

(Mr. BROWN) is recognized during morning hour debates for 5 minutes.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, something terribly wrong has happened in the House of Representatives. I am not talking about, from a partisan standpoint, the Republican takeover in 1995, I am not even talking about the ascension of Newt Gingrich to the Speakership. What I am talking about is the ascension of a new kind of House leaders who have run this institution even as former Speaker Gingrich has said, not in the fairest possible way, basically in an unprecedented way. We have seen things in the House of Representatives in the last couple of years that we have literally never seen.

I want to tell a story and spell out what I mean by this one example. Beginning a couple of years ago, at 2:54 a.m. on a Friday in March, the House of Representatives cut veterans' benefits by three votes.

At 2:39 a.m. on a Friday in April, the House slashed education and health care benefits by five votes.

At 1:56 a.m. on a Friday in May, the House passed the Leave No Millionaire Behind tax-cut bill by a handful of votes.

At 2:33 a.m. on a Friday in June, the House passed the first round of the Medicare privatization bill by one vote.

At 12:57 a.m. on a Friday in July, the House eviscerated Head Start by one vote.

After returning from summer recess, at 12:12 a.m. on a Friday in October, the House voted \$87 billion for Iraq.

□ 1300

Always on a Thursday night, Friday morning, always in the middle of the night, always after the public has turned their TV sets off and gone to bed and after most of the media which sits up there has left. As I said, always on a Thursday night, because if it gets in the paper at all, it would appear then in the Saturday paper, the paper that is the least read paper of the week.

That was just the beginning. Then came the Medicare vote. The final round of the Medicare vote took place in November. The debate began at midnight on a Friday night in November. The debate took 3 hours. The vote began at 3 a.m. Members of Congress are given this card, which we stick in a little black box on the House floor to vote. The votes as we all know are then recorded electronically. Almost all of us went down and cast our votes. Pretty soon after the vote was called at 3 o'clock in the morning, the privatization of Medicare, the most important piece of domestic legislation that probably anybody in this body had ever voted on, at 3 o'clock in the morning the vote began, as I said. We are normally given 15 minutes, an extra 5 minutes sometimes, to cast our votes. Normally not much more than that.

At 3:30 the vote was still on. At 4 o'clock, an hour after the vote had begun, an hour after most of us voted, the vote was 216 "yes" and 218 "no." At about 4:15, the Republican leadership, the Speaker of the House, the majority leader, the chairman of the committee that the gentleman from New Jersey and I are on that wrote the bill began to go around to recalcitrant Members of their party, Republican Members who had voted "no," trying to get them to change their vote. It is now 4:30. They woke up the President of the United States who from his living quarters at the White House got on the phone and began to try to lobby the 26 or 27 Members of the Republican side who had voted "no" on Medicare. They all stood their ground.

At about 4:45, the Republican leaders surrounded Nick Smith, a Republican from Michigan, who told his story on the radio the next day. He had already announced his retirement. His son was running for his seat. He was told that if he changed his vote, they would come up with \$100,000 for his son's campaign. When he said no, they said, if you do not change your vote, we will come up with \$100,000 for your son's opponent's campaign.

Congressman SMITH, under great duress with great courage, said, Nothing doing. Incidentally, his son later lost the primary. Finally, it is 5 o'clock. It is 216-218. It is 5:30. It is 216-218. It is 5:45 in the morning. It is still 216 "yes," 218 "no." Two hours and 55 minutes after the vote was called, two Republicans, one from Idaho and one from Arizona, came out of the cloakroom, walked down here, picked up one of these green cards, you cannot use the plastic electronic card that late in the voting, marked the card, changed their vote, sheepishly handed it to the House Clerk, the Speaker then gavelled the vote closed, and that is how Medicare privatization passed.

We have seen in this body a new legacy of one-party rule, legislative strong-arming and abuses of power never before seen under leaders of either party in this House of Representatives, hiding votes from the American public under the cover of darkness. We spend plenty of time, Mr. Speaker, passing votes on naming post offices in the middle of the day and doing important controversial votes at night.

Mr. Speaker, this abuse of power has to stop.

SOCIAL SECURITY

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PENCE). Pursuant to the order of the House of January 4, 2005, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PALLONE) is recognized during morning hour debates for 5 minutes.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, last Friday, President Bush quickly stopped in on Westfield, New Jersey, to talk to a

bunch of his supporters about his Social Security privatization proposal. The Westfield, New Jersey, stop was part of a 6-week push to convince Americans that the Social Security program faces an immediate crisis. The President did not do as well as he wanted, and so now he has hired a couple of public relations experts to run a war room at the Social Security Administration. The administration is also beginning a 60-day push to convince voters that his privatization plan is the best thing for both seniors today and young people tomorrow.

Mr. Speaker, President Bush has failed in convincing Americans that his plan is the way to go because he has even admitted that privatization does nothing to fix the solvency problem Social Security faces in the year 2052. As the President goes around the country pitching his privatization plan, he continues to exaggerate Social Security's current fiscal state. Last Friday in Westfield, he claimed, "The safety net has a hole in it," and he continues to say that the whole system goes broke in 2042.

That is simply not true. Based on the most current estimates from the non-partisan Congressional Budget Office, Social Security is fully solvent until 2052, meaning that every benefit that has been promised to seniors, the disabled, and survivors can be paid through that year. Imagine that. There is no other government program that is fully funded for the next 47 years. And President Bush calls this a crisis?

