every one of those dollars will be borrowed, primarily from the Chinese, Indians, and other foreigners.

The deficit has gone from $160 billion to nearly $2 trillion since PAYGO started. How does that make this a good thing? How is that an example of how this has worked to control spending and be fiscally responsible?

And in PAYGO, spending increases don't have to be paid for but tax cuts do, and there is nothing in here whatsoever to deal with our ballooning massive debt.

Mr. Speaker, PAYGO is nothing more than a public relations effort to make the most profligate Congress ever appear to be less profligate. The American people are not buying it.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Kansas (Mr. MOORE).

Mr. MOORE of Kansas. I thank Mr. SPRATT.

When I came to Congress in January 1999, our national debt stood at $5.6 trillion. Our country faced a very different fiscal situation than the one we have today. At that time fiscal restraint and the use of budget enforcement tools had helped turn around a dire financial situation and produce budget surpluses during the last 2 years of the Clinton administration.

Unfortunately, the PAYGO requirements that had been so effective in bringing about responsible budgeting through the 1990s were allowed to expire in 2002 by the previous majority, and the results speak for themselves. Our national debt increased and almost doubled in the past 8 years. The $5.6 trillion debt we had when I first came to office in 1999 now stands at $11.4 trillion.

Today, with H.R. 2920 we have a chance to help restore fiscal discipline in Washington and put our country back on a sustainable fiscal path. Our country should live as do most American families, within a budget. I have nine grandchildren; and it's absolutely wrong, it's immoral to mortgage their future and the future of other children and grandchildren in our country.

We should vote and pass H.R. 2920 for future generations in our country.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, at this time I yield myself 3 minutes.

Let me recap what's happening here, Mr. Speaker. This bill has good intentions. The gentleman bringing the bill to the floor has the best of intentions. He's a good man. This bill, however, Mr. Speaker, is a fiscal facade. It doesn't work. It's not like the bill that occurred back in the 1990s.

This bill has no spending caps, for example. This bill exempts 40 percent of all the spending we have in place today. How can you say that this makes the Federal Government work just like the family budget when you get to exempt 40 percent of the budget? Families don't get to do that.

If a family is already living beyond its means, if a family is spending on credit card money, if a family is spending more than it takes in, that's an unsustainable budget. This does nothing to change that.

The Federal Government is already living beyond its means. The Federal Government already is on an unsustainable fiscal course. The Federal Government already has a $1.8 trillion deficit this year. It's passing an 11 percent increase in all domestic agency spending. The Federal Government already has a $62 trillion debt unfunded liability. What does this PAYGO do about it? Nothing. Not a single thing about all of those fiscal problems.

This is not a bill to get Congress to live within its means. This is a bill to give Congress men and women an ability to put a press release out to make it look like they're being fiscally responsible in the most fiscally irresponsible Congress of all time.

Next week, Congress is going to create a new entitlement, a new unfunded entitlement that the Congressional Budget Office tells us will grow a lot faster than any spending cuts or revenue increases. We're going to create a new entitlement next week for health care on top of the other ones we already have, which are about $58 trillion in debt. We're going to do this bill after

we've already spent an 11 percent increase on domestic spending programs, after we borrowed $1.1 trillion for a stimulus, after we passed a $410 billion bloated omnibus appropriations bill.

This is PR politics. This is press release. This is not fiscal conservatism, fiscal responsibility; and what's so unfortunate about this, Mr. Speaker, is I'd like to think we could have had a bipartisan agreement to fix this. If we had actually brought the Blue Dog bill to the floor, which included spending caps like we're going to be proposing, we could have had something that we could have all supported. Unfortunately, the leadership bypassed the committee, as is usual these days, ran this thing to the floor so they can get their press releases out before they create a brand-new entitlement next week.

It's sad, it's cynical, it's wrong, and the American people aren't buying it, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Pennsylvania (Ms. SCHWARTZ), the vice chairman of our committee.

Ms. SCHWARTZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the Statutory PAYGO Act that we are hopefully going to pass today.

Pay-as-you-go, or PAYGO, rules as we talk about them are fairly straightforward. Congress should pay for any new spending. There is a strong bipartisan history of support for PAYGO. In fact in the 1990s, as a result of statutory PAYGO, this country saw record deficits transformed into record surpluses.

Sadly, when those statutory PAYGO provisions expired in 2002, the former administration, with support from a Republican-controlled Congress, ignored the common sense of paying for new spending and turned our surpluses into mounting national debt, doubling the debt in 8 years.

But Democrats are serious about fiscal responsibility. In 2007, the Democratically controlled House set PAYGO rules, making a commitment. Again, any new spending would be budget neutral. And this year, we have reaffirmed this commitment to our rules, and we are determined to meet the President's goal of cutting the annual deficit in half in 4 years.

And now with the support of the current administration, we are reinforcing our commitment to fiscal responsibility by giving PAYGO the force of law.

As vice chairman of the House Budget Committee, I know how important it is to make wise, targeted investments for our future in energy independence, in health care, and economic growth; but we must do so in a deficit neutral way. To do so, we must ensure that any new spending is paid for.

And that is what we have done when we passed the energy bill. That is what we're doing as we move forward on health care reform, and it is what we're doing as we move forward, of course, on spending bills.

The statutory PAYGO is smart budgetary policy. It is common sense, and most importantly, it will guarantee our Nation's fiscal security. I urge support for fiscal responsibility for the future of our country and for our debt reduction by voting ''yes'' on statutory PAYGO.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire of the chairman as to how many speakers he has remaining, as we have just one left.

Mr. SPRATT. We have one more speaker, and then I will close.

I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. ANDREWS).

(Mr. ANDREWS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, I thank my chairman and friend for yielding.

The proposition before the House today I think is rather direct, and here's what it is. If the House is going to vote for automatic spending for a proposition that spends the taxpayers' money every year without a separate vote, then it must offset that spending either by raising more revenue or cutting other automatic spending. If the House is going to reduce taxes on people, if the House is going to say that we're going to ask less of the American people in a given tax, then we must either raise some other source of revenue or reduce some other automatic spending in order to pay for that.

Now, I don't know why this is controversial in the sense that it seems logical if we're locking ourselves into higher spending or locking ourselves into lower revenue, whatever the purpose of that may be, that we should only borrow the money to do that under extraordinary circumstances.

The Education Committee yesterday gave a good example of how this ought to work. A lot of Members of the House want higher Pell Grant college scholarships and less expensive student loans, and so we passed a bill yesterday that does that, but we paid for the bill by reducing spending that I believe is corporate welfare to the banking system.

So here's what we did: we reduced that corporate welfare, increased Pell Grant scholarships, lowered the cost of student loans, and did some other things in education and had $10 billion left over to reduce the deficit. That's what pay-as-you-go yields. Rather than simply spending the money and borrowing to cover it, rather than simply reducing taxes and borrowing to cover it, it forces us to do what the sensible and rational thing is to do, and that's pay for it as you go.

This is not a Republican or Democratic idea. It's a commonsense idea, and I think the Members should all vote ''yes.''

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, at this time I yield to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. HENSARLING), the vice ranking member of the committee, the rest of our time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas is recognized for 6¾ minutes.

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

Mr. Speaker, it is a sad, sad day yet again on the House floor. I do want to add my voice, though, in agreement with so many of my other colleagues talking about the bipartisan respect that we have for the chairman of the Budget Committee. And I suppose it was because he has bipartisan respect, as opposed to partisan respect, that the Speaker of the House decided to bypass him and the Budget Committee in bringing this legislation to the floor. Perhaps it was an opportunity to actually enact commonsense legislation.

Unfortunately, we'll never know that. We'll never know that, Mr. Speaker. And so what I've heard is speaker after speaker on the Democratic side of the aisle tell us that PAYGO just means, When you spend a dollar, you save a dollar. I believe I heard the distinguished chairman say that. And the President of the United States, in adding his support for this proposition, said, Congress can only spend a dollar if it saves a dollar elsewhere.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the use of the term ''PAYGO'' suggests one thing. The practice of PAYGO is something completely different.

Mr. Speaker, you can see from this chart exactly what PAYGO means in practice. These are the spending increases that were subject to so-called PAYGO in the 2009 fiscal year: 2 percent. Two percent, Mr. Speaker, of all spending was subject to PAYGO, this commonsense proposal. I'm not sure it's common sense to the American people to tell them that you're going to be fiscally responsible and then exempt 98 percent of all spending.

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I don't believe that's common sense, Mr. Speaker. I don't believe it's common sense at all and, once again, what it tells us is we don't have a serious policy for fiscal responsibility or fiscal sanity here. What we have is fiscal flimflam.

We have a bumper sticker slogan that substitutes for a policy that needs to save our children and grandchildren from a sea of red ink, and so all of this spending is either exempt or somehow PAYGO gets magically waived.

Under this proposal, Mr. Speaker, nondefense discretionary spending is going to increase 9 percent. PAYGO is not subject to it. Overall discretionary spending increases 8 percent. PAYGO doesn't apply to it.

All our entitlement programs that are just exploding, exploding, Mr. Speaker, guess what? They're exempt as well. So Social Security grows almost 5 percent, Medicare grows almost 4.3 percent. So the slogan, the slogan doesn't match the policy.

I have the greatest amount of respect for the distinguished chairman. I have the greatest amount of respect for our President. But, Mr. Speaker, if you were a private company selling a product called PAYGO and you told the

American people that it means ''when you spend a dollar, you save a dollar,'' you'd get sued for false advertising. You would be fined. You would be fined for saying that. It is not a real policy.

Now, let's say if it was a real policy. We know it's not, but, Mr. Speaker, what if it was a real policy? What if those who brought this legislation really designed legislation that did what it said it was going to do? Well, unfortunately, under this Democratic Congress, we know that spending is out of control by any standard known in the history of mankind.

Already, since the Democrats have come to control the White House and Congress, we have seen an administration sign into law a $1.1 trillion government stimulus plan, costing every American household $9,810, including $10 million for urban canals and $100 million for a new after-school snack program.

We've seen them pass a $410 billion omnibus bill, costing every American family $3,534, including $150,000 for lobster research, $143,000 to develop and expand a comprehensive online encyclopedia.

We see them continue the cycle of bailouts: $13 billion for Chrysler, $47 billion for GM, another $30 billion for AIG, and the list goes on.

And what we have seen, Mr. Speaker, is now a budget that is going to increase, increase the Federal debt by a factor of three. It's going to triple, triple the Federal debt in the next 10 years. More Federal debt in the next 10 years than in the previous 220.

And so we see all of the spending that is out of control and so we say, Okay, if you really want to control this spending or if you really want to have pay-as-you-go and you're unwilling to control the spending, well, Mr. Speaker, that just leaves us with one other option. That is a 60 percent increase of income taxes on the American people.

So either one. Which is it is? Is it false advertising or do you really want to increase income taxes on the American people by 60 percent? Which is it?

Again, what's happened since we've had this vaunted PAYGO? What's happened to deficits?

Well, I don't know how they manage to do it, Mr. Speaker, but in just 2 years under Democratic control we've seen the deficit go from $161 billion to now over $1 trillion. The first time, the first time in our Nation's history over $1 trillion, on its way to $1.8 trillion. That's already with having PAYGO in place, before we get the statutory version. I can't imagine how much worse it's going to be once somehow this gets enshrined.

So, again, what this is is an effort to put a bumper sticker on a huge problem. It's the Democrats going to the American people and saying, Please, stop us before we spend again. We just somehow can't control ourselves. And so this is supposed to be a Band-Aid on a fiscal life-threatening wound.

The American people deserve better, Mr. Speaker. They deserve the Republican alternative that puts real caps on spending and will save the American people.

Mr. SPRATT. Let me respond to some arguments that have been made and not responded to during the course of this argument.

First of all, the sequestration base, the programs which are subject to across-the-board cuts or abatement in the event that there is a deficit on the scorecard, why is that a narrow selection of programs? Because it's a cross section of programs purposely intended to reach a number of different constituent groups so that we will not use sequestration. Neither the President nor the Congress would want to use a meat cleaver like that.

We've said, knowing that it could happen if we defaulted in doing anything else, young people, old people, farmers, miners, a huge cross section of our constituencies are represented in that sequestration base to make it certain, clear that we would never resort to that particular base for making across-the-board cuts to put PAYGO back in balance.

Secondly, there's been repeated talk about, You passed PAYGO in the last Congress and look what happened. The truth of the matter is our Republican colleagues have never wanted to vote for PAYGO because it was always double-edged the way we proposed it. Double-edged meant yes, it would apply to mandatory spending increases, but it would also apply to tax cuts, because both have an adverse impact on the deficit bottom line.

They would never vote for the second edge, the double-edged sword, and consequently they have to come up with another explanation as to why they do not support it.

So they fall back on the economy itself. Look what happened to the economy after the adoption of the PAYGO rule in the 110th Congress. But, come on. This is a case where we have a coincidence, maybe, but not a correlation. The PAYGO rule had nothing to do with what happened to the economy. The Bush administration's economic and fiscal policies had a lot to do with what happened to the economy.

The fact that the Bush administration inherited a projected surplus of $565.6 trillion and turned it into a projected deficit of $3 trillion had an impact on the economy. The addition of $5 trillion to $6 trillion to our national debt had an impact on our economy. And don't forget the recession officially started during the Bush administration, December 2007. That's when it started.

And when it really got bad, when Wall Street nearly went under in September and October of 2008, that, too, was the Bush administration. And we voted up the TARP, and that's one of the reasons—the Troubled Asset Relief Program, a $700 billion program. When we voted that up, the Bush administration was still in office.

So there's the answer to the charge that somehow or another the PAYGO rule didn't do anything to affect the economic situation we find ourselves in.

The reason we are seeing the largest deficits in the history is we're in the longest recession since the Great Depression. It's had a profound impact on us. The incubation of those conditions occurred during the Bush administration.

So, Mr. Speaker, the facts stand. All during the 1990s, when we had the budget process rules in place, they contributed mightily. We had a good budget and the convergence of a good economy, and we put the budget back in balance by the year 1998.

The facts speak for themselves, and facts are stubborn things. The budget process rules worked before. They will work again, if we vote for the statutory PAYGO.

Mr. GENE GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Statutory Pay-As-You-Go Act of 2009 to write into law the principles of fiscal responsibility brought about by the Democratic Congress.

H.R. 2920 requires Congress to offset the costs of tax cuts or increases in entitlement spending with savings elsewhere in the budget.

If the net effect of all legislation enacted during a session of Congress increased the deficit because Congress has not succeeded in paying for all the new costs that it has enacted, there would be an across-the-board reduction in certain mandatory programs.

In the 1990s, the Clinton Administration turned the deficits accumulated in the two previous presidencies into record surpluses. One of the key tools in this transformation was the PAYGO rule, which required Congress to find savings for the dollars it spent.

Unfortunately, after President Clinton left office, the next Administration and Congress regularly waived PAYGO rules and ultimately allow them to expire in 2002.

After waiving and allowing these rules to expire, we saw the surplus built by the Clinton Administration vanish, and deficit spending resume—spending that will have to be repaid by our children and grandchildren.

Today, the United States has a $1.7 trillion deficit. A New York Times analysis attributes 90% of that deficit to the economic downturn, Bush Administration policies, and the extension of those policies. According to that analysis, only 7% of the deficit is attributable to the Economic Recovery Act passed earlier this year, which economists largely agree was a necessary emergency response to this recession.

Mr. Speaker, this is just good policy. For eight years, under the previous Administration, we saw deficit spending spiral out of control. Now many of those responsible for that spending are criticizing the majority and the current Administration for its spending policies, complaining that it is piling up debt for the next generation.

Today those individuals have a chance to vote for legislation that ensures any future programs are paid for, and reestablish the rules that led to control in government spending and budget surpluses in the 1990s.

I am an original cosponsor of this legislation, and I urge all my colleagues to join me in supporting H.R. 2920.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the pay-as-you-go legislation before the House.

Across the length and breadth of this country, Americans are making some tough choices when it comes to their families' spending. They are tightening their belts and deferring major purchases. When they do buy something, consumers are increasingly choosing to pay for it with cash.

A similar choice is before the House today. Over the last eight years, Congress has dug itself a deep budget hole. The choice before us is whether to take a necessary step to stem the tide of red ink, or continue to pay lip service to the problem and dig the hole deeper.

It is disingenuous to suggest that the deficit problem began recently with the financial crisis and the recession. At the end of the 1990s, the federal government was balanced. We were actually running large budget surpluses and paying down the national debt. The pay-as-you-go rules that were in effect throughout the 1990s deserve a lot of credit. These rules simply said that Congress could only spend money for tax cuts and entitlement spending programs if they were fully paid for with savings elsewhere in the budget.

In 2002, the pay-as-you-go rules expired and the Republican-led Congress and the Bush Administration refused to extend them. Instead, the Administration and Congress went on a massive spending and tax cut spree. We all know the result. The public debt nearly doubled under the previous Administration, rising from $3.4 trillion in 2001 to $6.3 trillion on January 20, 2009.

We need to get back to commonsense budgeting. We know these rules work. Others will try and change the subject and say that runaway tax cuts are not the problem. The House needs to reject this argument and restore budget discipline where it is needed most.

Ms. GINNY BROWN-WAITE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, federal government spending is out of control. Adjusted for inflation, this Majority has increased federal spending at a greater rate than during FDR's implementation of the New Deal.

It's hard to imagine that the Majority could spend so much in such a short period of time. Unfortunately, there is even more spending on the way in the form of a trillion dollar government takeover of health care. So much for controlling rising health care costs.

In fact, in recent testimony before the Senate Budget Committee, CBO Director, Douglas Elmendorf, made it clear that the federal government's budget is on an unsustainable path.

That is why I rise today, in support of increased transparency and accountability in the budget process. Sadly, the federal budget process has become a complex shell-game with dramatic and consequential long-term costs.

I believe the PAYGO legislation before the House today is a step in the right direction but it is only a step.

Unfortunately, this Majority has wavered in its commitment to PAYGO in the past, setting aside the PAYGO rule more than a dozen times since taking control of the House.

If the Majority continues to use budgeting gimmicks and adds more programs to the exclusion list, this legislation will not accomplish the goal of fiscal responsibility.

Mr. Speaker, Congress needs to make the tough choices that will put this country on the path towards fiscal responsibility and sustainability.

Mr. POSEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of fiscal accountability and pay-go requirements. Unfortunately, the bill before us today misses the mark, will lead to higher taxes for all Americans, and it will allow federal spending and deficits to continue to grow unabated. Not only that, but this bill is totally unnecessary.

In 2007, House Democrats enacted a pay-go requirement in the House Rules. Their pay-go rules have been in place for more than two and a half years. Yet spending has grown out of control and taxes have been raised.

How could this be? Well, it's quite simple; all the majority has to do is include a provision that waives the House pay-go rules. It was done 14 times in the last Congress in order to approve $410 billion in increased spending. Not only that, but pay-go was used as the excuse for raising taxes 34 times. Somehow, pay-go has been waived time and again to increase spending, but when it comes to taxes it is the convenient excuse to raise them. Over this same period of time the federal deficit has increased from $162 billion to $1.7 trillion this year.

If Congress is really serious about pay-go all they have to do is to follow the House Rules. The House Rules already say that Congress must pay for legislation that passes the House. If they really want to have pay-go all they have to do is follow the rules they have in place and stop waiving the rules. Passing another law will not add discipline. It will simply be another law that can be waived with a one line sentence in future legislation, or they can designate the spending as ''emergency'' spending. That is what has been done in the past and there is no reason to believe it will be any different in the future.

Washington's problem is spending, yet H.R. 2920 exempts most government spending from the restrictions in this bill. The bill exempts from the pay-go requirements more than forty percent of the federal budget that is subject to annual appropriations bills, allowing discretionary spending to increase at levels exceeding the baseline level needed to simply keep up with inflation. Additionally, the bill exempts over 200 programs from the pay-go requirements including hundreds of billions of dollars in entitlement programs. When you add all these together there is very little to which pay-go applies.

So, what does this bill do? Not really much of anything. Already this year the Congress has passed a nearly $800 billion stimulus bill that even the Administration says is not working as expected, a $410 billion omnibus appropriation bill, a $350 billion TARP bailout, a $3.5 trillion federal budget, and nine appropriations bills that far exceed spending levels in last year's bills. And, somehow the American people are supposed to believe that the same ones who brought us this excessive spending are now getting serious about the budget deficit.

I am supportive of the substitute amendment that puts in place real spending discipline. Only with spending discipline will we lower the deficit. The alternative amendment sets a real cap on spending. Setting a spending cap is the only way to get spending under control. If H.R. 2920 is really about controlling the deficit, why does it not include a spending cap, at least curbing the rate of increase in spending? The alternative that I am voting for takes a serious step toward curbing spending by capping deficit spending at not more than 3 percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP)—far below the 11 percent for the current year. Absent a real cap spending will continue to grow unabated.

Mr. THOMPSON of California. Mr. Speaker, today we are debating legislation that will establish in law the principle that our country should pay for what it buys.

I've been an advocate for Pay-as-you-go legislation, also known as PAYGO, since I was elected to Congress. It just makes sense—we shouldn't spend more money than we have.

PAYGO has a long history of success—in the 1990s it helped generate record surpluses.

However, when the Clinton administration left office, PAYGO was allowed to expire by the new administration. As a result, the record surpluses were wiped out.

We need to restore common sense to the Federal Government. While PAYGO is not a cure-all for deficits, it is a crucial first step toward reducing them. It puts our Nation on the road back to fiscal responsibility and restoring our Nation's fiscal health.

And, to make sure that future administration's can't change the PAYGO policy midstream, today we are enacting PAYGO into law.

Mr. DONNELLY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, today I rise in strong support of H.R. 2920, the Statutory Pay-As-You-Go Act. As an original cosponsor of the bill, I urge all of my colleagues in the House of Representatives to vote for this legislation which I believe is crucially important to restoring our nation's fiscal health and setting us on a path to a stronger future.

Mr. Speaker, the American people are rightly troubled by Washington's failure to adhere to fiscal discipline. Under the previous administration, surpluses inherited from the Clinton administration were turned into record deficits. These deficits—which are financed by foreign investors like China—add to a growing national debt that will need to be repaid by our children and grandchildren, by no fault of their own.

As a member of the Blue Dogs, I believe that getting our fiscal house in order must be one of our Nation's top priorities. The American government must stop living beyond its means.

Mr. Speaker, the old adage holds true: when you find yourself in a hole, the first thing you need to do is stop digging. If we are to restore fiscal responsibility in Washington, we need to ''pay as we go'' so that we stop adding to the national debt. Hoosier working families do this day in and day out. They tighten their belts, make a budget, and then stick to it by making tough choices.

Since I came to Congress in 2007, we have made some important progress in restoring budget discipline, including the restoration of a Pay-As-You-Go rule in the House that requires all legislation that increases mandatory spending or creates new tax cuts to be offset by equal reductions in spending or tax increases before that bill is eligible for a vote.

The legislation under consideration today goes one important step further than the current PAYGO rule—it would give PAYGO the

force of law. H.R. 2920 would instate ''statutory PAYGO'' requiring that new spending increases or new tax cuts passed over a two-year Congress be paid for. Statutory PAYGO alone will not solve all of our fiscal problems, but it will be an important enforcement tool to help keep spending in check.

Statutory PAYGO is not a new idea. It has been used before, and to great success. In the 1990's, President Clinton worked successfully with the Congress to use statutory Pay-As-You-Go to turn deficits into surpluses. Unfortunately, in 2002, the law was allowed to expire.

Mr. Speaker, today we mark an important day, as the House considers restoring PAYGO as the law of the land. I urge my colleagues to vote for H.R. 2920, to support stronger controls on spending, and take one more step to achieving fiscal responsibility and a stronger, more secure future.

Ms. KILPATRICK of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to H.R. 2920, the Statutory Pay-As-You-Go Act of 2009, While this legislation is well meaning, it would remove power from Congress for spending and give even more authority to the Executive Branch; it would not reduce spending or reduce the deficit; it removes the important role of the House Budget Committee and House Appropriations Committee in determining spending for the citizens and vital needs of the United States. Finally, Congress now has strong provisions ensuring that the budget is balanced. All we need to do is our job.

Why are we here? In 1990, Congress passed the bipartisan Budget Enforcement Act of 1990 as part of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990. This law included a version of ''pay-as-you-go'' (PAYGO) requirement for new laws affecting mandatory spending and revenues, as well as annual limits on discretionary spending. This law expired in 2002. However, both the House and Senate have enforced PAYGO requirements through our own respective rules. As a member of the Appropriations Committee in both the U.S. House of Representatives and in the State of Michigan, I am used to making difficult decisions. The Appropriations Committee has to balance its budget and it has to pass its legislation on time in order for the Nation to function. Since the Democrats have been in the majority, earmarks—which account for 1 percent of the budget—have been reduced in both number and total. Discretionary spending has gone down. The Democratic leadership has mandated more disclosure, more openness and more transparency to the appropriations process.

The bill removes power from Congress for spending and gives it to the Executive Branch. The non-partisan Congressional Budget Office (CBO) states that ''the legislation would shift some control over the budget process from the Congress to the executive branch in ways that could effectively require lawmakers to vote on legislation without a clear indication of the potential impact of their decisions on the triggering of a future sequestration.'' Congress alone has the Constitutional authority to protect and spend the people's purse—not the Executive branch.

The bill would not reduce spending nor reduce the deficit. If the PAYGO system provided for by the bill was used in place of the current congressional rules, CBO projects that the legislation's enactment could lead to larger future deficits. Compared with current PAYGO rules, CBO contends that the bill could lead to higher spending or lower revenues in future years by incorporating certain increases in spending and reductions in revenues into the baseline for budget enforcement purposes. According to CBO, the legislation could increase deficits through three different budgetary mechanisms—the proposed temporary rule to score certain changes in spending and revenues relative to ''current policy'' rather than current law; the bill's modification of the baseline's treatment of some expiring mandatory programs; and the bill's proposed new system for scoring legislation to convert discretionary programs to mandatory ones.

The bill removes the important role of the House Budget Committee and House Appropriations Committee in determining spending for our constituents. By mandating across-the-board cuts, the bill removes the role of both the Budget Committee and Appropriations Committee to make precise, detailed revenue reductions or program changes. Mandatory across-the-board spending cuts and sequestration sounds good, but in mandating that all programs take a cut, inevitably hurts worthwhile, meaningful programs. This is the role of the authorizing and Appropriations Committees in Congress. This is the reason why members of Congress are elected—to make difficult, tough decisions. As a member of the House Appropriations Committee, this is what we do all of the time.

The bill is not as strong as current PAYGO rules in Congress today. According to the Congressional Budget Office (CBO), the bill could ''enhance overall budget enforcement,'' but only if combined with the Congress' existing PAYGO rules. If the PAYGO system provided for by the bill was used in place of the current congressional rules, CBO projects that the legislation's enactment could lead to larger future deficits. According to the Congressional Budget Office (CBO), the bill could ''enhance overall budget enforcement,'' but only if combined with the Congress' existing PAYGO rules. If the PAYGO system provided for by the bill was used in place of the current congressional rules, CBO projects that the legislation's enactment could lead to larger future deficits.

The bill's mandatory across-the-board spending cut mechanism that is supposed to deter deficits is impractical. CBO believes that, under the bill, the power of mandatory cuts as a deterrent would be weakened for two reasons. First, the PAYGO scorecard would be based on the average annual budgetary effects of legislation over a 10-year period rather than ''year-by-year effects.'' Second, the sequestration mechanism would expire after FY 2014. According to CBO, those two factors would require less budgetary discipline than a requirement to fully offset increases in spending on a year-by-year basis or to continue the sequestration enforcement mechanism indefinitely.

Congress should not abdicate its role. We are all elected by the people of our congressional districts to do a tough job. Those same people can judge by our record how well we have served and represented them. I welcome the challenge that comes with balancing the budget. I refuse to balance the budget by further eliminating or reducing programs like the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program; like Food Stamps; or like the hundreds of other domestic programs that help women, children, senior citizens and families survive. Congress needs to retain control of the people's purse and not give the executive branch even more authority. We must make the difficult decisions on both revenue and spending cuts and increases and follow Congress' current, stronger PAYGO rules.

During a time when our country and my home state of Michigan is witnessing record unemployment, business losses and home foreclosures, it is time for elected leaders to do their job—lead. This legislation, while well meaning, abdicates the role of Congress and does not protect meaningful programs for children, women and families.

Mrs. BIGGERT. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to H.R. 2920.

This year, the budget deficit is projected to grow nearly ten-fold from last year, due to several costly spending measures enacted over the past two years by this Congress.

Despite this spending spree, I do believe enacting statutory PAYGO would be good policy. We need to set the tone for long-term fiscal responsibility and prevent costly tax burdens for future generations.

Unfortunately, the bill before us is not a responsible and comprehensive deficit reduction approach that will yield results.

Because H.R. 2920 includes broad exemptions for over one hundred and sixty programs, there will be no way to reform entitlement spending without enacting tax increases to make up the difference. And, there is no excuse for higher taxes.

Perhaps the most glaring error with H.R. 2920 is that discretionary spending would not be subject to PAYGO restrictions.

That's why I supported the substitute amendment offered by Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin.

Mr. RYAN's amendment sets a cap on overall spending and appropriated spending in an effort to prevent our deficit from growing faster and larger than our economy.

Restoring caps on discretionary spending is paramount to fiscal discipline. Discretionary spending represents forty percent of our budget and excluding it from PAYGO requirements, as the underlying bill does, would be fatally irresponsible.

I urge my colleagues to oppose this bill.

Ms. GINNY BROWN-WAITE of Florida. Madam Speaker, federal government spending is out of control. Adjusted for inflation, this Majority has increased federal spending at a greater rate than during FDR's implementation of the New Deal.

It's hard to imagine that the Majority could spend so much in such a short period of time. Unfortunately, there is even more spending on the way in the form of a trillion dollar government takeover of health care. So much for controlling rising health care costs.

In fact, in recent testimony before the Senate Budget Committee, CBO Director, Douglas Elmendorf, made it clear that the federal government's budget is on an unsustainable path.

That is why I rise today, in support of increased transparency and accountability in the budget process. Sadly, the federal budget process has become a complex shell-game with dramatic and consequential long-term costs.

I believe the PAYGO legislation before the House today is a step in the right direction but it is only a step.

Unfortunately, this Majority has wavered in its commitment to PAYGO in the past, setting

aside the PAYGO rule more than a dozen times since taking control of the House.

If the Majority continues to use budgeting gimmicks and adds more programs to the exclusion list, this legislation will not accomplish the goal of fiscal responsibility.

Mr. Speaker, Congress needs to make the tough choices that will put this country on the path towards fiscal responsibility and sustainability.

AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE OFFERED BY MR. RYAN OF WISCONSIN

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I have an amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will designate the amendment.

The text of the amendment is as follows:

Amendment in the nature of a substitute printed in part C of House Report 111–217 offered by Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin:

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the ''Budget Control Act of 2009''.

(b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—

Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.

TITLE I—DISCRETIONARY SPENDING LIMITS

Sec. 101. Discretionary spending limits.
Sec. 102. Adjustments to discretionary spending limits.
Sec. 103. Conforming amendments.

TITLE II—TOTAL SPENDING LIMITS

Sec. 201. Total spending limits.
Sec. 202. Effective date.

TITLE III—DEFICIT LIMITS

Sec. 301. Deficit limits.
Sec. 302. Effective date.

TITLE IV—GENERAL PROVISIONS

Sec. 401. Spending reduction orders for total spending limits and deficit limits.
Sec. 402. Enforcement procedures under the Congressional Budget Act.
Sec. 403. Definitions.
Sec. 404. Amendments to section 257 of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985.

TITLE I—DISCRETIONARY SPENDING LIMITS

SEC. 101. DISCRETIONARY SPENDING LIMITS.

Section 251(c) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 is amended by striking paragraphs (1) through (13) and inserting the following new paragraphs:

''(1) For fiscal year 2010—

''(A) for the general purpose category, $1,048,000,000,000 in new budget authority and $1,302,000,000,000 in outlays;

''(B) for the overseas contingency operations category, $130,000,000,000 in new budget authority and $67,000,000,000 in outlays;

''(2) For fiscal year 2011—

''(A) for the general purpose category, $1,058,000,000,000 in new budget authority and $1,233,000,000,000 in outlays;

''(B) for the overseas contingency operations category, $50,000,000,000 in new budget authority and $70,000,000,000 in outlays;

''(3) For fiscal year 2012—

''(A) for the general purpose category, $1,069,000,000,000 in new budget authority and $1,171,000,000,000 in outlays;

''(B) for the overseas contingency operations category, $50,000,000,000 in new budget authority and $54,000,000,000 in outlays;

''(4) For fiscal year 2013—

''(A) for the general purpose category, $1,079,000,000,000 in new budget authority and $1,161,000,000,000 in outlays;

''(B) for the overseas contingency operations category, $50,000,000,000 in new budget authority and $50,000,000,000 in outlays;

''(5) For fiscal year 2014—

''(A) for the general purpose category, $1,094,000,000,000 in new budget authority and $1,161,000,000,000 in outlays;

''(B) for the overseas contingency operations category, $50,000,000,000 in new budget authority and $50,000,000,000 in outlays;''.

SEC. 102. ADJUSTMENTS TO DISCRETIONARY SPENDING LIMITS.

Section 251(b) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 is amended to read as follows:

''(b) ADJUSTMENTS TO DISCRETIONARY SPENDING LIMITS.—

''(1) CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS.—When the President submits the budget under section 1105 of title 31, United States Code, OMB shall calculate and the budget shall include adjustments to discretionary spending limits (and those limits as cumulatively adjusted) for the budget year and each outyear to reflect changes in concepts and definitions. Such changes shall equal the baseline levels of new budget authority and outlays using up-to-date concepts and definitions minus those levels using the concepts and definitions in effect before such changes. Such changes may only be made after consultation with the Committees on Appropriations and the Budget of the House of Representatives and the Senate and that consultation shall include written communication to such committees that affords such committees the opportunity to comment before official action is taken for such changes.

''(2) ADJUSTMENTS.—

''(A) EMERGENCY DESIGNATION.—If appropriations for discretionary accounts are enacted that the President designates as emergency requirements and that the Congress so designates in statute, the adjustment shall be the total of such appropriations in discretionary accounts designated as emergency requirements and the outlays flowing in all fiscal years from such appropriations.

''(B) OVERSEAS CONTINGENCY OPERATIONS DESIGNATION.—If appropriations for discretionary accounts are enacted that the President designates as overseas contingency operations related to the global war on terrorism that the Congress so designates in statute, the adjustment shall be the total of such appropriations in discretionary accounts designated as overseas contingency operations and the outlays flowing in all fiscal years from such appropriations.

''(3) SPECIAL OUTLAY ALLOWANCE.—If, in any fiscal year, outlays for a category exceed the discretionary spending limit for that category but new budget authority does not exceed its limit for that category (after application of the first step of a spending reduction described in subsection (a)(2), if necessary), the adjustment in outlays for a fiscal year is the amount of the excess but not to exceed 0.5 percent of the sum of the adjusted discretionary spending limits on outlays for that fiscal year.''.

SEC. 103. CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.

(1) Section 275(b) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 is amended by striking ''2002'' and inserting ''2019'' and by striking ''2006'' and inserting ''2019'';

(2) Sections 254(c)(2)(A) and (f) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 are amended by striking ''2002'' and inserting ''2014''

TITLE II—TOTAL SPENDING LIMITS

SEC. 201. TOTAL SPENDING LIMITS.

TOTAL SPENDING LIMITS.—After section 253 of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, add the following new section:

''SEC. 253A. ENFORCING TOTAL SPENDING LIMITS.

''(a) PROJECTIONS.—

''(1) LONG-TERM PROJECTIONS.—For each of at least 10 fiscal years within the guideline period:

''(A) OMB shall prepare a report of the projected spending amount and the guideline spending amount (as defined in section 250(c)) and include such report in the budget as submitted by the President annually under section 1105(a) of title 31, United States Code.

''(B) CBO shall prepare a report of the projected spending amount and the guideline spending amount (as defined in section 250(c)) and include such report in the CBO annual baseline and reestimate of the President's budget.

''(2) INCLUSION IN SPENDING REDUCTION ORDERS.—Reports prepared pursuant to subsection (a) shall be included in the spending reduction report set forth in subsection (b).

''(b) SPENDING REDUCTION REPORT.—Within 15 calendar days after Congress adjourns to end a session and on the same day as a spending reduction order (if any) under sections 251 and 253A, but after any spending reduction required by section 251, OMB shall issue a spending reduction report to reduce an excess spending amount (if any).

''(c) SPENDING REDUCTION ORDER.—A spending reduction ordered pursuant to subsection (b) shall be implemented using the procedures set forth in section 256A.

''(d) GUIDELINE PERIOD.—The guideline period shall be as follows:

''(1) Fiscal year 2010: 24.6 percent.
''(2) Fiscal year 2011: 23.2 percent.
''(3) Fiscal year 2012: 21.7 percent.
''(4) Fiscal year 2013: 21.7 percent.
''(5) Fiscal year 2014: 21.8percent.
''(6) Fiscal year 2015: 21.8 percent.
''(7) Fiscal year 2016: 21.7 percent.
''(8) Fiscal year 2017: 21.7 percent.
''(9) Fiscal year 2018: 21.7 percent.
''(10) Fiscal year 2019: 21.7 percent.
''(11) Fiscal year 2020 and each subsequent fiscal year: 21.7 percent.''.

SEC. 202. EFFECTIVE DATE.

This title shall apply to fiscal year 2010 and subsequent fiscal years.

TITLE III—DEFICIT LIMITS

SEC. 301. DEFICIT LIMITS.

Amend section 253 of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 to read as follows:

''SEC. 253. ENFORCING DEFICIT LIMITS.

''(a) ENFORCING DEFICIT LIMITS.— In this section, the term 'deficit limit' means an amount, as estimated by OMB, that equals—

''(1) 8 percent of GDP for 2010;
''(2) 6 percent of GDP for 2011;
''(3) 4 percent of GDP for 2012;
''(4) 3 percent of GDP for 2013;
''(5) 3 percent of GDP for 2014;
''(6) 3 percent of GDP for 2015;
''(7) 3 percent of GDP for 2016;
''(8) 3 percent of GDP for 2017;
''(9) 3 percent of GDP for 2018; and
''(10) 3 percent of GDP for 2019.

''(b) SPENDING REDUCTION REPORT.—Within 15 calendar days after Congress adjourns to end a session and on the same day as a spending reduction order (if any) under sections 251 and 253A, but after any spending reduction required by section 251 and 253A, OMB shall issue a spending reduction report to reduce an excess spending amount (if any).

''(c) SPENDING REDUCTION ORDER.—A spending reduction ordered pursuant to subsection (b) shall be implemented using the procedures set forth in section 256A.''

SEC. 302. EFFECTIVE DATE.

This title shall apply to fiscal year 2010 and subsequent fiscal years through fiscal year 2019.

TITLE IV—GENERAL PROVISIONS

SEC. 401. SPENDING REDUCTION ORDERS FOR TOTAL SPENDING LIMITS AND DEFICIT LIMITS.

The Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 is amended by adding after section 256 the following:

"SEC. 256A. SPENDING REDUCTION ORDERS FOR TOTAL SPENDING LIMITS AND DEFICIT LIMITS.

''(a) APPLICATION.—A spending reduction order issued pursuant to this part shall apply to eliminate breaches of the limits set forth in sections 253 (deficit limits) and 253A (total spending limits) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985.

''(b) SPENDING REDUCTION ORDERS.—

''(1) ELIMINATING A SPENDING EXCESS.—OMB shall include in its spending reduction order a requirement that each spending account shall be reduced by an amount of budget authority calculated by multiplying the baseline level of budgetary resources in that account at that time by the uniform percentage necessary to reduce outlays sufficient to eliminate an excess spending amount.

''(2) EXEMPTIONS.—The following shall be exempt from reduction under any order issued under this part:

''(A) NET INTEREST.—Payments for net interest (set forth in function 900).

''(B) SOCIAL SECURITY.—Benefits payable under the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance program established under title II of the Social Security Act.

''(C) VETERANS PROGRAMS.—Benefits payable by the Department of Veterans affairs and other programs providing benefits to veterans.

''(D) OBLIGATED BALANCES.—Obligated balances of budget authority carried over from prior fiscal years shall be exempt from reduction under any order issued under this part.

''(E) CONSTITUTIONAL OBLIGATIONS.—Any obligations of the Federal Government required to be paid under the U.S. Constitution or contractual obligations as determined by OMB shall be exempt from reduction under any order issued under this part.

''(F) UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.—Benefits payable under unemployment insurance payments.

''(G) EMERGENCY LEGISLATION.—Provisions of spending legislation the President designates as an emergency requirement and the Congress so designates in statute.

''(H) OVERSEAS CONTINGENCY OPERATIONS DESIGNATION.—Provisions of spending legislation the President designates as overseas contingency operations related to the global war on terrorism and the Congress so designates in statute.

''(I) DISCRETIONARY SPENDING.—Discretionary spending if the discretionary spending limits set forth in section 251(c) are not exceeded.

''(3) APPLICATION TO FAST GROWING PROGRAMS.—Any program whose growth in the budget year is less than the rate of inflation as determined by OMB shall be exempt from a spending reduction issued under this title.

''(4) LIMITATION ON SPENDING REDUCTIONS.—No program shall be subject to a spending reduction of more than 1 percent of its budgetary resources.

''(5) UNIFORM PERCENTAGE.—The percentage required to produce a spending reduction, as ordered by a spending reduction order, shall be calculated by OMB by adding all budgetary resources of the Government, and reducing that amount by an amount sufficient to reduce the total amount of outlays of the Government to equal, or lower, a level of outlays than the amount set forth in the guideline period.

''(6) EFFECT OF A SPENDING REDUCTION ORDER.—Upon the issue of a spending reduction order, a spending reduction shall be ordered for all nonexempt spending accounts. The spending reduction shall be effective as follows:

''(A) Budgetary resources subject to a spending reduction to any discretionary account shall be permanently cancelled.

''(B) The same percentage spending reduction shall apply to all programs, projects, and activities within a budget account (with programs, projects, and activities as delineated in the appropriation Act or accompanying report for the relevant fiscal year covering that account, or for accounts not included in appropriation Acts, as delineated in the most recently submitted President's budget).

''(C) Administrative regulations implementing a spending reduction shall be made within 120 days of the issue of a spending reduction order.

''(D) Budgetary resources subject to a spending reduction in revolving, trust, and special fund accounts and offsetting collections subject to a spending reduction in appropriation accounts shall not be available for obligation during the fiscal year in which the spending reduction is issued, and shall be available in subsequent years only to the extent as provided by law.

''(7) INAPPLICABILITY OF SECTIONS 255 AND 256.—Sections 255 and 256 shall not apply to spending reduction orders under this section.''.

SEC. 402. ENFORCEMENT PROCEDURES UNDER THE CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET ACT.

(a) ENFORCEMENT.—Title III of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 is amended by adding after section 315 the following new section:

"SEC. 316. ENFORCEMENT PROCEDURES.

''(a) DISCRETIONARY SPENDING LIMITS.—It shall not be in order in the House of Representatives or the Senate to consider any bill, joint resolution, amendment, or conference report that includes any provision that would cause the discretionary spending limits as set forth in section 251(c) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 to be exceeded.

''(b) TOTAL SPENDING LIMITS.—It shall not be in order in the House of Representatives or the Senate to consider any bill, joint resolution, amendment, or conference report that includes any provision that would cause the total spending limits set forth in section 253A of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 to be exceeded.

''(c) DEFICIT LIMITS.—It shall not be in order in the House of Representatives or the Senate to consider any bill, joint resolution, amendment, or conference report that includes any provision that would cause the total deficit limits set forth in section 253 of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 to be exceeded.

''(d) WAIVER OR SUSPENSION.—

''(1) IN THE SENATE.—The provisions of this section may be waived or suspended in the Senate only by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the Members, duly chosen and sworn.

''(2) IN THE HOUSE.—The provisions of this section may be waived or suspended in the House of Representatives only by a rule or order proposing only to waive such provisions by an affirmative vote of two-thirds of the Members, duly chosen and sworn.

''(e) POINT OF ORDER PROTECTION.—In the House, it shall not be in order to consider a rule or order that waives the application of paragraph (2) of subsection (c).

''(f) MOTION TO SUSPEND.—It shall not be in order for the Speaker to entertain a motion to suspend the application of this section under clause 1 of rule XV.''.

(b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of contents set forth in section 1(b) of the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974 is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 315 the following new item:

''Sec. 316. Enforcement procedures.''.

SEC. 403. DEFINITIONS.

Section 250(c)(4) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 is amended by striking paragraph (4), redesignating the succeeding paragraphs accordingly, and adding the following paragraphs:

''(19) The term 'spending reduction' refers to the cancellation of budgetary resources provided by discretionary appropriations or mandatory spending.

''(20) The term 'GDP', for any fiscal year, means the gross domestic product during such fiscal year consistent with Department of Commerce definitions.

''(21) The term 'total spending' means the total aggregate outlays of the Federal Government.

''(22) The term 'guideline period' means the period of fiscal years set forth in section 253A(d).

''(23) The term 'projected spending amount' means the amount of total outlays of the Federal Government for a fiscal year within the guideline period.

''(24) The term 'guideline spending amount' means the amount of total outlays of the Federal Government for a fiscal year as a percentage of GDP for such fiscal year within the guideline period.

''(25) The term 'excess spending amount' means the amount by which a projected spending amount exceeds the guideline spending amount for a fiscal year within the guideline period.

''(26) The term 'spending reduction order' means a spending reduction order as defined in section 253A(c).

''(27) The term 'advance appropriation' means appropriations that first become available one fiscal year or more beyond the fiscal year for which an appropriation Act making such funds available is enacted.

''(28)(A) The term 'emergency requirement' means any provision that provides new budget authority and resulting outlays for a situation that poses a threat to life, property, or national security and is—

''(i) sudden, quickly coming into being, and not building up over time;

''(ii) an urgent, pressing, and compelling need requiring immediate action;

''(iii) unforeseen, unpredictable, and unanticipated; and

''(iv) not permanent, temporary in nature.

''(B) An emergency that is part of an aggregate level of anticipated emergencies, particularly when normally estimated in advance, is not unforeseen.''.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 665, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. RYAN) and a Member opposed each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, as we mentioned earlier in the debate, we're offering better ideas. We think it's incumbent upon us on the big issues of the day, if we don't think the majority is going in the right direction, if we don't think they're offering the right ideas, it's not just enough for us to criticize and say we're against

what they're doing. We owe it to our employers, the American people, our constituents, to offer an alternative. That's what we're doing right here today.

And I want to first say thank you to the majority leader and to the chairman for making it such that we can offer this alternative. Normally, in the minority one would naturally expect to offer a substitute. Unfortunately, that is not the norm these days, and I appreciate the fact that the majority leader and the chairman were true to their word and made it so that the minority could offer a substitute so that we, too, can say we think we have a better way forward.

Let me explain what our bill does, three basic components to our substitute bill. Caps on spending. So what we think ought to happen here is let's fix the problem. Let's focus on the problem. And what is the problem, Mr. Speaker? Spending, deficits, and debt are out of control.

First off, we propose caps on discretionary spending. Yes, caps on discretionary spending. When this was combined with PAYGO in the 1990s, it worked. It helped pave the way for surpluses. It's an idea that has enjoyed bipartisan support, until now.

So if you take a look at who really controls the deficits, the deficits under our substitute or the deficits under the majority's plan, our deficits are far lower. Still higher than I would like, but our deficits take this deficit down to no more than 3 percent of gross domestic product, which is what all economists say is a minimum. If your deficits are above 3 percent, then the debt spirals out of control. Unfortunately, under the Democrats' plan, their PAYGO bill, the deficits always stay above 3 percent, spiraling out of control, according to any economists if you ask them.

Second, we think we ought to have caps on total spending. Let's keep in mind just how big the Federal Government is relative to our constituents and the economy's ability to pay it.

So we propose a cap to keep the size of the Federal Government relative to where it has been in history, and no larger, meaning don't let the government grow faster than the economy. Don't let the government grow faster than our constituents have an ability to pay for it. Don't let the Federal budget grow faster than the family budget. And so what we also do is we have a cap on Federal spending as a percentage of GDP, gross domestic product.

What we are showing here is, yes, spending not only goes down and then stays in control, we keep spending historically where it has been, slightly above 20 percent of gross domestic product.

What does the Democratic PAYGO bill do? Nothing. It allows spending to grow far in excess of where it has been before, meaning what this Democratic PAYGO plan does is it locks in place the growth of the Federal Government so that it will grow faster and higher than it ever has in the history of this Republic.

What does the future look like under their version of fiscal control versus our version of fiscal control? Here's what the Federal Government looks like. Under the Democratic PAYGO bill, the Federal Government keeps growing forever and ever and ever.

Look at the moment in the middle of this chart. That's the moment when my three children who are 4, 6, and 7 years old are my age. And what the Democrat PAYGO bill says is the government will literally be twice as big as it is today for them at that time. Under our bill, we put the Federal Government on the pathway of sustainability.

It's really about this. The question is: Are we going to fulfill the American legacy or not? Are we going to face up to the challenges confronting this generation so that we can make the next generation better off? That is, after all, the lessons we were taught as Americans. We own up to the challenges confronting us so that our children and our grandchildren can have a better tomorrow.

Unfortunately, under the Democratic PAYGO bill, that's not the case. The Democratic PAYGO bill severs that tie. It breaks the American legacy. Here's what I mean when I say that.

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Here's what I mean when I say that: For the last 40 years, the size of our government has been relatively the same in that it's been consistent. About 20 percent of GDP has gone to the government. About 20 cents out of every dollar made in America has been spent by the Federal Government to run the Federal Government. Well, by the time my kids are my age, according to the current plan that we are on, 40 cents of every single dollar made must go to the Federal Government just to keep this government going for my kids at that age.

I asked the Congressional Budget Office, what would the tax rates on my three children, who are 4, 6 and 7 years old, have to be when they are my age, in their late thirties, if they are going to have to pay taxes to pay for all of this government we're consigning them to? Here's what the Congressional Budget Office said. They said the lowest tax bracket, the low-income Americans that pay 10 percent bracket, must go up to 25 percent. They said the middle-income tax brackets that middle-income Americans pay will have to go to 66 percent. And they said the top income tax bracket in America, the one that all the small businesses pay, the one that all the job creators pay, would go to 88 percent.

If we don't fix this problem these are the tax rates that will have to occur for the next generation. These are the tax rates that will occur on the next generation if you pass the Democratic PAYGO bill. If you pass the Republican substitute, we are putting the kinds of tools, the kinds of tools in place, the kind of enforcement and discipline in place to make sure that doesn't happen, to make Congress face up and fix these problems. We have three different spending caps enforced by sequesterers to make sure it actually happens, belts and suspenders to make sure Congress actually fixes this fiscal train wreck.

The question before us, Mr. Speaker, is: Will this generation, will the people right now elected by Americans face up to this reality? And this is the key question, Mr. Speaker. The sooner we do it, the better off everybody in America is. The sooner we tackle the spending that's out of control, the sooner we take ourselves off the reliance of debt purchases by China, India, Japan and everybody else, the sooner Americans can be in control of their own destiny and their own economy. The sooner we reform government and the entitlement programs that are presenting us with this $62 trillion unfunded liability, the more likely we can prevent those people in and near these programs, depending and counting on these programs, will not have severe disruption in their lives.

The more likely the kinds of changes that must happen can be phased in gradually. But every year we delay, every year we punt, every year we pass bills like this Democratic PAYGO bill, the more likely people will see severe disruption in their lives, the more likely you will have crushing tax increases, massive borrowing, unsustainable deficits, the more likely we will not be able to sell our bonds, the more likely our interest rates will go up, the more likely our tax rates will go up, the more likely we lose jobs and competitiveness.

Every year we delay fixing just the entitlement problem, we add about $4 trillion of debt to our children and grandchildren. So we are saying, let's fix what's broken; and what is broken is spending. What is broken is that spending is out of control. Both parties contribute to that. Let's face up to that. Both parties should come together to fix it, and that's what we are proposing to do.

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

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the amendment and yield myself 3 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, so that everyone will understand, what the gentleman is proposing is that we rewrite the budget resolution, which we wrote and passed in both the House and Senate months ago, to go back to square one and basically begin all over again because we will have to change 302(a) and all the work we've done to get the appropriation bills passed by the end of July. We would have to go back and take at least $48 billion out of all those bills to comply with the numbers that Mr. RYAN proposes in his alternative budget resolution today.

I will have to say that when I told Mr. RYAN we were not going to have a hearing, that we were not going to have a markup, we were going to bring this matter straight to the floor, I also told him out of a sense of fairness that he could have a substitute, that I would support a substitute. He deserves one. I had no idea that he would offer a brand-new budget resolution as a substitute. I thought it would be a substitute, maybe a cap on discretionary spending. So this came as a surprise. There is a cap on discretionary spending here; but as I read it, there is no cap, there is no PAYGO provision. He has left it out of there completely. That's the way we read over here. I can't find anything in there.

