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House of Representatives

The House met at noon and was called to order by the Speaker.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Margaret Grun Kibben, offered the following prayer:

Holy God, inspire us as we sing ancient choruses of the simple and the wise, who had much to fear, and even more to find;

Who stepped into the darkness to follow Your light, guided by angels, consoled in their fright.

Speak to us anew as we share the same stories each year, that somehow new tales of faith would be heard—even here—of people who relied fiercely on hope and a prayer, when the world around them knew little more than destruction and despair.

Fill us with the joy of children who delight in the laughter and light of this holiday season, that we would, with the same trusting hearts, receive the love You call us to believe in.

With the promise of Your salvation, we place our deepest yearnings in Thy tender care.

Redeem our world this day.

In Your most holy name, Lord, hear our prayer.

Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to section 11(a) of House Resolution 188, the Journal of the last day's proceedings is approved.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER. Will the gentlewoman from California (Ms. LOFGREN) come forward and lead the House in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Ms. LOFGREN led the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Repub-

lic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION RELATING TO THE CONSIDERATION OF HOUSE REPORT 117-217 AND AN ACCOMPANYING RESOLUTION

Mr. RASKIN, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 117-217) on the resolution (H. Res. 848) relating to the consideration of House Report 117-216 and an accompanying resolution, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

RELATING TO THE CONSIDERATION OF HOUSE REPORT 117-216 AND AN ACCOMPANYING RESOLUTION

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 848 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 848

Resolved, That if House Report 117-216 is called up by direction of the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol: (a) all points of order against the report are waived and the report shall be considered as read; and (b)(1) an accompanying resolution offered by direction of the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol shall be considered as read and shall not be subject to a point of order; and (2) the previous question shall be considered as ordered on such resolution to adoption without intervening motion or demand for division of the question except one hour of debate equally divided among and controlled by Representative Thompson of Mississippi, Representative Cheney of Wyoming, and an opponent, or their respective designees.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. CARSON). The gentleman from Maryland is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of debate only, I yield the cus-

tomary 30 minutes to the gentlewoman from Minnesota (Mrs. FISCHBACH), pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume. During consideration of this resolution, all time yielded is for the purpose of debate only.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, today the Rules Committee met and reported a rule, House Resolution 848. The rule provides for consideration of the resolution accompanying House Report 117-216, under a closed rule if the report is called up by direction of the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol.

It provides 1 hour of debate equally divided among and controlled by Chair THOMPSON, Vice Chair CHENEY, and an opponent.

Mr. Speaker, after producing 9,000 pages of documents that he conceded to be nonprivileged in any way; after saying he would comply with the subpoena to appear before the January 6th committee on December 8; after negotiating and rendering preliminary cooperation with the January 6th committee, Mark Meadows' book came out with tons of startling and eye-popping revelations about January 6th and the role that then-President Donald Trump played.

Ex-President Trump exploded and called Mr. Meadows' book fake news. Amazingly, Mr. Meadows agreed that his book was fake news, and then he suddenly pulled the plug on his agreement to testify in formal deposition before our committee on December 8.

Instead, he went to court and alleged that our committee has no valid legislative purpose.

□ This symbol represents the time of day during the House proceedings, e.g., □ 1407 is 2:07 p.m.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.



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Mr. Speaker, Mr. Meadows' sudden vanishing act is plainly a delay tactic designed to run out the clock on one of the most important investigations in the history of the United States of America. If we don't have a legislative purpose in investigating the most sweeping, violent attack on the U.S. Capitol since the War of 1812, and the most serious and most dangerous threat to American constitutional democracy since the Civil War, then we really don't have a legislative purpose for anything we do here.

If this investigation into a dangerous assault on the American Government is not necessary and proper under our Constitution, then nothing is. Article I, Section 8, Clause 15 of the Constitution gives Congress of the United States the power to provide for: calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

Obviously, we have a legislative purpose in what we are doing to investigate an attack on this building, on this Chamber where more than 140 of our officers were wounded and injured, hospitalized, people came back with broken necks, broken jaws, broken vertebrae, broken arms, broken legs, traumatic brain injuries, and to this day, continue to suffer from post-traumatic stress syndrome.

The counting of electoral college votes was interrupted for the very first time in American history for several hours. This was the most serious, destabilizing, domestic threat to American constitutional democracy that any of us have seen in our lifetimes.

Now, the committee has bent over backwards to accommodate Mr. Meadows' multiple requests. It is now clear he has no intention of complying with the subpoena, even when his testimony could have no theoretical connection to an executive privilege claim. This is the key point.

He is categorically refusing to show up to testify about 9,000 pages of documents that he has already turned over to the committee and for which he has thus nullified any hypothetical assertions of executive privilege by President Biden, or a former President. He is refusing to testify about statements that he made in his book that are now all over the country, published last week, and that he has repeated in the media about what took place on January 6.

He is willing to talk about it in his book. He is willing to talk about it in public, but he is unwilling to undergo the questioning of our committee despite having been subpoenaed to do so in deposition.

This is another category of statements which has nothing to do with executive privilege because it has already been completely waived, completely obviated, and completely nullified by his own actions.

This witness, Mr. Speaker, must testify. He must come and render truthful, honest, and complete testimony

like 300 other witnesses before him have done, either voluntarily and patriotically, as the vast majority have done, or at least under compulsion of a legal subpoena.

The Supreme Court has been perfectly clear about that. We have the same authority to ask for people's testimony that a court does in pursuit of our official constitutional duties. And if anyone we have called as a witness knows in his bones that he must testify before this committee, it is Mr. Meadows himself, a former member of this body who repeatedly through his career in Congress insisted that high-ranking executive branch officials must comply with congressional demands for information and congressional subpoenas for their testimony.

By the way, you don't get to choose and say: Well, I will send you my documents, but I am not going to testify. That is not how going before Congress works or going before a court works.

In the last administration, multiple times, Mr. Meadows found high-ranking officials hiding information from Congress, withholding relevant documents, or "even outright ignoring congressional subpoenas."

And here is what he had to say about that: "This level of conduct, paired with the failure to even feign an interest in transparency, is reprehensible. And whether you're a Republican or a Democrat, this kind of obstruction is wrong, period."

"For 9 months we've warned them consequences were coming, and for 9 months we've heard the same excuses backed up by the same unacceptable conduct. Time is up and the consequences are here."

We have multiple statements by Mr. Meadows like that, who was a distinguished member of the Oversight and Reform Committee. He, of all Members, continually insisted that people and high-ranking government officials respect the authority of Congress to do its job.

Our investigative powers are implicit in, and intertwined with our powers to legislate as the Supreme Court has repeatedly emphasized.

The Meadows' lawsuit against individual members of this committee is extremely dubious in light of the Speech or Debate Clause and multiple other constitutional roadblocks, and its substantive allegations are frivolous, such as the central absurd claim that Congress has no legitimate purpose in investigating and reporting to the American people on a violent attack on our Capitol, our Presidential election, and on the peaceful transfer of power.

We must hold him in contempt for his refusal to participate in these proceedings, and I reserve the balance of my time.

Mrs. FISCHBACH. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague from Maryland and from the Rules Committee for yielding me the customary 30 minutes, and I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, once again, the select committee is acting to fulfill a predetermined narrative. It seems increasingly clear that my colleagues on the other side of the aisle want to prolong this political process to distract Americans from the very real issues concerning this country.

We have record-high inflation, a flood of immigrants at our southern border, a workforce and supply chain crisis, and instead of working toward real ways we can combat these crises, or, in fact, even admitting that these crises exist, we are back here, arguing if we should continue down a path of yet another partisan investigation of questionable motive and purpose.

□ 1215

That said, there are several questions that need to be resolved before we can continue with this vote. The courts have found that the power rests with Congress over subpoenas to private individuals if they serve a legitimate legislative purpose.

A legitimate legislative purpose would be issuing subpoenas to the leaders of the D.C. National Guard and the Sergeant at Arms so that we can find out what gaps in communications and authorities need to be filled and find solutions to ensure this doesn't happen again.

But have those been issued? Unfortunately not. Instead, House Democrats are continuing their witch hunt into President Trump and their political opponents who voted against the certification of the election, something that they themselves did just 4 years before.

What information is intended to be gathered that would be useful for a legitimate legislative purpose? It seems the majority keeps moving the goalposts for what qualifies them to hold someone in contempt.

This recipient has been cooperative, providing almost 9,000 pages of emails and other documents. But when the majority couldn't find what they wanted, the committee subpoenaed Verizon, looking for other information from his personal phone, invading his privacy.

There is no valid legislative purpose for this subpoena. Where does it stop? When will they be satisfied with the information they receive? They cannot continue punishing people just because they aren't getting the answers that they want.

Furthermore, criminal contempt is not subpoena enforcement. This decision will still not achieve the stated intent of obtaining the records.

The committee should seek a civil judgment and legally obligate a person to comply with the subpoena. Instead, my colleagues are going forward with this political ploy. Holding someone in criminal contempt is purely punitive. It leads me to wonder what the real mission of this committee is.

Unfortunately, Speaker PELOSI and the Democrats made it clear early on that this committee and its investigation were predestined to be a sham

when it tilted representation in favor of Democrats, rejecting two Republican Members selected to serve on the commission by the minority leader.

Mr. Speaker, I am deeply concerned about the precedent being set today because the majority is blinded by their own political agenda. I urge my colleagues to oppose this rule and the underlying resolution.

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

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

First of all, on the matter of the phone records, what has been subpoenaed is simply the metadata establishing where the phone calls were going amongst different parties that were involved in the January 6 insurrection and the attempted political coup against Vice President Pence, but not the actual communications themselves. There has not been a single word that has been subpoenaed from the telephone companies of the actual conversations that took place.

All of that, in any event, is an irrelevant distraction. Let's be very clear about what is going on here, Mr. Speaker. Mr. Meadows began to cooperate. He turned over 9,000 documents of extraordinary relevance to this investigation. We were getting exactly what we wanted, up until the point at which he pulled the plug on his participation.

Look at some of the texts which we released over the last 24 hours that came in as part of his discovery with the committee. This is from some Republican lawmakers and others:

"We are under siege up here at the Capitol," was one text he received.

"They have breached the Capitol."

"Mark, protesters are literally storming the Capitol. Breaking windows on doors. Rushing in. Is Trump going to say something?"

"There's an armed standoff at the House Chamber door."

"We are all helpless."

Here is what came in from some members of the media that Mr. Meadows turned over to the committee.

Laura Ingraham: "Mark, the President needs to tell people in the Capitol to go home. This is hurting all of us. He is destroying his legacy."

Brian Kilmeade sent this to Mark Meadows: "Please get him on TV. Destroying everything you have accomplished."

Here is Sean Hannity: "Can he make a statement? Ask people to leave the Capitol."

Trump family members also were texting, according to the materials turned over by Mark Meadows. Donald Trump, Jr.: "He's got to condemn this" excrement "ASAP. The Capitol Police tweet is not enough." Meadows responding: "I'm pushing it hard. I agree." Donald Trump, Jr.: "We need an Oval Office address. He has to lead now. It has gone too far and gotten out of hand."

Mr. Speaker, all of these texts and hundreds more like them lead to hun-

dreds of questions that we have about the sequence of events on January 6: Who did what in response to different pleas from lawmakers, Democrat and Republican alike? Who did what in response to these pleas coming in from members of the media and from members of the Trump family? What was the sequence of events? How was the National Guard involved? How did this interact with other parts of the Federal Government?

Then Mr. Meadows, though, did a U-turn when Donald Trump called his book "fake news." Meadows decided to agree with him and hurriedly said it was fake news and then said he would not appear on December 8, a date, by the way, which had been postponed from two other dates to testify because we wanted to accommodate his schedule and the schedule of his lawyer. But now he decides to go completely cold.

They are left in a completely untenable posture legally because he is refusing to testify about things that he has already conceded there is no privilege covering. He has said: None of this is privileged. I am turning it over to you.

We want to ask him questions about it, and now, suddenly, he runs back to the idea that there is some privilege, although one can see his eroding faith in that argument as the D.C. Circuit rejected the claims of executive privilege unanimously in *Trump v. Thompson*.

So now that is why he is saying we have no legitimate legislative purpose, which is perfectly absurd. If we don't have a legislative purpose in defending our own institution, our own Constitution, our own government, then we have no legislative purposes here at all if we can't even have an investigation into an attack that goes to the very survival of our form of government.

Mr. Speaker, Mark Meadows has to testify. He has to come in like 300 American citizens have patriotically and lawfully done. What makes him special? The fact that he knows a former President of the United States? I am afraid not.

In *Jones v. Clinton*, a case that my colleagues applauded on the other side of the aisle, the Supreme Court held that even a sitting President of the United States is not immune to civil actions, even a sitting President.

We don't have an office of former President. When you are no longer President of the United States, under our Constitution, you are a citizen like everybody else. You can't wave a magic wand over your friends and say that they don't have to comply with lawful subpoenas.

So this witness is in contempt of our committee and the United States Congress.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, if we defeat the previous question, Republicans will offer

an amendment to the rule to provide for the additional consideration of H.R. 2729, the Finish the Wall Act, authored by Representative HIGGINS.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert the text of my amendment into the RECORD, along with extraneous material, immediately prior to the vote on the previous question.

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

There was no objection.

Mrs. FISCHBACH. Mr. Speaker, while the majority is playing their political games in Washington, a real crisis situation at our southern border remains. Illegal immigration is at a record high, and there are real human costs associated with that.

Between the dangerous journey to get to our border and the dangerous people coming across and continuing to commit crimes, people are dying in huge numbers because of this crisis.

It is no secret that fentanyl is coming across the southern border. This year, Border Patrol has seized twice as much of this deadly drug as last year, and more than 100,000 Americans have died from overdoses.

Because we essentially have an open border, there is no way to effectively keep criminals from crossing into our country.

Immigrants need to know there is a process for becoming an American and doing it in the wrong way will have consequences.

Finishing the wall would be a huge deterrent for these bad actors. We must finish the wall to slow the massive numbers of illegal immigrants we are seeing before we can have a serious conversation about immigration reform.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. TONY GONZALES).

Mr. TONY GONZALES of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in opposition to the previous question and to further highlight the failed border policies inflicted on the American people by President Biden's administration.

Border security is national security. My district is over 820 miles of the southern border, over 40 percent of our entire border with Mexico.

Every day, I see the challenges my constituents face because this administration has failed to protect them and failed to prioritize their safety as American citizens.

Every day, I hear from Border Patrol agents about the struggles that they face because of a lack of resources and their demanding work schedules.

Every day, I talk to constituents and border-town mayors who share their troubling experiences in dealing with burglaries and high-speed car chases.

Enough fentanyl has been seized at the border to kill every American in the United States.

Enough is enough. The Biden administration's failed policies and open-border rhetoric have led to a historic

surge in illegal immigration. We need to find a permanent solution that combines border security and legal immigration. So long as I am in Congress, I will fight every day to ensure that we secure the southern border.

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

I appreciate, of course, the temptation to just change the subject and talk about something completely different because there are no arguments left on their side.

The D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals in the Trump v. Bennie Thompson case, in an opinion of more than 50 pages, reviewed all the arguments on both sides about executive privilege and said executive privilege is a claim which, of course, belongs primarily and principally to the existing President of the United States, not to a former President of the United States. To the extent that a former President of the United States can raise it, the presumption is that the people in our constitutional democracy have a right to all the information they seek in order to govern themselves.

That is what the investigative power of Congress is about. We have a right to obtain the information we need in order to legislate. So the presumption is that we get it. That can only be overcome if a sitting President—or in perhaps some exceptional cases, a former President—demonstrates there is some compelling need that would override the fundamental right of the people to get the information we want.

The D.C. Circuit panel found unanimously that not only had they not shown there was a compelling need on Donald Trump's team, they didn't even identify a potentially compelling need. Of course, there isn't one. Why? The Supreme Court has already found that executive privilege does not cover criminal activity; much less could executive privilege cover insurrectionary activity or activity designed to promote an insurrection or a coup against the United States of America.

So I welcome my colleagues talking about anything else because it simply demonstrates their abandonment of the executive privilege argument, an argument also that has been abandoned by Mr. Meadows himself, who voluntarily turned over 9,000 pages worth of documents to our committee, thereby saying there was no privilege at all.

But now he is refusing to testify about it, apparently because of Donald Trump's explosive reaction to the publication of Mark Meadows' book. I am sorry, that is not a constitutional defense to being called to testify before Congress. You can't say a former President is mad at me and wants to wave a magic wand so I don't have to testify. That doesn't work in our system of government.

Mr. Meadows must come and testify, like hundreds of people have come to testify before our committee about this brutal attack on our system of government.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON LEE).

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman of the January 6 Select Committee for yielding.

I serve as the chair of the Subcommittee on Crime, Terrorism, and Homeland Security, which, collectively with the Judiciary Committee, may ultimately be addressing the legislative aspect of what we are here for.

In particular, Mr. Speaker, this is a very sad day. I served with our former colleague, Mr. Meadows, a Member of the United States Congress. I believe that it was a number of years that he rose and took an oath to the Constitution of the United States of America.

□ 1230

In that oath he should have recognized the fact that the Article I body which we stand in today indicates that all legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

All legislative powers. In order to have legislative powers, one must have the facts. That is what is being asked for today.

I think the American people need to understand that although there may be many concerns—I am from Texas as well; I know the border is not in crisis. It should be addressed. We as Texans know how to address it, and President Biden and Vice President HARRIS know how to address it, as other Presidents have. People are fleeing for their lives.

But our Constitution says of the Congress "to make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof."

We are vested with a lot of powers. One of them is to be able to find the truth, to determine how we preserve our democracy, and how we need to legislate to do so. So I stand on the Constitution as I proceed with why we should move forward.

Again, this is a very sad day, but Mark Randall Meadows, former White House chief of staff, had a part in the perpetration of the big lie of the election fraud, and we must investigate it. Mr. Meadows was one of a relatively small group of people who witnessed the events of January 6 in the White House with the former President. He was there. Firsthand knowledge.

Some of these that I will recite have already been recited, but they are only a small measure with the huge bounty of documents that he and his lawyer consented to give to this committee. Consented to give. Consented to give. Voluntarily.

And so one must understand that when you do that, there is a question of waiver of the so-called alleged privilege that you are alleging, the executive

privilege. But the courts have already indicated that the privilege lies with the existing President, not the former President.

With that in mind, should we not recognize that the very allies, the media allies of the President—the former President, Laura Ingraham said to Mark, "The President needs to tell people in the Capitol to go home. This is hurting all of us."

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

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 30 seconds to the gentlewoman from Texas.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Brian Kilmeade, "Please get him on TV. Destroying everything you have accomplished."

Sean Hannity, "Can he make a statement?"

And Donald Trump Jr., in profanity, said, Please help us.

But I want to just say, the United States v. Bryan says, "A subpoena has never been treated as an invitation to a game of hare and hounds, in which the witness must testify only if cornered at the end of the chase. If that were the case, then, indeed, the great power of testimonial compulsion, so necessary to the effective functioning of courts and legislatures, would be a nullity. We have often iterated the importance of this public duty, which every person within the jurisdiction of the Government is bound to perform when properly summoned." We must do this, sadly, in order for his remarks to save the democracy to be heard.

Mr. Speaker, as a senior member of the Committees on the Judiciary, on Homeland Security, and on the Budget, I rise in support of the rule governing debate for H. Res. 851, "Recommending That The House of Representatives Find Mark Randall Meadows In Contempt of Congress for Refusal to Comply with a Subpoena Duly Issued by the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on The United States Capitol."

It is with a heavy heart that I stand here today; this resolution will find a former colleague in contempt of the very body he once faithfully served.

However, protecting our democracy is the ultimate duty for each of us in this body, so we will do what must be done.

It is my sincere hope that during the course of this day, Mr. Meadows will reverse course and agree to comply with this lawful subpoena, in order to protect the dignity and sanctity of Congress.

On January 6th, the domestic terrorists who beat law enforcement officers and breached the Citadel of democracy of the United States proudly wore symbols of White Supremacist groups, waved confederate flags, hung a noose on the lawn, and they shouted racial epithets.

Mark Randall Meadows, former White House Chief of Staff, had a part in the perpetuation of the Big Lie of election fraud, and we must investigate and report upon the facts, circumstances, and causes "relating to the interference with the peaceful transfer of power" that Mr. Meadows was involved in.

Mr. Meadows was one of a relatively small group of people who witnessed the events of

January 6 in the White House and with the former president.

Mr. Meadows was with the former president on January 6 as he learned about the attack on the U.S. Capitol and decided whether to issue a statement that could stop the rioters.

In fact, according to documents already handed over to the Committee, as the violence at the Capitol unfolded, Mr. Meadows received many messages encouraging him to have the former president issue a statement that could end the violence.

According to the records, multiple Fox News hosts, and the former president's son knew that the former president needed to act immediately.

They texted Mr. Meadows, and he turned over these texts to this Committee.

These are some of those texts:

Laura Ingraham texted, "Mark, the president needs to tell people in the Capitol to go home. This is hurting all of us. He is destroying his legacy."

Brian Kilmeade texted, "Please, get him on TV destroying everything you have accomplished."

Sean Hannity texted, "Can he make a statement? Ask people to leave the Capitol."

Donald Trump Jr. texted, "he's got to condemn this shit ASAP. The Capitol Police tweet is not enough."

To this last text, Meadows responded, "I'm pushing it hard. I agree."

One former White House employee reportedly contacted Mr. Meadows several times and told him, "[you guys have to say something. Even if the president's not willing to put out a statement, you should go to the [cameras] and say, 'We condemn this. Please stand down.' If you don't, people are going to die.]"

As time passed without the former president intervening, Donald Trump Jr. again texted, "we need an Oval Office address. He has to lead now. It has gone too far and gotten out of hand."

But still, hours passed without necessary action by the president.

Moreover, Mr. Meadows reportedly spoke with Kashyap Patel, who was then the chief of staff to former Acting Secretary of Defense Christopher Miller, "nonstop" throughout the day of January 6.

Mr. Meadows apparently knows if and when the former president was engaged in discussions regarding the National Guard's response to the Capitol riot, a point that is contested but about which Mr. Meadows provided documents to the Select Committee and spoke publicly on national television after the former president left office.

But Mr. Meadows knows much more than just what happened during the attack.

Prior to the January 6 attack, Mr. Meadows received text messages and emails regarding apparent efforts to encourage Republican legislators in certain States to send alternate slates of electors to Congress, a plan which one Member of Congress acknowledged was "highly controversial" and to which Mr. Meadows responded, "I love it."

Mr. Meadows traveled to Georgia to observe an audit of the votes days after then-former president complained that the audit had been moving too slowly and claimed that the signature-match system was rife with fraud. That trip precipitated the former president's calls to Georgia's deputy secretary of state and, later, secretary of state.

In the call with Georgia's secretary of state, which Mr. Meadows joined, the former president pressed his unsupported claims of widespread election fraud, including claims related to deceased people voting, forged signatures, out-of-State voters, shredded ballots, triple-counted ballots, Dominion voting machines, and suitcase ballots, before telling the secretary of state that he wanted to find enough votes to ensure his victory.

Mr. Meadows was chief of staff during the post-election period when other White House staff, including the press secretary, advanced claims of election fraud.

In one press conference, the press secretary claimed that there were "very real claims" of fraud that the former president's re-election campaign was pursuing and said that mail-in voting was one that "we have identified as being particularly prone to fraud."

Mr. Meadows participated in a meeting that reportedly occurred on December 18, 2020, with the former president, the White House counsel, an attorney associated with the campaign, White House staff, and private citizens, on proposals relating to challenging the 2020 election results.

Mr. Meadows reportedly sent an email—subject line: "Constitutional Analysis of the Vice President's Authority for January 6, 2021, Vote Count"—to a member of then-Vice President Pence's senior staff containing a memo written by an attorney affiliated with the former president's re-election campaign.

The memo argued that the Vice President could declare electoral votes in six States in dispute when they came up for a vote during the Joint Session of Congress on January 6, 2021, which would require those States' legislatures to send a response to Congress by 7 p.m. EST on January 15 or, if they did not, then congressional delegations would vote for the former president's re-election.

Mr. Meadows was in contact with at least some of the private individuals who planned and organized a January 6 rally, one of whom reportedly may have expressed safety concerns to Mr. Meadows about January 6 events.

It is apparent that Mr. Meadows's testimony and document production are of critical importance to the Select Committee's investigation, and Congress, through the Select Committee, is entitled to discover facts concerning what led to the attack on the U.S. Capitol on January 6, as well as White House officials' actions and communications during and after the attack.

Mr. Meadows is uniquely situated to provide key information, having straddled an official role in the White House and unofficial role related to the former president's reelection campaign since at least election day in 2020 through January 6.

Mr. Meadows was required under federal law to turn over documents to investigators and appear for a deposition in accordance with a subpoena the committee issued, but he did not comply by the dates set in the subpoena.

An individual—whether a member of the public or an executive branch official—has a legal (and patriotic) obligation to comply with a duly issued and valid congressional subpoena, unless a valid and overriding privilege or other legal justification permits noncompliance.

In *United States v. Bryan*, the Supreme Court stated:

A subpoena has never been treated as an invitation to a game of hare and hounds, in which the witness must testify only if cornered at the end of the chase. If that were the case, then, indeed, the great power of testimonial compulsion, so necessary to the effective functioning of courts and legislatures, would be a nullity. We have often iterated the importance of this public duty, which every person within the jurisdiction of the Government is bound to perform when properly summoned.

The Select Committee seeks testimony from Mr. Meadows on information for which there can be no conceivable privilege claim.

In fact, the non-privileged nature of some key information has been recognized by Mr. Meadows's own documents which he has previously handed over to the Committee.

Congress is entitled to Mr. Meadows's testimony on that information, regardless of his claims of privilege over other categories of information.

In *United States v. Nixon*, 418 U.S. 683, 703–16 (1974), the Supreme Court recognized an implied constitutional privilege protecting presidential communications.

The Court held though that the privilege is qualified, not absolute, and that it is limited to communications made "in performance of [a President's] responsibilities of his office and made in the process of shaping policies and making decisions."

Mr. Meadows has refused to testify in response to the subpoena ostensibly based on broad and undifferentiated assertions of various privileges, including claims of executive privilege purportedly asserted by former-President Trump.

However, his claims of testimonial immunity and executive privilege do not justify Mr. Meadows's conduct with respect to the Select Committee's subpoena.

His legal position is untenable in light of Mr. Meadows's public descriptions of events in the book that he is trying to sell and during his numerous television appearances, and his own previously produced documents.

Even if privileges were applicable to some aspects of Mr. Meadows's testimony, he was required to appear before the Select Committee for his deposition, answer any questions concerning non-privileged information, and assert any such privilege on a question-by-question basis.

After promising to appear, Mr. Meadows has now reversed course and resumed his contemptuous behavior.

Mr. Meadows's conduct in response to the Select Committee's subpoena constitutes a violation of the contempt of Congress statutory provisions.

The contempt of Congress statute makes clear that a witness summoned before Congress must appear or be "deemed guilty of a misdemeanor" punishable by a fine of up to \$100,000 and imprisonment for up to one year.

Further, the Supreme Court has emphasized that the subpoena power is a "public duty, which every person within the jurisdiction of the Government is bound to perform when properly summoned."

The Supreme Court also recently reinforced this clear obligation by stating that "when Congress seeks information needed for intelligent legislative action, it unquestionably remains the duty of all citizens to cooperate."

DOJ's legitimacy and effectiveness depends on the public's confidence that its administration and enforcement of federal laws is done

impartially, free from actual or perceived partisan or political influence.

Mr. Speaker, the January 6 insurrection caused tragic loss of life and many injuries, while leaving behind widespread physical damage to the Capitol Complex and emotional trauma for Members, congressional employees, and the Capitol Police.

It bears repeating often that the Congress and the Nation owe undying gratitude to the men and women who answered the call of constitutional duty and heroically won the day on that bloody and deadly afternoon.

Mr. Speaker, the domestic terrorists and secessionists who attacked the Capitol Building on January 6, 2021 were not, as some of their ardent defenders and apologists across the aisle have stated falsely, on a “normal tour visit”; nor was their effort to lay siege to the Capitol and disrupt the processes of government an act of persons who love their country.

And it is absurd to suggest that it was a celebration of the United States and what it stands for when the leading edge of terrorists desecrated the Capitol by offensively parading the treasonous Confederate flag through the building and when, because of their insurrection, several members of law enforcement made the supreme sacrifice and scores more were seriously injured.

Mr. Speaker, we owe it not just to those who lost their lives on January 6th, but to all Americans to figure out what happened and how that day came to be.

We must understand that day in order to prevent the intended purpose of the January 6 insurrection—to disrupt the Joint Meeting of Congress to tally the votes of Presidential electors and announce the results to the Nation and the world—from every occurring again.

This attack on our Capitol Building was the greatest threat to the American experiment since the Civil War when the pro-slavery forces decided to wage war, rather than let the Nation survive, and the pro-freedom forces would accept war rather than let the Nation perish.

The Select Committee has diligently continued in their duty to determine the causes and events that transpired during the insurrectionist attack.

Specifically, the Select Committee’s purposes include:

To investigate and report upon the facts, circumstances, and causes “relating to the January 6, 2021 domestic terrorist attack upon the United States Capitol Complex.”

To investigate and report upon the facts, circumstances, and causes “relating to the interference with the peaceful transfer of power.”

To investigate and report upon the facts, circumstances, and causes relating to “the influencing factors that fomented such an attack on American representative democracy while engaged in a constitutional process.”

Understanding the full role that Mr. Meadows played in the events that led up to the January 6th attack is crucial to preventing anything like this from ever happening again.

Rather than comply with Congress’ inherent powers, and help heal the trauma this Nation witnessed on January 6th, Mr. Meadows has simply refused to comply with the Select Committee’s subpoena.

Mr. Speaker, this should not be a partisan issue; it is the very power of Congress to investigate matters of issue that is at stake.

For this reason, I rise in total support of the rule governing debate for H. Res. 851, “Recommending That The House of Representatives Find Jeffrey Bossert Clark In Contempt of Congress for Refusal to Comply with a Subpoena Duly Issued by the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on The United States Capitol.”

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

I thank the gentlewoman for her very insightful remarks. The committee has referred often to the passage that the gentlewoman identifies by the Supreme Court saying that a subpoena to come and testify is not an invitation to a game of hare and hounds. That is a little old-fashioned. Basically, the court is saying it is not a game of hide-and-seek or cat-and-mouse.

You are told to come and testify, and you must. That is what the vast majority of people have been doing in our investigation and the vast majority of Americans do all across the land when they are subpoenaed to come to court. It seems like a tiny handful of people who think that somehow they are above the law because they know a former President of the United States.

I am sorry, that is just not how our legal system works. We have no kings here, as Judge Chutkan emphasized at the district court in rejecting Donald Trump’s claims against our committee. We have no kings here. Everyone is subject to the law. We have no nobles. We have no lords. Congress cannot award titles of nobility here. We are all equals, and we are all subject to the law. It is a crime in the District of Columbia not to comply with a subpoena, punishable by up to 1 year in jail and a \$100,000 fine. Very serious business. Now, if you think you have got some kind of legal privilege against testifying, like the marital privilege or the priest-penitent privilege or the doctor-patient privilege or the executive privilege, you come, you show up, you testify, and you invoke it as to a specific question.

Mr. Speaker, the reason why this case is overwhelmingly easy, we would argue 100 percent easy, is because we are talking about testimony by Mr. Meadows that he has been subpoenaed to give relating to 9,000 documents that he has already admitted are not privileged by the executive privilege or the Fifth Amendment or anything else. He has said, here, take them. This is evidence about what happened. And rightfully so did he do that.

I will express my personal disappointment that Donald Trump’s explosive rage about the publication of Mr. Meadows’ book occasioned some kind of change in his attitude about it, but regardless of his subjective attitude, he has a legal obligation to show up and to answer the questions of this committee.

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

Mrs. FISCHBACH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from New Mexico (Ms. HERRELL).

Ms. HERRELL. Mr. Speaker, today I rise in support of the Finish the Wall Act, for which I am a proud cosponsor.

By the end of this year, 2 million people will have tried to cross our borders illegally. That is more than or almost as many people as the State I represent. Hundreds of thousands have succeeded, and many thousands more are being released into our communities, never to return to an immigration status hearing.

When Border Patrol agents courageously tried to do their jobs against overwhelming odds, they were attacked by President Biden, who said that he would make them pay. That is not how we lead a country. That is not how we treat American heroes who keep us safe.

But past Presidents did not abandon our border. Under President Trump, 458 miles of border wall system were completed, with hundreds more fully funded. Of course, on his first day in office, President Biden sabotaged this important project and undermined the physical border security promised to the American people.

This is unacceptable. We must protect our country. We must protect our people. We must finish the wall.

This legislation would compel the White House and the Department of Homeland Security to do their jobs.

The funding is there. The plans are there. The materials are there. All we lack is leadership from the Oval Office. And until true leadership returns to the White House, the people’s House will have to step in and solve the Biden border crisis.

I urge my colleagues to pass the Finish the Wall Act, keep our promises, and secure our borders.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume. I just want to emphasize that in his distinguished service in this Chamber, Mr. MEADOWS would never tolerate an executive official simply deciding to blow off a subpoena of the U.S. Congress. He said, “Whether you are a Republican or a Democrat, this kind of obstruction is wrong, period.”

He repeatedly complained about intransigence and delays by the executive branch. So I think he understands exactly why this is a matter of such gravity to our body.

Now, as I was saying, as a member, not just of the Rules Committee but also of the January 6th Select Committee, we have seen overwhelming participation and cooperation by the people we have called. Most people are doing their legal duty and their civic and patriotic duty by coming forward and voluntarily saying, here is what I know, and here is the information I have got to help you put together a report for the American people.

It just seems as we have gotten closer and closer to Donald Trump, that is where we are running into the obstructionism, as from Steve Bannon, as from Jeffrey Clark. And now we have got this problem we are in with Mark

Meadows, who had been on the path of cooperation, had turned over these thousands of documents, and now he is in the very awkward position of saying he is not going to testify about thousands of documents that he already turned over to us, which demonstrate how radically dangerous that day, in fact, was.

Let me just read a few more of the texts that Mr. Meadows disclosed to our committee: One text said, "We are under siege here at the Capitol." That came to him on January 6.

Another, "They have breached the Capitol."

"Mark, protesters are literally storming the Capitol. Breaking windows on doors. Rushing in. Is Trump going to say something?"

"We are all helpless."

Dozens of texts, including from Trump administration officials, urged immediate action by the President, "POTUS has to come out firmly and tell the protesters to dissipate. Someone is going to get killed."

And, of course, several people died on that day and within days of the attack on January 6.

In another, "Mark, he needs to stop this now."

A third in all caps, "TELL THEM TO GO HOME."

A fourth, and I quote, "POTUS needs to calm this"—expletive deleted, excrement—"down."

Multiple FOX News hosts themselves knew the President needed to act immediately. They texted Mr. Meadows. He turned over those texts to us. "Mark, President needs to tell people in the Capitol to go home. This is hurting all of us. He is destroying his legacy," wrote Laura Ingraham.

Brian Kilmeade texted, "Please get him on TV. Destroying everything you have accomplished."

Sean Hannity urged by text, "Can he make a statement? Ask people to leave the Capitol." And so on.

We need to find out what actions were taken in response to all of those entreaties from Members of Congress, from members of the media, from members of Trump's own family, what sequence of events took place afterwards.

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

Mrs. FISCHBACH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. GARBARINO.)

Mr. GARBARINO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to urge the defeat of the previous question so we can immediately consider H.R. 2729, the Finish the Wall Act.

My colleague on the other side of the aisle said that there is no crisis at the southern border. I think the American people would disagree with her.

She says the administration has the solution. I wish they wouldn't keep it a secret.

The crisis at the southern border has reached a tipping point. Illegal border crossings at record highs, and yet this administration refuses to act.

I visited the southern border and saw for myself how bad things are. I also saw piles of building materials already paid for, sitting unused like rubble next to a partially built wall that desperately needs to be finished. The temporary fencing left in place is laughable. I could have walked right through the gaping holes and had myself a nice vacation.

Now, imagine you were on the other side of the fence, desperate to get to America where the President has assured you that you could stay, if only you made it to the other side. You would be pretty well motivated, and, thankfully, we have left the door open for them.

The wall is paid for; we just have to finish building it. This bill requires the Secretary of Homeland Security to resume construction of the border wall within 24 hours of enactment using funds Congress has already appropriated for building the wall.