The President is also wrong when he says the program goes broke in 2042, because, as I stated, it is not only fully solvent another decade after that, but what exactly happens in 2052? When President Bush says Social Security goes broke, most would believe there is no money left after 2052 in Social Security. After all, if you look at Webster's Dictionary, it defines "broke" simply as "penniless." Again, this is another fabrication because even after 2052, the Social Security system would still have enough money to be able to pay out 80 percent of all guaranteed benefits. That does not sound broke to me: 100 percent to 2052, 80 percent after that. How is that a crisis? How is that broke?

Again, the President exaggerates the solvency of Social Security. But what has he proposed that will extend that solvency beyond 2052? The answer is, nothing, as of today. Last Friday in New Jersey, the President said, "We've got to make sure we save the safety net for future generations." But even the President has admitted that his privatization plan does nothing to extend the solvency of Social Security. In fact, because the President's plan would take money out of the Social Security trust fund to pay for these private accounts, Social Security would actually become insolvent more than

20 years earlier under President Bush's plan.

Mr. Speaker, for 70 years, Social Security has improved the lives of millions of Americans. Nearly 47 million people receive Social Security benefits, including more than 32 million retired workers. Of those, two-thirds receive more than half of their retirement income from Social Security, meaning that without the guaranteed benefit of Social Security, more than two-thirds of today's seniors would be living in extreme poverty.

Social Security gave our parents and our grandparents independence. Democrats, Mr. Speaker, are willing to work with the President in a bipartisan fashion to address Social Security's future, but we simply refuse to support the President's privatization proposal because it dismantles the independent Social Security program. Our seniors now have a guaranteed benefit. They would not have one if we adopt the President's plan. And it does nothing to solve the Social Security solvency problem, again, in 2052.

I think our seniors deserve better. We deserve a President that tells us the truth about what is going on. There is no crisis. Let us sit down together on a bipartisan basis and see what we can do to come up with a solution other than privatization.

RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 12(a) of rule I, the Chair declares the House in recess until 2 p.m. today.

Accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 8 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess until 2 p.m.

□ 1400

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. BOOZMAN) at 2 p.m.

PRAYER

The Reverend E. Terri LaVelle, Program Director, The Faith & Politics Institute, Washington, D.C., offered the following prayer:

God of compassion, grace, mercy, reconciliation, we are coming boldly to the throne of grace to obtain mercy and find grace to help in the time of need. Thank You for these, my brothers and sisters elected to serve the common good of all humanity. Give divine guidance and wisdom individually and collectively as they carry out their sworn duties.

Give them ears to hear, and hearts to discern what the needs are, and boldly meet the challenges even when it involves making hard and uncomfortable choices.

God, Your word states that You have not given us a spirit of fear but of love, power, and a sound mind. Empower this congressional body to operate in love, Godly power, and with sound minds. Your word says that we have been given the word and ministry of reconciliation.

Let these, Your servants called Congresswomen and Congressmen, be servants of reconciliation domestically and globally. In the name that is above every name, Amen.

THE JOURNAL

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

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

Mr. PRICE of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to clause 1, rule I, I demand a vote on agreeing to the Speaker's approval of the Journal.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the Speaker's approval of the Journal.

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

Mr. PRICE of Georgia. 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, rule XX, further proceedings on this question will be postponed.

The point of no quorum is considered withdrawn.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

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

Mr. BURGESS 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.

SOCIAL SECURITY IS NOT SECURE

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

Mr. PRICE of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, you know Social Security is quickly becoming social insecurity for millions of Americans approaching retirement. Let us take a step back for a moment and take the politics and the pundits and rhetoric out of the debate, and let us examine the most overlooked aspect of what has been discussed thus far, the facts.

Fact: Social Security is safe for today's seniors, but is in serious danger

for our children and our grandchildren. Fact: since the 1950s, the number of retirees has been rising faster than the number of workers. And fact: without reforms, Social Security is not sustainable in the long run.

Mr. Speaker, the system is not in crisis; the system is not in limbo. The system which worked well for many, many years is now broken.

Payroll taxes have been raised 20 times since the 1930s to keep the system functioning, and that is no longer an option. Soon Social Security will be paying out more than it takes in. No matter which side of the aisle you are on, if things continue the way they are, there will be no security for our children and our grandchildren.

RAISE THE MINIMUM WAGE

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

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, Republicans in the Senate yesterday showed that they have no interest in helping millions of working families who clock 40 hours a week at their jobs for the minimum wage. Today, millions of hard-working Americans are working harder for less and less money.

Since the minimum wage has not increased in 8 years, these workers' paychecks are simply not increasing as the cost of living increases every year. Because congressional Republicans refuse to act, the real value of the minimum wage is not worth nearly as much as past minimum wages.

Consider that if a minimum wage this year provided the same wage to workers today, including cost-of-living adjustments, as it provided to workers in 1968, the minimum wage today would be \$3.88 per hour, rather than \$5.15 per hour. That is a big difference, and I believe working families living on the minimum wage feel the pinch every day.

Raising the minimum wage also raises the wages of all low-income workers, not just those below the poverty line. Mr. Speaker, Americans who work 40 hours a week should not be living in poverty. It is time congressional Republicans in both Houses join us in supporting an increase in the minimum wage.

STRENGTHENING SOCIAL SECURITY NOW

(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, I rise today in appreciation of President Bush seeking to strengthen our Social Security system.

When Social Security was conceived in the mid-1930s, the average age of life expectancy in the United States was 60.