In addition, I thought ours was pretty dense; and then I read some of your draftsmanship, if I can share with everyone. Try this on: The percentage required to produce a spending reduction, as ordered by a spending reduction order, shall be calculated by OMB by adding all budgetary resources of the government, and reducing that amount by an amount sufficient to reduce the total amount of outlays of the government to equal, or lower, a level of outlays than the amount set forth in the guideline period.

If we are dense, this is turgid, I am telling you. I'm not quite sure what this says, except that it does propose a new budget resolution. It would become a statutory budget resolution if we passed it as part of this particular bill because this is——

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Would the chairman yield just for a quick clarification?

Mr. SPRATT. I will.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. I will just be quick and brief. Three caps: The discretionary cap is set at inflation; the percent of GDP cap brings us back to trend historical growth and the size of our government; and the deficit targets bring our deficits down to being no higher than 3 percent of GDP, and that is the result of what you are reading.

Mr. SPRATT. It is similar to the PAYGO rule here.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. That's correct. We think this is better than PAYGO. We think instead of having a PAYGO system in place, which puts the bias in favor of raising taxes, we ought to have the bias in favor of controlling and cutting spending. That is just the difference we have between the two of us.

Mr. SPRATT. You set levels for all of those things and then also provide—I believe if they turn out to be wrong, if we had a downturn in the economy and wanted to change those numbers, you would have to have a two-thirds vote in each House in order to do that.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. That's correct.

Mr. SPRATT. That loads some cumbersome conditions on the House or the Senate if we find ourselves faced with economic reversal.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. If the gentleman will continue to yield, we believe we need to have a tough enforcement regime so that a simple majority cannot waive these kinds of spending caps.

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

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. May I inquire as to how much time remains?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wisconsin has 22 minutes remaining. The gentleman from South Carolina has 27 minutes remaining.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I will yield myself 1 minute just to continue this dialogue.

The reason we have a super-majority vote in Congress to break these caps is because we want to make it very difficult—you can never fully tie the hands of a future Congress. We want to make it very difficult for Congress to avoid this budget discipline. We want to make sure that we put a system in place with binding caps that are tough to circumvent, that are backed up with sequesters so that, you know what, Congress actually makes the tough choices; Congress actually prioritizes spending and that we live within our means and that we have a process in place that forces us to focus on the problem.

The problem is, spending is out of control; deficits are out of control; borrowing is out of control. We do not want a process, which we believe your PAYGO system does, to simply always go to raising taxes. The American people are taxed too much. The American people are paying more taxes than they have in the history of this country. We don't need to raise their taxes any more. We will sacrifice our economic livelihood. We will make ourselves less competitive to foreign countries if we keep raising taxes. Spending is a problem. That's why our substitute focuses on spending.

With that, Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. CAMPBELL).

Mr. CAMPBELL. I thank the gentleman from Wisconsin. Americans know they should save for their retirement, but it's tough because you've got to put money away now for later, and there are things to spend it on now. You know, there is a nice dinner to go to; there is a vacation to take, maybe a TV or a car to buy or something like that. So what do we do? I do it. Probably many people listening to this do it. Your employer takes it out of your paycheck so that you kind of never see it, and it goes straight to your retirement so you can save it so that you know it will be there when you need it.

What that is is an external discipline, making us do the thing we know is right for us to do but that, as human beings, we have a hard time doing ourselves without that external discipline.

Mr. Speaker, this bill is that external discipline. Because Members of Congress are no different than anybody else. When we have money, we spend it. When Republicans were in charge, we spent too much money. We overspent by hundreds of billions of dollars. Now the Democrats are in charge. They're overspending by trillions of dollars. But whether it's hundreds of billions or trillions, whichever majority has been in this Congress, we have spent more than we have taken in. I can't remember the exact figure; but I think that for 43 out of the last 45 years this Congress has spent more money than revenue that has come in and has run a deficit, regardless of who was in the White House or who was in charge. We can't do that.

What this bill says is you can't increase spending faster than people's incomes. It's that simple. Because if you do, if the Federal Government spends more money, increases spending by more than people's incomes have increased, there's only two ways to do it, borrow it or increase taxes. And if we continue to do it, we continue to borrow and we continue to increase taxes until we will have no economy and no growth left. Mr. Speaker, that's where we are right now.

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

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. I yield the gentleman an additional 30 seconds.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Speaker, that is where we are right now. We don't have to wait 10 years, 15 years or 20 years. We are in that position right now. The American people are taxed too much, and we are borrowing way, way too much. This bill, this discipline, this Republican substitute will bring that to an end; and I urge us all to support it.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. SCHRADER).

Mr. SCHRADER. Mr. Speaker, I am a proud original cosponsor of this statutory PAYGO legislation. The passage of statutory PAYGO will show our commitment to fiscal responsibility once again. I am a little surprised that my Republican colleagues are not interested in renewing this bipartisan work and to help stop the bleeding that's occurring in our great Nation. Respectfully, I think we've lost our way a bit there.

In January 2001, the United States had a projected 10-year budget surplus of $5.6 trillion. Eight years later the 111th Congress opened to face a national debt in excess of $10 trillion and a single-year budget deficit we inherited of $1.5 trillion. What has changed? Lack of bipartisanship. During the 1990s a Democratic President and Republican-controlled Congress worked together to balance the budget, to produce record deficit-reducing surpluses by the end of the Clinton administration. However, in 2002 the Bush administration chose to allow PAYGO to lapse and moved away from that bipartisan fiscal discipline. It's important for PAYGO to be enacted to make sure that we live up to our fiscal responsibilities.

Unlike the mere rules that we currently have, the statutory PAYGO bill

now before the House does not expire, cannot lapse, and is not easily waived. I am very concerned about the alternative offered here by the good gentleman from Wisconsin because it moves away from the pay-as-you-go principles. Indeed, it gets rid of PAYGO all together, as the Chair pointed out; and frankly, it's an abrogation of our legislative responsibilities to make the tough decisions.

The alternative does establish the bipartisan PAYGO measures that gave us great results not too many years ago. The arbitrary deficits limits are a return to the failed policies of the past, the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings bill that led to the PAYGO legislation in the first place. And frankly, with the nonspecific and arbitrary spending limits, it leads to probably the Republican budget's version of what we should do to reduce spending; and that means cuts to education, health care and public safety. Frankly, it virtually eliminates all opportunity to do the health care reform, declare our energy independence and build on a 21st century education system that we so greatly campaigned on and fought here to do in the United States Congress.

Mr. Speaker, as a small business owner and father of five, I know how important it is to live within your means. As Oregon's chief budget rider, I worked hard to make sure my State spent only what it paid for. The American people expect the same responsibility from their Federal Government. While American families are tightening their belts, the message sends a strong signal that Congress plans to do the same. However, as the ranking member asserts, statutory PAYGO is not a panacea by itself for our fiscal health. Our choices remain. As our economy recovers, we must cut spending, return to budget surpluses and pay down the national debt.

I support statutory PAYGO as a critical first step towards fiscal responsibility, and I invite my colleagues, Democrats and Republicans alike, to support statutory PAYGO.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana, Mr. BARON HILL.

□ 1415

Mr. HILL. I thank the gentleman from South Carolina for yielding me this time on PAYGO.

Mr. Speaker, this is a proud day, especially for people like me, who is a member of the Blue Dog Coalition and who has this issue of PAYGO as a signature issue. After literally years of working towards compromise, we finally have this day before us. We are actually going to be voting on statutory PAYGO.

There are a lot of people to thank. One person I would particularly like to thank is former Congressman Charlie Stenholm. I hope he is listening today. Charlie was a member of the Blue Dog Coalition when he was a Member of this body, and he worked tirelessly day in and day out to make sure that this day would finally arrive.

Charlie, if you're listening out there, I'm sure that you have a big smile on your face right now.

I want to thank the Speaker, the majority leader and the entire leadership in the Democratic Party for embracing the concept of PAYGO as well, and I would like to thank the President of the United States, who has also embraced the concept of PAYGO.

Now, PAYGO, as has already been mentioned, is not a panacea. It is not a complete solution, but it worked one time. What we're voting on today was in place during the 1990s, and we will recall that it was those PAYGO rules that were in place that finally got us to a point where we actually had surpluses for the first time in over 40 years. So it works. It has a history of working.

To the detractors who say that this is not the solution, it was a solution back in the 1990s, and it has a history of working. If it worked then, it can work now. When we had it back in the 1990s, we also had discretionary spending caps, so PAYGO is just a start. We must finish the job.

I have a granddaughter who is a little over 30 days old, and I don't want to be passing on this debt that we've accumulated here recently and in the last 10 years to her.

When this decade began, we had a sour economy, and we've had to do some unusual things in order to try to revive this economy. It has caused spending to go up, but I, along with the President and Members of Congress, now feel like this is the first step toward getting us back on track and making sure that we get this spending under control.

I have heard from the other side. They have a different idea of what PAYGO should look like, but as I said before, this PAYGO that we have now was in place in the 1990s, and it worked. It provided surpluses for us, and it will work in this century as well.

So I applaud the authors of the bill. I applaud the people who have introduced this today. It is a happy day. Let's pass PAYGO, and let's get on with the task of making sure that we get spending under control.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. May I inquire as to how much time remains between the two sides.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wisconsin has 17½ minutes remaining. The gentleman from South Carolina has 21 minutes remaining.

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

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, it is my honor to yield to the Speaker of the House, the gentlewoman from California, Madam Speaker (Ms. PELOSI).

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I thank him for his masterful leadership of the Budget Committee. He is, indeed, a great American. He put forth earlier this year a budget which is a statement of our national values, about what is important to the American people as being manifested in our priorities in that budget. It's a budget that is designed to reduce the deficit, to create jobs, to give tax cuts to the middle class, and to have as three of its pillars to turn the economy around: education, health care and energy. And today, as part of that framework of fiscal responsibility under his leadership, this legislation is coming to the floor.

I would also like to acknowledge our distinguished majority leader, Mr. HOYER, for being relentless in his pursuit of this legislation. He has long supported it, and I don't think we would be here today without his determination. We just heard from Mr. BARON HILL, an author of the legislation, a leader of the Blue Dog Coalition in the House.

The Blue Dog Coalition came together with the organizing principle of fiscal responsibility. We all owe them a debt of gratitude because it has become the mantra of the Congress: we will not increase the deficit.

Mr. HILL spoke as a policymaker and as a new grandfather, and that is a very important perspective, a new grandfather. As a grandmother of many grandchildren for a long period of time, I know that we have a moral responsibility not to heap mountains of debt onto our grandchildren; and, today, we will be able to put this into place as a statute, not just as a rule of the House, which we did when we took control of the House as Democrats, but now as a statute.

I want to pay, also, homage to Mr. GEORGE MILLER, a Progressive Democrat, a leader in the Congress for many years. Long before I came to Congress, I was reading about Mr. MILLER introducing PAYGO legislation in the Congress. Now I'm talking about 30 years ago.

And I do remember going in 1982, not as a Member of Congress, to the Democratic Convention in Philadelphia. This was a midterm conference in between nominating conventions for President; and Mr. MILLER at that 1982 convention introduced as a resolution a PAYGO resolution, which succeeded at that convention. It became part of the Democratic platform, and then again, as I say, he introduced that legislation into the Congress. It wasn't until a number of years later that it was implemented.

During the Clinton years, that PAYGO formula was what took us out of the debts of the Reagan-Bush years and into a trajectory of surplus into the future. The last four Clinton budgets were in surplus. Now we're back in deficit from the excesses of the reckless economic policies of the Bush years. We must dig our way out again; we must sweep up behind, and this is a way. Statutory PAYGO legislation is a way to get that done.

I reiterate: when the Democrats took control of the Congress, we made it a rule of the House that we had to abide by pay-as-you-go. Now we have a President of the United States committed to signing this legislation, and we are able to pass it, not as a rule of the House but as a statute, as a law of the land.

I thank Mr. HILL, Mr. BARON HILL; Mr. GEORGE MILLER; STENY HOYER; and you, Mr. Chairman, for making all of this possible.

It's a very important day for our country because it is a day when the Congress of the United States says to the American people: we will be accountable. We have said it. We have done it, and now we will make it a statute of the law of the land.

So, again, I urge our colleagues. I hope we have a good, strong vote across the political spectrum, in the Democratic Party from right to left and, hopefully, across the aisle, so that we can have all of those who claim to support fiscal responsibility placing their vote behind this important legislation.

If the idea is that you want to persuade the Nation that cutting taxes is a way to grow our economy, those tax cuts must be paid for. If we want to say that we want to increase entitlement spending, we must pay for that, and if we do not, there are consequences. There are consequences, and that is what is important about this legislation. We either pay as we go or, as we say, go into sequestration, have across-the-board cuts, a draconian measure that must be avoided, and here is the way to do it.

So I urge all of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle to support statutory PAYGO and as a tribute to those who fought the fight for so many years and as an obligation to our children and our grandchildren.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. At this time, Mr. Speaker, I would like to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. BURGESS).

Mr. BURGESS. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I rise this afternoon to speak in support of the Ryan substitute and against the underlying bill, the Statutory Pay-As-You-Go Act of 2009. The actual name of the underlying bill should be ''how to give cover for spending like a teenager with an unlimited credit card.''

Now, Congress receives a lot of criticism for not reading the bills before we vote on them. This isn't a very heavy list. This bill is 23 pages. You can print it off and have a read through it. In fact, the first two pages are just a list of cosponsors and the table of contents. Then, in the underlying bill, you've got about eight pages of actual regulation. Then the last half of the bill, over 10 pages, are exceptions to this statutory law that the Speaker just described to us—yes, a statutory law.

In the statutory law are statutory exceptions. The long list of exceptions in the underlying bill gives the Democrats a talking point of saying they're going to address the wild spending of Congress without actually having to make any choices, not just the hard choices. They don't have to make any choices at all.

Now, some of the exceptions are necessary. Some of them are acceptable. We should be concerned about our veterans; we should be concerned about our seniors; we should be concerned about our children. There are exceptions to PAYGO to ensure that our veterans get the health care they need, that the seniors get the long-term care they have earned, that our children are healthy and educated and are not going hungry should be protected and should not be subject to politics.

For those Members who grew tired of reading the bill, on the last page of those exceptions, the second to the last third of the sentence are exceptions to PAYGO for TARP. Now, we all remember TARP. It failed last September, and it passed last October under a Democratic Congress, I might add.

We're going to validate that vote for TARP today by now elevating TARP to the same level of protection as Medicare, Medicaid, Social Security, veterans, and child hunger.

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

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. I yield the gentleman an additional minute.

Mr. BURGESS. Yesterday, Neil Barofsky, the Special Inspector General of TARP, testified before a committee that TARP could ultimately cost the American taxpayer $23 trillion. Most of us can't even begin to fathom that number. TARP was authorized by Congress for $700 million. As of yesterday, the cost to the American taxpayer from TARP was $2 trillion, $2 trillion that we don't have and which we borrowed from China and from foreign countries that don't have America's best interests at heart. We gave it to banks that have recently recorded record profits. Goldman Sachs is going to take out $2 billion in bonuses this quarter after taking nearly $10 billion of the TARP money. Mr. Speaker, they don't need to be protected in this PAYGO statute.

In the past few weeks, I've been involved in the greatest debate of my elected career. I've been working on a commonsense approach to health care to lower costs and to reform medical liability laws in this country. We've spent exactly 1½ days marking that bill up in my committee. The health care bill has been scored to cost $2.3 trillion, and that's about what we've given TARP, $2 trillion.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Rhode Island (Mr. LANGEVIN).

Mr. LANGEVIN. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to be here today to associate myself with the comments of Speaker PELOSI, who spoke just a few moments ago in strong support of this pay-as-you-go legislation.

I do rise in opposition to the Republican substitute that's offered by my colleague, Mr. RYAN, which I see completely abolishes the pay-as-you-go rules contained in the base bill, and it replaces them with unrealistic and infeasible restrictions that do nothing to address the long-term budgetary challenges that we face.

The Statutory Pay-As-You-Go Act, offered by Majority Leader HOYER, will restore fiscal discipline through the most basic principle of responsible accounting. Every dollar spent must be offset by a dollar earned or saved. This is the way that American families balance their checkbooks, and it's the way that we should balance the Federal budget.

Statutory pay-as-you-go governed our budgetary policies in the 1990s. As we saw, it helped turn deficits into record surpluses. Unfortunately, when the Republican majority allowed the law to expire in 2002, our fiscal accountability went with it.

Well, today, we have a chance to turn that around. We saw what happened when we had these kinds of fiscal disciplines in place. The country was on much more sound fiscal footing. This bill is not a panacea, of course, for our budgetary challenges. The fiscal health of our Nation will ultimately depend on a thriving economy. However, this is an important step to restoring budgetary discipline, to forcing tough choices on taxes, on spending, and on bringing down the deep deficits that we face.

We have a moral obligation to pass this legislation, and instill the kind of fiscal discipline that we need to see, not only for now but for the future. We have an obligation to do this, not only for our children today but for the children of tomorrow. Without reducing the deficit, we cannot invest in vital priorities like health care, education and clean energy, which are critical to our economic future. Mr. Speaker, it's time to get our fiscal house in order.

I would like to thank Leader HOYER, Chairman SPRATT, and my colleagues on the Budget Committee for their exceptionally hard work on this legislation.

I urge my colleagues to reject the Ryan substitute and to support the passage of the Statutory Pay-As-You-Go Act in its current form. It's the right thing to do, and its time has come.

□ 1430

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

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlelady from Massachusetts (Ms. TSONGAS).

Ms. TSONGAS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for yielding to me.

As a member of the Budget Committee, I know that PAYGO is critical to putting us back on the path to fiscal responsibility.

I cosponsored the President's PAYGO bill in June and am happy to say that the bill before us today is even stronger. Instead of sunsetting in 5 years, our bill is permanent. It closes certain loopholes making it harder to use budget gimmicks to hide true costs. It also prioritizes tax relief for the middle class.

Unfortunately, instead of attempting to further strengthen the bill, the Republican substitute would gut it.

While the underlying PAYGO bill addresses both sides of the equation, spending and taxes, the Republican substitute takes a dangerously lopsided approach focusing only on one part of the problem. While our bill makes a permanent change for fiscal responsibility, the public substitute makes a temporary show of responsibility without limiting Congress' ability to pass reckless tax cuts in the future.

With the recent economic downturn, cities in my district have been devastated by high unemployment. The communities of Lowell and Methuen have unemployment in the double digits, while in Lawrence, the unemployment is over 17 percent, almost twice the national average.

Yet in the middle of a deep and painful recession in which families are struggling to make ends meet and many are dependent on the social safety network to survive, the Republican substitute employs a freeze guaranteed to stall the economic recovery in its tracks. But the Republican substitute does more than undermine our economic security, it threatens our national security as well.

As a member of the Armed Services Committee, I have strong concerns that the Republican substitute, if enacted, would create large gaps in our defense budget at a crucial time when we face numerous threats to our security from around the world. Some critics have argued that PAYGO doesn't go far enough, and they're right. It does not. PAYGO alone won't balance the budget and restore responsible government, but it is a critical first step towards fiscal responsibility.

Gutting PAYGO and replacing it with a short-term, one-sided approach offered by the Republican substitute is a step backwards. During one of the worst economic crises in our Nation's history, we must take the needed steps to put our financial house in order.

I urge a ''no'' vote on the Ryan substitute.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. At this time, Mr. Speaker, I would like to yield 3 minutes to the House Republican Conference chairman, the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. PENCE).

(Mr. PENCE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PENCE. I'm sorry I missed Speaker PELOSI's remarks on this PAYGO debate, but I do have a copy of what she said in January of 2007. She said, ''After years of historic deficits, this new Congress will commit itself to a higher standard: pay-as-you-go, no new deficit spending. Our new America,'' da-da-da-da-da. I quote with great respect.

Under the Democrat majority, we have seen a Congress that has presided over the most unprecedented spending spree in American history. Since Democrats took over, the Nation's deficit has exploded by a factor of 10: $162 billion in fiscal year 2007, we're at a trillion now, and we're headed for $1.8 trillion in fiscal year 2009. Public debt has doubled from $4.8 trillion in 2006. The national debt is set to triple by 2019 under the Democrats' budget, including PAYGO, I understand.

You know, I heard the President had to move his press conference from 9 o'clock to 8 o'clock tonight because the popular television show America's Got Talent is on at 9, so the President is going to have his press conference tonight at 8. So the TV lineup tonight should be America's Got Talent at 9, and America's Going Broke at 8. And there is nothing in this PAYGO rule that's going to do anything about it.

The truth is, under this PAYGO deal, discretionary spending, which amounts for 40 percent of all of the spending, is being increased at 8 percent in this year. It's completely excluded from this. Emergency legislation, mandatory spending is not subjected. Hundreds of mandatory programs are not subjected.

We're hearing a lot about fiscal discipline, putting our fiscal house in order. When Democrats say PAYGO, they mean you pay and they go on spending. Well, as usual, Republicans have a better plan to restore fiscal sanity to Washington, D.C., thanks to the great leadership of Congressman PAUL RYAN of Wisconsin.

The Republican substitute will focus on spending. The fundamental problem of the government's fiscal policy is spending and deficit. It targets problem areas by sequestering certain discretionary spending that grows faster than inflation, protects retirees, troops and veterans, no automatic tax increases. It actually reduces the deficit, takes a very straightforward approach, and I commend my colleague for bringing it forward.

I urge my colleagues to get real. No more slogans. No more prepackaged bumper sticker talk about fiscal discipline and reform. The American people want us to come together in real and meaningful and bipartisan ways to get spending under control here in Washington, D.C., and the Ryan substitute is a powerful and important step in that direction, and I urge its support.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. KIND).

Mr. KIND. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend from South Carolina for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, as a former member of the Budget Committee, I rise in proud support of the statutory pay-as-you-go rule. It is time to get real, as my colleague before me just stated, and it's time to get real with the realities we face today. We can argue all day long and point accusatory fingers back and forth about who caused what, but the fact remains that we face a huge American challenge that's going to require a unique American solution to pull ourselves out of the fiscal hole that we find ourselves in today.

This legislation that we have before us today has history on our side. When we had pay-as-you-go budgeting rules in effect in the 1990s, it helped instill fiscal discipline. And then with the help of the American people by growing the economy, it led to 4 years of budget surpluses. We were actually paying down the national debt. We were having a conversation about a lockbox for Social Security trust funds. And then for whatever reason, in 2001 it expired, and the discussion then was whether to reinstitute it—and the fear at that time was that we may end up paying down our national debt too fast, which would be destabilizing. Oh, how I would love to see a return of those days. But instead, it led to a fiscal course of action that doubled the national debt in 8 short years.

Now, this legislation isn't going to be the cure-all. We have a lot of serious work to do. We have an opportunity before us today to reform the health care system, to deliver system reform that will rein in rising costs, which, if it goes unchecked, will bankrupt everyone from families to businesses to public budgets. The fastest growing area of Federal spending today, rising health care costs. We have work to do to make that change.

I also still believe in the merits of an outside independent commission on entitlement reform that would report back with recommended changes so we can address the rising costs of entitlement.

But today let's go back to what works to address the fiscal crisis that we face. The 1990s shows us the way to do that, with 4 years of surpluses where we were able to turn the corner and provide a more stable financial system for our country. That was squandered over the last 8 years, unfortunately.

So I would encourage my colleagues to reject the proposed amendment, to support the underlying bill, and let's get to work making some tough but necessary decisions for future generations so we don't end up leaving a legacy of debt for my two little boys or to future generations.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I yield at this time 3 minutes to the vice ranking member of the Budget Committee, Mr. HENSARLING of Texas.

Mr. HENSARLING. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, we were certainly honored earlier when the Speaker of the House came to speak on this legislation. I tried to listen to her very carefully. I think I heard, ''We will not increase the deficit is now the congressional mantra.''

That's interesting. I really haven't studied mantras in the past, but what I do note is that since the Democratic majority has been the majority in this institution, the Federal deficit has gone from $161 billion to over $1 trillion for the first time in our Nation's history, on the way, according to the Congressional Budget Office, to a $1.8 trillion deficit, a tenfold increase in just 2 years. So I would say, with all due respect to the Speaker of the House, apparently the mantra is not working very well.

I also believe I heard the Speaker of the House say, ''We have a moral responsibility not to heap deficits on our children.'' Well, I take that very seriously. As a father of a 7-year-old girl and a 5-year-old boy, I think every single day about the deficits that are being heaped on our children and grandchildren.

So I guess I would ask the Speaker of the House, who is no longer present on the floor, if we have a moral responsibility not to do it, why did you do it? Why have you increased the deficit tenfold? Why is it that you brought a budget to the floor and passed it with the Democratic majority that will triple the national debt in the next 10 years and create more debt in the next 10 years than the previous 220? I would say, Madam Speaker, why did you do it?

Now, I know she also spoke with great pride of reinstituting the PAYGO rule when the Democrats became the majority. Well, it sounds nice. Again, it makes for a very good bumper sticker slogan, but, Mr. Speaker, facts are kind of pesky things. So when we look at when the Democrats came into Congress and reinstituted the PAYGO rule, all we see is a sea of red ink for as far as the eye can see. Deficit upon deficit upon deficit. Trillions of dollars of deficits. It's not exactly a plan, Mr. Speaker, I would take great pride in.

I must observe that the only thing that exceeds the Federal deficit is the credibility deficit that Democrats have on the issue of fiscal responsibility.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from North Dakota (Mr. POMEROY).

Mr. POMEROY. I follow a member of the Republican Party who just said that the Democrats have a credibility problem on budget. I would remind the gentleman that it was indeed under Republican control of this Chamber and the Senate Chamber and the executive branch that pay-as-you-go discipline on budget deficits was ended. Why did they end? Because they had no intention of living within their means. Don't take my word for it. Look at the record.

The national debt tripled. Percentage of the national debt we had to borrow from other countries tripled. I earlier meant national debt doubled. Percentage financed by other countries tripled. That's the record of the minority party. In fact, I believe it's that record that got them from the majority to the minority.

You might think that given the economic crisis that their very fiscal policies brought about, we would have an opportunity today to work together in a bipartisan fashion to put in place this foundation of fiscal stability, pay-as-you-go. It has happened before.

In 1991, President George H.W. Bush convened a budget summit, he was so alarmed at budget deficits, Deficits much smaller than what President Obama inherited from his predecessor. They agreed that across the party aisle to install pay-as-you-go.

In 1993, I was a Member of this body when we passed it on a party-line vote. But in 1997, that pay-as-you-go budget discipline was enshrined in a bipartisan budget agreement and continued for another 5 years.

It's time for us to work together. It's time for us to rein in these out-of-control deficits.

□ 1445

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 4 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, our distinguished Speaker of the House came to the floor 1 minute ago and gave a nice speech and said with passage of this PAYGO bill, the deficit won't go up any more. Wow. Let me just simply say that is not true. Here is what the deficit path is by the Democratic budget that passed earlier. It is up to $1.8 trillion now, and that admittedly is for some unforeseen circumstances, the TARP and the financial crisis and other things. It goes back down, and then just like a rubber band, it springs right back up. And under the deficit path that the majority passed with their own budget resolution, the deficit goes right back up to over $1 trillion, a huge, huge increase in the deficit, to the point where the deficit stays above 3 percent of our economy the entire time, above $600 billion.

Unsustainable deficits, unsustainable borrowing. Here is the problem, Mr. Speaker. One of these days, we are not going to be able to keep borrowing all this money. One of these days, our bond financiers, 48 percent of whom, these days, are foreign governments, China, Japan and India, one of these days they are not going to keep lending us all this money because we are not getting our fiscal house in order. We already have a $62 trillion unfunded liability. That means we are making promises to spend $62 trillion for people in this country today that we don't have.

And so when people lend us money—this year, we are borrowing half of our budget. Borrowing. I went to the Bureau of Public Debt last week, and I watched a bond auction. I watched the Treasury Department borrow $40 billion in about 4 minutes. We had very talented people sitting around a room of flat-screened TVs and laptop computers sipping coffee as if it were just another day at the office. Forty billion dollars, forty minutes.

We are doing something like this every day these days. Two trillion dollars of our $4 trillion budget, effectively, is being borrowed just this year. There is going to come a moment when they are not going to keep lending us all this money. There is going to come a moment when we may not be able to have an auction succeed. There is going to come a moment when we are going to have to pay these people, these governments, a lot more money to lend us their money. That moment is a fiscal day of reckoning for America. That moment is a moment when our interest rates go up. That moment will happen faster, sooner, rather than later, if we don't fix these problems.

What is the problem? Spending is the problem. Spending in excess of what we tax is what creates deficits. It is what is creating this unprecedented level of debt. And so what does this PAYGO bill do? It just says raise taxes, effectively, if we want to build more programs, if we want to spend more money. What are we proposing? Let's cut spending. Let's control spending. Let's cap spending. Let's make the American Federal budget work like a family budget so that we actually control and cap how much money we spend. I know around here that sounds like a novel idea, but it isn't. Every American family inevitably must do this.

If you live beyond your means, sooner or later you are going to have to make up for that fact. The question is whether this Congress will do that so that the next generation doesn't get hit with this tab, so that the next generation doesn't have this inferior standard of living that we know quantifiably, irrefutably and demonstrably we are consigning to the next generation.

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

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. I yield myself 1 additional minute only to say, Mr. Speaker, we have real solutions here that have real spending control so we get to real deficit reduction, so we really get on to the process of paying off our debt by reforming how much money we spend.

That is not what the Democrats are doing. They are passing a fiscal facade so that they can do so with the right hand while in the left hand they pass more spending out the door. A trillion-dollar cap-and-trade bill a couple of weeks ago, a $410 billion omnibus appropriations bill, a trillion-dollar stimulus package, next week a $1 trillion new health care entitlement, which even the Congressional Budget Office is telling us is going to grow at unsustainable rates, faster than even Medicare and Medicaid.

Let's stop this fiscal insanity. Let's pass real spending control. Let's pass the Republican substitute that actually controls and caps spending.

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

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. HIMES).

Mr. HIMES. Mr. Speaker, as I listened to this debate, two words echo in

my mind, and those words are ''history'' and ''chutzpah.'' Let's talk history for a moment in this historic Chamber. As I listened to the minority talk about cutting spending and it being a novel idea, darn right it's a novel idea—because they've never done it. In the last 10 years when they controlled the White House and they controlled this Chamber, they did three big things. They put in place one of the largest entitlement programs ever with the pharmaceutical benefit in Medicare, they fought two wars at the cost of hundreds of billions of dollars, and they cut taxes on the very wealthiest people in this country.

Two massive increases in spending and a severe reduction in revenue. Guess what? Structural deficits. Facts are stubborn things. The fact is the minority took a $5.6 trillion surplus, and while they controlled this Chamber, they turned it into a $1.3 trillion deficit. And now they have the chutzpah to look to this side of the room and to criticize our efforts to bring that under control.

The PAYGO legislation we're talking about today is a restoration. It is a restoration of the discipline that prevailed when Bill Clinton was in the White House, and we had real statutory PAYGO and we created those surpluses. And we're trying again. Is it perfect? No, it's not perfect. Does it have some exceptions I would rather not see as exceptions? Yes, it does. But it is a very, very constructive step in the right direction. And it will take us back to where we were in the 1990s when we actually got the budget deficit under control. It's a step in the right direction.

The amendment that they are proposing that we support is not a serious effort. It would impact severely our armed services and many of the people who rely on this government for their education, for their housing and for all the things that, as a decent society, we feel the obligation to provide. I'm proud to be one of the cosponsors of this bill and to say it is imperative that we pass this legislation today.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire of the chairman how many more speakers he has remaining?

Mr. SPRATT. I plan to use the time left, and Mr. HOYER will speak as well and share part of the time.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. So the chairman and the majority leader are remaining?

Mr. SPRATT. If I may inquire of the Chair, how much time is remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from South Carolina has 8½ minutes remaining. The gentleman from Wisconsin has 4 minutes remaining

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. I will reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SPRATT. I yield myself 6 minutes. Mr. Speaker, let me make everyone aware of what is at stake here. What the minority has proposed is to take this resolution, this bill, and add to it a budget resolution for 2010 and years thereafter, way outside of the established procedure of the House to do at this point in time. We have strived mightily to finish up all of the appropriations bills by the time we adjourn for the August vacation. And it looks as though we are going to be successful in our pursuit. And I think we all deserve credit for having accomplished that.

Were we to adopt this resolution, we would have a completely different set of numbers. At least $48 billion would have to be reallocated within section 302(a), because there is a cut immediately in discretionary spending. If you hold constant and inflate the amount of money provided for overseas contingency operations, military operations, the amount of money that would have to be extracted from other programs that has basically already been distributed, already been allocated, already been cut, would be around $70 billion.

That is a lot of work that would have to be done again. We would have to basically go back to square one and start over again. So that is the first problem we have with this bill. And that basically is enough reason for anyone who is concerned with finishing timely business here in the House for the summer before adjourning, that is enough to vote against the substitute that the gentleman is offering.

But if that's not enough for you, read onward. Get a copy of this resolution and read the language to see what is being proposed here, because what the gentleman proposes to do is to fix spending, total spending, discretionary spending and deficit as a percentage of gross domestic product for a period of 5 years, after which it will be fixed at the levels it reaches at the end of the 5-year period of time. This would have profound consequences for the budget. We have never budgeted like that, not over that period of time.

Furthermore, the gentleman says we are going to put these in place—this is a resolution that he understandably, under the circumstances, has cobbled together in a few days—he is going to impose something that would be binding for 5 years. And if there were a reversal in the economy for the worse, and we needed to engage in countercyclical economic intervention, this would be a huge stumbling block, because two-thirds of the House would have to agree to any deviation from the spending limits that this resolution or this substitute would impose, two-thirds of the House. A determined minority of one-third could block any kind of salutary action we wanted to take.

That's not good policy. It's not good policymaking. We have never done it before. It would be a mistake to do it now. So for those reasons, I would say to all of my colleagues on both sides of the aisle, read the resolution, read the substitute, and I think you will see this is something we do not want to do at this particular point in time. We don't want to go back to square one and do the appropriations bills all over again. We don't want to cast a rigid cast around the budget resolution so that if we do have a downturn in the economy the budget resolution itself would actually be, the budget would actually be procyclical. We try to have countercyclical economic policies built into our budget. This budget resolution, this budget substitute would actually be procyclical. It would worsen the downturn in the economy if it were to take that turn at this point in time.

So for all of these reasons, I would urge Members on both sides of the aisle, mine particularly, but the other side as well, to look carefully before you cast this vote and vote ''no'' on the substitute that has been offered by Mr. RYAN.

I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. How much time do I have remaining, Mr. Speaker?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wisconsin has 4 minutes remaining.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. I yield myself the remainder of our time. The gentleman from South Carolina rightfully says that our substitute would involve rewriting the budget resolution. Yes. We think we should rewrite the budget resolution. What does the incumbent budget resolution the majority passed do? It doubles the national debt held by the public in 5½ years, triples it in 10½ years. It raises taxes by $1.5 trillion. It chases ever-higher spending with ever-higher taxes, and those tax increases never catch up with the spending increases, thus an unprecedented level in debt increases.

So, yes, we think we should go do something else and go a different path. What are we proposing? We're proposing instead of the system in place that ignores discretionary spending, instead of putting a system in place that ignores the current unsustainable trajectory of entitlement spending, instead of putting a system in place that will inevitably lead to higher taxes, we want spending discipline. We want to cap spending.

And here is what our bill accomplishes that the majority bill does not. Under our bill, the deficits go down. Under the majority's bill, the deficits go up. Under our bill, for future generations, we keep the size of our government in check so that we can give the next generation a higher standard of living so that we don't send to them an unsustainable burden of debt and taxes.

□ 1500

Under the majority's bill they don't do that. They increase debt. They increase taxes. They increase spending. They decrease the standard of living for the next generation.

Now, I find it fairly ironic, and almost comical that the gentleman from Massachusetts just came through here and filed an appropriations bill. The appropriations bill, TTHUD, increases

this year, this year, by 25.1 percent. So during this debate on PAYGO, during this debate on fiscal responsibility, this fiscal facade press release debate we're having right now, they just filed a bill to increase discretionary spending on one bill for just 1 year by 25 percent. You know what? PAYGO doesn't apply to that. PAYGO has nothing to do with that. So we can bring a bill here to increase spending on these few government agencies in this bill by 25 percent, and this PAYGO has nothing to do with it. You know why, Mr. Speaker? Because 40 percent of the budget, including where this spending comes from, is exempt from PAYGO. We just don't think that's the right way to go.

And I've heard all these talks about the 1990s and how successful they were, and yes, there were absolutely periods of success. You know why? Because we had spending caps. We had discretionary caps in place that the Blue Dogs themselves have been advocating, time and again, which we agree with, which we're going to be advocating later in this debate that were part of the reason for that success. Success in 1997 was because Republicans and Democrats came together and put together a budget agreement which led to those surpluses. Wouldn't it be nice to get back to those kinds of days where we come together, not bypassing committees, rushing bills to the floor, cramming things through Congress and actually came together for real fiscal discipline? Unfortunately, the PAYGO bill the majority is offering is a fig leaf. It's not true. It's not real. It doesn't work. It doesn't even affect discretionary spending. It doesn't even deal with the unsustainable pathway of our current entitlement programs which, right now, give us a $62 trillion unfunded liability. We say, let's tackle those problems. You need to have, unfortunately, artificial budget enforcement on Congress. I would love to see that Congress, under our own discipline, would be able to control spending, but you know what? We can't. Both parties can't. That's why you need artificial discipline. That's why you need spending caps. That's why you should pass the Republican substitute.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, one question to the distinguished ranking member. Where were you when we had, first, Iraq and then Afghanistan, and it came to paying for those endeavors which account for by far the biggest growth in spending in the discretionary accounts. There were no spending caps at that particular point in time.

I yield for a brief response.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Working in the Budget Committee to make sure that the war was inside of the budget, not outside of the budget, as the Bush OMB was proposing. We were proposing that that funding be done within the budget, not outside the budget.

Mr. SPRATT. I now yield 1 minute to the distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER).

Mr. HOYER. I thank the chairman for yielding. I also want to thank the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. RYAN) for whom I have a great deal of respect. I said the other night that he was my friend, but friends have disagreements. And on this, on fiscal policy, we clearly have had a very significant disagreement.

I've heard a lot of speakers on this floor talk about how this bill doesn't get us to where we want to get. I've heard a lot of people talk about how we have four exceptions in this bill. Most of the people that have talked about the four exceptions in this bill have repeatedly talked, over the last 4 or 5 years, as to how this was current baseline spending, and certainly we didn't have to pay for current baseline spending, i.e., continuing tax cuts that were in place. Your side of the aisle has argued strenuously that that was current baseline funding and we didn't need to pay for it. We have taken the position that we needed to pay for it. In fact, we paid for the AMT through the House. We paid for the tax extenders through the House. Unfortunately, our brethren on the other side of the Capitol did not pay for them, sent them back. I voted against the AMT extension. I voted against the AMT extension, I was one of a small minority in the House, because it wasn't paid for. If we're going to have discipline, we need extrinsic discipline.

There's only one real discipline—having to pay for what you buy. During the nineties, we paid for what we bought. During the eighties we didn't. And during the 2000s we didn't. And there was an inevitable result; deficits exploded for the 20 years that Republican Presidents were in office, and we didn't pay for things. In fact, the gentleman talks about spending, and he talks about caps in his substitute. The gentleman knows full well that during the Clinton years, spending rose at about 3½ percent per year, on average, discretionary spending. The gentleman knows full well that for the 8 years of the Bush administration, it rose at the average of about 7 percent, or twice as high as it rose during the nineties. So, in terms of caps, spending, which are in the budget, we ought to have budget caps. We ought to stick with those budget caps. And, in fact, the Democrats, under the rule that he said we adopted, stuck with that rule, even when it had consequences that were tough for us. He remembers the District of Columbia vote. By adding a Member, it cost a little over $1 million; we had to pay for it, even though it caused us a problem, then opened it up for an MTR that was a problem.

But, let me speak to the substance of this bill. The gentleman is correct. Other Republicans are correct. We've incurred extraordinary debt during the first 6 months. Why? Because the economic program and the fiscal policies that were argued for by the Republicans and put in place by the Republicans, with little, if any, Democratic support—but they had the Presidency, they had the House, and they had the Senate—led to the worst economy that this country has seen in 75 years. So, according to Mr. Bernanke and others, we had an economic crisis confronting our country; and if we did not act, we could possibly be in a depression, not just a severe recession. So, we inherited the worst recession in 75 years when we took office, having been urged by the Republican administration to put $700 billion on the fiscal tab in the last Congress, urged by the President, by Secretary Paulson and by Ben Bernanke. The gentleman and I voted together on that bill. It was a tough bill. Nobody wanted to vote for it. But we believed that there was a crisis and it was necessary.

So we find ourselves having passed, because we were still, and frankly, falling into a deeper recession in January and February of this year, and responding to that with the Recovery and Reinvestment Act, and we borrowed $787 billion to do that. I believe it's been helpful. The stock market's up 1,000 points since the start of this administration. Housing starts have now been higher for the last 3 months. The Dow is up. NASDAQ is up very substantially. In addition, we've lost 200,000 less jobs per month, on average, over the last 3 months than we lost during the last 3 months of the Bush administration. Is that what we want? No. Is it progress? I suggest to you it is. It's 33 percent less loss of jobs than we had in the last 3 months of the Bush administration. Now, that's not where we want to be. We want to be at zero and growing.

The economic policies that were pursued by my friend and on the Republican side of the aisle created 4,240 jobs per month over a 96-month administration of the policies pursued by my friends on the other side of the aisle. The economic policies that were pursued in the nineties, with the opposition, to a person, of the Republicans, created an average of 216,000 jobs per month. That's a pretty stark difference. As a matter of fact, 2 million jobs created during the last year of the Clinton administration and 3 million jobs lost during the last year of the Bush administration. That's a 5 million turn around. Is there any wonder why there's so much stress among families and individuals?

Now, ladies and gentlemen, maybe you've heard the first rule of holes. When you're in one, stop digging. That's what this bill does. It says stop digging. The fact is that our Nation is in a deep hole. The deficit for this fiscal year is $1.7 trillion. That ought to be of great concern to every one of us. We differ on why we have that deficit. We believe we have it because the economic program supported by the Republicans was such a failure, demonstrably, factually, in terms of every indication. Our debt has never been higher. Unless we do something to remove ourselves from this hole, the future of

our children and grandchildren will be severely constrained, and interest payments will crowd out nearly all of the investment Americans know are vital to their future, from education to clean energy to health care.

The energy bill. There's no tax in the energy bill. There is no tax in the energy bill. But so many of you come and say there's a tax in this bill. That's not honest. You ought to know that. There's one thing to make a mistake. There's another thing to not tell the truth.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Would the gentleman like me to respond?

Mr. HOYER. No. But I will yield to you if you want. But I am not particularly interested in your responding. If you, on your own time, want to say at some point in time that there is a tax in the bill, you can point it out to me. Are there consequential costs in actions we take? There are. The worst-case scenario, a fiscal meltdown, has a nightmare to offer both parties. For Republicans, the prospect that taxes will be forced through the roof, I understand that concern. I suggest to you there's a constraint on that: Voters throwing people out of office who do that to them. Hopefully, voters will return to office, however, people who have the honesty to say, you want us to buy something, then we will pay for it. You didn't do that. You didn't do it for the war. I understand that. I voted for that funding. For Democrats, the prospect that the programs we value will be slashed and that the weakest and least powerful will suffer most. But there is a way out, reclaiming the principles of responsibility that have served our country so well.

I fully believe that we are in this hole because the last administration set responsibility by the wayside. They waived PAYGO. It was inconvenient to pay for things, and you couldn't do your tax cut and pay for them. That's why we waived PAYGO, because you wanted to do something that you could not and would not and did not pay for. In fact, a recent New York Times analysis tells us that 90 percent of our deficit can be attributed to Bush administration policies, the extensions of those policies, and the economic crisis that the administration left behind.

But whatever we think brought us to this point, I'm confident that we can agree on a tried and tested plan for a new beginning. It is a simple one; the principle that from here on out, this country will pay for what it buys. It's called pay-as-you-go or PAYGO for short. It was a key part of turning deficits into surpluses once, and it can be a part of that objective again. Essentially, this PAYGO bill requires Congress to find savings, to balance out the dollars it spends so that all new policies that reduce revenues or expand entitlement spending are fully offset over five and 10 years, an improvement over the President's bill.

In 1990, a similar PAYGO rule was enacted as part of a budget agreement between a Republican President and a Democratic Congress. In other words, in a bipartisan agreement, we reached a consensus on paying as we go. What was the result? The result was an administration that, for the first time and only time in the lifetime of anybody in this Chamber, we had 4 years of surplus. Now, it wasn't the President alone. It wasn't Democrats alone, because in 1997, we reached another bipartisan agreement to extend this principle of PAYGO when Speaker Gingrich and President Clinton, which I voted for, reached agreement. And by forcing Congress to make difficult choices between taxes and spending, to scrutinize wasteful subsidies and loopholes, and to fully weigh the real cost of tax cuts, PAYGO was instrumental in creating a projected 10-year surplus of $5.6 trillion.

□ 1515

That was squandered. The economy that was supposed to grow so well under your economic policies didn't do so. It created less than 2 million jobs, less than 10 percent of what was created during the 1990s. Its repeal in 2002 paved the way for the fiscal excesses of the last administration.

On winning the congressional majority in 2006, as the ranking member has pointed out, Democrats made it part of the House rules; and today we have the chance to give PAYGO the force of law.

With this law in place, advocates of spending will have to find ways to offset the new costs. That's the discipline. That's the extrinsic constraint. Advocates of tax cuts will no longer be able to finance them with debt. Instead, they will have to tell us which programs they would cut. I make that statement knowing full well that if there's a crisis, if there's an emergency, if there's a war, if there's a Katrina, if there's an economic meltdown, yes, we will waive this, and we will borrow money to try to stem the existing crisis. However, generally speaking, we won't do that.

PAYGO won't make those debates go away and won't make those decisions for us. It means hard choices for all of us and for the citizens whom we represent, but continuing to shun hard choices is the road to fiscal ruin.

Exempted from this bill's PAYGO requirements are extensions of current policy on the alternative minimum tax, estate and middle class income tax cuts passed in 2001 and 2002, and Medicare payments to doctors. As a result, some have criticized this bill for not going far enough; but supporters of PAYGO, including President Obama, see exemption as a crucial concession to political reality and to the votes on your side of the aisle, by the way, who on at least three of those instances don't want to pay for them because they are current policy. You've made that argument over and over and over again. I've disagreed with it, but it is reality.

It is clear that there is bipartisan support in Congress for extending those current policies without offsetting savings. I've told my friend Senator CONRAD that if he sends back from the Senate any one of those four bills paid for, I will fight for them. I will advocate for them being paid for. I hope he can do that.

That gives us two choices. On the one hand, we can pass an all-encompassing bill that is waived again and again, one that turns into what the nonpartisan Center on Budget Priorities calls ''a transparently phony fiscal responsibility promise,'' because we've waived them. I think that's unfortunate, but that's what we do. That's what we have done. A promise, I would add, that would weaken the cause of responsibility as a whole.

On the other hand, we can make a promise we are prepared to keep, and we're prepared to keep that to the extent that the Speaker and I have both indicated we will not put a bill on this floor coming out of conference on health care or any other issue dealing with those four unless statutory PAYGO is in the bill, statutory PAYGO has been passed, or it is paid for. The Speaker and I have both indicated we will not put a bill on this floor coming out of conference unless one of those three criteria is met.

In other words, we have the choice between a satisfying, but weak, statement of ideals or of action in the real world of politics. This bill takes the latter path. It draws a line before future budget busting plans, this far but no further.

Is that enough? No, Mr. Speaker, it is not nearly enough. Even if this bill is passed and signed, we will still be in our hole. There will still be years of hard work ahead of us. Hopefully, we can do that on a bipartisan basis. Before our heads can be above ground, we need to deal with entitlements further. We need to deal with spending further. We need to make sure that we have vigorous efforts to rid ourselves of waste, fraud and abuse in the Federal Government on spending and other efforts that we can take to put us on the path, again, of fiscal responsibility to once again get back to an era where we had Clinton surpluses and Clinton 216,000 job-per-month creation.

That's where we want to go. Does this bill get us there? It does not. Does this bill take a critical step towards that end? It does.

I urge my colleagues to reject the substitute, to pass this bill, and to put us once again on the road to fiscal responsibility.

I congratulate Mr. SPRATT for his leadership. I want to thank Mr. WELCH and Mr. MILLER, who is one of the early leaders on PAYGO, and Mr. BARON HILL of the Blue Dogs for cosponsoring this, along with literally 180 or more Democrats supporting this important step.

I will tell my friends, I would hope this was bipartisan, but the economic program we adopted in 1993 was not bipartisan either, and it led to the best economy I have seen in my lifetime in

this country. The principal reason for that economic well-being in America was the chip, not government, the chip where the information technology age exploded and provided extraordinary revenues for our country.

It is the private sector that drives our economy. It is the private sector that will give us wealth and that creates jobs, not the government; but the government can create policies within which the private sector and particularly venture capitalists can have the confidence that we are managing our finances responsibly. That's what this bill does.

Vote for this important piece of legislation.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) has 3 minutes remaining. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. RYAN) has expired.

Mr. SPRATT. I would say once again, Mr. Speaker, using the balance of my time, that every Member in voting on this substitute should understand its consequences. Its consequences would be to undo completely the bill that we're trying to move now that a lot of us believe is a useful measure, useful tool in disciplining our budget. It will be a shame to see us come this far only to falter on a resolution like the substitute offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin. It will not be consistent at all.

And it's interesting to note that while he makes elaborate provisions for limiting spending and limiting deficits, there's no provision whatsoever made for incorporation of the PAYGO rule, which has proved itself in the past to be successful.

So I say vote for the resolution, but vote first against the substitute that is being offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin because, if it is adopted, it will not adapt to, will not fit into the base bill before the House. Instead, it would undo its effectiveness altogether.

I yield back the balance of my time.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. As a general matter, all Members are reminded to direct their remarks to the Chair and not to others in the second person.

Pursuant to House Resolution 665, the previous question is ordered on the bill, as amended, and on the amendment in the nature of a substitute printed in part C of House Report 111–217 offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. RYAN).

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. RYAN).