The wall is more than just a fence. It includes sensors and technology the Border Patrol needs to effectively hold the line. The agents I spoke with at the border are doing everything they can to stop illegal crossings, but they are overwhelmed and under-equipped. Now drug smugglers, human traffickers, gangs, and terrorists are taking full advantage of this vulnerability.

While turning a blind eye to the dangers of our border crisis may serve this administration's agenda, it does not serve the American people, and it certainly doesn't serve my constituents. On Long Island, law enforcement continues to grapple with preventing MS-13 from getting a stronghold in our communities. But MS-13 gang members are emboldened by the policies of this administration and exploiting the crisis at our border to gain access to our country.

I urge this body to act and immediately consider H.R. 2729 to finish the border wall construction and help stop the influx of drugs, criminal activity, and gang violence that is brought by MS-13 into this country.

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

Mrs. FISCHBACH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PFLUGER).

Mr. PFLUGER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to defeat the previous question. I love this righteous discussion about law and order. It has been nearly 1 year of one-party rule for this country, and I speak for my constituents—I rise as a Texan—and countless others across the Nation who have whiplash from being tossed from one crisis to another crisis to yet another crisis caused by the policies, the misguided policies of this administration.

We are not changing the subject here. We are actually staying focused on the issues that matter to most Americans, the complete breakdown of respect for law enforcement and the rule of law. Since we are talking about the rule of law, the breakdown of the rule of law

has crime running rampant. We have heard about fentanyl; we have heard about the rising crime in communities like mine because of the open border that we have.

□ 1245

You know who doesn't show up for court orders? 99.9 percent of the illegal immigrants who are served those papers, they are the ones who don't show up, since we are talking about the rule of law.

We have Americans, as a matter of fact, that are still stranded behind enemy lines after President Biden's Afghanistan catastrophe. Communist China is enjoying their free pass after unleashing COVID-19 on the world and committing literal genocide on Uyghur Muslims in China. Millions of Americans are at risk of losing their jobs if they don't comply with the tyrannical mask mandate, a crippling national debt, an impending energy crisis, and an all-out humanitarian disaster on our border; those are the issues that we are not changing the subject on, we are actually focusing on.

But today, instead of addressing these crises, Democrats have recycled their old tricks and are wasting time trying to punish, yet again, President Trump.

You can only beat the same dead horse so many times.

Republicans are here to work, and it is long past time that action is taken to quell these crises. We are urging our Democratic colleagues to look at the crisis at hand. When is the last time that one of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle visited the border and can speak with any sort of authority that we don't have a crisis?

We need to stop illegal immigration. We need to finish the wall. We have got to secure this border.

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

Mrs. FISCHBACH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Florida (Mrs. CAMMACK)

Mrs. CAMMACK. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to urge my colleagues to help defeat the previous question and, for once and for all, address this lingering crisis that we know is, in fact, a crisis.

The travesties unfolding on our southwest border can no longer be ignored. And I know we know the facts. I know my colleagues on the other side of the aisle know the drugs that are pouring into our communities killing thousands as a direct result of the open border policy.

But few times have we seen or heard the stories of how people are actually being affected. Just a couple days ago, I received a text message from a Border Patrol agent. An American mother and her daughter were traveling and were killed in a head-on collision with an illegal smuggling six other illegals. They were evading, driving at a fast pace, and instead, killed a very young family. In his words, this Border Patrol agent said it was just a matter of time. This happens all the time.

That is unacceptable that it is just a matter of time. Well, it is just a matter of time before this body takes action, and it is probably going to be in about 12 months.

The broken policies of this administration have broken our families here in the United States. They are the true victims of President Biden and the Democrats in action. And it is stunning to hear and demoralize and to strip those that are trying to uphold the very law that they took an oath to protect. I wish my colleagues would do the same, because it is unacceptable to hear from our own that it is just a matter of time. It is just a matter of time before someone else gets killed or another family gets broken or someone else overdoses from the incredible amount of drugs that are pouring into our community.

But we have solutions, and we have resources. And that is why we need to continue to finish to build the wall, the force multiplier that our very own agents have said time and time again will save lives and prevent more tragedies.

That is why I urge my colleagues to help defeat the previous question so that we can do what we said we would do: Finish the wall.

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

The gentlewoman invokes the oath of office. Former President Trump swore an oath to uphold and defend our Constitution, and we have all of these tweets which clearly indicate he wasn't doing that.

H. Res. 503 authorizes and obligates our committee to get to the particulars and details of what took place on January 6, what were the causes behind it, and what do we need to do to defend ourselves in the future against these kinds of attacks on our election process, on the peaceful transfer of power, and on the workings of Congress.

That is what we are doing.

And with their January 6 case collapsing all around them, my colleagues now head for the border in their rhetoric, and I don't blame them for doing that. But they are not going to fool the American people. People understand exactly what is happening here.

The prior speaker said that it is a crime not to show up for a subpoena, and he said you know who does that, undocumented aliens. Well, then it is undocumented aliens, Steve Bannon, and Mark Meadows who are violating the law.

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

Mrs. FISCHBACH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Illinois (Mrs. MILLER).

Mrs. MILLER of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the members of the January 6th Commission have turned this body into a star chamber, using the powers of Congress to persecute and bankrupt their political opponents.

Using political power to destroy your political opponents is evil and un-

American. We are not a banana republic.

Right now, the American people are suffering under the harsh economic realities of the Biden administration: Record-high inflation, record-high gas prices, record-high home heating bills, empty shelves at Christmas. COVID mandates and lockdowns continue to threaten our economy and our children's future.

What is the January 6th Commission's response to the suffering of the American people under Biden's policies? A never-ending political witch hunt against President Trump.

The January 6th Commission hates President Trump because he exposed the corruption of the D.C. establishment here in the swamp.

This January 6th Commission is a disgrace, and anyone who voted for it should be ashamed of themselves.

I urge a "no" vote on this rule.

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

Mrs. FISCHBACH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from New Mexico (Ms. HERRELL).

Ms. HERRELL. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to ask my fellow Members of Congress to think about the reputation of this institution, the trust of the American people, and beyond their political passions of the moment.

I ask, frankly, for us to be statesmen.

Rather than focusing on inflation, jobs, or the border, our colleagues across the aisle are focused on this distraction.

House Democrats have now held or threaten to hold three Americans in contempt of Congress for refusal to comply with their arbitrary demands.

Democrats assured us that if their first target, Steve Bannon, had just shown up to be deposed, he would not have faced consequences. However, Mr. Bannon felt that this would violate former President Trump's executive privilege and raised questions to the committee in letters from his attorney.

Next, the January 6th Committee threatened Jeffrey Clark with contempt, holding a Rules Committee hearing for the contempt charge. This was based on Mr. Clark agreeing to appear but not saying exactly what the partisan political operatives of the committee wanted him to say, while Mr. Clark asserted his constitutional rights.

It is a staggering abuse of power for the House of Representatives to threaten someone for merely using the rights the Constitution affords them.

Now we reach my friend, Mark Meadows. He has cooperated, and provided thousands of pages of documents; however, Mr. Meadows, President Trump's chief of staff during January 6, invoked his executive privilege. In his opinion, his testimony about interactions with President Trump would erode all future use of executive privilege. Even after Mr. Meadows turned over texts, Democrats have now gone so far as to subpoena Verizon for Mr. Meadows' phone records.

Such naked scheming should stay in House of Cards and other TV shows, not in this Chamber.

What is the purpose of this? Is it not to secure the Capitol? It is a political exercise to exact political revenge against allies and employees of the former President.

This is about using the government to punish political adversaries. This is not an American practice but something akin to a banana republic on its way to tyranny. I urge a "no" vote.

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

Mrs. FISCHBACH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. BISHOP).

Mr. BISHOP of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding.

I have no hesitancy to take on the distinguished gentleman from Maryland on the points that he has made. I would say first of all this: I hope that he will continue to read those text messages because they don't prove what he thinks they prove; quite the contrary.

I can't think of how many times the gentleman from California has spoken in derisive terms about Donald Trump, Jr., but Donald Trump Jr.'s tweets show that he was concerned about exactly the right things.

You don't see tweets coming from Republicans about bailing out violent rioters, abolishing police forces, or decrying the plight of Jussie Smollett.

I think the issue with the effort today before the body is how Democrats are dealing with the President's close counselor and the legal principles that arise therefrom, especially the constant and repeated threat of criminal prosecution in the face of an unresolved issue of privilege.

When you treat noncompliance as willful noncompliance, you mean there is a lack of good faith basis. But the record in this case in the House Report is replete with contentions over the nature and extent of the President's executive privilege.

The positions that are taken on Mr. Meadows' behalf are those that have been continually asserted by the Department of Justice; in fact, many others. Many other potential objections he has completely waived. He has not attempted to assert the fact that your subpoena is inquiring into legitimate First Amendment rights to associate, to speak, to petition for redress or in the absence of a legitimate legislative purpose.

And to the point repeated over and over by the gentleman from Maryland, the current position on privilege is entirely sensible. Mr. Meadows has produced those documents that are implicated by the current President's waiver of privilege, but he preserves that core part of privilege that President Trump is likely entitled to preserve; that is to say what he was told by one of his closest advisers.

Nothing illegitimate about it at all. What is illegitimate is the decision

made on how to deal with the counselor of a President, the representative of a coordinate branch of government.

The Democrats are setting a new bar. Even while the handwriting is on the wall, may you enjoy the fruits. Let the contempt resolutions and the criminal referrals flow freely and quickly as a river. Merrick Garland, Ron Klain, Hunter Biden, Chuck Dolan, Marc Elias, Andrew Weissmann, Alejandro Mayorkas. Let them come.

This is the choice that is being made by the Democrats.

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

Mrs. FISCHBACH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Georgia (Mrs. GREENE).

Mrs. GREENE of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, we have heard a lot about text messages. I would like the Democrats and the people on the January 6th Committee to produce their text messages, Mr. Speaker, denouncing antifa, BLM riots that raged across American cities for a year. I would love to read those.

But instead, we saw Democrats encourage, incite, and continue to call these riots peaceful. And then when they got arrested and put in jail, they bailed them out so they could go out and riot some more.

I rise in opposition to this resolution to hold Mark Meadows in contempt of Congress because it is being held by nothing but a kangaroo court.

Congress' job is to make laws, not enforce them. That is the role of the executive and the judicial branch of this government, but somehow the communists here in charge have forgotten—or, no, not forgotten—are purposely abusing the Constitution and what this body of Congress is supposed to do.

You see, when we go to this level to the point where we are forgetting and abusing what our power is, then the American people will trust us no more. And that is exactly what the January 6th Committee is doing.

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

□ 1300

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

Mr. Speaker, this select committee is clearly operating outside the realm of its intended purpose.

They do not like the information they are receiving, and they know they aren't getting anywhere. So, instead, they criminally punish those who they politically disagree with.

There isn't adequate minority representation, and because of that, the majority has been able to turn the committee into a vehicle to push their own narrative. It is clearly more interested in pursuing a partisan agenda to politicize the January 6 attack rather than conducting a legitimate, good-faith investigation into security failures leading up to that day.

Again, this is nothing more than an attempt by the Democrats to distract

from the very real issues facing Americans every day. I look forward to getting back to the real work of solving the supply chain crisis, reclaiming American energy production, and empowering U.S. citizens to live their lives without government interference.

Mr. Speaker, I oppose the rule and the underlying legislation, and I urge my colleagues to do the same.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, hundreds of people have come forward to testify about the violent and dangerous events of January 6, and there are just a handful of people, like Mr. Bannon and Mr. Meadows, who somehow think they are above the law.

We are not a banana republic because we hold everybody to equality under the law. And we are not communists, as the gentlewoman from Georgia suggested. Those are just the friends of the former President, who you lionize, like the dictator of North Korea, who he loves, and Vladimir Putin, who said that the greatest tragedy of the 20th century was the collapse of the Soviet Union. So, those are your friends. Don't put them on our side.

They are saying that the Select Committee on the January 6th Attack is out to persecute and bankrupt their opponents. On the contrary, we are out to write a report, under H. Res. 503, to the American people about the most violent, sweeping, and dangerous attack on the Republic since the Civil War or the War of 1812.

Mr. Bannon is raising money on it. Far from bankrupting Mr. Bannon, he is trying to get rich on it. And Mark Meadows has written a book where he tells all the stories he wants about January 6. It is just that he doesn't want to face the rule of law and the questions of this bipartisan committee, which is making tremendous progress in terms of getting the truth of what happened on that day.

Mr. Speaker, I recommend to all of my colleagues who invoked the rule of law today that they read the D.C. Circuit Court opinion, which obliterates every single argument that they have made about executive privilege. It is basically gone now because the way the law works is the people have a right to get the information we want unless there is a compelling interest on the other side. They haven't even pretended to invoke a compelling interest.

What is the compelling interest in being able to prepare an insurrection, a coup against the government? Is that what we want to establish a precedent for, that outgoing Presidents can try to organize an insurrection against the Vice President and encourage people who go out and stage a riot against the Vice President of the United States and the Congress? I don't think so.

Mr. Speaker, a couple of the speakers said it was absence of legislative purpose. This is the central purpose of our government, to make the government

survive and to go out and serve the people. That is what this committee is doing.

Mr. Speaker, he is in contempt. I urge a "yes" vote on the rule and the previous question.

The material previously referred to by Mrs. FISCHBACH is as follows:

AMENDMENT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 848

At the end of the resolution, add the following:

SEC. 2. Immediately upon adoption of this resolution, the House shall proceed to the consideration in the House of the bill (H.R. 2729) to immediately resume construction of the border wall system along the international border between the United States and Mexico to secure the border, enforce the rule of law, and expend appropriated funds as mandated by Congress, and for other purposes. All points of order against consideration of the bill are waived. The bill shall be considered as read. All points of order against provisions in the bill are waived. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and on any amendment thereto to final passage without intervening motion except: (1) one hour of debate equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Homeland Security; and (2) one motion to recommit.

SEC. 3. Clause 1(c) of rule XIX shall not apply to the consideration of H.R. 2729.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on ordering the previous question.

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

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to section 3(s) of House Resolution 8, the yeas and nays are ordered.

Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, further proceedings on this question are postponed.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Ms. Byrd, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate has passed bills of the following titles in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 854. An act to designate methamphetamine as an emerging threat, and for other purposes.

S. 2959. An act to provide that, due to the disruptions caused by COVID-19, applications for impact aid funding for fiscal year 2023 may use certain data submitted in the fiscal year 2022 application.

S. 3377. An act to empower the Chief of the United States Capitol Police to unilaterally request the assistance of the DC National Guard or Federal law enforcement agencies in emergencies without prior approval of the Capitol Police Board.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 5665, COMBATING INTERNATIONAL ISLAMOPHOBIA ACT

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I

call up House Resolution 849 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 849

Resolved, That upon adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to consider in the House the bill (H.R. 5665) to establish in the Department of State the Office to Monitor and Combat Islamophobia, and for other purposes. All points of order against consideration of the bill are waived. In lieu of the amendments recommended by the Committee on Foreign Affairs now printed in the bill, an amendment in the nature of a substitute consisting of the text of Rules Committee Print 117-23, modified by the amendment printed in the report of the Committee on Rules accompanying this resolution, shall be considered as adopted. The bill, as amended, shall be considered as read. All points of order against provisions in the bill, as amended, are waived. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill, as amended, and on any further amendment thereto, to final passage without intervening motion except: (1) one hour of debate equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs or their respective designees; and (2) one motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. RESCHENTHALER), my good friend, pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume. During consideration of this resolution, all time yielded is for the purpose of debate only.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members be given 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, today, the Committee on Rules met and reported a rule which would provide for the consideration of H.R. 5665, the Combating International Islamophobia Act, under a closed rule.

It provides 1 hour of debate equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. It self-executes a manager's amendment from Chairman MEEKS and provides for one motion to recommit.

Mr. Speaker, we are here today at a time when anti-Muslim hatred has risen to epidemic proportions. That is not my opinion; that is according to the U.N. Special Rapporteur on Religious Freedom and Belief.

Epidemic proportions, we see it all around the world: in China, as the government there commits atrocities against the Uyghurs; in Sri Lanka, where its President silences dissenting voices; in India, as government-led crackdowns leave entire neighborhoods virtually empty; in Hungary, where anti-Muslim sentiment continues to

build. Unfortunately, I could go on, all around the globe.

Mr. Speaker, this isn't about the actions or misguided beliefs of a few. The U.N. Human Rights Council has found that an average of 37 percent of the population in Europe held unfavorable views of Muslims. We are talking about millions of people and a rising tide of hostility, violence, and discrimination that we, the Government of the United States, must call out and condemn. To stand firmly and loudly for human rights demands nothing less.

Mr. Speaker, I am also proud to announce today that we have reached a bipartisan, bicameral agreement on the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act that will allow us to move quickly to get this bill through Congress and to the President because this isn't a partisan issue. It is a human rights issue, and America must lead.

Mr. Speaker, just as we hold other nations to account, we must hold ourselves to account as well because the United States is not immune to these trends. The Council on American-Islamic Relations has documented over 500 complaints of anti-Muslim bias nationwide in just the first half of this year. That includes things like hate crimes, harassment, school bullying, and antimosque violence.

Sadly, this uptick is part of a larger trend. A poll conducted by the AP and released this year ahead of the anniversary of 9/11 found that 53 percent of Americans have unfavorable views toward Islam. This is the reality of what is happening in America today.

Mr. Speaker, to be honest, we have even heard disturbing rhetoric from some right here in this institution. A Member of this House has told a completely fabricated story again and again that implies a Muslim colleague is a terrorist just because they are Muslim.

It may have rolled off her tongue like some kind of laugh line, but this is a deadly serious matter because it led to our colleague, Representative OMAR, who has already been the victim of years of anti-Muslim bias, receiving even more heinous voice mails and even death threats. One man went so far as to tell her: "There's plenty that will love the opportunity to take you off the face of this" blanking Earth.

Mr. Speaker, I hesitated to even quote that here on the floor, but we all must understand the gravity of what we are dealing with. To hear a Member of this Congress say those things, is there no bottom anymore? Have things sunk that low?

Two decades ago, it was a Republican President, George W. Bush, who told the world: "America treasures the relationship we have with our many Muslim friends, and we respect the vibrant faith of Islam, which inspires countless individuals to lead lives of honesty, integrity, and morality."

Today, it is a Republican Congressperson who made headlines for comments that disrespect not only

Congresswoman OMAR and fellow Muslim Members but is a stain on this entire institution. And virtually the entire Republican Conference has said nothing.

Mr. Speaker, what on Earth has the Republican Party become?

I think this House is better than the worst actions of a few here, and I think the Government of the United States can still stand for human rights here and around the globe. This rule and the underlying resolution is our chance to show it.

Let's pass this measure so we can bring the full weight of our Nation in encouraging other nations to also confront and condemn the growing stain of Islamophobia.

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

Mr. RESCHENTHALER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume, and I thank my good friend and chairman of the Committee on Rules, Chairman MCGOVERN, for yielding me the customary 30 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, in 2018, southwestern Pennsylvania witnessed the deadliest act of anti-Semitism in our Nation's history when 11 Jewish worshippers were killed at the Tree of Life Synagogue in Squirrel Hill. That was the first time I ever spoke on the House floor; it was to condemn acts of anti-Semitism and hatred in all forms.

No one should ever be attacked and no one should ever be denied their human rights or dignity because of their religious faith. Republicans have opposed hate and discrimination of any kind, including Islamophobia, but the bill made in order under this rule is rushed. It is a partisan effort, and it fails to address real concerns highlighted by both committee Republicans and the Biden State Department.

H.R. 5665 creates a new State Department office and a new special envoy position to combat "Islamophobia and Islamophobic incitement." Those terms are not defined in Federal statute. They are also not defined in the bill. Without clear definitions, even First Amendment-protected speech could qualify for an investigation.

Under this measure, it would be up to unelected career bureaucrats at the State Department to determine what constitutes this phobia and to single out groups, to single out governments, to single out individuals who do not share the political views of those unelected, career bureaucrats.

My Republican colleagues on the House Committee on Foreign Affairs rightly noted the lack of definitions in this bill, and that lack could be used to promote anti-Israel sentiment. Unfortunately, efforts to address those concerns were wholly dismissed by committee Democrats. Further, committee Republicans highlighted that this bill is absolutely redundant.

Mr. Speaker, the State Department already operates robust human rights and religious freedom efforts, and those include, and I will list: the Bureau of

Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor; the Office of International Religious Freedom; and the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom. We already have offices for what this bill seeks to do.

□ 1315

Creating a new envoy and office would simply duplicate those efforts; it would further fragment this important advocacy; it would increase the potential for conflict and delays; and it would thwart our efforts to actually help persecuted people.

Their concerns fell on deaf ears.

If House Democrats are serious about addressing anti-Muslim sentiment, then I encourage them to join the long-standing Republican efforts to hold the Chinese Communist Party accountable for their genocide against the Uyghur people.

Somewhere between 1 and 3 million Uyghurs are currently held against their will in modern-day concentration camps in Communist China. These people are subjected to atrocities that include forced labor, torture, and enforced organ harvesting.

Families are torn apart. The CCP even prohibits parents from teaching their Islamic faith to their children. Women are suffering forced sterilization and forced abortion to suppress Uyghur Muslim birth rates.

Anyone who truly supports religious freedom and stands against anti-Muslim atrocities should want to hold the CCP accountable for their genocide against the Uyghur people.

Yet, earlier this year Democratic leadership caved to the Biden administration and delayed a strong U.S. response to the Uyghur Muslim genocide, rather than sending the bipartisan, Senate-passed Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act to the President's desk. It was the Biden administration who slow-walked that.

Last week, we were finally given the opportunity to vote on that bill, only after the press highlighted Speaker PELOSI's inaction. Further, during the committee's consideration of H.R. 5665, Democrats voted down an amendment to focus the new office's efforts on the plight of the Uyghurs.

In closing, it is obvious this bill is not combating anti-Muslim violence and persecution. If it were, House Democrats would have worked with Republicans and the Biden State Department on this effort. Instead, the Democrats are advancing this rushed, partisan legislation that fails to address the religious persecution happening right now in China and across the globe.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to oppose this rule, and I reserve the balance of my time.

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

Mr. Speaker, I have great respect for my friend from Pennsylvania, but I want to provide a little bit of a history lesson on the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act.

We actually passed that bill a year ago in the last Congress, and the Republican Senate and President Trump killed it. I didn't hear a peep out of any of my Republican colleagues urging that the Senate take the bill up then.

Last week, the House passed by an overwhelming vote—only one Republican voted “no”—my bill on the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act.

By the way, it is a stronger bill than the one that was passed in the Senate. Senator RUBIO and I have come to an agreement on reconciling the differences. That bill will be voted on, perhaps even as early as today, and be sent over to the Senate, where I think they will take quick action on it and send it to the President's desk for signature.

That is real. That is the strongest bill to deal with the horrific treatment by the Chinese Government of the Uyghurs that has ever gone to any President's desk. I am proud of the bipartisan support for the bill in the House and the Senate. Let's not politicize an issue that I think we have come together on. My hope is it will be done today.

The bill that is before us is very similar to the bill that was passed in a previous Congress to create a post to deal with anti-Semitism in this country.

Mr. Speaker, I would urge my Republican friends, who I hope share our view, that anti-Semitism is intolerable wherever it may exist, and we need to do more to combat it. Please call your friends in the Republican Senate to stop holding up President Biden's nominee for special envoy.

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD a CNN story, “Senate Democrats Say Republicans Are Holding Up Nomination For Anti-Semitism Post.”

[From CNN, Dec. 8, 2021]

SENATE DEMOCRATS SAY REPUBLICANS ARE HOLDING UP NOMINATION FOR ANTI-SEMITISM POST

(By Jessica Dean)

(CNN) Democrats in Congress told CNN that GOP senators are continuing to hold up the nomination of the woman President Joe Biden tapped to become the next US Envoy to Combat and Monitor Antisemitism, five months after she was nominated.

Biden nominated Deborah Lipstadt, an Emory professor of Modern Jewish History and Holocaust Studies, on July 30. Lipstadt has thus far not even been offered a hearing by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Lipstadt has previously worked with both Democratic and Republican administrations and enjoys strong support from a wide range of Jewish groups.

“Our Republican colleagues have refused to give her a hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations committee,” Committee Chairman Bob Menendez, a Democrat from New Jersey, told CNN. Typically both Democratic and Republican members of the committee agree to have a hearing for a nominee.

Menendez said they're approaching a time when he may go against tradition to bypass the committee and move to discharge Lipstadt's nomination straight to the Senate floor where Democrats hold the majority.

Republicans denied that they were stalling the confirmation process.

“I wouldn't say we're holding it up,” said Republican Sen. Jim Risch, the ranking member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, adding they are waiting on additional materials from Lipstadt. An aide said they had spoken with Lipstadt on Tuesday.

When asked if he thinks they will ultimately give Lipstadt a hearing, Risch replied, “I think so” but offered no timeline.

What's the hold up?

Risch said there has been some concern from members over Lipstadt's previous tweets.

In one tweet from March 14, Lipstadt reacted to comments from Republican Sen. Ron Johnson of Wisconsin, who sits on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, writing, “This is white supremacy/nationalism. Pure and simple.”

Lipstadt was referring to Johnson's comments that he might have been concerned for his well-being during the January 6 attack had the protestors been affiliated with Black Lives Matter instead of being a largely white, pro-Trump crowd.

When asked about Lipstadt's nomination and the tweet, Johnson said, “I feel like we have so many nominations floating around right now, I really can't comment at this point.”

Republican Sen. Marco Rubio of Florida, who is also a member of the committee, said he was not familiar with Lipstadt's nomination.

“I am not sure I have reviewed that nomination yet. To be frank, it doesn't ring a bell,” Rubio told CNN.

“I want to make sure that whoever is there is someone we can count on to be heard around the world and whatever they have said in the past won't undermine their ability to do their job,” Rubio said. “But I just don't want to comment on a nomination that I haven't fully reviewed yet.”

Menendez said there was nothing in her background that should be a problem.

“If calling out anti-Semitism in the past is somehow an obstacle to this nomination, and that would be an amazing set of circumstances, because that's what we want this person to do,” he said.

Strong support from the Jewish community

In a rare joint statement, the Anti-Defamation League, the Jewish Federations of North America, and the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America sent a letter to Senate Foreign Relations Committee on November 4 urging its members to act.

“There is no question that Prof. Lipstadt has the credentials to deserve a proper hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations—and that hearing is now overdue,” the letter read.

The unified support of Jewish groups is important to note.

“To find this level of agreement about someone on such a contentious issue as anti-Semitism is rare,” Yair Rosenberg, a writer who covers anti-Semitism for The Atlantic, told CNN in an interview.

“And it's very rare to see that and it's rare to see people then say, ‘Well, we don't care what all these Jewish groups think,’” Rosenberg said.

In an attempt to move the nomination along, a number of House Democrats who sit on the House Bipartisan Task Force for Combating Anti-Semitism—led by Reps. Kathy Manning of North Carolina and Ted Deutch of Florida—wrote a letter to Menendez and Risch pressing them for a hearing for Lipstadt.

“In recent months, we have witnessed growing threats against Jewish communities in our own country and worldwide,” the group wrote. “We believe it is vital to have a Special Envoy in place to confront these

threats and ensure that the United States continues to lead the world in the fight against antisemitism.”

Rosenberg told CNN the stalled nomination is “a much broader effort to stall Biden’s nominees and prevent their confirmations.”

“It’s typical partisan warfare, but this time, it’s not a victimless crime, right? There’s the nominees themselves, and then in this case, there’s Jewish communities abroad that are protected by the anti-Semitism envoy position. And right now that office is short-stringed because the Republicans will not move forward on this confirmation.”

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. CHU).

Ms. CHU. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of today’s bill to help monitor and combat Islamophobia.

Targeting someone because of their religion is discriminatory and it is dangerous. Yet, across the world anti-Muslim prejudice is spreading. As a result, innocent people are being attacked, their mosques vandalized, and their rights curtailed. All of this is the deliberate result of anti-Muslim fearmongering, often from the highest levels of government.

The violence and repression would not be possible without the propaganda that paints all Muslims as dangerous. We have seen that even in our own country, where a lie that Muslims are dangerous was used to justify a Muslim ban. This hate speech continues to echo in the halls of Congress today, even against our own Members of Congress. This must stop.

The more these hateful lies spread, the more people will follow the words of their leaders and take action, leading to more violence like the shootings in Christchurch and around the world.

With this bill we can help stop the spread of this Islamophobia and stop the violence these words cause. Let’s ensure that everybody, regardless of race or religion, can feel safe in this country and around the world for being who they are.

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

Mr. Speaker, I am glad it was brought up, the so-called Trump Muslim ban, because it gives me a chance to set the record straight.

Let’s be clear, the seven countries that my colleague was referring to—the seven countries specifically targeted with travel restrictions in Executive Order 13769, they were actually countries that were determined by Congress in the Obama administration to be countries of particular concern for terrorism activity pursuant to the Visa Waiver Improvement and Terrorist Travel Prevention Act of 2015.

In fact, the policies in the administration’s travel restrictions apply to just 8 percent of the world’s Muslim population, and according to Pew Research Center, only cover one of the top 10 countries in the world with the largest Muslim population, that country being Iran.

The courts even found that Trump’s travel ban was “facially neutral toward religion.” The court also ruled that Trump “set forth a sufficient national security justification.” So I thank my colleague for giving me the chance to put in the RECORD the truth about the so-called Trump ban.

Mr. Speaker, let’s talk about something that the American people are focused on right now. Thanks to the Biden energy crisis, Americans are paying 56 percent more for a gallon of gas.

In Pennsylvania, families are facing a 50 percent increase in their energy bills. Biden’s war on fossil fuels continues to devastate the Nation this holiday season.

That is why, Mr. Speaker, if we defeat the previous question, I will personally offer an amendment to the rule to immediately consider H.R. 6235, the Strategic Production Response Act.

This legislation would require the Secretary of Energy to develop a plan to increase oil and gas production on Federal lands if the President uses the Strategic Petroleum Reserve for non-emergency reasons.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert the text of my amendment into the RECORD, along with any extraneous material immediately prior to the vote on the previous question.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. RESCHENTHALER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. UPTON), one of the authors of the legislation, to explain the amendment.

Mr. UPTON. Mr. Speaker, I do rise in opposition to both the rule and the previous question so the House can consider H.R. 6235, the Strategic Production Response Act, introduced by the top Republican on the Energy and Commerce Committee, Mrs. CATHY MCMORRIS RODGERS of Washington, in the recent weeks.

This President and the Democrats are waging a war on fossil fuels and affordable American energy, and American families are paying the price in the form of skyrocketing energy bills and inflation that is surging, frankly, out of control. We see that constant increase at the pump literally every time we get in the car and pass a gas station in virtually every State in the Union.

Before this President came into office, the U.S. was more energy secure than ever before. Energy prices were low, stable, and manufacturing was coming back to the U.S. after decades of offshoring.

Today, America’s energy security is under siege by President Biden and the Democrats. In fact, in the span of a year the price of crude oil and many energy commodities has risen to a 7-year high. Gasoline prices have nearly doubled, while more Americans are struggling certainly to make ends meet.

Forecasts—even before this winter’s heating costs season started, American families were expected to pay some 54 percent more for propane, 43 percent more for heating oil, 30 percent more for natural gas, and 6 percent more for electric heating.

Even as millions of Americans depend on reliable and affordable supplies of fossil-based fuels for home heating, electricity, transportation, manufacturing, and agriculture, Democrats have doubled down their anti-American energy agenda.

It was a mistake when President Biden canceled the Keystone XL pipeline, which would have transported almost 1 million barrels a day of stable energy supplies to the U.S.

President Biden issued a moratorium on energy development on Federal lands. Now the administration is even considering killing Line 5, another important pipeline that provides critical heating fuels and gas to the Midwest.

Yes, faced with skyrocketing energy prices and low poll numbers, this President has begged OPEC—of all places—OPEC and Russia—to pump more oil. When OPEC and Russia refused to increase supplies, guess what, President Biden then turned to China and resorted to tapping America’s Strategic Petroleum Reserve, rather than encourage drilling here domestically.

This President turned to China for oil. China is persecuting more than a million Uyghurs, Muslims, and other ethnic minorities. They certainly don’t share our values. America’s Strategic Petroleum Reserve is one of the Nation’s most valuable energy security tools, and this President and the Democrats are squandering it, using it for a political coverup for their anti-fossil fuel agenda.

If allowed, this motion is pretty simple. It would protect the Strategic Petroleum Reserve and lower gas prices by unleashing American energy production.

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

Mr. RESCHENTHALER. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman from Michigan an additional 30 seconds.

Mr. UPTON. The Strategic Petroleum Reserve was created by Congress to respond to several oil supply disruptions, not as a bailout. This administration has to end its hostility to producing energy right here under our feet and reverse the policies that have contributed to the energy crisis facing Americans today.

If this administration is serious about lowering gas prices it has to stop encouraging other countries, and rather encourage ours to produce gas and oil rather than relying on OPEC, Russia, and China.

Mr. Speaker, I would ask my colleagues to vote “no” on the previous question so we can consider this resolution.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON LEE).

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, when the heinous acts of 9/11 came, this Nation could have easily fell upon the splinters of divisiveness and begin to point fingers in a massive way toward our fellow human beings, Muslims around the world and in the United States.

Isn't it interesting that the President of the United States, a Republican, George W. Bush, took to the microphone to denounce that kind of divisive action—a Republican.

We came together, even though there were incidences that many confronted, to hold this Nation together. Even with the small percentage of Muslims in the United States, we recognize the 1.8 billion Muslims in the world, which makes up nearly one-fourth of the world's population. It is the world's second largest religion.

I am proud to be able to serve or have served with former Member Keith Ellison, the first to be elected; Congressman ANDRÉ CARSON, RASHIDA TLAIB, and ILHAN OMAR. I am proud to chair the Pakistan Caucus, the Afghan Caucus, and to work with Muslims around the world; and I have visited the Middle East often, and engaged with Muslims who desired peace.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today to support the rule and the underlying bill, to create the position of special envoy for monitoring and combatting Islamophobia that would be responsible for tracking and coordinating efforts to combat Islamophobia abroad. It would require the State Department to encourage reports on human rights practices and an annual report on international religious freedom, and include, where possible, the assessments on the nature and extent of Islamophobia and Islamophobic incitement that occur abroad.

□ 1330

My colleagues on this floor might take heed to the importance of recognizing the humanity of all people. The hijab is a thing of beauty. Muslim women can choose to wear it, they wear it in front of men who are not their family members. Our Member, ILHAN OMAR, wears that. It is not a sign of terrorism, and that kind of language should be denounced whether it is on the floor of this House or in some kind of private interaction.

We do not want the world to look at the United States as not caring about the rights of Muslims. America stands against the committing of acts of atrocities against the Uyghurs in China, or the Rohingya in Burma, or the brutal crackdowns on Muslim populations in other countries including Southeast Asia, scapegoating of Muslim refugees and other Muslims in Hungary and Poland, the acts of white supremacist violence against Muslims in New Zealand and Canada, or the targeting of minority Muslim communities in Muslim majority countries like those in Southeast Asia and Iran. I know that we are working hard to ensure that does not happen.

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

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentlewoman from Texas an additional 1 minute.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. This legislation is crucial and important. The reason is because it speaks to who we are as Members of the most powerful law-making body in the world.

Mr. Speaker, I am glad to sit on the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission with Chairman MCGOVERN and that we can talk about human rights for all people. And we need to get over it and recognize that it is important to unify the world. Let the United States be the leader for what is right and to be able to acknowledge the doctors, lawyers, and other leaders in our Nation who happen to be Muslim.

So this legislation gives the United States the right hand, the upper hand to be able to assess this around the world and be the leader against anti-hate or anti-Muslim hate. Let's be the leader rather than the provoker of it.

I end by saying this plea to my colleagues: Whether you are Republican or Democrat, is this, in essence, the reputation you want to give to this Congress, that we are attacking people for their religion and who they are?

Let this bill pass but let it be a symbol that we will stop this kind of Islamophobia, and it starts with each and every one of us.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to vote for the rule and the underlying bill.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Rule Governing Debate of H.R. 5665, the Combating International Islamophobia Act, which will address the increasing number of incidents of Islamophobia around the world.

Specifically, this bill will:

Create the position of Special Envoy for Monitoring and Combating Islamophobia, who will be responsible for tracking and coordinating efforts to combat Islamophobia abroad.

Require that the State Department's annual country reports on human rights practices and annual Report on International Religious Freedom include, wherever possible, assessments of the nature and extent of acts of Islamophobia and Islamophobic incitement that occur abroad.

