

There is no better example of where Democratic and Republican values diverge than on Medicaid. The President claims he only wants to cut programs that are either not getting results or that duplicate current efforts or that do not fulfill essential priorities.

As Democrats, we could not agree more on the need for efficient government. That was how we balanced the budget in the 1990s. But which of those three criteria does the President mean when he talks about Medicaid?

There is no question Medicaid gets results. In spite of what my friends on the other side of the aisle like to demagogue, it operates at a lower cost than private health insurance. Private health insurance has in the last few years grown at 12.7 percent; Medicare has grown at 7.1 percent.

Medicaid costs have grown at only 4.5 percent a year. There is no duplication in Medicaid. It is the only program of its kind. It fulfills an essential priority. It is the sole source of nursing home care for 5 million senior citizens in our country who are living in poverty.

The President knows Medicaid is already running on fumes, but he made a choice. He chose to give more tax cuts to the most affluent 1 percent of Americans rather than provide subsistence care for senior citizens. That is the choice he made, different priorities reflecting a different set of moral values.

Medicaid provides health coverage to 52 million Americans, 1.7 million in my State of Ohio alone. It is the only source of coverage for one out of four Ohio children. It provides 70 percent of nursing home funding in my State of Ohio.

Think about divergent moral values, what we stand for, in our government, in our homes and our families and in our communities. The Bush proposal cuts \$60 billion, billion with a "b", \$60 billion out of Medicaid over the next 10 years. Ask hospitals, ask health care experts, ask senior groups, these cuts will mean kicking seniors out of nursing homes. We have a moral obligation to prevent that from happening.

The President's plan shifts tens of millions of dollars of costs to States, like Ohio, already facing severe financial shortfalls.

The President cannot eliminate basic needs by ignoring them. He cannot eliminate the nursing home care for seniors by ignoring nursing home care or by shifting responsibility to the States which simply cannot afford it. In the short run, his budget cuts will create victims. In the long run, it will force the State to spend more.

And how will that happen? How will the States be able to take care of this? Students will have to pay higher tuition. Homeowners will have to pay higher property tax. Consumers will have to pay higher sales tax. Workers will have to pay higher income tax to

make up for the cuts in Medicaid and to make up for the President's huge tax cuts for the wealthiest, most privileged 1 percent.

Medicaid is a partnership between the Federal and State government. Cutting the Federal share hurts our families, hurts our schools, hurts our communities, hurts our States.

We can give up, Mr. Speaker, many things in the name of shared sacrifice, as we should, but common sense should not be one of those things we give up. The President's every-man-for-himself budget neglects our communities and betrays our moral values as a nation.

#### EXCHANGE OF SPECIAL ORDER TIME

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take the Special Order time of the gentleman from California (Mr. SCHIFF).

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

There was no objection.

#### SOCIAL SECURITY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio (Ms. KAPTUR) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, Social Security should remain a guarantee of one's earnings, not a gamble, and surely not a gamble by well-connected investors who might have some political connections.

President Bush and his Republican Party are proposing radical and reckless changes to Social Security. Nothing they have attempted to date, even shifting major portions of the tax burden to the middle class from the most wealthy in our country, are as brazen and audacious as this misguided plan to undermine our Nation's most successful insurance program for retirement and disability, affecting millions and millions of our people who have earned these benefits.

Social Security is security for the majority of the American people. Social Security represents the best, the best, in the American Union. Like the preamble says, "We the people," not I alone withdrawing from the Union.

□ 1945

The Democratic Party has long championed we, the people, surely, to collect those earnings that people need in their retirement years, and one out of six families need in the event of unexpected disability. The system does not work if we make it every man and woman for himself or herself, something the President and his party, unfortunately, now are advocating. It is our patriotic duty as Democrats to oppose this privatization scheme.

The President claims that the country will save money because of privat-

ization. Again, I say he needs a better set of accountants in the White House. What he does not mention is that his plan requires trillions of dollars of borrowing, and I might say, from foreign countries now, because we are not saving as a society, leading to higher taxes in the future and interest that we pay them, not ourselves.

Yes, he is borrowing for a savings plan. What kind of sense does that make? Well, you would really think maybe he never had to think too hard about handling his own finances by the cavalier manner in which he is trying to affect the earnings of the vast majority of the American people. Borrowing \$2 trillion to finance so-called private accounts will further increase America's escalating debt. President Bush has already increased the national debt to the point that the currency's value is dropping internationally, and a family of four's share of that debt has increased by thousands of dollars.