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

RECORDED VOTE

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 169, noes 259, not voting 5, as follows:

[Roll No. 610]

AYES—169

Aderholt
Adler (NJ)
Akin
Austria
Bachmann
Bachus
Barrett (SC)
Bartlett
Barton (TX)
Biggert
Bilbray
Bilirakis
Bishop (UT)
Blackburn
Blunt
Boehner
Bonner
Bono Mack
Boozman
Boustany
Brady (TX)
Broun (GA)
Brown (SC)
Brown-Waite, Ginny
Buchanan
Burgess
Burton (IN)
Buyer
Calvert
Camp
Campbell
Cantor
Cao
Capito
Cassidy
Castle
Chaffetz
Clay
Coble
Coffman (CO)
Conaway
Culberson
Davis (KY)
Deal (GA)
Dent
Diaz-Balart, L.
Diaz-Balart, M.
Dreier
Duncan
Ehlers
Fallin
Flake
Fleming
Forbes
Fortenberry
Foxx
Franks (AZ)
Gallegly
Garrett (NJ)
Gerlach
Gingrey (GA)
Gohmert
Goodlatte
Graves
Guthrie
Hall (TX)
Harper
Hastings (WA)
Hensarling
Herger
Hoekstra
Hunter
Inglis
Issa
Jenkins
Johnson (IL)
Johnson, Sam
Jones
Jordan (OH)
King (IA)
King (NY)
Kirk
Kline (MN)
Lamborn
Lance
Latta
Lee (NY)
Linder
LoBiondo
Lucas
Luetkemeyer
Lummis
Lungren, Daniel E.
Mack
Manzullo
Marchant
McCarthy (CA)
McCaul
McClintock
McCotter
McHenry
McKeon
McMahon
McMorris Rodgers
Mica
Miller (FL)
Miller (MI)
Miller, Gary
Moran (KS)
Murphy, Tim
Myrick
Neugebauer
Nunes
Olson
Paul
Paulsen
Pence
Perriello
Petri
Pitts
Platts
Poe (TX)
Posey
Price (GA)
Putnam
Radanovich
Rehberg
Reichert
Roe (TN)
Rogers (AL)
Rogers (KY)
Rogers (MI)
Rohrabacher
Rooney
Ros-Lehtinen
Roskam
Royce
Ryan (WI)
Scalise
Schmidt
Schock
Sensenbrenner
Sessions
Shadegg
Shimkus
Shuster
Smith (NE)
Smith (NJ)
Smith (TX)
Souder
Stearns
Sullivan
Taylor
Terry
Thompson (PA)
Thornberry
Tiahrt
Tiberi
Turner
Upton
Walden
Wamp
Westmoreland
Whitfield
Wilson (SC)
Wittman
Wolf
Young (AK)
Young (FL)

NOES—259

Abercrombie
Ackerman
Alexander
Altmire
Andrews
Arcuri
Baca
Baird
Baldwin
Barrow
Bean
Becerra
Berkley
Berman
Berry
Bishop (GA)
Bishop (NY)
Blumenauer
Boccieri
Boren
Boswell
Boucher
Boyd
Brady (PA)
Braley (IA)
Bright
Brown, Corrine
Butterfield
Capps
Capuano
Cardoza
Carnahan
Carney
Carson (IN)
Carter
Castor (FL)
Chandler
Childers
Chu
Clarke
Cleaver
Clyburn
Cohen
Cole
Connolly (VA)
Cooper
Costa
Costello
Courtney
Crenshaw
Crowley
Cuellar
Cummings
Dahlkemper
Davis (AL)
Davis (CA)
Davis (IL)
Davis (TN)
DeFazio
DeGette
Delahunt
DeLauro
Dicks
Dingell
Doggett
Donnelly (IN)
Doyle
Driehaus
Edwards (MD)
Edwards (TX)
Ellison
Ellsworth
Emerson
Engel
Eshoo
Etheridge
Farr
Fattah
Filner
Foster
Frank (MA)
Frelinghuysen
Fudge
Giffords
Gonzalez
Gordon (TN)
Granger
Grayson
Green, Al
Green, Gene
Griffith
Grijalva
Gutierrez
Hall (NY)
Halvorson
Hare
Harman
Hastings (FL)
Heinrich
Heller
Herseth Sandlin
Higgins
Hill
Himes
Hinchey
Hinojosa
Hirono
Hodes
Holden
Holt
Honda
Hoyer
Inslee
Israel
Jackson (IL)
Jackson-Lee (TX)
Johnson (GA)
Johnson, E. B.
Kagen
Kanjorski
Kaptur
Kennedy
Kildee
Kilpatrick (MI)
Kilroy
Kind
Kirkpatrick (AZ)
Kissell
Klein (FL)
Kosmas
Kratovil
Kucinich
Langevin
Larsen (WA)
Larson (CT)
Latham
LaTourette
Lee (CA)
Levin
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (GA)
Lipinski
Loebsack
Lofgren, Zoe
Lowey
Luján
Lynch
Maffei
Maloney
Markey (CO)
Markey (MA)
Marshall
Massa
Matheson
Matsui
McCollum
McDermott
McGovern
McIntyre
McNerney
Meek (FL)
Meeks (NY)
Melancon
Michaud
Miller (NC)
Miller, George
Minnick
Mitchell
Mollohan
Moore (KS)
Moore (WI)
Moran (VA)
Murphy (CT)
Murphy (NY)
Murphy, Patrick
Murtha
Nadler (NY)
Napolitano
Neal (MA)
Nye
Oberstar
Obey
Olver
Ortiz
Pallone
Pascrell
Pastor (AZ)
Payne
Perlmutter
Peters
Peterson
Pingree (ME)
Polis (CO)
Pomeroy
Price (NC)
Quigley
Rahall
Rangel
Reyes
Richardson
Rodriguez
Ross
Rothman (NJ)
Roybal-Allard
Ruppersberger
Rush
Ryan (OH)
Salazar
Sánchez, Linda T.
Sanchez, Loretta
Sarbanes
Schakowsky
Schauer
Schiff
Schrader
Schwartz
Scott (GA)
Scott (VA)
Serrano
Sestak
Shea-Porter
Sherman
Shuler
Simpson
Sires
Skelton
Slaughter
Smith (WA)
Snyder
Space
Speier
Spratt
Stark
Stupak
Sutton
Tanner
Teague
Thompson (CA)
Tierney
Titus
Tonko
Towns
Tsongas
Van Hollen
Velázquez
Visclosky
Walz
Wasserman Schultz
Waters
Watson
Watt
Waxman
Weiner
Welch
Wexler
Wilson (OH)
Woolsey
Wu
Yarmuth

NOT VOTING—5

Conyers
Kingston
McCarthy (NY)
McHugh
Thompson (MS)

□ 1548

Messrs. LARSON of Connecticut, DRIEHAUS, RANGEL, CARTER, Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, Ms. TITUS, Ms. WOOLSEY, Messrs. YARMUTH, ALEXANDER, ISRAEL and Ms. CLARKE changed their vote from ''aye'' to ''no.''

Messrs. ROSKAM and ROHRABACHER changed their vote from ''no'' to ''aye.''

So the amendment was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. I am.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. Ryan of Wisconsin moves to recommit the bill H.R. 2920 to the Committee on the

Budget with instructions to report the same back to the House forthwith, with the following amendment:

At the end of the bill add the following new sections:

SEC. 12. EXTENSION OF THE DISCRETIONARY SPENDING CAPS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Paragraphs (1) through (13) of section 251(c) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 are amended to read as follows:

''(1) with respect to fiscal year 2011 for the discretionary category: $1,126,000,000,000 in new budget authority and $1,189,000,000,000 in outlays;

''(2) with respect to fiscal year 2012 for the discretionary category: $1,150,000,000,000 in new budget authority and $1,193,000,000,000 in outlays;

''(3) with respect to fiscal year 2013 for the discretionary category: $1,177,000,000,000 in new budget authority and $1,220,000,000,000 in outlays;''.

(b) EXPIRATION.—(1) Section 275 of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 (2 U.S.C. 900 note) is amended by striking subsection (b).

(2) Sections 254(c)(2)(A) and (f) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 are amended by striking ''2002'' and inserting ''2013''.

SEC. 13. DISCLOSURE OF INTEREST COSTS.

Section 308(a)(1) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 (2 U.S.C. 639(a)(1)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (B), by striking ''and'' after the semicolon;

(2) in subparagraph (C), by striking the period and inserting ''; and''; and

(3) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

''(D) containing a projection by the Congressional Budget Office of the cost of the debt servicing that would be caused by such measure for such fiscal year (or fiscal years) and each of the four ensuing fiscal years.''.

SEC. 14. CBO SCORING OF CONFERENCE REPORTS.

(a) The first sentence of section 402 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 is amended as follows:

(1) Insert ''or conference report thereon,'' before ''and submit''.

(2) In paragraph (1), strike ''bill or resolution'' and insert ''bill, joint resolution, or conference report''.

(3) At the end of paragraph (2) strike ''and'', at the end of paragraph (3) strike the period and insert ''; and'', and after such paragraph (3) add the following new paragraph:

''(4) A determination of whether such bill, joint resolution, or conference report provides direct spending.''.

(4) At the end, add the following new sentence: ''The Director shall also prepare such estimates for any bill or resolution of a public character that has not been reported by a committee before it may be considered in the House of Representatives or Senate.''

(b) The second sentence of section 402 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 is amended by inserting before the period the following: '', or in the case of a conference report, shall be included in the joint explanatory statement of managers accompanying such conference report if timely submitted before such report is filed''.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the reading be dispensed with.

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

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. RYAN) is recognized for 5 minutes in support of his motion.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the Republican motion to recommit adds three germane provisions from the Fiscal Honesty and Accountability Act of 2009, which is the Blue Dog PAYGO bill introduced by Mr. HILL and 53 Democratic cosponsors. It adds this to the underlying bill. This motion to recommit does not strike or amend any provision in the underlying bill. The three provisions taken verbatim from the House Blue Dog bill and added to the underlying PAYGO bill are: Number one, discretionary caps from FY 2011 through FY 2013 at the very levels the Blue Dogs set out in their bill; number two, a requirement that CBO report the interest costs of legislation; number three, a requirement that CBO score conference reports.

Let me read from the minority views of the Spending Control Act of 2004 presented by then the minority ranking member Mr. SPRATT on behalf of House Democrats with respect to discretionary spending caps: ''Democrats believe that a set of discretionary spending caps arrived through bipartisan negotiation is an important part of an effective budget enforcement.''

''If discretionary spending caps are to work effectively, they must be established as part of a bipartisan negotiation that also includes a balanced PAYGO provision encompassing both mandatory spending levels and revenues. This balanced approach worked in the 1990s, and it should serve as a model for efforts to reform the budget process today.''

Well, we agree. We agree that this bill will be far more effective if discretionary spending caps were added to it. So given that this bill was bypassed from committee, we want to offer our colleagues yet one more chance at bipartisan success here. We are saying to those who are here who call themselves Blue Dogs, we want to work with you. You hold the keys. You control the fate of not only this provision, but you will also hold the keys of next week's provision, which will create a new unfunded liability in health care. Messrs. ADLER, ARCURI, BARROW, BISHOP, BOSWELL, BRIGHT, CARNEY, CHILDERS, COOPER, CUELLAR, DONNELLY, FATTAH, GORDON, Ms. HARMAN, Messrs. HOLDEN, MARSHALL, MCINTYRE, MICHAUD, MITCHELL, MURPHY, PETERSON, ROSS, Ms. SANCHEZ, Messrs. SCOTT, SPACE, TAYLOR, WILSON, ALTMIRE, BACA, BERRY, BOREN, BOYD, CARDOZA, CHANDLER, CONNOLLY, COSTA, DAVIS, ELLSWORTH, Ms. GIFFORDS, Mr. GRIFFITH, Ms. HERSETH-SANDLIN, Messrs. KRATOVIL, MATHESON, MELANCON, MINNICK, MOORE, NYE, POMEROY, SALAZAR, SCHIFF, SHULER, TANNER and THOMPSON.

All we're asking you to do is to vote for the bill you cosponsored. That's all this does. Vote for what you've cosponsored. Put your votes where your cosponsors are. We can make this bill better. We can make it bipartisan. We will help you deliver the margin of victory. Let's do this together. Let's have that vote.

I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from South Carolina is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SPRATT. This resolution is too clever by half. Our colleagues across the aisle have not had some sudden epiphany and decided this bill, after all, was something they could embrace. This is an effort not to push the bill across the finish line, but to kill it before it finally gets passed here from the House. We have worked for months to get statutory PAYGO to the point where we can now put it over the top and put it in the statute books of the United States of America. If we vote for the resolution, if we vote for the motion to recommit, we will put that at jeopardy because this is a procedural device to defeat a bill that they cannot defeat on the substance of the merits of the bill itself. We won the argument on the substantive merits. They want to take it back now by a procedural device. Their aim is to insert in this bill numbers that were inserted and used in a Blue Dog publication that was issued last January, 7 or 8 months ago. The numbers have changed. They're dramatically different from what they are in the conference report, the concurrent resolution we finally adopted.

As I said, we've been through an arduous budget process to determine these details. If we now begin undoing those details, everything will come unraveled, including the bill before us. So I would urge every Member on this side to stick together. We're on the verge of passing it.

I yield to the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. HILL), who is one of the authors of the bill.

Mr. HILL. I want to award an ''A'' to the Republicans over here for cleverness because this is a very clever thing to do, but it's not the right thing to do based upon what Mr. SPRATT has already talked about. These are old January numbers. This bill is now outdated. The practical thing to do is to do what we were just about to do with Mr. SPRATT in that bill. Now look, we finally are to a point where we can have PAYGO. There has been a very delicate balance to get to where we are right now, including some negotiations with people over in the Senate.

So I urge my colleagues to vote ''no'' on an outdated motion to recommit and vote ''yes'' for Mr. SPRATT.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER).

Mr. HOYER. I thank the gentleman from South Carolina. I rise in opposition to the motion to recommit. This motion is designed, obviously, to kill the bill. Generally speaking, my

friends on that side of the aisle don't support the underlying bill. I understand that. It constrains you in cutting taxes because it makes you pay for that, just as it makes us pay for any increases. That's why this is so good, because it affects both sides of the proposition—the spending side and the revenue side. This constrains all of us. None of us like constraints; but if we don't have constraints, our grandchildren will look to us and say that we did not do a good job.

I want to say to Ed Lorenzen, who has worked with Charlie Stenholm on this proposition for over a decade, thank you for the work that you have done. I want to say to my Blue Dog friends, thank you for your leadership. And I want to say to my progressive friends, who understand the ramifications of spending deficits that adversely affect the most vulnerable in our country, vote against this MTR. Vote for this statutory PAYGO. Let us get back on the road of fiscal responsibility.

Mr. SPRATT. I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the previous question is ordered on the motion to recommit.

There was no objection.

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

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

RECORDED VOTE

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 and clause 9 of rule XX, this 15-minute vote on the motion to recommit will be followed by 5-minute votes on passage of the bill, if ordered; motions to suspend the rules on H.R. 3119; H. Res. 534; and H.R. 2972.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 196, noes 234, not voting 3, as follows:

[Roll No. 611]

AYES—196

Aderholt
Adler (NJ)
Akin
Alexander
Austria
Bachmann
Bachus
Barrett (SC)
Bartlett
Barton (TX)
Biggert
Bilbray
Bilirakis
Bishop (UT)
Blackburn
Blunt
Boehner
Bonner
Bono Mack
Boozman
Boustany
Brady (TX)
Broun (GA)
Brown (SC)
Brown-Waite, Ginny
Buchanan
Burgess
Burton (IN)
Buyer
Calvert
Camp
Campbell
Cantor
Cao
Capito
Carter
Cassidy
Castle
Chaffetz
Childers
Clay
Coble
Coffman (CO)
Cole
Conaway
Crenshaw
Culberson
Davis (KY)
Deal (GA)
Dent
Diaz-Balart, L.
Diaz-Balart, M.
Dreier
Duncan
Ehlers
Emerson
Fallin
Flake
Fleming
Forbes
Fortenberry
Foster
Foxx
Franks (AZ)
Frelinghuysen
Gallegly
Garrett (NJ)
Gerlach
Gingrey (GA)
Gohmert
Goodlatte
Granger
Graves
Griffith
Guthrie
Hall (TX)
Harper
Hastings (WA)
Heller
Hensarling
Herger
Hodes
Hoekstra
Hunter
Inglis
Issa
Jenkins
Johnson (IL)
Johnson, Sam
Jones
Jordan (OH)
King (IA)
King (NY)
Kingston
Kirk
Kirkpatrick (AZ)
Kline (MN)
Kosmas
Lamborn
Lance
Latham
LaTourette
Latta
Lee (NY)
Lewis (CA)
Linder
LoBiondo
Lucas
Luetkemeyer
Lummis
Lungren, Daniel E.
Mack
Maffei
Manzullo
Marchant
Matheson
McCarthy (CA)
McCaul
McClintock
McCotter
McHenry
McKeon
McMahon
McMorris Rodgers
Mica
Michaud
Miller (FL)
Miller (MI)
Miller, Gary
Mitchell
Moran (KS)
Murphy (NY)
Murphy, Tim
Myrick
Neugebauer
Nunes
Nye
Olson
Paul
Paulsen
Pence
Perriello
Peters
Petri
Pitts
Platts
Poe (TX)
Posey
Price (GA)
Putnam
Radanovich
Rehberg
Reichert
Roe (TN)
Rogers (AL)
Rogers (KY)
Rogers (MI)
Rohrabacher
Rooney
Ros-Lehtinen
Roskam
Royce
Ryan (WI)
Scalise
Schmidt
Schock
Sensenbrenner
Sessions
Shadegg
Shimkus
Shuster
Simpson
Smith (NE)
Smith (NJ)
Smith (TX)
Souder
Stearns
Sullivan
Taylor
Teague
Terry
Thompson (PA)
Thornberry
Tiahrt
Tiberi
Turner
Upton
Walden
Wamp
Westmoreland
Whitfield
Wilson (SC)
Wittman
Wolf
Young (AK)
Young (FL)

NOES—234

Abercrombie
Ackerman
Altmire
Andrews
Arcuri
Baca
Baird
Baldwin
Barrow
Bean
Becerra
Berkley
Berman
Berry
Bishop (GA)
Bishop (NY)
Blumenauer
Boccieri
Boren
Boswell
Boucher
Boyd
Brady (PA)
Braley (IA)
Bright
Brown, Corrine
Butterfield
Capps
Capuano
Cardoza
Carnahan
Carney
Carson (IN)
Castor (FL)
Chandler
Chu
Clarke
Cleaver
Clyburn
Cohen
Connolly (VA)
Conyers
Cooper
Costa
Costello
Courtney
Crowley
Cuellar
Cummings
Dahlkemper
Davis (AL)
Davis (CA)
Davis (IL)
Davis (TN)
DeFazio
DeGette
Delahunt
DeLauro
Dicks
Dingell
Doggett
Donnelly (IN)
Doyle
Driehaus
Edwards (MD)
Edwards (TX)
Ellison
Ellsworth
Engel
Eshoo
Etheridge
Farr
Fattah
Filner
Frank (MA)
Fudge
Giffords
Gonzalez
Gordon (TN)
Grayson
Green, Al
Green, Gene
Grijalva
Gutierrez
Hall (NY)
Halvorson
Hare
Harman
Hastings (FL)
Heinrich
Herseth Sandlin
Higgins
Hill
Himes
Hinchey
Hinojosa
Hirono
Holden
Holt
Honda
Hoyer
Inslee
Israel
Jackson (IL)
Jackson-Lee (TX)
Johnson (GA)
Johnson, E. B.
Kagen
Kanjorski
Kaptur
Kennedy
Kildee
Kilpatrick (MI)
Kilroy
Kind
Kissell
Klein (FL)
Kratovil
Kucinich
Langevin
Larsen (WA)
Larson (CT)
Lee (CA)
Levin
Lewis (GA)
Lipinski
Loebsack
Lofgren, Zoe
Lowey
Luján
Lynch
Maloney
Markey (CO)
Markey (MA)
Marshall
Massa
Matsui
McCollum
McDermott
McGovern
McIntyre
McNerney
Meek (FL)
Meeks (NY)
Melancon
Miller (NC)
Miller, George
Minnick
Mollohan
Moore (KS)
Moore (WI)
Moran (VA)
Murphy (CT)
Murphy, Patrick
Murtha
Nadler (NY)
Napolitano
Neal (MA)
Oberstar
Obey
Olver
Ortiz
Pallone
Pascrell
Pastor (AZ)
Payne
Perlmutter
Peterson
Pingree (ME)
Polis (CO)
Pomeroy
Price (NC)
Quigley
Rahall
Rangel
Reyes
Richardson
Rodriguez
Ross
Rothman (NJ)
Roybal-Allard
Ruppersberger
Rush
Ryan (OH)
Salazar
Sánchez, Linda T.
Sanchez, Loretta
Sarbanes
Schakowsky
Schauer
Schiff
Schrader
Schwartz
Scott (GA)
Scott (VA)
Serrano
Sestak
Shea-Porter
Sherman
Shuler
Sires
Skelton
Slaughter
Smith (WA)
Snyder
Space
Speier
Spratt
Stark
Stupak
Sutton
Tanner
Thompson (CA)
Tierney
Titus
Tonko
Towns
Tsongas
Van Hollen
Velázquez
Visclosky
Walz
Wasserman Schultz
Waters
Watson
Watt
Waxman
Weiner
Welch
Wexler
Wilson (OH)
Woolsey
Wu
Yarmuth

NOT VOTING—3

McCarthy (NY)
McHugh
Thompson (MS)

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (during the vote). Two minutes remaining in this vote.

□ 1619

Mr. JOHNSON of Georgia changed his vote from ''aye'' to ''no.''

Mrs. KIRKPATRICK of Arizona, Messrs. MURPHY of New York and NYE changed their vote from ''no'' to ''aye.''

So the motion to recommit was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the passage of the bill.

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

RECORDED VOTE

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. This is a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 265, noes 166, not voting 3, as follows:

[Roll No. 612]

AYES—265

Abercrombie
Ackerman
Adler (NJ)
Altmire
Andrews
Arcuri
Baca
Baird
Baldwin
Barrow
Bean
Becerra
Berkley
Berman
Berry
Bishop (GA)
Bishop (NY)
Blumenauer
Boccieri
Boren
Boswell
Boucher
Boyd
Brady (PA)
Braley (IA)
Bright
Brown, Corrine
Brown-Waite, Ginny
Buchanan
Butterfield
Capps
Capuano
Cardoza
Carnahan
Carney
Carson (IN)
Castle
Castor (FL)
Chandler
Childers
Chu
Clarke
Cleaver
Clyburn
Cohen
Connolly (VA)
Conyers
Cooper
Costa
Costello
Courtney
Crowley
Cuellar
Cummings
Dahlkemper
Davis (AL)
Davis (CA)
Davis (IL)
Davis (TN)
DeFazio
DeGette
Delahunt
DeLauro
Dicks
Dingell
Doggett
Donnelly (IN)
Doyle
Driehaus
Edwards (MD)
Edwards (TX)
Ehlers
Ellison
Ellsworth
Emerson
Engel
Eshoo
Etheridge
Farr
Fattah
Foster
Frank (MA)
Fudge
Giffords
Gohmert
Gonzalez
Gordon (TN)
Grayson
Green, Al
Green, Gene
Griffith
Gutierrez
Hall (NY)
Hall (TX)
Halvorson
Hare
Harman
Hastings (FL)

Heinrich
Herseth Sandlin
Higgins
Hill
Himes
Hinojosa
Hirono
Hodes
Holden
Holt
Honda
Hoyer
Inslee
Israel
Jackson (IL)
Jackson-Lee (TX)
Jenkins
Johnson (GA)
Johnson, E. B.
Kagen
Kanjorski
Kaptur
Kennedy
Kildee
Kilroy
Kind
Kirkpatrick (AZ)
Kissell
Klein (FL)
Kosmas
Kratovil
Langevin
Larsen (WA)
Larson (CT)
Latham
LaTourette
Levin
Lewis (GA)
Lipinski
Loebsack
Lofgren, Zoe
Lowey
Luján
Lynch
Maffei
Maloney
Markey (CO)
Markey (MA)
Marshall
Massa
Matheson
Matsui
McCollum
McCotter
McGovern
McIntyre
McMahon
McNerney
Meek (FL)
Meeks (NY)
Melancon
Michaud
Miller (MI)
Miller (NC)
Miller, George
Minnick
Mitchell
Mollohan
Moore (KS)
Moore (WI)
Moran (KS)
Moran (VA)
Murphy (CT)
Murphy (NY)
Murphy, Patrick
Murphy, Tim
Murtha
Nadler (NY)
Napolitano
Neal (MA)
Nye
Oberstar
Obey
Olver
Ortiz
Pallone
Pascrell
Payne
Pelosi
Perlmutter
Perriello
Peters
Peterson
Petri
Pingree (ME)
Polis (CO)
Pomeroy
Price (NC)
Quigley
Rahall
Rangel
Reyes
Richardson
Rodriguez
Rohrabacher
Ross
Rothman (NJ)
Roybal-Allard
Ruppersberger
Rush
Ryan (OH)
Salazar
Sánchez, Linda T.
Sanchez, Loretta
Sarbanes
Schakowsky
Schauer
Schiff
Schrader
Schwartz
Scott (GA)
Scott (VA)
Serrano
Sestak
Shea-Porter
Sherman
Shuler
Simpson
Sires
Skelton
Slaughter
Smith (WA)
Snyder
Space
Speier
Spratt
Sutton
Tanner
Taylor
Teague
Terry
Thompson (CA)
Tiberi
Tierney
Titus
Tonko
Towns
Tsongas
Turner
Upton
Van Hollen
Velázquez
Visclosky
Walz
Wasserman Schultz
Watson
Watt
Waxman
Welch
Wexler
Whitfield
Wilson (OH)
Wolf
Woolsey
Wu
Yarmuth
Young (FL)

NOES—166

Aderholt
Akin
Alexander
Austria
Bachmann
Bachus
Barrett (SC)
Bartlett
Barton (TX)
Biggert
Bilbray
Bilirakis
Bishop (UT)
Blackburn
Blunt
Boehner
Bonner
Bono Mack
Boozman
Boustany
Brady (TX)
Broun (GA)
Brown (SC)
Burgess
Burton (IN)
Buyer
Calvert
Camp
Campbell
Cantor
Cao
Capito
Carter
Cassidy
Chaffetz
Clay
Coble
Coffman (CO)
Cole
Conaway
Crenshaw
Culberson
Davis (KY)
Deal (GA)
Dent
Diaz-Balart, L.
Diaz-Balart, M.
Dreier
Duncan
Fallin
Filner
Flake
Fleming
Forbes
Fortenberry
Foxx
Franks (AZ)
Frelinghuysen
Gallegly
Garrett (NJ)
Gerlach
Gingrey (GA)
Goodlatte
Granger
Graves
Grijalva
Guthrie
Harper
Hastings (WA)
Heller
Hensarling
Herger
Hinchey
Hoekstra
Hunter
Inglis
Issa
Johnson (IL)
Johnson, Sam
Jones
Jordan (OH)
Kilpatrick (MI)
King (IA)
King (NY)
Kingston
Kirk
Kline (MN)
Kucinich
Lamborn
Lance
Latta
Lee (CA)
Lee (NY)
Lewis (CA)
Linder
LoBiondo
Lucas
Luetkemeyer
Lummis
Lungren, Daniel E.
Mack
Manzullo
Marchant
McCarthy (CA)
McCaul
McClintock
McDermott
McHenry
McKeon
McMorris Rodgers
Mica
Miller (FL)
Miller, Gary
Myrick
Neugebauer
Nunes
Olson
Pastor (AZ)
Paul
Paulsen
Pence
Pitts
Platts
Poe (TX)
Posey
Price (GA)
Putnam
Radanovich
Rehberg
Reichert
Roe (TN)
Rogers (AL)
Rogers (KY)
Rogers (MI)
Rooney
Ros-Lehtinen
Roskam
Royce
Ryan (WI)
Scalise
Schmidt
Schock
Sensenbrenner
Sessions
Shadegg
Shimkus
Shuster
Smith (NE)
Smith (NJ)
Smith (TX)
Souder
Stark
Stearns
Stupak
Sullivan
Thompson (PA)
Thornberry
Tiahrt
Walden
Wamp
Waters
Weiner
Westmoreland
Wilson (SC)
Wittman
Young (AK)

NOT VOTING—3

McCarthy (NY)
McHugh
Thompson (MS)

□ 1627

So the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

LIM POON LEE POST OFFICE

The SPEAKER. The unfinished business is the vote on the motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 3119, on which the yeas and nays were ordered.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. LYNCH) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 3119.

This is a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 426, nays 0, not voting 8, as follows:

[Roll No. 613]

YEAS—426

Abercrombie
Ackerman
Aderholt
Adler (NJ)
Akin
Alexander
Altmire
Andrews
Arcuri
Austria
Baca
Bachmann
Bachus
Baird
Baldwin
Barrett (SC)
Barrow
Bartlett
Barton (TX)
Bean
Becerra
Berkley
Berman
Berry
Biggert
Bilbray
Bilirakis
Bishop (GA)
Bishop (NY)
Bishop (UT)
Blackburn
Blumenauer
Blunt
Boccieri
Boehner
Bonner
Bono Mack
Boozman
Boren
Boswell
Boucher
Boustany
Boyd
Brady (PA)
Brady (TX)
Braley (IA)
Bright
Broun (GA)
Brown (SC)
Brown, Corrine
Brown-Waite, Ginny
Burgess
Burton (IN)
Butterfield
Buyer
Calvert
Camp
Campbell
Cantor
Cao
Capito
Capps
Capuano
Cardoza
Carnahan
Carney
Carson (IN)
Carter
Cassidy
Castle
Castor (FL)
Chaffetz
Chandler
Childers
Chu
Clarke
Clay
Clyburn
Coble
Coffman (CO)
Cohen
Cole
Conaway
Connolly (VA)
Conyers
Cooper
Costa
Costello
Courtney
Crenshaw
Crowley
Cuellar
Culberson
Cummings
Dahlkemper
Davis (AL)
Davis (CA)
Davis (IL)
Davis (KY)
Davis (TN)
Deal (GA)
DeFazio
DeGette
Delahunt
DeLauro
Dent
Diaz-Balart, L.
Diaz-Balart, M.
Dicks
Dingell
Doggett
Donnelly (IN)
Doyle
Dreier
Driehaus
Duncan
Edwards (MD)
Edwards (TX)
Ehlers
Ellison
Ellsworth
Emerson
Engel
Eshoo
Etheridge
Fallin
Farr
Fattah
Filner
Flake
Fleming
Forbes
Fortenberry
Foster
Foxx
Frank (MA)
Franks (AZ)
Frelinghuysen
Fudge
Gallegly
Garrett (NJ)
Gerlach
Giffords
Gingrey (GA)
Gohmert
Gonzalez
Goodlatte
Granger
Graves
Grayson
Green, Al
Green, Gene
Griffith
Grijalva
Guthrie
Gutierrez
Hall (NY)
Hall (TX)
Halvorson
Hare
Harman
Harper
Hastings (FL)
Hastings (WA)
Heinrich
Heller
Hensarling
Herger
Herseth Sandlin
Higgins
Hill
Himes
Hinchey
Hinojosa
Hirono
Hodes
Hoekstra
Holden
Holt
Honda
Hoyer
Hunter
Inglis
Inslee
Israel
Issa
Jackson (IL)
Jackson-Lee (TX)
Jenkins
Johnson (GA)
Johnson (IL)
Johnson, E. B.
Johnson, Sam
Jones
Jordan (OH)
Kagen
Kanjorski
Kaptur
Kennedy
Kildee
Kilpatrick (MI)
Kilroy
Kind
King (IA)
King (NY)
Kingston
Kirk
Kirkpatrick (AZ)
Kissell
Klein (FL)
Kline (MN)
Kosmas
Kratovil
Kucinich
Lamborn
Lance
Langevin
Larsen (WA)
Larson (CT)
Latham
LaTourette
Latta
Lee (CA)
Lee (NY)
Levin
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (GA)
Linder
Lipinski
LoBiondo
Loebsack
Lofgren, Zoe
Lowey
Lucas
Luetkemeyer
Luján
Lummis
Lungren, Daniel E.
Lynch
Mack
Maffei
Maloney
Manzullo
Marchant
Markey (MA)
Marshall
Massa
Matheson
Matsui
McCarthy (CA)
McCaul
McClintock
McCollum
McCotter
McDermott
McGovern
McHenry
McHugh
McIntyre
McKeon
McMahon
McMorris Rodgers
McNerney
Meek (FL)
Meeks (NY)
Melancon
Mica
Michaud
Miller (FL)
Miller (MI)
Miller (NC)
Miller, Gary
Miller, George
Minnick
Mitchell
Mollohan
Moore (KS)
Moore (WI)
Moran (KS)
Moran (VA)
Murphy (CT)
Murphy (NY)
Murphy, Patrick
Murphy, Tim
Murtha
Myrick
Nadler (NY)
Napolitano
Neal (MA)
Neugebauer
Nunes
Nye
Oberstar
Obey
Olson
Olver
Ortiz
Pallone
Pascrell
Pastor (AZ)
Paul
Paulsen
Payne
Pelosi
Pence
Perlmutter
Perriello
Peters
Peterson
Petri
Pingree (ME)
Pitts
Platts
Poe (TX)
Polis (CO)
Pomeroy
Posey
Price (GA)
Price (NC)
Putnam
Quigley
Radanovich
Rahall
Rangel
Rehberg
Reichert
Reyes
Richardson
Rodriguez
Roe (TN)
Rogers (AL)
Rogers (KY)
Rogers (MI)
Rohrabacher
Rooney
Ros-Lehtinen
Roskam
Ross
Rothman (NJ)
Roybal-Allard
Royce
Ruppersberger
Rush
Ryan (OH)
Ryan (WI)
Salazar
Sánchez, Linda T.
Sanchez, Loretta
Sarbanes
Scalise
Schauer
Schiff
Schmidt
Schock
Schrader
Schwartz
Scott (GA)
Scott (VA)
Sensenbrenner
Serrano
Sessions
Sestak
Shadegg
Shea-Porter
Sherman
Shimkus
Shuler
Shuster
Simpson
Sires
Skelton
Slaughter
Smith (NE)
Smith (NJ)
Smith (TX)
Smith (WA)
Snyder
Souder
Space
Speier
Spratt
Stark
Stearns
Stupak
Sullivan
Sutton
Tanner
Taylor
Teague
Terry
Thompson (CA)
Thompson (PA)
Thornberry
Tiahrt
Tiberi
Tierney
Titus
Tonko
Towns
Tsongas
Turner
Upton
Van Hollen
Velázquez
Visclosky
Walden
Walz
Wamp
Wasserman Schultz
Waters
Watson
Watt
Weiner
Welch
Westmoreland
Wexler
Whitfield
Wilson (OH)
Wilson (SC)
Wittman
Wolf
Woolsey
Wu
Yarmuth
Young (AK)
Young (FL)

NOT VOTING—8

Buchanan
Cleaver
Gordon (TN)
Markey (CO)
McCarthy (NY)
Schakowsky
Thompson (MS)
Waxman

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. POLIS) (during the vote). Two minutes remain on this vote.

□ 1634

So (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

SUPPORTING NATIONAL CHILDREN AND FAMILIES DAY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The unfinished business is the vote on the motion to suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, H. Res. 534, 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 motion offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. LYNCH) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, H. Res. 534.

This will be a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 429, nays 0, not voting 4, as follows:

[Roll No. 614]

YEAS—429

Abercrombie
Ackerman
Aderholt
Adler (NJ)
Akin
Alexander
Altmire
Andrews
Arcuri
Austria
Baca
Bachmann
Bachus
Baird
Baldwin
Barrett (SC)
Barrow
Bartlett
Barton (TX)
Bean
Becerra
Berkley
Berman
Berry
Biggert
Bilbray
Bilirakis
Bishop (GA)
Bishop (NY)
Bishop (UT)
Blackburn
Blumenauer
Blunt
Boccieri
Boehner
Bonner
Bono Mack
Boozman
Boren
Boswell
Boucher
Boustany
Boyd
Brady (PA)
Brady (TX)
Braley (IA)
Bright
Broun (GA)
Brown (SC)
Brown, Corrine
Brown-Waite, Ginny
Burgess
Burton (IN)
Butterfield
Buyer
Calvert
Camp
Campbell
Cantor
Cao
Capito
Capps
Capuano
Cardoza
Carnahan
Carney
Carson (IN)
Carter
Cassidy
Castle
Castor (FL)
Chaffetz
Chandler
Childers
Chu
Clarke
Clay
Cleaver
Clyburn
Coble
Coffman (CO)
Cohen
Cole
Conaway
Connolly (VA)
Conyers
Cooper
Costa
Costello
Courtney
Crenshaw
Crowley
Cuellar
Culberson
Cummings
Dahlkemper
Davis (AL)
Davis (CA)
Davis (IL)
Davis (KY)
Davis (TN)
Deal (GA)
DeFazio
DeGette
Delahunt
DeLauro
Dent
Diaz-Balart, L.
Diaz-Balart, M.
Dicks
Dingell
Doggett
Donnelly (IN)
Doyle
Dreier
Driehaus
Duncan
Edwards (MD)
Edwards (TX)
Ehlers
Ellison
Ellsworth
Emerson
Engel
Eshoo
Etheridge
Fallin
Farr
Fattah
Filner
Flake
Fleming
Forbes
Fortenberry
Foster
Foxx
Frank (MA)
Franks (AZ)
Frelinghuysen
Fudge
Gallegly
Garrett (NJ)
Gerlach
Giffords
Gingrey (GA)
Gohmert
Gonzalez
Goodlatte
Gordon (TN)
Granger
Graves
Grayson
Green, Al
Green, Gene
Griffith
Grijalva
Guthrie
Gutierrez
Hall (NY)
Hall (TX)
Halvorson
Hare
Harman
Harper
Hastings (FL)
Hastings (WA)
Heinrich
Heller
Hensarling
Herger
Herseth Sandlin
Higgins
Hill
Himes
Hinchey
Hinojosa
Hirono
Hodes
Hoekstra
Holden
Holt
Honda
Hoyer
Hunter
Inglis
Inslee
Israel
Issa
Jackson (IL)
Jackson-Lee (TX)
Jenkins
Johnson (GA)
Johnson (IL)
Johnson, E. B.
Johnson, Sam
Jones
Jordan (OH)
Kagen
Kanjorski
Kennedy
Kildee
Kilpatrick (MI)
Kilroy
Kind
King (IA)
King (NY)
Kingston
Kirk
Kirkpatrick (AZ)
Kissell
Klein (FL)
Kline (MN)
Kosmas
Kratovil
Kucinich
Lamborn
Lance
Langevin
Larsen (WA)
Larson (CT)
Latham
LaTourette
Latta
Lee (CA)
Lee (NY)
Levin
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (GA)
Linder
Lipinski
LoBiondo
Loebsack
Lofgren, Zoe
Lowey
Lucas
Luetkemeyer
Luján
Lummis
Lungren, Daniel E.
Lynch
Mack
Maffei
Maloney
Manzullo
Marchant
Markey (CO)
Markey (MA)
Marshall
Massa
Matheson
Matsui
McCarthy (CA)
McCaul
McClintock
McCollum
McCotter
McDermott
McGovern
McHenry
McHugh
McIntyre
McKeon
McMahon
McMorris Rodgers
McNerney
Meek (FL)
Meeks (NY)
Melancon
Mica
Michaud
Miller (FL)
Miller (MI)
Miller (NC)
Miller, Gary
Miller, George
Minnick
Mitchell
Mollohan
Moore (KS)
Moore (WI)
Moran (KS)
Moran (VA)
Murphy (CT)
Murphy (NY)
Murphy, Patrick
Murphy, Tim
Murtha
Myrick
Nadler (NY)
Napolitano
Neal (MA)
Neugebauer
Nunes
Nye
Oberstar
Obey
Olson
Olver
Ortiz
Pallone
Pascrell
Pastor (AZ)
Paul
Paulsen
Payne
Pence
Perlmutter
Perriello
Peters
Peterson
Petri
Pingree (ME)
Pitts
Platts
Poe (TX)
Polis (CO)
Pomeroy
Posey
Price (GA)
Price (NC)
Putnam
Quigley
Radanovich
Rahall
Rangel
Rehberg
Reichert
Reyes
Richardson
Rodriguez
Roe (TN)
Rogers (AL)
Rogers (KY)
Rogers (MI)
Rohrabacher
Rooney
Ros-Lehtinen
Roskam
Ross
Rothman (NJ)
Roybal-Allard
Royce
Ruppersberger
Rush
Ryan (OH)
Ryan (WI)
Salazar
Sánchez, Linda T.
Sanchez, Loretta
Sarbanes
Scalise
Schakowsky
Schauer
Schiff
Schmidt
Schock
Schrader
Schwartz
Scott (GA)
Scott (VA)
Sensenbrenner
Serrano
Sessions
Sestak
Shadegg
Shea-Porter
Sherman
Shimkus
Shuler
Shuster
Simpson
Sires
Skelton
Slaughter
Smith (NE)
Smith (NJ)
Smith (TX)
Smith (WA)
Snyder
Souder
Space
Speier
Spratt
Stark
Stearns
Stupak
Sullivan
Sutton
Tanner
Taylor
Teague
Terry
Thompson (CA)
Thompson (PA)
Thornberry
Tiahrt
Tiberi
Tierney
Titus
Tonko
Towns
Tsongas
Turner
Upton
Van Hollen
Velázquez
Visclosky
Walden
Walz
Wamp
Wasserman Schultz
Waters
Watson
Watt
Waxman
Weiner
Welch
Westmoreland
Wexler
Whitfield
Wilson (OH)
Wilson (SC)
Wittman
Wolf
Woolsey
Wu
Yarmuth
Young (AK)
Young (FL)

NOT VOTING—4

Buchanan
Kaptur
McCarthy (NY)
Thompson (MS)

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (during the vote). Two minutes remain on the vote.

□ 1642

So (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the resolution was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CONRAD DEROUEN, JR. POST OFFICE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The unfinished business is the vote on the motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 2972, on which the yeas and nays were ordered.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. LYNCH) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 2972.

This will be a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 424, nays 0, not voting 9, as follows:

[Roll No. 615]

YEAS—424

Abercrombie
Ackerman
Aderholt
Adler (NJ)
Akin
Alexander
Altmire
Andrews
Austria
Baca
Bachmann
Bachus
Baird
Baldwin
Barrett (SC)
Barrow
Bartlett
Barton (TX)
Bean
Becerra
Berkley
Berman
Berry
Biggert
Bilbray
Bilirakis
Bishop (GA)
Bishop (NY)
Bishop (UT)
Blackburn
Blumenauer
Blunt
Boccieri
Boehner
Bonner
Bono Mack
Boozman
Boren
Boswell
Boucher
Boustany
Boyd
Brady (PA)
Brady (TX)
Braley (IA)
Bright
Broun (GA)
Brown (SC)
Brown, Corrine
Brown-Waite, Ginny
Burgess
Burton (IN)
Butterfield
Buyer
Calvert
Camp
Campbell
Cantor
Cao
Capito
Capps
Capuano
Cardoza
Carnahan
Carney
Carson (IN)
Castle
Castor (FL)
Chaffetz
Chandler
Childers
Chu
Clarke
Clay
Cleaver
Clyburn
Coble
Coffman (CO)
Cohen
Cole
Conaway
Connolly (VA)
Conyers
Cooper
Costa
Costello
Courtney
Crenshaw
Crowley
Cuellar
Culberson
Cummings
Dahlkemper
Davis (AL)
Davis (CA)
Davis (IL)
Davis (KY)
Davis (TN)
Deal (GA)
DeFazio
DeGette
Delahunt
DeLauro
Dent
Diaz-Balart, L.
Diaz-Balart, M.
Dicks
Dingell
Doggett
Donnelly (IN)
Doyle
Dreier
Driehaus
Duncan
Edwards (MD)
Edwards (TX)
Ehlers
Ellison
Ellsworth
Emerson
Engel
Eshoo
Etheridge
Fallin
Farr
Fattah
Filner
Flake
Fleming
Forbes
Fortenberry
Foster
Foxx
Frank (MA)
Franks (AZ)
Frelinghuysen
Fudge
Gallegly
Garrett (NJ)
Gerlach
Giffords
Gingrey (GA)
Gohmert
Gonzalez
Goodlatte
Gordon (TN)
Graves
Grayson
Green, Al
Green, Gene
Griffith
Grijalva

Guthrie
Gutierrez
Hall (NY)
Hall (TX)
Halvorson
Hare
Harman
Harper
Hastings (FL)
Hastings (WA)
Heinrich
Heller
Hensarling
Herger
Herseth Sandlin
Higgins
Hill
Himes
Hinchey
Hinojosa
Hirono
Hodes
Hoekstra
Holden
Holt
Hoyer
Hunter
Inglis
Inslee
Israel
Issa
Jackson (IL)
Jackson-Lee (TX)
Jenkins
Johnson (GA)
Johnson (IL)
Johnson, E. B.
Johnson, Sam
Jones
Jordan (OH)
Kagen
Kanjorski
Kaptur
Kennedy
Kildee
Kilpatrick (MI)
Kilroy
Kind
King (IA)
King (NY)
Kingston
Kirk
Kirkpatrick (AZ)
Kissell
Klein (FL)
Kline (MN)
Kosmas
Kratovil
Kucinich
Lamborn
Lance
Langevin
Larsen (WA)
Larson (CT)
Latham
LaTourette
Latta
Lee (CA)
Lee (NY)
Levin
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (GA)
Linder
Lipinski
LoBiondo
Loebsack
Lofgren, Zoe
Lowey
Lucas
Luetkemeyer
Luján
Lummis
Lungren, Daniel E.
Lynch
Mack
Maffei
Maloney
Manzullo
Marchant
Markey (CO)
Markey (MA)
Marshall
Massa
Matheson
Matsui
McCarthy (CA)
McCaul
McClintock
McCollum
McCotter
McDermott
McGovern
McHenry
McHugh
McIntyre
McKeon
McMahon
McMorris Rodgers
McNerney
Meek (FL)
Meeks (NY)
Melancon
Mica
Michaud
Miller (FL)
Miller (MI)
Miller (NC)
Miller, Gary
Miller, George
Minnick
Mitchell
Mollohan
Moore (KS)
Moore (WI)
Moran (KS)
Moran (VA)
Murphy (CT)
Murphy (NY)
Murphy, Patrick
Murphy, Tim
Murtha
Myrick
Nadler (NY)
Napolitano
Neal (MA)
Neugebauer
Nunes
Nye
Oberstar
Obey
Olson
Olver
Ortiz
Pallone
Pascrell
Pastor (AZ)
Paul
Paulsen
Payne
Pence
Perlmutter
Perriello
Peters
Peterson
Petri
Pingree (ME)
Pitts
Platts
Poe (TX)
Polis (CO)
Pomeroy
Posey
Price (GA)
Price (NC)
Putnam
Quigley
Radanovich
Rahall
Rangel
Rehberg
Reichert
Reyes
Richardson
Rodriguez
Roe (TN)
Rogers (AL)
Rogers (KY)
Rogers (MI)
Rohrabacher
Rooney
Ros-Lehtinen
Roskam
Ross
Rothman (NJ)
Roybal-Allard
Royce
Ruppersberger
Rush
Ryan (OH)
Ryan (WI)
Salazar
Sánchez, Linda T.
Sanchez, Loretta
Sarbanes
Scalise
Schakowsky
Schauer
Schiff
Schmidt
Schock
Schrader
Schwartz
Scott (GA)
Scott (VA)
Sensenbrenner
Serrano
Sessions
Sestak
Shadegg
Shea-Porter
Sherman
Shimkus
Shuler
Shuster
Simpson
Sires
Skelton
Slaughter
Smith (NE)
Smith (NJ)
Smith (TX)
Smith (WA)
Snyder
Souder
Space
Speier
Spratt
Stark
Stearns
Stupak
Sullivan
Sutton
Tanner
Taylor
Teague
Terry
Thompson (CA)
Thompson (PA)
Thornberry
Tiahrt
Tiberi
Tierney
Titus
Tonko
Towns
Turner
Upton
Van Hollen
Velázquez
Visclosky
Walden
Walz
Wamp
Wasserman Schultz
Waters
Watson
Watt
Waxman
Weiner
Welch
Westmoreland
Wexler
Whitfield
Wilson (OH)
Wilson (SC)
Wittman
Wolf
Woolsey
Wu
Yarmuth
Young (AK)
Young (FL)

NOT VOTING—9

Arcuri
Buchanan
Carter
Cassidy
Granger
Honda
McCarthy (NY)
Thompson (MS)
Tsongas

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (during the vote). Two minutes remain on this vote.

□ 1648

So (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

REPORT ON H.R. 3288, TRANSPORTATION, HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2010

Mr. OLVER, from the Committee on Appropriations (during consideration of H.R. 2920), submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 111–218) on the bill (H.R. 3288) making appropriations for the Departments of Transportation, and Housing and Urban Development, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2010, and for other purposes, which was referred to the Union Calendar and ordered to be printed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 1, rule XXI, all points of order are reserved on the bill.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, the Chair will postpone further proceedings today on motions to suspend the rules on which a recorded vote or the yeas and nays are ordered, or on which the vote incurs objection under clause 6 of rule XX.

Record votes on postponed questions will be taken later.

HONORING OSCE MEDITERRANEAN PARTNERS FOR COOPERATION

Mr. KLEIN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the resolution (H. Res. 654) honoring the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The text of the resolution is as follows:

H. RES. 654

Whereas the 1975 Helsinki Final Act and subsequent agreements and the work of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), as well as its Parliamentary Assembly and affiliated institutions, encompass what is referred to as the Helsinki Process;

Whereas the 1975 Helsinki Final Act included a specific section on ''Questions relating to Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean'' in recognition of the interrelation between security in Europe and security in the Mediterranean region;

Whereas the long-standing relationship between the participating states of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation, currently Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Morocco, and Tunisia, dates back to the origins of the Helsinki Process and is rooted in the important geographical, historical, cultural, economic, and political links between them and the states of the Mediterranean region;

Whereas the OSCE participating states have declared their intention to promote the development of cooperative relations with the Mediterranean Partners and to encourage the development of mutually beneficial cooperation in various fields of economic activity and have sought to increase mutual confidence so as to promote security and stability in the Mediterranean region as a whole;

Whereas, since its establishment by the 1990 Charter of Paris, the Parliamentary Assembly of the OSCE has called for enhanced engagement with the Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation and their constituent assemblies in the pursuit of improved economic cooperation, and security and stability in the Mediterranean region;

Whereas in the 1992 Helsinki Document, the leaders of the OSCE participating states committed to widening cooperation and increasing dialogue with the Mediterranean Partners as a means to promote social and economic development in order to narrow the prosperity gap between Europe and its Mediterranean neighbors and to protect the Mediterranean ecosystems;

Whereas in the 1999 Istanbul Document, the OSCE participating states encouraged the Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation to draw on the expertise of the participating states in setting up structures and mechanisms in the Mediterranean region for early warning, preventive diplomacy, and conflict prevention;

Whereas the 2003 Maastricht Ministerial recognized that threats originating or evolving in adjacent regions are of increasing importance, and therefore the OSCE will intensify its cooperation with its Mediterranean and Asian Partners for Cooperation, and also encouraged the Partners for Cooperation to embrace the principles and commitments of the OSCE;

Whereas the Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation participate as observers in the annual meetings of the OSCE Ministerial Council as well as the regular meetings of the OSCE Permanent Council and Forum for Security Cooperation;

Whereas, the Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation actively participate in the work of the Contact Group within the Permanent Council, as well as OSCE yearly events, including the Annual Security Review Conference, the Economic Forum, the Human Dimension Implementation Meeting, and the Annual, Fall and Winter Sessions of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly;

Whereas since 1995, the OSCE and the Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation have organized annual Mediterranean Conferences to provide the opportunity for the OSCE participating states and the Mediterranean Partners to exchange views on matters of mutual interest and to strengthen their cooperative relationship;

Whereas in 2001, the President of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly appointed the first Special Representative on Mediterranean Affairs, Mr. Michel Voisin of France, in order to enhance engagement of members of parliament from the 56 participating states of the OSCE with members of parliament from the Mediterranean Partner states;

Whereas since 2001, successive OSCE Parliamentary Assembly Special Representatives on Mediterranean Affairs have been appointed by former Assembly Presidents, Mr.

Bruce George of the United Kingdom, and Mr. Goran Lennmarker of Sweden, as well as by current President, Mr. Joao Soares of Portugal, reaffirming the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly's commitment to the Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation;

Whereas, under the leadership of then-President of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, Mr. Bruce George of the United Kingdom, the Parliamentary Assembly convened its first conference dedicated to ensuring peace, democracy, and prosperity in the region of the Mediterranean in Madrid in 2002; and

Whereas the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly has convened Mediterranean Seminars at its fall meetings since 2003, with the active participation of members of parliament representing the Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives—

(1) honors the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, the Arab Republic of Egypt, the State of Israel, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the Kingdom of Morocco, and the Tunisian Republic for their participation in the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) as Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation;

(2) welcomes the representatives of the OSCE Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation to Washington, DC, on the occasion of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe Seminar on OSCE Mediterranean Partner Engagement, July 22–23, 2009;

(3) encourages the OSCE to re-evaluate its past practices and ongoing activities in the Mediterranean dimension in order to further empower the OSCE Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation in the work of the OSCE, and to support the Partners' leadership on matters which impact their citizens, their governments, and the region; and

(4) encourages the OSCE Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation to continue to work with the OSCE participating states to enhance trade, economic development, security, and stability in the Mediterranean region, and to embrace existing OSCE commitments, including those in the Human Dimension.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. KLEIN) and the gentleman from Texas (Mr. POE) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Florida.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. KLEIN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the resolution under consideration.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. KLEIN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself as much time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H. Res. 654, which honors the Organization For Security and Cooperation in Europe for its cooperation with Mediterranean partners. I wish to thank my good friend from Florida (Mr. HASTINGS) for introducing this resolution. I would also like to commend him for his excellent leadership for many years in the Helsinki Commission, both as past President of the Parliamentary Assembly, and as the current Special Representative on Mediterranean Affairs. The important relationship between the OSCE and its Mediterranean Partners dates back to the founding of the organization in 1975. The Helsinki Final Act rightly recognized the connection between European and Mediterranean security, as well as the deeply rooted geographical, historical, cultural, economic and political ties between the states in this region. In particular, Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Morocco and Tunisia have been active partners in this OSCE partnership.

Since the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly was established in 1990, it has called for enhanced collaboration between Members of Parliament from the participating states of the OSCE and Mediterranean legislators in order to promote regional stability and economic cooperation. The House of Representatives is pleased to welcome the representatives of the OSCE Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation to Washington, D.C. later this week for a seminar on further strengthening ties between OSCE and this region.

In addition to the European Union's Euro-Mediterranean partnership and NATO's Mediterranean dialogue, this OSCE initiative provides another valuable forum in which Israel and its Arab neighbors can discuss issues of common regional concern, both formally and informally. It also gives these Mediterranean and Middle Eastern states an opportunity to learn firsthand about neighboring Europe's ongoing security needs and to benefit, through example, from Europe's hard-won success in establishing viable security structures, looking to the day when a peaceful Middle East will perhaps want to establish its own OSCE-like security architecture.