As Islamophobia rises globally, it is vital that the State Department have senior personnel in place charged with understanding, reporting on, and combating this scourge worldwide.

In recent decades, we have seen a staggering rise in incidents of violent Islamophobia worldwide.

Whether it is the atrocities being committed against the Uyghurs in China and the Rohingya in Burma, the brutal crackdowns on Muslim populations around the world. The scapegoating of Muslim refugees and other Muslims in Hungary and Poland, the acts of white supremacist violence targeting Muslims in New Zealand and Canada, or the targeting of minority Muslim communities in Muslim-majority countries. It is time for us as policymakers to understand these problems as interconnected and genuinely global.

There are about 1.8 billion Muslims in the world, which makes up nearly one-fourth of

the world's population. Islam is the world's second largest religion. Painfully, a staggering number of people have experienced anti-Muslim hate in their lifetime; a number that has only inflated since 9/11.

America is home to one of the most diverse Muslim populations in the world, including people of almost every ethnicity, country and school of thought.

Approximately one third of the community is African American, one third is of South Asian descent, one quarter is of Arab descent, and the rest are from all over the world, including a growing Latino Muslim population.

While exact numbers are difficult to establish, there are between 3–6 million American Muslims. About one half of this population was born in the U.S., a percentage that continues to grow as immigration slows and younger individuals start having families.

American Muslims are present in all walks of life, as doctors and taxi drivers; lawyers and newspaper vendors; accountants, home-makers, academics, media personalities, athletes, and entertainers.

Although American Muslims make up approximately one percent of the U.S. population, most Americans can name several famous American Muslims. Names like Muhammad Ali, Malcolm X, Mos Def, Fareed Zakaria, Shaquille O'Neal, Lupe Fiasco, Dr. Oz and Rima Fakhri are part of our popular consciousness.

Important business figures like Farooq Kathwari (CEO of Ethan Allen), Malik M. Hasan (a pioneer in the field of HMOs), and Safi Qureshey (a leader in PC component manufacturing) are all American Muslims.

Many American Muslims are also civically engaged, working with their neighbors to better their communities. Well-known American Muslim leaders include Rep. Keith Ellison (DFL-Minn.), the first American Muslim to be elected to the U.S. Congress; Rep. ANDRÉ CARSON (D-Ind.); Mohammed Hameeduddin (Mayor, Teaneck, N.J.); and Amer Ahmad (Comptroller, Chicago).

Nevertheless, levels of Islamophobia are so high that the United Nations Human Rights Council has declared it an issue of "epidemic proportions."

Atrocities have been occurring across the globe, from hate-messages spray-painted on buildings in America to the violent genocide of the Uyghurs in China.

The United States State Department estimated that up to 2 million members of Muslim minorities have experienced a system of detention centers in Xinjiang, known political indoctrination, forced labor, torture, and sexual abuse.

The US, UK, and Canada have accused China of committing genocide and crimes against humanity against Muslim populations at Xinjiang.

In 2018, UN investigators accused the Myanmar's military of carrying out mass killings of Muslim populations with "genocidal intent."

There are reports of attacks on mosques in Southeast Asia and Iran, a history of anti-Muslim sentiments and attacks in Sri Lanka, police targeting against Shia Muslims in Southeast Asia again, massacres of Muslim people in New Zealand, and Islamophobic hate-speech in Canada. We have to demand justice for Muslims and better treatment for all religions.

This global injustice must be addressed and rectified and the United States must step up to spearhead the movement.

We need to establish a comprehensive plan for combating Islamophobia not only to ensure the religious freedom and human rights of Muslims, but to protect against a threat to international religious freedom and democratic principles.

The Combating International Islamophobia Act will require the State department to create a Special Envoy for monitoring and combating Islamophobia answering the call of the American Muslim community for the past two decades.

The envoy will work with domestic and international nongovernmental organizations and institutions to carry out its directives.

The special envoy will give reports on acts of physical violence or harassment against Muslim people as well as acts of vandalism of Muslim community institutions like schools, mosques, and cemeteries.

Regarding anti-Muslim government actions, the envoy will monitor instances of propaganda in media that attempt to justify or promote racial hatred or incite acts of violence against Muslim people.

With the new wealth of information this envoy will bring, policymakers will have a better understanding of the interconnected, global problem of anti-Muslim bigotry.

As part of our commitment to international religious freedom and human rights, we must recognize Islamophobia as a pattern that is repeating in nearly every corner of the globe.

It is past time for the United States to stand firmly in favor of religious freedom for all, and to give the global problem of Islamophobia the attention and prioritization it deserves.

I urge all members to join me in voting for the rule and the underlying legislation, H.R. 5665, the "Combating International Islamophobia Act."

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

Mr. Speaker, my good friend and colleague from Texas mentioned George W. Bush in her remarks. That is certainly a blast from the past. I was actually too young to even vote for President Bush when he was running in the primary. So I say that respectfully for my good friend from Texas.

But when we are talking about blasts from the past, the American people have not paid this much at the pump since the last time Biden was in the White House. It is true. The national average of gasoline is currently \$3.32. Americans are paying 54 percent more nationally for a gallon of gas. In some parts of the United States the price for a gallon of gas has reached \$7.59 a gallon.

So with Biden in the White House we are repeating ourselves once again—a blast from the past—and the American people are, unfortunately, paying every day at the gas pump.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. MULLIN), my good friend, who is going to talk about that.

Mr. MULLIN. Mr. Speaker, what we are seeing here from the Democrats is just a distraction. They are just trying to distract the American people from what is really happening.

What is it the American people are upset about?

What is it that they are concerned about?

How about what they are paying. We can talk about the groceries, and we can talk about what they are paying at the gas pump, so let's talk about that real quick.

If we are really serious about doing something that is important to the American people, then let's start with H.R. 6235 to address the high energy prices our country is seeing right now. Gas prices are at a 7-year high. On November 23, the Biden administration announced the Department of Justice will sell 50 million barrels out of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve in an attempt to bring down gas prices.

What a joke. We consume roughly 20 billion barrels a day in the United States, and to say we are going to release 50 billion out of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve to bring down gas prices?

That is nothing but another game, like this bill that we are talking about today debating. It is nothing but smoke and mirrors just trying to distract the American people to say: Hey, look, we are fighting; we are trying to do something.

H.R. 6235 would require the Secretary of Energy to develop a plan to increase oil and gas production on Federal lands in conjunction with drawing down the oil from the Strategic Petroleum Reserve.

If any President attempts to tap into the SPR for political reasons, the Strategic Production Response Act would require a plan to increase U.S. energy production at the same time. The SPR was established by Congress to respond to an emergency, not to manipulate gasoline prices.

The administration's anti-fossil fuel agenda is contributing to the record-high energy prices which is driving up inflation and household bills. It is projected to cost some families up to 54 percent more to heat their homes this winter. If President Biden and the Democrats want to be serious about bringing down costs to the families, they would stop the attack on American petroleum.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to defeat the previous question and take up this bill.

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

Mr. Speaker, we are considering the Combating International Islamophobia Act right now, and my good friend from Pennsylvania in the very beginning made reference to the fact that Republicans are all united in condemning hate, prejudice, and bigotry wherever it exists. But I just want to point out why this bill is so important. It is because the last Republican President who we had, unfortunately, it was like gasoline on a fire in terms of promoting Islamophobia.

In 2015, Donald Trump said that he would look at closing mosques in the United States. That same year he was open to the idea of creating a database

of all U.S. Muslims. As President, he instituted a Muslim ban. So that is the Republican Party's recent history in terms of combating Islamophobia. Instead of combating it, he, again, threw gasoline on the fire and fanned the flames.

So the reason why this is important is so that we can show the world that that is not who we are and that we reject bigotry, hatred, discrimination, and prejudice wherever it exists. The statistics are clear: we see a rising tide of Islamophobia all throughout the world.

This should not be controversial. This, quite frankly, should be a suspension. That it has been politicized by some of my friends on the other side of the aisle is unfortunate, but I hope that some of them will at the end join with us in voting to pass it.

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

Mr. RESCENTIALER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. BURGESS), who is my good friend and fellow Rules Committee member.

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

Mr. Speaker, if we defeat the previous question, we will immediately consider the Strategic Production Response Act which will require the Secretary of Energy to develop a plan to increase energy production on Federal lands if oil in the Strategic Petroleum Reserve is used without a severe energy supply interruption. In November, the Biden administration announced the release of 50 million barrels of oil from the Strategic Petroleum Reserve to manipulate the market and address high energy prices that were created by his policies.

On his first day in office, President Biden weakened America's energy independence by rejoining the Paris climate agreement, blocking new energy development on Federal lands, and killing the Keystone pipeline. These are just a few examples of how this President's policies have slowed our Nation's economic recovery and will prevent us from reclaiming true energy independence.

Releasing oil from the Strategic Petroleum Reserve without an emergency declaration is unprecedented. No severe supply disruption exists, only a President who seeks to enact radical Green New Deal policies. Low Presidential approval ratings are not the emergency that Congress envisioned when the Strategic Petroleum Reserve was established in 1975.

The path to affordable energy is simple: increase supply to meet demand. Congress must reverse the policies that limit production of energy here at home. Clean energy is a priority for all Americans, but hurting domestic producers will only increase our Nation's dependence on dirty energy products from Russia, China, and the Middle East which are inherently less clean than American energy.

In conclusion, the Strategic Production Response Act ensures that a plan is in place to increase energy production before any President may use the Strategic Petroleum Reserve for purely political purposes.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to vote “no” on the previous question so we can consider this amendment.

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

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD a September 7 Associated Press article titled “Two Decades After 9/11, Muslim Americans Still Fighting Bias.”

[From AP, Sept. 7, 2021]

TWO DECADES AFTER 9/11, MUSLIM AMERICANS STILL FIGHTING BIAS

NEW YORK (AP)—A car passed, the driver’s window rolled down and the man spat an epithet at two little girls wearing their hijabs: “Terrorist!”

It was 2001, mere weeks after the twin towers at the World Trade Center fell, and 10-year-old Shahana Hanif and her younger sister were walking to the local mosque from their Brooklyn home.

Unsure, afraid, the girls ran.

As the 20th anniversary of the Sept. 11 terror attacks approaches, Hanif can still recall the shock of the moment, her confusion over how anyone could look at her, a child, and see a threat.

“It’s not a nice, kind word. It means violence, it means dangerous. It is meant to shock whoever . . . is on the receiving end of it,” she says.

But the incident also spurred a determination to speak out for herself and others that has helped get her to where she is today: a community organizer strongly favored to win a seat on the New York City Council in the upcoming municipal election.

Like Hanif, other young American Muslims have grown up under the shadow of 9/11. Many have faced hostility and surveillance, mistrust and suspicion, questions about their Muslim faith and doubts over their Americanness.

They’ve also found ways forward, ways to fight back against bias, to organize, to craft nuanced personal narratives about their identities. In the process, they’ve built bridges, challenged stereotypes and carved out new spaces for themselves.

There is “this sense of being Muslim as a kind of important identity marker, regardless of your relationship with Islam as a faith,” says Eman Abdelhadi, a sociologist at The University of Chicago who studies Muslim communities. “That’s been one of the main effects in people’s lives . . . it has shaped the ways the community has developed.”

A poll by The Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research conducted ahead of the 9/11 anniversary found that 53% of Americans have unfavorable views toward Islam, compared with 42% who have favorable ones. This stands in contrast to Americans’ opinions about Christianity and Judaism, for which most respondents expressed favorable views.

Mistrust and suspicion of Muslims didn’t start with 9/11, but the attacks dramatically intensified those animosities.

Accustomed to being ignored or targeted by low-level harassment, the country’s wide-ranging and diverse Muslim communities were foisted into the spotlight, says Youssef Chouhoud, a political scientist at Christopher Newport University in Virginia.

“Your sense of who you were was becoming more formed, not just Muslim but American Muslim,” he says. “What distinguished you

as an American Muslim? Could you be fully both, or did you have to choose? There was a lot of grappling with what that meant.”

In Hanif’s case, there was no blueprint to navigate the complexities of that time.

“Fifth-grader me wasn’t naive or too young to know Muslims are in danger,” she later wrote in an essay about the aftermath of 9/11. “. . . Flashing an American flag from our first-floor windows didn’t make me more American. Born in Brooklyn didn’t make me more American.”

A young Hanif gathered neighborhood friends, and an older cousin helped them write a letter to then-President George W. Bush asking for protection.

“We knew,” she says, “that we would become like warriors of this community.”

But being warriors often carries a price, with wounds that linger.

Ishaq Pathan, 26, recalls the time a boy told him he seemed angry and wondered if he was going to blow up their Connecticut school.

He remembers the helplessness he felt when he was taken aside at an airport for additional questioning upon returning to the United States after a college semester in Morocco.

The agent looked through his belongings, including the laptop where he kept a private journal, and started reading it.

“I remember being like, ‘Hey, do you have to read that?’” Pathan says. The agent “just looks at me like, ‘You know, I can read anything on your computer. I’m entitled to anything here.’ And at that point, I remember having tears in my eyes. I was completely and utterly powerless.”

Pathan couldn’t accept it.

“You go to school with other people of different backgrounds and you realize . . . what the promise of the United States is,” he says. “And when you see it not living up to that promise, then I think it instills in us a sense of wanting to help and fix that.”

He now works as the San Francisco Bay Area director for the nonprofit Islamic Networks Group, where he hopes to help a younger generation grow confident in their Muslim identity.

Pathan recently chatted with a group of boys about their summer activities. At times, the boys ate watermelon or played on a trampoline. At other moments, the talk turned serious: What would they do if a student pretended to blow himself up while yelling “Allahu akbar,” or “God is great?” What can they do about stereotypical depictions of Muslims on TV?

“I had always viewed 9/11 as probably one of the most pivotal moments of my life and of the lives of Americans across the board,” Pathan says. “The aftermath of it . . . is what pushed me to do what I do today.”

That aftermath has also helped motivate Shukri Olow to do what she is doing—run for office.

Born in Somalia, Olow fled civil war with her family and lived in refugee camps in Kenya for years before coming to the United States when she was 10.

She found home in a vibrant public housing complex in the city of Kent, south of Seattle. There, residents from different countries communicated across language and cultural barriers, borrowing salt from each other or watching one another’s kids. Olow felt she flourished in that environment.

Then 9/11 happened. She recalls feeling confused when a teacher asked her, “What are your people doing?” But she also remembers others who “said that this isn’t our fault . . . and we need to make sure that you’re safe.”

In a 2017 Pew Research Center survey of U.S. Muslims, nearly half of respondents said they experienced at least one instance of religious discrimination within the year be-

fore; yet 49% said someone expressed support for them because of their religion in the previous year.

Overwhelmingly, the study found respondents proud to be both Muslim and American. For some, including Olow, there were occasional identity crises growing up.

“Who am I?”—which I think is what many young people kind of go through in life in general,” she says. “But for those of us who live at the intersection of anti-Blackness and Islamophobia . . . it was really hard.”

But her experiences from that time also helped form her identity. She is now seeking a seat on the King County Council.

“There are many young people who have multiple identities who have felt that they don’t belong here, that they are not welcomed here,” she says. “I was one of those young people. And so, I try to do what I can to make sure that more of us know that this is our nation, too.”

After 9/11, some American Muslims chose to dispel misconceptions about their faith by building personal connections. They shared coffee or broke bread with strangers as they fielded myriad questions—from how Islam views women and Jesus to how to combat extremism.

Mansoor Shams has traveled across the U.S. with a sign that reads: “I’m Muslim and a U.S. Marine, ask anything.” It’s part of the 39-year-old’s efforts to teach others about his faith and counter hate through dialogue.

Shams, who served in the Marines from 2000 to 2004, was called names like “Taliban,” “terrorist” and “Osama bin Laden” by some of his fellow Marines after 9/11.

One of his most memorable interactions, he says, was at Liberty University in Virginia, where he spoke in 2019 to students of the Christian institution. Some, he says, still call him with questions about Islam.

“There’s this mutual love and respect,” he says.

Shams wishes his current work wasn’t needed but feels a responsibility to share a counternarrative he says many Americans don’t know.

Ahmed Ali Akbar, 33, came to a different conclusion.

Shortly after 9/11, some adults in his community arranged for an assembly at his school in Saginaw, Michigan, where he and other students talked about Islam and Muslims. Akbar poured his heart into the research. But he recalls his confusion at some of the questions: Where is bin Laden? What’s the reason behind the attacks?

“How am I supposed to know where Osama bin Laden is? I’m an American kid,” he says.

That period left him feeling like trying to change people’s minds wasn’t always effective, that some were not ready to listen.

Akbar eventually turned his focus toward telling stories about Muslim Americans on his podcast “See Something Say Something.”

“There’s a lot of humor in the Muslim American experience as well,” he says. “It’s not all just sadness and reaction to the violence and . . . racism and Islamophobia.”

He has also come to believe in building connections of a different type. “Our battle for our civil liberties (is) tied up with other marginalized communities,” he says, stressing the importance of advocating for them.

For some, 9/11 brought a different kind of racial reckoning, says Debbie Almontaser, a Yemeni American educator and activist in New York.

She says many Arab and South Asian immigrants came to the U.S. seeking the American Dream as doctors, lawyers, entrepreneurs. “Then 9/11 happens and they realize that they’re brown and they realize that they’re minorities—that was a huge wake-up call,” Almontaser says.

Some racial tensions play out today in U.S. Muslim communities. The racial justice protests sparked by the killing of George Floyd, for instance, brought many Muslims to the streets to condemn racism. But they also spurred an internal reckoning about racial equity among Muslims, including the treatment of Black Muslims.

"For me, as a Muslim African American, my struggle (in America) is still with race and identity," says imam Ali Aqeel of the Muslim American Cultural Center in Nashville, Tennessee.

"When we go to (Islamic) centers and we have to deal with the same pain that we deal with out in the world, it's kind of discouraging to us because we're under the impression that (in) Islam, you don't have that racial and ethnic divide."

Amirah Ahmed, 17, was born after the attacks and feels like she was thrust into a struggle not of her making—a burden despite being "just as American as anyone else."

She recalls how a few years ago at her Virginia school's 9/11 commemoration, she felt students' stares at her and her hijab so intensely that she wanted to skip the next year's event.

When her mother dismissed the idea, she instead wore her Americanness as a shield, donning an American flag headscarf to address her classmates from a podium.

Ahmed spoke about honoring the lives of those who died in America on 9/11—but also of Iraqis who died in the war launched in 2003. She recalls defending her Arab and Muslim identities that day while displaying her American one and says it was a "really powerful moment."

But she hopes her future children don't feel the need to prove they belong.

"Our kids are going to be (here) well after the 9/11 era," she says. "They should not have to continue fighting for their identity."

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, a recent poll, as I mentioned earlier, found that 53 percent of Americans, unfortunately, hold negative views of Muslims—53 percent. Islamophobia isn't just a problem abroad. We need to combat it here at home as well.

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD a December 9 report released by the Department of Justice titled "2020 Hate Crimes Statistics."

2020 HATE CRIMES STATISTICS

In August 2021, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) released Hate Crime Statistics 2020, an annual compilation of bias-motivated incidents in the United States. Though the number of reporting agencies decreased by 452 since 2019, the overall number of reported incidents increased by 949, contributing to a total of 8,263 hate crime incidents against 11,126 victims in 2020. While annual law enforcement agency participation may fluctuate, the statistics indicate that hate crimes remain a concern for communities across the country.

According to this year's data, 62% of victims were targeted because of the offenders' bias toward race/ethnicity/ancestry, which continues to be the largest bias motivation category. Participating agencies reported 5,227 race/ethnicity/ancestry-based incidents in 2020, a 32% increase from 2019. Anti-Black or African American hate crimes continue to be the largest bias incident victim category, with 2,871 incidents in 2020, a 49% increase since 2019. Additionally, there were 279 anti-Asian incidents reported in 2020, a 77% increase since 2019. The other largest categories of hate crimes include anti-Hispanic or Latino incidents, with 517, and anti-White incidents, with 869 in total.

Incidents related to religion decreased 18% from 2019, with 1,244 total incidents reported. The largest category included:

683 anti-Jewish incidents, down 28% since 2019;

110 anti-Muslim incidents, down 38%;
15 anti-Buddhist incidents, up 200%; and
89 anti-Sikh incidents, up 83%.

Incidents related to disability decreased 17% from 2019, with 130 total incidents reported. By category:

Anti-mental disability incidents decreased by 29% since 2019, and

Anti-physical disability incidents increased by 8%.

Incidents related to gender and gender identity increased since 2019 with increases in gender-related incidents by 9% and gender identity-related incidents by 34%. There were:

50 anti-female incidents, a decrease of 4% since 2019;

25 anti-male incidents, an increase of 47%;
213 anti-transgender incidents, an increase of 41%; and

53 anti-gender non-conforming incidents, an increase of 13%.

See the Hate Crimes website for more highlights from the data: <https://www.justice.gov/hatecrimes/hate-crime-statistics>. The full data set can be found on the FBI's Crime Data Explorer website at <https://crime-data-explorer.app.cloud.gov/pages/explorer/crime/hate-crime>.

The FBI Hate Crime Statistics is an annual compilation of bias-motivated incidents in the United States. For the purpose of the report, a hate crime is defined as a criminal offense which is motivated, in whole or in part, by the offender's bias(es) against a person based on race, ethnicity, ancestry, religion, sexual orientation, disability, gender, and gender identity. The 2020 data provides information voluntarily submitted from 15,136 of 18,623 law enforcement agencies around the country on offenses, victims, offenders, and locations of hate crimes.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, according to FBI statistics, in 2020 there were 110 anti-Muslim incidents, and there were an additional 89 hate crimes against Sikhs who are often wrongly identified as Muslim.

We know that hate crimes often go under-reported, so the actual number is likely much higher, which is another reason I think passing this bill is important.

I include in the RECORD a September 10 Business Insider article titled "House Republicans Mocked Ilhan Omar's Bill to Establish an Envoy to Combat Islamophobia Worldwide."

[From the Business Insider, Dec. 10, 2021]

HOUSE REPUBLICANS MOCKED ILHAN OMAR'S BILL TO ESTABLISH AN ENVOY TO COMBAT ISLAMOPHOBIA WORLDWIDE

(Bryan Metzger)

In the wake of Rep. Lauren Boebert's Islamophobia comments suggesting that Rep. Ilhan Omar was a suicide bomber, House Republicans spent much of a Thursday hearing mocking a bill put forth by the Muslim Minnesota congresswoman to combat Islamophobia worldwide.

"I have many Pennsylvania Dutch that feel that they're not treated properly," said Rep. Dan Meuser of Pennsylvania, sarcastically calling for their inclusion in Omar's Islamophobia bill. "How about those that are gay, you know, the LGBTQ community? That should be part of this bill."

"Let's keep going, you know, there are people that are overweight, and there are skinny kids that get picked on," Meuser added. "Why aren't they included in this as well?"

Rep. Omar's bill, which she introduced in late October alongside Democratic Rep. Jan Schakowsky of Illinois, would require the State Department to establish a special envoy for monitoring and combating Islamophobia and is modeled after a similar position created in 2004 to combat anti-Semitism.

"For over a decade we have seen increasing incidents of violent Islamophobia both in the US and worldwide—from the genocide of the Rohingya in Burma, and Uyghurs in China, to the attacks on Muslim refugees in Canada and New Zealand," Rep. Schakowsky said at the time.

"Hate crimes against American Muslims saw a 17% spike in 2017, when then-President Trump imposed a travel ban most focused on majority-Muslim nations.

The bill ultimately passed the House Foreign Relations Committee on Friday, with every Democrat voting in favor and every Republican opposed, and is expected to head to a full House vote on Tuesday. Democratic leadership is reportedly considering a vote on the bill as way to respond to the Boebert controversy, even as progressive lawmakers have introduced a resolution to strip Boebert of her committees.

House Republican leaders, including Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy and Minority Whip Steve Scalise, have declined to forcefully condemn Boebert's Islamophobia rhetoric or take any meaningful action against her.

'SHAMEFUL AND EMBARRASSING'

On Thursday evening, Republicans used both proposed amendments to Omar's bill and comments during the hearing to mock both the bill and Omar herself, in addition to downplaying Islamophobia.

Republican Rep. Steve Chabot of Ohio, who accidentally posted an image from an anti-Semitic website in 2017, said that Omar's bill would "trivialize" anti-Semitism, given the existence of another State Department post to combat that form of bigotry. "We should avoid such a dangerous false equivalency at all costs, as it could be used by some extremists to actually justify further anti-Semitic activity," said Chabot.

"If you ask 20 different people what Islamophobia means today, especially in the Democratic Party, you're going to get 20 different answers," said the Florida Republican. "And that answer is going to be what they decide best fits their political narrative to go out there and attack you."

And Republican Rep. Ken Buck of Ohio offered an amendment to specify that it "shall not be considered Islamophobia for an individual to criticize a brother marrying a sister for the purpose of committing immigration fraud in the United States," an apparent reference to long-standing right-wing conspiracy theories about the congresswoman.

As of publication time, the amendment was no longer available on the House Foreign Relations Committee website and was presumably withdrawn. Rep. Buck's office did not respond to Insider's request for comment.

But other amendments by Buck, including one mentioning female genital mutilation, remained online. Another amendment offered by Republican Rep. Scott Perry of Pennsylvania sought to exclude "any action (to include counter-terrorism measures) taken by the Israeli Government" from the bill.

In a statement to Insider, Omar condemned Republican behavior during the hearing.

"It is shameful and embarrassing that the Republican Party's response to blatant Islamophobia and incitement of violence is

to double down on anti-Muslim rhetoric," she said. "Instead of engaging in a good faith discussion on how to address the rise of Islamophobic violence, Republicans engaged in ad hominem attacks, belittled Muslims, and minimized the pain of Muslim communities around the world."

And Democrats on the committee sought to defend Omar's bill.

"One reason the United States is doing a diplomatic boycott of the Olympics in China is because China's engaging in a genocide of Muslims, of the Uyghurs, because of their religion," said Rep. Ted Lieu of California. "The Rohingya in Burma were slaughtered because they were Muslims."

He also called attention to Boebert's Islamophobic remarks.

"We had a congressman from the Republican Party joke about a congressman in the Democratic Party, that somehow she was a terrorist simply because of a religion," Lieu said. "That's Islamophobia."

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I don't know what the hell is going on in some corners of the Republican Conference, but to have Republican Members mock this bill, as they did during a recent committee hearing, is disgusting. This is no laughing matter. In fact, it is a matter of life and death.

We are talking about violence, death threats, bullying, desecrating mosques, and worse. Instances like that just show why we need to pass this bill.

Again, my Republican friends, as they do oftentimes when we have important matters like this up, they want to talk about everything except what is on the floor. But the reason why this is important is because I think we should show the world that we speak with one voice; that we are against hatred; that we are against bigotry; that we will not stand by silently in the face of Islamophobia; that we want to be an example, and we want to lead the rest of the world.

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

Mr. RESCENTIALER. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. SCALISE).

Mr. SCALISE. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend from Pennsylvania for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the underlying legislation that we are trying to bring to the floor which, if we defeat the previous question, would actually come up to confront a major problem facing families.

If you look over the last few weeks, Mr. Speaker, this Congress has done a lot of things. It has spent a lot of money. There was a bill just 2 weeks ago to raise over \$4.5 trillion in taxes and new spending, which would fuel inflation even higher.

What families across America are telling us is: Why doesn't Congress work for those families who are struggling?

Why doesn't Congress work to confront the challenges they are facing every single day?

It seems as if this majority is tone-deaf to the real problems that are hurting families today. It is inflation, and

it is the spending in Washington that is driving that inflation. And one of those leading indicators is the high price of gasoline because it is something that maybe multiple times a week families have to go fill up their car. They pay over \$150 to do it, and they can't afford it.

So we have a bill to actually do something about that, something we haven't seen on this floor for weeks. It is a bill to actually confront a crisis that was created by this President. Unfortunately, there are crises after crises that have been created by President Biden.

One of those is an energy crisis self-created by President Biden. When he walked in the door prices were 40 to 60 percent less for gasoline. When you go to the grocery store everything is more expensive, Mr. Speaker; and if you are shopping for Christmas, things are more expensive if you can even find those gifts that you want to put under the tree.

So here we bring a bill, if we are able to defeat this previous question, to confront one of these challenges. And that is how this President has abused the Strategic Petroleum Reserve because the Strategic Petroleum Reserve is not supposed to be a piggy bank to cover up for the failed policies of the Biden administration. Yet that is what they have done.

Mr. Speaker, when you saw the President raid the SPR the other day, we actually had an increase in prices because people recognize this President isn't serious about addressing the problem.

This bill by Republican Leader MCMORRIS RODGERS of the Energy and Commerce Committee, as well as FRED UPTON, myself, and others would force the Departments of the Interior and Energy to confront this crisis.

By the way, when President Biden goes and begs OPEC and Russia to produce more oil, how about we start here at home where we have actually got a surplus?

□ 1345

We were exporting oil to our friends all around the world, helping our friends geopolitically. And that was undermined when President Biden cut off the Keystone pipeline, cut off production on Federal lands, but he greenlighted the Russian pipeline. He begged OPEC to produce more oil, which, by the way, emits more carbon if that is what you are concerned about.

Mr. Speaker, why don't we focus on those things that will help American jobs and help lower carbon emissions? That is producing more American energy, and do you know what else it does? It lowers the price of gasoline. I urge rejection of the previous question.

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

Mr. RESCENTIALER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. CRENSHAW), my good friend.

Mr. CRENSHAW. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, 'tis the season of misplaced priorities. In the midst of rising inflation, labor shortages, open borders, and foreign policy blunders, my colleagues seem to think that Islamophobia is what Americans care about.

I would rather talk about something that Americans actually care about: gassing up their cars and keeping the heat on. In November, President Biden said: "... the reason Americans are facing high gas prices is because oil-producing countries and large companies have not ramped up the supply of oil quickly enough to meet the demand, and the smaller supply means higher prices. . . ."

Well, that is true. But he is not making the point that he thinks he is. Yes, there is a lack of production, but the question is why. Why has the world's number one oil and gas producer, the United States, not been able to ramp up production? The answer is actually simple: because Joe Biden has made it a priority to kill the American energy industry.

President Biden cancelled the Keystone pipeline, outlawed new oil and gas leases on Federal lands and waters, and has threatened even more burdensome regulations that put a freezing effect on any kind of new production that even Biden himself recognizes is needed.

Of course, most recently, with the help of even my colleagues from Texas on the Democrat side, they managed to pass an unprecedented tax on natural gas through the House as part of their socialist spending package.

It gets more interesting. In a letter to Speaker PELOSI, seven Texas Democrats put the natural gas tax in stark terms saying: This tax will "cost thousands of jobs, stifle economic recovery, increase energy costs for all Americans, strengthen our adversaries, and ultimately impede the transition to a lower carbon future."

These are very strong and very true words from my Democratic colleagues, but guess what? They voted for it anyways. And now Democrats are scrambling because they know Americans are starting to feel the pain of their policies. It has gotten so bad that Democrats are celebrating a two-cent decline in gas prices. Oh, I thank Joe Biden for the two-cent decline.

It would be funny if it weren't so serious that the Energy Secretary doesn't even know that their plan to release from the strategic petroleum reserve was only about 2 days' worth of oil. There is nothing funny about this. And the administration responds by telling people to put on a sweater and buy an electric vehicle.

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

You know, we face a lot of challenges in this country and, in large part, we are still trying to come out of a pandemic that the previous administration tried to ignore.

We actually have done some good things. We passed a major infrastructure bill. In the previous administration we had infrastructure week and infrastructure month, and a press conference, but we actually passed a real infrastructure bill with bipartisan support over in the Senate and a handful of Republicans here.

I say to the previous speaker, to suggest that the American people don't care about Islamophobia, I think, is insulting. I mean, you say that to the Muslim student being bullied in a classroom because of their faith, or say that to a Muslim worshipper at a mosque that has been attacked, or say that to a Muslim family that has been belittled because of ignorances being promoted by some, including some in this Chamber.

I mean, please, the American people are good and decent. They do not want to accept prejudice and bigotry and hate and discrimination. They expect better.

We heard some talk earlier about the Uyghurs, and we need to do more for the Uyghurs, which we are doing, but I got a little whiplash saying that we need to move faster to combat the atrocities against the Muslim Uyghur population, but then on the other hand, we are told that nobody cares. You can't have it both ways.

But to suggest that the American people are indifferent to prejudice is something I won't accept.

I reserve the balance of my time.

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

I didn't anticipate that we were going to talk about the pandemic, but since we are on the topic, let's just get one thing clear. There have been more deaths from this pandemic under President Biden than under President Trump. Remember, President Trump is the one that put forth Operation Warp Speed with our pharmaceutical industry to get a vaccine to market incredibly quick, in fact, in record-breaking time. So again, there were more deaths under President Biden than President Trump. So who is really ignoring the pandemic?

Let's talk about the Uyghurs. The Chinese openly and proudly refer to Uyghur concentration camps as reeducation camps. It is a sin how the Chinese are trying to cover up the modern-day concentration camps they have. They claim they are necessary to "rid them of terrorists and extremist leanings."

In these camps you have torture like sleep deprivation; people are being hung from walls; people are being locked in what is called a tiger chair, a steel chair with fixed leg irons and handcuffs that render their body immobile, often in very painful positions. Chinese officials have created a massive nearly week-long bonfire to burn documents that regard the oversight of these camps.

It is time that we call out the Chinese Communist Party for the atroc-

ities they are committing on the Uyghurs.

When we are talking about legislation on this point it is actually the Speaker that slow-walked legislation by as much as 5 months. Let me explain the legislative history. The Senate passed the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act, which bans imports of goods made with forced Uyghur labor, in July of 2021 unanimously. That was in the Senate. Top House Democrats pointed to a procedural issue and promised future action and then finally passed the bill in December. Again, a 5-month delay for what?

Well, according to reports, the Speaker slow-walked this bill at the request of the Biden administration, who prioritized climate change and climate reforms over human rights violations in China. Further, the Biden administration asked that the bill be watered down, which is truly disgusting when you look at the human rights violations going on in China.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Georgia (Mrs. GREENE).

Mrs. GREENE of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the Islamophobia bill. One thing that seems to be missing from this bill is the definition of Islamophobia. What this bill does is it sets up, through the State Department, an envoy to monitor and combat acts of Islamophobia and Islamophobic incitement that occur in foreign countries. This is about Islamophobia in foreign countries and the State Department monitoring and combating these acts. This is what we need to talk about. What does that exactly mean?

If we pass this resolution, does that mean our State Department is going to be monitoring how Israel responds when rockets are being fired from Hamas into Israel? If they defend themselves, does that mean the State Department is going to combat their actions because it will be considered Islamophobic? More questions need to be asked.

In Europe, there are no-go zones with high crime statistics. As a matter of fact, rape is a modern occurrence that happens all the time in these no-go zones. So if women are raped by Muslims in no-go zones and they want to file charges against them, is our State Department going to be monitoring those trials and then combating these women's defense because they are claiming it is Islamophobic because Muslim men raped them and that becomes part of the conversation?

What exactly does this mean, and why is our State Department taking this on? It shouldn't be. As a matter of fact, this is a bill that we should not be debating. This is a bill we should not be voting on because the United States State Department doesn't need to be monitoring and combating Islamophobia when it is not even defined in the bill for foreign countries; not the United States of America.

I have heard a lot of conversation from my colleagues across the aisle about Islamophobia in America, which we completely are against hate of any kind against anyone. And that is why we have laws against such hateful crimes and actions. But monitoring what is happening in foreign countries, which the State Department does, doesn't mean that it needs to combat Islamophobia when it is not even defined in the bill.

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

Mr. RESCHENTHALER. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentlewoman an additional 15 seconds to summarize.

Mrs. GREENE of Georgia. This is a vote for every single person in Congress that should be "no" because this is an open door with no end to the book of where this can go for the United States of America, and this is a role that we should not be engaging in.

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

I appreciate the fact that the gentleman yielded the gentlewoman more time because that made absolutely no sense to me.

Mr. Speaker, let me just say to the gentleman from Pennsylvania on the Uyghur thing; let me repeat the history again so it is clear to him. A year ago, we passed the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act in the House. It went over to the Senate. MITCH MCCONNELL and Donald Trump killed it. Nobody said a word.

The bill that passed last week that the gentleman was referring to is my bill. The bill that we are going to take up later today is my bill that we negotiated the differences between the House and Senate with Senator RUBIO. The gentleman will be happy to know that the bill that we are passing today is stronger than the Senate-passed version. Maybe he would prefer a weaker version because that is what a lot of corporations that are very friendly to my Republican friends are now lobbying very hard for: a watered-down bill.