In addition, his plan actually cuts benefits in the future, and really those earnings should be the source of any true savings for the Social Security program. This is because he creates an offset, almost like a new downward notch in Social Security, that would cut guaranteed Social Security benefits over the next 75 years by \$3.6 trillion. The cut would apply to all beneficiaries, whether or not they have chosen a private account.

And this chart actually shows what happens. The blue represents the benefits that you would get based on your earnings. The red represents what his plan would do. In essence, down the road, every succeeding decade you would actually receive less than in the current Social Security program. These private accounts he is proposing will not even make up for the 46 percent cut in benefits that Republicans have proposed. For example, a 20-year-old who enters the workforce this year, if they can get a good job, would lose \$152,000 in Social Security benefits under the Republican plan. A private account is unlikely to make up for this benefit cut because the plan would also take back 80 cents of every dollar in the private account. It is like an offset. It really is not your money. In fact, it appears no one will get back the money that they would put in these private accounts. They would only get back some share of the interest those accounts earn. So you do not get your principal back.

We should not sacrifice the retirement and old age and disability security of our families at the altar of short-term political gains. And surely we should honor our father and our mothers. We should value our children, and we should prepare through an insurance program for the unexpected.

We must keep Social Security strong so it is there for years to come. Believe

me, we need to fight to save a program that truly is sacred. It represents the best values that are in us as a people, and it must continue to be a guarantee and not a gamble.

When I first came to Congress during the 1980s, Claude Pepper, a beautiful Member from Florida, stated some of the following words when we refinanced Social Security in the spring of 1983. He said, "This is the people's program, intended by President Roosevelt and those who were authors of the measures in those early days as some measure of assurance that those who retired would have a decent sustenance upon which to live, that those who died would have a measure of protection to transmit to their widows and their children, that those who became disabled under another phase of the system would have some support."

We need to rise to that original vision.

#### PUBLICATION OF THE RULES OF THE PERMANENT SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE, 109TH CONGRESS

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

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Mr. Speaker, in accordance with Clause 2 of Rule XI of the Rules of the House, I am submitting the Rules of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence for printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. On January 26, 2005, the committee adopted these rules by non-record vote with a quorum present.

#### RULES OF PROCEDURE FOR THE PERMANENT SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE

##### 1. MEETING DAY

(a) Regular Meeting Day for the Full Committee.

Generally. The regular meeting day of the Committee for the transaction of Committee business shall be the first Wednesday of each month, unless otherwise directed by the Chairman.

##### 2. NOTICE FOR MEETINGS

(a) Generally. In the case of any meeting of the Committee, the Chief Clerk of the Committee shall provide reasonable notice to every Member of the Committee. Such notice shall provide the time and place of the meeting.

(b) Definition. For purposes of this rule, "reasonable notice" means:

(1) written notification;

(2) delivered by facsimile transmission or regular mail, which is

(A) delivered no less than 24 hours prior to the event for which notice is being given, if the event is to be held in Washington, D.C.; or

(B) delivered no less than 48 hours prior to the event for which notice is being given, if the event is to be held outside Washington, D.C.

(c) Exception. In extraordinary circumstances only, the Chairman may, after consulting with the Ranking Minority Member, call a meeting of the Committee without providing notice, as defined in subparagraph (b), to Members of the Committee.

##### 3. PREPARATIONS FOR COMMITTEE MEETINGS

(a) Generally. Designated Committee Staff, as directed by the Chairman, shall brief Members of the Committee at a time sufficiently prior to any Committee meeting in order to:

(1) assist Committee Members in preparation for such meeting; and

(2) determine which matters Members wish considered during any meeting.

(b) Briefing Materials.

(1) Such a briefing shall, at the request of a Member, include a list of all pertinent papers, and such other materials, that have been obtained by the Committee that bear on matters to be considered at the meeting; and

(2) The staff director shall also recommend to the Chairman any testimony, papers, or other materials to be presented to the Committee at the meeting of the Committee.

##### 4. OPEN MEETINGS

(a) Generally.