In closing, Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend the OSCE for its efforts to engage more closely with the Mediterranean region and to encourage the Partners for Cooperation to further their efforts to enhance trade, security and economic development. I strongly support this resolution and urge my colleagues to do the same.

I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. POE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I rise in support of this resolution, which highlights the efforts of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and its Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation. Twenty years ago the OSCE and its Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation recognized that, in an increasingly globalized world, the security challenges confronting them in their respective regions were increasingly linked. As a result, they agreed to formalize a diplomatic mechanism to facilitate closer cooperation on a range of issues, including the development of a model strategy to address 21st century security threats and improve stability in the Mediterranean region. The efforts toward this cooperation have already borne fruit, with the Partnership addressing issues such as migration and integration and exchanging information on ''best practices'' in order to develop strategies which reduce feelings of exclusion and estrangement among immigrant populations which, as we've all seen, can contain the potential to motivate some individuals to embrace extremist ideologies.

I note that representatives of the OSCE and its Mediterranean Partners will meet in Washington this week to discuss further expansion of relations and to hold a dialogue on shared concerns. Dialogue on these complex but critical issues is a meaningful way to enhance the stability and economic growth of both the OSCE member-states and the countries of the Mediterranean region. I support the resolution which underlines the worthy endeavors being undertaken by the OSCE and its Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation.

I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. KLEIN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE).

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Let me thank the distinguished gentleman from Florida. There are two distinguished gentlemen from Florida, the manager of this particular legislation, H. Res. 654, and my dear friend who has been leading the Organization for Security and Cooperation for a number of years.

I rise to support this resolution in honor of the efforts by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation because I believe, as a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, the efforts of collaboration that we have addressing the questions of peace and security are crucial.

I'd like to acknowledge some of the aspects of the OSCE's work. The 1999 Istanbul document, the OSCE participating states encourage the Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation to draw on the expertise of the participating states in setting up structures and mechanisms in the Mediterranean region. As well, you can also believe or manage to see that the OSCE provides the kind of bridge of cooperation that is very, very important. We welcome the representatives of OSCE that are here. I want to thank Mr. HASTINGS for his great leadership in this effort.

Mr. POE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH).

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the resolution today which honors the OSCE's Mediterranean Partners of Israel, Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria. And I do want to express deepest respect and gratitude to ALCEE HASTINGS for his groundbreaking work with each of those six partners. Mr. HASTINGS is the

former President of the Parliamentary Assembly, and now serves as Special Representative on Mediterranean Affairs, and is trying to bring the Helsinki process, the three baskets of the Helsinki Final Act, which emphasize economic issues, human rights issues and security issues and, really, to bring that good, positive process that has worked wonders over the years in election reform. Mr. HASTINGS has observed—how many is it now, ALCEE?

Mr. HASTINGS of Florida. Eleven.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Eleven different elections overseas, usually as the head of the delegation. And we're trying to inculcate those kind of values and to say to our partners, learn from the Helsinki process. It works. It has yielded tremendous results and progress in the area of human rights. And so I want to, again, thank him for his work and again for this resolution.

I'd also like to welcome the President of the Parliamentary Assembly, Joao Soares, as well as Goran Lenmarker, who is the immediate past President of the Parliamentary Assembly; Jerry Grafstein, our good friend from Canada, who's also here, who has done yeoman's work again.

Everybody knows about NATO, Mr. Speaker. They don't necessarily, at least in the United States, know about the good work that the OSCE has done all these years. The Parliamentary Assembly was formed in the early 1990s to be, really, the voice of Members of Parliament and Congresses around the 56 countries that make up the OSCE. And we have really become friends. I was Chairman of the Helsinki Commission for 12 years. I've been on it since my second term in 1983, and now serve as ranking member. And Mr. HASTINGS and BEN CARDIN are serving as co-chairs. This is a remarkable organization that, again, far too few people know the contributions that it makes, particularly in the area of human rights.

So again, I want to thank Mr. HASTINGS and wish him great success with the conference that's underway, but especially for the hard work and very under-appreciated work in reaching out to those partners in the Mediterranean to say, learn from the OSCE and maybe even provides some insights also as to how we can improve our work as well.

Mr. POE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. SMITH from New Jersey may manage the rest of this resolution and the remainder of the Foreign Affairs resolutions.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. POE of Texas. I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. KLEIN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the sponsor of the bill, the gentleman and my good friend from Florida (Mr. HASTINGS).

Mr. HASTINGS of Florida. I thank my good friend and geographic soul mate. Our districts abut each other in South Florida. And I am especially grateful to my good friend from New Jersey for his kind remarks regarding not only the OSCE, but his compliment to me and the work that I've done that could not have been done but for the extraordinary work that he and others that are Members of the CSCE referred to as the Helsinki Commission here in Washington undertake. CHRIS has been the Special Representative on a subject of vital concern to the world, and that is human trafficking. And he has no peer, not only in this institution, but in the 56 participating states he is fully recognized in that regard.

□ 1700

Mr. Speaker, I rise today with great pleasure to honor the OSCE Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation.

My good friend, Majority Leader STENY HOYER, and I introduced H. Res. 654 with 16 other colleagues to recognize the contributions of a unique partnership of the OSCE which engages Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Morocco and Tunisia in supporting security and stability in the Mediterranean region.

I would truly like to thank my friends of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, especially Chairman HOWARD BERMAN and Ranking Member ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN, and Subcommittee Chairs GARY ACKERMAN, ROBERT WEXLER, DONALD PAYNE, BILL DELAHUNT, and ENI FALEOMAVAEGA, as well as Ranking Members CHRIS SMITH and DANA ROHRABACHER, who all supported this resolution and demonstrated the pivotal geopolitical importance of positive partnerships with North Africa and the Middle East.

Mr. Speaker, it is also my pleasure to welcome representatives of these states to Washington, D.C., for the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe Seminar on OSCE Mediterranean Partners. As I speak, a reception is ongoing, being hosted by the Speaker of the House for these members who are here for this seminar, and I thank our Speaker as well.

High-level delegations from all of the Mediterranean partner countries are participating in this seminar, along with the president of the OSCE parliamentary assembly, representatives of the Greek chairmanship of the OSCE in office, and other OSCE participating states, including Kazakhstan has representatives here. They're the next chair in office.

Mr. Speaker, for the past several years, I have served as parliamentary assembly special representative for Mediterranean affairs, and it's through this work that I have sought, along with others, to enhance the long-standing relationship between the OSCE participating states and the Mediterranean partners.

In the interest of time, I would put my full statement in as a part of the RECORD, but I would point out since 1975 much has been accomplished. However, much more needs to be done.

The commission seminar seeks to support these efforts and reprioritize the potential of this essential partnership.

Mr. Speaker, I thank my friends again for their support and urge my colleagues to vote for H. Res. 654 to truly sustain vital diplomatic instruments and partnerships which bring greater stability and prosperity to our world.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today with great pleasure to honor the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation.

My good friend Majority Leader STENY HOYER and I introduced H. Res. 654 with 16 other colleagues to recognize the contributions of a unique partnership of the OSCE which engages Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Morocco and Tunisia, in supporting security and stability in the Mediterranean Region.

I would truly like to thank my friends of the Committee on Foreign Affairs especially Chairman HOWARD BERMAN, Ranking Member ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN, Subcommittee Chairs GARY ACKERMAN, ROBERT WEXLER, DONALD PAYNE, BILL DELAHUNT, ENI FALEOMAVAEGA, as well as Ranking Members CHRIS SMITH and DANA ROHRABACHER who all supported this resolution and demonstrated the pivotal geopolitical importance of positive partnerships with North Africa and the Middle East.

Mr. Speaker, it is also my pleasure to welcome representatives of these States to Washington, DC for the "Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe Seminar on OSCE Mediterranean Partner Engagement," which will take place tomorrow and Thursday, here in the Capitol.

High-level delegations from all of the Mediterranean Partner countries will participate in the seminar, along with the President of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, representatives of the Greek Chairmanship of the OSCE and other OSCE participating States. I invite all of my colleagues to attend and actively participate in the proceedings.

Mr. Speaker, for the past several years, I have served as OSCE Parliamentary Assembly Special Representative for Mediterranean Affairs and it is through this work that I have sought to enhance the long-standing relationship between the OSCE participating States and the Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation.

This relationship dates back to the origins of the Helsinki Process with the signing of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, now the OSCE. The Final Act recognized this unique and important relationship in a specific section on "Questions relating to Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean."

In the succeeding decades the OSCE Participating States and their Mediterranean Partners have worked to increase mutual confidence and develop economic and environmental cooperation in order to promote security and stability throughout Europe and the Mediterranean basin. It is through this unique forum that Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Morocco and Tunisia continue to develop their capacity for leadership in the region, all the while exchanging expertise with the OSCE participating States.

Since 1975 much has been accomplished, however, much more needs to be done. The

Commission's seminar seeks to support these efforts and reprioritize the potential of this essential partnership.

Mr. Speaker, I thank my friends again for their support and urge my colleagues to vote for H. Res. 654 to truly sustain vital diplomatic instruments and partnerships, which bring greater stability and prosperity to our world.

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

Mr. KLEIN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Florida (Mr. KLEIN) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, H. Res. 654.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ENCOURAGING SELECTION OF CHICAGO AS THE 2016 OLYMPIC HOST CITY

Mr. KLEIN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the resolution (H. Res. 538) supporting Olympic Day on June 23, 2009, and encouraging the International Olympic Committee to select Chicago, Illinois, as the host city for the 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The text of the resolution is as follows:

H. RES. 538

Whereas Olympic Day, June 23, 2009, celebrated the Olympic ideal of developing peace through sport;

Whereas June 23 marks the anniversary of the founding of the modern Olympic movement, the date on which the Congress of Paris approved the proposal of Pierre de Coubertin to found the modern Olympics;

Whereas for more than 100 years, the Olympic movement has built a more peaceful and better world by educating young people through amateur athletics, by bringing together athletes from many countries in friendly competition, and by forging new relationships bound by friendship, solidarity, and fair play;

Whereas the United States and Chicago, Illinois, advocate the ideals of the Olympic movement;

Whereas hundreds of local governments from across the United States are joining together to show their support for bringing the Olympic Games to Chicago, Illinois, in 2016;

Whereas Olympic Day will encourage the development of Olympic and Paralympic Sport in the United States;

Whereas Olympic Day encourages the participation of youth of the United States in Olympic and Paralympic sport;

Whereas Olympic Day will encourage the teaching of Olympic history, health, arts, and culture among the youth of the United States;

Whereas Olympic Day will encourage the youth of the United States to support the Olympic movement and the selection of Chicago, Illinois, as the host city for the 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games; and

Whereas enthusiasm for Olympic and Paralympic sport is at an all-time high: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives—

(1) supports Olympic Day and the goals that Olympic Day pursues; and

(2) encourages the International Olympic Committee to select Chicago, Illinois, as the host city for the 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule the gentleman from Florida (Mr. KLEIN) and the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) each will control 20 minutes

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Florida.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. KLEIN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the resolution under consideration.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. KLEIN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this legislation and yield myself as much time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, let me begin by thanking the gentlelady from Illinois (Ms. SCHAKOWSKY) for introducing this resolution supporting Olympic Day and encouraging the International Olympic Committee to select Chicago as the host city for the 2016 Olympic and Paralympic games.

H. Res. 538 provides an opportunity for the House to celebrate the Olympic ideal of peace through sport and to recognize Olympic Day, the founding anniversary of the modern Olympic games. For over a century, the modern Olympic games have brought together athletes from all around the world and in the process has helped forge countless relationships found by friendship, solidarity and fair play.

Olympic Day promotes the Olympic ideal by encouraging the teaching of Olympic history, health, arts, culture to students across the country. It also encourages a new generation of American athletes to take part in Olympic and Paralympic sports.

As we support the ideals of Olympic Day, it is only fitting that we also urge the International Olympic Committee to support the City of Chicago's bid to host the 2016 Olympic and Paralympic games. Last year, the IOC named Chicago one of the finalist cities to host the games, and the winning city will be selected this October.

Hosting the 2016 games would bring significant benefits to Chicago, one of our Nation's truly world-class cities, and would provide an excellent opportunity for American athletes to compete in the summer Olympic and Paralympic games in front of a home crowd for the first time since 1996.

I congratulate the gentlelady from Illinois for her tireless efforts, along with the other members of the delegation, to promote their city's bid to host the 2016 summer games and to urge my colleagues to support this resolution.

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

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I rise in support of H. Res. 538, supporting Olympic Day and encouraging the International Olympic Committee to select Chicago, Illinois, as the host city for the 2016 Olympic and Paralympic games, and I congratulate my good friend and colleague Ms. SCHAKOWSKY for sponsoring this, bringing it to the floor today. I think it sends a very clear message of the solidarity that we have that this be the venue for the 2016 Olympic games.

Last month, the world observed the 61st annual Olympic Day, a celebration commemorating the creation of the International Olympic Committee. Olympic Day was first observed in 1948, 54 years after the founding of the International Olympic Committee. As the only annual, worldwide event of the Olympic movement, Olympic Day is a fitting tribute to the ideals of the Olympic charter.

These are: ''to create a way of life based on the joy of effort, the educational value of good example and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles,'' and ''to place sport at the service of the harmonious development of man,'' and I would add woman, ''with a view to promoting a peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity.''

The theme of this year's Olympic Day is ''Move, Learn and Discover,'' and it was celebrated last month with the 22nd annual Olympic Day run sponsored in various locations around the world by over 150 national Olympic committees.

This resolution also encourages the selection of Chicago, Illinois, as the host city for the 2016 Olympic and Paralympic games.

Selected in April of 2007 as the United States bid city for the summer Olympics in 2016, Chicago is a thriving example of our Nation's heartland, its urban vitality, and its remarkable diversity.

The contributions of international sport to personal fitness and international understanding deserve our recognition, and I thank again my distinguished colleague from Illinois for introducing this resolution which deserves our unanimous support.

I reserve the balance of our time.

Mr. KLEIN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlelady from Illinois (Ms. SCHAKOWSKY), one of the sponsors of the bill and a great fan of Chicago and who is ready to go.

Ms. SCHAKOWSKY. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of House Resolution 538, a bipartisan resolution I introduced to express the support of the House of Representatives for the City of Chicago's bid to host the summer Olympics in 2016.

Mr. Speaker, in the summer of 2016, athletes from all over the world will come together to compete in a modern Olympiad, a series of games that has represented peace and hope since it first began more than 100 years ago. In April 2007, Chicago was selected by the United States Olympic Committee as the one and only United States bid city; and on June 4, 2008, the International Olympic Committee named Chicago as one of the four finalists to host the 31st Olympiad, and I can't think of any better place to host these games.

On the edge of the Great Lakes, Chicago boasts a magnificent skyline and a diverse population that prides itself not only on its history but on what will be achieved in the future. Chicago has overcome adversity to rise up as the crown jewel of the Midwest, embracing hard work and hospitality as cornerstone values.

The United States and the White House have each taken unprecedented steps to express support for the 2016 Olympics to be hosted in Chicago. Mayor Richard Daley has organized an incredible group of civic and political and business leaders in support of our bid, and it is my hope that my colleagues in the House will join in this cause by supporting this important resolution.

The bipartisan resolution recognizes June 23 as Olympic Day and supports the City of Chicago's bid to host the 2016 summer Olympics. I realize that that day has passed, but I think that when we join together to support this resolution, we'll be expressing our support for our great City of Chicago, and I strongly urge my colleagues to support it.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. SHIMKUS).

Mr. SHIMKUS. Mr. Speaker, I'm just standing to commend my colleague, Congresswoman SCHAKOWSKY, for this great effort and just reaffirm the fact that this is true bipartisan support from the Illinois delegation and, more importantly, not just bipartisan but the entire Illinois delegation, both up State and down State. Sometimes our State, which is very large, like many other States, and so we have our differences regionally, but this is one where we're truly united, and we've signed a letter in support.

We see the benefits to show off not just the State of Illinois but really the great City of Chicago, the city that does work, and we invite the world community there and the rest of the State during this. And we hope that we're very successful in landing eventually the Olympics, and it will be great for the country. It will be great for the State of Illinois, and it will be great for the City of Chicago.

So I want to commend my colleague.

Mr. KLEIN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. JACKSON).

(Mr. JACKSON of Illinois asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H. Res. 538, a resolution supporting Chicago, my hometown's bid to host the summer Olympics and Paralympics in 2016, and to congratulate Congresswoman SCHAKOWSKY for rallying the Congress behind this important effort.

Chicago, with its diverse culture and international flair, is an ideal host for these games. Since the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893, the city and its people have been internationally recognized for hosting magnificent events on a global stage. With world-class museums, outstanding restaurants, numerous accommodations and stadiums, the city would provide a resounding welcome, hearty embrace and ideal environment to host Olympic athletes and visitors from around the world.

Chicagoans are also known for their passion for sports: the world-famous Chicago Bulls, the Chicago Bears, the Chicago Blackhawks, the Chicago Cubs and the Chicago White Sox.

Furthermore, the Olympic games will bring many needed jobs, economic opportunities, and infrastructure investments to our Nation.

Chicago 2016 has worked with more than 75 community groups to ensure that opportunities in construction, procurement and jobs will be shared by everybody. The games will create the equivalent of 315,000 full-time jobs for at least 1 year and generate $7 billion in wages.

Chicago's bid uses existing facilities, the lakefront and parks so no residents will be displaced as a result of construction related to the games. The new permanent venues that are proposed will serve communities after the games, providing sports facilities, pools, tennis courts and recreational spaces in our parks and on our lakefront.

The International Olympic Committee will make a decision on October 3. I can't think of a better way to demonstrate the House's support for Chicago's bid and America's bid than voting for this resolution.

□ 1715

I urge all my colleagues to vote ''aye,'' and I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mrs. BIGGERT. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of H. Res. 538 and in strong support for Chicago's bid for the 2016 Olympics.

On June 23, 2009, we will celebrate Olympic Day and recognize one hundred years since the International Olympic Committee was created. Olympic Day encourages universal participation in athletic activities and demonstrates global unity in support of the Olympic Games.

Furthermore, I would like to encourage the International Olympic Committee to select Chicago, Illinois, as the host city for the 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games.

The 2016 Olympic Games will feature athletes from across the globe, coming together with respect for their teammates and competitors alike.

The city of big shoulders is ready to welcome the Olympics with big open arms. As the host city of the 1893 World Columbian Exposition and the 1933 Century of Progress Exposition, Chicago has a long tradition of showcasing America's greatness, peace, and understanding to the world.

Daniel Burnham, the famous Chicago architect of the World Columbian Exposition in Chicago and Union Station here in Washington, once said, ''make no little plans; they have no magic to stir men's blood . . . make big plans, aim high in hope and work.''

To this day, Chicago embodies this principle. That's one of the many reasons Chicago would be the ideal city in which to hold the Olympic and Paralympic games, marking the century-old tradition of the modern Olympic movement.

I encourage my colleagues to support this resolution and show their support for the 2016 Olympics in Chicago!

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, we have no further speakers, so I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. KLEIN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time as well.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Florida (Mr. KLEIN) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, H. Res. 538.

The question was taken.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In the opinion of the Chair, two-thirds being in the affirmative, the ayes have it.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX and the Chair's prior announcement, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

The point of no quorum is considered withdrawn.

CONGRATULATING LITHUANIA ON 1,000TH ANNIVERSARY

Mr. KLEIN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the resolution (H. Res. 285) congratulating the people of the Republic of Lithuania on the 1000th anniversary of Lithuania and celebrating the rich history of Lithuania.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The text of the resolution is as follows:

H. RES. 285

Whereas the name ''Lithuania'' first appeared in European records in the year 1009, when it was mentioned in the German manuscript ''Annals of Quedlinburg'';

Whereas Duke Mindaugas united various Baltic tribes and established the state of Lithuania during the period between 1236 and 1263;

Whereas, by the end of the 14th century, Lithuania was the largest country in Europe,

encompassing territory from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea;

Whereas Vilnius University was founded in 1579 and remained the easternmost university in Europe for 200 years;

Whereas the February 16, 1918, Act of Independence of Lithuania led to the establishment of Lithuania as a sovereign and democratic state;

Whereas, under the cover of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, on June 17, 1940, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania were forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union in violation of pre-existing peace treaties;

Whereas, during 50 years of Soviet occupation of the Baltic states, Congress strongly, consistently, and on a bipartisan basis refused to legally recognize the incorporation of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania by the Soviet Union;

Whereas, on March 11, 1990, the Republic of Lithuania was restored and Lithuania became the first Soviet republic to declare independence;

Whereas, on September 2, 1991, the United States Government formally recognized Lithuania as an independent and sovereign nation;

Whereas Lithuania has successfully developed into a free and democratic country, with a free market economy and respect for the rule of law;

Whereas Lithuania is a full and responsible member of the United Nations, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the European Union, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization;

Whereas, in 2007, the United States Government and the Government of Lithuania celebrated 85 years of continuous diplomatic relations;

Whereas the United States Government welcomes and appreciates efforts by the Government of Lithuania to maintain international peace and stability in Europe and around the world by contributing to international civilian and military operations in Afghanistan, Iraq, Bosnia, Kosovo, and Georgia; and

Whereas Lithuania is a strong and loyal ally of the United States, and the people of Lithuania share common values with the people of the United States: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives—

(1) congratulates the people of the Republic of Lithuania on the occasion of the 1000th anniversary of Lithuania;

(2) commends the Government of Lithuania for its success in implementing political and economic reforms, for establishing political, religious and economic freedoms, and for its commitment to human rights; and

(3) recognizes the close and enduring relationship between the United States Government and the Government of Lithuania.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. KLEIN) and the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Florida.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. KLEIN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the resolution under consideration.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. KLEIN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise to support H. Res. 285, which recognizes the 1,000-year anniversary of Lithuania, and I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I wish to thank my good friend from Illinois (Mr. SHIMKUS) for introducing this resolution. It allows the House to add its voice to the Senate's in congratulating the Lithuanian people on this momentous occasion.

In the year 1009, the name Lithuania first appeared in European records when it was mentioned in a German manuscript. The gentleman from Illinois would note that a number of us, Democrats and Republicans, were in Lithuania earlier this year and had the opportunity to meet with the government and talk about the history. It was a great opportunity.

Since that time, the country has had a long and distinguished history. The state of Lithuania was established by Duke Mindaugas in 1236; yet his official coronation as King was on July 6, 1253, a date that is still celebrated as a national holiday in Lithuania.

By the end of the 14th century, Lithuania had become the largest country in Europe. On February 16, 1918, Lithuania was established as a sovereign and democratic state.

In June 1940, Lithuania, along with its Baltic neighbors, was forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union. On March 11, 1990, Lithuania became the first Soviet Republic to declare its independence.

Lithuania has since become an active member of the national community, helping to strengthen Euro-Atlantic relations through its participation in NATO and the European Union.

Lithuania has helped secure peace and stability through its many contributions to international and civilian military operations in Afghanistan, Iraq, and the Balkans.

Lithuania has also been a strong ally of the United States, as our countries marked 85 years of continuous diplomatic relations in 2007.

The subject of Lithuanian-American relations came up during our recent participation in the Transatlantic Legislators' Dialogue. Members of Congress felt it was important to urge Lithuania to enact property restitution laws in order to bring some sense of justice and closure to the families of victims of the Holocaust, and I look forward to working with our colleagues in Lithuania to resolve this issue. This will surely continue to strengthen our relationship.

While we Americans celebrate our national independence on July 4th, the people of Lithuania commemorated their day of statehood on July 6. It is therefore appropriate, during this festive month, that the House passes a resolution to congratulate Lithuania on its 1,000th anniversary and reaffirm the close ties between our peoples and countries.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly support this resolution and urge my colleagues to do the same.

I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the author of the resolution, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. SHIMKUS).

(Mr. SHIMKUS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SHIMKUS. Mr. Speaker, I come to the floor humbly as a fourth-generation immigrant family of Lithuania. Of course, I, like many Americans today, are really a Heinz 57 mutt, also having German ancestry and Irish ancestry, and we think some American Indian ancestry. But ''Shimkus'' is ethnically Lithuanian.

So I always kid and joke that it's only in Washington, D.C., that you automatically become an expert in a region of the world based upon the ethnicity of your last name. But it's a labor of love that I've taken, and, hence, I bring this resolution to the floor to place Lithuania in the spotlight.

Before I do that, I want to read a letter from three friends and former leaders of the Baltic countries and 22 total leaders: Valdas Adamkus, a former President of the Republic of Lithuania; Vaira Vike-Freiberga, former President of the Republic of Latvia; and Mart Laar, who is the former Prime Minister of Estonia.

I'm not going to read the whole letter. I'm going to highlight a few sections, and then I'm going to transition to state why resolutions like this are important, because sometimes we go, Oh, why do we do these resolutions? I think the letter that they have written highlights the importance of us continuing to mention our friends and allies and talk about the strengths of the relationships.

This letter is about three pages long, but I just highlight a few short snippets in each one. Again, these are 22 leaders of not just the Baltic areas, but the Central and Eastern European democracies. Most of these are now no longer in public service but are former leaders.

They say, ''Twenty years after the end of the cold war, however, we see that Central and Eastern European countries are no longer at the heart of American foreign policy.''

''Americans have largely stopped worrying about. . .'' Now, that's positive about some of our successes, but it also raises concerns.

''There is a growing sense of nervousness in the region.''

''NATO today seems weaker than when we joined.'' They also say, ''The region's deeper integration in the EU is of course welcome and should not necessarily lead to a weakening of the transatlantic relationship.''

Also stated is ''there are fewer and fewer leaders who emerged from the revolutions of 1989 who experienced Washington's key role in securing our democratic transition and anchoring our countries in NATO and EU. A new

generation of leaders is emerging who do not have those memories and follow a more 'realistic' policy.''

I think that's important for us to understand. These countries fought for freedom, but the leaders who fought for freedom are now leaving power. And this new generation needs to be reminded of the strength of the U.S. relationship to the former captive nations from the Eastern European countries.

They also, in here, talk about, ''We welcome the 'reset' '' . . . ''but there is also nervousness in our capitals.''

''Our region suffered when the United States succumbed to 'realism' at Yalta. And it benefited when the United States used its power to fight for principle.'' And that's what I hope we continue to do.

''We believe this is a time both the United States and Europe need to reinvest in the transatlantic relationship.''

So I appreciate the committee allowing the resolution to come to the floor because this is another way in which we can talk about the important relationship that we have.

The resolution, itself, talks about the 1,000 years which they're celebrating in Lithuania, the 1,000 years when the name Lithuania first appeared in written documents. Lithuania was around before that, but that makes us look like little kids here in the United States; hence, the world is much older than our great Constitutional Republic.

There's a lot of ''whereas'' in the resolution. Whereas, under the cover of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, on June 17, 1940, Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania were forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union in violation of preexisting peace treaties.

Another whereas: Lithuania is a full and responsible member of the United Nations, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the European Union, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Full partners—full voting partners and full participants in the defense organization known as NATO and the article 5 guarantee to both themselves and other NATO countries.

Another whereas: As contributing to international civilian and military operations in Afghanistan, Iraq, Bosnia, Kosovo, and Georgia, which are all important aspects that they have stepped up to the plate to be part of this commitment to securing democracy and freedom in the war on terror.

So we, as a country, get a chance, through this resolution, to congratulate the people of the Republic of Lithuania for this historical timeframe. We commend the Government of Lithuania for their commitment to democracy, freedom, the rule of law, and being allies in the campaigns that we, in connection with our treaty obligations and the greatest organization that's kept peace and stability that the world has known, which is NATO, their role in that. And we want to continue to recognize that this relationship is strong now and we will do all we can in our part to make it strong in the future.

I think my colleague from Florida mentioned, also, challenges that we've addressed, and we will continue to work on those so that our relationship becomes stronger in a world where democracy and freedom needs to flourish for people to live the lifestyles that they will grow and flourish individually.

I thank the committee for allowing this to the floor, and I thank Congressman SMITH for allowing me this time.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION FROM CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

We have written this letter because, as Central and Eastern European (CEE) intellectuals and former policymakers, we care deeply about the future of the transatlantic relationship as well as the future quality of relations between the United States and the countries of our region. We write in our personal capacity as individuals who are friends and allies of the United States as well as committed Europeans.

Our nations are deeply indebted to the United States. Many of us know firsthand how important your support for our freedom and independence was during the dark Cold War years. U.S. engagement and support was essential for the success of our democratic transitions after the Iron Curtain fell twenty years ago. Without Washington's vision and leadership, it is doubtful that we would be in NATO and even the EU today.

We have worked to reciprocate and make this relationship a two-way street. We are Atlanticist voices within NATO and the EU. Our nations have been engaged alongside the United States in the Balkans, Iraq, and today in Afghanistan. While our contribution may at times seem modest compared to your own, it is significant when measured as a percentage of our population and GDP. Having benefited from your support for liberal democracy and liberal values in the past, we have been among your strongest supporters when it comes to promoting democracy and human rights around the world.

Twenty years after the end of the Cold War, however, we see that Central and Eastern European countries are no longer at the heart of American foreign policy. As the new Obama Administration sets its foreign-policy priorities, our region is one part of the world that Americans have largely stopped worrying about. Indeed, at times we have the impression that U.S. policy was so successful that many American officials have now concluded that our region is fixed once and for all and that they could ''check the box'' and move on to other more pressing strategic issues. Relations have been so close that many on both sides assume that the region's transatlantic orientation, as well as its stability and prosperity, would last forever.

That view is premature. All is not well either in our region or in the transatlantic relationship. Central and Eastern Europe is at a political crossroads and today there is a growing sense of nervousness in the region. The global economic crisis is impacting on our region and, as elsewhere, runs the risk that our societies will look inward and be less engaged with the outside world. At the same time, storm clouds are starting to gather on the foreign policy horizon. Like you, we await the results of the EU Commission's investigation on the origins of the Russo-Georgian war. But the political impact of that war on the region has already been felt. Many countries were deeply disturbed to see the Atlantic alliance stand by as Russia violated the core principles of the Helsinki Final Act, the Charter of Paris, and the territorial integrity of a country that was a member of NATO's Partnership for Peace and the Euroatlantic Partnership Council—all in the name of defending a sphere of influence on its borders.

Despite the efforts and significant contribution of the new members, NATO today seems weaker than when we joined. In many of our countries it is perceived as less and less relevant—and we feel it. Although we are full members, people question whether NATO would be willing and able to come to our defense in some future crises. Europe's dependence on Russian energy also creates concern about the cohesion of the Alliance. President Obama's remark at the recent NATO summit on the need to provide credible defense plans for all Alliance members was welcome, but not sufficient to allay fears about the Alliance's defense readiness. Our ability to continue to sustain public support at home for our contributions to Alliance missions abroad also depends on us being able to show that our own security concerns are being addressed in NATO and close cooperation with the United States.

We must also recognize that America's popularity and influence have fallen in many of our countries as well. Public opinions polls, including the German Marshall Fund's own Transatlantic Trends survey, show that our region has not been immune to the wave of criticism and anti-Americanism that has swept Europe in recent years and which led to a collapse in sympathy and support for the United States during the Bush years. Some leaders in the region have paid a political price for their support of the unpopular war in Iraq. In the future they may be more careful in taking political risks to support the United States. We believe that the onset of a new Administration has created a new opening to reverse this trend but it will take time and work on both sides to make up for what we have lost.

In many ways the EU has become the major factor and institution in our lives. To many people it seems more relevant and important today than the link to the United States. To some degree it is a logical outcome of the integration of Central and Eastern Europe into the EU. Our leaders and officials spend much more time in EU meetings than in consultations with Washington, where they often struggle to attract attention or make our voices heard. The region's deeper integration in the EU is of course welcome and should not necessarily lead to a weakening of the transatlantic relationship. The hope was that integration of Central and Eastern Europe into the EU would actually strengthen the strategic cooperation between Europe and America.

However, there is a danger that instead of being a pro-Atlantic voice in the EU, support for a more global partnership with Washington in the region might wane over time. The region does not have the tradition of assuming a more global role. Some items on the transatlantic agenda, such as climate change, do not resonate in the Central and Eastern European publics to the same extent as they do in Western Europe.

Leadership change is also coming in Central and Eastern Europe. Next to those, there are fewer and fewer leaders who emerged from the revolutions of 1989 who experienced Washington's key role in securing our democratic transition and anchoring our countries in NATO and EU. A new generation of leaders is emerging who do not have these memories and follow a more ''realistic'' policy. At the same time, the former Communist elites, whose insistence on political and economic power significantly contributed to the crises in many CEE countries, gradually disappear from the political scene.

The current political and economic turmoil and the fallout from the global economic crisis provide additional opportunities for the forces of nationalism, extremism, populism, and anti-Semitism across the continent but also in some our countries.

This means that the United States is likely to lose many of its traditional interlocutors in the region. The new elites replacing them may not share the idealism—or have the same relationship to the United States—as the generation who led the democratic transition. They may be more calculating in their support of the United States as well as more parochial in their world view. And in Washington a similar transition is taking place as many of the leaders and personalities we have worked with and relied on are also leaving politics.

And then there is the issue of how to deal with Russia, Our hopes that relations with Russia would improve and that Moscow would finally fully accept our complete sovereignty and independence after joining NATO and the EU have not been fulfilled. Instead, Russia is back as a revisionist power pursuing a 19th-century agenda with 21st-century tactics and methods. At a global level, Russia has become, on most issues, a status-quo power. But at a regional level and vis-à-vis our nations, it increasingly acts as a revisionist one. It challenges our claims to our own historical experiences. It asserts a privileged position in determining our security choices. It uses overt and covert means of economic warfare, ranging from energy blockades and politically motivated investments to bribery and media manipulation in order to advance its interests and to challenge the transatlantic orientation of Central and Eastern Europe.

We welcome the ''reset'' of the American-Russian relations. As the countries living closest to Russia, obviously nobody has a greater interest in the development of the democracy in Russia and better relations between Moscow and the West than we do. But there is also nervousness in our capitals. We want to ensure that too narrow an understanding of Western interests does not lead to the wrong concessions to Russia. Today the concern is, for example, that the United States and the major European powers might embrace the Medvedev plan for a ''Concert of Powers'' to replace the continent's existing, value-based security structure. The danger is that Russia's creeping intimidation and influence-peddling in the region could over time lead to a de facto neutralization of the region. There are differing views within the region when it comes to Moscow's new policies. But there is a shared view that the full engagement of the United States is needed.

Many in the region are looking with hope to the Obama Administration to restore the Atlantic relationship as a moral compass for their domestic as well as foreign policies. A strong commitment to common liberal democratic values is essential to our countries. We know from our own historical experience the difference between when the United States stood up for its liberal democratic values and when it did not. Our region suffered when the United States succumbed to ''realism'' at Yalta. And it benefited when the United States used its power to fight for principle. That was critical during the Cold War and in opening the doors of NATO. Had a ''realist'' view prevailed in the early 1990s, we would not be in NATO today and the idea of a Europe whole, free, and at peace would be a distant dream.

We understand the heavy demands on your Administration and on U.S. foreign policy. It is not our intent to add to the list of problems you face. Rather, we want to help by being strong Atlanticist allies in a U.S.-European partnership that is a powerful force for good around the world. But we are not certain where our region will be in five or ten years time given the domestic and foreign policy uncertainties we face. We need to take the right steps now to ensure the strong relationship between the United States and Central and Eastern Europe over the past twenty years will endure.

We believe this is a time both the United States and Europe need to reinvest in the transatlantic relationship. We also believe this is a time when the United States and Central and Eastern Europe must reconnect around a new and forward-looking agenda. While recognizing what has been achieved in the twenty years since the fall of the Iron Curtain, it is time to set a new agenda for close cooperation for the next twenty years across the Atlantic.

Therefore, we propose the following steps:

First, we are convinced that America needs Europe and that Europe needs the United States as much today as in the past. The United States should reaffirm its vocation as a European power and make clear that it plans to stay fully engaged on the continent even while it faces the pressing challenges in Afghanistan and Pakistan, the wider Middle East, and Asia. For our part we must work at home in our own countries and in Europe more generally to convince our leaders and societies to adopt a more global perspective and be prepared to shoulder more responsibility in partnership with the United States.

Second, we need a renaissance of NATO as the most important security link between the United States and Europe. It is the only credible hard power security guarantee we have. NATO must reconfirm its core function of collective defense even while we adapt to the new threats of the 21st century. A key factor in our ability to participate in NATO's expeditionary missions overseas is the belief that we are secure at home. We must therefore correct some self-inflicted wounds from the past. It was a mistake not to commence with proper Article 5 defense planning for new members after NATO was enlarged. NATO needs to make the Alliance's commitments credible and provide strategic reassurance to all members. This should include contingency planning, prepositioning of forces, equipment, and supplies for reinforcement in our region in case of crisis as originally envisioned in the NATO-Russia Founding Act.

We should also re-think the working of the NATO-Russia Council and return to the practice where NATO member countries enter into dialogue with Moscow with a coordinated position. When it comes to Russia, our experience has been that a more determined and principled policy toward Moscow will not only strengthen the West's security but will ultimately lead Moscow to follow a more cooperative policy as well. Furthermore, the more secure we feel inside NATO, the easier it will also be for our countries to reach out to engage Moscow on issues of common interest. That is the dual track approach we need and which should be reflected in the new NATO strategic concept.

Third, the thorniest issue may well be America's planned missile-defense installations. Here too, there are different views in the region, including among our publics which are divided. Regardless of the military merits of this scheme and what Washington eventually decides to do, the issue has nevertheless also become—at least in some countries—a symbol of America's credibility and commitment to the region. How it is handled could have a significant impact on their future transatlantic orientation. The small number of missiles involved cannot be a threat to Russia's strategic capabilities, and the Kremlin knows this. We should decide the future of the program as allies and based on the strategic plusses and minuses of the different technical and political configurations. The Alliance should not allow the issue to be determined by unfounded Russian opposition. Abandoning the program entirely or involving Russia too deeply in it without consulting Poland or the Czech Republic can undermine the credibility of the United States across the whole region.

Fourth, we know that NATO alone is not enough. We also want and need more Europe and a better and more strategic U.S.-EU relationship as well. Increasingly our foreign policies are carried out through the European Union—and we support that. We also want a common European foreign and defense policy that is open to close cooperation with the United States. We are the advocates of such a line in the EU. But we need the United States to rethink its attitude toward the EU and engage it much more seriously as a strategic partner. We need to bring NATO and the EU closer together and make them work in tandem. We need common NATO and EU strategies not only toward Russia but on a range of other new strategic challenges.

Fifth is energy security. The threat to energy supplies can exert an immediate influence on our nations' political sovereignty also as allies contributing to common decisions in NATO. That is why it must also become a transatlantic priority. Although most of the responsibility for energy security lies within the realm of the EU, the United States also has a role to play. Absent American support, the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline would never have been built. Energy security must become an integral part of U.S.-European strategic cooperation. Central and Eastern European countries should lobby harder (and with more unity) inside Europe for diversification of the energy mix, suppliers, and transit routes, as well as for tough legal scrutiny of Russia's abuse of its monopoly and cartel-like power inside the EU. But American political support on this will play a crucial role. Similarly, the United States can play an important role in solidifying further its support for the Nabucco pipeline, particularly in using its security relationship with the main transit country, Turkey, as well as the North-South interconnector of Central Europe and LNG terminals in our region.

Sixth, we must not neglect the human factor. Our next generations need to get to know each other, too. We have to cherish and protect the multitude of educational, professional, and other networks and friendships that underpin our friendship and alliance. The U.S. visa regime remains an obstacle in this regard. It is absurd that Poland and Romania—arguably the two biggest and most pro-American states in the CEE region, which are making substantial contributions in Iraq and Afghanistan—have not yet been brought into the visa waiver program. It is incomprehensible that a critic like the French anti-globalization activist Jose Bove does not require a visa for the United States but former Solidarity activist and Nobel Peace prizewinner Lech Walesa does. This issue will be resolved only if it is made a political priority by the President of the United States.

The steps we made together since 1989 are not minor in history. The common successes are the proper foundation for the transatlantic renaissance we need today. This is why we believe that we should also consider the creation of a Legacy Fellowship for young leaders. Twenty years have passed since the revolutions of 1989. That is a whole generation. We need a new generation to renew the transatlantic partnership. A new program should be launched to identify those young leaders on both sides of the Atlantic

who can carry forward the transatlantic project we have spent the last two decades building in Central and Eastern Europe.

In conclusion, the onset of a new Administration in the United States has raised great hopes in our countries for a transatlantic renewal. It is an opportunity we dare not miss. We, the authors of this letter, know firsthand how important the relationship with the United States has been. In the 1990s, a large part of getting Europe right was about getting Central and Eastern Europe right. The engagement of the United States was critical to locking in peace and stability from the Baltics to the Black Sea. Today the goal must be to keep Central and Eastern Europe right as a stable, activist, and Atlanticist part of our broader community.

That is the key to our success in bringing about the renaissance in the Alliance the Obama Administration has committed itself to work for and which we support. That will require both sides recommitting to and investing in this relationship. But if we do it right, the pay off down the road can be very real. By taking the right steps now, we can put it on new and solid footing for the future.

Valdas Adamkus, Former President of the Republic of Lithuania; Martin Butora, Former Ambassador of the Slovak Republic to the United States; Emil Constantinescu, Former President of the Republic of Romania; Pavol Demes, Former Minister of International Relations and Advisor to the President, Slovak Republic; Lubos Dobrovsky, Former Minister of Defense of Czechoslovakia, former Czech Ambassador to Russia; Matyas Eorsi, Former Secretary of State of the Hungarian MFA; Istvan Gyarmati, Ambassador, President of the International Centre for Democratic Transition in Budapest; Vaclav Havel, Former President of the Czech Republic; Rastislav Kacer, Former Ambassador of the Slovak Republic to the United States; Sandra Kalniete, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Latvia; Karel Schwarzenberg, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Czech Republic; Michal Kovac, Former President of the Slovak Republic; Ivan Krastev, Chairman of the Centre for Liberal Strategies in Sofia, Bulgaria; Aleksander Kwasniewski, Former President of the Republic of Poland; Mart Laar, Former Prime Minister of Estonia; Kadri Liik, Director of the International Centre for Defense Studies in Tallinn, Estonia; Janos Martonyi, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hungary; Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Former Vice-president of the European Parliament, former Defense Minister, Poland; Adam Rotfeld, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Poland; Alexandr Vondra, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister, Czech Republic; Vaira Vike-Freiberga, Former President of the Republic of Latvia; Lech Walesa, Former President of the Republic of Poland.

Mr. KLEIN of Florida. I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I rise in strong support of my friend and colleague's resolution celebrating the rich history of Lithuania.

I was recently back in Lithuania just a couple of weeks ago, Mr. Speaker, for the July meeting of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and saw, once again, the beautiful city of Vilnius, a city with an historic history.

But more importantly than the city and its physical attractiveness is the people themselves, the kindness, the generosity, and a goodness, innate goodness, which is truly remarkable.

The Lithuanians, as we know, were occupied. They were often called a captive nation, one of the Baltic captive nations. In 1940, they were brought into the Soviet Union by force, a grave injustice that this Congress has never recognized and thankfully now, since 1990, they were the first of the so-called Soviet Republics to declare its independence.

Since securing their independence from the Soviet Union, Lithuanians have won the world's admiration by making Lithuania a free country that truly respects fundamental human rights. The Lithuanian Government conducts democratic and fair elections, respects the rule of law, and the Lithuanian economy is free.

Mr. Speaker, the United States owes Lithuania a debt of gratitude, but the United States has not freed Lithuania from Soviet domination—they did that themselves. Lithuania has recognized the common values it shares with the United States and has deployed its soldiers to do duty alongside ours in Afghanistan, Iraq, Bosnia, Kosovo, as well as in Georgia.

Let me also point out that back in the early 1990s, I was part of a delegation led by Steny Hoyer. When the Soviets looked like they were about to take over the Parliament and rush it with the black berets, several of us traveled to Vilnius to be there to be in solidarity with President Landsbergis, who was under siege. And the belief was that if sufficient numbers of parliamentarians were there as witnesses, it might have a chilling effect on Soviet ambitions and they might not storm that Parliament.

What we found in Vilnius was people who were literally praying night and day, people outside the parliament saying rosaries, offering up prayers and, hopefully, acting as shields themselves to the Soviet aggression.

□ 1730

I will never forget visiting a TV tower that had been attacked by the Soviets. There were candles burning where people dropped as they were fired upon by Soviet troops; but they were still there in defiance, standing up to this world power that was seeking to crush them. One of the incidents I will never forget. Don Ritter, one of our Members of the House who was then the ranking member of the CSCE, stepped across the line, and there was a Soviet tank there at the TV tower which all of a sudden began turning its turret towards him. Several of us who were there said, Don, you'd better step across. This is truly a volatile situation. And nothing came of it. But again, the Lithuanians were there protesting against tyranny and the domination that was coming out of Moscow but did so with such class and such courage that it was truly inspiring.

Our delegation was matched by delegations from Poland and other countries, recently emerging democracies; and they too were saying, We're not going to stand idly by and watch this great people conquered once again—conquered but never really conquered in their hearts and minds. So I, again, want to thank Mr. SHIMKUS for bringing this to the floor. I also thank my friends on the other side of the aisle for posting it for debate and consideration. Again, this says to the people of Lithuania, You are a tremendous people. We recognize and admire your goodness and your courage, because you certainly demonstrated it under fire.

Mr. LIPINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H. Res. 285, and urge its immediate adoption. This resolution, introduced by friend and home state colleague, Chair of the House Baltic Caucus, Congressman JOHN SHIMKUS, congratulates the people of the Republic of Lithuania on the one thousandth anniversary of their country, celebrates the rich history of this nation and its people, and highlights the valuable relations Lithuania maintains with the United States.

As Co-Chair of the Central and Eastern European Caucus, and representative of a large Lithuanian community, I have a special pride in being a cosponsor of this measure, and rising in its support. The Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture, which is a major player in Lithuanian cultural life and scholarship in the United States, is located in my district. And Chicago is home to more Lithuanians outside their native home than any other location.

As few know, the name "Lithuania" first appeared in Europe in the year 1009—a historical timeline unfathomable to many Americans. The state of Lithuania was established as early as 1236, and became at times the largest country in Europe. The modern establishment of Lithuania as a sovereign and democratic state occurred in 1918.

While Lithuania, along with Latvia and Estonia, were forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union in 1940, this did not diminish Lithuanians' national pride, their valor or spirit. Despite Soviet persecution and barbaric assaults on their freedoms, Lithuanians persisted, aided by the support and prayers of millions of Lithuanians in the United States and elsewhere.

In 1990, after decades of oppression and occupation, Lithuania became the first Soviet-controlled republic to break away and declare its independence.

Since that time, Lithuania has developed into a free and democratic society. Its free market economy has experienced strong growth, and has joined the United States in pursuing knowledge-driven opportunities, including biotechnology and other high-tech sectors.

The United States has and continues to maintain a strong and positive relationship with Lithuania. Our nations have held 85 years of continuous diplomatic relations. Lithuania has supported international peace and security efforts, and has contributed to civilian and military operations in Iraq, Afghanistan, Georgia, and elsewhere, for which the United States government is highly appreciative.

In that vein, I would like to extend the warmest congratulations to Ms. Dalia Grybauskaite, who was elected as the new President of Lithuania in May of this year with over two-thirds of the vote. The first female President of Lithuania, Ms. Grybauskaite was sworn in on July 11, 2009. A former European Union Budget Commissioner, finance commissioner in Lithuania and a diplomat in Lithuania's U.S. Embassy, I congratulate her and wish President Grybauskaite success in her new role.

I look forward to joining my constituents and other Chicago-area Lithuanians in celebrating this 1000th anniversary in September. Lietuviu Dienos Chicago 2009, a community celebration led by Mr. Andrew Bucas—owner of Grand Duke's Lithuanian restaurant—and the Chicago Consul General of the Republic of Lithuania, will be held at Summit Park, in the Village of Summit located in my district, on September 20, 2009. Prominent Lithuanian-American Joe Kulys has been instrumental in organizing this celebration and has been a key leader in the Lithuanian-American community.

I wish Lithuanians and Lithuanian-Americans alike the best wishes and hearty congratulations in the celebration of 1000 years of Lithuanian history and progress.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. I yield back the balance of my time

Mr. KLEIN of Florida. If there are no other speakers, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Florida (Mr. KLEIN) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, H. Res. 285.

The question was taken.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In the opinion of the Chair, two-thirds being in the affirmative, the ayes have it.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX and the Chair's prior announcement, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

The point of no quorum is considered withdrawn.

TORTURE VICTIMS RELIEF REAUTHORIZATION ACT OF 2009

Mr. KLEIN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 1511) to amend the Torture Victims Relief Act of 1998 to authorize appropriations to provide assistance for domestic and foreign programs and centers for the treatment of victims of torture, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 1511

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the ''Torture Victims Relief Reauthorization Act of 2009''.

SEC. 2. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR DOMESTIC TREATMENT CENTERS FOR VICTIMS OF TORTURE.

Section 5(b)(1) of the Torture Victims Relief Act of 1998 (22 U.S.C. 2152 note) is amended to read as follows:

''(1) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—Of the amounts authorized to be appropriated for the Department of Health and Human Services for fiscal years 2010 and 2011, there are authorized to be appropriated to carry out subsection (a) $25,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 2010 and 2011.''.

SEC. 3. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR FOREIGN TREATMENT CENTERS FOR VICTIMS OF TORTURE.

Section 4(b)(1) of the Torture Victims Relief Act of 1998 (22 U.S.C. 2152 note) is amended to read as follows:

''(1) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—Of the amounts authorized to be appropriated for fiscal years 2010 and 2011 pursuant to chapter 1 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, there are authorized to be appropriated to the President to carry out section 130 of such Act $12,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 2010 and 2011.''.

SEC. 4. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE UNITED STATES CONTRIBUTION TO THE UNITED NATIONS VOLUNTARY FUND FOR VICTIMS OF TORTURE.

Of the amounts authorized to be appropriated for fiscal years 2010 and 2011 pursuant to chapter 3 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, there are authorized to be appropriated to the President for a voluntary contribution to the United Nations Voluntary Fund for Victims of Torture $12,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 2010 and 2011.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. KLEIN) and the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Florida.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. KLEIN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the bill under consideration.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. KLEIN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this legislation and yield myself as much time as I may consume.

I'd like to thank the distinguished ranking Member of the Africa and Global Health Subcommittee, my friend CHRIS SMITH, for his longstanding leadership in the fight against torture; and I am proud to stand with him unequivocally in this crucial human rights fight. I would also like to thank the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Energy and Commerce, Chairman WAXMAN from California, and the distinguished ranking Member on the committee, Mr. BARTON from Texas, for their excellent collaboration in bringing this important piece of legislation expeditiously to the House floor.

Mr. Speaker, the underlying legislation which we are reauthorizing today, the Torture Victims Relief Act of 1998, is the practical expression of our deeply held values. Americans abhor and condemn the use of torture wherever it may occur, including at the hands of our own citizens. This bill demonstrates the commitment of the United States to stand squarely with the victims of this barbaric and illegal practice, not only fighting against the use of torture but also providing hope and relief to those who survive it, wherever and whoever they may be. Mr. Speaker, according to Amnesty International, over 117 countries around the world still engage in torture. Amidst allegations of our own government's possible involvement in torture, President Obama and the American people have reaffirmed our policy that the United States will not torture. An estimated 500,000 foreign torture survivors reside in the United States and over 100 million may exist worldwide. The personal ramifications of torture are beyond the realm of our comprehension. Torture leaves no victim unscarred. It shapes the remainder of lives. While physical wounds may ultimately heal, torture survivors need ongoing psychosocial services and therapy to cope with the post-traumatic stress that afflicts them daily. Recovering from torture is a long-term process. It can take years before torture survivors can once again feel emotionally comfortable in society. More than 200 treatment programs operate internationally to provide crucial medical, psychological and social services to torture survivors. The legislation before us supports international programs through grants which are administered by the United States Agency For International Development, USAID, through its Victims of Torture Fund, otherwise known as VTF. H.R. 1511 authorizes $12 million for each of fiscal years 2010 and 2011 for this important purpose. In the United States, the Center For Victims of Torture in Minnesota was the first multidiscipline treatment center of its kind in the United States and the third torture victims treatment program in the world. Currently there are 25 programs for the treatment of survivors of torture operating in the United States, most of them financially assisted through the Office of Refugee Resettlement of the Department of Health and Human Services. H.R. 1511 makes a critical investment in this crucial work. In addition, this legislation authorizes critical funds for the United States' contribution to the multilateral U.N. Voluntary Fund for Victims of Torture. Through the United Nations' mechanism, the UNVF supports torture treatment centers all over the world, including within the United States. Mr. Speaker, the funds authorized in the legislation before the House are urgently needed. I strongly support this legislation and urge my colleagues to do the same.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND COMMERCE,
Washington, DC, June 19, 2009.