So this bill is not watered down. It is a stronger bill than passed the Senate. I would even like it to be stronger. But please, don't politicize human rights in a way where I think, to be fair, my friend is mischaracterizing what the history of this issue is. I don't take a back seat to anybody when it comes to human rights or it comes to human rights with regard to the Uyghurs. We have been fighting for this for a long time and we finally have a Speaker of the House and a President of the United States who will sign this bill when it gets there. And I want to thank the leadership in the Senate. I want to thank Senator RUBIO. I want to thank Congressman SMITH here in the House, Ranking Member McCaul, and Chairman MEEKS for their cooperation.

But we are moving a bill forward that has teeth, that is real, that is tough. It is the strongest bill we have

ever passed on this. But please don't politicize it. I have been working on this too long.

I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. RESCENTIALER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time as I have no further speakers at this time, and I am prepared to close.

I applaud Chairman MCGOVERN for his work on this piece of legislation. I applaud Senator RUBIO, of course, and my colleague, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, for working on the legislation. And just to clarify, when I was talking about the watered-down version that the administration is trying to water down, I was talking about the Senate version of this bill. If I misspoke, I want to clarify the RECORD now. That is what I was speaking to.

But, again, I applaud anybody who is working on holding the Chinese Communist Party accountable for the atrocities they are committing on the Uyghurs. Let me be clear about something: House Republicans will continue to stand against all forms of hate and Islamophobia. We will continue to stand with Uyghurs in China and with all people experiencing religious persecution.

Unfortunately, H.R. 5665, this piece of legislation, is a rushed bill. It presents serious First Amendment concerns. It will complicate existing efforts to protect human rights and religious freedom around the globe. It is also incredibly duplicative. We already have the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. We already have the Office of International Religious Freedom. We already have the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom. We already have institutions and bodies that are focused on this.

For those reasons, I urge my colleagues to vote "no" on the previous question and "no" on the rule. I yield back the balance of my time.

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

Mr. Speaker, let me just say again that this really shouldn't be controversial at all, and I am sad that it is being politicized by some of my friends on the other side of the aisle. We have heard one objection after the next to this bill which condemns Islamophobia as if somehow condemning Islamophobia is some sort of a radical idea.

I never thought I would yearn for the Republicanism of George W. Bush. But maybe things have gotten so out of control in the Republican Party today that Members cannot even stand here and publicly defend a Muslim from bullying or worse. I pray that is not the case.

Some things are about more than petty partisanship and towing the party line. This should be one of them.

□ 1400

We have kids being bullied in school, hate crimes on the rise, mosques targeted for violence. That is just here in America. Around the world, Muslims

are being silenced from public discourse, forced into detention camps, or disappeared altogether.

We are a Nation founded on the right to freedom of religion and freedom of worship. It is a fundamental part of being the United States of America. We must stand up and say that this is not right, the rise in Islamaphobia that we see globally.

I want to recognize the leadership of Congresswoman OMAR, Congresswoman SCHAKOWSKY, and Chairman MEEKS. They understand that this is the right thing to do. It is the American thing to do. They have worked tirelessly to get this bill to the House floor.

Now, we must get this bill over the finish line and on to the Senate because even today, even in this highly partisan era, the United States must and can still stand for human rights at home and abroad.

Mr. Speaker, I urge all of my colleagues to vote "yes" on this rule and the underlying legislation.

The material previously referred to by Mr. RESCENTIALER is as follows:

AMENDMENT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 849

At the end of the resolution, add the following:

SEC. 2. Immediately upon adoption of this resolution, the House shall proceed to the consideration in the House of the bill (H.R. 6235) to provide for the development of a plan to increase oil and gas production under oil and gas leases of Federal lands under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Energy, the Secretary of the Interior, and the Secretary of Defense in conjunction with a drawdown of petroleum reserves from the Strategic Petroleum Reserve. All points of order against consideration of the bill are waived. The bill shall be considered as read. All points of order against provisions in the bill are waived. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and on any amendment thereto to final passage without intervening motion except: (1) one hour of debate equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Energy and Commerce; and (2) one motion to recommit.

SEC. 3. Clause 1(c) of rule XIX shall not apply to the consideration of H.R. 6235.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. JOHNSON of Georgia). The question is on ordering the previous question.

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

Mr. RESCENTIALER. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to section 3(s) of House Resolution 8, the yeas and nays are ordered.

Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, further proceedings are postponed.

RELATING TO THE CONSIDERATION OF HOUSE REPORT 117-216 AND AN ACCOMPANYING RESOLUTION

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, the unfin-

ished business is the vote on ordering the previous question on the resolution (H. Res. 848) relating to the consideration of House Report 117-216 and an accompanying resolution, on which the yeas and nays were ordered.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

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

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 218, nays 209, not voting 6, as follows:

[Roll No. 441]

YEAS—218

Adams	Garcia (TX)	O'Halleran
Aguilar	Golden	Omar
Allred	Gomez	Pallone
Auchincloss	Gonzalez,	Panetta
Axne	Vicente	Pappas
Barragan	Gottheimer	Pascarell
Bass	Green, Al (TX)	Payne
Beatty	Grijalva	Perlmutter
Bera	Harder (CA)	Peters
Beyer	Hayes	Phillips
Bishop (GA)	Higgins (NY)	Pingree
Blumenauer	Himes	Pocan
Blunt Rochester	Horsford	Porter
Bonamici	Houlihan	Pressley
Bourdeaux	Hoyer	Price (NC)
Bowman	Huffman	Quigley
Boyle, Brendan	Jackson Lee	Raskin
F.	Jacobs (CA)	Ross
Brown (MD)	Jayapal	Roybal-Allard
Brown (OH)	Jeffries	Ruiz
Brownley	Johnson (GA)	Ruppersberger
Bush	Jones	Rush
Bustos	Kahele	Ryan
Butterfield	Kaptur	Sánchez
Carbajal	Keating	Sarbames
Cárdenas	Kelly (IL)	Scanlon
Carson	Khanna	Schakowsky
Carter (LA)	Kildee	Schiff
Cartwright	Kilmer	Schneider
Case	Kim (NJ)	Schradler
Casten	Kind	Schrier
Castor (FL)	Kinzinger	Scott (VA)
Castro (TX)	Kirkpatrick	Scott, David
Cheney	Krishnamoorthi	Sewell
Chu	Kuster	Sherman
Ciulline	Lamb	Sherrill
Clark (MA)	Langevin	Sires
Clarke (NY)	Larsen (WA)	Slotkin
Cleaver	Larson (CT)	Smith (WA)
Clyburn	Lawrence	Soto
Cohen	Lawson (FL)	Spanberger
Connolly	Lee (CA)	Speier
Cooper	Lee (NV)	Stansbury
Correa	Leger Fernandez	Stanton
Costa	Levin (CA)	Stevens
Courtney	Levin (MI)	Strickland
Craig	Lieu	Suozi
Crist	Lofgren	Swalwell
Crow	Lowenthal	Takano
Cuellar	Luria	Thompson (CA)
Davids (KS)	Lynch	Thompson (MS)
Davis, Danny K.	Malinowski	Titus
Dean	Maloney,	Tlaib
DeFazio	Carolyn B.	Tonko
DeGette	Maloney, Sean	Torres (CA)
DeLauro	Manning	Torres (NY)
DelBene	Matsui	Trahan
Delgado	McBath	Trone
Demings	McCullum	Underwood
DeSaulnier	McEachin	Vargas
Deutch	McGovern	Veasey
Dingell	McNerney	Vela
Doggett	Meeks	Velázquez
Doyle, Michael	Meng	Wasserman
F.	Mfume	Schultz
Escobar	Moore (WI)	Waters
Eshoo	Morelle	Watson Coleman
Espallat	Moulton	Welch
Evans	Mrvan	Wexton
Fletcher	Nadler	Wild
Foster	Napolitano	Williams (GA)
Frankel, Lois	Neal	Wilson (FL)
Gallego	Neguse	Yarmuth
Garamendi	Newman	
Garcia (IL)	Norcross	

NAYS—209

Aderholt Gohmert Moolenaar
 Allen Gonzales, Tony Mooney
 Amodei Gonzalez (OH) Moore (AL)
 Armstrong Good (VA) Moore (UT)
 Arrington Gooden (TX) Mullin
 Babin Gosar Murphy (NC)
 Bacon Granger Nehls
 Baird Graves (LA) Newhouse
 Balderson Graves (MO) Norman
 Banks Green (TN) Nunes
 Barr Greene (GA) Obernolte
 Bentz Griffith Owens
 Bergman Grothman Palazzo
 Bice (OK) Guest Palmer
 Biggs Guthrie Pence
 Bilirakis Hagedorn Perry
 Bishop (NC) Harris Pfluger
 Boebert Harshbarger Posey
 Bost Hartzler Reed
 Brady Hern Reschenthaler
 Brooks Herrell Rice (SC)
 Buchanan Herrera Beutler Rodgers (WA)
 Buck Hice (GA) Rogers (AL)
 Bucshon Hill Rogers (KY)
 Budd Hinson Rose
 Burchett Hollingsworth Rosendale
 Burgess Hudson Rouzer
 Calvert Huizenga Roy
 Cammack Issa Rutherford
 Carey Jackson Salazar
 Carl Jacobs (NY) Scalise
 Carter (GA) Johnson (LA) Schweikert
 Carter (TX) Johnson (OH) Scott, Austin
 Cawthorn Johnson (SD) Sessions
 Chabot Jordan Simpson
 Cline Joyce (OH) Smith (MO)
 Cloud Joyce (PA) Smith (NE)
 Clyde Katko Smith (NJ)
 Cole Keller Smucker
 Comer Kelly (MS) Spartz
 Crawford Kelly (PA) Stauber
 Crenshaw Kim (CA) Steel
 Curtis Kustoff Stefanik
 Davidson LaHood Steil
 Davis, Rodney LaMalfa Steube
 DesJarlais Lamborn Stewart
 Diaz-Balart Latta Taylor
 Donalds LaTurner Tenney
 Duncan Lesko Thompson (PA)
 Dunn Letlow Tiffany
 Ellzey Long Timmons
 Emmer Loudermilk Turner
 Estes Lucas Upton
 Fallon Luetkemeyer Valadao
 Feenstra Mace Van Drew
 Ferguson Malliotakis Van Duyne
 Fischbach Mann Wagner
 Fitzgerald Massie Walberg
 Fitzpatrick Mast Walorski
 Fleischmann McCarthy Waltz
 Fortenberry McCaul Weber (TX)
 Fox McClain Webster (FL)
 Franklin, C. McClintock Wenstrup
 Scott McHenry Westerman
 Fulcher McKinley Williams (TX)
 Gallagher Meijer Wilson (SC)
 Garbarino Meuser Wittman
 Garcia (CA) Miller (IL) Womack
 Gibbs Miller (WV) Young
 Gimenez Miller-MEEKS Zeldin

NOT VOTING—6

Gaetz Johnson (TX) Ocasio-Cortez
 Higgins (LA) Murphy (FL) Rice (NY)

□ 1439

Messrs. BURCHETT and LUCAS changed their vote from “yea” to “nay.”

So the previous question was ordered. The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

Stated for:

Ms. OCASIO-CORTEZ. Mr. Speaker, while in a meeting with constituents, I missed the rollcall No. 441 vote. Had I been present, I would have voted “yea” on rollcall No. 441.

MEMBERS RECORDED PURSUANT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 8, 117TH CONGRESS

Allred (Davids (KS))	Armstrong (Johnson (SD))	Barragán (Beyer)
Amodei (Balderson)	Axne (Wild)	Bass (Cicilline)
	Baird (Bucshon)	Bera (Aguilar)

Bilirakis (Fleischmann) Hayes (Wild)
 Blumenauer Herrera Beutler
 (Beyer) (Rice (SC))
 Bonamici Horsford (Carter
 (Kuster) (LA))
 Bowman (Pocan) Huffman (Levin
 (CA))
 Boyle, Brendan Jacobs (CA)
 F. (Evans) (Correa)
 Brooks (Moore) Jacobs (NY)
 (AL) (Garbarino)
 Brownley Jackson (Van
 (Kuster) Dwyne)
 Buchanan Jayapal (Raskin)
 (Waltz) Jones (Craig)
 Butterfield Joyce (OH)
 (Kildee) (Garbarino)
 Carl (Joyce (PA)) Kabele (Mrvan)
 Calvert (Garcia) Katko (Meijer
 (CA)) Keller (Joyce
 Cárdenas (PA))
 (Gomez) Khanna
 Carter (TX) (Connolly)
 (Weber (TX)) Kilmer (Kildee)
 Case (Correa) Kim (CA)
 Cawthorn (Gonzalez
 (McClain) (OH))
 Clark (MA) Kinzinger
 (Kuster) (Meijer)
 Cohen (Beyer) Kirkpatrick
 Crist (Soto) (Pallone)
 Cuellar (Green) Krishnamoorthi
 (TX) (Brown (MD))
 Curtis (Stewart) Lamborn (Bacon)
 DeFazio (Brown) Lawson (FL)
 (MD)) (Evans)
 DelBene (Larsen) Leger Fernandez
 (WA)) (Gallego)
 DeGette (Blunt) Lesko (Joyce
 Rochester) (PA))
 DeSaulnier Long (Banks)
 (Beyer) Loudermilk
 Diaz-Balart (Fleischmann)
 (Reschenthaler) Lowenthal
 Doggett (Raskin) (Beyer)
 Donalds (Mann) Luetkemeyer
 Doyle, Michael (McHenry)
 F. (Evans) Maloney,
 Escobar (Garcia) Carolyn B.
 (TX)) (Wasserman
 Espallat Schultz)
 (Correa) Mast (Waltz)
 Fletcher McEachin
 (Raskin) (Brown (MD))
 Frankel, Lois Meng (Kuster)
 (Kuster) Meuser
 Garamendi (Reschenthaler)
 (Sherman) Mfume (Brown
 Gohmert (Weber) (MD))
 (TX)) Miller (WV) (Van
 Gonzalez, Dwyne)
 Vicente Moore (UT)
 (Correa) (Stewart)
 Gosar (Boebert) Nadler (Pallone)
 Granger Napolitano
 (Arrington) (Correa)
 Green (TN) Neal (Beyer)
 (Fleischmann) Neguse
 Grijalva (Perlmutter)
 (Stanton) Nehls (Fallon)
 Guthrie Newman (Wild)
 (Bucshon) Nunes (Garcia
 (CA))
 Hagedorn O'Halleran
 (Moolenaar) (Stanton)
 Hartzler (DesJarlais) Owens (Stewart)

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.

Mrs. FISCHBACH. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to section 3(s) of House Resolution 8, the yeas and nays are ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 220, nays 210, not voting 3, as follows:

[Roll No. 442]

YEAS—220

Adams	Auchincloss	Bass
Aguilar	Axne	Beatty
Allred	Barragán	Bera

Palazzo (Fleischmann)
 Pascrell (Pallone)
 Peters (Kildee)
 Pingree (Kuster)
 Porter (Aguilar)
 Posey (Cammack)
 Price (NC) (Connolly)
 Reed (Rice (SC))
 Rodgers (WA) (Joyce (PA))
 Rogers (KY) (Reschenthaler)
 Roybal-Allard (Connolly)
 Ruiz (Aguilar) Ruppertsberger
 (Aguilar) (Aguilar)
 Rush (Quigley) Ryan (Kildee)
 Salazar (Cammack)
 Sánchez (Costa) Schrader
 (Correa) Sessions (Babin)
 Sewell (Cicilline) Simpson
 (Stewart) Sires (Pallone)
 Speier (Thompson
 (CA))
 Stansbury (Kuster)
 Stefanik (Reschenthaler)
 Steube (Cammack)
 Strickland (Schrier)
 Suozzi (Kildee) Swaloney,
 (Gomez) Titus (Connolly)
 Tonko (Pallone) Torres (NY)
 Dingell (Cicilline)
 Trahan (McGovern)
 Trone (Brown
 (MD))
 Underwood (Casten)
 Van Drew (Reschenthaler)
 Vargas (Correa) Velázquez
 (Clarke (NY))
 Wagner (McHenry)
 Walorski (Banks) Watson Coleman
 (Pallone) Welch
 (McGovern) Wilson (FL)
 (Brown (MD)) Zeldin
 (Timmons)

Beyer Bishop (GA)
 Blumenauer Blunt Rochester
 Bonamici Bourdeaux
 Bowman Horsafor
 Boyle, Brendan F.
 Brown (MD) Brown (OH)
 Brownley Bush
 Bustos Butterfield
 Carbajal Cárdenas
 Carson Carter (LA)
 Cartwright Case
 Casten Castor (FL)
 Castro (TX) Cheney
 Chu Ciocilline
 Clark (MA) Clarke (NY)
 Cleaver Clyburn
 Cohen Connolly
 Cooper Correa
 Costa Courtney
 Craig Crist
 Crow Cuellar
 Davids (KS) Dean
 DeFazio DeGette
 DeLauro DelBene
 Delgado Demings
 DeSaulnier Deutch
 Dingell Doggett
 Doyle, Michael F.
 Escobar Eshoo
 Espallat Evans
 Fletcher Foster
 Frankel, Lois Gallego
 Garamendi Garcia (IL)
 Garcia (TX) Golden
 Gomez Gonzalez, Vicente
 Gottheimer

Green, Al (TX) Grijalva
 Harder (CA) Hayes
 Higgins (NY) Himes
 Horsford Houlahan
 Hoyer Huffman
 Jackson Lee Jacobs (CA)
 Jayapal Jeffries
 Johnson (GA) Johnson (TX)
 Jones Kabele Kaptur
 Keating Kelly (IL)
 Khanna Kildee
 Kilmer Kim (NJ)
 Kind Kinzinger
 Kirkpatrick Krishnamoorthi
 Kuster Lamb
 Langevin Larsen (WA)
 Larson (CT) Lawrence
 Sherman Sherrill
 Lee (CA) Lee (NV)
 Leger Fernandez Levin (CA)
 Levin (MI) Lieu
 Lofgren Lowenthal
 Luria Lynch
 Strickland Malinowski
 Maloney, Carolyn B.
 Maloney, Sean Manning
 Matsui McEachin
 McGovern McNeerney
 Meng Mfume
 Moore (WI) Morelle
 Moulton Mrvan
 Murphy (FL) Nadler
 Napolitano Neal
 Neguse Newman
 Norcross O'Halleran

Omar Pallone
 Panetta Pappas
 Pascrell Payne
 Perlmutter Peters
 Phillips Pingree
 Pocan Porter
 Pressley Price (NC)
 Quigley Raskin
 Rice (NY) Ross
 Roybal-Allard Ruiz
 Ruppertsberger Ryan
 Sánchez Sarbanes
 Scanlon Schakowsky
 Schiff Schneider
 Schrader Schrier
 Scott (VA) Scott, David
 Sewell Sherman
 Sherrill Sires
 Slotkin Smith (WA)
 Soto Spanberger
 Speier Stansbury
 Stanton Stevens
 Strickland Suozzi
 Swalwell Takano
 Thompson (CA) Thompson (MS)
 Titus Tlaib
 Tonko Torres (CA)
 Torres (NY) Trahan
 Trone Underwood
 Vargas Veasey
 Vela Velázquez
 Wasserman Schultz
 Watson Coleman Welch
 Wexton Wild
 Williams (GA) Wilson (FL)
 Yarmuth

NAYS—210

Aderholt Burchett Ellzey
 Allen Burgess Emmer
 Amodei Calvert Estes
 Armstrong Cammack Fallon
 Arrington Carey Feenstra
 Babin Carl Ferguson
 Bacon Carter (GA) Fischbach
 Baird Carter (TX) Fitzgerald
 Balderson Cawthorn Fitzpatrick
 Banks Chabot Fleischmann
 Bentz Cline Fortenberry
 Bergman Cloud Foxx
 Bice (OK) Clyde Franklin, C.
 Biggs Cole Scott
 Bilirakis Comer Fulcher
 Crawford Crenshaw Gaetz
 Bishop (NC) Curtis Gallagher
 Boebert Davidson Garbarino
 Bost Davis, Rodney Garcia (CA)
 Brady Davis, Rodney Gibbs
 Brooks DesJarlais Gimenez
 Buchanan Diaz-Balart Gohmert
 Buck Donalds Gonzalez, Tony
 Bucshon Duncan Gonzalez (OH)
 Budd Dunn Good (VA)

Gooden (TX)	Long	Rouzer	Jacobs (CA)	McEachin	Sánchez (Costa)	Beyer	Grijalva	Pallone
Gosar	Loudermilk	Roy	(Correa)	(Brown MD))	Schrader	Bishop (GA)	Harder (CA)	Panetta
Granger	Lucas	Rutherford	Jacobs (NY)	Meng (Kuster)	(Correa)	Blumenauer	Hayes	Pappas
Graves (LA)	Luetkemeyer	Salazar	(Garbarino)	Meuser	Sessions (Babin)	Blunt Rochester	Higgins (NY)	Pascarell
Graves (MO)	Mace	Salazar	Jackson (Van	(Reschenthaler)	Sewell (Cicilline)	Bonamici	Himes	Payne
Green (TN)	Malliotakis	Scalise	Duynes	Mfume (Brown	Simpson	Bourdeaux	Horsford	Perlmutter
Greene (GA)	Mann	Schweikert	Jayapal (Raskin)	(MD))	(Stewart)	Bowman	Houlihan	Peters
Griffith	Massie	Scott, Austin	Johnson (TX)	Miller (WV) (Van	Sires (Pallone)	Boyle, Brendan	Hoyer	Phillips
Grothman	Mast	Sessions	(Beyer)	Duynes	Speier (Scanlon)	F.	Huffman	Pingree
Guest	McCarthy	Simpson	Jones (Craig)	Moore (UT)	Stansbury	Brown (MD)	Jackson Lee	Pocan
Guthrie	McCaul	Smith (MO)	Joyce (OH)	(Stewart)	(Kuster)	Brown (OH)	Jacobs (CA)	Porter
Hagedorn	McClain	Smith (NE)	(Garbarino)	Nadler (Pallone)	Stefanik	Brownley	Jayapal	Pressley
Harris	McClintock	Smith (NJ)	Kahele (Mrvan)	Napolitano	(Reschenthaler)	Bush	Jeffries	Price (NC)
Harshbarger	McHenry	Smucker	Katko (Meijer)	(Correa)	Steube	Bustos	Johnson (GA)	Quigley
Hartzler	McKinley	Spartz	Keller (Joyce	Neal (Beyer)	(Cammack)	Butterfield	Johnson (TX)	Raskin
Hern	Meijer	Staubert	(PA))	Neguse	(Schriener)	Carbajal	Jones	Rice (NY)
Herrell	Meuser	Steele	Khanna	(Perlmutter)	(Schrier)	Cárdenas	Kahele	Ross
Herrera Beutler	Miller (IL)	Stefanik	(Connolly)	Nehls (Fallon)	Suozi (Kildee)	Carson	Kaptur	Royal-Allard
Hice (GA)	Miller (WV)	Steil	Kilmer (Kildee)	Newman (Wild)	Swalwell	Carter (LA)	Keating	Ruiz
Hill	Miller-Meeks	Steube	Kim (CA)	Nunes (Garcia	(Gomez)	Cartwright	Kelly (IL)	Ruppersberger
Hinson	Moolenaar	Stewart	(Gonzalez	(CA))	Titus (Connolly)	Case	Khanna	Rush
Hollingsworth	Mooney	Taylor	(OH))	O'Halleran	Tonko (Pallone)	Casten	Kildeer	Ryan
Hudson	Moore (AL)	Tenney	Kinzinger	(Stanton)	Torres (NY)	Castor (FL)	Kilmer	Sánchez
Huizenga	Moore (UT)	Thompson (PA)	(Meijer)	Owens (Stewart)	(Cicilline)	Castro (TX)	Kim (NJ)	Sarbanes
Issa	Mullin	Tiffany	Kirkpatrick	Palazzo	(Fleischmann)	Chu	Kind	Scanlon
Jackson	Murphy (NC)	Timmons	(Pallone)	Pascarell	(McGovern)	Cicilline	Kirkpatrick	Schakowsky
Jacobs (NY)	Nehls	Turner	Krishnamoorthi	(Brown MD))	Trone (Brown	Clark (MA)	Krishnamoorthi	Schiff
Johnson (LA)	Newhouse	Upton	(Bacon)	Peters (Kildee)	(MD))	Clarke (NY)	Kuster	Schneider
Johnson (OH)	Norman	Valadao	Lamborn	Pingree (Kuster)	Underwood	Cleaver	Lamb	Schrader
Johnson (SD)	Nunes	Van Drew	Lawson (FL)	(Evans)	(Casten)	Clyburn	Langevin	Schrier
Jordan	Obenolte	Wagner	Leger Fernandez	(Gallego)	(Cammack)	Cohen	Larsen (WA)	Scott (VA)
Joyce (OH)	Owens	Walberg	Lesko (Joyce	(PA))	(Connolly)	Connolly	Larson (CT)	Scott, David
Joyce (PA)	Palazzo	Walorski	Long (Banks)	Reed (Rice (SC))	Wagener	Cooper	Lawrence	Sewell
Katko	Palmer	Walorski	Loudermilk	Rodgers (WA)	(McHenry)	Correa	Lawson (FL)	Sherman
Keller	Pence	Waltz	Webster (FL)	(Joyce PA))	(Walorski Banks)	Costa	Lee (CA)	Sherrill
Kelly (MS)	Perry	Weber (TX)	Lowenthal	Roybal-Allard	(Connolly)	Courtney	Lee (NV)	Sires
Kelly (PA)	Pfleger	Webster (FL)	(Beyer)	(Connolly)	Ruiz (Aguilar)	Craig	Leger Fernandez	Slotkin
Kim (CA)	Posey	Wenstrup	Maloney,	Rush (Quigley)	(Brown MD))	Crist	Levin (CA)	Smith (WA)
Kustoff	Reed	Westerman	Carly B.	Ryan (Kildee)	Zeldin	Crow	Levin (MI)	Soto
LaHood	Reschenthaler	Williams (TX)	(Wasserman	Salazar	(Cammack)	Cuellar	Lieu	Spanberger
LaMalfa	Rice (SC)	Wilson (SC)	Schultz)	Mast (Waltz)	(Timmons)	Davids (KS)	Lofgren	Stanton
Lamborn	Rodgers (WA)	Wittman	(McHenry)			Davis, Danny K.	Lowenthal	Stansbury
Latta	Rogers (AL)	Womack	(Maloney,			Dean	Luria	Stanton
LaTurner	Rogers (KY)	Young	Carly B.			DeFazio	Lynch	Stevens
Lesko	Rose	Zeldin	(Wasserman			DeGette	Malinowski	Strickland
Letlow	Rosendale		Schultz)			DeLauro	Maloney,	Suozi
						DelBene	Carolyn B.	Swalwell
						Delgado	Maloney, Sean	Takano
						Demings	Manning	Thompson (CA)
						DeSaulnier	Matsui	Thompson (MS)
						Deutch	McBath	Titus
						Dingell	McColum	Tlaib
						Doggett	McEachin	Tonko
						Doyle, Michael	McGovern	Torres (CA)
						F.	McNerney	Torres (NY)
						Escobar	Meeks	Trahan
						Eshoo	Meng	Trone
						Espallat	Mfume	Underwood
						Evans	Moore (WI)	Vargas
						Fletcher	Morelle	Veasey
						Foster	Moulton	Vela
						Frankel, Lois	Mrvan	Velázquez
						Gallego	Murphy (FL)	Wasserman
						Garamendi	Nadler	Schultz
						Garcia (IL)	Napolitano	Waters
						Garcia (TX)	Neal	Watson Coleman
						Golden	Neguse	Welch
						Gomez	Newman	Wexton
						Gonzalez,	Norcross	Wild
						Vicente	O'Halleran	Williams (GA)
						Gottheimer	Ocasio-Cortez	Wilson (FL)
						Green, Al (TX)	Omar	Yarmuth

NOT VOTING—3

Higgins (LA) Ocasio-Cortez Waters

□ 1508

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.

Stated for:

Ms. OCASIO-CORTEZ. Mr. Speaker, while in a meeting with constituents, I missed the rollcall No. 442 vote. Had I been present, I would have voted “yea” on rollcall No. 442.

MEMBERS RECORDED PURSUANT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 8, 117TH CONGRESS

Allred (Davids	Cárdenas	Fletcher
(KS))	(Gomez)	(Raskin)
Amodei	Carter (TX)	Frankel, Lois
(Balderson)	(Weber (TX))	(Kuster)
Armstrong	Case (Correa)	Garamendi
(Johnson (SD))	Cawthorn	(Sherman)
Axne (Wild)	(McClain)	Gohmert (Weber
Baird (Bucshon)	Clark (MA)	(TX))
Barragán (Beyer)	(Kuster)	Gonzalez,
Bass (Cicilline)	Cohen (Beyer)	Vicente
Bera (Aguilar)	Crist (Soto)	(Correa)
Bilirakis	Cuellar (Green	Gosar (Boebert)
(Fleischmann)	(TX))	Granger
Blumenauer	Curtis (Stewart)	(Arrington)
(Beyer)	DeFazio (Brown	Green (TN)
Bonamici	(MD))	(Fleischmann)
(Kuster)	DelBene (Larsen	Grijalva
Bowman (Pocan)	(WA))	(Stanton)
Boyle, Brendan	DeGette (Blunt	Guthrie
F. (Evans)	Rochester)	(Bucshon)
Brooks (Moore	DeSaulnier	Hagedorn
(AL))	(Beyer)	(Moolenaar)
Brownley	Diaz-Balart	Hartzler
(Kuster)	(Reschenthaler)	(DesJarlais)
Buchanan	Doggett (Raskin)	Hayes (Wild)
(Waltz)	Donalds (Mann)	Herrera Beutler
Butterfield	Doyle, Michael	(Rice (SC))
(Kildee)	F. (Evans)	Horsford (Carter
Carl (Joyce (PA))	Escobar (Garcia	(LA))
Calvert (Garcia	(TX))	Huffman (Levin
(CA))	(Correa)	(CA))

MOMENT OF SILENCE IN REMEMBRANCE OF AMERICANS WHO HAVE PASSED AWAY FROM THE COVID-19 VIRUS

The SPEAKER. The Chair asks all Members in the Chamber, as well as Members and staff throughout the Capitol, to rise for a moment of silence in remembrance of the 800,000 Americans who have passed away from the COVID-19 virus. Let us pray that they rest in peace.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 5665, COMBATING INTERNATIONAL ISLAMOPHOBIA ACT

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. JOHNSON of Georgia.) Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, the unfinished business is the vote on ordering the previous question on the resolution (H. Res. 849) providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 5665) to establish in the Department of State the Office to Monitor and Combat Islamophobia, and for other purposes, on which the yeas and nays were ordered.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 220, nays 210, not voting 3, as follows:

[Roll No. 443]

YEAS—220

Adams	Auchincloss	Bass
Aguilar	Axne	Beatty
Allred	Barragán	Bera

NAYS—210

Aderholt	Burchett	Dunn
Allen	Burgess	Ellzey
Amodei	Calvert	Emmer
Armstrong	Cammack	Estes
Arrington	Carey	Fallon
Babin	Carl	Feenstra
Bacon	Carter (GA)	Ferguson
Baird	Carter (TX)	Fischbach
Balderson	Cawthorn	Fitzgerald
Banks	Chabot	Fitzpatrick
Barr	Cheney	Fleischmann
Bentz	Cline	Fortenberry
Bergman	Cloud	Fox
Bice (OK)	Clyde	Franklin, C.
Biggs	Cole	Scott
Bilirakis	Comer	Fulcher
Bishop (NC)	Crawford	Geetz
Boebert	Crenshaw	Gallagher
Bost	Curtis	Garbarino
Brady	Davidson	Garcia (CA)
Brooks	Davis, Rodney	Gibbs
Buchanan	DesJarlais	Gimenez
Buck	Diaz-Balart	Gohmert
Bucshon	Donalds	Gonzales, Tony
Budd	Duncan	Gonzalez (OH)

Good (VA)	Letlow	Rouzer	Lamborn (Bacon)	Nunes (Garcia)	Stansbury	Lynch	Perlmutter	Spanberger
Gooden (TX)	Long	Roy	Lawson (FL)	(CA)	(Kuster)	Malinowski	Peters	Speier
Gosar	Loudermilk	Rutherford	(Evans)	Ocasio-Cortez	Stefanik	Maloney,	Phillips	Stansbury
Granger	Lucas	Salazar	Leger Fernandez	(Bush)	(Reschenthaler)	Carolyn B.	Pingree	Stanton
Graves (LA)	Luetkemeyer	Scalise	(Gallego)	O'Halleran	Steube	Maloney, Sean	Pocan	Stevens
Graves (MO)	Malliotakis	Schweikert	Lesko (Joyce)	(Stanton)	(Cammack)	Manning	Porter	Strickland
Green (TN)	Mann	Scott, Austin	(PA)	Owens (Stewart)	Strickland	Matsui	Pressley	Suozi
Greene (GA)	Massie	Sessions	Long (Banks)	Palazzo	(Schrier)	McBath	Price (NC)	Swalwell
Griffith	Mast	Simpson	Loudermilk	(Fleischmann)	Suozi (Kildee)	McCollum	Quigley	Takano
Grothman	McCarthy	Smith (MO)	(Fleischmann)	Pascrell	Swalwell	McEachin	Raskin	Thompson (CA)
Guest	McCaul	Smith (NE)	Lowenthal	(Pallone)	(Gomez)	McGovern	Rice (NY)	Thompson (MS)
Guthrie	McClain	Smith (NJ)	(Beyer)	Peters (Kildee)	Titus (Connolly)	McNerney	Ross	Titus
Hagedorn	McClintock	Smucker	Luetkemeyer	Pingree (Kuster)	Tonko (Pallone)	Meeks	Roybal-Allard	Tlaib
Harris	McHenry	Spartz	(McHenry)	Porter (Aguilar)	Torres (NY)	Meng	Ruiz	Tonko
Harshbarger	McKinley	Staubert	Maloney,	Posey	(Cicilline)	Mfume	Ruppersberger	Torres (CA)
Hartzler	Meijer	Staubert	Carolyn B.	(Cammack)	Trahan	Moore (WI)	Rush	Torres (NY)
Hern	Meuser	Steel	(Wasserman)	Price (NC)	(McGovern)	Morelle	Ryan	Trahan
Herrell	Miller (IL)	Stefanik	Schultz	(Connolly)	Trone (Brown	Moulton	Sánchez	Trone
Herrera Beutler	Miller (WV)	Steil	Mast (Waltz)	Reed (Rice (SC))	(MD))	Mrvan	Sarbanes	Underwood
Hice (GA)	Miller-Meeks	Steube	McEachin	Rodgers (WA)	Underwood	Murphy (FL)	Scanlon	Vargas
Hill	Moolenaar	Stewart	(Brown (MD))	(Joyce (PA))	(Casten)	Nadler	Schakowsky	Veasey
Hinson	Mooney	Taylor	Meng (Kuster)	Roybal-Allard	Van Drew	Napolitano	Schiff	Vela
Hollingsworth	Moore (AL)	Tenney	Meuser	(Connolly)	(Reschenthaler)	Neal	Schneider	Velázquez
Huizenga	Moore (UT)	Thompson (PA)	(Moesenthaler)	Ruiz (Aguilar)	Vargas (Correa)	Neguse	Schrader	Wasserman
Issa	Mullin	Tiffany	Mfume (Brown	Ruppersberger	Velázquez	Newman	Schrier	Schultz
Jackson	Murphy (NC)	Timmons	(MD))	(Aguilar)	(Clarke (NY))	Norcross	Scott (VA)	Waters
Jacobs (NY)	Nehls	Turner	Miller (WV) (Van	Rush (Quigley)	Wagner	O'Halleran	Scott, David	Watson Coleman
Johnson (LA)	Newhouse	Upton	Duynes)	Salazar	(McHenry)	Ocasio-Cortez	Sewell	Welch
Johnson (OH)	Norman	Valadao	Moore (UT)	(Cammack)	Walorski (Banks)	Omar	Sherman	Wexton
Johnson (SD)	Nunes	Van Drew	(Stewart)	Sánchez (Costa)	Watson Coleman	Pallone	Sherrill	Wild
Jordan	Obornolte	Van Duynes	Nadler (Pallone)	Schrader	(Pallone)	Panetta	Sires	Williams (GA)
Joyce (OH)	Owens	Wagner	Napolitano	(Correa)	Welch	Pappas	Slotkin	Wilson (FL)
Joyce (PA)	Palazzo	Walberg	(Correa)	Sessions (Babin)	(McGovern)	Pascrell	Smith (WA)	Yarmuth
Katko	Palmer	Walorski	Neal (Beyer)	Sewell (Cicilline)	Wilson (FL)	Payne	Soto	
Keller	Pence	Waltz	Neguse	Simpson	(Brown (MD))			
Kelly (MS)	Perry	Weber (TX)	(Perlmutter)	(Stewart)	Zeldin			
Kelly (PA)	Pfuger	Webster (FL)	Nehls (Fallon)	Sires (Pallone)	(Timmons)			
Kim (CA)	Posey	Wenstrup	Newman (Wild)	Speier (Scanlon)				
Kinzinger	Reed	Westerman						
Kustoff	Reschenthaler	Williams (TX)						
LaHood	Rice (SC)	Wilson (SC)						
LaMalfa	Rodgers (WA)	Wittman						
Lamborn	Rogers (AL)	Womack						
Latta	Rogers (KY)	Young						
LaTurner	Rose	Zeldin						
Lesko	Rosendale							