Pursuant to Rule XI of the House, but subject to the limitations of subsections (b) and (c), Committee meetings held for the transaction of business and Committee hearings shall be open to the public.

(b) Meetings

Any meetings or portion thereof, for the transaction of business, including the marking of legislation, or any hearing or portion thereof, shall be closed to the public, if the Committee determines by record vote in open session with a majority of the Committee present, that disclosure of the matters to be discussed may:

(1) endanger national security;

(2) compromise sensitive law enforcement information;

(3) tend to defame, degrade, or incriminate any person; or

(4) otherwise violate any law or Rule of the House.

(c) Hearings

The Committee may vote to close a Committee hearing pursuant to House Rule X clause 11(d)(2), regardless of whether a majority is present, so long as at least two Members of the Committee are present, one of whom is a member of the Minority and votes upon the motion.

(d) Briefings

The Committee briefings shall be closed to the public.

##### 5. QUORUM

(a) Hearings. For purposes of taking testimony, or receiving evidence, a quorum shall consist of two Committee Members.

(b) Other Committee Proceedings. For purposes of the transaction of all other Committee business, other than the consideration of a motion to close a hearing as described in rule 4(c), a quorum shall consist of a majority of Members.

##### 6. PROCEDURES FOR AMENDMENTS AND VOTES

(a) Amendments

When a bill or resolution is being considered by the Committee, members shall provide the Chief Clerk in a timely manner with a sufficient number of written copies of any amendment offered, so as to enable each member present to receive a copy thereof prior to taking action. A point of order may be made against any amendment not reduced to writing. A copy of each such amendment shall be maintained in the public records of the Committee.

(b) Reporting Recorded Votes

Whenever the Committee reports any measure or matter by record vote, the report of the Committee upon such measure or matter shall include a tabulation of the votes

cast in favor of, and the votes cast in opposition to, such measure or matter.

(c) Postponement of Further Proceedings

In accordance with clause 2(h) of House Rule XI, the Chairman is authorized to postpone further proceedings when a record vote is ordered on the question of approving a measure or matter or adopting an amendment. The Chairman may resume proceedings on a postponed request at any time after reasonable notice. When proceedings resume on a postponed question, notwithstanding any intervening order for the previous question, an underlying proposition shall remain subject to further debate or amendment to the same extent as when the question was postponed.

##### 7. SUBCOMMITTEES

(a) Generally.

(1) Creation of subcommittees shall be by majority vote of the Committee.

(2) Subcommittees shall deal with such legislation and oversight of programs and policies as the Committee may direct.

(3) Subcommittees shall be governed by these rules.

For purposes of these rules, any reference herein to the "Committee" shall be interpreted to include subcommittees, unless otherwise specifically provided.

(b) Establishment of Subcommittees. The Committee establishes the following subcommittees:

(1) Subcommittee on Terrorism, Human Intelligence, Analysis, and Counterintelligence;

(2) Subcommittee on Technical and Tactical Intelligence;

(3) Subcommittee on Oversight; and,

(4) Subcommittee on Intelligence Policy.

For purposes of these rules, any reference herein to the "Committee" shall be interpreted to include subcommittees, unless otherwise specifically provided.

(c) Subcommittee Membership.

(1) Generally. Each Member of the Committee may be assigned to at least one of the four subcommittees.

(2) Ex Officio Membership. In the event that the Chairman and Ranking Minority Member of the full Committee do not choose to sit as regular voting members of one or more of the subcommittees, each is authorized to sit as an ex officio Member of the subcommittees and participate in the work of the subcommittees. When sitting ex officio, however, they—

(A) shall not have a vote in the subcommittee; and

(B) shall not be counted for purposes of determining a quorum.

(d) Regular Meeting Day for Subcommittees

There is no regular meeting day for subcommittees.

##### 8. PROCEDURES FOR TAKING TESTIMONY OR RECEIVING EVIDENCE

(1) Notice. Adequate notice shall be given to all witnesses appearing before the Committee.

(b) Oath or Affirmation. The Chairman may require testimony of witnesses to be given under oath or affirmation.

(c) Administration of Oath or Affirmation. Upon the determination that a witness shall testify under oath or affirmation, any Member of the Committee designated by the Chairman may administer the oath or affirmation.

(d) Questioning of Witnesses.

(1) Generally. Questioning of witnesses before the Committee shall be conducted by Members of the Committee.