Hon. HOWARD L. BERMAN,
Chairman, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Washington, DC.

DEAR CHAIRMAN BERMAN: I am writing to confirm our understanding regarding the ''Torture Victims Relief Reauthorization Act of 2009,'' H.R. 1511. The Committee on Energy and Commerce has jurisdictional interest in provisions of the bill relating to torture victim relief

In light of the interest in moving this bill forward promptly, I do not intend to exercise the jurisdiction of the Committee on Energy and Commerce on H.R. 1511. I do this, however, only with the understanding that forgoing further consideration of H.R. 1511 at this time will not be construed as prejudicing this Committee's jurisdictional interests and prerogatives on the subject matter contained in this or similar legislation. In addition, we reserve the right to seek appointment of an appropriate number of conferees to any House-Senate conference involving this legislation.

I would appreciate your including this letter in the Congressional Record during consideration of the bill on the House floor. Thank you for your cooperation on this matter.

Sincerely,

HENRY A. WAXMAN.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Washington, DC, June 23, 2009.

HON. HENRY A. WAXMAN,
Chairman, Committee on Energy and Commerce, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Thank you for your letter of June 19, 2009, regarding H.R. 1511, the ''Torture Victims Relief Reauthorization Act of 2009.''

I appreciate your willingness to work cooperatively on this legislation. I recognize that the bill contains provisions that fall within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Energy and Commerce. I acknowledge that the Committee will not seek a sequential referral of the bill and agree that the inaction of your Committee with respect to the bill does not waive any future jurisdictional claim over the matters contained in the bill which fall within your Committee's Rule X jurisdiction.

Further, as to any House-Senate conference on the bill, I understand that your Committee reserves the right to seek the appointment of conferees for consideration of portions of the bill that are within your Committee's jurisdiction, and I agree to support a request by your Committee with respect to serving as conferees on the bill, consistent with the Speaker's practice in this regard.

I will ensure that our exchange of letters is introduced in the Congressional Record during consideration of the bill on the House floor. I look forward to working with you on this important legislation.

Sincerely,

HOWARD L. BERMAN,
Chairman.

I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself as much time as I may consume.

I thank my friend and colleague for his kind remarks and for his strong support for this humanitarian legislation. It's deeply appreciated. Mr. Speaker, many Americans and perhaps a few Members of Congress may be shocked to learned that nationwide, there are an estimated 500,000 torture survivors in the United States, men and women who came, in most cases, to the U.S. as refugees. Worldwide, it's impossible to count the numbers, but the numbers are in the several millions. As chairmen of the Human Rights Subcommittee in prior Congresses, we put together a large number of hearings on the issue of torture. Numerous torture survivors testified at those hearings about the paralyzing scars from the physical as well as psychological wounds of torture that remain for years and usually for a lifetime.

I'm happy to say that Chairman McGovern of the Tom Lantos Congressional Human Rights Commission under the able leadership of Hans Hognefe—thank you, Hans for having that hearing just recently, where we heard again about the need for this kind of approach but also the horror that these people had faced and the ongoing scars that they endure. Their painful memories make it all too clear that torture impacts not only the individual victims but, as we know now, the families themselves, the families who have to deal mostly with post-traumatic stress disorder, which manifests itself with such agony in the lives of these people.

Mr. Speaker, in 1998 Congress took an historic step towards attempting to repair the broken lives of torture victims with the passage of the Torture Victims Relief Act of 1998. I was a prime sponsor of that legislation and subsequent reauthorizations. Despite all of those efforts, however, there continues to be an enormous need and, I would submit, an escalating need for us to reach out to the victims of torture who oftentimes have no other recourse for their suffering.

Over the years, as I said, and now to current day with the Tom Lantos Commission, we've had hearings with the torture victims from the Soviet Bloc, Africa, Asia as well as Central and South America. One of the witnesses at the last hearing that I chaired on this issue was Mr. Sheikh Sackor, the founder of Humanist Watch Liberia and a survivor of torture in Liberia. Mr. Sackor testified to the brutal physical treatment, including the use of electrical shocks and the psychological abuse that he suffered at the hands of the regime of Charles Taylor.

Mr. Sackor was finally released from prison with the help of the United States embassy in Liberia. He fled to the U.S. and was admitted to the Bellevue Hospital Program for Survivors of Torture where he received medical and psychiatric care, evidentiary support for his asylum application and eventually, assistance finding employment with the Federal Reserve Bank of New York.

Mr. Sackor concluded his testimony at the hearing by stating, ''Mine is a story like so many other individuals around the country cared for by the torture treatment centers funded by the Torture Victims Relief Act. But I know from my fellow torture victims,'' he went on, ''now living in the United States that the need for more services is enormous. I urge you to do whatever you can to increase funding for the centers doing this important work. For survivors of torture, this is truly a matter of life and death.''

It is to help people like Mr. Sackor that I and so many others, 26 cosponsors who bring this bill today, including JIM OBERSTAR, who has been a leader for so many years on these issues. The organizations in Minnesota, New Jersey, Florida, all over the country doing heroic work in assisting refugees and asylees within our own country, such as the International Institute of New Jersey, need the funding that would be authorized under this legislation to help individuals overcome the scars of torture so that they can finally, at long last, integrate successfully into our society.

The Institute of New Jersey, for example, provides refugee resettlement services in New Jersey that include medical care, English language training, housing, employment, vocational referrals, mental health counseling, and social adjustment services. The benefits of such programs far outweigh any cost. It's an investment in people who have been harmed in most cases by despotic regimes.

H.R. 1511 has three components. The domestic aspect is designed to ensure that particular attention is given to torture victims in regions within the U.S. that have significant immigrant and refugee populations. The measure authorizes $25 million for each fiscal year 2010 and 2011 to the Department of Health and Human Services to assist domestic treatment centers. There are over 20 programs in 15 States assisted by the Department of Health and Human Services' Office of Refugee Resettlement.

In addition to direct assistance to survivors of torture and their families, many of these centers are also engaged in training mainstream organizations and personnel in the specialized treatment that is required for torture victims. The Department of Health has said over 3,200 individuals were assisted during the 6-month period in '06 to '07; and the primary countries of origin to grant beneficiaries included Cameroon, Ethiopia, Iran, DR Congo, Iraq, Sudan and Togo.

It is important, Mr. Speaker, that the United States also express concrete concern for victims overseas. H.R. 1511, therefore, authorizes $12 million for fiscal years 2010 and 2011 for foreign treatment centers and programs administered through USAID's Victims of Torture Fund. The funding is intended to give particular emphasis to supporting centers and programs abroad in emerging democracies and in post-conflict environments. I would note parenthetically that as I travel on human rights

missions abroad, Mr. Speaker, I often visit those centers to see the good work that's being done to help people, like in Bucharest, where—the legacy of Nicolae Ceausescu, the brutal tyrant of Romania—people are being assisted tangibly who spent time suffering torture under the Securitate, his secret police.

Lastly, Mr. Speaker, the measure encourages international cooperation and awareness of this issue by authorizing $12 million to the U.N. Voluntary Fund For Torture Victims. The type of humanitarian assistance provided by organizations that receive grants from the fund, including organizations in the U.S., consists mainly of, again, psychological, medical, social and legal assistance. I hope my colleagues can support this legislation.

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

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, we have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Florida (Mr. KLEIN) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 1511.

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

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

EXPRESSING APPRECIATION OF CANADIAN FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION

Mr. KLEIN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the resolution (H. Res. 519) expressing appreciation to the people and Government of Canada for their long history of friendship and cooperation with the people and Government of the United States and congratulating Canada as it celebrates ''Canada Day''.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The text of the resolution is as follows:

H. RES. 519

Whereas the United States has a long-cherished economic, social, and political partnership with Canada;

Whereas the United States and Canada share not only a 5,500-mile border, but also common ideals and cultural affinities;

Whereas in this era of heightened security, the United States and Canada have renewed cooperative efforts to safeguard the movement of people and goods, improve information-sharing, and strengthen border infrastructure and technology; and

Whereas July 1st of each year is officially celebrated in Canada as ''Canada Day'' in recognition of the anniversary of the establishment of the union of the British North American provinces in a federation called Canada: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives—

(1) expresses its appreciation to the people and Government of Canada for their long history of friendship and cooperation with the people and Government of the United States; and

(2) congratulates Canada as it celebrates its annual ''Canada Day''.

□ 1745

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. KLEIN) and the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Florida.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. KLEIN of Florida. 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 on the resolution under consideration.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. KLEIN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this legislation, and I yield myself as much time as I may consume.

Let me begin by thanking the gentleman from Michigan, BART STUPAK, for introducing this important resolution and for his steadfast leadership in support of a strong U.S.-Canada relationship.

H. Res. 519 congratulates the Canadian people and their government on Canada Day, the anniversary of the establishment of the union of the British North American provinces in a federation called Canada. It also expresses the appreciation of both the people and the Government of the United States for the longstanding cooperation and shared history with their Canadian counterparts. This provides an important opportunity for all Americans to recognize the common ideals and beliefs that unite our two nations economically, socially and politically.

Canada's sacrifices in Afghanistan are only the latest examples of the strong bond between our two nations. Since their initial deployment in 2002, Canadian troops have worked tirelessly to maintain security and to rebuild in Afghanistan, particularly in Kandahar province.

Canada has also been a leader in the global effort to promote a solution to worldwide carbon reduction, an issue which affects us all and which draws us even closer together as nations that share a common border. Canada's plan to reduce carbon emissions and their work through the United Nations' Framework Convention On Climate Change has been a significant step in the right direction.

The recent negotiations that took place between Canada and the United States concerning the water quality in the Great Lakes region further solidifies the bond between us as we must work collectively to improve the condition of that shared natural resource.

My district in south Florida benefits from a strong U.S.-Canadian relationship. Canada is Florida's top trading partner, and it is Florida's number one source of inbound tourism. According to a recent Canadian Government study, the Canada-Florida relationship is responsible for 432,000 direct and indirect jobs in Florida, representing 5.4 percent of all of Florida's employment.

This resolution advances the continued partnership that the United States hopes to maintain with the Canadian people and with their government. I would like to extend my personal congratulations and gratitude to the Canadian people, and I would urge all of my colleagues to do the same by supporting H. Res. 519.

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

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of House Resolution 519. I am happy to be one of the cosponsors, but it was introduced by my good friend and colleague, BART STUPAK, expressing appreciation to Canada for its long history of friendship with the United States and congratulating Canada on its celebration of Canada Day.

Canada Day, otherwise known as ''Canada's birthday,'' celebrates the 1867 enactment of the British North America Act, which united Canada as a confederation of four provinces. One of our closest friends and allies, I would like to thank the people of Canada and the government for their friendship and steadfast support of this country over many, many years.

The relationship between the U.S. and Canada is among the closest and most extensive in the world. Our two countries maintain the world's largest trading relationship, exchanging the equivalent of $1.5 billion in goods each day. Canada is the single largest foreign supplier of energy to the U.S., including oil, uranium, natural gas, and electricity. In 2008, the U.S. imported energy from Canada worth $111 billion, and every day about 300,000 people cross our shared border.

In both the First and Second World Wars, we fought on the same side against tyranny and fought for freedom and peace and against threats to international security. When the U.S. was faced with the horrors of 9/11, Canada, who also lost lives in the attack, stood by our side. In Afghanistan, Canada is our key NATO ally and is the leading contributor of combat forces to the alliances' International Security Assistance Force. The friendship and partnership between the countries is warm and enduring, and this resolution tries to recognize that, so I thank Mr. STUPAK for authoring it.

I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. KLEIN of Florida. I request just 1 minute of time to close.

Mr. Speaker, again, I would like to thank Mr. STUPAK. Also having grown up in Cleveland, Ohio, and right over the border from Canada, I had the opportunity to spend many great years visiting.

I would also like to acknowledge the consul general from Miami, Marcy

Grossman, who I had the opportunity to visit with recently before she left to return.

This is a wonderful opportunity to celebrate our two countries on this special Canada Day.

Mr. LARSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express my support for H. Res. 519 and join with our neighbors to the North in celebration of Canada Day.

On July 1st, 1867, the British North America Act went into effect, officially uniting the British North American colonies into one self-governing federation called Canada.

Earlier this month, Canadians across North America celebrated the anniversary of their country's birth, their long tradition of democracy, and their national achievements.

The United States shares in the celebration of this special day because we have strong economic, political and cultural ties with Canada.

Washington State's 2nd Congressional District, which I represent, contains over 60 miles of our common border with Canada. As a member of the Northern Border Caucus, I view our partnership with Canada as one that is vital to both of our countries' national security and economic prosperity.

With nearly $600 billion in goods and millions of people crossing the border each year, Canada is not only the United States' largest trading partner, but also a key international ally.

In addition to sharing a common border that spans more than 5,500 miles, the United States and Canada share a deep commitment to democratic principles. It is because of this commitment that our governments have worked so closely to address the common challenges we face, such as narcotics and terrorism. And it is in defense of these same democratic principles that our servicemen and women have fought side by side in Afghanistan and throughout the world.

I congratulate Canada on the occasion of the 142nd Canada Day and I look forward to celebrating with them for many years to come.

Mr. KLEIN of Florida. I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Florida (Mr. KLEIN) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, H. Res. 519.

The question was taken.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In the opinion of the Chair, two-thirds being in the affirmative, the ayes have it.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX and the Chair's prior announcement, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

The point of no quorum is considered withdrawn.

SPECIAL ORDERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 2009, and under a previous order of the House, the following Members will be recognized for 5 minutes each.

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

(Mr. LARSON of Connecticut addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

CELEBRATING THE LIFE OF FRANK MICKENS

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

Mr. TOWNS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to recognize a great educator who passed away just a few days ago. This man was a tremendous leader. He was the principal of Boys and Girls High School in the borough of Brooklyn, a gentleman by the name of Frank Mickens.

Frank Mickens really, really provided the leadership that we need so desperately today, and he did it with grace. He would insist that his students wore neckties. Of course, the board of education and people were very concerned about that fact, and they said he was not following the rules and regulations of the board of education.

But Frank's argument was, if a youngster had on a shirt and a tie, his behavior would be different, and he would be more eager to learn. Of course, Frank proved to everybody that what he was saying was right. He proved to everybody that this made sense. He also said, if a youngster were in a suit and a tie, that he would not be too interested in gangs and in gang life, because gangs would wear colors and all of that. If a youngster did not have a tie, Frank Mickens provided a tie. He had a closet with shirts and ties and with all of that in it to make certain that youngsters who came to school did not have to worry about whether they had ties or not, because he would provide ties for them.

It was so interesting because, when he took over the Boys and Girls High School, it was viewed as one of the worst schools in the City of New York. I remember on many occasions how parents would come to me and would say, Help me to make certain that my child does not have to attend Boys and Girls High School. I remember one family in particular. The mother came to me, trying to make certain that her daughter did not attend the high school. Then just a few years later, after Frank Mickens turned the school around, of course everybody wanted their children to go to Boys and Girls. Then there were no seats available.

She said to me, If you really are strong and if you're my Congressman, then I want you to be able to get my son into Boys and Girls High School. Here was the same lady who did not want her older child to go to Boys and Girls. Now she was fighting to get her son into Boys and Girls.

That points out the kind of leadership that Frank provided. He did not always go by the guidelines and by the rules and regulations of the education board, but the point was that they could not say that he was not effective.

He was also effective as a coach. He coached at Boys and Girls High School. As the coach of Boys and Girls High School, he won the city championship, and that was a very exciting time for a school that had not done that in many, many years.

He was a natural educator. He had the ability to pull teachers together and to get them to work extra hours and to do all kinds of things to make certain that the youngsters were able to learn. He had the youngsters from that school going to some of the best colleges and universities in the Nation. This was a school that people had basically written off, but now they were going to all of the top schools because these teachers were working very closely with Frank to make certain that Boys and Girls High School was one of the top schools in the City of New York.

We're going to miss Frank because he was considered the person who motivated everybody, who got things done, who was able to get scholarships for his young students, and he was respected in the neighborhood. People would just come to him, looking for leadership, looking for advice and all of that.

He is going to be missed because Frank truly made a difference, and I would say that I am just so happy that I had an opportunity to know him and to work with him and to live during his lifetime.

Frank, we will miss you, but I'll tell you that your work is something that will live on and on and on. You were truly a leader. You provided educational leadership in a way that will never, never, never be forgotten.

So let me say to your family that I know that they will miss Frank dearly as well, but here again, I think we can be proud of the fact that the legacy that Frank leaves and the life that he lived are things that we should never, never forget. So I would say to all of the people, not only in Brooklyn but throughout this Nation, that we should commit ourselves to try to be the kind of educational leaders that Frank Mickens was.

□ 1800

EXONERATING LIEUTENANT COLONEL JOHN A. BROW AND MAJOR BROOKS S. GRUBER

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SCHAUER). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. JONES) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. JONES. Mr. Speaker, on July 16 of 2009, I spoke on the House floor to

express my thanks to the United States Marine Corps for their help in exonerating the late Lieutenant Colonel John A. Brow and the late Major Brooks S. Gruber, who was a resident of Jacksonville, North Carolina. On April 8, 2000, these men were the Marine pilots of the MV–22 Osprey that crashed in Marana, Arizona. The mishap occurred during a training mission as part of a test phase to determine the aircraft's suitability for the Marine Corps. Seventeen other Marines were killed in the crash.

From that day until today, I've worked with many aviation experts in the Corps and outside the Corps who helped me reach the conclusion that these pilots were not at fault for the crash. Over the past 9 years, many times, both on TV and in the print media, inaccurate reports have spread misinformation by faulting the pilots and calling the crash as pilot error. That's why it's so important to set the record straight.

So in 2009, I asked the Marine Corps to include in the official military personnel files of Lieutenant Colonel Brow and Major Gruber a memo which exonerates them from any responsibility for the mishap. The memo includes 17 facts regarding the crash which were developed based on my review of official investigations and public records as well as extensive discussions with aviation experts.

The evidence shows that the fatal factor in the crash was the aircraft's lack of a vortex ring state warning system and the pilots' lack of critical training regarding the extreme dangers of VRS onset in the Osprey.

Mr. Speaker, Lieutenant Colonel Brow and Major Gruber and their families are dishonored by the assertions that the air crew were at fault for this fatal crash. That's why I am grateful that the Marine Corps has accepted the relevance of these facts, and on February 20 of 2009 they included my memo in the personnel files of these two Marines.

To finally bring this tragedy to a conclusion and to remove the stigma that has been unfairly attached to these two pilots, I have written the Navy to ask that they do the same thing as the Marine Corps did in doing the right thing by including this memo in the official safety investigation report of this mishap.

Mr. Speaker, I am entering into the record my letter to Rear Admiral A.J. Johnson, dated June 11 of 2009, which includes my request and the 17 facts about the crash.

As of this afternoon, I am very disappointed to say that I still have not received a response to this letter. Again, Mr. Speaker, the letter was dated June 11 of 2009. My request to the Navy is simple and the facts have not been disputed.

We have just over a week until the House adjourns for the August work period. I will have to consider pursuing other options if the Navy fails to approve my request. If necessary, I will ask that the crash investigation be reopened, and I will take legislative action to clear the names of these two pilots.

Mr. Speaker, I sincerely hope that the Navy will follow the example of the Marine Corps and help properly honor the sacrifice of these pilots who bravely gave their lives in service of this country.

And with that, Mr. Speaker, as I do frequently, I will ask God to please bless our men and women in uniform in Afghanistan and Iraq. I will ask God to bless the families of our men and women in uniform. I will ask God in His loving arms to hold the families who have given a child dying for freedom in Afghanistan or Iraq. And, Mr. Speaker, as I do in closing, three times I will ask God, please God, please God, please God, continue to bless America.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, June 11, 2009.

Rear Admiral ARTHUR J. JOHNSON,
Commander, Naval Safety Center,
Norfolk, VA.

DEAR REAR ADMIRAL JOHNSON: Thank you for your response to my letter of April 21, 2009. Notwithstanding your regulations regarding the purpose of the Naval Aviation Mishap Safety investigations, I am convinced that the Memorandum of the Record (Memorandum) must be included in the AMB report and JAGMAN investigation as a matter of public record.

Over the last several years, numerous articles and stories referencing the April 8, 2000 crash of the V–22 Osprey have incorrectly identified Lieutenant Colonel Brow and Major Gruber as the cause of the accident and have brought unmerited mental hardship on their families. I outlined two of these incidents in my previous letter. As a reminder, the press release issued by the Marine Corps attributed the accident to the pilot's ''extremely rapid rate of descent.'' Statements such as this and the incomplete nature of the AMB report and JAGMAN investigation have formed the basis for the public's perception of the role of the pilots in this unfortunate accident and must be supplemented with clarifying language.

For example, the JAGMAN stated that the aircraft found itself in vortex ring state (VRS) condition with no apparent warning to the aircrew. It was not until after the accident that Naval Air Systems Command called for a new flight limitation, pilot procedures, and a cockpit warning system for VRS. Clearly, the record must reflect this reality.

Your response stated that safety investigations ''are conducted to determine root causes and identify corrective actions, not to assign blame or document accountability.'' In the case of the Osprey accident, the process of determining root causes and identifying corrective actions led to assigning blame to the pilot and co-pilot by outside organizations because the role of VRS has not been given its proper emphasis. If investigations undertaken after completion of the accident report place the root cause of the accident on other causes, there is reason to acknowledge that and include such a finding in the AMB report and JAGMAN investigation.

There were many subsequent investigations into the safety of the Osprey and the dangers of VRS. Therefore, the process of investigating this accident is not ''closed to outside influences.'' Insights gained after the completion of an accident report can appropriately be appended to an official safety or investigative report.

Everyone can appreciate the desire to close an official investigation. However, subsequent developments clearly demonstrate that the accident report was incomplete. There is a legitimate basis for correcting what was determined in order to promote public justice and remove the stigma attached to the pilot and co-pilot.

In discussions with experts within and outside of the military, additions to closed investigations happen frequently. If you do not agree to place the Memorandum in the AMB report and JAGMAN investigation, I request that you specifically identify whether any of the 17 facts contained in the Memorandum are inaccurate. Inclusion of the Memorandum in the Official Military Personnel Files of these brave Marines is insufficient.

Thank you for your service to our nation. I look forward to your response.

Sincerely,

WALTER B. JONES,
Member of Congress.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

Based on my review of official investigations and public records regarding this mishap as well as extensive discussions with aviation experts, I, U.S. Congressman Walter B. Jones, have concluded that the fatal factor in the crash of an MV–22 Osprey on April 8, 2000 in Marana, Arizona was the aircraft's lack of a Vortex Ring State (VRS) warning system as well as the pilots' lack of critical training regarding the extreme dangers of VRS onset in the Osprey. I also believe the Marine Corps has blamed the mishap on the pilots' drive to accomplish the mission and a combination of aircrew human factors. Lieutenant Colonel Brow and Major Gruber and their families are dishonored by the assertion that the aircrew was in any way responsible for this fatal accident. Therefore, I request that the following findings be included in all official records relating to this mishap:

1. The fatal crash of an MV–22 on April 8, 2000, in Marana, Arizona, was not a result of aircrew human factors or pilot error that can be attributed to the late Lieutenant Colonel John A. Brow or the late Major Brooks S. Gruber who competently and professionally performed their duties as United States Marine Corps aviators.

2. The fatal factor in the crash of an MV–22 on April 8, 2000, was the aircraft's lack of a Vortex Ring State (VRS) warning system and the Department of the Navy's failure to provide the pilots with critical training regarding the extreme dangers of VRS onset in the MV–22.

3. Because of inadequate High Rate of Descent (HROD) and VRS developmental testing, the pilots of the MV–22 involved in the accident on April 8, 2000, were not trained or able to recognize, avoid, or recover from VRS onset in the MV–22.

4. Had adequate HROD and VRS developmental testing been conducted prior to the Operational Evaluation of April 8, 2000, and had a VRS warning system been installed in the aircraft, Lieutenant Colonel Brow and Major Gruber would have been better able to avoid or recover from VRS.

5. LtCol Brow and Maj Gruber were in formation behind another MV–22. The lead aircraft had overshot its intended approach angle and therefore steepened the approach angle. Unaware of the extreme dangers of VRS onset in the MV–22, LtCol Brow and Maj Gruber slowed their airspeed and descended even quicker, to maintain position on the lead aircraft. Twenty three seconds prior to the crash, the co-pilot of the lead aircraft stated ''If you want you can take it long if you need to or you can wave it off. It's your

call. You're hanging dash two out there.'' The lead aircraft pilot decided to continue his rapid descent at a slow forward airspeed, clearly oblivious of the extreme dangers of VRS onset in the MV–22.

6. Numerous reviews and investigations following the mishap have documented that the pilots of the mishap aircraft were not provided with the necessary and critical knowledge and training to recognize, avoid, or recover from the extreme dangers of Vortex Ring State (VRS) onset in the MV–22 and the potential for sudden loss of controlled flight in the MV–22 following VRS onset.

7. After the mishap, Naval Air Systems Command (NAVAIR) called for a thorough investigative flight test program to find the boundaries of VRS, characterize its handling qualities, and establish the basis for a new flight limitation, pilot procedures, and a cockpit warning system.

8. As a result of testing following the fatal accident, a visual and aural cockpit warning system was developed to alert the aircrew when the aircraft exceeded the NATOPS flight manual's rate-of-descent limit.

9. On July 27, 2000, the Marine Corps publicly announced in a press release that a combination of ''human factors'' caused the April 8, 2000 crash. The press release went on to implicate the mishap aircraft pilots by stating that ''deviations from the scheduled flight plan, an unexpected tailwind and the pilot's extremely rapid rate of descent into the landing zone created conditions that led to the accident.'' The release also stated that ''although the report stops short of specifying pilot error as a cause, it notes that the pilot of the ill-fated aircraft significantly exceeded the rate of descent established by regulations for safe flight.'' In this Official USMC press release, Marine Corps Commandant Gen. James L. Jones is quoted as saying: ''the tragedy is that these were all good Marines joined in a challenging mission. Unfortunately, the pilots' drive to accomplish that mission appears to have been the fatal factor.''

10. This clearly damaging language is inaccurate, based on the fact that at the time of the crash, adequate testing of the MV–22 in the High Rate of Descent/Vortex Ring State (HROD/VRS) regime had not been conducted, the MV–22 did not have a VRS warning system, and the pilots did not have adequate knowledge and training to recognize and avoid the extreme dangers of Vortex Ring State (VRS) onset in the MV–22 and the potential for sudden loss of controlled flight in the MV–22 following VRS onset.

11. According to the Government Accountability Office (GAO), the Commander, Operational Test and Evaluation Force's V–22 Operational Evaluation (OPEVAL) report indicated that the MV–22 ''Naval Air Training and Operating Procedures Standardization (NATOPS) manual lacked adequate content, accuracy, and clarity at the time of the accident. Additionally, because of incomplete developmental testing in the High Rate of Descent (HROD) regime, there was insufficient explanatory or emphatic text to warn pilots of hazards of operating in this area. The flight stimulator did not replicate this loss of controlled flight regime.'' Also, the preliminary NATOPS manual and V–22 ground school syllabus provided insufficient guidance/warning as to high rate of descent/slow airspeed conditions and the potential consequences.

12. The Judge Advocate General Manual (JAGMAN) Investigating Officer stated that ''the fact that the aircraft found itself in VRS condition with no apparent warning to the aircrew, but also departed controlled flight is particularly concerning.''

13. On December 15, 2000, after a second crash of the V–22 that year, then-Secretary of Defense Bill Cohen determined that the accident history of V–22 aircraft and other testing issues required an independent, high-level review of the program. He established a Blue Ribbon Panel to review the safety of the V–22 aircraft and to recommend any proposed corrective actions.

14. This panel was briefed by the Government Accountability Office (GAO) and the contents of this brief were incorporated into a subsequent GAO report. The GAO report cited concerns about the adequacy of development tests conducted prior to the aircraft entering the operational test and evaluation phase and that completion of these tests would have provided further insights into the V–22 Vortex Ring State phenomenon. In particular, the GAO found that developmental testing was deleted, deferred or stimulated in order to meet cost and schedule goals.

15. The original plan to test the flying qualities of the flight control system included various rates of descent, speeds, and weights. This testing would have provided considerable knowledge of MV–22 flight qualities especially in areas related to the sudden loss of controlled flight following VRS onset. To meet cost and schedule targets, the actual testing conducted was less than a third of that originally planned.'' In addition, MV–22 pilots did not understand the optimum use of nacelle tilt to recover from VRS onset. In my opinion, this testing clearly could have prevented this tragic accident by providing the pilots the knowledge and training to either avoid or recover from VRS.

16. The GAO presentation also revealed that the JAGMAN Investigating Officer opined that the MV–22 Program Manager (PMA–275), Naval Aviation Training Systems (PMA–205) and the Contractor ''needed to expedite incorporation of Vortex Ring State and Blade Stall warnings and procedures into the MV–22 NATOPS. The preliminary NATOPS manual and V–22 ground school syllabus provided insufficient guidance/warning as to high rate of descent/slow airspeed conditions and the potential consequences.''

17. The GAO report also revealed that the Director, Operational Test & Evaluation (DOT&E) stated that ''while the possible existence of VRS in the V–22 was known when flight limits for OPEVAL were established, the unusual attitude following entry into VRS was not expected.'' DOT&E goes on to say ''thus, the first indication the pilot may receive that he has encountered this difficulty is when the aircraft initiated an uncommanded, uncontrollable roll.''

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WOOLSEY) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Ms. WOOLSEY addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

THE HEALTH OF OUR ECONOMY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Ohio (Ms. KAPTUR) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, our whole economy has been in trouble for a long time. We can no longer look at foreclosure rates but ignore our trade deficit, or discuss high gas prices without mentioning the billions spent on Wall Street and the growing U.S. debt that results from an economy not in charge of itself.

Mr. Speaker, the health of our economy is not just one number, like Wall Street profits. It's not just our budget deficit. There are so many more aspects to our economy that weigh heavily on how prosperous America could be. Those aspects include having grown more dependent year after year on foreign products.

This first chart shows since the 1970s how deeply into debt we have fallen in terms of more imports coming into our country than exports year after year for so much of what drives this economy. Three quarters of a trillion dollars more imports in here than our exports out. More foreign imports into the United States means less U.S. jobs. More of our exports out means more jobs here.

Our trade deficit has been driven up to nearly 5 percent of what's called the gross domestic product—a shocking number by any measure—by this growing dependence on foreign goods starting with oil, which consumes over half of this deficit, and bad trade deals. In fact, when you look at this chart, it's hard to imagine that almost half a trillion dollars is related to imports of energy.

With high gas prices and bad trade deals have come growing legions of the unemployed with climbing rates higher and higher. There's been a steady pattern of this deepening crisis over the last several years. In fact, it's interesting to look at this chart which shows the relationship between unemployment, rising oil prices, and unemployment.

And going back to the 1970s, with the first embargo of oil from the Middle East, we saw a huge peak in price and then a huge peak in unemployment. And the same is true in every succeeding decade in the 1980s, in the 1990s, and certainly now. There has been a steady pattern of this deepening crisis over the last 20 years.

In 1993, when NAFTA was rammed through this Congress, they said it would create jobs. It did just the reverse. There's been a huge net job loss for our country.

In the late 1990s, when they passed PNTR for China, they said, Oh, that will create more jobs here. Well, no. It did exactly the reverse net; more jobs were outsourced.

At home, in places like Toledo, Ohio, 15.6 percent of our people are officially unemployed as foreclosures continue, deep, huge payouts to Wall Street continue, and now 12 percent of our housing stock foreclosed. The gap between the super-super rich and the rest of us is getting wider all the time, and those numbers threaten the future of our Republic.

At a recent job fair in Toledo, unemployed workers were able to post video resumes courtesy of local television stations. One man, a CVL licensed truck driver in his early sixties, said he was looking for anything, ''even something in fast food.''

We don't lack for a work ethic in our area, we lack for jobs. But with so

many outsourced jobs, from televisions to clothing to automotive to call centers, for heaven's sake, American consumers are abdicating their buying power abroad and losing millions of jobs. Unemployment benefits are starting to run out. Food pantries are seeing record increases, and people are getting desperate. The wealth disparity grows larger every day.

Don Monkerud wrote in the Capital Times in Madison, Wisconsin, the 400 richest Americans, who now own more than the bottom 150 million Americans, increased their net worth by $700 billion during the 8 years of the Bush administration. I think one can ask, isn't that enough? Are they filled up yet?

In 2005, the top 1 percent claimed a quarter of our national income and the top 10 percent of earners in this country took fully half of the entire national income. It's even worse now. The super rich taking the largest share of our national income since—are you ready for this?—since 1928, the year before the Great Depression started, the wealth gap.

And yet we're listening to the super-super rich whining because they want them to help pay for a health care system that will help make our Nation competitive in the global marketplace so we can help recapture some of the lost jobs.

We can't fix our country by simply fixing things on Wall Street for those who are super rich or pandering to the complaints of the richest of the rich or the Wall Street bankers that have outsourced so many of our jobs. That's how we got here in the first place.

We need to fix this country by reducing our trade deficit, cutting our dependence on foreign oil, helping hard-working Americans who are doing their best to make ends meet and who want to work and putting our accounts back in order.

Listen to the over 250 million Americans, not just the top few, who are asking us to make America, all of us, rich again as a result of our hard work. It's time. Our people have earned it.

HEALTH CARE DEBATE—QUOTES TO REMEMBER

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

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. There's been an awful lot of misinformation about the Democrat health care proposal, Mr. Speaker, and so I would like to take just a couple of minutes tonight to talk to my colleagues about what's really happening and what will happen if this bill becomes law.

According to the Lewin Group, there will be 114 million Americans who could lose their current coverage under the bill according to this organization. 4.7 million is the number of the jobs that could be lost as a result of taxes on businesses that cannot afford to provide health care insurance coverage according to a model developed by the Council of Economic Advisors; $818 billion in total new taxes on individuals who cannot afford health care coverage and employers who cannot afford to provide coverage that meet the Federal bureaucrat standards; $1.28 trillion in new Federal spending in the next 10 years, but some believe it will be as much as $3 trillion. And then there are 33 entitlement programs the bill creates, expands, or extends in an increase from where we are right now.

This is the organizational chart of the health care plan the Democrats are proposing. The white spots are new agencies that will be created or will be added to the plan, and it's going to be a real maze for Americans to go through in order to get health care. It will result, in my opinion, in most people's opinions who study this, in rationing of health care and additional cost to the taxpayers of this country to the tune of between $1 trillion and $3 trillion over a decade.

Now, I just want to quote some of the things that have been said by our leaders over the past few days about this plan.

Yesterday, President Obama, when he was talking about this, said that this bill will not add to the deficit. He said: I will not sign a bill that adds to the deficit. Period. That is a direct quote from the President yesterday.

According to the Congressional Budget Office, the House bill, this bill, will add $239 billion to the deficit. So either the Congressional Budget Office or the President is wrong because it is going to add to the deficit, according to CBO.

Representative CHARLIE RANGEL, one of my good friends here in the Congress, was commenting on President Obama and Speaker PELOSI by saying he thought they were moving too fast. He was overheard to say yesterday or day before yesterday: No one wants to tell the Speaker that she's moving too fast and they darn sure don't want to tell the President. He was on his way to a closed door meeting about this because there is an awful lot of concern about this bill, even among Democrats.

Speaker PELOSI, in a front page interview in USA Today, said: Many Members think that there's more to be squeezed from the hospitals, the pharmaceutical companies and the docs. Squeeze them. And I hope all of those institutions are listening.

JOE BIDEN, the Vice President, said: We're going to go bankrupt as a Nation, he warned at an event in Virginia last week. He continued: People, when I say that, look at me and say, What are you talking about, JOE? You're telling me we have to go spend money to keep from going bankrupt? And he says, yes, we do have to spend more money to keep from going bankrupt.

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Now that's something that is new to me. I have never heard that you can spend your way out of bankruptcy. And the White House Chief of Staff, Rahm Emanuel, told the New York Times that Obama intends to use tonight's press conference, that is going to happen this evening, as a ''6-month report card,'' and he is going to talk to the American people about ''how we've rescued the economy from the worst recession'' and that we're moving forward with our legislative agenda.

Now if they've rescued us from the worst recession, I'd like to know how we're going to explain to the American people that we are very rapidly approaching 10 percent unemployment when just a month or so ago they said it wouldn't go above 8 percent, and how when they said they weren't going to spend us into the red anymore, and we're looking at trillions of dollars of additional spending. So tonight I hope everybody watches the President and listens to him. But I hope they ask themselves, are things better today than they were 6 months ago, when you took office, or are they worse? Because he's going to tell you everything is coming up roses.

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

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

H.R. 1933, A CHILD IS MISSING ALERT AND RECOVERY CENTER ACT

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

Mr. KLEIN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to commend my colleagues for passing H.R. 1933, the A Child Is Missing Alert and Recovery Center Act. I introduced this bipartisan legislation with my good friend from Texas (Mr. GOHMERT), who is the distinguished ranking member of the Crime Subcommittee and a former Texas State judge. I should also thank the distinguished chairman and ranking member of the Judiciary Committee, Mr. CONYERS of Michigan, Mr. SMITH of Texas, and Mr. SCOTT, the chairman of the Crime Subcommittee, for their leadership in moving H.R. 1933 out of committee and to the floor.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 1933 would expand the widely praised A Child Is Missing nonprofit organization into a national program with regional centers under the Department of Justice. It would accomplish this expansion through annual grants from the Attorney General in the amount of $5 million from 2010 through 2015. The funds would allow for the purchase of future technologies and techniques, centralized and onsite training, and for the distribution of information to Federal, State and local law enforcement agency officials on the best ways to utilize the round-the-

clock services provided by the A Child Is Missing Alert and Recovery Center.

Currently, A Child Is Missing is the only program of its kind that assists in all missing cases involving abduction, children who are lost, wander or run away, or adults with special needs such as the elderly who suffer from Alzheimer's or dementia, which is a major problem in my district in south Florida. When a person is reported missing to law enforcement, A Child Is Missing utilizes the latest technology to place 1,000 emergency telephone calls every 60 seconds to residents and businesses in the area where the person is last seen. It works in concert with the AMBER Alert system which you see on the highways, on those billboards or radio announcements, also known as the Silver Alert, and all child-safety programs, and has the support of law enforcement agencies all over the country.

A Child Is Missing also fills a critical gap in time in the most dangerous cases. Although the AMBER Alert has been an extremely successful program, there is still a crucial void in time when a child is first reported missing and when an AMBER Alert, which is activated only in cases of criminal abduction, can be issued, which is sometimes 3 to 5 hours later. This critical period of time can be the difference between whether a child lives or dies.

Recently, a Washington State Attorney General's office study showed that among cases involving children abducted and murdered, 74 percent were slain in the first 3 hours. So it is the first hours, the first minutes that are critical. And to the extent we can alert people in the local area by this telephone system to businesses and residences, we get the information about the potential child or abductor to the law enforcement as quickly as possible.

Adding to the problem is the resource and manpower limitations facing many local law enforcement agencies. Roughly half of these offices in the United States had 25 or fewer officers, and an average 12-hour search for a missing child can cost up to $400,000 in law enforcement expenses. That is a great fiscal burden during these difficult times of shrinking budgets. A Child Is Missing helps to fill this critical gap in time as well as complement the AMBER Alert during its ongoing search. We have heard this over and over again from law enforcement agencies that have received this; the real issue is that not enough communities have access to the program.

The founder and president of A Child Is Missing in Florida, Sherry Friedlander, who has done a remarkable job spreading the program to all 50 States, says that we're going to bring this program to every community, but we need there to be the leverage and logistics and some minor amount of resources that can help make it do so. And that is exactly what H.R. 1933 does. It has broad bipartisan support in Congress. I count cosponsors from all over the United States. On the Senate side companion legislation was introduced by Senator MENENDEZ and Senator HATCH, the distinguished former chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Because we are so proud of this great effort, we understand that children are not Democrats or Republicans, they are Americans, and they are our children and our responsibility. And their protection requires all of us to work together to do what is best for their continued safety. So as a result of all this, I appreciate this support we have got, and I urge our colleagues to support H.R. 1933.

WHERE ARE THE JOBS?

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

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, jobs, jobs, jobs. Americans are asking, where are the jobs? With the unemployment rate at 9.7 percent, Democrats continue to push job-killing bills. First cap-and-tax, and now a plan to socialize health care. We all agree our health care system is clearly in need of reform. Health care costs too much. Families and individuals are seeing their premiums rise, and businesses are having to drop or significantly reduce their coverage to make ends meet. Employees are wondering why their plan no longer covers things like dental or vision.

The answer is, the costs are forcing employers to reduce coverage. However, the Democrat government-controlled health care bill actually makes things worse. The nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office says it will raise prices even higher and increase taxes. The Democrats' health care bill also hurts the quality of health care, cuts thousands of jobs, and devastates State economies.

There are just too many problems with the Democrat health bill to use a 5-minute speech, so I'm going to focus on one job-killing section, section 1156, which would be the death of physician-owned hospitals, which are a huge job creator and a medical innovator in Texas and throughout the country. Texas has more existing and planned physician hospitals than any other State. To be exact, Texas has 50 physician-owned hospitals that provide 22,000 jobs and contribute $2.3 billion to the Texas economy annually. So let me repeat. This little provision in the Democrat government health plan kills tens of thousands of jobs, tens of millions of tax dollars paid, and over $1 billion of economic activity for the State.

If section 1156 becomes law, 104 physician-owned hospitals currently under construction would be lost. This would cost Texans 20,000 jobs and $5 billion in investments. Constituents in my district are letting me know how devastating this provision is for Texas. Hospitals like the Heart Hospital of Austin, rated the number one hospital in America for heart attacks, would not be able to build new hospitals and could only expand after going through several layers of bureaucracy.

This is only one small portion in the Democratic government-run health care plan, and it kills jobs. And others kill jobs. In a poll of 5,097 of my constituents, 82 percent oppose the Democrat plan. Nationwide polling indicates the majority of Americans are opposed to the Democrat plan. Let's listen to our constituents and defeat this government-run takeover of our health care.

HONORING TOMAS AGUON CAMACHO OF THE NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from the Northern Mariana Islands (Mr. SABLAN) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SABLAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to honor one of the Northern Mariana Islands' finest individuals, Tomas Aguon Camacho. The Most Reverend Tomas Aguon Camacho is the first bishop of the Diocese of Chalan Kanoa, Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. Born to Maria Borja Aguon and Vidal Palacios Camacho on September 18, 1933, Bishop Camacho was ordained a priest on June 14, 1961, and was given the honorary title of Monsignor in 1974. On January 13, 1985, he was installed as Bishop, the same time that the Northern Mariana Islands became a separate ecclesiastic jurisdiction from the Archdiocese of Hagatna, Guam, to what was and is now the Diocese of Chalan Kanoa.

As a shepherd to Catholics in the Northern Mariana Islands, which total approximately 80 percent of the general population, Bishop Camacho is looked upon by the people as a compassionate pastor, a humble servant and a concerned teacher to his flock. He recently finished translating into the vernacular the books of the New Testament, making the Word of God available in Chamorro, an indigenous language unique to the Northern Mariana Islands and to Guam. He is now working on the books of the Old Testament. Additionally, the Bishop has commissioned a group to translate the Bible in the Refalauwasch, the other indigenous language of the Northern Mariana Islands.

Bishop Camacho is not only a strong spiritual leader, but he is also a compassionate father who tries his best to address the needs of his people. Bishop Camacho initiated and founded various diocesan commissions that, up to the present time, provide invaluable services to the people.

KARIDAT Charity, for example, is a social service provider under the diocese serving the islands of Saipan, Tinian and Rota. It provides youth and family counseling, emergency food and shelter assistance, hotline and outreach assistance to victims of crime.

Founded on May 5, 1980, KARIDAT has to this day served thousands of residents. Moreover, in the early 1990s, through the leadership of Bishop Camacho, the diocese has maintained a Human Rights Advocacy Office. This office was instrumental in protecting the rights of foreign workers and upholding the church's social teachings.

However, due to founding constraints, the office was closed in the late 1990s. Over the years, Bishop Camacho has guided the faithful in facing major community issues by releasing pastoral letters on casino gambling, human trafficking, substance abuse, abortion and their impact on individual and family values. Mr. Zaldy Dandan, the editor of a local newspaper, The Marianas Variety, described Bishop Camacho as ''the island's most trusted, most revered and most beloved public figure, an exemplary representative of the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church. He is the soul of Saipan, the conscience of the island, and the pride of the Northern Marianas.''

In October of 2008, the Northern Mariana Islands Council for the Humanities presented Bishop Tomas A. Camacho its Lifetime Achievement in the Humanities award for his efforts in preserving the Chamorro language. Having tendered his resignation last year at the age of 75 as required by the law of the church, Bishop Camacho is now waiting for Pope Benedict XVI's appointment of our next bishop, pastor and friend.

Forty-eight years a priest and now 24 years in the Episcopacy, Bishop Camacho, the Diocese of Chalan Kanoa, and the people of the Northern Mariana Islands will have to look back at the years and hear the Master say, ''Well done, good and trustworthy servant; you have shown you are trustworthy in small things, I will trust you with greater, and join your Master's happiness,'' Matthew chapter 25 verse 21. Only God knows what greater things there are that are beyond what Bishop Tomas A. Camacho has attained. Only God knows.

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

(Mr. MORAN of Kansas addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

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

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

□ 1830

REFORMING OUR HEALTH CARE SYSTEM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Arizona (Ms. GIFFORDS) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. GIFFORDS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to talk about the most important domestic policy issue that faces our country, and that is the reforming of our health care system, this great debate that this country is having right now.

Before coming to the United States Congress, I served as a State Legislator, both in the House and in the Senate in the State of Arizona, so I had a chance to hear from people all over, from Tombstone all the way up to Flagstaff about the challenges that they faced with health care.

Before I was a State Legislator, I was the CEO of my family's tire business. And running El Campo Tires, I had a chance to make some important decisions for my employees, and that included making sure that they had good health benefits. Unlike many of my competitors, I offered health care upon hire. But year after year I saw double-digit increases when it came to paying for our insurance premium. Now, we weren't a very large company, but I thought it was important to provide those health care benefits. It was probably detrimental to the company, but I thought that was really critical.

We see right now in the United States, as a country, that we spend too much for health care per capita. We spend well more than any other country. Yet we have 47 million Americans right now that have no health insurance. We have probably 20 million additional Americans that are underinsured, and millions and millions every day that worry that the insurance that they have won't cover them, that it won't be enough. Nationwide, premiums have doubled in the last 9 years, which have basically increased three times faster than real wages across the United States.

I represent Arizona's Eighth Congressional District and it's unique because it's burdened in different ways than other parts of the country. This is a border district, one of 10 border districts. A large amount of the geography is rural, where it's very hard to get physicians or nurses to go out there. Many parts of the district are low income. We also have fewer doctors per capita than other parts of the country. From 2001 to 2006, the out-of-pocket expenses in my district went up by 32 percent; and in 2008, there were 950 health care related personal bankruptcies in my district. So we cannot continue to perpetuate the status quo. The time for health care reform is right now. Arizonans need reform that's going to protect us from being denied coverage based on a pre-existing health condition that they might have. Arizonans need reform that guarantees care, even if we lose our job or if we move or if our spouse loses his or her job. Arizonans need reform that fosters competition, which is critical to our free market system, across the insurance companies and delivers us, the customers, the consumers, the lowest cost and the best service available. Arizonans need reform that puts the power of health care decisions back into the hands of the patient and back into the hands of their physicians. Reform is not an option, and most Americans simply know that.

As the health care legislation is being crafted and being discussed right now, we know that it has to be done responsibly. We know we need to pay for it. We can't continue to put today's expenses on to the shoulders of our children and our grandchildren. It is also critical that Americans know that if you like your plan, you can keep your plan. You should be able to make sure that your costs go down and not go up like they're continuing to do. There are savings to be had in our current system. We all know that. So we have to focus on squeezing those costs, every drop. We can do this, and we must do this. So it's really time to make sure, not that we do it fast, but that we do it right because our economy's at stake. Our children, our grandchildren, and America's prosperity are at stake right now with this health reform issue.

So thank you, Mr. Speaker, for the time, and for my constituents back home, the importance that they know that we're going to work to make sure we get this health care legislation right.

HEALTH CARE REFORM

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

Mr. GOODLATTE. Last week, Democratic leaders in Congress introduced the ''America's Affordable Health Choices Act,'' which sets the tone for a Washington takeover of the health care system, one defined by Federal regulation, mandates, a myriad of new big government programs, and a significant increase in Federal spending. A recent poll, which was released at the beginning of July, indicates that Americans by a margin of 2–1 think a government takeover of health care would be a bad thing. Unfortunately, the Democratic leadership is not listening to the American people and they are pushing legislation which only offers more of what is wrong with the current system.

At least two different independent analyses of the House Democrats health care legislation estimate that more than 100 million Americans would lose their current health care coverage. In addition to losing their health insurance, Americans are going to lose control over their health care decisions. Under the Democrats' vision, Washington would have ultimate control over what is best for patients, what treatments are acceptable, and how long patients wait for needed care. Additionally, this misguided health care legislation is estimated to cost the

Federal Government as much as $1.5 trillion. In fact, Congressional Budget Office Director Douglas Elmendorf testified before the House Ways and Means Committee that the coverage proposals in this legislation would expand Federal spending on health care to a significant degree. He went on to say that in CBO's analysis so far, they didn't see other provisions in the legislation reducing Federal health spending by a corresponding degree.

To pay for this massive new government expansion, the legislation contains $820 billion in new job-killing tax increases imposed on certain income filers, a majority of whom are small businesses, even while the country remains in a serious recession. Struggling middle class families need jobs and small businesses cannot afford to hire more workers while paying higher taxes. It's simple. People want to focus on creating jobs, not raising taxes. For this reason, the National Retail Federation, which represents the employers of one in five American workers, the National Federation of Independent Business, which represents over 350,000 small and independent businesses, the United States Chamber of Commerce, and the National Association of Manufacturers all strongly oppose the current health care reform legislation.

Rather than creating a massive government-managed health care bureaucracy that will dictate medical decisions from Washington, we should be concentrating our efforts on making health care more affordable for all Americans and giving them the freedom to choose the health care and health insurance plans that best fit their needs. Some important first steps toward real health care reform include creating health insurance tax credits, which will increase the affordability of health care for those who do not have access to employer-based health insurance, expanding health savings accounts, creating association health plans which allow employers to band together to purchase insurance coverage at lower rates for their employees, medical malpractice reform, which would discourage the practice of defensive medicine, and encouraging the establishment of a nationwide health information technology network which can reduce medical errors, save time, money and, most importantly, save lives.

While we can all agree that our current health care system is flawed, there are many different ideas about how to fix it. Republicans have solutions that will empower patients with choices, make high quality coverage more affordable, and protect and preserve the doctor-patient relationship. The most important principles in health care reform are holding down costs and preserving consumer choices. We already spend far more per person than any other country in the world. Reform must mean using the health care dollars we now spend in a smarter, more effective way. We should be preserving and enhancing the ability of people to choose the plans that are tailored to their needs and the doctors that they trust to guide them, not putting more power in the hands of Washington bureaucrats.

HEALTH CARE REFORM

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

Mr. COURTNEY. Mr. Speaker, I also rise tonight to discuss the issue of health care. And again, we've just heard remarks which are part of a campaign really to try and, I believe, and I say this respectfully, mislead and scare people about what it is that the committees of this Congress are taking up and deliberating on. I'm on one of those committees, the Education and Labor Committee. And what my message would be here tonight is that Americans should not be alarmed. In fact, they should feel reassured about the fact that we are finally, in a serious, coherent way, trying to address a broken system. I know it's broken. I come from the State of Connecticut. Earlier this week, on Monday, there was a hearing at the State of Connecticut Department of Insurance where Blue Cross/Blue Shield came in asking for a 32 percent rate increase for its individual health insurance policies that they sell in the State of Connecticut. That's the status quo. That's the so-called patient-driven health care system that we have right now. Thirty-two percent increase. You can't blame that on Barack Obama. You can't blame that on a government-controlled system. That's the marketplace that exists today, and it is bankrupting individuals and families at an alarming rate. Twelve thousand Americans a day are losing their health insurance. What the bill is that we are offering and as part of this effort which the President will be talking about tonight is a way of trying to control those costs and to try and create some sort of stable system for individuals and American families.

Let me give you an example. For a single woman, working at a convenience store, earning about $25,000 a year, if she went out today, before the 32 percent rate increase that Blue Cross is asking for, and tried to buy an individual insurance policy in Connecticut, it would be $381.22 a month for a premium through the Blue Cross plan. It has a $1,500 deductible, 20 and $30 copays for primary care and specialist physicians, respectively, and an annual prescription drug benefit of only $500. The bill that we're working on, which was reported out by the Education and Labor Committee on Friday, for an individual who's earning $25,000 a year, their monthly premium would be $158, less than 50 percent of what an individual is paying today, and that's without some kind of outrageous skyrocketing premium increase which Blue Cross is asking for today under our broken system.