NOT VOTING—3

Higgins (LA)	Hudson	Mace
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□ 1537

So the previous question was ordered. The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

MEMBERS RECORDED PURSUANT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 8, 117TH CONGRESS

Allred (Davids)	Crist (Soto)	Guthrie
(KS)	Cuellar (Green	(Bucshon)
Amodei	(TX))	Hagedorn
(Balderson)	Curtis (Stewart)	(Moolenaar)
Armstrong	DeFazio (Brown	Hartzler
(Johnson (SD))	(MD))	(DesJarlais)
Axne (Wild)	DelBene (Larsen	Hayes (Wild)
Baird (Bucshon)	(WA))	Herrera Beutler
Barragán (Beyer)	DeGette (Blunt	(Rice (SC))
Bass (Cicilline)	Rochester)	Horsford (Carter
Bera (Aguilar)	DeSaulnier	(LA))
Billirakis	(Beyer)	Huffman (Levin
(Fleischmann)	Diaz-Balart	(CA))
Blumenauer	(Reschenthaler)	Jacobs (CA)
(Beyer)	Doggett (Raskin)	(Correa)
Bonamici	Donalds (Mann)	Jacobs (NY)
(Kuster)	Doyle, Michael	(Garbarino)
Bowman (Pocan)	F. (Evans)	Jackson (Van
Boyle, Brendan	Escobar (Garcia	Duynes)
F. (Evans)	(TX))	Jayapal (Raskin)
Brooks (Moore	Españillat	Johnson (TX)
(AL))	(Correa)	(Beyer)
Brownley	Fletcher	Jones (Craig)
(Kuster)	(Raskin)	Joyce (OH)
Buchanan	Frankel, Lois	(Garbarino)
(Waltz)	(Kuster)	Kahele (Mrvan)
Butterfield	Garamendi	Katko (Meijer)
(Kildee)	(Sherman)	Keller (Joyce
Carl (Joyce (PA))	Gohmert (Weber	(PA))
Calvert (Garcia	(TX))	Khanna
(CA))	Gonzalez,	(Connolly)
Cárdenas	(Gomez)	Kilmer (Kildee)
(Gomez)	Vicente	Kim (CA)
Carter (TX)	(Correa)	(Gonzalez
(Weber (TX))	Gosar (Boebert)	(OH))
Case (Correa)	Granger	Kinzinger
Cawthorn	(Arrington)	(Meijer)
(McClain)	Green (TN)	Kirkpatrick
Clark (MA)	(Fleischmann)	(Pallone)
(Kuster)	Grijalva	Krishnamoorthi
Cohen (Beyer)	(Stanton)	(Brown (MD))

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. RESCHENTHALER. Mr. Speaker, I demand the yeas and nays.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to section 3(s) of House Resolution 8, the yeas and nays are ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 219, nays 213, not voting 1, as follows:

[Roll No. 444]
YEAS—219

Adams	Cooper	Hayes
Aguilar	Correa	Higgins (NY)
Allred	Costa	Himes
Auchincloss	Courtney	Horsford
Axne	Craig	Houlahan
Barragán	Crist	Hoyer
Bass	Crow	Huffman
Beatty	Cuellar	Jackson Lee
Bera	David (KS)	Jacobs (CA)
Beyer	Davis, Danny K.	Jayapal
Bishop (GA)	Dean	Jeffries
Blumenauer	DeFazio	Johnson (GA)
Blunt Rochester	DeGette	Johnson (TX)
Bonamici	DeLauro	Jones
Bourdeaux	DelBene	Kahele
Bowman	Delgado	Kaptur
Boyle, Brendan	Demings	Keating
F.	DeSaulnier	Kelly (IL)
Brown (MD)	Deutch	Khanna
Brown (OH)	Dingell	Kildee
Brownley	Doggett	Kilmer
Bush	Doyle, Michael	Kim (NJ)
Bustos	F.	Kind
Butterfield	Escobar	Kirkpatrick
Cabral	Eshoo	Krishnamoorthi
Cárdenas	Españillat	Kuster
Carson	Evans	Lamb
Carter (LA)	Fletcher	Langevin
Cartwright	Foster	Larsen (WA)
Case	Frankel, Lois	Larson (CT)
Casten	Gallego	Lawrence
Castor (FL)	Garamendi	Lewis (FL)
Castro (TX)	Garcia (IL)	Lee (CA)
Chu	Garcia (TX)	Lee (NV)
Cicilline	Golden	Leger Fernandez
Clark (MA)	Gomez	Levin (CA)
Clarke (NY)	Gonzalez,	Levin (MI)
Cleaver	Vicente	Lieu
Clyburn	Green, Al (TX)	Lofgren
Cohen	Grijalva	Lowenthal
Connolly	Harder (CA)	Luria

Aderholt	Franklin, C.	Lucas
Allen	Scott	Luetkemeyer
Amodei	Fulcher	Mace
Armstrong	Gaetz	Malliotakis
Arrington	Gallagher	Mann
Babin	Garbarino	Massie
Bacon	Garcia (CA)	Mast
Baird	Gibbs	McCarthy
Balderson	Gimenez	McCaul
Banks	Gohmert	McClain
Barr	Gonzales, Tony	McClintock
Bentz	Gonzalez (OH)	McHenry
Bergman	Good (VA)	McKinley
Bice (OK)	Gooden (TX)	Meijer
Biggs	Gosar	Meuser
Billirakis	Gottheimer	Miller (IL)
Bishop (NC)	Granger	Miller (WV)
Boebert	Graves (LA)	Miller-Meeks
Bost	Graves (MO)	Moolenaar
Brady	Green (TN)	Mooney
Brooks	Greene (GA)	Moore (AL)
Buchanan	Griffith	Moore (UT)
Buck	Grothman	Mullin
Bucshon	Guest	Murphy (NC)
Budd	Guthrie	Nehls
Burchett	Hagedorn	Newhouse
Burgess	Harris	Norman
Calvert	Harshbarger	Nunes
Cammack	Hartzler	Obornolte
Carey	Hern	Owens
Carl	Herrell	Palazzo
Carter (GA)	Herrera Beutler	Palmer
Carter (TX)	Hice (GA)	Pence
Cawthorn	Hill	Perry
Chabot	Hinson	Pfuger
Cheney	Hollingsworth	Posey
Cline	Hudson	Reed
Cloud	Huizenga	Reschenthaler
Clyde	Issa	Rice (SC)
Cole	Jackson	Rodgers (WA)
Comer	Jacobs (NY)	Rogers (AL)
Crawford	Johnson (LA)	Rogers (KY)
Crenshaw	Johnson (OH)	Rose
Curtis	Johnson (SD)	Rosendale
Davidson	Jordan	Rouzer
Davis, Rodney	Joyce (OH)	Roy
DesJarlais	Joyce (PA)	Rutherford
Diaz-Balart	Katko	Salazar
Donalds	Keller	Scalise
Duncan	Kelly (MS)	Schweikert
Dunn	Kelly (PA)	Scott, Austin
Ellzey	Kim (CA)	Sessions
Emmer	Kinzinger	Simpson
Estes	Kustoff	Smith (MO)
Fallon	LaHood	Smith (NE)
Feenstra	LaMalfa	Smith (NJ)
Ferguson	Lamborn	Smucker
Fischbach	Latta	Spartz
Fitzgerald	LaTurner	Staubert
Fitzpatrick	Lesko	Steel
Fleischmann	Letlow	Stefanik
Fortenberry	Long	Steil
Foxx	Loudermilk	Steube

NAYS—213

Stewart
Taylor
Tenney
Thompson (PA)
Tiffany
Timmons
Turner
Upton
Valadao
Van Drew
Van Duyne
Wagner
Walberg
Walorski
Waltz
Weber (TX)
Webster (FL)
Wenstrup

Westerman
Williams (TX)
Wilson (SC)
Wittman
Womack
Young
Zeldin

Underwood
(Casten)
Van Drew
(Reschenthaler)
Vargas (Correa)
Velázquez
(Clarke (NY))

Wagner
(McHenry)
Walorski (Banks)
Watson Coleman
(Pallone)
Welch
(McGovern)

Wilson (FL)
(Brown (MD))
Zeldin
(Timmons)

(hereinafter referred to as the “Select Committee”).

The Select Committee is investigating the facts, circumstances, and causes of the January 6th attack and issues relating to the peaceful transfer of power, in order to identify how the events of January 6th were planned, what actions and statements motivated and contributed to the attack on the Capitol, how the violent riot that day was coordinated with a political and public relations strategy to reverse the election outcome, and why Capitol security was insufficient to address what occurred. The Select Committee will evaluate all facets of these issues, create a public record of what occurred, and recommend to the House, and its relevant committees, corrective laws, policies, procedures, rules, or regulations.

According to documents and testimony obtained by the Select Committee, Mark Randall Meadows is uniquely situated to provide critical information about the events of January 6, 2021, as well as efforts taken by public officials and private individuals to spread the message of widespread fraud in the November 2020 election and to delay or prevent the peaceful transfer of power. Mr. Meadows served as chief of staff to President Trump during the final year of the Trump administration. As detailed in public reporting, Mr. Meadows was with or in the vicinity of then-President Trump on January 6 as Mr. Trump learned about the attack on the U.S. Capitol and decided whether to issue a statement that could help to stop the rioters.

Mr. Meadows has refused to provide the Select Committee with information and testimony that has no conceivable, associated privilege claims. To complete its investigation, the Select Committee needs access to testimony on this non-privileged information. The Select Committee offers here just several examples: Mr. Meadows has refused to provide testimony on the documents he himself produced to the Select Committee without any claim of privilege; Mr. Meadows has refused to provide testimony about his reported communications with organizers of various protest events before January 6, 2021; Mr. Meadows personally travelled to Georgia to inspect a county audit related to the presidential election, but the Select Committee has not been able to obtain testimony from Mr. Meadows about these events; and Mr. Meadows has also denied the Select Committee the opportunity to question him about a call with Georgia State officials in which Mr. Trump insisted that he had won Georgia and told the Georgia secretary of state that he wanted to “find” enough votes to ensure his victory. Yet another topic on which Mr. Meadows has frustrated the Select Committee’s investigative efforts relates to the Select Committee’s attempt to locate and discover highly relevant documents. Based on Mr. Meadows’s production of documents and recently reported information, it appears that Mr. Meadows may not have complied with legal requirements to retain or archive documents under the Presidential Records Act. He has denied the Select Committee the opportunity to question him about these circumstances so that the Select Committee can fully understand the location of highly relevant materials to its investigation and which materials may now be lost to the historical record.

To be clear, Mr. Meadows’s failure to comply, and this contempt recommendation, are not based on good-faith disagreements over privilege assertions. Rather, Mr. Meadows has failed to comply and warrants contempt findings because he has wholly refused to appear to provide any testimony and refused to answer questions regarding even clearly non-privileged information—information that he himself has identified as non-privileged through his own document production.

NOT VOTING—1

Higgins (LA)

□ 1608

Mr. GOTTHEIMER changed his vote from “yea” to “nay.”

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.

MEMBERS RECORDED PURSUANT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 8, 117TH CONGRESS

Allred (Davids (KS))	Gonzalez, Vicente (Correa)	Meuser (Reschenthaler)
Amodei (Balderson)	Gosar (Boebert)	Mfume (Brown (MD))
Armstrong (Johnson (SD))	Granger (Arrington)	Miller (WV) (Van Dwyne)
Axne (Wild)	Green (TN)	Moore (UT) (Stewart)
Baird (Bucshon)	(Fleischmann)	Nadler (Pallone)
Barragan (Beyer)	Grijalva (Stanton)	Napolitano (Correa)
Bass (Cicilline)	Guthrie (Bucshon)	Neal (Beyer)
Bera (Aguilar)	Hagedorn (Moolenaar)	Neguse (Perlmutter)
Bilirakis (Fleischmann)	Hartztler (DesJarlais)	Nehls (Fallon)
Blumenauer (Beyer)	Hayes (Wild)	Newman (Wild)
Bonamici (Kuster)	Herrera Beutler (Rice (SC))	Nunes (Garcia (CA))
Bowman (Pocan)	Horsford (Carter (LA))	Ocasio-Cortez (Bush)
Boyle, Brendan F. (Evans)	Huffman (Levin (CA))	O’Halloran (Stanton)
Brooks (Moore (AL))	Jacobs (CA) (Correa)	Owens (Stewart)
Brownley (Kuster)	Jacobs (NY) (Garbarino)	Palazzo (Fleischmann)
Buchanan (Waltz)	Jackson (Van Dwyne)	Pascrell (Pallone)
Butterfield (Kildee)	Jayapal (Raskin)	Peters (Kildee)
Carl (Joyce (PA))	Johnson (TX) (Beyer)	Pingree (Kuster)
Calvert (Garcia (CA))	Jones (Craig)	Porter (Aguilar)
Cárdenas (Gomez)	Joyce (OH) (Garbarino)	Posey (Cammack)
Carter (TX) (Weber (TX))	Kahele (Mrvan)	Price (NC) (Connolly)
Case (Correa)	Katko (Meijer)	Reed (Rice (SC))
Cawthorn (McClain)	Keller (Joyce (PA))	Rodgers (WA) (Joyce (PA))
Clark (MA) (Kuster)	Khanna (Connolly)	Roybal-Allard (Connolly)
Cohen (Beyer)	Kilmer (Kildee)	Ruiz (Aguilar)
Crist (Soto)	Kim (CA) (Gonzalez)	Ruppersberger (Aguilar)
Cuellar (Green (TX))	Kinzinger (Meijer)	Rush (Quigley)
Curtis (Stewart)	Kirkpatrick (Pallone)	Salazar (Cammack)
DeFazio (Brown (MD))	Krishnamoorthi (Brown (MD))	Sánchez (Costa)
DelBene (Larsen (WA))	Lamborn (Bacon)	Schrader (Correa)
DeGette (Blunt Rochester)	Lawson (FL) (Evans)	Sessions (Babin)
DeSaulnier (Beyer)	Leger Fernandez (Gallego)	Sewell (Cicilline)
Diaz-Balart (Reschenthaler)	Lesko (Joyce (PA))	Simpson (Stewart)
Doggett (Raskin)	Long (Banks)	Sires (Pallone)
Donalds (Mann)	Loudermilk (Fleischmann)	Speier (Scanlon)
Doyle, Michael F. (Evans)	Lowenthal (Beyer)	Stansbury (Kuster)
Escobar (Garcia (TX))	Luetkemeyer (McHenry)	Stefanik (Reschenthaler)
Espallat (Correa)	Maloney, Carolyn B. (Wasserman)	Steube (Cammack)
Fletcher (Raskin)	(Schultz)	Strickland (Schrier)
Frankel, Lois (Kuster)	Mast (Waltz)	Suoizzi (Kildee)
Garamendi (Sherman)	McEachin (Brown (MD))	Swalwell (Gomez)
Gohmert (Weber (TX))	Meng (Kuster)	Titus (Connolly)
		Tonko (Pallone)
		Torres (NY) (Cicilline)
		Trahan (McGovern)
		Trone (Brown (MD))

RECOMMENDING THAT THE HOUSE FIND MARK RANDALL MEADOWS IN CONTEMPT OF CONGRESS

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi, Madam Speaker, by direction of the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, I call up the report (H. Rept. 117–216) and accompanying resolution recommending that the House of Representatives find Mark Randall Meadows in contempt of Congress for refusal to comply with a subpoena duly issued by the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol.

The Clerk read the title of the report. The SPEAKER pro tempore (Ms. MCCOLLUM). Pursuant to House Resolution 848, the report is considered read.

The text of the report is as follows:

The Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, having considered this Report, reports favorably thereon and recommends that the Report be approved.

The form of the Resolution that the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol would recommend to the House of Representatives for citing Mark Randall Meadows for contempt of Congress pursuant to this Report is as follows:

Resolved, That Mark Randall Meadows shall be found to be in contempt of Congress for failure to comply with a congressional subpoena.

Resolved, That pursuant to 2 U.S.C. §§ 192 and 194, the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall certify the report of the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, detailing the refusal of Mark Randall Meadows to appear for a deposition before the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol as directed by subpoena, to the United States Attorney for the District of Columbia, to the end that Mr. Meadows be proceeded against in the manner and form provided by law.

Resolved, That the Speaker of the House shall otherwise take all appropriate action to enforce the subpoena.

PURPOSE AND SUMMARY

On January 6, 2021, a violent mob breached the security perimeter of the United States Capitol, assaulted and injured scores of police officers, engaged in hand-to-hand violence with those officers over an extended period, terrorized Members of Congress and staff, and invaded and occupied the Capitol building, all in an effort to halt the lawful counting of electoral votes and reverse the results of the 2020 election. In the words of many of those who participated in the violence, the attack was a direct response to statements by then-President Donald J. Trump—beginning on election night 2020 and continuing through January 6, 2021—that the 2020 election had been stolen by corrupted voting machines, widespread fraud, and otherwise.

In response, the House adopted House Resolution 503 on June 30, 2021, establishing the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol

Mr. Meadows's relevant documents and testimony are necessary to the Select Committee's investigation for many additional reasons. Mr. Meadows also reportedly participated in meetings and communicated with senior Department of Justice (DOJ) officials about unsupported election-fraud claims and litigation aimed at disrupting or overturning the election results. Mr. Meadows reportedly participated in a contentious meeting at the White House with private individuals and others linked to Mr. Trump's re-election campaign during which Mr. Trump and others discussed seizing voting machines and invoking certain laws including the National Emergencies Act for election-related purposes because of purported fraud in the election. Mr. Meadows reportedly joined a January 2 call with Mr. Trump and State and Federal officials to discuss overturning certain States' electoral college results on January 6, and later sent the former Vice President's staff a memo drafted by a Trump campaign lawyer urging the Vice President to delay or decline the counting of votes from certain States. Mr. Meadows was also reportedly in contact with at least one of the individuals who planned and organized a January 6 rally, one of whom may have expressed safety concerns to Mr. Meadows about the event. In short, Mr. Meadows appears to have participated in, and been a witness to, critically important communications and events that took place before and on January 6, and the Congress is entitled to hear his first-hand testimony regarding his actions and knowledge. The Select Committee expects such testimony to be directly relevant to its report and recommendations for legislative and other action.

On September 23, 2021, the Select Committee issued a subpoena to Mr. Meadows for documents and testimony, and transmitted it along with a cover letter and schedule to Mr. Meadows's then-counsel, who accepted service on Mr. Meadows's behalf on that same day. The subpoena required that Mr. Meadows produce responsive documents by October 7, 2021, and that Mr. Meadows appear for a deposition on October 15, 2021. After Mr. Meadows retained separate counsel, the Select Committee agreed to postpone the subpoena deadlines to enable his counsel to understand the requests associated with the subpoena and work with Mr. Meadows. Ultimately, by letter dated October 25, 2021, the Select Committee accommodated Mr. Meadows's interest in moving back the date of his appearance and document production and instructed Mr. Meadows to produce documents by November 5, 2021, and appear for a deposition on November 12, 2021.

Mr. Meadows's resistance came after the Select Committee agreed to that postponement, after the Select Committee identified specific subject matters for inquiry that did not implicate any privilege, and after inviting Mr. Meadows to explain with specificity his position as to whether any of those areas would trigger any claims of executive privilege. Mr. Meadows provided no such explanation. Instead, he declined to produce a single document. He refused to carry out the commonly accepted practice of producing a privilege log in response to the Select Committee's subpoena. And he failed to appear at the scheduled deposition, as ordered by the lawful subpoena.

A week after Mr. Meadows failed to appear for his deposition and 2 weeks after his deadline to produce documents, Mr. Meadows re-engaged with the Select Committee by letter. The Select Committee gave Mr. Meadows an opportunity to cure his previous non-compliance with the Select Committee's subpoena by asking that he produce documents and appear at a deposition that, ultimately, was scheduled for December 8, 2021. Through

counsel, Mr. Meadows agreed. Mr. Meadows produced a large number of responsive documents that were not subject to any claim of privilege, while withholding many others. But the day before his deposition, Mr. Meadows changed course once more and told the Select Committee that he would not be attending his deposition after all, even to answer questions about the documents that he agrees are relevant and non-privileged that he had just produced. He did this even though that very same day his book was released in which he recounts specific conversations that he had with former-President Trump, including conversations about whether the former President planned to join a march to the United States Capitol on January 6 after encouraging rally-goers to do so. On December 8, 2021, Mr. Meadows failed to appear for his deposition.

Although Mr. Meadows's counsel has referenced claims of testimonial immunity and executive privilege purportedly relayed by Mr. Trump's counsel, no such claims have been presented by Mr. Trump to the Select Committee. Moreover, the current White House has informed Mr. Meadows that the incumbent President is *not* asserting claims of testimonial immunity or executive privilege to prevent Mr. Meadows from complying with the Select Committee's subpoena.

The Select Committee is confident that there is no conceivable immunity or executive privilege claim that could bar *all* of the Select Committee's requests or justify Mr. Meadows's blanket refusal to appear for the required deposition. Indeed, the Chairman's written responses on October 25, 2021, November 5, 2021, and November 11, 2021, addressed the legal arguments raised by Mr. Meadows's counsel and made clear that the Select Committee expected—as the law demands—that Mr. Meadows produce documents and appear before the Select Committee at his deposition to raise any privilege or other concerns regarding specific questions on the record of that proceeding.

The contempt of Congress statute, 2 U.S.C. § 192, provides that a witness summoned before Congress must appear or be “deemed guilty of a misdemeanor” punishable by a fine of up to \$100,000 and imprisonment for up to 1 year. Further, the Supreme Court in *United States v. Bryan* (1950) emphasized that the subpoena power is a “public duty, which every person within the jurisdiction of the Government is bound to perform when properly summoned.” The Supreme Court recently reinforced this clear obligation by stating that “[w]hen Congress seeks information needed for intelligent legislative action, it unquestionably remains the duty of *all* citizens to cooperate.”

Mr. Meadows did not produce documents as required by the subpoena's October 7, 2021, deadline or the extended deadline of November 5, 2021. Similarly, Mr. Meadows did not appear for a deposition scheduled for October 15, 2021, or the extended deadline of November 12, 2021, as ordered by the subpoena and in contravention of the clear instructions by the Select Committee Chairman's letters dated October 25, 2021, November 5, 2021, November 9, 2021, and November 11, 2021, to appear at the deposition and raise any privilege concerns in response to specific questions on the record. Furthermore, Mr. Meadows chose not to appear before the Select Committee on December 8, 2021, to cure his previous non-compliance and after specifically agreeing to do so. Mr. Meadows's refusal to comply with the Select Committee's subpoena constitutes willful default under the law and warrants contempt of Congress and referral to the United States Attorney for the District of Columbia for prosecution as prescribed by law. The denial of the information sought by the subpoena impairs Congress's

central powers under the United States Constitution.

BACKGROUND ON THE SELECT COMMITTEE'S INVESTIGATION

House Resolution 503 sets out the specific purposes of the Select Committee, including:

- To investigate and report upon the facts, circumstances, and causes “relating to the January 6, 2021, domestic terrorist attack upon the United States Capitol Complex”;

- To investigate and report upon the facts, circumstances, and causes “relating to the interference with the peaceful transfer of power”; and

- To investigate and report upon the facts, circumstances, and causes relating to “the influencing factors that fomented such an attack on American representative democracy while engaged in a constitutional process.”

The Supreme Court has long recognized Congress's oversight role. “The power of the Congress to conduct investigations is inherent in the legislative process.” Indeed, Congress's ability to enforce its investigatory power “is an essential and appropriate auxiliary to the legislative function.” “Absent such a power, a legislative body could not ‘wisely or effectively’ evaluate those conditions ‘which the legislation is intended to affect or change.’”

The oversight powers of House and Senate committees are also codified in law. For example, the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 directed committees to “exercise continuous watchfulness” over the executive branch's implementation of programs within its jurisdictions, and the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 authorized committees to “review and study, on a continuing basis, the application, administration, and execution” of laws.

The Select Committee was properly constituted under section 2(a) of House Resolution 503, 117th Congress. As required by that resolution, Members of the Select Committee were selected by the Speaker, after “consultation with the minority leader.” A bipartisan selection of Members was appointed pursuant to House Resolution 503 on July 1, 2021, and July 26, 2021.

Pursuant to House rule XI and House Resolution 503, the Select Committee is authorized “to require, by subpoena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of books, records, correspondence, memoranda, papers, and documents as it considers necessary.” That same House rule expressly allows House committees to compel information from the President and his aides. Further, section 5(c)(4) of House Resolution 503 provides that the Chairman of the Select Committee may “authorize and issue subpoenas pursuant to clause 2(m) of rule XI in the investigation and study” conducted pursuant to the enumerated purposes and functions of the Select Committee. The Select Committee's authorizing resolution further states that the Chairman “may order the taking of depositions, including pursuant to subpoena, by a Member or counsel of the Select Committee, in the same manner as a standing committee pursuant to section 3(b)(1) of House Resolution 8, One Hundred Seventeenth Congress.” The subpoena to Mr. Meadows was duly issued pursuant to section 5(c)(4) of House Resolution 503 and clause 2(m) of rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives.

A. The Select Committee seeks information from Mr. Meadows central to its investigative purposes.

The Select Committee seeks information from Mr. Meadows central to its investigative responsibilities delegated to it from the House of Representatives. This includes the

obligation to investigate and report on the facts, circumstances, and causes of the attack on January 6, 2021, and on the facts, circumstances, and causes “relating to the interference with the peaceful transfer of power.”

The events of January 6, 2021, involved both a physical assault on the Capitol building and law enforcement personnel protecting it and an attack on the constitutional process central to the peaceful transfer of power following a presidential election. The counting of electoral college votes by Congress is a component of that transfer of power that occurs every January 6 following a presidential election. This event is part of a complex process, mediated through the free and fair elections held in jurisdictions throughout the country, and through the statutory and constitutional processes set up to confirm and validate the results. In the case of the 2020 presidential election, the January 6 electoral college vote count occurred following a series of efforts in the preceding weeks by Mr. Trump and his supporters to challenge the legitimacy of, disrupt, delay, and overturn the election results.

According to eyewitness accounts as well as the statements of participants in the attack on January 6, 2021, a purpose of the assault was to stop the process of validating what then-President Trump, his supporters, and his allies had falsely characterized as a “stolen” or “fraudulent” election. The claims regarding the 2020 election results were advanced and amplified in the weeks leading up to the January 6 assault, even after courts across the country had resoundingly rejected Trump campaign lawsuits claiming election fraud and misconduct, and after all States had certified the election results. As part of this effort, Mr. Trump and his associates spread false information about, and cast doubts on, the elections in Arizona, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Georgia, among other states, and pressed Federal, State, and local officials to use their authorities to challenge the election results.

To fulfill its investigative responsibilities, the Select Committee needs to understand the events and communications in which Mr. Meadows reportedly participated or that he observed.

Mr. Meadows was one of a relatively small group of people who witnessed the events of January 6 in the White House and with then-President Trump. Mr. Meadows was with or in the vicinity of then-President Trump on January 6 as he learned about the attack on the U.S. Capitol and decided whether to issue a statement that could stop the rioters. In fact, as the violence at the Capitol unfolded, Mr. Meadows received many messages encouraging him to have Mr. Trump issue a statement that could end the violence, and one former White House employee reportedly contacted Mr. Meadows several times and told him, “[y]ou guys have to say something. Even if the president’s not willing to put out a statement, you should go to the [cameras] and say, ‘We condemn this. Please stand down.’ If you don’t, people are going to die.”

Moreover, Mr. Meadows reportedly spoke with Kashyap Patel, who was then the chief of staff to former Acting Secretary of Defense Christopher Miller, “nonstop” throughout the day of January 6. And, among other things, Mr. Meadows apparently knows if and when Mr. Trump was engaged in discussions regarding the National Guard’s response to the Capitol riot, a point that is contested but about which Mr. Meadows provided documents to the Select Committee and spoke publicly on national television after President Trump left office.

Beyond those matters, the Select Committee seeks information from Mr. Meadows about issues including the following:

- Mr. Meadows exchanged text messages with, and provided guidance to, an organizer of the January 6th rally on the Ellipse after the organizer told him that “[t]hings have gotten crazy and I desperately need some direction. Please.”

- Mr. Meadows sent an email to an individual about the events on January 6 and said that the National Guard would be present to “protect pro Trump people” and that many more would be available on standby.

- Mr. Meadows received text messages and emails regarding apparent efforts to encourage Republican legislators in certain States to send alternate slates of electors to Congress, a plan which one Member of Congress acknowledged was “highly controversial” and to which Mr. Meadows responded, “I love it.” Mr. Meadows responded to a similar message by saying “[w]e are” and another such message by saying “Yes. Have a team on it.”

- Mr. Meadows forwarded claims of election fraud to the acting leadership of DOJ for further investigation, some of which he may have received using a private email account and at least one of which he had received directly from people associated with Mr. Trump’s re-election campaign.

- He also reportedly introduced Mr. Trump to then-DOJ official Jeffrey Clark. Mr. Clark went on to recommend to Mr. Trump that he be installed as Acting Attorney General and that DOJ should send a letter to State officials urging them to take certain actions that could affect the outcome of the November 2020 election by, among other things, appointing alternate slates of electors to cast electoral votes for Mr. Trump rather than now-President Biden.

- Mr. Meadows participated in meetings and calls during which the participants reportedly discussed the need to “fight” back against “mounting evidence” of purported voter fraud after courts had considered and overwhelmingly rejected Trump campaign claims of voter fraud and other election irregularities. He participated in one such meeting in the Oval Office with Mr. Trump and Members of Congress, which he publicly tweeted about from his personal Twitter account shortly after. He participated in another such call just days before the January 6 attack with Mr. Trump, Members of Congress, attorneys for the Trump re-election campaign, and “some 300” State and local officials to discuss the goal of overturning certain States’ electoral college results on January 6, 2021.

- Mr. Meadows traveled to Georgia to observe an audit of the votes days after then-President Trump complained that the audit had been moving too slowly and claimed that the signature-match system was rife with fraud. That trip precipitated Mr. Trump’s calls to Georgia’s deputy secretary of state and, later, secretary of state. In the call with Georgia’s secretary of state, which Mr. Meadows and an attorney working with the campaign also joined, Mr. Trump pressed his unsupported claims of widespread election fraud, including claims related to deceased people voting, forged signatures, out-of-State voters, shredded ballots, triple-counted ballots, Dominion voting machines, and suitcase ballots, before telling the secretary of state that he wanted to find enough votes to ensure his victory. At one point during the call, Mr. Meadows asked “in the spirit of cooperation and compromise, is there something that we can at least have a discussion to look at some of these allegations to find a path forward that’s less litigious?” At that point, Mr. Trump had filed two lawsuits in his personal capacity and on behalf of the campaign in Georgia, but the United States had not filed—and never did file—any. Mr.

Meadows used a personal account in his attempts to reach the secretary of state before.

- Mr. Meadows was chief of staff during the post-election period when other White House staff, including the press secretary, advanced claims of election fraud. In one press conference, the press secretary claimed that there were “very real claims” of fraud that the Trump re-election campaign was pursuing and said that mail-in voting was one that “we have identified as being particularly prone to fraud.”

- Mr. Meadows participated in a meeting that reportedly occurred on December 18, 2020, with Mr. Trump, the White House counsel, an attorney associated with the campaign, White House staff, and private citizens, on proposals relating to challenging the 2020 election results. During the meeting, the participants reportedly discussed purported foreign interference in the election, seizing voting machines, invoking certain Federal laws like the National Emergencies Act, and appointing one of the attendees as a special counsel with a Top Secret security clearance to investigate fraud in the election. White House officials, including Mr. Meadows, may have resisted some of the proposals, but, at one point, Mr. Trump reportedly said: “You [White House] guys are offering me nothing. These guys are at least offering me a chance. They’re saying they have the evidence. Why not try this?”

- Mr. Meadows reportedly sent an email—subject line: “Constitutional Analysis of the Vice President’s Authority for January 6, 2021, Vote Count”—to a member of then-Vice President Pence’s senior staff containing a memo written by an attorney affiliated with Mr. Trump’s re-election campaign. The memo argued that the Vice President could declare electoral votes in six States in dispute when they came up for a vote during the Joint Session of Congress on January 6, 2021, which would require those States’ legislatures to send a response to Congress by 7 p.m. EST on January 15 or, if they did not, then congressional delegations would vote for Mr. Trump’s re-election.

- Mr. Meadows was in contact with at least some of the private individuals who planned and organized a January 6 rally, one of whom reportedly may have expressed safety concerns to Mr. Meadows about January 6 events. Mr. Meadows used his personal cell phone to discuss the rally in the days leading up to January 6.

- Mr. Meadows described in his book, *The Chief’s Chief*, specific conversations that he had with Mr. Trump while he was the President about, among other things, fraud in the election and the January 6th attack on the United States Capitol. In one passage about the election, Mr. Meadows quotes Mr. Trump. In another passage about January 6, Mr. Meadows describes a conversation he had with Mr. Trump after Mr. Trump spoke to rally goers and, presumably, just after the attack on the Capitol had started.

It is apparent that Mr. Meadows’s testimony and document production are of critical importance to the Select Committee’s investigation. Congress, through the Select Committee, is entitled to discover facts concerning what led to the attack on the U.S. Capitol on January 6, as well as White House officials’ actions and communications during and after the attack. Mr. Meadows is uniquely situated to provide key information, having straddled an official role in the White House and unofficial role related to Mr. Trump’s re-election campaign since at least election day in 2020 through January 6.

B. Mr. Meadows has refused to comply with the Select Committee’s subpoena.

On September 23, 2021, the Select Committee sent a subpoena to Mr. Meadows ordering the production of both documents and

testimony relevant to the Select Committee's investigation. The accompanying letter set forth a schedule specifying categories of related documents sought by the Select Committee on topics including, but not limited to, documents and communications regarding the 2020 election results sent or transmitted between White House officials and officials of State or local governments; communications regarding challenging, decertifying, overturning, or contesting the results of the 2020 presidential election; communications with Members of Congress on January 6 relating to or referring to the attack on the Capitol; documents and communications related to security of the Capitol or other Federal facilities on January 5, 2021, and January 6, 2021; and documents and communications regarding any plan for the former President to march or walk to the Capitol.

The subpoena required Mr. Meadows to produce the requested documents to the Select Committee on October 7, 2021, and to provide testimony on October 15, 2021. As authorized by Mr. Meadows, attorney Scott Gast accepted service of this subpoena on behalf of Mr. Meadows on September 23, 2021. On October 7, 2021, George J. Terwilliger, III, sent a letter to the Select Committee advising that he had been retained to serve as counsel to Mr. Meadows for purposes of the Select Committee's inquiry.

On October 12, 2021, Mr. Terwilliger and staff for the Select Committee had a telephone call to discuss the Select Committee's subpoena to Mr. Meadows. During that call, staff for the Select Committee previewed certain topics of inquiry they intended to develop during Mr. Meadows's deposition and for which claims of executive privilege should not apply. Chairman THOMPSON included that list of topics in a later letter to Mr. Terwilliger dated October 25, 2021.