How do you do this? Well, the answer is very simple. And Members of Congress can answer it better than anybody because they should just look in the mirror and see the system that we have today for Members of Congress. We have the opportunity to be part of a purchasing exchange, a purchasing allowance which allows millions of Federal employees across the country to spread risk, to spread cost, and to offer a broader range of choices, private plans which Members of Congress have that opportunity to pick from. And that moderates, it stabilizes the cost of the system and allows the system to operate without these harsh pre-existing condition exclusions which if a person has a heart condition or a diabetic condition, which today in the individual market completely and totally excludes them from buying insurance at all.

Now if you ask your Member of Congress about their health insurance plan and the cost of increase which took place over the last year, you could ask a Member from Ohio, where the minority leader comes from, and what it would show is that there were increases from 2008 to 2009 of only $10 a month for many of the plans. One of the Ohio plans which was offered to Members of Congress actually reduced its monthly payment. And this is because it's just a basic market principle, and that is what the Democratic plan is proposing for all Americans, which is that we will create a large purchasing exchange which will spread risk, which will protect individuals from pre-existing condition exclusions, and which will moderate and stabilize premium costs so that you would not face the 32 percent rate increases that insurance companies like Blue Cross are asking for back home in my State, the State of Connecticut.

We also add a public option as one of the choices that can be selected by Americans who participate in this purchasing exchange. Private plans and a public option as a way of keeping the system honest and making sure that we get every efficiency possible. But no one has to choose that public option. And no provider, no doctor, or hospital has to participate in it.

You would think, from the descriptions on the other side, that people are going to be marched at gunpoint into a government plan. The opposite is completely true. There will be open choice. There will be private plans that will be offered under that purchasing exchange and it will, again, allow people the benefits of spreading risk and spreading costs just like Members of Congress have today. Every taxpayer and every citizen of this country should ask that question of their Member when the time comes to vote: Are you prepared to stand up and vote for a plan which will give us what we give you?

□ 1845

35TH ANNIVERSARY OF INVASION OF CYPRUS

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

Mr. BILIRAKIS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recall an anniversary that for the past 35 years has plagued the Cypriot and Hellenic communities, as well as all freedom-loving people. Mr. Speaker, even though the tragic events of the Turkish invasion took place so long ago on July 20, 1974, the pain and suffering is still felt because the divisions of the invasion still exist, unfortunately.

This week is a time for this body to solemnly remember the Turkish military invasion of the island of Cyprus, to mourn those who lost their lives in the invasion, and to condemn the ongoing Turkish occupation.

On July 20, 1974, in flagrant violation of international law, Turkey invaded Cyprus and violently captured the northern part of the island Cyprus' territory. As a result of the Turkish invasion and occupation, 160,000 Greek Cypriots, 70 percent of the population of the occupied area, were forcibly expelled from their homes. In addition, 5,000 Greek Cypriots were killed, and more than 1,400 Greek Cypriots, including four Americans of Cypriot descent, remain missing since the Turkish invasion, and their fate is still unknown.

As a result of the invasion and occupation, Greek and Turkish Cypriots were forcibly divided along ethnic lines and remain so to this day.

The United Nations has adopted numerous resolutions which reflect the universal condemnation of Turkey's invasion. Moreover, the European Court of Human Rights has found the Government of Turkey responsible for gross and systematic violations of human rights in Cyprus.

Cypriots should have the right to return to their homes, and the illegal settlers who were transported from Turkey to the occupied parts of Cyprus should relinquish their homesteads and properties to the rightful owners. Thirty-five years is 35 years too long for the island and people of Cyprus to endure an illegal occupation and division.

Negotiations that began with President Christofias and Turkish Cypriot leader Mehmet Ali Talat last year have provided some measure of hope. Negotiations are moving forward. The key to a successful outcome of the negotiating process and reunification of the island remains with Ankara. A solution to the Cyprus problem cannot be reached without Turkey's full and constructive cooperation. It is essential that Turkey exhibit the necessary political will that would enable the negotiations between the two communities in Cyprus to move forward. A solution must come from the Cypriots themselves and must serve the interests of the Cypriots.

Secretary Clinton promised me in a recent hearing that the administration would support a solution of the Cyprus problem and, specifically, a bicommunal, bizonal federation. The U.S. should use its influence toward Turkey to also actively and publicly support the process and the reunification of the island as a bicommunal and bizonal federation.

Mr. Speaker, let's hope the people of Cyprus won't have to suffer another year longer. Let us hope that Cyprus will once again be a unified nation where all freedom-loving Cypriots can live together in peace.

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

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

30-SOMETHING WORKING GROUP

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 2009, the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. MURPHY) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. MURPHY of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, we're here for the next 60 minutes to talk about the need to get health care, affordable accessible health care to all Americans; but before we do, I want to yield to my good friend from Ohio who's going to join us for this hour to share with us some pretty exciting news about his home district.

Mr. RYAN of Ohio. Well, we have in Youngstown, Ohio, we have a Youngstown business incubator, and we've had some debates on this floor about a variety of issues, earmarks, different things. And one of the issues that I have been pushing, and I know a lot of Members, is reinvestment back into communities in the Midwest that were once steel or rubber or industrial cities to invest in new technologies.

And we have been doing that in Youngstown, Ohio. We have a great business-to-business software incubator there. And recently in the latest edition or latest issue of Entrepreneur magazine, you may or may not be able to read, the 10 best cities to start a business, and down here in parenthesis: Youngstown, Ohio, Anyone? So we're in there with some major metropolitan areas across the country who have been doing great things, but in Youngstown, Ohio, in the Mahoning Valley we're emerging, I think, from years and years of steel-making into advanced manufacturing and business-to-business.

It's great. To the gentleman from Connecticut and the gentlelady from Maryland, this is the best issue of Entrepreneur magazine they've ever put out. And I commend to you this issue and read with great excitement, as we have.

And we have a local convention center there that's doing great and has made money for the first time in the second quarter and they're doing tremendous. We have got a lot of great shows. We've got downtown living. Anyway, it's happening like a lot of cities in Connecticut, I think, that have made comebacks.

So I wanted to just plug our local business incubator, thank Jim Costner who runs the incubator; Michael Brokerage who ran the company that was highlighted in here and look forward to our health care discussion as well, so that these small businesses can prosper in the future because we have a sane health care policy going here in the United States.

Mr. MURPHY of Connecticut. If you pick up that issue, you can also read about pet airways and the shiny object of the month as well.

Mr. RYAN of Ohio. Absolutely. Whatever you need, it's all in here.

Mr. MURPHY of Connecticut. It's a good issue.

Mr. RYAN of Ohio. This is ''the'' issue. In fact, they may just wrap it up and say we're never going to have a better issue than the one we just issued so we're done.

Mr. MURPHY of Connecticut. Well, congratulations, Mr. RYAN of Youngstown, on a very well-deserved accolade, and you know, in some way it's a good segue to what we're going to talk about tonight, which is the need for this Congress to pass health care reform that revitalizes our economy, that cuts the cost of providing health care to employees for the thousands of businesses in Youngstown, Ohio; in Connecticut; in Maryland that are right now struggling to match revenue with expenditures to cut the cost of health care for the millions of Americans who don't have it today and desperately need it, you know, cut the cost of health care for the Federal Government that right now is about to bankrupt itself through major increases every year in the amount of money that we have to put out for health care.

So, listen, families in my district, they didn't figure out that this economy was in trouble when the banks did and the investment houses did last October, November. You know, they knew this economy was in crisis long before that when they saw their wages stay flat over the last 10 years while their employer heaped more and more of the cost of health care on their backs.

They figured out that this economy was in trouble when they showed up to get an MRI and they were charged a $200 deductible. They found out this economy was in trouble when they went to get health insurance in the new town, new State that they moved into and found out because their daughter had a complicated preexisting condition that they were uninsurable and that they were going to bear the full cost of care for their family.

Health care costs in this country, whether it be for individuals or businesses, have been weighing this economy down for way too long, and this health care conversation that we're having today, this bill that we hope to pass that we're going to talk a little bit about over the course of the next hour, is certainly about getting health care out to the people that don't have it in a country that is the richest and claims to be the most powerful in the world. There's just no reason why some little kid goes to bed at night sick just because his mom can't afford to get him to a doctor. That's just not right.

But this is just as much beyond the moral considerations of conscience for a country that doesn't provide health care to those kids. This is about economic revitalization of this country, realizing that we are going to be forever at a competitive disadvantage, vis-a-vis the rest of the world, so long as we have a health care system that costs twice as much as every other country health care system.

And what we need to talk about is, yes, the cost of the bill that we're proposing and the cuts that are in the bill to providers and what that means, but we're also going to talk about the cost of doing nothing. We're also going to talk about the cost of the Republican proposal which is to sit on our hands for another 10 years and let this health care system spiral out of control for families and businesses.

We cannot afford as an economy to continue to allow health care costs to strangle us. It is a tough issue to take on.

There's a reason why this Congress has gone 30 years without passing major structural health care reform. It's tough. There are a lot of special interests involved in this thing, but for families and for businesses in Youngstown, in New York, in Connecticut, in Maryland this is the right thing to do and the right time to do it.

So I hope that over the course of the next hour we're going to talk about the need for health care reform, and we're going to talk a little bit about the specifics, and we're going to push back on not the myths that have been created from the other side, but frankly the outright fabrications that have come from our colleagues on the other side of the aisle and the pundits who talk on the air waves and radio waves at night and try to clear the record as to what this means for our constituents.

So, with that, let me welcome my friend from Maryland, Representative EDWARDS, for joining us here this evening for this Special Order hour.

Ms. EDWARDS of Maryland. I thank my colleagues because I think there is probably no more important issue to talk about than health care, and not for us but for the American people.

I thought about it for a bit, and before I came into the Congress, I started out the year 2000 working at a small nonprofit, and they paid all my health care, and the cost was about $12,000 per employee. Well, by the time I had been elected to Congress and came in in 2008, the cost for me and my son, you know, same network, was about $20,000. And that's true for people across the country, that premiums have skyrocketed about 114 percent over a decade.

And I think that if you think of those wages, whether they worked for small or large employers or they're self-employed, there are few among us whose salaries have skyrocketed to 114 percent in the same time frame. And that's what we're talking about with health care.

And so I know that we often speak a lot about those who are uninsured; and, clearly, the moral imperative for us to insure the 47 million to 50 million people who don't have any health care coverage at all is really important. But tonight I want to spend some time actually talking about the 250 million people or so who have health care coverage and sometimes it's inadequate. Sometimes it doesn't meet the need when the time comes, and then other times the premiums and deductibles are going up, the copayments are going up, out-of-pocket costs are going up, and what began as an affordable plan has become really unaffordable for so many Americans.

And it's a system anymore that's unsustainable. We think often about what it means to be sick as an individual, what it means to have a family member who's sick. Well, there's something that is really sick, and it's our health care system. It's really sick. It's on its last leg, and our job in the United States Congress is really, I think, to do some truth-telling about this system and to let the American people know that we really do have a plan that is going to lower costs, that is going to make health care really affordable for ordinary Americans, that is going to ensure that if you have coverage and you like it you can keep, it and if you want to have other choices you can have those, too, and that the government is not going to be out there choosing your doctor. You get to choose your doctor.

You will have a system in which, you know, if you have an illness like my father had kidney disease, well, he wouldn't be able to be turned down by an insurance company because he had a preexisting condition.

There are some insurance companies that turn women down who have experienced domestic violence because they define domestic violence as a preexisting condition. This is unacceptable, and so I think for the American people we are creating a plan that is indeed fiscally responsible. It is the moral imperative to do what's right by the American people, and we know that the kind of investment in prevention in community health and ensuring that we take care of primary practice, we will in fact achieve the kind of goals that we set out for the American people and invest in that competitiveness that we talk about all the time for the 21st century.

And so I'm excited to be with my colleagues this evening because we have a task ahead of us, and it's a difficult one, and putting it off is not going to make it less difficult. And the enemy, those people who don't want reform at all, will try to say anything or do anything to kill reform, and we can't that let happen for the American people.

□ 1900

With that, I'd yield to my colleague from Connecticut.

Mr. MURPHY of Connecticut. Thank you, Representative EDWARDS. I think you're exactly right. There are just a lot of forces of ''no'' here. Frankly, it's not the first time we've seen it. When we tried to free this country of dependence on foreign oil, there were a whole bunch of people in this House of Representatives who said ''no.''

When we tried just 2 years ago—I mean, forget health care reform in the way we're talking about today. A couple of years ago in this House we just tried to extend health care coverage to 4 million more kids. Just 4 million more poor kids out there who just deserve a chance to get up healthy, on two feet, and learn every morning. We couldn't even get it to them. So there are a lot of people in this House who are against any change.

Mr. RYAN of Ohio. Will the gentleman yield?

I want to accentuate that point a little bit. We tried to provide 10 million kids health care coverage through the State Children's Health Insurance Program, and President Bush vetoed it twice, with the support of a lot of people who come to this floor tonight and are fabricating things about this bill, talking about we're going to cover illegal aliens and this is a government-run operation that we're trying to promote here, that we're trying to drive small business out.

This bill doesn't even start until 2013. What we pass, no matter what it is, doesn't even get implemented until 2013. And there's no coverage for illegal immigrants in this bill. That's why it doesn't cover everyone. It only covers 97 percent of folks here, and there may be an argument about that.

But the fact of the matter is there is institutional support to undermine and sabotage health care reform, and someone's going to win and someone's going to lose. And who's been winning have been the big insurance companies, the people who like the system just the way it is, and the people who have been losing are the men and women and children that the gentlelady from Maryland was speaking about a few minutes ago.

So, yes, this is a big fight. This is a pretty big deal that we're having. But the scare tactics—and it's funny, because our friends on the other side of the aisle, they're like a stable full of one-trick ponies, man. If there's not fear coming out to scare you, to make you so afraid of what is happening, but

the problem they have now is everyone's already afraid. Everyone's already scared. Everyone's already anxious about their kid and the middle of the night, if something happens, they've got to go to the emergency room because they don't have the kind of coverage that we want to provide here.

So they can keep coming with the fear, but what we want to do is provide a little bit of hope for the American people and some sanity, and this chart, itself, shows it.

We pay twice as much per person for health care in the United States than they do in France and Germany and in Canada. We have a lower life expectancy. We continue to spend more and more and more and more and not reap the benefits of it because we don't spend the money in the right areas.

We need to put the money in the front end so that we have prevention and we stop a lot of these problems from happening in the first place.

If you look in the United States from 1995 to 2006, we had an 83 percent increase in health care spending. Public, private, all health care all together, 83.64 percent increase in health care spending; that is not sustainable. It goes on the backs of the small businesses. It goes on the backs of the individuals. We just can't continue to do it.

Mr. MURPHY of Connecticut. I thank the gentleman from Ohio. I do now want to welcome to the floor a good friend, Representative TONKO from New York, who is joining us, a new Member, and just been a great proponent of trying to get more people in his district insured and lower costs for the folks as well.

Mr. TONKO.

Mr. TONKO. Thank you, Representative MURPHY. Thank you for bringing us together in what is a very good exchange so that we can exchange for the sake of the American public the facts on a situation that finds us meeting a wonderful challenge that can pull us to a new day for health consumers in this country.

With the leadership of President Obama and certainly with the leadership in the House, with the Speaker here in the House of Representatives and the respective Chairs, we're now developing that dialog that is long overdue, that needs to speak to the dignity of health care for each and every individual in this country.

You know, I listened to the statements made by my friend Representative EDWARDS about those who are insured today. What is startling is to look at the business community and understand that in the last 15 years we went from a statistic where 61 percent of our small businesses offered employee health care coverage. Today, that number has dropped below 40 percent. Some 38 percent of our small businesses offer that. It's not that they have grown less compassionate or less sensitive to those needs. They simply cannot afford this system.

So a plan that embraces universal insurance reform, that sharpens the pencils for our consumers, that drives the bottom-line bargain whereby it is affordable, where there's an exchange developed, where there is a plan, a customer, a consumer choice plan that will be actuarially sound, that will incorporate all of the basic health care measures essential for our families in this country, will compete with that private sector market in that exchange.

That separate consumer choice plan will be sustained by premiums, not by government taxes. It will be a plan that will be modeled in a way to compete, and I believe effectively, so as to produce a market-driven outcome that is far better than what we see today.

The cost of providing health care insurance by our business community is said to be about $430 billion today. In 10 years, doing nothing, we all know that that's been projected to grow to some $880 billion. We can't afford that. The plan of inaction is unacceptable.

And you're right, Representative MURPHY. When you talk about some of the similarities in the energy debate, there are those in this House that want to feed that discussion with facts. There are others who are happy to play with figures, and that fix has denied progress.

Just this week, we celebrated the 40th anniversary of the Apollo mission, of landing a person on the Moon, being able to invest as a Nation because of a boldness of vision.

Well, the boldness of vision here that we're now asked to respond to is about providing quality health care with reduced costs and equal access for everyone. With this exchange, there's the potential of having groups migrate toward that opportunity in areas of need, in elements of need, where 10 or fewer employee firms can join up, then moving to 20 or more, then moving to that universal system where we grow this opportunity to provide universal coverage. That is an important part of the equation.

It also impacts our State governments and our Federal Government. When people talk about taxes they say, Cut that budget. Well, we can take $56 billion today of health care coverage that is provided for those who are uncompensated, $56 billion paid for by Federal and State sources, so as to allow for the care for those who simply do not have a plan.

Well, we can avoid all of that. This is called preventative maintenance. We offer prevention in these plans. We provide the incentives to encourage people to move into these preventive models that will provide for outstanding benefits.

This is a great opportunity to reform a system that has long been asking for reform, and we do it in a way that is consumer friendly, consumer driven, and the government stays out of that equation, as was made mention. They're not going to choose. The government is not going to choose your doctor.

There are plans that empower our families and respond in a way that won't penalize them for catastrophic care, won't penalize them for preexisting conditions, won't penalize based on age, and will take care of our children in a way that shows us to be the compassionate Nation that I truly believe we are.

This is a way to express it. This is a way to also be economically sound in moving forward with health care delivery so that our businesses can compete in that global marketplace, not strapped with the burdens of this system. But we do take what is good about the American system, keep it in place, and reform those elements that need to be reformed.

It's a great opportunity for us to do academically sound work. And I applaud the efforts of leaders in town that are doing this with their eyes wide open, with their heart in the right place, and with the boldness of vision that they're sharing with the American public.

Mr. MURPHY of Connecticut. Mr. TONKO, I think that if the Democrats had introduced a one-page bill that was a nice, pretty picture of a flower, the Republicans would have claimed that it was socialist medicine. It just didn't matter, right? It doesn't matter what is in the bill.

A lot of our friends—not all of our friends, but a lot of our friends on the other side are going to scream, ''Government-run medicine and socialism'' because their pollsters have told them—and we got a 28-page memo from the top Republican pollster, Frank Luntz, who's laid it all out for them that if you want to kill health care reform, all you've got to do is go out there and shout, ''Government-run. Government takeover.''

And so there are friends on the other side of the aisle and those outside this House who want to stop health care reform who've never read the bill, who have just decided to shout some slogans to try to stop it.

Mr. TONKO. I think you're absolutely right. The issues of energy reform, energy security, the issues of health care reform cannot be resolved or determined by sound bites, by bumper sticker slogans, by billboards. They need to be done in a way that establishes a healthy dialogue, academically driven, and where facts rule and fiction is set aside.

What I'm proud of is that the majority here has approached this situation in a way that allows us to push forward a very, very strong bit of reforms, including those in the insurance industry.

Mr. MURPHY of Connecticut. Let me ask our good friend from Maine, Representative PINGREE, to join us, somebody that I knew about long before she got here as a tireless advocate across this country and in her home State of Maine for health care reform.

So I'm happy you're here to join us.

Ms. PINGREE of Maine. Well, thank you so much for letting me say a few words here and thank you for convening us all here on the floor to counter some of what we hear on the other side, as you mentioned, that this would be the worst thing we could ever do and what is wrong with this. I'm glad to be here for a while to talk about what is right about this.

You mentioned that I have been working on this for a little while. I often tell people I may be a freshman in Congress—and I truly am one of the freshmen and proud to be here—but I've been working on this since I was first elected to the State legislature in 1992, which was also a year we all thought we were running on health care and when we promised the American public we were going to do something about this.

And what I would say is most significant about talking about the issue now when I'm back in the district—and I, like most of my colleagues, have held forums of doctors and businesspeople and individuals who have health care, individuals who can't afford their health care, everyone across the spectrum.

What is different is, when I first ran in 1992, I would sit down with a group of the doctors in my home county, Knox County, and they would say, Keep your hands off medicine. Don't want socialized medicine. Leave this alone.

And when I meet with the doctors today, they say, How soon are you going to fix this system? They tell me, We can't work anymore. We can't provide our patients with the care that they need.

This will be surprising, but they took a poll of the doctors in Maine—and, look, we're not a completely liberal State. We've got two Republican United States Senators. But our doctors said, with a 50 percent margin, that they wanted single-payer health care now. Now, we're not voting on single-payer today. We are working on a bill that is an excellent bill. But that just shows you how far the medical profession has come. Doctors, nurses, alternative providers, they're all saying that.

Certainly, my Chambers of Commerce, when I sit down with them, it's same thing. They don't say to me anymore, Keep your hand off medicine. They say, How soon are you going to do this? We can't afford to cover the cost of our employees. And they want to. They know that it's better to have your employees covered.

These aren't people trying to run away from the bill. These are people who are saying, with the costs going up, with a limited number of providers, We cannot not afford to be in the system any more.

Recent figures in Maine show, if you have health care insurance—and you all may have mentioned this before I came into the room—but if you have health insurance today, $1,200 of your payments are going to a cost shift to cover everybody else. When people say to me, Don't tax me to cover health care, you're already paying a tax if you have health care coverage.

□ 1915

One other thing I want to say and then get back into the dialogue. My good friend from New York mentioned the challenges of being a State legislator. Certainly States today, as we all know, are struggling under the weight of trying to cover the uninsured, the charity care in hospitals. I am fortunate to have a daughter who is the Speaker of the House in the State of Maine.

I can guarantee you, as they made budget cut after budget cut after budget cut, every time she could pick up the phone and call me, she would say, Mom, when are you guys in Washington sending the money back to our State because we can't afford this anymore? And I am one of those who have valiantly tried health care reform. We have many of the insurance reforms that we are talking about in this bill, but frankly, they don't go far enough. You can't count on the insurance companies just to do it out of the goodness of their hearts.

We've tried it all in our State. States are struggling under the weight of this. We need a Federal plan, just like the bill we're working on today. It's an excellent piece of legislation. It's a very good start, and I am very excited to be here with all my colleagues tonight.

Mr. MURPHY of Connecticut. It's amazing to me how we can all represent districts as different as they may be who are all struggling with the same problem. There are uninsured folks in every single one of our districts, whether they be affluent districts or poor districts, African American districts, Caucasian districts, whatever it may be. And the fact that some of the Members of this House come with no solution at all, no answer for their thousands, if not tens of thousands, of constituents who don't have health care, whose families who are amongst the 50 percent of bankruptcies that are caused by health care costs. We can have a constructive debate as to what the best solution is. But the debate right now, which is between something and nothing, Mr. RYAN, is just unbelievable to a lot of us that are hearing these stories back home.

Mr. RYAN of Ohio. We do have a chart of the Republican health care plan. You may be able to see it from where you are. But it is a series of question marks with arrows pointing in all kinds of different directions because they've had no plan. So it becomes very easy to come down here and be critical and scare people about what the Democrats want to do. But the one key statistic that everyone needs to remember is from 1995 to 2006, per person, there was a $3,000 increase in health care spending per individual in the United States of America. An 85 percent increase under the do-nothing plan.

Our people did not elect us to come down here and just continue to let problems compound and compound and compound. We're trying to do something. We all know the problems. We all have the uninsured in our communities. We all have the underinsured in our communities. In my district almost 1,600 families go bankrupt just because of health care. How do you go back and say, Well, you know, we couldn't really get the political muscle to push something through? How do you tell this to these families in America today?

And with all the changes going on in the economy—and earlier I showed communities converting from industry to high-tech businesses. There's a lot of unseemly transition going on here from people who have worked in the auto industry and steel industry that eventually will get retrained and may eventually work their way into a newer part of the economy—hopefully the green economy that we tried to deal with a couple weeks ago. But shouldn't we say in America that you at least have some basic level of health care, you at least don't have to worry about that as you go about getting retrained or your kids are in college or your kids are in school?

When you look at what we would save—we went back and we did a little research—if we spent on health care at the level that France spends, we would save $805 billion a year. That's how much we would save. And we could take a portion of that savings—which is what we want to do, which is how we're paying for half of this to begin with, savings in Medicaid and Medicare—and put it on the front end so we have preventive care. That's why these other countries are saving money, because people don't end up in an emergency room, costing us hundreds of thousands of dollars. They have some card so they can go or some plan so they can go and get a prescription. That is common sense. That is basic common sense.

Our plan is very uniquely American. It takes the best of what happens around our States and our communities, blends them together, and makes them work by driving down costs, focusing on prevention, and making sure if something happens to you and you have heart disease and you lose your coverage and then try to go to another insurance company or another plan, who say, Whoa, you've got heart disease. Sorry, you can't come in here. Oh, you have got diabetes? Sorry, you can't come in here. Cancer? Sorry. Too bad. You can't come in.

That's not right. So what we're saying is, everyone will be covered. Everyone. And we have a lot of the money within the current system that we have now to do it. When you look at the statistics in all of our own districts with the doughnut hole and a lot of other things, this bill is going to be in

the best interest at the end of the day for businesses in the United States of America. They're going to have a more healthy, more productive workforce and, quite frankly, when you talk to some of these—and I just want to share one story.

I was at a wedding last week and was talking to someone who employs about 150 people, but he was also a provider. He does equipment and different services, so he sees this from both sides. His insurance rates went up over the past 5 years 42 percent. So the insurance companies were making more money off him. But on the provider side, he got the goose egg for any increase. So he felt the insurance companies raise his rates on his 150 employees; but they didn't say, Okay, we're raising your rates, but here's a little bit more reimbursement for you. That's not how it works. They squeeze the providers; they increase your rates; they make a lot of money at the expense and on the backs of a lot of the American people.

I yield to my friend from Maryland

Ms. EDWARDS of Maryland. I thank the gentleman from Ohio.

You raise an interesting point and it really has to do with what small employers need, small businesses. I know I have them in my congressional district out in Maryland. When I talk to the barber shop owners and the small IT firms and the engineering firms, they want to be able to provide health care for their employees. But you're right. They're being squeezed. The irony of it is that because they're so small, they have no capacity to negotiate with these big insurers. So their rates, if they do choose to provide health care, those premiums actually really, really go up in comparison to even premiums for the larger employers. So we've created a system here where there are disincentives even for the smaller employers to provide health care for their employees, despite the fact that they want to.

Now what is it that we do in this plan to go at lowering some of those costs? Well, I think one of those things that's really important to me, and I know important to so many people in my congressional district and in my State, is providing a robust public plan that really is going to drive competition. I'm often amazed because the same people who argue for the free market, when it comes to talking about a robust public plan option that competes in the marketplace on a level playing field with a doctor network, those same folks actually don't want competition.

So I say, bring on the competition. Bring on the competition with a robust public plan that relies on a recognized provider network and that makes sure that reimbursement rates really reflect care delivery so we can bring in more patients and then competes on a level playing field. I think that, in fact, will bring down costs for all of us who are insured—our premiums, our deductibles, our copays, all of those out-of-pocket costs that really burden average families.

And for our small businesses, we give them some options. Folks talk all the time about choice. I want to talk about the choice that people don't have right now under the current system. You know, if you have an employer that just has a set plan, whether it's good or not, you don't have a choice. You may be in a plan where your doctor is not part of that network. You don't have a choice. So there are a lot of things that you don't get to choose about. And guess what, we now are actually opening up a system that provides average consumers with far greater choices than they have under the current system.

So I think it's actually an exciting time for the American people. I think that when it's all said and done, the naysayers will be out there trying to beat this plan down; but I know that there's not a single person in my congressional district who doesn't have a horror story to tell about their insurer, about their neighbor, about a family member, about the potential loss of a home or a bankruptcy because this system is so broken. In the future, whether it is 5 years down the line or 10 years down the line, we'll have a story to tell about healthier people because we've invested in prevention. We'll have a story to tell that's about small businesses who can provide the insurance and the coverage that they want for their employees. And we'll have a story to tell about the American people who aren't enduring the ever-skyrocketing costs of health care.

With that, I yield to my good friend from New York (Mr. TONKO).

Mr. TONKO. I thank the gentlewoman from Maryland, Representative EDWARDS.

You know, you talk about the choice that empowers the consumer, that empowers families and children across the country. But there's also continuity that is important. As we look at this recession that this administration has inherited, as they struggle with it, we've been told, Go to Washington and fix the health care system. Go to Washington and provide for energy security and green up our thinking and, oh, yes, fix the economy.

Well, in order to fix the economy, the health care situation is a key ingredient in the equation for success. So just why do we need to do that? Well, since this recession began, which may be one of the most devastating economic crises faced in our given lifetime, 4 million additional Americans have lost insurance. The stats are indicating that some 11,000 people per day, workers per day are losing insurance coverage.

So the continuity in the equation, in the outcome is an essential ingredient, because when people lose a job or if they even choose to change a job for better opportunities or are relocating as a family, they'll have opportunity to continue in a system. That's key. That is critical. And again, not held back if they're in the midst of a catastrophic illness or have some sort of pre-existing conditions. Those sort of factors are incredible. When we're fixing the economy, again, we need to hold off that $880 billion balloon, which will expand in 10 years, that the business community will pay if it tries to keep its insurance coverage for its employees. That's a huge catastrophe waiting to happen.

So this is about prevention. This is about choice. It's about continuity. And it's about utilizing our resources. The $2.4 trillion that we are historically willing to invest in a system can be used in a better way. Otherwise, that $2.4 million, Representative MURPHY, turns to $4.4 million in just a matter of a decade. It is unacceptable.

Mr. MURPHY of Connecticut. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TONKO. I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. MURPHY of Connecticut. I want to talk about choice. In half the States in this country, there is one insurer that controls 50 percent or more of the market. In about 75 percent of the States, there are two insurers that control about 75 percent of the market. As Representative EDWARDS pointed out, for a lot of employees, they only have one option to begin with, even if their employer offers them insurance. I mean, this mythology that we've got a really competitive marketplace out there is just that, mythology.

I think about my small employers in Connecticut. They just got notice about 2 weeks ago that the big gorilla in the room in our State, Blue Cross/Blue Shield, is going to increase their rates this year—get this—by 32 percent, a 1-year increase for individuals and small employers of 32 percent.

Well, those small employers are going to look at Medicare, which this year will increase its costs by about 3 percent. They'll look at the health care plan that we're all on, the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program, which is going to raise its rates by 3 or 4 percent. Some of the plans in our network are actually lowering costs this year. And they're going to scratch their heads when they hear the Republicans saying that they shouldn't have the option to buy into a publicly sponsored plan. They're going to say to themselves, What kind of choice is that for me if all I can do is stay on a plan that's going to raise my rates 30 percent, and these Members of Congress are on a plan whose rate of increase is 10 times lower? I want that choice. I want to be able to buy into that.

And that's what it is, choice. Listen, we can talk about a lot of myths, a lot of fabrications that come from the Republican side. But one of them is this notion that anyone is going to be forced on to a particular health care plan by the Democrats' plan—that we hope will get some Republican votes in the end—just isn't true. We are simply

saying to people that you get to keep the coverage you want, but if you want to go on to a cheaper plan that might be sponsored by the government, you have the option to do that. There is absolutely nothing in this bill that forces one single person in this country to make that choice.

I'm going to tell you, faced with a 30 percent increase in Connecticut, there are going to be tens if not hundreds of thousands of people in my State who are going to be clamoring to get access to the same kind of health care that Members of Congress have, if it can save them some money.

Ms. PINGREE of Maine. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MURPHY of Connecticut. Absolutely.

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Ms. PINGREE of Maine. You know, it's interesting. I want to just talk about this point for a minute.

I was doing a Statewide radio talk show the other day, and I got the question that, I think, a lot of us get when we talk about the public plan, and I completely agree with you about this issue of choice.

In my State, two insurance companies control 88 percent of the market, and one of them is controlling 78 percent of the market. So, you know, we've tried all kinds of alternative, and insurance companies just don't want to participate. You're right. There is no choice. A lot of States are faced with the same kind of increases.

Somebody asked me on the call-in show, Well, how are you going to make sure there is a level playing field? Is this going to be fair to insurance companies? I said, Wait a minute. It's not my job to support insurance companies that are declaring 32 percent increases or 15 percent increases or whatever is going on in your State. It's not my job to make sure insurance companies can pay CEOs huge salaries and have huge administrative costs. My job is to make sure that everybody in my State and in this country has access to affordable health care. The hospitals can keep operating. The doctors can keep seeing patients. It's not my job to make sure insurance companies make huge profits. It's my job to make sure that everybody has access to health care.

The reason we have a public plan, as my colleagues have so eloquently stated, is so that there is some choice in competition out there. Isn't that what we're here for? When people say to us, Government should act more like a business, well, that's what we're doing. We're trying to create a more business-like atmosphere out there so there really is choice and competition.

I just want to read a couple of interesting facts and then turn it back to my colleagues.

You know, in looking at some of the numbers in my own State—and I know we've all been doing this—it is really fascinating. I think a lot of people don't know how amazing this bill can be if and when we get it passed, and I believe we will soon. In my district alone, there are 87 seniors in the district who are hitting the doughnut hole in that they are forced to pay full drug costs. Well, under this plan, we're going to do something about that doughnut hole. That's a huge difference in our State. The legislation also cuts brand name costs in the doughnut hole. This is a huge change for all of us and for many seniors who are already struggling.

You know, I looked at another interesting fact. In my district in 2008, there were 690 health care-related bankruptcies. How many times do we hear a story about somebody who has put his health care bills on his credit card, about somebody who just can't afford to get by anymore because he couldn't pay for his health care costs? Well, this bill not only will provide health insurance for almost every American, but it will cap your annual out-of-pocket costs with $10,000 a year. That ensures that no citizen is going to get to that position. It's going to make a huge difference. We're talking about things that people will feel in the economy in their daily lives.

If we want to talk about, as many of my colleagues have said, the economy and what could make it a lot better, I know in my State it would be by lowering the costs of health care and by making sure everyone has access and by making sure everyone is covered from lowering those costs.

Mr. RYAN of Ohio. If the gentlelady would yield.

Ms. PINGREE of Maine. Absolutely.

Mr. RYAN of Ohio. We hear a lot about this—run your government like a business. That's exactly what we're trying to do here, which is to make a decision as we look at the facts as they're presented to us, as we look at the costs that have gone up 84 percent over the last, you know, 10 or 12 years. A businessperson looking at this would say, Hmm, we wait until someone gets really, really sick. Then we provide universal health care as opposed to saying, As a businessperson, if I just spent a little bit of money up here on the front end, we would save all of this money on the back end.

Look at all of these hospitals, whether they're in the cities or whether they're in the rural communities, that spend enormous amounts on charity care. Somebody is paying for that. We're paying for that. Taxpayers are paying for that already, and that's the problem here.

Everyone says, Well, why are you asking the rich to pay for it? It's the top 1 percent that we're going to ask to pay a surcharge. The rich are already paying for it. They're already paying. These people don't have health care, so they show up in the emergency rooms, and they get public money to help the hospitals so that the hospitals don't go belly up.

So what we're trying to say with the business mind is let's put a little bit of money up here and give these people preventative care, and let's make sure that they get prescriptions instead of ending up in the emergency rooms a week later and costing everybody $100,000 or $200,000. Let's make sure you have a mammogram instead of ending up, you know, in the hospital after being diagnosed with breast cancer. Let's make sure you have a cervical screening so you don't end up with cancer weeks or months later because you don't have preventative care.

This is common sense, and I think that's what frustrates the American people. It's like get your act together, and get this done. We can do this.

As you said, there will be more choice with a public option, and the public option will then, as it competes, drive costs down. When there's a public option hanging out there, Blue Cross-Blue Shield will not be able to get away with a 32 percent increase. It just will not happen. People will flock somewhere else. So, inherently, this public option will drive down the costs of health care.

Again, the idea of doing nothing, which basically has been the case over the past 10 or 15 years, and of saying we hope this all just goes away and that we hope the free market works, has led to an 85 percent increase from 1995–2006 per person, almost a $3,000 increase. We can't sustain it. We are going to build the political coalition here and exercise the political muscle necessary to make sure that our small businesses that can thrive under this plan get the kind of benefits that they deserve, and the people and the increase in productivity will increase, too, in the United States.

Mr. MURPHY of Connecticut. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RYAN of Ohio. I would be happy to yield.

Mr. MURPHY of Connecticut. I just wanted to add a statistic here. You mentioned about how a public option is going to provide competition. There have been those critics of the bill, those proponents of the ''do nothing'' strategy, who have said, Well, you know, if you have this public option, it's going to mean all of these people are going to lose their private insurance, and the private insurers are going to go out of business.

Well, you know, we have this thing here in Congress called the Congressional Budget Office. Do you know what? Sometimes we like them and sometimes we don't because they play it pretty straight. They're nonpartisan. They provide analysis of the bills that we do, and they've said it pretty clearly on this issue of whether or not people are going to lose their private health care insurance.

They actually show, over the course of this bill, over the 10 years that this bill will be in implementation, that more people will be insured through their employers at the end of this 10-year period than when we started and that 2 million more people will be insured through their employers than

when this bill started. They also show that the price of insurance is going to come down over time.

So, yes, there are going to be some people who will choose the public option, but what will really happen is that everybody's insurance is going to get less costly and that more employers are going to be able to provide it and will provide it to their employees because their costs will have been brought down.

With that, I am so glad that our good friend from New Mexico has joined us on the floor. He is another new Member who has been a great champion in his district for affordable health care.

Mr. LUJÁN. I thank my friend as well.

I will tell you and my colleagues here on the floor that, as I was sitting in the office, watching the discussion that was taking place, I felt compelled to come down because, in my office, we were looking at some of the letters that have been sent to my office. I'll tell you there is story after story, whether it's in writing or by e-mail or by phone or in person, as we talk to our friends in the district, of the concerns that we have of those who have insurance but who say when that bill comes in and when they see that denial on there, Well, I was paying into the system. I was working hard, I was paying my bills. I thought I had coverage. I went to go see the doctor because I was sick. Then they get the rejection letter and denial after denial.

There is something that's not being talked a lot about today. Some of those who are opposed to health care reform, to the public option and to the legislation that we're working on aren't talking about some of the protections that are in this legislation, even to those who have coverage today. As we've been talking about this and as we've been advocating for a strong public option to give competition and to provide choice for our patients out there for those who are so in need of good care today, the other element of this is, if they like the coverage they have, they can keep it.

One of the problems that exists therein, though, is how insurance companies are denying these claims one after another. This whole idea and this notion that government is going to get in the way of people being able to make decisions about their health care with their physicians couldn't be more wrong. The problem that exists today is that the bureaucrats who are in place today within some of the insurance companies and who review these claims one at a time are not your physicians. They get this submittal from a doctor, and they ask, Well, should we provide coverage or not? Then they reject that letter.

You know, before I came to Congress, I was part of a commission that had the State superintendent of insurance under it. It was where the State regulatory reform took place. We had the responsibility of having to work with patients to look at some of those denials. I'll just share one little story with you.

There was one young lady whom I ran into who asked, Ben, don't you do something with insurance? I explained to her, yes, I did. What was going on? Well, she and her husband were trying to have a baby, and they were not having much luck. They had a 1-year-old son, but they weren't having much luck. So she went to see the doctor, and the doctor diagnosed her, and said, Well, there may be something wrong here.

Well, it turns out what they diagnosed her with was related to something that wasn't included in her coverage. They were trying to say, Well, we diagnosed you with this illness about 2 years ago, but now that they were trying to have a son, to grow their family and to live the American dream in their home that they had just purchased, the insurance company said, Well, we're not going to cover this. As a matter of fact, you have to go back and pay 2 years of bills that we've been treating you for.

Well, the family was in dire need because, when they tried paying this bill, they were going to have to sell their home. They were going to be out on the street. There was no telling what was going to happen to them. Well, it turns out that the insurance company wrongfully denied this claim.

Now, how many more millions of people are out there who have coverage today who are getting those claims denied?

One of the strong elements of this piece of legislation is all of the consumer protections that are built in. It's important that we talk about those because, as we talk about building a strong public option and about providing protections, about extending coverage, and about lowering costs, it's important that those who have coverage today are going to get the protections they deserve. Those who are opposed to this legislation aren't talking about those protections.

It's important that we continue to advocate for them because people across this United States and across my district, I'll tell you, want coverage and need coverage, and they're crying out every day. It's about time that we start listening to them. That's why I had to come down here to my colleagues, to my good friends who are all down here visiting with the American people about the importance of this legislation that we're working on as we advocate for lower costs, for squeezing what we can out of the system to make sure that we're looking after the general welfare of the American people and to make sure that we're providing the consumer protections that Americans deserve.

So, with that, I yield back. It's an honor to be here with you, and we'll continue working day in and day out to make sure we're able to advocate for the well-being of the American people. Health care reform is what we need.

Mr. MURPHY of Connecticut. I thank my friend.

You know, I'm feeling pretty good. Something Mr. RYAN said must have really galvanized folks because we're getting a crowd down here.

We've got a few minutes left, and I want to yield to my good friend from Virginia to kick in to help end our discussion here.

Mr. PERRIELLO. Well, I was listening to some very important conversation about the choice that we're going to give to patients under this plan, but I also want to talk a little bit about the choice we're giving the doctors. I come from a family of pediatricians, and the thing that I hear over and over again from our primary care doctors in particular is that they will prescribe something to a patient, and will be told by the insurance company that it's not all right. We have insurance companies invading this relationship between the doctor and the patient.

So many people got into medicine because they wanted to make people well or, better yet, because they wanted to prevent them from getting sick in the first place, but they get zero reimbursement in many cases for doing the very preventative medicine that we should be encouraging. So, when my sister takes a call late at night from a patient who's sick or when she follows up a couple of weeks later to make sure a person is doing whatever routine she has prescribed to him, she gets reimbursed zero for that.

We are literally bankrupting our primary care doctors for doing the very things they got into medicine to do, which is to take care of people and to help cure people. So I think this is also about trying to re-empower our doctors and to protect that relationship and to get the insurance companies to not be standing there every second between that doctor and that patient.

With that, I yield back.

Mr. RYAN of Ohio. I think it's important to know that one of the major endorsements is the AMA. The American Medical Association has endorsed this bill.

If you go back 40–50 years when we tried to do something, they'd put the kibosh on it. You talk about health care reform in the early 1990s. The docs did not want anything to do with it. They have endorsed this bill. It has gotten that bad.

I would yield to my friend.

Mr. TONKO. Representative RYAN, I want to go back to what you talked about earlier, which is common sense. I know we have to close our hour here, so I'll make this quick.

There is another aspect I'd like to underscore, which is that of economic justice. When you see since 2000 that the premiums have more than doubled on average for working families in this country and that the salaries have stayed on a flat line, there is a need for us to step in and to fix a broken system. When 60 percent of bankruptcies in this country are due to medical

costs, we need to step in and do something.

Representative MURPHY, I want to thank you for bringing us together so we can share together with the American public our messages of enhancing the quality of services, of reducing costs and of providing access for everyone as we move forward in this health care discussion and reform. Thank you so very much, Representative.

Ms. EDWARDS of Maryland. Thank you.

Before we close out, I do want to say before we get out of this that we've been about clearing up the mythology about what is and is not in our health care bill, and one of those myths really has to do with our seniors.

So, Mr. Speaker, I want to say to all of our seniors across this country that we're protecting you, that we are going to make sure that we phase in completely by filling in that doughnut hole that has left you covering the brunt of your costs for prescription drugs. We're going to eliminate co-payments and deductibles for preventative services under Medicare, and we're going to limit cautionary requirements in Medicare Advantage plans to the amounts that are charged for the same services in traditional Medicare coverage. This is really important for our seniors. We're going to improve low-income subsidy programs in Medicare by increasing asset limits for programs that help Medicare beneficiaries pay premiums and cost-sharings.

So let's be really clear with the American people and especially with our seniors. Don't let them scare you out of supporting this plan for our seniors. This is a good plan for our seniors. It is a good plan for middle-income families. It is a good plan for working families. It is a good plan for people who have insurance, and it surely is a good plan for all of those who don't.

With that, I'll yield back.

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Mr. MURPHY of Connecticut. Let me just close our hour here with a quick story.

A guy came to me at one of the supermarket office hours that I hold. He's a wallpaper hanger. He lost his job, and he's got diabetes. He can't afford his medication. He's just waiting for the day when he gets so sick that he's going to end up in the emergency room, cost his family a fortune, go into bankruptcy, and have their lives forever altered. We've got to have an answer for that guy and his family.

And over the course of the next weeks and months, it's time for this Congress to step up to the plate and get health care for this country.

Mr. RYAN of Ohio. If I could add one thing.

So the American people, every time our friends on the other side sold something to the American people when they were in charge, it was fear-based. You know, it was fear. We have to implement this policy. Here's the fear, we have to implement this policy. Here's the fear, we have to implement this policy. And so the only play in their playbook they have is to try to scare the American people. And now they're trying to do it again.

Big government-run health care plan. Not true. You're going to lose your choice. Not true. You are going to have more choices. Everyone is going to be forced, 100 million people forced into this public option. That's not true. Even the CBO, which is nonpartison, says maybe 10 million people will access the public option. There will be an increase in the employer-based. All of these things aren't true.

So I think it's important, as we close out, to say when you hear the fear, you know some bad policy is tracking right behind it.

Mr. MURPHY of Connecticut. I thank my colleagues for the time. We will be back here as soon as we can to continue to push forward.

With that, I yield back the balance of our time.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 3288, TRANSPORTATION, HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2010

Mr. CARDOZA, from the Committee on Rules (during the Special Order of Mr. MURPHY of Connecticut), submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 111–219) on the resolution (H. Res. 669) providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 3288) making appropriations for the Departments of Transportation, and Housing and Urban Development, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2010, and for other purposes, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

HEALTH CARE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 2009, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. AKIN) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. AKIN. Mr. Speaker, it's a pleasure to be able to join you tonight and my colleagues and friends to talk about some things that are of tremendous significance to us here in this country. And in order to do our discussion tonight, I'm going to back up just a little bit and answer an interesting question. It was about—I guess it was about 3 weeks ago, and it was a situation that occurred here on the floor of the U.S. Congress.

If you go back from the day that we actually voted on the bill, what's going on was that at 3 o'clock in the morning, we had an 1,100-page bill called cap-and-tax or cap-and-trade. It was the largest tax increase in the history of our country, and that bill was going to be coming up for a vote. Well, at 3 o'clock in the morning, a major committee that was influencing that legislation at 3 o'clock in the morning passed a 300-page amendment to this 1,100 page bill.

Now, this amendment was not just one amendment but was a whole series of amendments that went into the bill. So starting at 3 o'clock, or whenever the staff got here, they started to put each page of those 300 pages of amendments into the bill as we were just finishing the debate and going to vote on the bill. So before we even voted on the bill, the question was asked, Do we have a copy of the bill that we're going to be voting on? And the funny thing was we're supposed to have a copy of it here on the floor before you vote on a bill, and there wasn't any copy here. In fact, the clerk was still turning the pages trying to get these 300 pages passed in the dark of night into the bill. And then, of course, the thing was rushed forward and was voted almost a straight party-line vote.

It was the largest tax increase in the history of our country, but it also had a lot of other component parts which were very onerous. For instance, it put the Federal Government basically into the building code business telling local communities that, for instance, if you have a garage, you've got to have an outlet for your electrical car. So it was very intrusive from a red tape point of view.

But the reason that I wanted to introduce our discussion on health care tonight in this context is why in the world would the U.S. Congress be voting 300-page amendments into a bill at 3 o'clock in the morning and we don't even have a copy on the floor and rush it to a vote?

Now, to an average person, an average American, that would seem like not much transparency, not much time for people to read 1,400 pages of bill and know what they're voting on. So why would you do something like that? The logic is simple. If people don't know what it is in the bill, it's easier to get them to vote for it. You may say, Well, that's not a very honest or fair tactic, but that's what we do on this floor over the last 6 months. That's what has been going on.

And that's what the attempt is going to be on this great big bill of basically taking 20 percent of the U.S. economy, that is the entire medical sector, and putting it under government control. This is a very, very big change in America. You wanted change. Boy, when you see 20 percent of our economy going to be run by bureaucrats in Washington, D.C., I guarantee you there is change.

This bill, we've been talking about it a number of weeks, but the same idea. People don't really want you to know what's in the bill, so we're going to talk about what is in the bill.

Now, on the surface—and I have been joined by a doctor from Louisiana, a fantastic guy, a medical doctor. He

knows something about medicine. He spent his life practicing medicine.

What I would like to do is to say, to begin with, that on the surface this looks like a pretty good deal. Well, what's being promised here? First of all, you are going to get free health insurance and free health care. Free health insurance, free health care. That sounds pretty good. What else are we gonna get? Well, I just heard Democrats on the television this morning saying any kind of health insurance you have now you get to keep it. So if you've got something you like, don't worry, you can keep what you've got. You can keep it the way you have it, but there are other people who are going to benefit from this. So you can get free health insurance but you could also keep what you have.

And also, the other thing about this proposal is it's going to save money. In fact, we've heard the President say, If you pass this, it's going to help us get the economy going and get jobs going and help America get going because of the fact it's going to save so much money.

Well, I suppose if those three things were true, everybody would be for it. The fact of the matter is an awful lot of people are not for this bill because those things are not all what they appear to be on the surface.

So let us take a look, first of all, at the free health insurance question and also the fact that you are going to save money. Well, one of the things when government starts to do things, particularly stuff that they're not very good at doing, when the government starts to do too much, we notice these things happen. First of all, it gets expensive. You have a lot of bureaucracy and rationing. You also have an inefficient allocation of resources. We've seen this in many other departments of government and you see degraded quality.

Now, do we have any evidence to suggest that what the Democrats are saying, that this is so efficient it's going to save money and it's going to be free and you can keep what you have, is there any evidence to suggest otherwise? Well, there certainly is, but this is something to think about. If health care is expensive now, just wait until it's free.

We have, joining us on the floor tonight, a doctor that I have come to respect deeply from Louisiana, Dr. FLEMING. I would like to yield to Dr. FLEMING in a moment or two. I would like to talk a little bit about these claims. Is this an efficient way to be running medicine? And what is your impression about these claims that this is going to be something where you get to keep whatever care you have?

Mr. FLEMING. I thank my friend, Mr. AKIN.

And as you know, I have been a family physician for 33 years, and I've also been in the private business segment apart from my medical practice for over 30 years. And I've come to learn both inside and outside of health care, looking from the outside in and the inside out, that government does just what you suggest; it tends to bloat things. It has difficulty dealing with the inefficiencies in the system.

And I will just give you one quick example that I deal with every day in my medical practice, and I do still practice, and that is take Medicare, for instance. In a government system like that, if there is fraud or abuse or waste going on, the government has to throw out a wide net, a very expensive net. It has to put a lot of resources in to catch a few people doing very egregious things and maybe doing a little bit to them, maybe a few months or a couple of years in jail.

Mr. AKIN. So things like Medicaid, you always hear about a tremendous fraud level in Medicaid. Would that be an example of what you are talking about?

Mr. FLEMING. Correct. The reason why it's so tremendous is because only a scratch of it is ever detected.

Mr. AKIN. So people get away with a lot of fraud in Medicaid, and that runs the cost up to make it less efficient.

Do you have other examples?

Mr. FLEMING. If you take a private organization, let's say a health maintenance organization, Mayo Clinic, which has been in the headlines lately, or Kaiser, they track their providers very closely. And if they're going off the scale, it doesn't matter whether they are doing something illegal or not. If they're just simply overusing—or in some cases underusing or inappropriately using—or doing things that are not within what we consider a good standard of care, then they're going to be reeducated or they're going to be terminated. You don't have to go through all of the expense to get very few people and really get very poor results.

Mr. AKIN. How many people get busted for Medicaid fraud? Does that happen a lot?

Mr. FLEMING. I don't have a number on that, but I think it's a handful.

Mr. AKIN. A very small number.

Mr. FLEMING. A very small number compared to the literally billions of dollars each year where Medicaid and Medicare fraud occurs.

Mr. AKIN. Another thing that we could take a look at—because this is an assertion that we're hearing the President make that this thing is going to help our economy, and yet the Congressional Budget Office took a look at the first bill that the Democrats trotted out here, and they were looking at $2 trillion.