On October 13, 2021, Mr. Terwilliger emailed staff for the Select Committee and referenced "the potential for conflicting directions from former-President Trump and President Biden as to preservation of privileges concerning senior presidential advisors and communication by the same in that role." Mr. Terwilliger stated that he was scheduled to discuss "privilege issues" with the White House [c]ounsel's office on October 14 but indicated that it was "not clear . . . that, in whole or in part, relevant privileges would not attach to Mr. Meadows's testimony" as to topics that staff for the Select Committee outlined during the October 12 telephone call. Accordingly, he informed the Select Committee that he "could not advise" Mr. Meadows to "commit to testifying" on the subpoena designated date of October 15. Mr. Terwilliger also emailed to staff for the Select Committee an October 6, 2021, letter from former-President Trump's counsel, Justin Clark, to Mr. Meadows's then-counsel, Mr. Gast, expressing former-President Trump's apparent belief that "Mr. Meadows is immune from compelled congressional testimony on matters related to his official responsibilities." The letter also purports to "instruct[]" Mr. Meadows "(a) where appropriate, invoke any immunities and privilege he may have from compelled testimony in response to the [s]ubpoena; (b) not produce any documents concerning his official duties in response to the [s]ubpoena; and (c) not provide any testimony concerning his official duties in response to the [s]ubpoena."

On October 25, 2021, Chairman THOMPSON responded to Mr. Terwilliger's October 7, 2021, letter and October 13, 2021, email. He stated that even assuming that, as a former President, Mr. Trump is permitted to formally invoke executive privilege, Mr. Trump had not communicated an invocation of privilege, either formally or informally, to

the Select Committee with respect to Mr. Meadows's production of documents or appearance to provide testimony. The October 25 response from Chairman THOMPSON further stated that—even assuming a privilege applied to Mr. Meadows's documents and testimony and former-President Trump had formally invoked a privilege (which was not the case)—Mr. Meadows does not enjoy anything like the type of blanket testimonial immunity former-President Trump and Mr. Terwilliger suggested would insulate Mr. Meadows from an obligation to comply with the Select Committee's subpoena. The letter also noted that, regardless, the information the Select Committee seeks from Mr. Meadows involves a range of subjects that cannot be considered part of Mr. Meadows's "official responsibilities," including but not limited to "communications and meetings involving people who did not work for the United States government"; "Mr. Meadows's campaign-related activities"; and "communications and meetings about topics for which the Department of Justice and the White House have expressly declined to assert executive privilege."

The Chairman's October 25 letter extended the subpoena's document production deadline to November 5, 2021, and extended Meadows's appearance for deposition testimony to November 12, 2021. It also made clear that the Select Committee would view failure to respond to the subpoena as willful non-compliance, which would force the Select Committee to consider invoking the contempt of Congress procedures pursuant to 2 U.S.C. §§ 192 and 194, as well as the possibility of civil enforcement proceedings.

On November 3, 2021, Mr. Terwilliger transmitted a letter to the Select Committee, responding to Chairman THOMPSON's October 25, 2021, letter with respect to the production of documents. In it, Mr. Terwilliger stated that he was "not aware at this time of any documents that are responsive to the Select Committee's subpoena and maintained in Mr. Meadows's custody or control," and that he "therefore ha[d] no documents to produce to the Select Committee."

That same day, Mr. Terwilliger transmitted to the Select Committee a second letter. In it, Mr. Terwilliger suggested that Mr. Meadows maintains a "good faith" belief that he cannot comply with the subpoena and testify before Congress and, instead, proposed unspecified accommodations. Notably, Mr. Terwilliger acknowledged that courts had universally rejected Mr. Meadows's position on absolute testimonial immunity, but claimed that the executive branch had never "retreated from that position" and that the Supreme Court had never weighed in.

On November 5, 2021, Chairman THOMPSON responded to Mr. Terwilliger's November 3 letters. Chairman THOMPSON noted that although Mr. Terwilliger stated that Mr. Meadows had no documents to produce to the Select Committee, Mr. Terwilliger had previously indicated that he had gathered documents from Mr. Meadows and was reviewing those documents for responsiveness. The November 5 letter also reiterated Mr. Meadows's obligation to provide a privilege log detailing each document and each privilege that he believes applied for any responsive documents so the Select Committee could evaluate whether any additional actions are appropriate, reminded Mr. Terwilliger that categorical claims of executive privilege are improper and that Mr. Meadows must assert any such claim made by former-President Trump narrowly and specifically. Chairman THOMPSON further noted that the Select Committee had received information suggesting that Mr. Meadows used his personal cell phone for communications relevant to the Select Com-

mittee's inquiry, some of which potentially would fall under Presidential Records Act requirements. Accordingly, Chairman THOMPSON requested that Mr. Terwilliger identify for the Select Committee the current location of Mr. Meadows's cell phone and whether Mr. Meadows provided his texts and other relevant cell phone records to the National Archives.

In an effort to reach an accommodation with respect to Mr. Meadows's deposition, the November 5, 2021, letter provided further information regarding the topics the Select Committee intended to develop with Mr. Meadows during the deposition, some of which the Chairman had previously identified in his October 25, 2021, letter. These topics included but were not limited to "[m]essaging to or from the White House, Trump reelection campaign, party officials, and others about purported fraud, irregularities, or malfeasance in the November 2020 election"; "[e]fforts to pressure federal agencies, including the Department of Justice, to take actions to challenge the results of the presidential election, advance allegations of voter fraud, interfere with Congress's count of the Electoral College vote, or otherwise overturn President Biden's certified victory"; "[e]fforts to pressure former Vice President Pence, members of his staff, and Members of Congress to delay or prevent certification of the Electoral College vote"; "[c]ampaign related activities" including Mr. Meadows's "travel to Georgia" and contacts with "officials and employees in the Georgia secretary of state's Office"; "[m]eetings or other communications involving people who did not work for the United States government" including "Michael Flynn, Patrick Byrne," and "organizers of the January 6 rally like Amy Kremer"; and "[a]dvance knowledge of, and any preparations for, the possibility of violence during election-related rallies and/or protests in Washington, D.C." The letter made clear that the Select Committee did not expect to seek information from Mr. Meadows unrelated to the 2020 election and what led to and occurred on January 6, and indicated a willingness to discuss and negotiate any additional areas or subjects about which the Select Committee would seek information from Mr. Meadows as the Select Committee continued its investigation. Chairman THOMPSON invited input from Mr. Meadows on the delineated topics by November 8. As in previous correspondence, Chairman THOMPSON stated that the Select Committee would view failure to respond to the subpoena as willful non-compliance, which would force the Select Committee to consider invoking the contempt of Congress procedures pursuant to 2 U.S.C. §§ 192 and 194, in addition to the possibility of civil enforcement proceedings.

On November 8, 2021, Mr. Terwilliger responded, stating that he was "reiterate[ing]" Mr. Meadows's position that he "cannot be compelled to provide congressional testimony" as a former White House chief of staff. As a purported "accommodation," Mr. Terwilliger proposed "that the Select Committee propound written interrogatories to Mr. Meadows on any topics about which the Select Committee may wish to inquire." Mr. Terwilliger also indicated that Mr. Meadows had provided him with access to electronic images from his personal accounts and devices, the review of which was "ongoing." Regarding the list of topics outlined in the November 5 letter, Mr. Terwilliger asserted, without specifically and narrowly addressing on a topic-by-topic basis, that the topics "plainly implicate executive privilege even under a narrow interpretation of it," and expressed the belief that Mr. Meadows could not testify about the topics without implicating executive privilege.

In a November 9, 2021, letter to Mr. Terwilliger, Chairman THOMPSON stated that Mr. Terwilliger's November 8 letter failed to respond with any specificity about the topics of inquiry by the Select Committee, leading the Select Committee to assume that Mr. Terwilliger believed that all of the topics potentially implicated executive privilege. Chairman THOMPSON further stated that without further input on those topics, which the Select Committee had requested in its November 5 letter, the Select Committee must insist that Mr. Meadows appear for a deposition on November 12, as required by the subpoena, and that written interrogatories were not an acceptable substitute for live, in-person testimony. The November 9 letter further stated that the Select Committee had identified evidence regarding Mr. Meadows's use of personal cellular phone and email accounts, and, because of that, it would be a subject of inquiry during the November 12 deposition. The letter listed eight specific questions concerning the information that the Select Committee would seek to develop regarding this issue, none of which implicated any executive or other privilege.

Meanwhile, on November 9, 2021, the Federal District Court for the District of Columbia issued a ruling rejecting Donald Trump's attempt to prohibit disclosure of White House documents to the Select Committee by asserting the executive privilege. The Federal court held "that the public interest lies in permitting—not enjoining—the combined will of the legislative and executive branches to study the events that led to and occurred on January 6, and to consider legislation to prevent such events from ever occurring again." The United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit affirmed the district court's ruling on December 9, 2021.

On November 10, 2021, Mr. Terwilliger acknowledged receipt of Chairman THOMPSON's November 9, 2021, letter, but did not address the eight specific questions Chairman THOMPSON included in his letter, instead stating that "Mr. Meadows cannot agree to appear at 10 AM Friday" and again claiming that Mr. Meadows believed that "senior aides to the president cannot be compelled to provide congressional testimony."

On November 11, 2021, the White House Counsel's Office issued a letter to Mr. Terwilliger regarding the Select Committee's subpoena to Mr. Meadows. That letter stated: "in recognition of these unique and extraordinary circumstances, where Congress is investigating an effort to obstruct the lawful transfer of power under our Constitution, President Biden has already determined that an assertion of executive privilege is not in the public interest, and is therefore not justified, with respect to particular subjects within the purview of the Select Committee." The letter further noted that, consistent with this determination, President Biden "will not assert executive privilege with respect to [Mr. Meadows's] deposition testimony on these subjects, or any documents your client may possess that may bear on them," and "will not assert immunity to preclude [Mr. Meadows] from testifying before the Select Committee."

Later on November 11, 2021, Chairman THOMPSON sent another letter to Mr. Terwilliger. This letter summarized the correspondence between Mr. Terwilliger and the Select Committee, and again noted that Mr. Meadows's reliance on opinions regarding absolute immunity from the Department of Justice Office of Legal Counsel ("OLC") was misguided given that their reasoning has been rejected by all Federal courts to have considered the issue of absolute immunity. The Chairman's letter emphasized that, in

any event, the White House Counsel's Office letter from earlier that day "eviscerates any plausible claim of testimonial immunity or executive privilege, and compels compliance with the Select Committee's subpoena."

On November 12, 2021, at 10 a.m., Mr. Meadows failed to appear at the designated location to provide testimony relevant to the Select Committee's inquiry in response to questions posed, as was required by the subpoena. He also failed to produce any responsive documents or a privilege log identifying the specific basis for withholding any documents believed to be protected by privilege.

On November 19, 2021, a full week after Mr. Meadows failed to appear for a deposition and two weeks after the deadline to produce documents, Mr. Terwilliger sent a letter to Chairman THOMPSON purportedly seeking an accommodation and suggesting, again, that the Select Committee send interrogatories to Mr. Meadows as a first step in a longer accommodation process that "could," depending on certain negotiations and parameters, result in a limited "deposition" "outside of compulsion by subpoena." Mr. Terwilliger made clear that Mr. Meadows would only answer interrogatories on a narrow range of topics, and even on those topics would not provide any information regarding communications with the former President, former senior White House aides, and other individuals with whom Mr. Meadows spoke on behalf of the President unless the former President explicitly authorized him to do so.

Chairman THOMPSON responded to Mr. Terwilliger on November 22, 2021. In his response, the Chairman rejected Mr. Terwilliger's proposal to proceed by interrogatories instead of lawfully-compelled testimony and production of documents. In rejecting Mr. Terwilliger's proposal for a second time, the Chairman noted that "[w]hen Mr. Meadows first proposed interrogatories, he asked that the Select Committee 'propound' them, but did not say that he would actually provide any substantive information in response." The Chairman further noted, "[n]ow, after his failure to comply with the Select Committee's subpoena, [Mr. Meadows] has added conditions: (1) the interrogatories can only ask questions about two days in January 2021 and Mr. Meadows's communications with the Department of Justice; and (2) Mr. Meadows will only respond to questions about his communications 'with or on behalf of the [former] President, or with other senior White House aides' provided that he first obtains the former President's approval." Chairman THOMPSON then walked through the Select Committee's lengthy correspondence with Mr. Terwilliger, and explained that "[t]his history has led the Select Committee to suspect that you are simply engaged in an effort to delay, and that Mr. Meadows has no genuine intent to offer any testimony on any relevant topic." Nevertheless, the Chairman extended Mr. Meadows an opportunity to show that he was operating in good faith by instructing Mr. Meadows to provide documents responsive to the original subpoena by November 26, 2021, and to appear for a deposition that the Chairman would convene on November 29, 2021 (later moved to December 8, 2021). In doing so, Chairman THOMPSON reiterated that Mr. Meadows may object to specific questions that he believes raise privilege concerns so that he and the Select Committee could engage in further discussions about his privilege arguments. In closing, Chairman THOMPSON indicated that the Select Committee would "defer consideration of enforcement steps regarding Mr. Meadows's non-compliance with the Select Committee's subpoena pending the November 26 production of documents and November 29 deposition."

Mr. Terwilliger responded to Chairman THOMPSON's letter by two separate letters dated November 26, 2021. In his first letter, Mr. Meadows, through counsel, specifically agreed to appear for a "deposition to answer questions on what you believe to be non-privileged matters" subject to certain proposed conditions. In his separate letter, Mr. Michael Francisco, another attorney representing Mr. Meadows, explained that Mr. Meadows was making an "initial" document production of 1,139 documents responsive to the Select Committee's subpoena that were found in Mr. Meadows's personal Gmail account and that counsel was reviewing information from Mr. Meadows's personal cell phone, which Mr. Meadows "did not retain . . . after January 2021." Mr. Francisco also provided a privilege log with that document production showing that Mr. Meadows was withholding hundreds more documents found in his personal Gmail account due to claims of executive, marital, and other protective privileges.

On November 28, 2021, Chairman THOMPSON responded to counsel's letters and indicated that he was willing to accommodate Mr. Meadows's request for a deposition during the week of December 6 provided that he complete his production of documents no later than Friday, December 3, 2021. Chairman THOMPSON also explained that the Select Committee would ask questions of Mr. Meadows relevant to the investigation and consistent with Chairman THOMPSON's previous letters about executive privilege. Chairman THOMPSON again explained his hope that Mr. Meadows would answer the questions posed, but also said that Mr. Meadows should assert any privileges that he believed applied on a question-by-question basis on the record to inform continued discussions. As an accommodation, Chairman THOMPSON also agreed to provide in advance of the depositions the documents that the Select Committee intended to use in its questioning. Mr. Terwilliger agreed to the deposition format as explained in the November 28 letter during a call with Select Committee staff.

As requested by Chairman THOMPSON, on December 3, 2021, Mr. Francisco produced approximately 2,300 text messages obtained from data backed up from Mr. Meadows's personal cell phone. In doing so, Mr. Francisco also produced a privilege log with the document production showing that Mr. Meadows was withholding over 1,000 more text messages from his personal cell phone due to claims of executive, marital, and other protective privileges.

Then, on December 7, 2021, Mr. Terwilliger sent a letter explaining that Mr. Meadows would not attend a deposition on December 8, as he had previously agreed to do. During a call with Select Committee staff that same day, Mr. Terwilliger indicated that Mr. Meadows would not appear at all, even to discuss the documents that he had already provided to the Select Committee and that were not covered by any claim of protective privilege.

To date, and despite the opportunity that the Select Committee gave to Mr. Meadows to cure his previous non-compliance with the Select Committee's subpoena, Mr. Meadows has never appeared for a compelled or voluntary deposition to answer any of the Select Committee's questions, even questions about the documents that Mr. Meadows has produced to the Select Committee.

C. Mr. Meadows's purported basis for non-compliance is wholly without merit.

As explained above, as part of its legislative function, Congress has the power to compel witnesses to testify and produce documents. An individual—whether a member of the public or an executive branch official—

has a legal (and patriotic) obligation to comply with a duly issued and valid congressional subpoena, unless a valid and overriding privilege or other legal justification permits non-compliance. In *United States v. Bryan*, the Supreme Court stated:

A subpoena has never been treated as an invitation to a game of hare and hounds, in which the witness must testify only if cornered at the end of the chase. If that were the case, then, indeed, the great power of testimonial compulsion, so necessary to the effective functioning of courts and legislatures, would be a nullity. We have often iterated the importance of this public duty, which every person within the jurisdiction of the Government is bound to perform when properly summoned.

It is important to note that the Select Committee sought testimony from Mr. Meadows on information for which there can be no conceivable privilege claim. Examples of that information are provided in this report, and the non-privileged nature of some key information has been recognized by Mr. Meadows's own production documents. The Select Committee has been entitled to Mr. Meadows's testimony on that information, regardless of his claims of privilege over other categories of information.

In *United States v. Nixon*, 418 U.S. 683, 703–16 (1974), the Supreme Court recognized an implied constitutional privilege protecting presidential communications. The Court held though that the privilege is qualified, not absolute, and that it is limited to communications made “in performance of [a President's] responsibilities of his office and made in the process of shaping policies and making decisions.” Executive privilege is a recognized privilege that, under certain circumstances, may be invoked to bar congressional inquiry into communications covered by the privilege.

Mr. Meadows has refused to testify in response to the subpoena ostensibly based on broad and undifferentiated assertions of various privileges, including claims of executive privilege purportedly asserted by former-President Trump. As the Select Committee has repeatedly pointed out to Mr. Meadows, his claims of testimonial immunity and executive privilege do not justify Mr. Meadows's conduct with respect to the Select Committee's subpoena. His legal position is particularly untenable in light of the incumbent President's decision to not assert testimonial immunity or executive privilege with respect to subjects on which the Select Committee seeks information from Mr. Meadows. And it is untenable in light of Mr. Meadows's public descriptions of events in the book that he is trying to sell and during his numerous television appearances.

Even if privileges were applicable to some aspects of Mr. Meadows's testimony, he was required to appear before the Select Committee for his deposition, answer any questions concerning non-privileged information, and assert any such privilege on a question-by-question basis. After promising to appear, Mr. Meadows has now reversed course and resumed his contemptuous behavior. Mr. Meadows's conduct in response to the Select Committee's subpoena constitutes a violation of the contempt of Congress statutory provisions.

1. The incumbent President has declined to assert claims of executive privilege and testimonial immunity.

President Biden has declined to assert claims of executive privilege or testimonial immunity regarding subjects about which the Select Committee seeks documents and testimony from Mr. Meadows. That fact matters because, even if a former President at-

tempts to prevent disclosure of certain information through assertions of executive privilege, the former President's privilege is subordinate to executive privilege determinations made by the incumbent President. “[I]t is the new President [not his predecessor] who has the information and attendant duty of executing the laws in the light of current facts and circumstances,” and “the primary, if not the exclusive” duty of deciding when the need of maintaining confidentiality in communications “outweighs whatever public interest or need may reside in disclosure.” *Dellums v. Powell*, 561 F.2d 242, 247 (D.C. Cir. 1977).

Indeed, in briefings in *Trump v. Thompson*, litigation involving a lawsuit against the Select Committee and the National Archives and Records Administration, DOJ has explained, even more specifically, why President Biden's decision controls whether information relevant to the Select Committee's investigation should be disclosed. DOJ said, among other things, that “[a] former President has no responsibility for the current execution of the law” and “[a]bsent unusual circumstances, allowing a former President to override decisions by the incumbent President regarding disclosure of Executive Branch information would be an extraordinary intrusion” into executive branch authority.

In other words, “[a]llowing a former President to block disclosure of Executive Branch information that the incumbent President has determined is in the national interest to share with Congress would be even more clearly contrary to well-established principles governing the exercise of sovereign authority.” This is consistent with the District Court's decision in the same litigation, in which it rejected Mr. Trump's position and explained that Mr. Trump “is no longer situated to protect executive branch interests with the information and attendant duty of executing the laws in the light of current facts and circumstances” and because “he no longer remains subject to political checks against potential abuse of that power.”

In his November 3 letter, Mr. Terwilliger stated that “it would be untenable for Mr. Meadows to decide unilaterally that he will waive privileges that not only protected his own work as a senior White House official but also protect current and future White House officials, who rely on executive privilege in giving their best, most candid advice to the President.” Of course, Mr. Meadows appears to have already done that by recounting in his book and on national television specific conversations and deliberations he had with Mr. Trump about events related to the January 6th attack on the United States Capitol. But, even if he had not done all of that, he still need not worry about making such decisions “unilaterally” because the incumbent President has already declined to assert executive privilege or testimonial immunity regarding subjects about which the Select Committee seeks information. Mr. Meadows has known since he received the White House's letter on November 11, 2021, that President Biden determined that “an assertion of privilege is not justified with respect to testimony and documents” and that President Biden “will not assert executive privilege with respect to [Mr. Meadows's] deposition testimony on these subjects, or any documents [Mr. Meadows] may possess that bear on them relevant to the Select Committee's investigation.” President Biden came to this conclusion “in recognition of these unique and extraordinary circumstances, where Congress is investigating an effort to obstruct the lawful transfer of power under our Constitution.” Despite all of this, Mr. Meadows failed to appear for his deposition on November 12. When

given the opportunity to cure his earlier contempt and appear for a deposition well after the subpoena's deadlines, he, once again, failed to do so.

2. Mr. Trump has not formally invoked executive privilege.

Former President Trump has had no communication with the Select Committee. In an October 11 email to the Select Committee, Mr. Meadows's attorney attached an October 6, 2021, letter from Mr. Trump's attorney, Justin Clark, in which Mr. Clark claimed that the Select Committee subpoena seeks information that is “unquestionably protected from disclosure by the executive and other privileges, including among others the presidential communications, deliberative process, and attorney-client privileges.” Mr. Clark stated that former-President Trump “is prepared to defend these fundamental privileges in court.” Mr. Clark also relayed that, “to the fullest extent permitted by law, President Trump instructs Mr. Meadows to: (a) where appropriate, invoke any immunities and privileges he may have from compelled testimony in response to the Subpoena; and (c) not provide any testimony concerning his official duties in response to the Subpoena.” But without a formal assertion by Mr. Trump to the Select Committee, Mr. Meadows cannot establish the foundational element of a claim of executive privilege: an invocation of the privilege by the executive.

In *United States v. Reynolds*, 345 U.S. 1, 7–8 (1953), the Supreme Court held that executive privilege:

[B]elongs to the Government and must be asserted by it; it can neither be claimed nor waived by a private party. It is not to be lightly invoked. There must be a formal claim of privilege, lodged by the head of the department which has control over the matter, after actual personal consideration by that officer.

Here, the Select Committee has not been provided by Mr. Trump with any formal invocation of executive privilege. There is no legal authority—and neither Mr. Meadows nor former-President Trump nor his counsel have cited any—holding that a vague statement by someone who is not a government official that a former President has an intention to assert a privilege absolves a subpoena recipient of his duty to comply. Such indirect, non-specific assertion of privilege, without any description of the documents or testimony over which privilege is claimed, is insufficient to activate a claim of executive privilege.

3. Mr. Meadows is not entitled to absolute immunity.

Mr. Meadows has refused to appear for a deposition based on his purported reliance on alleged absolute testimonial immunity. However, even if Mr. Trump had invoked executive privilege, and even if executive privilege reached certain testimony sought by the Select Committee, Mr. Meadows would not be immune from compelled testimony before the Select Committee, especially given the fact that he is no longer a high-level White House official.

All courts that have reviewed this issue have been clear: even senior White House aides who advise the President on official government business are not immune from compelled congressional process. Instead, Mr. Meadows acknowledges that this theory of immunity is based entirely on internal memoranda from OLC that courts, in relevant parts, have uniformly rejected. Nevertheless, Mr. Meadows refused to appear at his deposition.

Moreover, by their own terms, the OLC opinions on which Mr. Meadows relies are limited, applying only to testimony “about [a senior official’s] official duties,” not testimony about unofficial duties. Many of the topics that Chairman THOMPSON identified in his correspondence are unrelated to Mr. Meadows’s official duties and would neither fall under the reach of the “absolute immunity” theory nor any privilege whatsoever. For instance:

- Mr. Meadows was not conducting official and privileged business when he participated in a January 2021 call with campaign lawyers and State officials in which the participants urged State legislators to overturn the results of the November 2020 election and guarantee a second term for Mr. Trump;

- Mr. Meadows was not conducting official and privileged business when he participated in another call with campaign lawyers and the Georgia secretary of state in which Mr. Trump urged the Georgia secretary of state to “find” enough votes to ensure his campaign’s victory in Georgia; and

- Mr. Meadows was not engaged in official and privileged business when he used his personal accounts and/or devices to contact the Georgia secretary of state or speak with private organizers of a rally on the Ellipse that occurred just before the attack on the U.S. Capitol.

The Select Committee specifically identified to Mr. Meadows these and other topics as subjects for his deposition testimony, and he had the legal obligation to appear before the Select Committee and address them on the record.

Mr. Meadows’s production of documents to the Select Committee highlights that he has information relevant to the Select Committee’s inquiry that he himself acknowledges is not subject to any privilege. His refusal to provide testimony on such subjects further evidences willful non-compliance with the Select Committee’s deposition subpoena. Mr. Meadows produced to the Select Committee certain communications with campaign staff, Members of Congress, and acquaintances that do not involve official business, while withholding others that presumably do involve official business because of “executive privilege.” In doing so, Mr. Meadows has clearly acknowledged that he has relevant information that is not related to his official conduct. And because the relevant information that he has is not related to his official conduct, Mr. Meadows cannot avoid a deposition in which he would be asked questions about those documents by invoking an OLC opinion that is limited to testimony about “official duties.”

4. *Even if Mr. Trump had properly invoked executive privilege and Mr. Meadows had properly asserted it, the privilege would not bar the Select Committee from obtaining evidence from Mr. Meadows.*

The law is clear that executive privilege does not extend to discussions relating to non-governmental business or among private citizens. In *In re Sealed Case (Espy)*, 121 F.3d 729, 752 (D.C. Cir. 1997), the court explained that the presidential communications privilege covers “communications authored or solicited and received by those members of an immediate White House adviser’s staff who have broad and significant responsibility for investigating and formulating the advice to be given the President on the particular matter to which the communications relate.” The court stressed that the privilege only applies to communications intended to advise the President “on official government matters.”

As noted above, the Select Committee seeks information from Mr. Meadows on a wide range of subjects that executive privi-

lege cannot conceivably reach. For example, the Select Committee seeks information from Mr. Meadows about his interactions with private citizens, Members of Congress, or others outside the White House related to the 2020 election or efforts to overturn its results. Mr. Meadows has repeatedly refused to answer any questions about these matters. He has even refused to answer questions about the documents that he himself produced to the Select Committee without any assertions of privilege.

Even with respect to Select Committee inquiries that involve Mr. Meadows’s direct communications with Mr. Trump, executive privilege does not bar Select Committee access to that information. Only communications that relate to official government business can be covered by the presidential communications privilege. Here, Mr. Meadows’s conduct regarding several subjects of concern to the Select Committee is not related to official government business, such as: Meadows’s participation in calls and meetings that clearly concerned Mr. Trump’s campaign rather than his official duties; or, Mr. Meadows’s participation in meetings with Mr. Trump and private individuals about seizing voting machines or taking other steps related to the election that could reportedly, in Mr. Trump’s words, “offer[] me a chance”; or, Mr. Meadows’s contacts with organizers of the January 6th rally on the Ellipse.

Moreover, even with respect to any subjects of concern that arguably involve official government business, the Select Committee’s need for this information to investigate the facts and circumstances surrounding the horrific January 6 assault on the U.S. Capitol and the Nation’s democratic institutions far outweighs any possible executive branch interest at this point in maintaining confidentiality. As noted by the executive, “the constitutional protections of executive privilege should not be used to shield information reflecting an effort to subvert the Constitution itself, and indeed [the President] believes that such an assertion in this circumstance would be at odds with the principles that underlie the privilege.”

Finally, when explaining his claim of privilege to the Select Committee, Mr. Meadows has suggested that he has no choice but to avoid testifying because, as White House chief of staff, he had “assumed responsibility to protect Executive Privilege during and after his tenure,” and that he had “assumed that responsibility not for his own benefit but for the benefit of all those who will serve after him, including future presidents.” He included in a separate letter a passage about the importance of executive branch confidentiality to “ensure that the President can obtain . . . sound and candid advice.” Those words are belied by Mr. Meadows’s conduct.

To be sure, the Supreme Court has made clear that executive privilege is rooted in the need for confidentiality to ensure that presidential decision-making is informed by honest advice and full knowledge: “[h]uman experience teaches that those who expect public dissemination of their remarks may well temper candor with a concern for appearances and for their own interests to the detriment of the decision-making process.” In *Nixon v. GSA*, the Supreme Court again considered issues related to executive privilege and balanced the important interests served by the Presidential Records Act against the intrusion into presidential confidentiality caused by compliance with the Act. Thus, a valid claim of executive privilege presumes that the information sought to discovered is confidential and that the need to maintain that confidentiality outweighs the interests promoted by disclosure.

Here, however, executive privilege and the need to maintain confidentiality is severely undermined, if not entirely vitiated, by Mr. Meadows’s own extensive public disclosure of his communications with the former President, including on issues directly implicated by the Select Committee’s subpoena. Mr. Meadows has appeared on national television discussing the January 6th attack on the U.S. Capitol and related conversations with former-President Trump. And he has written about what former-President Trump told him on January 6th in his newly released book. Mr. Meadows’s conduct relating to the very subjects of interest to the Select Committee foreclose a claim of executive privilege with respect to those disclosures. Moreover, Mr. Meadows’s statements to the Select Committee about his professed need to protect presidential confidentiality rings hollow in the face of his cavalier and repeated disclosure of presidential communications in circumstances where doing so appears to suit his personal or political interests. Mr. Meadows has shown his willingness to talk about issues related to the Select Committee’s investigation across a variety of media platforms—anywhere, it seems, except to the Select Committee.

For the reasons stated above, Mr. Meadows’s own conduct and the determination by the current executive overrides any claim by Mr. Trump (even assuming Mr. Trump had invoked executive privilege with respect to Mr. Meadows). Furthermore, Mr. Meadows has refused Chairman THOMPSON’s numerous invitations to assert executive privilege on a question-by-question basis, making it impossible for the Select Committee to consider any good-faith executive privilege assertions. And, as discussed above, such concerns are wholly inapplicable to the broad range of subjects about which the Select Committee seeks Mr. Meadows’s testimony that Mr. Meadows has acknowledged involve non-privileged matters.

D. *Precedent supports the Select Committee’s position to proceed with holding Mr. Meadows in contempt.*

An individual who fails or refuses to comply with a House subpoena may be cited for contempt of Congress. Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 192, the willful refusal to comply with a congressional subpoena is punishable by a fine of up to \$100,000 and imprisonment for up to 1 year. In *Quinn v. United States*, the Supreme Court said that “Section 192, like the ordinary federal criminal statute, requires a criminal intent—in this instance, a deliberate, intentional refusal to answer.” And proving criminal intent in this context is no more than showing a “deliberate” “refusal to answer pertinent questions”; it does not require a showing of “moral turpitude.” A committee may vote to seek a contempt citation against a recalcitrant witness. This action is then reported to the House. If a resolution to that end is adopted by the House, the matter is referred to a U.S. Attorney, who has a duty to refer the matter to a grand jury for an indictment.

Mr. Meadows has previously recognized the importance of congressional access to information from executive branch officials to advance congressional investigations. As a Representative in Congress, he served as ranking member of the House Committee on Oversight and Reform. In that position, he expected that even senior executive branch officials such as the Deputy Attorney General comply with Congress’s subpoenas. Indeed, such an expectation is consistent with precedent spanning Republican and Democratic administrations under which top White House aides have provided testimony to Congress. Further, his recent assertion to the Select Committee that he “cannot be

compelled to provide congressional testimony” as a former White House chief of staff runs directly counter to precedent under which top White House aides have provided testimony to Congress under subpoena. For example, former White House Chief of Staff John Podesta and former White House Counsel Beth Nolan testified in 2001 under subpoena regarding President Clinton’s pardons before the House Committee on Government Reform.

Mr. Meadows did not need to be informed of his responsibility to comply with the Select Committee’s subpoena, but Chairman THOMPSON informed him anyway. In his November 11, 2021, letter to Mr. Meadows’s counsel, Chairman THOMPSON advised Mr. Meadows that his claims of executive privilege were not well-founded and did not absolve him of his obligation to produce documents and appear for deposition testimony. The Chairman made clear that the Select Committee expected Mr. Meadows to appear for his scheduled deposition on November 12th and produce the requested documents at that time. The Chairman warned Mr. Meadows that his continued non-compliance would put him in jeopardy of a vote to refer him to the House to consider a criminal contempt referral. Mr. Meadows did not produce documents and did not show up for his deposition. And, when given the opportunity to cure his earlier contempt, Mr. Meadows produced documents but still chose to withhold testimony. Mr. Meadows’s failure to appear for deposition testimony in the face of this clear advisement and warning by the Chairman, and after being given a second chance to cooperate with the Select Committee, constitutes a willful failure to comply with the subpoena.

SELECT COMMITTEE CONSIDERATION

The Select Committee met on Monday, December 13, 2021, with a quorum being present, to consider this Report and ordered it and the Resolution contained herein to be favorably reported to the House, without amendment, by a recorded vote of 9 ayes to 0 noes.

SELECT COMMITTEE VOTE

Clause 3(b) of rule XIII requires the Select Committee to list the recorded votes during consideration of this Report:

1. A motion by Ms. CHENEY to report the Select Committee Report for a Resolution Recommending that the House of Representatives find Mark Randall Meadows in Contempt of Congress for Refusal to Comply with a Subpoena Duly Issued by the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol favorably to the House was agreed to by a recorded vote of 9 ayes to 0 noes (Rollcall No. 3).

Select Committee Rollcall No. 3

Motion by Ms. Cheney to Favorably Report
Agreed to: 9 ayes to 0 noes

Members	Vote
Ms. Cheney, Vice Chair	Aye
Ms. Lofgren	Aye
Mr. Schiff	Aye
Mr. Aguilar	Aye
Mrs. Murphy (FL)	Aye
Mr. Raskin	Aye
Mrs. Luria	Aye
Mr. Kinzinger	Aye
Mr. Thompson (MS), Chairman	Aye

SELECT COMMITTEE OVERSIGHT FINDINGS

In compliance with clause 3(c)(1) of rule XIII, the Select Committee advises that the oversight findings and recommendations of

the Select Committee are incorporated in the descriptive portions of this Report.

CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE ESTIMATE

The Select Committee finds the requirements of clause 3(c)(2) of rule XIII and section 308(a) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, and the requirements of clause 3(c)(3) of rule XIII and section 402 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, to be inapplicable to this Report. Accordingly, the Select Committee did not request or receive a cost estimate from the Congressional Budget Office and makes no findings as to the budgetary impacts of this Report or costs incurred to carry out the Report.

STATEMENT OF GENERAL PERFORMANCE GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

Pursuant to clause 3(c)(4) of rule XIII, the objective of this Report is to enforce the Select Committee’s authority to investigate the facts, circumstances, and causes of the January 6th attack and issues relating to the peaceful transfer of power, in order to identify and evaluate problems and to recommend corrective laws, policies, procedures, rules, or regulations; and to enforce the Select Committee’s subpoena authority found in section 5(c)(4) of House Resolution 503.

ENDNOTES

¹Jonathan Karl, *Betrayal: The Final Act of the Trump Show*, (New York: Dutton, 2021), pp. 297–299.
²Documents on file with the Select Committee; Joshua Kaplan and Joaquin Sapien, “New Details Suggest Senior Trump Aides Knew Jan. 6 Rally Could Get Chaotic,” ProPublica, (June 25, 2021), available at <https://www.propublica.org/article/new-details-suggest-senior-trump-aides-knew-jan-6-rally-could-get-chaotic>.
³Joe Walsh, “Trump Chief of Staff Observes Georgia County’s Ballot Audit Amid Ongoing Baseless Fraud Claims,” *Forbes*, (Dec. 22, 2020), available at <https://www.forbes.com/sites/joewalsh/2020/12/22/trump-chief-of-staff-observes-georgia-countys-ballot-audit-amid-ongoing-baseless-fraud-claims/?sh=379f2627b411>.
⁴“Here’s the full transcript and audio of the call between Trump and Raffensperger,” *Washington Post*, (Jan. 2, 2021), available at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-raffensperger-call-transcript-georgia-vote/2021/01/03/2768e0cc-4ddd-11eb-83e3-322644d82356-story.html>.
⁵Nicholas Wu, Kyle Cheney, and Josh Gerstein, “National Archives: Meadows may not have stored all Trump-era records ‘properly,’” *Politico*, (Dec. 9, 2021), available at <https://www.politico.com/news/2021/12/09/national-archives-meadows-trump-524043>.
⁶U.S. Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, “Subverting Justice: How the Former President and His Allies Pressured DOJ to Overturn the 2020 Election,” (Oct. 7, 2021) (“Senate Report”), at pp. 4, 5, 14, 29–39; Documents on file with the Select Committee.
⁷Jonathan Swan and Zachary Basu, “Bonus episode: Inside the craziest meeting of the Trump presidency,” *Axios*, (Feb. 2, 2021), available at <https://www.axios.com/trump-oval-office-meeting-sidney-powell-a8e1e466-2e42-42d0-9cfl-26eb267f8723.html>.
⁸Caitlin McFall, “Trump, House Republicans held call to discuss Electoral College rejection: Brooks,” *Fox News*, (Jan. 2, 2021), available at <https://www.foxnews.com/politics/gop-splits-electoral-college-certification>; Documents on file with the Select Committee.
⁹Karl, *Betrayal*, pp. 259–260.
¹⁰Documents on file with the Select Committee; Joshua Kaplan and Joaquin Sapien, “New Details Suggest Senior Trump Aides Knew Jan. 6 Rally Could Get Chaotic,” ProPublica, (June 25, 2021), available at <https://www.propublica.org/article/new-details-suggest-senior-trump-aides-knew-jan-6-rally-could-get-chaotic>.
¹¹Mark Meadows, *The Chief’s Chief*, (All Seasons Press, 2021), p. 259.
¹²See Appendix, Ex. 3 (Letter from White House Counsel to Counsel for Mr. Meadows, Nov. 11, 2021).
¹³The prison term for this offense makes it a Class A misdemeanor. 18 U.S.C. § 3559(a)(6). By that classification, the penalty for contempt of Congress specified in 2 U.S.C. § 192 increased from \$1,000 to \$100,000. 18 U.S.C. § 3571(b)(5).
¹⁴*United States v. Bryan*, 339 U.S. 323, 331 (1950).
¹⁵*Trump v. Mazars USA LLP*, 140 S.Ct. 2019, 2036 (2020) (emphasis in original; internal quotation marks removed). See also *Watkins v. United States*, 354

U.S. 178, 187–88 (1957) (stating of citizens that “It is their unremitting obligation to respond to subpoenas, to respect the dignity of the Congress and its committees, and to testify fully with respect to matters within the province of proper investigation.”).
¹⁶*Watkins v. United States*, 354 U.S. 178, 187 (1957). See also *Trump v. Mazars USA, LLP*, 140 S.Ct. 2019, 2031 (2020).
¹⁷*McGrain v. Daugherty*, 273 U.S. 135, 174 (1927).
¹⁸*Ashland Oil, Inc. v. FTC*, 409 F.Supp. 297, 305 (D.D.C. 1976), *aff’d*, 548 F.2d 977 (D.C. Cir. 1976) (quoting *McGrain*, 273 U.S. at 175).
¹⁹Pub. L. 79–601, 79th Cong. § 136, (1946).
²⁰Pub. L. 91–510, 91st Cong. § 118, (1970).
²¹Speaker Pelosi detailed such consultation and her selection decisions in a July 21, 2021, press release, available at <https://www.speaker.gov/newsroom/72121-2>.
²²167 Cong. Rec. 115 (July 1, 2021), at p. H3597 and 167 Cong. Rec. 130 (July 26, 2021), at p. H3885. The January 4, 2021, order of the House provides that the Speaker is authorized to accept resignations and to make appointments authorized by law or by the House. See 167 Cong. Rec. 2 (Jan. 4, 2021), at p. H37.
²³House rule XI, cl. 2(m)(1)(B), 117th Cong., (2021); H. Res. 503, 117th Cong. § 5(c)(4), (2021).
²⁴See clause 2(m)(3)(D) of rule XI (“Subpoenas for documents or testimony may be issued to . . . the President, and the Vice President, whether current or former, in a personal or official capacity, as well as the White House, the Office of the President, the Executive Office of the President, and any individual currently or formerly employed in the White House, Office of the President, or Executive Office of the President.”).
²⁵H. Res. 503, 117th Cong. § 5(c)(6), (2021).
²⁶Section 5(c)(4) of H. Res. 503 invokes clause 2(m)(3)(A)(i) of rule XI, which states in pertinent part: “The power to authorize and issue subpoenas under subparagraph (1)(B) may be delegated to the chair of the committee under such rules and under such limitations as the committee may prescribe.”
²⁷H. Res. 503, 117th Cong. § 3(l) (2021).
²⁸Karl, *Betrayal*, pp. 297–299.
²⁹Documents on file with the Select Committee (Meadows production); Carol Leonnig and Philip Rucker, *I Alone Can Fix It*, (New York: Penguin, 2021), p. 476.
³⁰Adam Ciralsky, “The President Threw Us Under the Bus’: Embedding with Pentagon Leadership in Trump’s Chaotic Last Week,” *Vanity Fair*, (Jan. 22, 2021), available at <https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2021/01/embedding-with-pentagon-leadership-in-trumps-chaotic-last-week>.
³¹Documents on file with the Select Committee (Meadows production); Transcript, “The Ingraham Angle,” *Fox News*, (Feb. 11, 2021), available at <https://www.foxnews.com/transcript/biden-warns-china-could-eat-our-lunch-after-phone-call-with-xi>; Transcript, “Hannity,” *Fox News*, (Feb. 12, 2021), available at <https://www.foxnews.com/transcript/new-yorker-who-lost-mother-in-law-in-nursing-home-blasts-disgrace-cuomo>; Testimony of Hon. Christopher C. Miller, U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Oversight and Reform, (May 12, 2021), available at <https://oversight.house.gov/sites/democrats.oversight.house.gov/files/Miller%20Testimony.pdf>.
³²Documents on file with the Select Committee (Meadows production).
³³Documents on file with the Select Committee (Meadows production).
³⁴Documents on file with the Select Committee (Meadows production).
³⁵Documents on file with the Select Committee.
³⁶Michael Bender, *Frankly, We Did Win This Election: The Inside Story of How Trump Lost*, (New York: Grand Central Publishing, 2021), p. 369.
³⁷Documents on file with the Select Committee.
³⁸Marissa Schultz, “Trump meets with members of Congress plotting Electoral College objections on Jan. 6,” *Fox News*, (Dec. 21, 2021), available at <https://www.foxnews.com/politics/members-of-congress-trump-electoral-college-objections-on-jan-6>; Tweet, @MarkMeadows, (Dec. 21, 2020 at 6:03 p.m.) (“Several members of Congress just finished a meeting in the Oval Office with President @realDonaldTrump, preparing to fight back against mounting evidence of voter fraud. Stay tuned.”).
³⁹Caitlin McFall, “Trump, House Republicans held call to discuss Electoral College rejection: Brooks,” *Fox News*, (Jan. 2, 2021), available at <https://www.foxnews.com/politics/gop-splits-electoral-college-certification>; Tweet, @RepMoBrooks, (Jan. 2, 2021 at 7:17 p.m.) (“Our fight for honest & accurate elections gains momentum! @Jim Jordan & I co-lead conference call w 50+ Congressmen who join & fight for America’s Republic! . . . President Trump & CoS Mark Meadows speaking. Morale is HIGH!

FIGHT!”); Paul Bedard, “Exclusive: Trump urges state legislators to reject electoral votes, ‘You are the real power,’” *Washington Examiner*, (Jan. 3, 2021), available at <https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/washington-secrets/exclusive-trump-urges-state-legislators-to-reject-electoral-votes-you-are-the-real-power>.

⁴⁰Linda So, “Trump’s chief of staff could face scrutiny in Georgia criminal probe,” *Reuters*, (March 19, 2021), available at <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-georgia-meadows-insight-idUSKBN2BB0XX>.

⁴¹*Id.*
⁴²“AP FACT CHECK: Trump’s made-up claims of fake Georgia votes,” Associated Press, (Jan. 3, 2021), <https://apnews.com/article/ap-fact-check-donald-trump-georgia-elections-atlanta-c23d10e5299e14dae61098857dafa9>; “Here’s the full transcript and audio of the call between Trump and Raffensperger,” *Washington Post*, (Jan. 2, 2021), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-raffensperger-call-transcript-georgia-vote/2021/01/03/2768e0cc-4ddd-11eb-83e3-322644d82356-story.html>.

⁴³“Here’s the full transcript and audio of the call between Trump and Raffensperger,” *Washington Post*, (Jan. 2, 2021), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-raffensperger-call-transcript-georgia-vote/2021/01/03/2768e0cc-4ddd-11eb-83e3-322644d82356-story.html>.

⁴⁴Documents on file with the Select Committee.
⁴⁵Transcript of November 20, 2020, White House Press Conference, available at <https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/press-secretary-kayleigh-mcnenany-white-house-press-conference-transcript-november-20>.

⁴⁶Jonathan Swan and Zachary Basu, “Bonus episode: Inside the craziest meeting of the Trump presidency,” *Axios*, (Feb. 2, 2021), available at <https://www.axios.com/trump-oval-office-meeting-sidney-powell-a8e1e466-2e42-4d20-9cfl-26eb267f8723.html>.

⁴⁷*Id.*
⁴⁸Maggie Haberman and Zolan Kanno-Youngs, “Trump Weighed Naming Election Conspiracy Theorist as Special Counsel,” *New York Times*, (Dec. 19, 2020), available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/19/us/politics/trump-sidney-powell-voter-fraud.html>.

⁴⁹Jonathan Swan and Zachary Basu, “Bonus episode: Inside the craziest meeting of the Trump presidency,” *Axios*, (Feb. 2, 2021), available at <https://www.axios.com/trump-oval-office-meeting-sidney-powell-a8e1e466-2e42-4d20-9cfl-26eb267f8723.html>.

⁵⁰Karl, *Betrayal*, pp. 259–60.
⁵¹Documents on file with the Select Committee; Joshua Kaplan and Joaquin Sapien, “New Details Suggest Senior Trump Aides Knew Jan. 6 Rally Could Get Chaotic,” *ProPublica*, (June 25, 2021), available at <https://www.propublica.org/article/new-details-suggest-senior-trump-aides-knew-jan-6-rally-could-get-chaotic>.

⁵²Documents on file with the Select Committee.
⁵³Meadows, *The Chief’s Chief*, p. 261.
⁵⁴Meadows, *The Chief’s Chief*, p. 259.
⁵⁵See Appendix, Ex. 1 (Subpoena to Mark Meadows).

⁵⁶*Id.*
⁵⁷See Appendix, Ex. 2 (Various Correspondence).
⁵⁸*Id.*
⁵⁹*Id.*
⁶⁰*Id.*
⁶¹*Id.*
⁶²*Id.*
⁶³*Id.*
⁶⁴*Id.*
⁶⁵*Id.*
⁶⁶*Id.*
⁶⁷*Id.*
⁶⁸*Id.*
⁶⁹*Id.*
⁷⁰*Id.*
⁷¹*Id.*
⁷²*Id.*
⁷³*Id.*
⁷⁴*Id.*
⁷⁵*Id.*
⁷⁶*Id.*
⁷⁷*Id.*
⁷⁸*Id.*
⁷⁹*Id.*
⁸⁰*Id.*
⁸¹*Id.*
⁸²*Id.*
⁸³*Id.*
⁸⁴*Id.*
⁸⁵*Id.*
⁸⁶*Id.*
⁸⁷*Id.*

⁸⁸*Trump v. Thompson*, Case No. 1:21-cv-02769-TSC, Doc. 35 (D.D.C. Nov. 9, 2021) (citations and quotation marks omitted).

⁸⁹*Id.*, at p. 39.

⁹⁰See Appendix, Ex. 2.
⁹¹*Id.*
⁹²*Id.*
⁹³*Id.*
⁹⁴*Id.*
⁹⁵See Appendix, Ex. 5 (Letter from Counsel to Mark Meadows to Chairman THOMPSON, Nov. 19, 2021), at p. 2.
⁹⁶*Id.*, at pp. 1–2.
⁹⁷See Appendix, Ex. 6 (Letter from Chairman THOMPSON to Counsel to Mark Meadows, Nov. 22, 2021).
⁹⁸*Id.*, at p. 1.
⁹⁹*Id.*
¹⁰⁰*Id.*, at p. 2.
¹⁰¹*Id.*, at pp. 2–3.
¹⁰²*Id.*, at p. 3.
¹⁰³*Id.*

¹⁰⁴See Appendix, Ex. 7 (Letter from Counsel to Mark Meadows to Chairman THOMPSON, Nov. 26, 2021), at p. 2.

¹⁰⁵See Appendix, Ex. 8 (Letter from Counsel to Mark Meadows to Chairman THOMPSON, Nov. 26, 2021), at p. 2.

¹⁰⁶See Appendix, Ex. 9 (Letter from Chairman THOMPSON to Counsel to Mark Meadows, Nov. 28, 2021), at p. 1.

¹⁰⁷*Id.*, at p. 2.
¹⁰⁸*Id.*

¹⁰⁹See Appendix, Ex. 10 (Letter from Counsel to Mark Meadows to Chairman THOMPSON, Dec. 3, 2021).

¹¹⁰See Appendix, Ex. 11 (Letter from Counsel to Mark Meadows to Chairman THOMPSON, Dec. 7, 2021).

¹¹¹*McGrain*, 273 U.S. at 174 (“We are of opinion that the power of inquiry—with process to enforce it—is an essential and appropriate auxiliary to the legislative function.”); *Barenblatt v. United States*, 360 U.S. 109, 111 (1959) (“The scope of the power of inquiry, in short, is as penetrating and far-reaching as the potential power to enact and appropriate under the Constitution.”).

¹¹²*Watkins*, 354 U.S. at 187–88 (“It is unquestionably the duty of all citizens to cooperate with the Congress in its efforts to obtain the facts needed for intelligent legislative action.”); see also *Committee on the Judiciary v. Miers*, 558 F. Supp.2d 53, 99 (D.D.C. 2008) (“The Supreme Court has made it abundantly clear that compliance with a congressional subpoena is a legal requirement.”) (citing *United States v. Bryan*, 339 U.S. 323, 331 (1950)).

¹¹³*United States v. Bryan*, 339 U.S. 323, 331 (1950).
¹¹⁴*Nixon v. Administrator of General Services (GSA)*, 433 U.S. 425, 449 (1977) (internal quotes and citations omitted).

¹¹⁵See, e.g., Meadows, *The Chief’s Chief*; “Hannity,” *Fox News*, (Dec. 7, 2021), available at <https://video.foxnews.com/v/6285715473001#sp=show-clips>; “The Ingraham Angle,” *Fox News*, (Dec. 9, 2021), available at <https://www.foxnews.com/media/mark-meadows-potential-contempt-charges-january-6-committee>.

¹¹⁶Brief for Executive Branch Defendants, *Trump v. Thompson*, Case No. 21-5254, Doc. No. 1923461, at p. 28 (D.C. Cir. Nov. 22, 2021) (emphasis added).

¹¹⁷*Id.*, at p. 29 (emphasis in original).
¹¹⁸*Trump v. Thompson*, Case No. 1:21-cv-02769-TSC, Doc. No. 35, at p. 19 (D.D.C. Nov. 9, 2021) (citations and quotation marks omitted).

¹¹⁹See Appendix, Ex. 2.
¹²⁰See Appendix, Ex. 3, at p. 2. White House Deputy Counsel has also made clear that the White House’s position has remained unchanged as of December 8, 2021.

¹²¹*Id.*, at p. 1.
¹²²See Appendix, Ex. 2.

¹²³See *Committee on the Judiciary v. McGahn*, 415 F. Supp.3d 148, 214 (D.D.C. 2019) (and subsequent history) (“To make the point as plain as possible, it is clear to this Court for the reasons explained above that, with respect to senior-level presidential aides, absolute immunity from compelled congressional process simply does not exist.”); *Committee on the Judiciary v. Miers*, 558 F. Supp.2d 53, 101 (D.D.C. 2008) (holding that White House counsel may not refuse to testify based on direction from the President that testimony will implicate executive privilege).

¹²⁴*Id.*; see also Appendix, Ex. 2 (“I recognize, as your letter points out, that to date, the lower courts have not shared [OLC’s] view.”).

¹²⁵Memorandum Opinion for the Counsel to the President, Office of Legal Counsel, *Testimonial Immunity Before Congress of the Former Counsel to the President*, 43 O.L.C. 1 at 1 (May 20, 2019); see also Memorandum Opinion for the Counsel to the President, Office of Legal Counsel, *Immunity of the Former Counsel to the President from Compelled Congressional Testimony*, 31 O.L.C. 191 at 193 (July 10, 2007) (“we conclude that Ms. Miers is immune from compelled congressional testimony about matters . . . that arose during her tenure as Counsel to the President

and that relate to her official duties in that capacity” (emphasis added)).

¹²⁶*Nixon v. GSA*, 433 U.S. at 449.
¹²⁷*Id.*

¹²⁸See *Espy*, 121 F.3d at 752 (“the privilege only applies to communications . . . in the course of performing their function of advising the President on official government matters”); cf. *In re Lindsey*, 148 F.3d 1100, 1106 (D.C. Cir. 1998) (Deputy White House Counsel’s “advice [to the President] on political, strategic, or policy issues, valuable as it may have been, would not be shielded from disclosure by the attorney-client privilege”).

¹²⁹See Appendix, Ex. 2.
¹³⁰See Appendix, Ex. 11, at p. 2.
¹³¹See Appendix, Ex. 2.
¹³²*U.S. v. Nixon*, 418 U.S. 683, 705–06 (1974).

¹³³*Nixon v. GSA*, 433 U.S. at 455 (“But given the safeguards built into the Act to prevent disclosure of such materials and the minimal nature of the intrusion into the confidentiality of the Presidency, we believe that the claims of Presidential privilege clearly must yield to the important congressional purposes of preserving the materials and maintaining access to them for lawful governmental and historical purposes.”).

¹³⁴See, e.g., Transcript, “The Ingraham Angle,” *Fox News*, (Feb. 11, 2021), available at <https://www.foxnews.com/transcript/biden-warns-china-could-eat-our-lunch-after-phone-call-with-xi>; Transcript, “Hannity,” *Fox News*, (Feb. 12, 2021), available at <https://www.foxnews.com/transcript/new-yorker-who-lost-mother-in-law-in-nursing-home-blasts-disgrace-cuomo>; Transcript, “Hannity,” *Fox News*, (Dec. 7, 2021), available at <https://video.foxnews.com/v/6285715473001#sp=show-clips>; Transcript, “The Ingraham Angle,” *Fox News*, (Dec. 9, 2021), available at <https://www.foxnews.com/media/mark-meadows-potential-contempt-charges-january-6-committee>.

¹³⁵Meadows, *The Chief’s Chief*, at p. 259.
¹³⁶See, e.g., *Espy*, 121 F.3d at 741–42 (discussing waiver and concluding that “the White House has waived its claims of [executive] privilege in regard to the specific documents that it voluntarily revealed to third parties outside the White House”).

¹³⁷*Eastland v. United States Servicemen’s Fund*, 421 U.S. 491, 505, 515 (1975).

¹³⁸See *supra*. The prison term for this offense makes it a Class A misdemeanor. 18 U.S.C. § 3559(a)(6). By that classification, the penalty for contempt of Congress specified in 2 U.S.C. § 192 increased from \$1,000 to \$100,000. 18 U.S.C. § 3571(b)(5).
¹³⁹*Quinn v. United States*, 349 U.S. 155, 165 (1955).

¹⁴⁰*Sinclair v. United States*, 279 U.S. 263, 299 (1929); see also *In re Chapman*, 166 U.S. 661, 672 (1897) (“deliberately refusing to answer questions pertinent [to a matter properly under consideration by Congress] shall be a misdemeanor against the United States”); *Licavoli v. United States*, 294 F.2d 207, 209 (D.C. Cir. 1961) (“[W]illfully” means merely a deliberate intention; an evil motive is not a necessary part of the intent thus required.”)

¹⁴¹See 2 U.S.C. § 192.
¹⁴²Mary Papenfuss, “Watch Mark Meadows Slam Official Who ‘Stonewalled’ Subpoenas from GOP Congress,” *Yahoo News*, (Nov. 14, 2021), available at <https://news.yahoo.com/watch-mark-meadows-slam-official-001107830.html> (containing video clip of then-Rep. Mark Meadows criticizing the Deputy Attorney General for ignoring a subpoena); Tweet, @MarkMeadows (July 25, 2018 at 7:01 p.m.) (“I just filed a resolution with @Jim_Jordan and several colleagues to impeach Rod Rosenstein. The DOJ has continued to hide information from Congress and repeatedly obstructed oversight—even defying multiple Congressional subpoenas.”); “Non-Profit Organizations and Politics,” Hearing of the Subcommittee on Government Operations, U.S. House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, (December 13, 2018), (at which then-Chairman Meadows chided the Department of Justice for declining to make available as a witness the prosecutor appointed to investigate alleged wrongdoing by the Clinton Foundation), available at <https://www.c-span.org/video/?455872-1/profit-organizations-politics>.

¹⁴³See, e.g., “White House Office of Political Affairs: Is Supporting Candidates and Campaign Fund-Raising an Appropriate Use of a Government Office?” Hearing of the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, U.S. House of Representatives, (July 16, 2014), (at which Chairman Darrell Issa noted the House Oversight Committee in 2007 had obtained testimony of 18 Bush administration political appointees included White House political directors; and at which Rep. Meadows was present); see also “Presidential Advisers’ Testimony before Congressional Committees: An Overview,” Congressional Research Service, (RL31351, Apr. 10, 2007).

¹⁴⁴“Clinton Aides Testify They Opposed Rich Pardon,” *New York Times*, (Mar. 1, 2001), available at

<https://www.nytimes.com/2001/03/01/national/clinton-aides-testify-they-opposed-rich-pardon.html>.

APPENDIX

The official transcript that memorialized Mr. Meadows's failure to appear at his November 12, 2021, deposition as ordered by subpoena, along with exhibits included in that record, is as follows:

SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE JANUARY 6TH ATTACK ON THE U.S. CAPITOL, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, DC

DEPOSITION OF: MARK MEADOWS (NO-SHOW)

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 2021

WASHINGTON, DC

The deposition in the above matter was held in * * * * commencing at 10:00 a.m.

APPEARANCES:

FOR THE SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE JANUARY 6TH ATTACK ON THE U.S. CAPITOL:

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* * * *. Good morning. We are on the record.

Today is November 12th, 2021, the time is 10 a.m., and we are convened in * * * * for the deposition of Mark Meadows to be conducted by the House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol.

My name is * * * *. I am the designated select committee staff counsel for this proceeding. I'm accompanied by * * * *, deputy staff director and chief counsel to the select committee; * * * *, select committee staff counsel; * * * *, select committee staff counsel; * * * *, select committee parliamentarian.

And joining us virtually is * * * * and * * * *, who are select committee staff, as well as chief clerk to the select committee, * * * *.

For the record, it is now 10:01 a.m., and Mr. Meadows is not present. The person transcribing this proceeding is

the House stenographer and notary public authorized to administer oaths.

On September 23rd, 2021, Chairman Bennie THOMPSON issued a subpoena to Mr. Meadows, both to produce documents by October 7th, 2021, and to testify at a deposition on October 15th of 2021 at 10 a.m.

The subpoena is in connection with the select committees investigation into the facts, circumstances, and causes of the January 6th attack and issues relating to the peaceful transfer of power in order to identify and evaluate lessons learned and to recommend to the House and its relevant committees corrective laws, policies, procedures, rules, or regulations.

After Mr. Meadows retained counsel, who is George Terwilliger, III, the select committee agreed to postpone the subpoena deadlines to enable his counsel to understand the requests associated with the subpoena and work with Mr. Meadows.

Ultimately, by letter dated October 25th, 2021, the select committee set new deadlines to produce documents and appear for testimony. Mr. Meadows was required to produce documents by November 5th, 2021, and appear for testimony on November 12th, 2021.

By letters dated between October 25th and November 11th, the select committee engaged with counsel for Mr. Meadows. In the letters, the select committee addressed Mr. Meadows' claims of, among other things, absolute testimonial immunity and executive privilege.

In the letters, the select committee also instructed Mr. Meadows to assert his privilege claims in a privilege log for responsive documents and on a question by question basis at the deposition.

On November 10th, 2021, Mr. Meadows, through counsel, informed the select committee that he would not appear at today's deposition citing testimonial immunity and privileges. Specifically, counsel said that, quote, "Mr. Meadows cannot agree to appear at 10 a.m. Friday," end quote.

Following that letter, the White House Counsel's Office sent counsel for

Mr. Meadows a letter dated November 11th, indicating that the White House would not assert claims of testimonial immunity or executive privilege to prevent Mr. Meadows' testimony before the select committee.

Specifically, the letter states that President Biden, quote, "will not assert executive privilege with respect to your client's deposition testimony on these subjects, or any documents your client may possess that bear on them. For the same reasons underlying his decision on executive privilege, President Biden has determined that he will not assert immunity to preclude your client from testifying before the Select Committee," end quote.

The select committee then sent counsel for Mr. Meadows a final letter in light of the White House Counsel's Office's stated position. To date, the select committee has not received a response.

In the letters, the select committee informed Mr. Meadows, quote, "the Select Committee will view Mr. Meadows' failure to respond to the subpoena as willful non compliance. Such willful non compliance with the subpoena would force the Select Committee to consider invoking the contempt of Congress procedures in 2 U.S.C., sections 192 and section 194—which could result in a referral from the House to the Department of Justice for criminal charges—as well as the possibility of having a civil action to enforce the subpoena brought against Mr. Meadows in his personal capacity," end quote.

Mr. Meadows has not provided any documents or a privilege log, and Mr. Meadows has not appeared today to answer questions or assert privilege objections.

I will mark as exhibit 1 and enter into the record the select committee's subpoena to Mr. Meadows, included with which are the materials that accompanied the subpoena; namely, a letter from the chairman, a document schedule with accompanying production instructions, and a copy of the deposition rules.

Exhibit 1 — Subpoena to Mark Meadows

SUBPOENA

**BY AUTHORITY OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

Mark Meadows

To _____

You are hereby commanded to be and appear before the
Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol

of the House of Representatives of the United States at the place, date, and time specified below.

- to produce the things identified on the attached schedule touching matters of inquiry committed to said committee or subcommittee; and you are not to depart without leave of said committee or subcommittee.

Place of production: _____

Date: October 7, 2021 Time: 10:00 a.m.

- to testify at a deposition touching matters of inquiry committed to said committee or subcommittee; and you are not to depart without leave of said committee or subcommittee.

Place of testimony: _____

Date: October 15, 2021 Time: 2:00 p.m.

- to testify at a hearing touching matters of inquiry committed to said committee or subcommittee; and you are not to depart without leave of said committee or subcommittee.

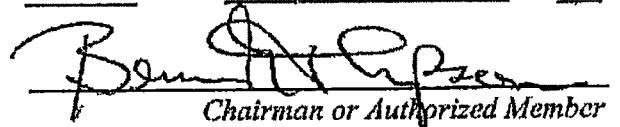
Place of testimony: _____

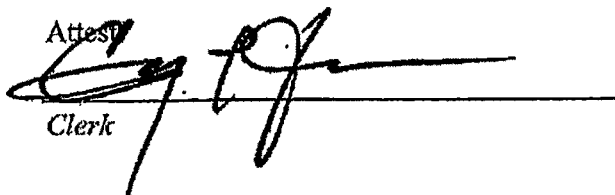
Date: _____ Time: _____

To any authorized staff member or the United States Marshals Service

_____ to serve and make return.

Witness my hand and the seal of the House of Representatives of the United States, at
the city of Washington, D.C. this 23rd day of September, 2021


Chairman or Authorized Member

Attest

Clerk

PROOF OF SERVICE

Subpoena for Mark Meadows
e/o Scott Gost, attorney for Mr. Meadows
Address [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
before the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol

U.S. House of Representatives
117th Congress

Served by (print name) [REDACTED]
Title [REDACTED]
Manner of service Email to Attorney for Mr. Meadows,
Scott Gost of Compass Legal Services [REDACTED]
Date 9/23/2021
Signature of Server [REDACTED]
Address Longworth HOB, Washington, DC 20515 [REDACTED]
Select Committee to Investigate the January 6 Attack

BENNIE G. THOMPSON, MISSISSIPPI
CHAIRMAN

U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

ZOE LOFGREN, CALIFORNIA
ADAM B. SCHIFF, CALIFORNIA
PETE AGUILAR, CALIFORNIA
STEPHANIE N. MURPHY, FLORIDA
JAMIE RASKIN, MARYLAND
ELAINE G. LURIA, VIRGINIA
LIZ CHENEY, WYOMING
ADAM KINZINGER, ILLINOIS

january6th.house.gov
(202) 225-7600



One Hundred Seventeenth Congress

Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol

September 23, 2021

The Honorable Mark R. Meadows
c/o Mr. Scott Gast
Compass Legal Services



Dear Mr. Meadows:

Pursuant to the authorities set forth in House Resolution 503 and the rules of the House of Representatives, the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (“Select Committee”) hereby transmits a subpoena that compels you to produce the documents set forth in the accompanying schedule by October 7, 2021, and to appear for a deposition on October 15, 2021.

The Select Committee is investigating the facts, circumstances, and causes of the January 6th attack and issues relating to the peaceful transfer of power, in order to identify and evaluate lessons learned and to recommend to the House and its relevant committees corrective laws, policies, procedures, rules, or regulations. The inquiry includes examination of how various individuals and entities coordinated their activities leading up to the events of January 6, 2021.

The investigation has revealed credible evidence of your involvement in events within the scope of the Select Committee’s inquiry. You were the President’s Chief of Staff and have critical information regarding many elements of our inquiry. It appears that you were with or in the vicinity of President Trump on January 6, had communications with the President and others on January 6 regarding events at the Capitol, and are a witness regarding activities of that day. Moreover, it has been reported that you were engaged in multiple elements of the planning and preparation of efforts to contest the presidential election and delay the counting of electoral votes. In addition, according to documents provided by the Department of Justice, while you were the President’s Chief of Staff, you directly communicated with the highest officials at the Department of Justice requesting investigations into election fraud matters in several states.¹ We understand that in the weeks after the November 2020 election, you contacted several state officials to encourage investigation of allegations of election fraud, even after such allegations had been dismissed by state and federal courts, and after the Electoral College had met and voted on December 14, 2020.² Moreover, at least one press report indicates you were in communication with organizers of the January 6 rally, including Amy Kremer of Women for America First.³

¹ Documents on file with the Committee.

² Linda So, *Trump’s Chief of Staff Could Face Scrutiny in Georgia Criminal Probe* (Reuters, March 19, 2021); Documents on file with the Committee.

³ Joshua Kaplan & Joaquin Sapien, *New Details Suggest Senior Trump Aides Knew Jan. 6 Rally Could Get Chaotic*, PROPUBLICA (June 25, 2021), <https://www.propublica.org/article/new-details-suggest-senior-trump-aides-knew-jan-6-rally-could-get-chaotic>.

The Honorable Mark R. Meadows

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Accordingly, the Select Committee seeks both documents and your deposition testimony regarding these and other matters that are within the scope of the Select Committee's inquiry.

A copy of the rules governing Select Committee depositions, and document production definitions and instructions are attached. Please contact staff for the Select Committee at [REDACTED] to arrange for the production of documents.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bennie G. Thompson". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Bennie G. Thompson
Chairman

The Honorable Mark R. Meadows

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SCHEDULE

In accordance with the attached Definitions and Instructions, you, Mr. Mark Meadows, are hereby required to produce, all documents and communications in your possession, custody, or control—including any such documents or communications stored or located on personal devices (e.g., personal computers, cellular phones, tablets, etc.), in personal or campaign accounts, and/or on personal or campaign applications (e.g., email accounts, contact lists, calendar entries, etc.)—referring or relating to the following items. If no date range is specified below, the applicable dates are for the time period April 1, 2020-present.

1. Communications referring or relating in any way to plans, efforts, or discussions regarding challenging, decertifying, overturning, or contesting the results of the 2020 Presidential election.
2. All documents and communications concerning the role of the Vice President as the Presiding Officer in the certification of the votes of the electoral college.
3. From November 3, 2020, through January 20, 2021, all documents and communications referring or relating to the 2020 election results sent or transmitted between White House officials and officials of state or local governments.
4. From November 3, 2020, through January 6, 2021, all documents and communications referring or relating to actual or potential court decisions, deliberations, or processes involving challenges to the 2020 Presidential election.
5. All recordings, transcripts, notes (including electronic and hand-written notes), summaries, memoranda of conversation, readouts, or other documents memorializing communications between you and President Trump and/or Members of Congress on January 6, 2021, relating or referring in any way to the attack on the Capitol.
6. All documents that refer or relate to efforts, plans, or attempts by President Trump to activate the National Guard on January 6, 2021.
7. From November 3, 2020, through January 19, 2021, all documents and communications concerning the resignation of any White House personnel or any politically appointed personnel of any Federal department or agency (including the resignation of any member of the President's Cabinet) and mentioning or referring (explicitly or implicitly) to the 2020 Presidential election or the events of January 6, 2021.
8. All documents and communications relating to planned protests, marches, public assemblies, rallies, or speeches in Washington, DC, on November 14, 2020, December 12, 2020, or January 5, 2021, or January 6, 2021.
9. All documents and communications related to security of the Capitol or other Federal facilities on January 5, 2021, and January 6, 2021.
10. From December 1, 2020, through January 20, 2021, any documents and communications involving White House personnel and any Member of Congress, referring or relating to (a) civil unrest, violence, and/or attacks at the Capitol; (b) challenging, overturning, or questioning the validity of the 2020 election results; (c) the counting of the electoral college vote on January 6, 2021; or (d) appealing or challenging the decisions of courts related to the 2020 Presidential election.

The Honorable Mark R. Meadows

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11. All documents and communications related to social media information monitored, gathered, reviewed, shared, or analyzed by White House personnel on January 6, 2021.
12. All documents and communications related to any plan for the President to march or walk to the Capitol on January 6, 2021. This request includes any such documents or communications related to a decision not to march or walk to the Capitol on January 6, 2021.
13. From November 3, 2020, to January 20, 2021, all documents and communications reporting, summarizing, or detailing the voting returns and election results of the 2020 Presidential election.
14. All documents and communications related to Donald Trump's response or reaction to the election results of the 2020 Presidential election, including but not limited to any planned public remarks.
15. All documents and communications regarding a November 9, 2020, memorandum from Attorney General William Barr concerning investigation of voter fraud allegations.
16. From November 3, 2020, through January 20, 2021, all documents provided to you or Donald Trump reviewing, assessing, or reporting on the security of election systems in the United States.
17. From November 3, 2020, through January 20, 2021, all documents and communications provided to Donald Trump regarding purported election irregularities, election-related fraud, or other election-related malfeasance.
18. From April 1, 2020, through January 20, 2021, all documents and communications provided to you or Donald Trump referring to a stolen election, stealing the election, or a "rigged" election.
19. From November 3, 2020, through January 20, 2021, all documents and communications related to the Twenty-Fifth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.
20. Any documents and communications relating to instructions to stop or delay preparation for the transition of administrations.
21. All communications between White House personnel and General Services Administration (GSA) Administrator Emily Murphy or other GSA officials relating to "ascertainment" under the Presidential Transition Act. This includes but is not limited to communications discussing the recognition of Joseph Biden as the winner of the 2020 Presidential election.
22. All documents and communications concerning the potential invocation of the Insurrection Act.
23. From November 3, 2020, through January 20, 2021, all documents and communications related to martial law.
24. All documents and communications concerning the use of Federal law enforcement or military personnel during voting or vote counting in the 2020 Presidential election.
25. Any documents and communications relating to foreign influence in the United States 2020 Presidential election through social media narratives and disinformation.
26. All documents and communications related to the January 3, 2021, letter from ten former Defense Secretaries warning of use of the military in election disputes.

The Honorable Mark R. Meadows

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27. All documents and communications to or from the United States Secret Service concerning individuals in attendance at the January 6 rally in body armor, ballistic helmets, radio equipment, and “military grade” backpacks.