Now, that's spending $2 trillion. It's hard to make a case that that's going to save money because we're not spending that $2 trillion now, and yet they're saying this is going to be $2 trillion.

Well, they went back to the drawing board, came back and with a little hocus-pocus, and taking some money from some other places, they got it down to $1 trillion. But that doesn't seem like that's spending less. It's a trillion more than we're spending right now.

Mr. FLEMING. Absolutely. And incidentally, where they found the savings was to deeply gut Medicare, which is already underfunded.

Mr. AKIN. So they're going to take the money out of Medicare in order to make it look like it's not really $2 trillion, it's more like $1 trillion.

Mr. FLEMING. Yes.

Mr. AKIN. Now that big cap-and-tax bill that we just passed, which was the biggest tax increase in the history of our country, was only about 780-something billion dollars. So that's less than 1 trillion. So that huge tax increase won't be enough to pay for the system, I suppose.

Mr. FLEMING. That is correct.

Mr. AKIN. Now, the other thing is it's not like we're flying without instruments on this course that we're taking because various States have tried to do what the Democrats are proposing. It's not new; it's just new to do it at the whole Federal level. Various States have tried it. Tennessee was one, Massachusetts was the other. We've got some of the results right here on this chart about what happened in Massachusetts.

In 2006, Massachusetts required universal health care coverage, which is what's being proposed here by the Democrats much like the current Democrat plan. People were required to purchase specific levels of coverage. Now, what was the result of doing that? It's not like this is new. This is something we tried. Health care costs were up 42 percent since 2006. That doesn't look like that's going to save any money. That's where that $2 trillion is talking about. This is very, very expensive. Health care access is down. That is, patients had to wait almost 70 days to see a doctor in Boston. And so are those the kind of results that we want?

Now, health care costs are 133 percent of the national average. So this jacked the cost of health care by a third over what it was before. So it's not like it hasn't been tried. What we're doing is nationalizing a failure.

Now, the results in Tennessee were not much better.

Doctor, do you recall that?

Mr. FLEMING. If the gentleman will yield for a moment.

It's very interesting that the Democrats claim that we need a government-run system to compete with the private system to drive costs down, but if you dig into that, what you find out is just the opposite is happening today. Medicaid, and in the case of TennCare, was putting tremendous pressure on the private insurers and making their costs go up.

So the first thing we could ever do, if this were possible, to slow the rise in costs in private insurance, and that would be to remove the burden of Medicare and Medicaid on them.

Mr. AKIN. In other words, are you saying that the private medical insurance people that are writing medical

insurance plans are subsidizing Medicare and Medicaid?

Mr. FLEMING. Absolutely. And if I could give you an example in my own practice, the typical Medicare or Medicaid patient reimbursement is under my cost. So I have to see a certain number, hopefully twice as many private insurance, just to break even. And typically in a medical practice, particularly in a rural area—and this is why you see doctors closing up—as their patient mix of Medicare and Medicaid grows—and again, that's single-payer, government, you know, so-called public plan that exists today. As that percentage grows, their chance of going out of business grows as well.

□ 2000

Mr. AKIN. So in other words, what is going on then is in order to fix the part of health care that the government is already meddling in, which is in terms of medical payments overall, the government handles half the money that is going through health care. If you take Medicaid and Medicare and you add that much money up, I think that's about half of the total of all the money spent. So we already have the government meddling in half of it, and now what's happening is you're asking the privates to support all this public stuff, right?

Mr. FLEMING. Yes.

Mr. AKIN. And that then is adding to the cost of everything. So we have already, talking about nationalizing health care, Tennessee just about crashed their economy trying to do the same thing, is that correct?

Mr. FLEMING. Yes, that's correct.

Mr. AKIN. So it isn't like all of these promises that this is such a wonderful health insurance, in other words, the thing that strikes me a little bit would be, let's say somebody said to you, It sounds like what they are selling sounds pretty good. The government is going to give you free health insurance, free health coverage, not just insurance, but even health care access. If somebody said, would you like the government to give you a free home? I mean we would be crazy to say no. Of course, I would like a free home.

Then they would follow it up with a followup question, do you want to live in government housing? Oh, that's a different question, isn't it? And isn't that the parallel that we're talking about now? We're going to give you free medical insurance, except that you've got to wait a whole lot longer, and it is a whole lot more expensive. Wait just a minute. I like the idea of free medical insurance. But is that really what we're getting? You have to take a look a little bit below the surface. So we have seen it didn't work in Massachusetts. It didn't work in Tennessee.

We are joined by another doctor, a good friend of mine. It is interesting that doctors are coming out to talk about this plan, isn't it? We have got a Dr. BROUN from Georgia, another medical doctor. He has a great reputation and is bold in just laying things out and telling it like it is. It is terrible English but it is a good phrase. Dr. BROUN, please join us.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Thank you, Mr. AKIN. I appreciate your yielding me some time. As you know, I just walked in a moment ago. I wanted to bring out something that you may or may not have talked about. The American people need to understand something. They've been promised that if they like the private health insurance that they have today, they can keep it.

Mr. AKIN. Now, just butting in for a minute, I heard a congresswoman from this Chamber on television this morning, walking past a TV set in the gym of all places, and she was saying, if you like what you have, you can keep it. And yet we had copies of the bill that was proposed, the Democrat plan, on the floor, and it didn't say that, did it? Go ahead, please.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. No. In fact, that's what I wanted to bring up. If you like what you have today, you're going to lose it. Thank you, Dr. FLEMING, for giving me this chart. But if you like what you have today, the American people are going to lose it.

Mr. AKIN. Say that again? In other words, today, you have got some insurance, you have a doctor you like, and if you like that, what the Democrat said is you can keep it, and, in fact, what the bill says is you're going to lose it? Now that is really a radical difference.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Well, that's correct. And the reason that people are going to lose their private health insurance that they have today is because the bill requires the health care czar, they call it a ''commissioner'' in the bill, is going to set the health care plan for every single individual in this country.

Mr. AKIN. Wait a minute. You're saying there is some high level government bureaucrat and they call him a ''czar'' or a ''commissioner?''

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. They call him a ''commissioner.''

Mr. AKIN. He could be a czar. A commissar?

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. No, they don't call him a ''czar.'' They call him a ''commissioner'' in the plan, but this fits the pattern of the czars that the President has established. The funny thing is this President has set up more czars than Russia did throughout its history through 200 years. We have more czars in the last 6 months than Russia has ever had.

Mr. AKIN. But this is not a czar, this is a commissioner though?

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Well——

Mr. AKIN. But maybe you call him a commissar. We can compromise. Go ahead.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. The bill calls him a ''commissioner.'' But he fits the pattern of this health care czar because he is not confirmed by the Senate. He has no one to answer to but the President of the United States. Congress has no control over what he does.

Mr. AKIN. So he's independent, and he can do whatever he wants.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Absolutely.

Mr. AKIN. So what does the section say of the bill?

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Absolutely. It is kind of like a dictatorship.

Mr. AKIN. It sounds a lot like a dictatorship. What does the section say? Does this contradict what I just heard a congresswoman saying on television today?

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Absolutely, because what it is going to do is this health care commissioner, I won't use the word ''czar,'' but that's what he is going to be, this health care commissioner is going to set every single private plan in this country, and the employer is not going to have a choice about it, and neither is the employee. If the employee doesn't want that plan that's set by this health care commissioner, established by the President, appointed by the President, then that individual is going to be fined through the Tax Code, and they're going to be fined by having to pay higher taxes for just not accepting the mandated coverage that this health care commissioner and this administration is going to put upon them.

Mr. AKIN. So what you're saying is this bill literally says that by the end of a 5-year period, a group health plan must meet the minimum benefit requirement under section 12, 121. So in other words, what we're saying is that you could have a plan you might like now, you have got private health insurance, but if it doesn't meet the government plan, then at the end of 5 years at the longest you just can't have it, because your plan has to be exactly like the Federal one, or at least has to have all of the things that the Federal one has.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Let me point out a specific here. Particularly with this administration, which is the most pro-abortion administration that we have ever seen, obviously what this plan is going to include, if Barack Obama has anything to say about it, is taxpayer-funded abortions. And people are not going to have a choice. They're going to have to be buying a plan and help support a plan, even if they disagree with abortions, that will pay for abortions.

And it may be, there's a very high potential that that plan to cover everybody within an employee of a particular business, it may be that a single male is going to have to pay for OB coverage. It may be that a person who is past, a couple, for instance, who works for a particular company who is past the childbearing ages are going to have to pay for OB coverages, because this health care commissioner is going to mandate to every single business, every single private insurance company, whether it's individually purchased or whether it's purchased through the company that they work for, this health care commissioner is going to mandate coverage to every single human being in America.

Mr. AKIN. I would like to stop for a minute just as I started out this evening, Doctors, the whole secret of bringing something to the floor really fast, do it at 3 o'clock in the morning, get that 300-page amendment—they haven't even got the bill together—and quick, quick, vote on it before anybody knows what is in it is great strategy if you want people who are voting not knowing what they are voting for, especially if you're trying to hide stuff in the bill.

And what I would like to do is, I would like to just take a moment and just go around and let's start thinking about the people that if they understood this bill, which you're going to have to be pretty smart, because this is an organizational chart of the bill.

But let's start talking about the people who might want to vote against it if they knew what were in here, because the promise is it's all free, you can keep what you have. It's all free except what? A couple trillion dollars, or if you cheat with the numbers, a trillion dollars more than the biggest tax hike. You can keep what you have except you can't keep what you have, and you're supposedly going to get good health insurance and good coverage. And there's, of course, a difference between insurance and whether you get coverage or not.

I would like to start categorizing who are the people, if they were us, they would be voting, ''No, by golly, darn it all, we don't want it, no, no, no.'' Who is going to vote ''no'' on this thing? Because I think as we look at this, we'll see that there's a lot of hidden stuff here, and there's a lot of people that have good reason to encourage every one of us to vote ''no'' on it. Let's just start talking about some of the groups, and you brought the first one up, Dr. BROUN, and that is the people who let's say they are pro-life.

In America, you have constituents, I have constituents, we have some who are pro-life, and some who believe in abortion and that people should have a right to abortion. Those are deeply held views. But what is going to happen in this bill—and if this were not going to happen, there could be an amendment offered to make sure that it doesn't happen—and that is that the government plan is going to include that you could get free abortions. We did that for a while in America. We had subsidized abortions.

So if you're pro-life, or let's say you're pro-abortion, but you think it's unfair to make people who have deep religious convictions that think that killing the unborn is a wrong thing to do, are you going to make them pay taxes to fund something that you think is fundamentally wrong? So if you're pro-life, you're not going to vote for this thing unless there's some amendment that says we want a guarantee that this government plan doesn't give people a right on government money to abort their kid. So if you're pro-life, that is one group that will say ''no,'' I think. But go ahead, Dr. BROUN.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. The American people need to understand that, that this plan, though it is silent on abortions, amendments to the plan have been presented to make sure that the plan does not make taxpayers pay for abortions.

Mr. AKIN. Amendments were offered where? In committees?

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. It has been offered in the committees. And those amendments have been defeated. In other words, the Democrats, and it has been pretty much party line—

Mr. AKIN. Party line vote, the Democrats are saying they don't want that amendment that says you can't get a free abortion?

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. That's exactly right.

Mr. AKIN. So if you're pro-life, first off, that is one group of people if this weren't in the dark of night and all were known about this bill, certainly the pro-lifers wouldn't vote for it, is that right?

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. That's correct.

Mr. AKIN. I would like to go to Dr. FLEMING. Do you have another group?

Mr. FLEMING. Well, of course, physicians.

Mr. AKIN. Okay, two doctors are here.

Mr. FLEMING. You heard tonight the Democrats talk about how the AMA has come out in support of this. Well, that's true and it's not true. What really happened was last month, the rank-and-file physicians across the country met with the AMA, and they voted not to support it and then after——

Mr. AKIN. So the doctors voted ''no'' about supporting this. So you guys are both doctors, and the other doctors said, No, this isn't a good idea, right?

Mr. FLEMING. Exactly. And then, again, one of those behind-the-scenes, in-the-backroom deals, a deal was cut over the sustained growth rate, the SGR, that would be cast aside if the AMA would sign on to it. And so without consulting physicians, the board of trustees of the AMA cut the deal with the President in the wee hours of night, and then sent them a letter in support. Thus far, 18 State chapters of the AMA and a growing number have come out saying that they do not support this. And I would really I think say with confidence a majority of the physicians across this country do not support government taking over.

Mr. AKIN. We have two groups. I'm going to keep score. First of all, if you're pro-life, you're not going to like this bill. Second of all, in general, the doctors don't like the bill. Even though the AMA cut some deal, their membership told them, We really don't support this thing.

Mr. FLEMING. Absolutely.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. There have been two other medical groups that have endorsed ObamaCare. One is the American College of Surgeons, and the other one is the American College of Obstetrics and Gynecology. Well, ACOG, the American College of Obstetrics and Gynecology, have been promoting abortion. So go back to your pro-life group; they wouldn't sign on to a plan if we pay, with taxpayers' funds, abortions. That's one thing. Secondly, back to the AMA; I don't think they represent but about 20 percent of doctors here in this country.

Mr. AKIN. So the AMA doesn't represent all doctors, just only 20 percent. Even the 20 percent wasn't in favor of it?

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. That's right. In fact, AMA represents very few doctors in this country. I'm a member of the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons. Dr. Jane Orient is the executive director. It has very ardently opposed a government takeover of health care for years and years, and looking to the marketplace, has presented ideas about how to lower the cost of health care for everybody in this country to make it more affordable. But the liberals in Congress won't hear of that type of philosophy. So the AMA's endorsing this plan, actually I think they have been very shortsighted, because as Dr. FLEMING said, they cut a backroom deal by just a little handful of the leadership in they AMA.

They didn't consult any doctor here in Congress that I can find. Neither did any of the other two groups. They didn't consult any of us who serve here in Congress, and cut these backroom deals on the SGR, sustained growth rate, or what we have called ''doc fix'' here.

□ 2015

But they're being very shortsighted because, the thing is, the taxes for all those doctors is going to go up above what they have been promised to be given in not cutting their fees. And so net income for the doctors is actually going to go down, and the doctors ought to understand that the AMA has sold them out.

Mr. AKIN. I'd just like to keep going on the list because we've got one. The people who are pro-life, they don't want this thing. The doctors don't like this thing. We have two doctors here that don't like it.

I want to bring up another category because, when I wake up in the morning sometimes, I'm feeling a little older and achier. I just hit 62. I want to talk about old geezers like me. Seniors. If you were a senior citizen in America, what do you think about the government running health care? Do you think you're going to like that idea very much?

Mr. FLEMING. If the gentleman would yield.

Mr. AKIN. I do yield to Dr. FLEMING.

Mr. FLEMING. I would say for two reasons they will not like this. First of all, you heard me just say that part of this plan is to gut Medicare to a great extent, which the elderly depend on. Medicare's already going bankrupt in

less than 10 years and is heavily subsidized by private insurance. And so what we're looking at is taking away the subsidy.

Mr. AKIN. So we're going to gut Medicare first. So if you're a senior you're not going to like gutting Medicare.

Mr. FLEMING. Yes. And if I could also add, one other problem is this Comparative Effectiveness Committee that's being created——

Mr. AKIN. Okay. So there's a committee somewhere in this chart that's a Comparative Effectiveness Committee. And what is it going to do?

Mr. FLEMING. Well, it's tasked with the job of deciding who deserves what or what is really too expensive for whom and what sort of diseases. And if you look at the other countries that do this already, the United Kingdom, Canada and others, the elderly are the first ones that are counted out under this program.

Mr. AKIN. So let's say you're a smart bureaucrat, and you've got an awful lot of money being spent on health care in America, and the budget is going bust, and you're thinking, oh, my goodness, how am I going to fix this. And so you find that the old 80/20 rule is working just fine right here in health care; that is, that 20 percent of the people have 80 percent of the cost. And guess who the people that have 80 percent of the costs are—it's old geezers like me. And so you're going to say, hey, we're going to need to regulate this system, and so we're going to deny care. In other words, what we're going to do is we're going to say that the doctor and the patient don't make the call. We're going to say some bureaucrat in Washington, D.C. decides whether you get treatment or not. That may seem pretty outlandish or harsh, but the fact of the matter is that's what's going on in Canada.

And this is personal to me because I've got a bad hip. And people keep saying, Akin, how come you're limping? I fell on some ice 10 years ago. Well, the reason that I'm limping is that I'm postponing getting a hip replacement. In Canada, if you're my age, at 62 you can't get a hip replacement. In fact, if you're later fifties in Canada you can't get a hip replacement. Guess where you get your hip replacement? You come to the good old USA. And so if you're an old person, what's going to happen is there's going to be rationing of care, and you're not going to get taken care of because the bureaucrats say you're too old, it's not a good financial investment, but we'll give you some pain killers. So if you're an old person, first of all, Medicare is going to get taken. But the second thing is you've got the problem of somebody coming between you and your doctor, and that's the bureaucrat from D.C. So if I'm an a older person I'd say, if I'm a senior I sure don't want to touch this thing.

I want to yield to my friend from Georgia.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Thank you, Mr. AKIN.

I just want to talk a little bit more about something that Dr. FLEMING brought up is this comparative effectiveness research that was funded through the stimulus bill; got a ton of money to set up this commission or study group to look at comparative effectiveness research. Age is one of the parameters. What happens in Canada today, if you need coronary bypass surgery, you just go on a waiting list and you just stay there till you die, if you're past a certain age. If you're diabetic and develop renal failure and need dialysis, I think the age is 55. I'm not certain of the age up there. In Great Britain it's the same way. They say, well, that's fine. We'll put you on the list for a renal transplant, or even for dialysis. You just never get off the list. You just die there. And very quickly.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AKIN. I yield to my good friend who has joined us at this time, not a medical doctor, but known for his seniority on the Intelligence Committee. So we have a guy who is intelligent. Please join us, Congressman HOEKSTRA.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. I thank my colleague for yielding.

I hate to correct my colleagues, but that's not what happens to everybody in Canada. Being a border State, we know another thing that happens in Canada—that when a Canadian goes to their doctor or their hospital, or it is determined that they need treatment, and that they're going to be down the list, instead of hoping to some day go to the hospital, in Canada, when you get sick, a lot of people go to the airport or they go to the bridge or they go to the tunnel or they go to the border crossing. In Michigan they go to the bridge or the tunnel, and they come from Windsor and other places in Canada because they come to the United States for excellent health care.

So they do have another option, and it's called American health care.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Absolutely.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Well, you're not going against what I was saying. In Canada, it happens that way. But they have a relief valve, and that's called the United States and the excellent quality of care that they can get here on demand. But in the Canadian system, in the British system, if they stay there, they just die. They don't get the care that they need to save their lives.

And so you and I agree. You, in Michigan, have seen that first and foremost in your communities in places like the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. But reclaiming my time, the problem is, you know, if we implement this kind of national health care plan, my colleague will have an advantage.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. How's that?

Mr. HOEKSTRA. America's escape valve will become Cuba, and you're closer to Cuba than what we are.

Mr. AKIN. That's not exactly an encouraging thought. We've had a guy who's the top guy in intelligence and two doctors, and I don't know what I'm doing in this conversation at all. But I know one thing. I've had some experience with health care in the sense that I'm a cancer survivor. I was one of those guys in my early fifties. I came to Congress, bulletproof, and I'd had a very lousy insurance plan provided by the State of Missouri, and I hadn't had a physical for a long time. I thought I was bulletproof. But somebody told me, hey, when you get to be over 50 you need to go get yourself a physical checkup. So I waltzed down to the doctor's office right here in this Capitol building run by the Navy doctors. They said yeah, Todd, you are bulletproof and you're doing great, except one little detail. You have cancer. You have prostate cancer. I'm going, oh my goodness. Let me tell you—doctors, you know—that gets your attention when they use the big C word.

We've talked about people who are pro-life. They're going to hate this bill. We've talked about older people because their care is going to be rationed. They're going to hate this bill because Medicare is going to be decimated and they lose their insurance, in spite of the promises. The bill says everybody's insurance is going to be government insurance. But let's talk about somebody who gets cancer. If you go over to the United Kingdom, they've got this kind of socialized medicine. And let's take a look at the United States. The survival rate for cancer in men—that's got my attention—62.9 percent in America. In the United Kingdom, 44.8. That says you have an 18 percent greater probability you're going to die in the U.K. because of their socialized medicine. If you're a woman it's a little bit better. Cancer survivors in women in the U.S., 66.3. They're doing a little better than the men. And in the U.K. a little better still. Fourteen percent greater chance you're going to die over there.

So if you're a cancer person, you don't want this plan. You don't want this socialized medicine. If you're pro-life, you don't want this thing. If you're an older person, you don't want this thing.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AKIN. I do yield.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. I want to point out a chart that Dr. FLEMING pulled up. The one that Mr. AKIN is looking at here is about all cancers. But if you look at prostate cancer and breast cancer, it's absolutely phenomenal at the difference in the rate. For instance, in the U.S., which is the purple bar here——

Mr. AKIN. That's breast on that side. I can tell a breast from a prostate, gentleman. But go ahead.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. I was looking at the word prostate, so I apologize. But breast cancer, actually, with the new technology we have of imaging and the diagnosis to try to diagnose this

early, as well as some of the new drugs that are coming out on the market today that will all be denied actually under care because it's not cost effective. But 5-year survival rate for women is way over 90 percent in the United States. But look in England, it's hard to tell, but it's much lower.

Mr. AKIN. I can see the chart maybe better than you can, gentleman, from where I'm standing. What I see, the purple is the United States. Prostate cancer, I'm seeing somewhere between 90 and 100 percent survival rate, and I'm seeing the sort of greenish bluish color is England. I'm seeing something about the 50 or 40 percent survival rate. So you're saying this generalized cancer statement, it's a lot different with prostate. It's almost 2–1 difference. In other words, in Canada, it's a flip of a coin whether you're going to live, whereas the United States, it's a good chance you're going to live fine.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AKIN. I do yield.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Let's personalize this because those are the statistics.

Mr. AKIN. It's personal to me. It was my prostate, gentleman.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. I called one of my constituents today and we were just talking about some different issues. And then he shared with me that his daughter was just diagnosed with cancer.

Mr. AKIN. Breast cancer?

Mr. HOEKSTRA. No. I think it was the prostate cancer.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Not in his daughter.

Mr. AKIN. Not in the daughter.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. I don't know.

Mr. AKIN. You've got five doctors here. You better be honest.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. I'll give him a call back. But what he told me is they've taken her to Mayo, and the survival rate is pretty good.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Almost 100 percent. Five years.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. And what he said is, I'm thankful that in the United States I can take my daughter to a place like Mayo because Mayo, they're always testing, they're always improving, because that's the vision I think that we, as Republicans, have. This is not about going to the lowest common denominator. We believe that in America we ought to have high quality health care for everybody. And that's symbolized by Mayo because they always do the research and they do these time studies over people.

Mr. AKIN. Just to interrupt a minute. Now, isn't America really known for innovation in health care?

Mr. HOEKSTRA. People from all over the world go to Mayo Clinic, they go to the Cleveland Clinic. They go to Ann Arbor. They come to the United States because of the excellence in health care.

Mr. AKIN. Don't we have a lot of new drugs that are developed in America?

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Absolutely.

Mr. AKIN. And do we have new procedures as well, doctors?

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Yes. I was going to talk about that with prostate cancer in a minute or two.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. What I found interesting, and I shared it with him, I said, the next time you go to Mayo, give one of the administrators a hug and write them a check for the work that they do there, because the Mayo Clinic recognizes what this is going to do to them. They came out foursquare opposed to this plan.

Mr. AKIN. So not just doctors now, but the Mayo Clinic is opposed to this scheme that we have seen concocted here.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Because I think what they recognize is the scheme up there will take a Mayo and, rather than allowing Mayo to continue to lead the world, along with these other institutions in the United States to provide quality, excellence, innovation and research and treatments that are then shared with doctors and hospitals around the country and around the world, I think what they say is, well, that threatens us at Mayo and we're no longer going to be able to provide that.

So I think we need to make it real clear what Republicans are for and against. We are against that, that chart up there. We are for high quality health care.

Mr. AKIN. I think that's a very strong point.

I was just starting out our discussion, gentlemen, this evening talking about why in the world would you bring up something at 3 o'clock in the morning, a bill hasn't even been read and you want to push it through in a great big hurry? And the reason is you don't want people to know what's in the bill because it's easier to pass it.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Will the gentleman yield? I need to correct my earlier statement. Colon. She has colon cancer.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AKIN. Yes, I do yield.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. I'd like to go back to what Governor HOEKSTRA, PETE HOEKSTRA, our friend, just said from Michigan about Mayo Clinic and the innovative techniques that they're developing. And they're being developed at the Medical College of Georgia in Augusta, Georgia that I represent. Innovative techniques are being developed all over this country for all sorts of health problems.

□ 2030

But now let's take the cancer that you have, prostate cancer. That's the most common cancer in men. With the new techniques that we've done and the stereotactic surgery and some of the things that go on today, we have developed surgical techniques to take care of prostate cancer that by and large will prevent men who have prostate cancer from having what in medicine we term incontinence which means urine leaks out and they don't have any control of the urine and have to wear a condom catheter with a bag on their leg to catch the urine because they can't control it. That is almost a thing of the past because of these new techniques that have been developed.

Mr. AKIN. That's part of the innovation that's practical for people, isn't it?

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Absolutely. And in the past, people who had prostate cancer, there are many of them following that surgery were sexually impotent and could not perform sexually. With these new techniques, we've developed these new surgeries that prevent the impotence, prevent the incontinence, but the types of research and the innovative efforts that doctors make in this country today are going to be totally—

Mr. AKIN. Those different technologies and developments, were those a product of the government coming up with those things?

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Government does fund some research through NIH and other entities, and thus there is—

Mr. AKIN. It is the private sector that comes up with things?

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Yes, sir. It's private sector and it's doctors all over this country; but when we go to rationing care, then what we're going to do is demand the lowest quality of care for everybody in this country.

Mr. AKIN. It goes back to that phrase, you know, it would be nice if the government gave you a free home, but do you want to live in government housing.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. So those techniques will not continue to be developed.

Mr. AKIN. Let's talk about people who would be against this bill. We've already said people who are pro-life are not going to like it. If you're an older person, you don't want rationed health care. You don't want Medicare savaged financially. If you think that it's important to have innovation and new technologies, if you're a cancer person or someone else, you're going to want that new technology marching along to hopefully protect you there, and so those are people that are not going to want this full government takeover of health care.

Let's talk about people in this country, I mean, we all have constituents. Don't you have some constituents that don't like illegal immigration?

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Absolutely.

Mr. AKIN. And is this bill basically going to give illegal immigrants free health care?

Mr. FLEMING. About 10 million.

Mr. AKIN. About 10 million?

Mr. FLEMING. Yes, approximately 10 million illegal immigrants are in the United States today, and they, of course, are here working, many of them, most of them, but there's nothing that the government derives to pay for the social services, education, health care for them. And of course

that's 10 million people that either should be here legally and then paying into the system and paying their way or they should go back home because they're here illegally to begin with, and that would not be a cost or a burden.

Mr. AKIN. So if you came to America before—and we had some people coming in with the drug traffic and they also smuggled individuals into our country through illegal immigration. If before we had trouble with people coming here illegally, if we give them free health insurance and health coverage, that's going to make it more attractive for them to come, right? So if you don't like illegal immigration then you are not going to like this bill either, are you?

Mr. FLEMING. Exactly.

Mr. AKIN. Okay. So I'm just trying to think of people who would want to vote ''no'' on this bill. Go ahead. I yield to Dr. BROUN.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. We don't know how many illegal aliens are here. They're not immigrants. They've committed crimes so they're criminals. They not only come here illegally, which means they're criminals, but virtually all of them have illegal documents, forged documents so they're guilty of many law infractions. But this health care plan, ObamaCare, is going to give every single one of those illegal aliens in this country free health insurance at the cost of taxpayers.

And what that means is as we ration care to everybody in this country, that means American citizens, American taxpayers are going to have less care provided to them because we're funding these illegal aliens. And when we hear this number that 47 million people don't have health insurance—they say don't have health care. Everybody has health care. They have access to health care in this country today. Everybody has access—that 47 million people don't have health insurance, of that is at least 10, if Dr. Fleming's right, it could be up to 15, even 20 million illegal aliens in this country. So it's a huge part of that 45, 47 million people that don't have insurance.

Mr. AKIN. So part of the reason for doing this bill, at least supposedly, other than just this uncontrollable desire for the government to run that, but aside from that, there's some 40 million people that don't have health insurance, and this is supposed to help fix that problem. But you are saying 10 of those 40 at least are illegal, and the way the bill is set up there's nothing in there that says that the illegals don't get free health insurance.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. They will get free health insurance.

Mr. AKIN. They will get it?

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. They will get it, yes, absolutely.

Mr. AKIN. So if you don't like the idea of illegal immigrants, you're having to pay for their health insurance, then you wouldn't like this bill either; is that right?

Mr. FLEMING. That's correct.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Let me bring up another category of folks if you don't mind, if you will yield just for a second, and that's employees.

Mr. AKIN. Okay.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. If you work for a company, you shouldn't like this, and the reason for that is that mandated coverage directed by the health commissioner—

Mr. AKIN. Or is it the czar? It was commissioner.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. The health czar, the health commissioner that is going to mandate to the employee's employer what kind of care that they're given, it's going to do two things at least to the employee and maybe even more.

Number one, the employee has to accept the insurance provided by the employer. Now, of the 47 million people who are not insured today, some of those are eligible for insurance through their employer, but they just choose not to take it. But they're going to be mandated to take the insurance through their employer, and if they don't, they're going to be fined through the tax system. It's a 2 percent tax or fine for them not taking employee-mandated——

Mr. AKIN. Wow, you've got another category. So let's keep this list going.

If you're an employee in a company and you're currently not taking that particular insurance, you're going to be forced to do it. So you're not going to like this bill because it's going to force you to do something you didn't want to do.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. That's correct. And another thing that's going to happen to that employee, because the employer is going to be taxed or have to pay more for the plan—in fact, a lot of companies are saying already that it would be better for them to just pay the 8 percent tax on those employers than it is to continue to giving them the insurance.

So it's going to force those employees off of their private health insurance that the employer's giving and force them on this so-called public option, the socialized medicine, Medicare-lite or Medicaid-lite that already has huge problems, but they're going to be forced into that. And a lot of them aren't going to want to do that either.

Mr. AKIN. So we already know that people who have a private plan that they like are going to lose that. So if you have a private plan you like, certainly you don't like this.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. That's correct.

Mr. AKIN. If you are an employee and you don't have a plan that an employer offers because you don't like it, you're going to be forced into that plan. So you are not going to like it. How about if you are the employer? I'd like to go to my friend, Mr. HOEKSTRA.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. I've got another category that I think may not be on your list. I just had the opportunity to watch the President deliver his speech on health care and then answer some questions, and I found it very interesting that the plan that the President was describing is not the plan that we find in the House of Representatives today.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Or the Senate.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Or the Senate. And so then, you know, in the questions the President said, well, let me tell you about the new areas where we have agreement, and this was agreement among the Democrats, not the Republicans. And I think you know that the Energy and Commerce Committee is going to go back to work tomorrow marking up the bill, this health care bill; but it looks like there are now massive changes that are being negotiated that are being feverishly written into law tonight and over this coming weekend because this House is on a mad dash because there's an artificial deadline. It has to be done by August 1.

Mr. AKIN. So by August 1, we're going to take 20 percent of the U.S. economy and turn it over to some czar or commissioner or commissar or something, and this is the flowchart of what's going to happen.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. No, it's not the flowchart anymore. That's the flowchart today. The other people that won't like this—because that flowchart is changing as we speak—the other people who won't——

Mr. AKIN. You've already given me a headache.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. The people who won't like this are people who are saying it is 16 to 20 percent of the economy. Let's go through this in a professional way as we write this legislation. Let's make sure that we deliberate it. Let's make sure we understand these consequences that just magically appeared today and give us some time to digest this, because at the same time that the President is saying this group likes it, that group likes it, this group supports it, all of the sudden it's a whole new plan.

And so by tomorrow afternoon there will be, I expect, a new plan on the floor of the Energy and Commerce Committee that nobody in the committee will know what's in it except for maybe one or two people. So people who believe that we shouldn't rush into messing around with their health care and with our doctors and our hospitals and that we ought to be very deliberate and that they would like us to know what's in a bill before we vote on it, and they would like to know what the bill is so they can call us and tell us what they like—

Mr. AKIN. Are you trying to tell me our constituents actually want us to read the bill and know what's in it before we vote on it? Now that's a novel—

Mr. HOEKSTRA. I did a tele-town hall meeting tonight, and there were two areas of questions all night. Number one is, where are the jobs? I am from a State that has 15.2 percent unemployment. They've seen that we

have spent $800 billion. They are saying, PETE, where are the jobs, where are the jobs, where are the jobs, because the impact that it's having on their families, on their kids and those kinds of things.

And the second category was, don't mess with my health care, or don't mess with my health care until I have an opportunity to review it and see what it's going to do to my health care, and, you know, don't vote on anything that you haven't had the opportunity to read and review and to explain to us what it will do.

Mr. AKIN. Well, reclaiming my time, going back to the whole premise, if you do it really fast and nobody knows what's in it, you don't have as many people that are going to say don't vote for this thing, because they don't know what's there.

We've been joined by another fantastic Congressman from Louisiana, a man who's not spent that much time in the House, has distinguished himself already for being articulate and a very penetrating questioner of some of these different schemes that we see, my good friend Congressman SCALISE from Louisiana.

Mr. SCALISE. I want to thank my friend Mr. AKIN from Missouri for yielding and for hosting this hour to talk about health care.

Just earlier tonight, we heard President Obama talking about the latest rendition of his story to the American people about what this bill does and doesn't do. I think what you're seeing across the country, though, is people have now started to see the details of the bill.

I serve on the Energy and Commerce Committee where we've been debating this bill for a few weeks now. We finally got the text of the bill just a few days ago. In fact, we had a hearing with the Congressional Budget Office last week. The day after the chairman of the committee finally released to the public the details of the bill, when we were talking to the head of the CBO about what the cost of this is to the American people, the head of the CBO acknowledged he didn't even have the opportunity to read the bill, but as he started to go through it——

Mr. HOEKSTRA. If the gentleman will yield, you think that's the bill you're going to be working on tomorrow afternoon?

Mr. SCALISE. Well, you know, I think it is changing every day, and the sad part of it is what's not necessarily changing are the details. What is changing is the rhetoric.

Every day they seem to come out and say something just to try to appease the American people. When the American people start looking at the details of this bill, they realize this bill gives a government bureaucrat, this new health care czar they're creating—we're not even talking about Cabinet Secretary post, somebody who is actually confirmed by the Senate. We're talking about a Federal bureaucrat, a health care czar, gives this health care czar the ability to take away your insurance if you like it. And so the President will go give a speech and say if you like what you have, you can keep it. The problem is his bill gives the bureaucrat the ability to take your health care away.

□ 2045

Mr. SCALISE. Their bill allows this health care czar to ration health care on Americans, and so American people are looking at this—and small business. And I talk to small business all the time. I just talked to one a little while ago who watched the President's speech and he said, One of the things that we're sick and tired of is all of these new taxes that they keep adding onto the backs of working people and all of these new mandates that government keeps adding onto the backs of people that are taking away their rights, taking away their health care.

And they see it in this bill. And they give all the speeches they want and all the assurances. The problem is, in the bill, they take away those rights.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. I think the gentleman hits it right on the nose, because the alternative to that chart is freedom, is freedom by the American public to be involved in their health care, and if we vote in this massive health care, what we are doing is giving up exactly what the gentleman described. We are giving up our freedom and we are turning it over to this town, to this building, and to that bureaucracy.

Mr. AKIN. The gentleman was just talking a minute ago. You said you're talking to your constituents. A powerful tool that we have is to have a computer call a lot of our constituents and we just can sit and have a conversation for an hour or two. I did that last night with my constituents. You know what I heard about? Jobs. Where are the jobs? You know who's really not going to like this program here is people that are looking for jobs.

Let me connect the dots here. Where do 80 percent of the new jobs in America come from? They come from small business. That is 500 or less employees, 500 or less employees. That's where we make 80 percent of our new jobs. And who's going to pay for this mess? Guess what?

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Small business.

Mr. AKIN. Small business. You take their money away so they can't invest in new buildings, new pieces of machinery, and guess what happens? They don't make the jobs. So if you're unemployed, you're not going to like this very well, are you?

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AKIN. I yield to Congressman BROUN.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Even if you're employed, you won't like this bill, because what's going to happen is millions of people are going to be put out of work. They're going to lose their jobs because of this ObamaCare plan.

Mr. AKIN. Why are they going to lose their jobs?

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. They're going to lose their jobs because of the increased taxes and burden.

Mr. AKIN. A whole lot more burden on the small business man, and guess what happens? It doesn't create the jobs. In fact, you start to lose jobs.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. It's going to lose millions of jobs. And those that are working are actually going to have a lower take-home pay because of the increased cost and the mandates on the individual as well as on their business.

So incomes literally are going to go down if you're employed and you keep your job, but there are millions of Americans that are going to literally lose their jobs because of ObamaCare.

Mr. AKIN. This is interesting because our constituents have been telling us jobs are a problem, unemployment is a problem. Now we've set some records. In the last 6 months, we have lost more jobs than ever in any time period since the Great Depression in America. We've lost more jobs in the last 6 months than have ever been lost since the Great Depression. So this is a serious thing.

NATIONAL HEALTH CARE PLAN

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mrs. DAHLKEMPER). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 2009, the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. KING) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. KING of Iowa. I anticipate we're going to have a seamless transition here this evening. It looks as though there wasn't anybody from the other side to appear down here to defend themselves or advocate for this policy. I'm wondering if some of the people haven't gone underground that have advocated for this national health care plan.

But as the gentleman from Missouri had said, we lost more jobs in the last 6 months than since the Great Depression. I think there's something here to illustrate.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. If the gentleman would yield for just a second as you get your chart ready.

Mr. KING of Iowa. I would make my point and then yield, and that is this is a direct contradiction to what the gentleman from Missouri has said. This is the White House Chief of Staff, Rahm Emanuel, who said—what day is today?

Mr. HOEKSTRA. The 22nd.

Mr. KING of Iowa. So it would be today. He said, ''We rescued the economy.''

Mr. AKIN. I hope they don't rescue it much more.

Mr. KING of Iowa. That's the gentleman I intended to yield to. If we rescue the economy, lost more jobs in 6 months than we have since the Great Depression, unemployment has 14.5 million, 14.7 million people unemployed and there are another 5.8 million people who are looking for a job that have exhausted their unemployment benefits, that no longer qualify under the

definition of unemployed, which takes us up over 20 million people in America that are looking for work.

According to a study that was done by one of the lead thinkers in this, they went to 25 million effectively unemployed because many have had their hours cut down so they no longer are truly a full-time employment.

Rescued the economy? I don't think so. Let's hope they don't rescue health care the same way.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KING of Iowa. The gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Just before you took over and joined us in this Special Order, my colleague was saying that this doesn't do much for the unemployed. I think we have to recognize that it does. For those people that are in the unfortunate circumstance today of being unemployed, one of the things that they are concerned about is that they don't have access to health care. That plan may provide it.

But the other thing that I think has been pointed out, this plan will hurt the economy and hurt more jobs, and what these people want is they want the opportunity to get back to work. And I think under the Republican proposals that we have out there, we have ways for people who are in that unfortunate situation of being unemployed there a tax credit or whatever to be able to go out and to buy and to have the freedom to choose a health care plan.

I think that's now becoming a selling point of this new plan. It says if you're unemployed—and they're creating a lot of them—we're going to be able to provide you health care. But the Republican plan will do the same thing because we do believe it's important that everybody have the security of having access to health insurance. We just don't think you have to create this bureaucracy to do it.

So let's not forget about the people who are hurting, who are unemployed. But just because they're unemployed doesn't mean this system is what they need. There are better alternatives.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOEKSTRA. I will yield.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Well, I'd like to tell you, my dear friend from Michigan, Mr. HOEKSTRA, that everybody in this country has access to health care. Today. Everybody, whether they're employed or unemployed. The reason they have access to health care is because anybody can walk into any emergency room anywhere in this country and they can get evaluation and treatment for any problem that they have.

I used to work full time as a director of emergency services at Georgia Baptist Hospital in Sylvester, Georgia, and anybody that walked in the door for any problem was evaluated and treated, whether they had health insurance or not. And that's true all over the country.

So everybody in this country, whether they have health insurance, whether they're employed, whether they're unemployed, whether they're legal immigrants, whether they're illegal aliens, whether they're American citizens, whether they're taxpayers or nontaxpayers, everybody in this country today has access the health care system.

The thing that they don't have, the 45 million or 47 million, is they don't have a health insurance card or policy in their pocket to pay for it.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. And we want to be able to provide them with that opportunity because we believe that is a more effective and more cost-efficient way and a better way to get health care to Americans. And so that is one proposal to do it. But Republicans also have a proposal and ways to make that available that move away from this extraordinarily expensive and job-killing bureaucracy.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. You're exactly right. We have been, as Republicans, by our Democratic colleagues, have been described as the Party of No, N-O. But the reality is we are the Party of Know, K-N-O-W, because we know how to lower the cost of health care. We know how to get those uninsured people so that they can be insured.

In fact, even the ObamaCare plan, the director of the CBO said that even in 10 years there's still going to be millions and millions of people uninsured even under the Obama plan.

So we are the Party of Know to know how to solve these problems, to put people back to work, to give them lower cost for insurance. We have multiple plans on our side. I hope the American people understand that.

Mr. KING of Iowa. Reclaiming my time, I'd like to pose a question here that is at the bottom of this. And there are a lot of different numbers out there and we know this is a moving target, so we're trying to shoot at a moving target because we know, once it's completed, it's going to come through here like a lightning bolt and it's going to be over.

So I'm seeing numbers that show this as high as $2 trillion, but I can see CBO numbers that come to about $1.2 trillion and I can see tax increases that are in the area of $800 billion to $900 billion and deficits that are about $239.1 billion.

Now, whatever these numbers are, we know that the calculations and predictions are different than what it's actually going to be. Programs always cost more money in reality than when they're actually estimated.

But here's the point. President Obama has said we can't fix the economy unless we first fix health care. Health care is broken.

Well, if you have a company that's broken, you don't go out and borrow more money and lower your revenue stream and increase your deficit. So if health care costs too much money, why do we have to add $1 trillion or $2 trillion to it to fix the program? That's the rhetorical question that I ask. It's more than rhetorical. Hopefully, we'll be able to get to that.

I see the gentleman from Louisiana was leaning forward and I'd be happy to yield to the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. SCALISE).

Mr. SCALISE. Again, I thank my friend for yielding. When we really talk about the numbers, there are lots of big numbers being thrown around, billions and billions of dollars. The CBO, Congressional Budget Office, has already said that the promises of savings—and President Obama has promised lots of savings—as he's read the bill, he's said the promises of savings don't exist.

So you hear the President talking about we're going to squeeze all these savings out. The problem is the bill doesn't yield any savings. What it yields is an increase in Federal spending to the tune of hundreds of billions of dollars, over $800 billion in new taxes. But this is the bureaucracy that they create.

I think when you really start talking about why the American people, as they're looking at this plan, are turning against this government takeover of health care, this is what really I think offends the American people. This is an organizational chart of President Obama and Speaker PELOSI's proposal to have a government takeover of health care, and I think what frightens people the most—and there are a lot of things about this bill that frighten people across America. The fact that you would have a bureaucrat to ration care.

But I think what is the most offensive, even above the tax increases and above the hundreds of billions of dollars in spending of money that we don't have, is the fact that they're proposing in their bill—this is the doctor and this is the patient. Look at all of the bureaucracy that their bill is placing in between you, the consumer, the patient, and your doctor.

We've got two doctors here tonight joining us from Georgia and Louisiana, and when you look at this organizational chart of President Obama and Speaker PELOSI's proposal to have a government takeover of health care, what offends people the most is the fact that they're placing all of these new Federal bureaucracies, including a health care czar, in between you and your doctor.

And people know, when you look at Canada, when you look at England, people know what that led to. And in fact, just Monday of this week, Monday of this week, a tragic story. A 22-year-old man, 22-year-old man in England died because of England's government-run health care system, very similar to this proposal, denied the ability for that 22-year-old to get a liver transplant. His 44-year-old mother testified how horrible the system is that they have in England, a system that would

allow a 22-year-old man to die because they denied him treatment.

This is the exact same structure. All these Federal bureaucrats unelected here in Washington, D.C., coming in between you, the patient, and your doctor. This is offensive. This is why this is such a horrible idea. We need reforms, but we surely don't need this.

I yield back.

□ 2100

Mr. AKIN. Could I just jump in for a minute? There are different categories of people who aren't going to like this bill; but there are people who just hate government redtape. Genetically, I don't like government redtape. Can you picture trying to get a health care decision and something that's messed up, and you have got a wife or kid that needs health care, and you've got to deal with this to try to get health care, and these people are going to tell you whether or not you can get it?

You know the one thing in my telephone townhall meeting people said that they want more than anything else, they want health care decisions made between the doctor and the patient. We offered that amendment in committee, and it was voted down on a party-line vote. The Democrats saying that they want the redtape bureaucrats to make health care decisions, and they voted against an amendment that said that the doctor and the patient should make the health care decisions. Now that's not where the mainstream of America is, and that's not why you doctors are practicing medicine—to have a bureaucrat tell you how to practice medicine. It gets me upset.

Mr. KING of Iowa. Reclaiming my time, and letting the gentleman from Missouri relax for a minute. I wanted to bring this up. We see the flow charts that are today in color, and when you look at the color flow charts, those that are in white are the old existing programs that are there; and those in color are the new programs that are laid on top of the existing bureaucracy. This is the HillaryCare flow chart from back in 1993; and this is the flow chart that is, I believe, a replica of what hung on the office in my construction office throughout that entire decade and probably past the change of the millennium. It hung there because it scared the living daylights out of me, as an employer who was providing health insurance for my employees and, of course, my family as well.

When I looked at this chart—I had an aversion and anybody who has ever been in business has an aversion to redtape—this was a redtape chart. This chart being put up back in 1993 was enough, I think, that added enough weight on that it sunk HillaryCare, because the people in this country did not want to create all of this bureaucracy and give all of this control and authority over to the government. They wanted to maintain their own independence, their own freedom. In the end, it was a freedom argument that won out, that killed HillaryCare.

Now we have ObamaCare. The difference is, it's in color. It probably takes not quite as much freedom as this one might have. But I would point out on the gentleman's chart that the part that concerns me the most are these two purple circles down here at the bottom. The white square is the existing private health insurance, traditional health insurance. All of those insurance policies of those 1,300 or so insurance companies that are competing right now for the dollar for health insurance would have to flow through and become qualified health insurance plans. They would only be qualified if right here the health insurance czar decided that he had written the regulations in such a way that the newly created public health benefits plan—the Federal health insurance plan that's designed to compete against the private sector—could stay in business.

So they will set the regulations and establish the mandates and determine what these private health insurance policies offer. Then when they write those standards, then they'd be competing directly against the public; and at some point the public swallows up private. This is where it gobbles it up right here. This is where you lose your freedom. This is where President Obama cannot make the promise that if you like your health insurance plan, you can keep it.

You don't get to keep it. You don't get to keep it because the people that make the decisions, those who are employers that are providing health insurance, are going to look at the premium that's here, the rules that are set by the government; and they will decide whether you keep it. You will not, even if you're a happy employee.

I yield to the gentleman from Georgia who has a statement to make.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Well, Mr. KING, I am glad you brought this up because the American people have been promised by this President over and over again. He's saying, if you like your insurance, you can keep it. But nothing could be further from the truth. It's not factual. It's just totally falsehood. If you like the policy that you have today, you will not be able to keep it under ObamaCare. The other thing that you're talking about there—let me just tell you what happens to me as a physician with Medicare payments.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Before you go there, can I just add a point?

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. You bet.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. There will be some people who keep their health care. Who will that be?

Mr. AKIN. The wealthy.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Congress.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. It will be Federal employees and Congressmen and Senators will keep their health care. I believe in the Senate there was an amendment that was voted on, and I hope we have the opportunity to vote on this in the House. In the Senate there was a vote that said, We're going to put all Federal employees, including Members of Congress, into the public health plan, the plan that we will force millions—what was the number, 73 million in the first 5 years or something?

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. It was over 100 million nationally.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. We're going to force 100 million people into the public health plan. I'm not sure if they had a vote in the Energy and Commerce Committee on this amendment yet, but I think it's coming. When that vote was held in the Senate, the Senate said, We're not going into the public health plan. We're going to keep what we have. So it's fascinating for the Senate to say, We're ready to force 100 million people in the public into the public health plan, but we ain't going there. That tells you what the Senate thinks of what will be the public health plan. I thank my colleague for yielding.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Let me tell you where I was going to begin with. Say a Medicare patient comes in with some chest pain, and I decided that they needed an x-ray of the chest or an MRI of the chest, I have to call a Federal bureaucrat to get permission for that patient to have those studies done right now today. In fact, even with a lot of the HMOs that are privately administered, if I prescribe an anti-hypertensive, something to control blood pressure, I have to call a pharmacy benefits manager to get permission and approval to prescribe a medication, which I am totally against that.

In my office we're writing a health care reform plan that will put patients in the position where they make the decision, not a pharmacy benefits manager, not a Federal bureaucrat. It's one of the plans that's going to be offered as a bill. But right now today, that Federal bureaucrat tells me, as a doctor, what kind of x-rays that I can do on my patients if they're on government plans, Medicare and Medicaid. It's already a broken system. Care is already being rationed in the government-supplied insurance programs today, in Medicare and Medicaid. It's going to get a lot worse under ObamaCare, a lot worse. We'll have more rationing of care, more denial of care. There will be longer waiting periods.

Mr. AKIN. Just a moment now because I think you are making a point. The Democrats were here about an hour-and-a-half ago. They were saying, Hey, we don't like the idea that an insurance company rations your care, an insurance company gets between a doctor and a patient. As a Republican, I don't like that idea either; but the solution isn't to put an even bigger bureaucrat in the way. The solution is to get back to the doctor-patient relationship, which is why you practice medicine.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Can I offer a little history lesson? I'm not sure any of were you here in 2001. One of you was here in 2001.

Mr. AKIN. It was my first year here.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. You know what this reminds me of, remember we passed a bill—I'm thankful I voted against it—No Child Left Behind.

Mr. AKIN. I voted ''no'' on that too.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Why did we vote ''no''? Because what it did, it put the Department of Education between a parent and their local school and their local administrators. That thing passed with all of this promise because the promise was, We're not going to leave a single child behind.

Well, you and I felt passionately. We don't want to leave a child behind. But the way to fix that isn't to put a government bureaucracy in charge of that kid's education. Guess what, here we are 8 years later; and who now agrees with us? A lot of folks on the other side of the aisle; and most of the folks on this side of the aisle who voted for that bill now recognize that No Child Left Behind was a huge mistake because what it did is it took local control, parental control of your child's education away from parents, away from local administrators and moved it here to Washington. We're leaving more kids behind, even though we're spending more money than ever.

A lesson from history from those of us that saw that No Child Left Behind wasn't going to work; this is a monstrosity that is 10 times bigger and will have 10 times more impact than No Child Left Behind will because No Child Left Behind only impacted our kids. This will impact every single one of us. It is the same model of moving away from the concept of freedom, which my colleague talked about earlier, the concept of freedom, freedom to raise our kids, freedom to choose our health care, freedom to make our own health care decisions, moving them to Federal bureaucracies and bureaucrats who don't know the names of our kids, who don't know the names of our doctors, and who don't know the hospitals that we want to go to. That's the problem with the approach that we are seeing today.

Mr. KING of Iowa. Reclaiming my time, and as the gentleman raised the issue of about who will be making the decisions on health care, whether it will be the doctor and the patient or whether it will be the bureaucrat, we have on record, before the committee in the markup 2 days ago, an amendment that was offered by Republicans—and I believe it was Dr. GINGREY from Georgia who offered the amendment. I happen to have the text of it right here handy; and it is this, Nothing in this section shall be construed to allow any Federal employee or political appointee to dictate how a medical provider practices medicine. That was a simple amendment that preserved the doctor-patient relationship and cut the bureaucrat out of it.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. That passed, right?

Mr. KING of Iowa. It failed. It failed on a party-line vote, save one. Only one Democrat would defend the doctor-patient relationship in the entire committee. It was shot down as a partisan vote, and that would be a clear principle that you would think Democrats and Republicans could agree upon.

Mr. AKIN. And yet every Republican standing here tonight, we all stand behind that doctor-patient relationship. That's what medical care should be about. It was a straight party-line vote, with the exception of only one Democrat.

Mr. KING of Iowa. That's correct.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Would the gentleman yield?

Mr. KING of Iowa. The gentleman.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. I would like to tell you a story that I recently heard about a patient that actually helped my friend from Michigan's economy. Mr. HOEKSTRA, you might be very interested in this because it actually provided some funds into your State, from what I understand.

A patient in Canada had severe knee pain, such severe knee pain that he required narcotics. He went to see his family doctor, the gatekeeper to the health system up there. The doctor told him that he was just going to treat him with some physical therapy and give him narcotics. This went on for over a year before he could get in to see an orthopedic surgeon. It took him over a year to be on the list to see the orthopedic surgeon for evaluation of this severe knee pain.

When he finally got to see the orthopedic surgeon after a year—of course here in this country if a family doctor, like me, wants to get a patient to the orthopedic surgeon, we can do it within a matter of days and certainly weeks, if the orthopedist is extremely busy. But it took him over a year to see an orthopedic surgeon that was mandated by the government. He had to see this particular one. It took him over a year to see him. The orthopedic surgeon finally did some x-rays on him and told the patient, Yes, you've got such and such a condition in your knee; and you need an operation.

This patient said, Fine. Let's go to the hospital. I want to get rid of this pain. I want to get off the narcotics. The orthopedic surgeon said, No, no, no, no. You can't do that. We'll have to put you on a waiting list to get in the hospital for your surgery. The patient said, Well, how long is that going to take? We don't know, is what he was told. So the patient left Canada and came to the United States—I think to Michigan—to get his much-needed simple knee surgery that was denied immediate care, may even have made him a narcotic addict because he was put on those narcotics that he had to take for the severe pain. So he had to deal with that too because the government delayed his evaluation and his treatment.

That's exactly what's going to happen to people here in America under this plan that's being presented by the Democrats.

Mrs. BACHMANN. If the gentleman will yield.

Mr. KING of Iowa. The gentlelady from Minnesota.

Mrs. BACHMANN. Well, you know, it's very interesting. I think the gentlemen that are here in the Chamber tonight—I think probably everyone here considers themselves pro-life. And you remember during all of the arguments and debates that there has been on this issue of women making a decision about whether or not to have an abortion, one of the main arguments that was proffered was, No government should get between a woman and her doctor. The government should not get between the woman and her doctor when she comes to making that decision.

Yet it's so curious. When you look at these 33 new bureaucracies that are created, when it comes to that decision about an abortion, you've got 33 new bureaucracies now that are created. I recognize those who are here are probably pro-life in this Chamber. But for those women who aren't pro-life, that's something that they need to consider very seriously. The government is going to be between them and their doctor in a whole new way, a big way, a 33-bureaucracy way. That's one thing women understand. Women consume health care. They purchase most of the health care in this country. They take care of their elderly parents. And women will be the ones that are stuck filling out the paperwork, making call after call after that call.

We all know what it's like if you call the Department of Motor Vehicles and you have a problem, or you call some other government department if you have a problem. You know what you have to go through. We still have gentlemen who have served valiantly in World War II who still can't get medals. They're still trying to get through to get access.

□ 2115

Now we're looking at women having the hassle factor of having to get through to a bureaucrat.

There is one thing I wanted to mention. I just finished watching President Obama in his press conference when he was talking to the Nation about his health care reform and about his health care proposal. I listened to every question that was asked by all of the reporters. I found it very curious. President Obama was adamant. He said his health plan, his government takeover, will not add to the deficit in the next 10 years. He made it as a guarantee, as a promise. He will not add to the deficit in the next 10 years. Not one reporter who asked a question brought up the independent Congressional Budget Office, the testimony by Doug Elmendorf, where he stated unequivocally that we will see rising costs and a rising deficit if President Obama's plan goes into effect. There was not one question by the reporters. Not one question contradicted President Obama's statement.

The other thing that surprised me was that President Obama has not

given to the public what every previous President gives out, which is, in mid-July, a budget update about where the budget is. Well, guess what. President Obama said he's going to delay putting that mid-budget assessment out until mid-August when all of the Members of Congress are back home, presumably after we take this vote on health care. Is this the most transparent Presidency that we've had? That's the claim.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. No.

Mrs. BACHMANN. This is transparent.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. No.

Mrs. BACHMANN. But he doesn't even want us to see the budget numbers. He doesn't even want to be asked about the CBO estimate. He said, Where are we going to find the money, and how is this not going to cost more by adding millions more?

Mr. KING of Iowa. If the gentlelady will yield to a question.

Mrs. BACHMANN. He said it's from waste. We're going to wring waste out of the system. Well, if that's so, why do we have a chart equal to this one showing all of the specifics of how they're going to take waste out of the system? Let's go ahead and start with that. Let's start getting these hundreds of billions of dollars out of the system by wringing out waste.

It's because he knows. He knows what's going to happen. Doctors are going to turn into GS–15s, government employees. Doctors are going to take drastic reductions in payments. Nurses will take drastic reductions in payments. Hospitals will take drastic reductions in payments. What does that mean for the American people? Drastic reductions in quality of care if you can get care. That's what we need to consider.

Mr. KING of Iowa. Reclaiming my time, if I could just make the point that President Obama might have told the truth tonight when he said that he wasn't going to increase the deficit with his national health care plan. We already know there are $800 billion or $900 billion in tax increases that are written into this, and they're only about, maybe, $239 billion from making their books balance. Imagine that. It's $239.1 billion by one set of measure. It might be a lot more. So all they really need to do is raise taxes another $239 billion and accept the estimates they have—and they might have already arrived—and he just simply uses his little rhetorical trick of giving you a definition. Well, he gives America the definition, and people hear what they want to hear. He speaks in a way that people hear what they want to hear. Again, I think that's the deal.

I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. SCALISE. There's one other thing that the President will do with his government takeover of health care if he truly does want to make it revenue-neutral, which it's not. Right now, this bill adds hundreds of billions of dollars to the deficit, and the number grows every day. The number is in the $200 billion range right now, but we know, by the end of this week, it's probably going to be higher.

What the President will do is ration care. In this bill, he has got this health care czar—it's in his bill—with the power to ration care. So if he is going to control costs to make sure that it doesn't cost any more, well, we already know he added about $800 billion in new taxes, so every American family and every small businessperson knows they're going to see massive tax increases. That's bad enough. That's going to lead to millions of jobs lost in this country.

Even with all of that, his bill costs so much over $1 trillion that he still doesn't have enough money to make the two ends meet. So, if he truly lives up to his word, then the way he does that is the same way that Canada, England and any other country that has a government-run system does it. They ration care.

Mrs. BACHMANN. Will the gentleman talk about what ''rationing'' is? Talk about what ''rationing'' is. What does that mean?

Mr. HOEKSTRA. I was going to talk about the rationing.

I used to be in the private sector, and I used to be in the marketing world. We all know that these forecasts aren't actual numbers; they're predictions. One of the things that we have learned from these predictions is that—what? Does government forecast conservatively where, you know, if everything goes bad, we're going to be $800 billion short? No. The government forecasts optimistically.

I think it's pretty safe to say that, if you take a look at the assumptions and the predictions that the deficit or that the amount that this program will add to the deficit over this period of time, it is probably at least double what the CBO is predicting.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Tell me it's not so.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Yes. It's what the CBO is predicting.

The other things it is based on are reimbursements to the States. To get people and some of the States to buy off on Medicaid reimbursements, what they do is they bump them up in the first 3–4 years of this program, and then they cut them dramatically. We all know that those cuts will never take place in future years, so the deficit, most likely, of this proposal will be significantly higher than the numbers we see today. I think that has been true for just about every Federal program we've seen.

Mr. AKIN. I would like to talk a little bit about the President's ability to predict the future in terms of his numbers because, as I recall, just 3 months ago, we were taking a look at what was supposed to be called a ''stimulus bill.'' Some of us called it a ''porkulus bill.'' Anyway, it was about a tremendous amount of spending. I think it was $787 billion in spending. The President gave us a number that we could take to the bank.

He said, Look, if you guys do not pass this stimulus bill, why, we might have unemployment as high as 8 percent in America. So we passed this tremendous spending bill. Let's see. What's our unemployment now?

Mr. KING of Iowa. 9.5.

Mrs. BACHMANN. 9.5 percent.

Mr. AKIN. 9.5 percent.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. It's almost 14 percent in many of my counties in Georgia.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Well, actually, I hate to take the lead on that, but we're at 15.2 percent. We have a lot of people hurting.

Mr. AKIN. This bill isn't going to cost anything. The Congressional Budget Office first comes out and says it's $2 trillion, and then they whittle some numbers by some little fancy stuff, and it comes down to $1 trillion, and he says this is going to help the economy and is not going to cost anything. That's a little bit like his promise when he said, Listen to me now. He said, If you're making under $250,000, there won't be any tax on you, except we've got this little deal that, when you flip on a light switch, you're going to get taxed. Who doesn't flip on a light switch?

Mrs. BACHMANN. But it's going to cost jobs. That's the other problem. By President Obama's own estimates, this health care plan will cost nearly 5 million jobs. His porkulus bill has cost us 2 million jobs. The takeover of GM/Chrysler cost another 150,000 jobs. The energy bill you just talked about is 2.5 million jobs every year. This alone is 5 million jobs. So it's already a huge cost in terms of job loss out of the United States.

Mr. KING of Iowa. Well, let me take us back to that original question again, which is, when the President says that the economy is a disaster and that we can't fix the economy unless we first fix the broken health care system in America and that the only way you can fix the broken health care system in America is to add to the spending by $1 trillion or $2 trillion, depending on how you want to evaluate the proposal, and to add to the taxes by $800 billion or more. If we end up with a huge deficit of $2 or $5 or $7 or $800 billion created in all of that and if something is broken and if you have to fix it, how can it be, if we're spending too much money on health care today, that we're going to spend more on health care tomorrow and add to the deficit and to the unemployment and fix the problem?

This proposal exacerbates the problem. That's the flaw in the President's logic. So this is similar to the things that came out a couple of generations ago on another continent. If you repeat the same thing over and over again and if after a while people are afraid to challenge you, then some begin to believe it's true. It can't be true.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KING of Iowa. First the gentleman from Georgia and then back over to Louisiana.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Well, I want to bring up that we hear all of these grandiose promises from the President, but I want to remind the Speaker and my colleagues here in the House—I can't speak to the American people—but if I could speak to them, I'd remind them, too, that the President just recently said that his non-stimulus bill is working just like he thought it would. Yet we have more people out of work today, and the promises made have been broken, and I was coming to that very point. The Chief of Staff of the President, Rahm Emanuel, who used to be a Member here in this House—

Mr. KING of Iowa. Could we direct the attention down here to the Chief of Staff for the White House? ''We rescued the economy,'' said today, Rahm Emanuel.

Mrs. BACHMANN. The President said that tonight, too.

Mr. KING of Iowa. I'm emphasizing the gentleman's point.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. The point being that the President and his administration give us all of these grandiose promises, and they use all this sleight of hand, shell game of words to try to tell people what they want to hear, but the reality is what they say is not factual. It's just absolutely not factual, and the American people need to understand that.

Mrs. BACHMANN. But the President did say something that I think, perhaps, we should listen to.

He said tonight in his press conference that the United States spends about $6,000 more per person on health care. He wants to reduce that. So we need to listen to that now. He wants to reduce that by about $3,000 per person. Well now, how is he going to do that? Let's take him at his word. If he is going to reduce health care expenses by $3,000 per person, that goes back to how we define ''rationing.''

''Rationing'' means if your baby daughter were born with a heart condition, would she get the pacemaker? If your 85-year-old mother had a problem with her hip, would she get a replacement? If, perhaps, your daughter had kidney problems, would she get the help?

That's the way you reduce the costs by something as dramatic as by half per person. Let's face it, President Obama's plan for Americans is that we're getting less health care, not more.

Mr. KING of Iowa. Under President Obama's health care proposal, somehow I just can't imagine ladies waiting in line to get an abortion. I just can't imagine they're going to do that.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AKIN. I try to picture that you can get a free C-section as long as you're willing to wait a year for it, you know? That's really going to be helpful.

Mr. KING of Iowa. The gentleman from Louisiana has been patiently waiting.

Mr. SCALISE. There are a lot of statements that have been made by the administration, all of which contradict each other. I think the American people are catching on to the fact that the administration has these focus groups and that they say things that people want to hear. Yet they do the opposite.

Just last week, Vice President BIDEN said we have to spend money to keep from going bankrupt. Now, any American who balances his budget, which is every American family, knows that's a ludicrous statement; but it's the way that they're governing, and it's the way that this bill approaches this.

In fact, as we've been talking about how much will this bill cost, how much will this government takeover cost, in the Energy and Commerce Committee earlier this week, they had amendments to the bill to actually add even more costs. What are those costs? What is that additional spending that the Vice President talks about that they need to implement to keep from going bankrupt?

They added another $250 million. There was one amendment that a Member on the Democratic side offered in the committee which would create a program that would allow the Federal Government, through this government takeover of health care, to create a new program to allow for individual organizations like Planned Parenthood—and we asked if Planned Parenthood and if groups like ACORN would be able to access this program, and they said yes. It would allow groups like Planned Parenthood to have access to $250 million in a new Federal program—money we don't have—to teach teenage girls how to use condoms. By the way, this would be without the permission of their parents.

So imagine you're looking at this budget deficit spiraling out of control and at this spending in Washington spiraling out of control, and the President brings this government takeover of health care and says, We're not going to pass a bill that doesn't control costs. Yet there was an amendment that they passed. Not one Republican voted for this amendment. Those of us who are pro-life were highly offended by it, but the amendment passed. It's in the bill. It creates a separate $250 million taxpayer-funded program to allow groups like Planned Parenthood to teach your daughter, without your permission, how to use condoms. It's in their bill to take over health care. That's what's going on with this bill.

The American people are seeing this. That's why they're trying to ram this bill through by the end of next week, without the American people being able to read the bill, because they know when people read this stuff, they're going to revolt. They should because this is a horrible idea.

I yield back.

Mr. AKIN. That's the whole point of doing these things at 3 o'clock in the morning with 300-page amendments. There's not even a copy of the bill on the floor. Why do you want to do it in the dark? Because how many Americans are going to vote to spend $250 million to teach your daughters how condoms work? There are not too many American people who want to vote for something like that. That's why you want to do it in the dark of night.

The other thing they don't want you to do is to understand the difference. They want to say, Our health care system is so bad. Hey, there are some problems, but take a look at this compared to this socialized mess over in England or in Canada. Take a look at people like me. I'm a cancer survivor. Take a look at your survival rate for men with cancer: 18 percent better in the United States. We want to trash our system to go to something that has worse numbers? It doesn't make sense.

I yield back.

□ 2130

Mr. KING of Iowa. Reclaiming my time, in recognizing there are folks that are lined up to speak, the gentleman from Louisiana mentioned ACORN as one of the huge machines that drives the Democrat turn-out-the-vote effort that has produced over 400,000 fraudulent voter registration forms that seems to be behind a lot of the things that are going on that are pushing the hard-core, left-wing agenda.

And by the way, they are registered—I have it as a 501(c)(3) not-for-profit, nonpartisan organization. This is a picture of their headquarters at 2609 Canal Street, New Orleans. And there I stood across the street right before the Fourth of July, put my little camera up there, and here's a picture of the window at the headquarters at New Orleans where there is at least 174 or 175 corporations affiliated with ACORN, and here are the Obama posters inside the glass. This is your not-for-profit organization. Here's the ACORN logo hanging and the flag outside. You can draw your own conclusions, but there is the get-out-the-vote machine that's funded by your Federal tax dollars, funding abortions with your tax dollars.

Mrs. BACHMANN. Remember, it's a good time for ACORN. They've received $53 million in direct Federal grants since 1994, but now they've hit it big. The slot machine is paying off now because now they have access to $8.5 billion. Fifty-three million was chump change for ACORN. Now they have potentially access to $8.5 billion.

Mr. KING of Iowa. I would like to kick this over to Louisiana. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. FLEMING. I just wanted to mention that I know you gentlemen and lady know that the President spoke on this very subject tonight while we were actually talking ourselves, and I just

got some input, some interesting things he said here.

Number one, he acknowledges that the people of America are becoming skeptical because there haven't been any laws lately that have positively affected them. I think that's an understatement from our President. Also, he makes the claim that there is no bureaucracy. There will be no gap between the patient and the doctor, the sacred doctor-patient relationship.

Well, we've seen slide after slide of these—if the camera can show here with what Mr. AKIN has that there are so many steps between the doctor and the patient. There are many now. But now it really goes crazy when we get into this system.

And then finally he was asked—you may recall that we submitted House Resolution 615 that says if you vote for government takeover of health care that you are willing to sign up for it and forego a waiver which is built into these bills that doesn't put you into this automatically, that you can stay with your private health plans, and the President was asked this question tonight. And he basically gave no answer to the question. He dodged the question altogether, which we know he's so skillful to do.

So it's pretty obvious that if this gets passed, that we're looking at a situation where the average American out there, the average working American, will be subject to all of the bureaucracy of a government-run system just like in England and in Canada. And the only ones who will be exempt, as Mr. HOEKSTRA mentioned a moment ago, will be the ruling elite: Congress, Senate and the President, and perhaps some wealthy, the Rockefellers and the Bill Gates and families such as that.

I just thought these were some interesting comments that were going on while we were holding this session tonight.

Mr. KING of Iowa. I thank the informed gentleman from Louisiana.

I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. I think we've had a pretty good discussion about, you know, people want to help. This is hard. But what's the real motive for moving this all under a government health care? And the gentlelady from Minnesota helped point out this moves $250 million into ACORN. Because what it does is, when you move all of this spending from the private sector to government, we have control. That bureaucracy has control. The President has control to direct policy.

And what many of us would think is a personal policy that is between me and my doctor, our family and our doctor, and all of those kinds of things, and what we're doing when we move that amount of money—remember, we're moving basically 20 percent of the economy. With one vote we're going to move it from the private sector where we each have some influence—and we don't like more control, and that's what the Republican proposals do is give us more control in that equation.

But instead of us having more control, we're going to give it up or there are people in here who, the American people I don't think know they're giving it up. But there are people in this House, in this Senate, and in this town who are willing to take it and want to take it because they want that kind of control over social policy, health care policy, economic policy in this country, because they don't trust the American people to make those decisions for themselves. They believe that the economy, they believe that everything begins in Washington.

And as Republicans, we know and we believe that it begins with the people at the grassroots. They are the ones that drive America. They are the ones that drive our communities, our States, and our country; not this town and not our State capitals. And that's the fundamental difference. We're uncomfortable taking that responsibility or moving that responsibility to Washington. We're not only uncomfortable with it, we think it's wrong. My Democrat colleagues think it's right, it's appropriate, and it's necessary

Mr. KING of Iowa. The gentleman from Michigan, he's absolutely correct. And the people that generate these kinds of flowcharts—and they are liberal elitist utopianists, but they believe they are smarter than your average person. They don't believe the average person is capable of taking care of themselves. They believe they can devise the perfect flowchart that will make everything work out perfectly.

And the only thing that gets in the way of all of this is because there are some people in the world that try to give people their freedom, and they will always trade off American freedom for security. It happened in Western Europe.

I took a trip down to Cuba here a few years ago, a legal trip to Cuba. This is what occurs to my mind. As I listened to Mr. HOEKSTRA speak, how in the world do we ever balance a budget if we swallow up the private sector by growing government to eat up the private sector. Eight huge entities have been swallowed up and nationalized by President Obama. A large percentage of our GDP is now run by the government, by the White House, some of it directly, some by Rahm Emanuel.

If the Federal Government continues to take over huge sections of the economy, like this 17 percent or whatever that number is, I don't know how you balance the budget. You do like they do in Cuba. You take a cut out of all commerce, because Castro has an investment in all things, and that's where this Nation is heading if we don't get a grip and get our freedom back.

Mr. AKIN. I would like to jump in a little bit about this whole idea about our trust for different bureaucracies.

Let us take a look at the track record. We're talking about a health care system that's going to have the good heart of the IRS and the efficiency of the postal system. Let us take a look at some of these different government agencies and how much—do we really want to trust them with our personal health care? Let's think a little bit about the Department of Energy. The Department of Energy was chartered with a mission. The mission was that we were going to make sure that we're not dependent on foreign sources of energy.

Now, we have had a lot of employees and we're more dependent on foreign energy than we've ever been. So how good is the Department of Energy?

Let's talk about the Department of Education. There was a Presidential commission studying the Department of Education. They came to the conclusion that if a foreign country had done to us what the Department of Education has done, we would consider it an act of war. But we have a lot of faith in government bureaucracies.

Let's talk about your favorite bureaucracy. I shouldn't pick on your pet, the CIA. We go into gulf war 1 and they give us this intelligence. They say, Look, Iraq is 10 years away from making a nuclear device. We get in there; they're a year-and-a-half away. So they go to gulf war II. They say they're a year-and-a-half away. We get in there, they're 10 years away. I mean, why do we have so much faith in all of these?

I guess FEMA did a wonderful job on Hurricane Katrina, and yet we want to turn our personal health care over to all of these government agencies? I don't get it. It doesn't seem to make any sense at all.

Mr. KING of Iowa. The best thing we have going for us is these government bureaucrats aren't always on the job. Sometimes they're on the job but they're not always paying attention to the job.

This is the President's economic adviser Larry Summers, who back about the turn of the administration—which seems eons ago around January 20 of this year—made the statement that what we need to do to bring the economy back around was everybody's got to go out and spend, spend, spend. And some of us, myself included, said, Wait a minute. Saving this economy is about increasing our production. You can't spend your way into prosperity. You have to go out and produce something that has value and marketability and you can earn your way into prosperity.

Just this week this gentleman woke up and said we need to produce now; the spending era is over. It's time to produce. I don't know if he went back to sleep or not, but he was right the second time, not the first time.

I yield to the gentlelady from Minnesota.

Mrs. BACHMANN. The gentleman from Iowa was talking a few moments ago about how much the Federal Government is getting more and more control over our private economy. Two

weeks ago there was a front page story in the Washington Times written by an economist from Arizona State University, and he said this. I found it astounding. He said since bailout Nation began, since the inception, just at the end of 2008 with the United States going in and owning banks, AIG, mortgage companies, Chrysler, and GM, and the various things that have been nationalized, just since that time—we're talking a matter of months—today the Federal Government, the economist said, either owns or controls 30 percent of the American economy.

So if you take that 30 percent and then do what President Obama hopes to accomplish, have the Federal Government take over 17 percent of the wealth of this country that is created by private health care, that's the Federal Government taking over nearly half of the American economy either through owning it or through controlling it.

How do we remain a free market capitalist country? This is the deconstruction of free market capitalism. And the President's only been in office about 6 months, and we're already looking potentially at half of our economy owned or controlled by the Federal Government. How do we ever get it back again?

This is nothing more than an all-out war against private wealth creation. And not only a war against private wealth creation, but an all-out war and assault against retaining and owning the private wealth that we created. At that point, we lose the incentives. At that point we lose the American Dream.

Why would we want to do that? Why would we want to encourage the next generation of 19- and 20-year-olds to go out, succeed, take risks, sacrifice, work hard in medical school? Are we going to see the best and brightest go to medical school? We have the best and brightest here—Dr. BROUN, we have numerous doctors here. The best and brightest. Will we see that in this country?

Those are questions we will have to answer.

Mr. KING of Iowa. Twenty years ago this coming October 9, the wall in Berlin came crashing down. It was literally the Iron Curtain crashing down. And when it crashed down, within a few short months, almost bloodlessly, freedom echoed across Eastern Europe and all the way to the Pacific Ocean. We all knew what that was. That was free enterprise, capitalism, destroying a managed economy. The Soviet Union couldn't keep up. Ronald Reagan kept raising the stakes, and the question was, Will the Soviet Union checkmate us militarily before we bankrupt them economically?

That was the equation, and nobody wondered in 1990, 1991, 1992 what was the dominant economy, what had proven, without any question, was the most powerful civilization in the world based on free-market economics.

And here we are not quite 20 years later, the stock market takes a dip, and the people over here on the Democrat side of the aisle begin the chant: That proves capitalism has failed. Reconstruct the Soviet Union and tell me that.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. We know that markets are imperfect and that markets are tough but that markets correct themselves and that they do that because people are provided with freedom to innovate and to be creative.

I think one little last lesson from No Child Left Behind. In 2001, when that was passed, it said we're going to measure this year's third graders versus last year's third graders in the same school. And you say that makes no sense. But in 2001, that was the measurement tool that they were going to use.

It's now 8 years later. And for 8 years, for the last 5 or 6 years, people said that doesn't make any sense because this group of kids this year could be very different than the very group of kids last year. So why measure the performance of those kids? We have the tools to be able to measure the individual achievement of every child every year, and that's what we should be measuring from the first day of school to the last day of school, how much learning took place. But because it is in a bureaucracy, and to change that, we have to pass a law. We have to pass a law through the House and the Senate, and the President has to sign it to change that.

So our schools in our local communities are still being judged as being what? They are a failing school—that's the label that the Federal Government puts on them—a failing school because we are using a failed measurement which everybody understands is a failed measurement but we can't change it.

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In a market system, in a market dynamic, it would have changed a long time ago.

Mr. KING of Iowa. Dr. BROUN.

Mr. BROUN of Georgia. I would like to come back to something that my friend, Mr. HOEKSTRA from Michigan, was just saying about the government bureaucracy. And I want to remind all my colleagues that Mr. HOEKSTRA was talking about that putting the bureaucrats in charge of this gives us more power. But we won't have any control because the commissioner, or the health czar, is going to be making these decisions, and we won't.

As Members of Congress, as the duly elected representatives of each of our districts, we won't have any say whatsoever on what that commissioner does. And coming back to what my friend, MICHELE BACHMANN, was talking about and my friend STEVE KING was talking about, we have got a clear picture of what is going on here, about taking over the economy by this President. Because he is doing exactly the same thing that his Marxist buddy, Hugo Chavez, is doing in Venezuela. We have a very clear picture long term of where that leads.

And that leads to what another one of our President's good buddies, Fidel Castro, has done to Cuba. We are headed down that same road. The American people can look at Cuba, at their health system, at their economic system, and see that that is exactly the direction that this administration is taking us. I'll yield back.

Mr. KING of Iowa. Reclaiming my time, and I thank the gentleman from Georgia, I would point out that as I saw our President stand next to Hugo Chavez in that photo-op, that glad-handed, double handshake that took place down there, it occurred to me that in the last month, our President had nationalized far more businesses than Hugo Chavez had. He had only taken out one Cargill rice-processing plant in the previous 30 days, and President Obama took over billions in our national economy in the same period of time.

So they are going in the same place, and if anybody would like to know what the strategy is, they just need to go to www.dsausa.org. That is the Democratic Socialists of America dot org, the socialist Web site. There they will tell you their legislative arm is the Progressive Caucus here in the House of Representatives. It has 75 Members, and they say on their Web site we want to nationalize. It is happening under our very nose. And in the last minute, I yield to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. AKIN).

Mr. AKIN. I was thinking about that Berlin Wall example. We think about the Soviet Union and what was their basic theory. Well, the theory is the government is going to basically give you food, the government is going to give you housing, the government is going to give you education, the government is going to give you health care. And let's see, what are we doing in America? The government is going to give you an education, the government is going to give you food, the government is going to give you a place to live, and the government is going to give you health care.

We didn't seem to learn a whole lot, did we? Well, thank you very much gentlemen.

Mr. KING of Iowa. And reclaiming my time, and just to briefly conclude, and that is I would like to thank all the Members that have come here tonight and made this 2-hour special order primarily on health care, on this national health care plan, this socialized medicine plan, and our budget and our economy. You are leaders in this Congress, and you are all to be commended.

Madam Speaker, I thank you, and I yield back the balance of my time.

REPORT ON H.R. 3293, DEPARTMENTS OF LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, AND EDUCATION, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2010

Mr. OBEY, from the Committee on Appropriations (during the Special Order of Mr. KING of Iowa), submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 111–220) on the bill (H.R. 3293) making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2010, and for other purposes, which was referred to the Union Calendar and ordered to be printed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 1, rule XXI, all points of order are reserved on the bill.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. KLEIN of Florida) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. LARSON of Connecticut, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. TOWNS, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. WOOLSEY, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. SALAZAR, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. KLEIN of Florida, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. SABLAN, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. GRAYSON, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. COURTNEY, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. KAPTUR, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. DEFAZIO, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. JONES) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. POE of Texas, for 5 minutes, July 28 and 29.

Mr. JONES, for 5 minutes, July 29.

Mr. GOODLATTE, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. BILIRAKIS, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. MORAN of Kansas, for 5 minutes, July 27, 28, and 29.

(The following Member (at her request) to revise and extend her remarks and include extraneous material:)

Ms. GIFFORDS, for 5 minutes, today.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. KING of Iowa. Madam Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 9 o'clock and 48 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, July 23, 2009, at 10 a.m.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

2767. A letter from the Chairman and CEO, Farm Credit Administration, transmitting the Administration's final rule — Definitions; Disclosure to Shareholders; Accounting and Reporting Requirements; Disclosure and Accounting Requirements (RIN: 3052-AC35) received July 1, 2009, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

2768. A letter from the Secretary, Acquisition and Technology, Department of Defense, transmitting the Department's report on the amount of purchases from foreign entities in Fiscal Year 2008. The report separately identifies the dollar value of items waived for which the Buy American Act was waived, pursuant to Public Law 104-201, section 827 (110 Stat. 2611); to the Committee on Armed Services.

2769. A letter from the Secretary, Acquisition, Technology and Logistics, Department of Defense, transmitting the National Defense Stockpile (NDS) Annual Materials Plan (AMP) for Fiscal Year 2010, along with proposed plans for FY 2011 through 2014, pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 98h-2(b); to the Committee on Armed Services.

2770. A letter from the Director, Defense Procurement and Acquisition Policy, Department of Defense, transmitting the Department's final rule — Defense Federal Acquisition Regulation Supplement; Restriction on Acquisition of Specialty Metals (DFARS Case 2008-D003) (RIN: 0750-AF95) received July 16, 2009, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Armed Services.

2771. A letter from the Chair, Congressional Oversight Panel, transmitting the Panel's monthly report pursuant to Section 125(b)(1) of the Emergency Economic Stabilization Act of 2008, Pub. L. 110-343; to the Committee on Financial Services.

2772. A letter from the Associate Director, PP&I, Department of the Treasury, transmitting the Department's final rule — Iranian Transactions Regulations — received July 16, 2009, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

2773. A letter from the Acting Associate General Counsel for General Law, Homeland Security, transmitting a report pursuant to the Federal Vacancies Reform Act of 1998; to the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform.

2774. A letter from the Deputy Director, NIST, Department of Commerce, transmitting the Department's final rule — Recovery Act National Institute of Standards and Technology Construction Grant Program [Docket No.: 090306286-9288-01] received July 1, 2009, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Science and Technology.

2775. A letter from the Chief, Publications and Regulations, Internal Revenue Service, transmitting the Service's final rule — Section 1274.—-Determination of Issue Price in the Case of Certain Debt Instruments Issued for Property [Rev. Rul. 2009-22] received July 20, 2009, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

2776. A letter from the Director, Office of Insular Affairs, Department of the Interior, transmitting the Department's report on the Impact of the Compacts of Free Association on Guam for fiscal years 2004 through 2008, pursuant to Public Law 108-188, section 104(E)(8); jointly to the Committees on Natural Resources and Foreign Affairs.

2777. A letter from the Administrator, FEMA, Department of Homeland Security, transmitting the Department's report on the Preliminary Damage Assessment information on FEMA-1840-DR for the State of Florida, pursuant to Public Law 110-329, section 539; jointly to the Committees on Homeland Security, Transportation and Infrastructure, and Appropriations.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. OLVER: Committee on Appropriations. H.R. 3288. A bill making appropriations for the Departments of Transportation, and Housing and Urban Development, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2010, and for other purposes (Rept. 111–218). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. ARCURI: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 669. Resolution providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 3288) making appropriations for the Departments of Transportation, and Housing and Urban Development, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2010, and for other purposes (Rept. 111–219). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. OBEY: Committee on Appropriations. H.R. 3293. A bill making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2010, and for other purposes (Rept. 111–220). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XII, public bills and resolutions of the following titles were introduced and severally referred, as follows:

By Mr. MARKEY of Massachusetts (for himself, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mr. CARNAHAN, Mr. GENE GREEN of Texas, Mr. KIND, Mr. LATOURETTE, Mr. LOBIONDO, Ms. ZOE LOFGREN of California, Mr. MURPHY of Connecticut, Mr. PLATTS, Mr. RAHALL, Mr. RUSH, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Ms. SUTTON, Mr. WEXLER, and Mr. YARMUTH):

H.R. 3286. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to fund breakthroughs in Alzheimer's disease research while providing more help to caregivers and increasing public education about prevention; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

By Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin (for herself, Ms. GRANGER, and Ms. SCHAKOWSKY):

H.R. 3287. A bill to require a criminal background check for a child care staff member of any child care provider in a State that receives funds from the Child Care and Development Block Grant Program, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. HUNTER (for himself, Mr. ROYCE, Mr. RYAN of Ohio, Mr. STUPAK, Mr. MCINTYRE, Mr. BILBRAY, Mr. ROHRABACHER, Mr. SHULER, and Mr. GARY G. MILLER of California):

H.R. 3289. A bill to amend the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 to authorize the Secretary of Homeland Security to construct not less than 350 miles of reinforced fencing along the United States-Mexico border and to gain operational control over such border; to the Committee on Homeland Security.

By Mrs. MALONEY (for herself, Mr. KING of New York, Mr. NADLER of New York, Mr. WEINER, Mr. ACKERMAN, Mr. ENGEL, Mr. ISRAEL, Ms. CLARKE, Mr. SIRES, Mr. HOLT, and Mr. GRIJALVA):

H.R. 3290. A bill to provide the spouses and children of aliens who perished in the September 11 terrorist attacks an opportunity

to adjust their status to that of an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. MALONEY:

H.R. 3291. A bill to protect the rights of public shareholders of mutual holding companies by promoting fair corporate governance procedures when considering management or employee stock benefit plans, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Financial Services.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Georgia (for himself, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. SMITH of Texas, Mr. COBLE, and Mrs. BIGGERT):

H.R. 3292. A bill to amend title 28, United States Code, to provide for a 6-month period for Federal judges to opt into the Judicial Survivors' Annuities System and begin contributing toward an annuity for their spouse and dependent children upon their death, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BILIRAKIS (for himself, Mr. YOUNG of Florida, and Mr. PUTNAM):

H.R. 3294. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to authorize the Department of Defense to support the Ocean for Life Program of the National Marine Sanctuaries under the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, including covering the cost of participants in the Ocean for Life Program; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts (for himself, Ms. EDWARDS of Maryland, Mr. PAUL, Mr. COHEN, Mr. SCOTT of Virginia, Mr. DAVIS of Illinois, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. BERMAN, Ms. WATERS, Mr. SERRANO, Ms. DELAURO, Mr. WAXMAN, Mr. ACKERMAN, Mr. STARK, Mr. RUSH, Mr. HONDA, Mr. BOUCHER, Ms. ESHOO, Mr. MASSA, Mrs. CAPPS, Mr. HASTINGS of Florida, Mr. DEFAZIO, Mr. ABERCROMBIE, Mr. FATTAH, Mr. GRIJALVA, Mr. MCGOVERN, Ms. CLARKE, Ms. NORTON, Mr. FILNER, Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD, Mr. KUCINICH, Ms. HIRONO, Ms. SLAUGHTER, Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania, Mr. LEWIS of Georgia, and Ms. LEE of California):

H.R. 3295. A bill to amend the Higher Education Act of 1965 to repeal the provisions prohibiting persons convicted of drug offenses from receiving student financial assistance; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. GUTHRIE:

H.R. 3296. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on cellulose nitrate; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GUTHRIE:

H.R. 3297. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on 3,3'-dichlorobenzidine dihydrochloride; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. JORDAN of Ohio:

H.R. 3298. A bill to amend part C of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 to extend the discretionary spending limits; to the Committee on the Budget, and in addition to the Committee on Rules, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Ms. KAPTUR:

H.R. 3299. A bill to require persons who seek to retain seed harvested from the planting of patented seeds to register with the Secretary of Agriculture and pay fees set by the Secretary for retaining such seed, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture, and in addition to the Committee on Ways and Means, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. MCMAHON (for himself, Ms. BEAN, Mr. MOORE of Kansas, Mr. HIMES, Mr. CROWLEY, Mr. KIND, Mr. SMITH of Washington, Mrs. MCCARTHY of New York, Ms. SCHWARTZ, Mr. ADLER of New Jersey, Ms. KOSMAS, Mr. PETERS, and Mr. MURPHY of New York):

H.R. 3300. A bill to provide increased transparency and regulatory requirements for the trading of certain derivative financial instruments; to the Committee on Financial Services, and in addition to the Committee on Agriculture, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. POMEROY (for himself and Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin):

H.R. 3301. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to increase the alternative tax liability limitation for small property and casualty insurance companies; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. THOMPSON of California (for himself, Mr. REICHERT, and Mr. MCDERMOTT):

H.R. 3302. A bill to provide a Federal tax exemption for forest conservation bonds, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FLAKE.

H. Res. 667. A resolution raising a question of the privileges of the House.

By Mr. JACKSON of Illinois:

H. Res. 668. A resolution honoring the life, contributions, and achievements of Koko Taylor and expressing the condolences of the House of Representatives on her passing; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. DENT (for himself and Mr. HOLDEN):

H. Res. 670. A resolution congratulating and saluting the Hawk Mountain Sanctuary for celebrating its 75th anniversary, commending the Hawk Mountain Sanctuary for its contributions to the preservation of wildlife and the native ecology of the Appalachian Mountains and eastern Pennsylvania, and commending the Hawk Mountain Sanctuary for its dedication to educating the public and the international community about wildlife conservation; to the Committee on Natural Resources.

By Mr. WHITFIELD:

H. Res. 671. A resolution amending the Rules of the House of Representatives to promote fiscal responsibility by requiring the application of the House PAYGO rule; to the Committee on Rules.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of Rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

126. The SPEAKER presented a memorial of the House of Representatives of the State of Maine, relative to HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 1044 MEMORIALIZING THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS TO SUPPORT NATIONAL GUARD FACILITIES; to the Committee on Armed Services.

127. Also, a memorial of the House of Representatives of the State of Colorado, relative to House Joint Resolution 09-1023 urging the United States Congress to provide the necessary funding for the ongoing development, operation, and sustainment of the Ground-based Midcourse Defense System; and encouraging Congress to direct the United States Department of Defense to continue such development, operation, and sustainment of the Ground-based Midcourse Defense System; to the Committee on Armed Services.

128. Also, a memorial of the Senate of the State of Louisiana, relative to SENATE RESOLUTION NO. 131 memorializing the Congress of the United States to address the escalating electronic payment interchange rates that merchants and consumers are assessed; to the Committee on Financial Services.

129. Also, a memorial of the Senate of the State of Louisiana, relative to SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 47 memorializing the Congress of the United States to enact the Credit Card Accountability, Responsibility, and Disclosure Act; to the Committee on Financial Services.

130. Also, a memorial of the Senate of the State of Louisiana, relative to SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 49 urging and requesting support and assistance in providing funding for the Wood to Electricity Program being developed by the Wood Products Development Foundation; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

131. Also, a memorial of the Senate of the State of Louisiana, relative to SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 2 memorializing the Congress of the United States of America to affirm Louisiana's sovereignty under the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America and to demand that the federal government halt the practice of assuming powers and imposing mandates upon the states for purposes which are not enumerated by the Constitution of the United States of America; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

132. Also, a memorial of the Senate of the State of Louisiana, relative to SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 4 memorializing the Congress of the United States and to urge and request the Attorney General of the United States and the Federal Bureau of Prisons to refrain from sending detainees released or transferred from the facilities at Guantanamo Bay Detention Facility (GTMO), Cuba to prisons in Louisiana; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

133. Also, a memorial of the Senate of the State of Louisiana, relative to SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 8 memorializing the Congress of the Unites States to adopt and submit to the states for ratification a proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States to require a federal balanced budget; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

134. Also, a memorial of the Senate of the State of Louisiana, relative to SENATE RESOLUTION NO. 123 memorializing the Congress of the United States to establish an additional classification for airports; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

135. Also, a memorial of the Senate of the State of Louisiana, relative to SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 2 expressing continued support for the Coastal Restoration and Enhancement Through Science and Technology (CREST) Program for its role in providing new research and scientific information for coastal restoration and protection; to the Committee on Science and Technology.

ADDITIONAL SPONSORS

Under clause 7 of rule XII, sponsors were added to public bills and resolutions as follows:

H.R. 13: Mr. JACKSON of Illinois.

H.R. 39: Mr. JACKSON of Illinois.

H.R. 176: Mr. WEXLER.

H.R. 303: Mr. LEE of New York, Ms. EDWARDS of Maryland, and Mr. WU.

H.R. 424: Mr. PLATTS.
H.R. 426: Mr. WITTMAN.
H.R. 502: Mr. TURNER.
H.R. 555: Mr. COSTELLO.
H.R. 571: Mr. WITTMAN, Mr. ROGERS of Michigan, and Mr. EHLERS.
H.R. 614: Mr. POSEY, Mr. COFFMAN of Colorado, and Mr. ISSA.
H.R. 634: Mr. AUSTRIA.
H.R. 646: Mrs. NAPOLITANO and Mr. SCHIFF.
H.R. 690: Mr. LATHAM, Mr. PAUL, Mr. BUCHANAN, and Mr. MCHENRY.
H.R. 734: Mr. COSTELLO.
H.R. 795: Mr. PIERLUISI.
H.R. 832: Mr. GRIJALVA.
H.R. 840: Mr. KILDEE.
H.R. 984: Mr. QUIGLEY.
H.R. 1054: Mr. TEAGUE.
H.R. 1075: Mr. SCHIFF.
H.R. 1101: Mr. DEFAZIO.
H.R. 1103: Mr. ACKERMAN.
H.R. 1193: Mr. COHEN.
H.R. 1207: Mrs. DAHLKEMPER.
H.R. 1283: Ms. TITUS.
H.R. 1293: Mr. BRIGHT.
H.R. 1327: Mr. RODRIGUEZ, Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania, and Mr. SMITH of Texas.
H.R. 1339: Mr. TURNER.
H.R. 1441: Mr. SIRES and Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas.
H.R. 1443: Ms. BALDWIN.
H.R. 1451: Mr. SCALISE.
H.R. 1454: Mr. WEXLER, Mr. DAVIS of Kentucky, and Mr. MICA.
H.R. 1466: Mr. WEXLER.
H.R. 1548: Mr. CONAWAY and Mr. BURTON of Indiana.
H.R. 1619: Mr. HODES.
H.R. 1625: Mrs. BONO MACK.
H.R. 1646: Mr. MCCARTHY of California.
H.R. 1670: Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas.
H.R. 1700: Ms. CORRINE BROWN of Florida, Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas, and Mrs. DAVIS of California.
H.R. 1723: Mr. NADLER of New York.
H.R. 1766: Mr. GRIJALVA.
H.R. 1776: Mr. KRATOVIL.
H.R. 1826: Mr. GRIJALVA and Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California.
H.R. 1831: Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN, Mr. ROGERS of Kentucky, and Mr. MASSA.
H.R. 1881: Mr. LEVIN and Mr. QUIGLEY.
H.R. 1944: Mr. BOUSTANY.
H.R. 1977: Mr. LEWIS of Georgia.
H.R. 1995: Mr. UPTON.
H.R. 2017: Mr. KILDEE.
H.R. 2038: Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts.
H.R. 2115: Mr. MCGOVERN.
H.R. 2143: Ms. JENKINS.
H.R. 2215: Mr. CONYERS.
H.R. 2227: Mr. MCCOTTER.
H.R. 2243: Mr. FLEMING.
H.R. 2251: Mr. MCDERMOTT.
H.R. 2266: Mr. TONKO and Mr. CONYERS.
H.R. 2267: Mr. CONYERS.
H.R. 2275: Mr. ACKERMAN, Ms. SHEA-PORTER, Mr. SESSIONS, Mr. RUSH, Mr. BISHOP of New York, Mr. TAYLOR, Mr. SIRES, Mr. MILLER of North Carolina, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. KUCINICH, Mr. MOORE of Kansas, Mr. TIM MURPHY of Pennsylvania, and Mr. KIRK.
H.R. 2304: Mr. MARSHALL.
H.R. 2329: Mr. WITTMAN, Mr. SHIMKUS, Mr. GRAYSON, Mr. MASSA, and Mr. DEFAZIO.
H.R. 2345: Mr. GINGREY of Georgia, Mr. CONAWAY, and Mr. CAMPBELL.
H.R. 2350: Mr. SCHAUER and Mr. LOBIONDO.
H.R. 2365: Mr. LATOURETTE.
H.R. 2373: Mr. ABERCROMBIE.
H.R. 2406: Mr. HUNTER and Mrs. EMERSON.
H.R. 2425: Mr. CONNOLLY of Virginia.
H.R. 2443: Mr. MCGOVERN.
H.R. 2452: Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Mr. SMITH of Texas, Mr. BOUCHER, and Mr. MORAN of Virginia.
H.R. 2483: Mr. WEXLER.
H.R. 2492: Mr. DEFAZIO and Mr. ROTHMAN of New Jersey.
H.R. 2517: Mr. OLVER.
H.R. 2568: Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas.
H.R. 2597: Mr. GRAYSON, Mr. LEWIS of Georgia, Mr. PASTOR of Arizona, and Mr. BISHOP of Georgia.
H.R. 2617: Mr. OLVER.
H.R. 2697: Mrs. NAPOLITANO.
H.R. 2733: Mr. KISSELL and Mr. WAMP.
H.R. 2743: Mrs. DAHLKEMPER, Mr. BOEHNER, Mr. PITTS, Mr. HALL of Texas, and Mr. DENT.
H.R. 2782: Ms. BALDWIN.
H.R. 2811: Mr. WEXLER.
H.R. 2835: Mrs. CAPPS.
H.R. 2846: Mr. MORAN of Kansas.
H.R. 2852: Mr. KILDEE.
H.R. 2866: Mr. MARSHALL.
H.R. 2882: Ms. ZOE LOFGREN of California.
H.R. 2920: Mr. CUMMINGS and Mr. KENNEDY.
H.R. 2936: Mr. KILDEE.
H.R. 3001: Mr. SHERMAN.
H.R. 3006: Mr. KILDEE, Mr. LUJÁN, and Mr. HONDA.
H.R. 3011: Mr. TONKO.
H.R. 3025: Ms. GIFFORDS.
H.R. 3044: Mr. MORAN of Kansas, Mr. BILBRAY, Mr. MCINTYRE, Mr. YOUNG of Florida, Mrs. CAPITO, Mr. YOUNG of Alaska, and Mr. DEFAZIO.
H.R. 3056: Mr. QUIGLEY, Mr. PAUL, and Mr. KAGEN.
H.R. 3068: Mr. KUCINICH.
H.R. 3075: Mr. RANGEL.
H.R. 3076: Mr. GRIJALVA and Mr. WEXLER.
H.R. 3105: Mr. CALVERT.
H.R. 3116: Mr. INGLIS.
H.R. 3129: Mr. BARTON of Texas, Mrs. BLACKBURN, Mr. BROUN of Georgia, Ms. FALLIN, Mr. PITTS, Mr. LAMBORN, Mrs. BACHMANN, Mr. PRICE of Georgia, Mr. BROWN of South Carolina, Mr. AKIN, Mr. MANZULLO, and Mr. POSEY.
H.R. 3141: Mr. YOUNG of Alaska.
H.R. 3149: Ms. WOOLSEY and Mr. FATTAH.
H.R. 3165: Mrs. MALONEY.
H.R. 3167: Mr. SAM JOHNSON of Texas.
H.R. 3178: Mr. KAGEN.
H.R. 3212: Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts.
H.R. 3216: Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee and Mr. MCINTYRE.
H.R. 3221: Mr. TONKO, Mrs. MCCARTHY of New York, and Ms. CASTOR of Florida.
H.R. 3227: Mr. KILDEE and Mr. ETHERIDGE.
H.R. 3238: Mr. CONYERS.
H.R. 3246: Mr. KILDEE and Mr. DAVIS of Alabama.
H.R. 3254: Mr. HEINRICH.
H.R. 3263: Mr. PAUL.
H.R. 3273: Mr. PAYNE.
H.R. 3274: Mr. LATTA, Mr. ROGERS of Kentucky, Mr. BURGESS, and Mr. THORNBERRY.
H.J. Res. 44: Ms. FALLIN, Mr. CARNEY, Mr. TAYLOR, Mr. FARR, Mr. COHEN, Mr. LAMBORN, Mr. PETERSON, Mr. LOBIONDO, Mr. BRIGHT, Mr. SNYDER, Mr. ROONEY, Mr. LOEBSACK, Mrs. MCMORRIS RODGERS, Mr. CONAWAY, Mr. KRATOVIL, Ms. SHEA-PORTER, Mr. ABERCROMBIE, and Mr. PLATTS.
H. Con. Res. 50: Mr. MCCOTTER.
H. Con. Res. 74: Mr. AL GREEN of Texas, Mr. WAXMAN, and Ms. KILPATRICK of Michigan.
H. Con. Res. 126: Mr. COSTA, Mr. ROYCE, Mr. MEEKS of New York, and Mr. SIRES.
H. Con. Res. 159: Ms. MCCOLLUM, Mr. MORAN of Virginia, and Mr. ENGEL.
H. Con. Res. 163: Mr. RANGEL, Mr. RODRIGUEZ, Mr. EHLERS, Mr. JACKSON of Illinois, and Mr. SNYDER.
H. Con. Res. 167: Mr. SCOTT of Virginia, Mr. GENE GREEN of Texas, Mr. MANZULLO, and Ms. KILPATRICK of Michigan.
H. Res. 6: Mr. SHULER and Mr. MCGOVERN.
H. Res. 111: Mr. BRIGHT.
H. Res. 441: Mr. LUCAS, Mr. MICHAUD, Mr. MORAN of Kansas, and Mr. SCHAUER.
H. Res. 445: Mr. MARSHALL.
H. Res. 452: Mr. GRIJALVA, Mr. LYNCH, Mr. OLVER, Mr. LANGEVIN, and Mr. KENNEDY.
H. Res. 554: Mr. ADERHOLT, Mr. ALEXANDER, Mr. ARCURI, Mrs. BACHMANN, Mr. BARTLETT, Mr. BONNER, Mr. BOREN, Mr. BOUSTANY, Mr. BRADY of Texas, Mr. BURTON of Indiana, Mr. CAO, Mr. CARTER, Mr. CHAFFETZ, Mr. COSTA, Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee, Mr. DEFAZIO, Mr. DUNCAN, Ms. FALLIN, Ms. FOXX, Mr. GARRETT of New Jersey, Mr. HENSARLING, Mr. HERGER, Mr. JACKSON of Illinois, Ms. JENKINS, Mr. JONES, Mr. KING of New York, Mr. KING of Iowa, Mr. KINGSTON, Mr. KRATOVIL, Mr. LANCE, Mr. LIPINSKI, Mr. MAFFEI, Mrs. MALONEY, Mr. MARCHANT, Mr. MCCAUL, Mr. MCKEON, Mrs. MCMORRIS RODGERS, Mr. MEEK of Florida, Mr. MILLER of Florida, Mr. OLSON, Mr. PAUL, Mr. PITTS, Mr. PLATTS, Mr. REHBERG, Mr. NEUGEBAUER, Mr. ROGERS of Alabama, Mr. ROONEY, Mr. ROSS, Mrs. SCHMIDT, Mr. SHULER, Mr. SESSIONS, Mr. SHADEGG, Mr. SMITH of Texas, Ms. SPEIER, Mr. STEARNS, Mr. TAYLOR, Mr. TIAHRT, and Mr. WAMP.
H. Res. 558: Ms. BORDALLO.
H. Res. 611: Mr. WILSON of South Carolina, Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas, Mr. PRICE of North Carolina, Mr. GERLACH, Mr. MOORE of Kansas, Mr. JACKSON of Illinois, Mr. LINCOLN DIAZ-BALART of Florida, and Mr. TURNER.
H. Res. 615: Mr. ROE of Tennessee, Mr. OLSON, Mr. MCCARTHY of California, Mr. FRANKS of Arizona, Mr. KING of Iowa, Mr. HOEKSTRA, and Mr. LEE of New York.
H. Res. 630: Ms. DELAURO and Mr. VISCLOSKY.
H. Res. 654: Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas.
H. Res. 659: Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas.
H. Res. 660: Mr. ETHERIDGE.

CONGRESSIONAL EARMARKS, LIMITED TAX BENEFITS, OR LIMITED TARIFF BENEFITS

Under clause 9 of rule XXI, lists or statements on congressional earmarks, limited tax benefits, or limited tariff benefits were submitted as follows:

The amendment to be offered by Representative Olver, or a designee, to H.R. 3288, the Transportation, and Housing and Urban Development, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2010, contains no congressional earmarks, limited tax benefits, or limited tariff benefits as defined in clause 9 of rule XXI.