DOCUMENT PRODUCTION DEFINITIONS AND INSTRUCTIONS

1. In complying with this request, produce all responsive documents, regardless of classification level, that are in your possession, custody, or control, whether held by you or your past or present agents, employees, and representatives acting on your behalf. Produce all documents that you have a legal right to obtain, that you have a right to copy, or to which you have access, as well as documents that you have placed in the temporary possession, custody, or control of any third party.
2. Requested documents, and all documents reasonably related to the requested documents, should not be destroyed, altered, removed, transferred, or otherwise made inaccessible to the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol ("Committee").
3. In the event that any entity, organization, or individual denoted in this request is or has been known by any name other than that herein denoted, the request shall be read also to include that alternative identification.
4. The Committee's preference is to receive documents in a protected electronic form (i.e., password protected CD, memory stick, thumb drive, or secure file transfer) in lieu of paper productions. With specific reference to classified material, you will coordinate with the Committee's Security Officer to arrange for the appropriate transfer of such information to the Committee. This includes, but is not necessarily limited to: a) identifying the classification level of the responsive document(s); and b) coordinating for the appropriate transfer of any classified responsive document(s).
5. Electronic document productions should be prepared according to the following standards:
 - a. If the production is completed through a series of multiple partial productions, field names and file order in all load files should match.
 - b. All electronic documents produced to the Committee should include the following fields of metadata specific to each document, and no modifications should be made to the original metadata:

BEGDOC, ENDDOC, TEXT, BEGATTACH, ENDATTACH, PAGECOUNT, CUSTODIAN, RECORDTYPE, DATE, TIME, SENTDATE, SENTTIME, BEGINDATE, BEGINTIME, ENDDATE, ENDTIME, AUTHOR, FROM, CC, TO, BCC, SUBJECT, TITLE, FILENAME, FILEEXT, FILESIZE, DATECREATED, TIMECREATED, DATELASTMOD, TIMELASTMOD, INTMSGID, INTMSGHEADER, NATIVELINK, INTFILPATH, EXCEPTION, BEGATTACH.

6. Documents produced to the Committee should include an index describing the contents of the production. To the extent more than one CD, hard drive, memory stick, thumb drive, zip file, box, or folder is produced, each should contain an index describing its contents.
7. Documents produced in response to this request shall be produced together with copies of file labels, dividers, or identifying markers with which they were associated when the request was served.
8. When you produce documents, you should identify the paragraph(s) or request(s) in the Committee's letter to which the documents respond.
9. The fact that any other person or entity also possesses non-identical or identical copies of the same documents shall not be a basis to withhold any information.
10. The pendency of or potential for litigation shall not be a basis to withhold any information.
11. In accordance with 5 U.S.C. § 552(d), the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) and any statutory exemptions to FOIA shall not be a basis for withholding any information.
12. Pursuant to 5 U.S.C. § 552a(b)(9), the Privacy Act shall not be a basis for withholding information.
13. If compliance with the request cannot be made in full by the specified return date, compliance shall be made to the extent possible by that date. An explanation of why full compliance is not possible shall be provided along with any partial production, as well as a date certain as to when full production will be satisfied.
14. In the event that a document is withheld on any basis, provide a log containing the following information concerning any such document: (a) the reason it is being withheld, including, if applicable, the privilege asserted; (b) the type of document; (c) the general subject matter; (d) the date, author, addressee, and any other recipient(s); (e) the relationship of the author and addressee to each other; and (f) the basis for the withholding.
15. If any document responsive to this request was, but no longer is, in your possession, custody, or control, identify the document (by date, author, subject, and recipients), and explain the circumstances under which the document ceased to be in your possession, custody, or control. Additionally, identify where the responsive document can now be found including name, location, and contact information of the entity or entities now in possession of the responsive document(s).
16. If a date or other descriptive detail set forth in this request referring to a document

is inaccurate, but the actual date or other descriptive detail is known to you or is otherwise apparent from the context of the request, produce all documents that would be responsive as if the date or other descriptive detail were correct.

17. This request is continuing in nature and applies to any newly-discovered information. Any record, document, compilation of data, or information not produced because it has not been located or discovered by the return date shall be produced immediately upon subsequent location or discovery.
18. All documents shall be Bates-stamped sequentially and produced sequentially.
19. Upon completion of the production, submit a written certification, signed by you or your counsel, stating that: (1) a diligent search has been completed of all documents in your possession, custody, or control that reasonably could contain responsive documents; and (2) all documents located during the search that are responsive have been produced to the Committee.

Definitions

1. The term “document” means any written, recorded, or graphic matter of any nature whatsoever, regardless of classification level, how recorded, or how stored/displayed (e.g. on a social media platform) and whether original or copy, including, but not limited to, the following: memoranda, reports, expense reports, books, manuals, instructions, financial reports, data, working papers, records, notes, letters, notices, confirmations, telegrams, receipts, appraisals, pamphlets, magazines, newspapers, prospectuses, communications, electronic mail (email), contracts, cables, notations of any type of conversation, telephone call, meeting or other inter-office or intra-office communication, bulletins, printed matter, computer printouts, computer or mobile device screenshots/screen captures, teletypes, invoices, transcripts, diaries, analyses, returns, summaries, minutes, bills, accounts, estimates, projections, comparisons, messages, correspondence, press releases, circulars, financial statements, reviews, opinions, offers, studies and investigations, questionnaires and surveys, and work sheets (and all drafts, preliminary versions, alterations, modifications, revisions, changes, and amendments of any of the foregoing, as well as any attachments or appendices thereto), and graphic or oral records or representations of any kind (including without limitation, photographs, charts, graphs, microfiche, microfilm, videotape, recordings and motion pictures), and electronic, mechanical, and electric records or representations of any kind (including, without limitation, tapes, cassettes, disks, and recordings) and other written, printed, typed, or other graphic or recorded matter of any kind or nature, however produced or reproduced, and whether preserved in writing, film, tape, disk, videotape, or otherwise. A document bearing any notation not a part of the original text is to be considered a separate document. A draft or non-identical copy is a separate document within the meaning of this term.

2. The term “communication” means each manner or means of disclosure or exchange of information, regardless of means utilized, whether oral, electronic, by document or otherwise, and whether in a meeting, by telephone, facsimile, mail, releases, electronic message including email (desktop or mobile device), text message, instant message, MMS or SMS message, message application, through a social media or online platform, or otherwise.
3. The terms “and” and “or” shall be construed broadly and either conjunctively or disjunctively to bring within the scope of this request any information that might otherwise be construed to be outside its scope. The singular includes plural number, and vice versa. The masculine includes the feminine and neutral genders.
4. The term “including” shall be construed broadly to mean “including, but not limited to.”
5. The term “Company” means the named legal entity as well as any units, firms, partnerships, associations, corporations, limited liability companies, trusts, subsidiaries, affiliates, divisions, departments, branches, joint ventures, proprietorships, syndicates, or other legal, business or government entities over which the named legal entity exercises control or in which the named entity has any ownership whatsoever.
6. The term “identify,” when used in a question about individuals, means to provide the following information: (a) the individual’s complete name and title; (b) the individual’s business or personal address and phone number; and (c) any and all known aliases.
7. The term “related to” or “referring or relating to,” with respect to any given subject, means anything that constitutes, contains, embodies, reflects, identifies, states, refers to, deals with, or is pertinent to that subject in any manner whatsoever.
8. The term “employee” means any past or present agent, borrowed employee, casual employee, consultant, contractor, de facto employee, detailee, assignee, fellow, independent contractor, intern, joint adventurer, loaned employee, officer, part-time employee, permanent employee, provisional employee, special government employee, subcontractor, or any other type of service provider.
9. The term “individual” means all natural persons and all persons or entities acting on their behalf.

January 4, 2021

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE

H41

health, safety, and well-being of others present in the Chamber and surrounding areas. Members and staff will not be permitted to enter the Hall of the House without wearing a mask. Masks will be available at the entry points for any Member who forgets to bring one. The Chair views the failure to wear a mask as a serious breach of decorum. The Sergeant-at-Arms is directed to enforce this policy. Based upon the health and safety guidance from the attending physician and the Sergeant-at-Arms, the Chair would further advise that all Members should leave the Chamber promptly after casting their votes. Furthermore, Members should avoid congregating in the rooms leading to the Chamber, including the Speaker's lobby. The Chair will continue the practice of providing small groups of Members with a minimum of 5 minutes within which to cast their votes. Members are encouraged to vote with their previously assigned group. After voting, Members must clear the Chamber to allow the next group a safe and sufficient opportunity to vote. It is essential for the health and safety of Members, staff, and the U.S. Capitol Police to consistently practice social distancing and to ensure that a safe capacity be maintained in the Chamber at all times. To that end, the Chair appreciates the cooperation of Members and staff in preserving order and decorum in the Chamber and in displaying respect and safety for one another by wearing a mask and practicing social distancing. All announced policies, including those addressing decorum in debate and the conduct of votes by electronic device, shall be carried out in harmony with this policy during the pendency of a covered period.

117TH CONGRESS REGULATIONS FOR USE OF DEPOSITION AUTHORITY

COMMITTEE ON RULES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, January 4, 2021.

Hon. NANCY PELOSI,
Speaker, House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

MADAM SPEAKER. Pursuant to section 3(b) of House Resolution 8, 117th Congress, I hereby submit the following regulations regarding the conduct of depositions by committee and select committee counsel for printing in the Congressional Record.

Sincerely,

JAMES P. MCGOVERN,
Chairman, Committee on Rules
REGULATIONS FOR THE USE OF DEPOSITION AUTHORITY

1. Notices for the taking of depositions shall specify the date, time, and place of examination. Depositions shall be taken under oath administered by a member or a person otherwise authorized to administer oaths. Depositions may continue from day to day.

2. Consultation with the ranking minority member shall include three days' notice before any deposition is taken. All members of the committee shall also receive three days' written notice that a deposition will be taken, except in exigent circumstances. For purposes of these procedures, a day shall not include Saturdays, Sundays, or legal holidays except when the House is in session on such a day.

3. Witnesses may be accompanied at a deposition by personal, nongovernmental counsel to advise them of their rights. Only members, committee staff designated by the chair or ranking minority member, an official reporter, the witness, and the witness's counsel are permitted to attend. Observers or counsel for other persons, including counsel for government agencies, may not attend

4. The chair of the committee noticing the deposition may designate that deposition as part of a joint investigation between committees, and in that case, provide notice to the members of the committees. If such a designation is made, the chair and ranking minority member of the additional committee(s) may designate committee staff to attend pursuant to regulation 3. Members and designated staff of the committees may attend and ask questions as set forth below.

5. A deposition shall be conducted by any member or committee counsel designated by the chair or ranking minority member of the Committee that noticed the deposition. When depositions are conducted by committee counsel, there shall be no more than two committee counsel permitted to question a witness per round. One of the committee counsel shall be designated by the chair and the other by the ranking minority member per round.

6. Deposition questions shall be propounded in rounds. The length of each round shall not exceed 60 minutes per side, and shall provide equal time to the majority and the minority. In each round, the member(s) or committee counsel designated by the chair shall ask questions first, and the member(s) or committee counsel designated by the ranking minority member shall ask questions second.

7. Objections must be stated concisely and in a non-argumentative and non-suggestive manner. A witness's counsel may not instruct a witness to refuse to answer a question, except to preserve a privilege. In the event of professional, ethical, or other misconduct by the witness's counsel during the deposition, the Committee may take any appropriate disciplinary action. The witness may refuse to answer a question only to preserve a privilege. When the witness has refused to answer a question to preserve a privilege, members or staff may (1) proceed with the deposition, or (2) either at that time or at a subsequent time, seek a ruling from the Chair either by telephone or otherwise. If the Chair overrules any such objection and thereby orders a witness to answer any question to which an objection was lodged, the witness shall be ordered to answer. If a member of the committee chooses to appeal the ruling of the chair, such appeal must be made within three days, in writing, and shall be preserved for committee consideration. The Committee's ruling on appeal shall be filed with the clerk of the Committee and shall be provided to the members and witness no less than three days before the reconvened deposition. A deponent who refuses to answer a question after being directed to answer by the chair may be subject to sanction, except that no sanctions may be imposed if the ruling of the chair is reversed by the committee on appeal.

8. The Committee chair shall ensure that the testimony is either transcribed or electronically recorded or both. If a witness's testimony is transcribed, the witness or the witness's counsel shall be afforded an opportunity to review a copy. No later than five days after the witness has been notified of the opportunity to review the transcript, the witness may submit suggested changes to the chair. Committee staff may make any typographical and technical changes. Substantive changes, modifications, clarifications, or amendments to the deposition transcript submitted by the witness must be accompanied by a letter signed by the witness requesting the changes and a statement of the witness's reasons for each proposed change. Any substantive changes, modifications, clarifications, or amendments shall be included as an appendix to the transcript conditioned upon the witness signing the transcript.

9. The individual administering the oath, if other than a member, shall certify on the transcript that the witness was duly sworn. The transcriber shall certify that the transcript is a true record of the testimony, and the transcript shall be filed, together with any electronic recording, with the clerk of the committee in Washington, DC. Depositions shall be considered to have been taken in Washington, DC, as well as the location actually taken once filed there with the clerk of the committee for the committee's use. The chair and the ranking minority member shall be provided with a copy of the transcripts of the deposition at the same time.

10. The chair and ranking minority member shall consult regarding the release of deposition testimony, transcripts, or recordings, and portions thereof. If either objects in writing to a proposed release of a deposition testimony, transcript, or recording, or a portion thereof, the matter shall be promptly referred to the committee for resolution.

11. A witness shall not be required to testify unless the witness has been provided with a copy of section 3(b) of H. Res. 8, 117th Congress, and these regulations.

REMOTE COMMITTEE PROCEEDINGS REGULATIONS PURSUANT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 8, 117TH CONGRESS

COMMITTEE ON RULES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, January 4, 2021.

Hon. NANCY PELOSI,
Speaker, House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

MADAM SPEAKER. Pursuant to section 3(a) of House Resolution 8, 117th Congress, I hereby submit the following regulations regarding remote committee proceedings for printing in the Congressional Record.

Sincerely,

JAMES P. MCGOVERN,
Chairman,
Committee on Rules.

REMOTE COMMITTEE PROCEEDINGS REGULATIONS PURSUANT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 8

A. PRESENCE AND VOTING

1. Members participating remotely in a committee proceeding must be visible on the software platform's video function to be considered in attendance and to participate unless connectivity issues or other technical problems render the member unable to fully participate on camera (except as provided in regulations A.2 and A.3).

2. The exception in regulation A.1 for connectivity issues or other technical problems does not apply if a point of order has been made that a quorum is not present. Members participating remotely must be visible on the software platform's video function in order to be counted for the purpose of establishing a quorum.

3. The exception in regulation A.1 for connectivity issues or other technical problems does not apply during a vote. Members participating remotely must be visible on the software platform's video function in order to vote.

4. Members participating remotely off-camera due to connectivity issues or other technical problems pursuant to regulation A.1 must inform committee majority and minority staff either directly or through staff.

5. The chair shall make a good faith effort to provide every member experiencing connectivity issues an opportunity to participate fully in the proceedings, subject to regulations A.2 and A.3.

* * * *. I will mark as exhibit 2 and enter into the record a series of letters and emails exchanged between the select committee and counsel for Mr. Meadows. The records include email service of the subpoena by * * * *, which Mr. Scott Gast accepted on Mr. Meadows' behalf on September 23rd, 2021.

The records in exhibit 2 also include the letters and emails between counsel for the select committee and Mr. George Terwilliger, which I described moments ago. And, specifically, they

are a letter from George Terwilliger to the select committee on October 7th; an email from George Terwilliger to the select committee on October 13th; letters provided by George Terwilliger to the select committee, one of which is a letter from him to the White House Counsel's Office dated October 11th, 2021, and the other is a letter to George Terwilliger dated October 6th from Mr. Justin Clark, as counsel to former President Trump; a letter from the select committee to George Terwilliger on October 25th; two letters from

George Terwilliger to the select committee on November 3rd; a letter from the select committee to George Terwilliger on November 5th; a letter from George Terwilliger to the select committee on November 8th; a letter from the select committee to George Terwilliger on November 9th; a letter from George Terwilliger to the select committee on November 10th; and a letter from the select committee to George Terwilliger on November 11th.

Exhibit 2 — Various Correspondence

[Redacted]

From: [Redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, September 29, 2021 11:00 AM
To: [Redacted]
Subject: FW: Subpoena to Mr. Meadows

From: Scott Gast <[Redacted]>
Sent: Thursday, September 23, 2021 8:38 PM
To: [Redacted]
Cc: [Redacted]
Subject: Re: Subpoena to Mr. Meadows

[Redacted]

I am confirming receipt of the subpoena to Mr. Meadows.

For privacy reasons, we would ask that the address used on the proof of service document be changed to the address for Compass Legal Services or otherwise redacted. I would appreciate it if you would confirm whether that is possible.

Thank you,
Scott Gast

Scott Gast
Compass Legal Services, Inc.

[Redacted]

On Thu, Sep 23, 2021 at 6:32 PM [Redacted] wrote:

Dear Mr. Gast,

We appreciate your confirmation today that you represent Mark Meadows and that you will accept service of a subpoena to Mr. Meadows on his behalf. I am following up to serve a subpoena to Mr. Meadows to produce documents and to provide testimony to the House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol. Attached is a copy of the subpoena, a letter from Select Committee Chairman Bennie Thompson, a document schedule with accompanying production instructions, and a copy of the deposition rules.

Please confirm that you have accepted this subpoena on Mr. Meadows's behalf.

Sincerely,

[REDACTED]

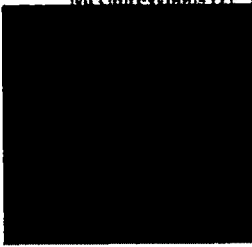
[REDACTED]

Chief Counsel and Deputy Staff Director

Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capital

U.S. House of Representatives

McGuireWoods LLP



McGUIREWOODS



October 7, 2021

Honorable Bennie G. Thompson, Chairman
Honorable Liz Cheney, Vice Chair
Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol
U.S. House of Representatives



Re: Subpoenas Served on Honorable Mark R. Meadows

Dear Chair Thompson and Vice Chair Cheney:

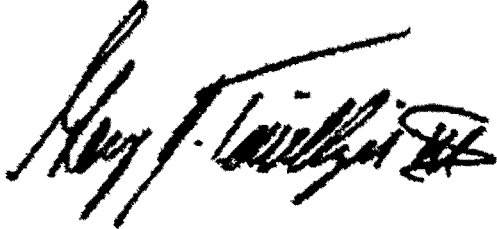
Please be advised that I have been retained to serve as counsel to Mr. Meadows in connection with the January 6th Select Committee's investigation and specifically, Committee subpoenas served on Mr. Meadows.

Inasmuch as I was retained yesterday in this matter, please understand that my opportunity to, on behalf of my client, begin our cooperation with your investigation has been extremely limited. Nonetheless, I can inform the Committee of the following in response to the subpoena for production of documents with a return date of October 7, 2021. We believe that any documents responsive to that subpoena would not be in Mr. Meadows personal care, custody or control, but rather would be in the possession of the Archivist of the United States pursuant to the Presidential Records Act of 1978, 44 U.S.C. §§ 2201-2207. Despite that belief, we are undertaking due diligence to ascertain whether Mr. Meadows is in personal possession of any responsive documents and will report further to the Committee in that regard as soon as we have any pertinent and/or definitive information.

As to the subpoena for testimony with a return date of October 15, 2021, I anticipate being in touch forthwith with the Committee's investigative staff in that regard.

Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol
October 7, 2021
Page 2

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "George J. Terwilliger III". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, sweeping initial "G".

George J. Terwilliger III

cc:



[Redacted]

From: Terwilliger, George J. III [Redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, October 13, 2021 10:17 AM
To: [Redacted]
Cc: [Redacted]
Subject: RE: Subpoenas Served on Honorable Mark R. Meadows

[Redacted]

Thank you for speaking yesterday about the Select Committee’s subpoena to Mr. Meadows. Consistent with your request, I wanted to get back to you promptly about the October 15th return date for testimony.

As you know we are facing the potential for conflicting directions from former President Trump and President Biden as to preservation of privileges concerning senior presidential advisors and communication by same in that role. We are now scheduled to discuss privilege issues with the White Counsel’s office on Thursday, most likely in the afternoon.

In addition, after considering the topics you outlined yesterday, it is not clear to us that, in whole or part, relevant privileges would not attach to Mr. Meadows testimony as to those subject matters. We are, however, going to consider further those subject matters and may be able to proffer information concerning knowledge or lack of knowledge as to aspects of some of those subjects that you may want to consider in deciding if further pursuing testimony from Mr. Meadows as to such matters would be productive, privilege considerations notwithstanding.

Thus, I am not currently in a position to either confirm that Mr. Meadows can testify or to state at this point that he cannot do so. What is clear, though, is that as a practical matter, I could not advise him under these circumstances to commit to testifying on October 15.

Also, at this point we have asked the White House Counsel for access to documents that may be relevant to Mr. Meadows potential testimony that have been released to the Committee by the Archivist per instructions of the White House Counsel. Since Mr. Meadows has not been consulted about any such production of potentially privileged documents arising from his tenure as the former President’s Chief of Staff, we are unaware if any have actually been produced. I would respectfully extend our request for access to any such documents to the Committee as well. As you know so well, the testimony of any witness would be far more productive if afforded, as per standard practice, access to documents relevant to the witness’s testimony.

We are, of course, during our utmost to properly respect the Select Committee’s subpoena and working diligently to address the various issues it raises.

We will continue to give this matter prompt and close attention and appreciate your willingness to work with us.

Regards,

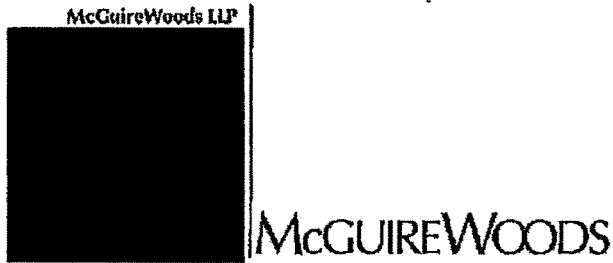
George Terwilliger
Counsel for Mr. Meadows

George J. Terwilliger III
Partner

[Redacted]



This e-mail from McGuireWoods may contain confidential or privileged information. If you are not the intended recipient, please advise by return e-mail and delete immediately without reading or forwarding to others.



October 11, 2021

Honorable Dana A. Remus
Counsel to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20500

Re: Congressional Subpoena to Former White House Chief of Staff Mark R. Meadows

Dear Ms. Remus:

I write on behalf of my client, Mark R. Meadows, regarding a subpoena he recently received from the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol of the U.S. House of Representatives. While now a private citizen, Mr. Meadows served as White House Chief of Staff under President Donald J. Trump during the period that is the focus of the Select Committee's investigation. I write now because, as detailed below, Presidents and Presidential Administrations of both parties have long maintained the position that Congress cannot compel senior advisors to the President to testify or to produce records of their communications with and on behalf of the President. The Select Committee's subpoena to Mr. Meadows threatens these important principles which safeguard the separation of powers enshrined in the U.S. Constitution.

The Select Committee's subpoena, which Mr. Meadows received on September 23, 2021, seeks both records and testimony regarding Mr. Meadows's tenure as White House Chief of Staff, including his communications with the President of the United States and other senior Executive Branch officials. A copy of the subpoena is attached. Mr. Meadows also received a letter, through counsel, on October 6, 2021, from an attorney for President Trump regarding the subpoena. A copy of the letter is attached as well.

Mr. Meadows has profound respect both for the Congress and for the Presidency as integral parts of the Federal Government established under the U.S. Constitution. He served four terms in the U.S. House of Representatives, representing North Carolina's 11th District, before serving as White House Chief of Staff. He is committed both to fulfilling his legal obligations and to protecting the balance of power that underpins our American system of government.

Honorable Dana A. Remus
October 11, 2021
Page 2

I am therefore writing to you in hopes of clarifying information we have seen in public reports regarding President Biden's position on the Select Committee's subpoenas (which include subpoenas to other individuals from both inside and outside the Executive Branch) and to request the opportunity to discuss these important matters with you.

Executive Branch Precedent

As you know, Presidential Administrations of both parties have consistently maintained that privileged communications within the Executive Branch are immune from congressional subpoena. *See, e.g., Assertion of Executive Privilege Over Deliberative Materials Regarding Inclusion of Citizenship Question on 2020 Census Questionnaire*, O.L.C. slip. op. (June 11, 2019) (Atty. Gen. William P. Barr); *Assertion of Executive Privilege Over Documents Generated in Response to Congressional Investigation into Operation Fast and Furious*, 36 Op. O.L.C. 1 (2012) (Atty. Gen. Eric H. Holder, Jr.); *Assertion of Executive Privilege Concerning Special Counsel's Interviews of the Vice President and Senior White House Staff*, 32 Op. O.L.C. 7 (2008) (Atty. Gen. Michael B. Mukasey); *Assertion of Executive Privilege Regarding White House Counsel's Office Documents*, 20 Op. O.L.C. 2 (1996) (Atty. Gen. Janet Reno). Among other things, this position guards against "the chilling effect that compliance with [a congressional] subpoena would have on future White House deliberations." 32 Op. O.L.C. at 13.

Considering this longstanding, bi-partisan tradition and its importance to the effective functioning of the Executive Branch, we were surprised to hear reports that you had directed the production of privileged White House documents without consulting the officials from whom they originated. Of course, mistaken media reports would not be unprecedented. We also understand that not all recipients of the Select Committee's subpoenas may be similarly situated to Mr. Meadows. We therefore respectfully ask for you to clarify whether you have directed the Archivist to produce privileged materials arising from Mr. Meadows' tenure as Chief of Staff to Congress, and if so, to clarify the scope of that directive. We also ask that, at an appropriate time and subject to appropriate conditions, you make any such production available to Mr. Meadows and to us as his counsel for the limited purpose of responding to the Select Committee's subpoena.

Document Production

In response to the subpoena, we informed the Select Committee on October 7, 2021, of our belief that all the potentially responsive records from Mr. Meadows' tenure as Chief of Staff would be in the custody and control of the Archivist of the United States, consistent with the Presidential Records Act of 1978, 44 U.S.C. §§ 2201–07. We also expressed our intention to take appropriate steps to confirm that belief. On October 8, 2021, multiple media outlets reported that you had already instructed the Archivist of the United States to produce responsive materials to the Select

Honorable Dana A. Remus

October 11, 2021

Page 3

Committee without any withholding or redaction based on executive privilege.¹ Mr. Meadows recognizes that, as a public servant, he created records belonging to the United States and not to him personally. He asserts no personal stake in the disposition of these records. But as former White House Chief of Staff, he also wants to ensure that the institution of the Presidency is protected and that the long-standing traditions which protect its operations are not traded away for political expediency.

Testimony

Aside from its request for documents, the Select Committee has also sought to compel testimony from Mr. Meadows. We believe that, consistent with Executive Branch practice, Mr. Meadows is immune from being compelled to testify before Congress regarding his service as White House Chief of Staff.

Long-standing Executive Branch tradition recognizes that senior White House officials enjoy an absolute immunity from compelled testimony before Congress. See Memorandum for All Heads of Offices, Divisions, Bureaus and Boards of the Department of Justice, from John M. Harmon, Acting Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legal Counsel, *Re: Executive Privilege* at 5 (May 23, 1977); Memorandum for John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs, from William H. Rehnquist, Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legal Counsel, *Re: Power of Congressional Committee to Compel Appearance or Testimony of "White House Staff"* (Feb. 5, 1971). This immunity continues to apply even after senior officials leave the White House. See, e.g., *Testimonial Immunity Before Congress of the Former Counsel to the President*, O.L.C. slip op., at *2 (May 20, 2019) ("*Testimonial Immunity Before Congress*"); *Immunity of the Former Counsel to the President from Compelled Congressional Testimony*, 31 Op. O.L.C. 191, 192 (2007). Testimonial immunity is also "distinct from, and broader than, executive privilege" in that it "extends beyond answers to particular questions, precluding Congress from compelling even the appearance of a senior presidential adviser—as a function of the independence and autonomy of the President himself." *Testimonial Immunity Before Congress*, O.L.C. slip op. at *4.

Notwithstanding the public reports about the Select Committee's document requests, we have no reason to believe that President Biden has purported to waive testimonial immunity for Mr. Meadows in connection with the Select Committee's subpoena. In the attached letter, former President Trump expressed his view that "Mr. Meadows is immune from compelled testimony on matters related to his official responsibilities." Ex. B (citing *Testimonial Immunity Before Congress*, O.L.C. slip op.). There are good reasons to preserve that immunity for the White House Chief of Staff, even if a decision has already been made to produce some otherwise privileged documents.

¹ See, e.g., Nicholas Wu et al., *Biden White House waives executive privilege for initial set of Trump-era documents sought by Jan. 6 panel*, POLITICO (Oct. 81, 2021), available at <https://www.politico.com/news/2021/10/08/bannon-jan-6-subpoena-515681>.

Honorable Dana A. Remus
October 11, 2021
Page 4

The testimonial privilege vindicates the constitutional separation of powers. The President, as the head of a co-equal branch of government, stands on equal constitutional footing with the Congress. For Congress to compel an immediate Presidential advisor—who serves as “an extension of the President”—“to appear and testify would ‘promote a perception that the President is subordinate to Congress, contrary to the Constitution’s separation of governmental powers into equal and coordinate branches.’” *Testimonial Immunity Before Congress*, O.L.C. slip op. at *4 (quoting *Immunity of the Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of Political Strategy and Outreach from Congressional Subpoena*, 38 Op. O.L.C. 5, 8 (2014) (“*Immunity of the Assistant to the President*”).

The testimonial privilege also protects the prerogative of current and future White House officials to provide the President with the frank and candid advice required to discharge faithfully the duties of the office. The Office of Legal Counsel emphasized this point in 2014 to explain why David Simas, Assistant to President Obama, was not required to testify in response to a subpoena from the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform:

[A] congressional power to subpoena the President’s closest advisers to testify about matters that occur during the course of discharging their official duties would threaten Executive Branch confidentiality, which is necessary (among other things) to ensure that the President can obtain the type of sound and candid advice that is essential to the effective discharge of his constitutional duties.

Immunity of the Assistant to the President, 38 Op. O.L.C. at 8. That office noted the Supreme Court’s recognition in *United States v. Nixon*, 418 U.S. 683 (1974), of “the necessity for protection of the public interest in candid, objective, and even blunt or harsh opinions in presidential decisionmaking.” *Immunity of the Assistant to the President*, 38 Op. O.L.C. at 8 (quoting *Nixon*, 418 U.S. at 708).

Past Presidents have thus asserted privilege and testimonial immunity to protect senior officials from prior Administrations from opposite parties. See, e.g., Ellen Nakashima, *Bush Invokes Executive Privilege on Hill*, THE WASHINGTON POST (Dec. 14, 2001) (discussing assertion of privilege by President George W. Bush over materials from the Administration of President William J. Clinton), available at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2001/12/14/bush-invokes-executive-privilege-on-hill/b05753f1-baf9-494b-ab52-33eb8ef7bd98/>.

We recognize that Congress has placed immense political pressure on the White House to waive executive privilege in connection with the Select Committee’s investigation, and that the Administration has already chosen to do so in some circumstances. It is precisely when the political pressure is at its strongest that the longstanding safeguards of the separation of powers become most important.

We respectfully request an opportunity to discuss these matters with you before any decision is made that would purport to require Mr. Meadows to act contrary to Executive Branch precedent.

Honorable Dana A. Remus
October 11, 2021
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* * *

We appreciate your consideration of these important matters. We hope that you can clarify the record on the Select Committee's request for documents and afford us the opportunity to speak with you about the testimonial immunity that shields Mr. Meadows from the Select Committee's subpoena. We are happy to make ourselves available to meet with you at your convenience. In the meantime, please do not hesitate to reach out with any questions.

Sincerely yours,



George J. Terwilliger III

Counsel to Mr. Meadows

Enclosures

cc:


[Redacted]

Chief Investigative Counsel

Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol

ELECTIONS, LLCAttorneys at Law
Justin R. Clark


October 6, 2021


Mr. Scott Gast
Compass Legal Services


Dear Mr. Gast:

I write in reference to a subpoena, dated September 23, 2021, by the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (the "Select Committee"), that was issued to your client Mark R. Meadows (the "Subpoena"). The Subpoena requests that Mr. Meadows produce documents by October 7, 2021, and appear for a deposition on October 15, 2021. While it is obvious that the Select Committee's obsession with President Trump is merely a partisan attempt to distract from the disastrous Biden administration (e.g., the embarrassing withdrawal from Afghanistan, the overwhelming flood of illegal immigrants crossing our southern border, and growing inflation), President Trump vigorously objects to the overbreadth and scope of these requests and believes they are a threat to the institution of the Presidency and the independence of the Executive Branch.

Through the Subpoena, the Select Committee seeks records and testimony purportedly related to the events of January 6th, 2021, including but not limited to information which is unquestionably protected from disclosure by the executive and other privileges, including among others the presidential communications, deliberative process, and attorney-client privileges. President Trump is prepared to defend these fundamental privileges in court. Furthermore, President Trump believes that Mr. Meadows is immune from compelled congressional testimony on matters related to his official responsibilities. *See Testimonial Immunity Before Congress of the Former Counsel to the President*, 43 Op. O.L.C. (May 20, 2019), available at <https://www.justice.gov/olc/opinions-main>.

Therefore, to the fullest extent permitted by law, President Trump instructs Mr. Meadows to: (a) where appropriate, invoke any immunities and privileges he may have from compelled testimony in response to the Subpoena; (b) not produce any documents concerning his official duties in response to the Subpoena; and (c) not provide any testimony concerning his official duties in response to the Subpoena.



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Thank you for your attention to this matter. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions or would like to discuss.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "Justin Clark", with a horizontal line underneath.

Justin Clark
Counsel to President Trump

BENNIE G. THOMPSON, MISSISSIPPI
CHAIRMAN

ZOE LOFGREN, CALIFORNIA
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One Hundred Seventeenth Congress

Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol

October 25, 2021

Mr. George Terwilliger III
McGuire Woods LLP

Dear Mr. Terwilliger,

The Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack (“Select Committee”) is in receipt of your October 7, 2021, letter and your October 13, 2021, email and attached documents (the “correspondence”) regarding the September 23, 2021, subpoena for documents and testimony served on your client Mark R. Meadows (the “subpoena”). The Select Committee is also in receipt of your October 11, 2021, letter addressed to Counsel to the President Dana A. Remus (the “letter to the White House”). You have also had calls with Select Committee staff about the subpoena, the most recent of which occurred on October 20, 2021. Based on the correspondence, the letter to the White House, and calls, I understand that Mr. Meadows believes that, as a former advisor to President Donald Trump, he may be immune from testifying before the Select Committee. In addition, I understand that Mr. Meadows believes that, even if he is not immune from testifying, his testimony may nonetheless be covered by a claim of executive privilege.

Mr. Scott Gast accepted service of the subpoena on Mr. Meadows’s behalf on September 23, 2021. The subpoena demanded that Mr. Meadows produce documents by October 7 and appear for testimony by October 15. The requested documents and testimony relate directly to the inquiry being conducted by the Select Committee, serve a legitimate legislative purpose, and are within the scope of the authority expressly delegated to the Select Committee pursuant to House Resolution 503. In the letter accompanying the subpoena, the Select Committee set forth the basis for its determination that the documents and records sought by the subpoena and Mr. Meadows’s deposition testimony are of critical importance to the issues being investigated by the Select Committee.

Your correspondence to the Select Committee, calls, and letter to the White House have suggested Mr. Meadows’s belief in the potential existence of testimonial and subject-matter privileges. No such blanket testimonial immunity exists, and the Select Committee does not believe that executive privileges bar the Select Committee from legally obtaining any aspects of Mr. Meadows’s deposition testimony.

Mr. George Terwilliger III

Page 2

First, the Select Committee has not received any assertion, formal or otherwise, of any privilege from ex-President Trump with respect to Mr. Meadows's production of documents or appearance to provide testimony.¹ Even assuming that, as a former President, Mr. Trump is permitted to formally invoke executive privilege, he has not done so. The Select Committee is not aware of any legal authority, and your letter cites none, holding that a vague statement by somebody who is not a government official that an ex-President has an intention to assert a privilege absolves a subpoena recipient of his duty to comply.

Second, your correspondence, communications with Select Committee staff, and letter to the White House indicate that Mr. Trump "believes that Mr. Meadows is immune from compelled congressional testimony on matters related to his official responsibilities." Even setting aside the fact that the Select Committee is interested in questioning Mr. Meadows, in part, about actions that cannot be considered part of his "official responsibilities," Mr. Meadows is not permitted by law to assert the type of blanket testimonial immunity that Mr. Trump and your letter to the White House suggest. To the contrary, every court that has considered the absolute immunity Mr. Trump alludes to has rejected it. *See, e.g., Harlow v. Fitzgerald*, 457 U.S. 800 (1982); *Comm. on the Judiciary v. Miers*, 558 F. Supp. 2d 53, 106 (D.D.C. 2008) (rejecting former White House counsel's assertion of absolute immunity from compelled congressional process). Those cases make clear that even the most senior presidential advisors may not resist a congressional subpoena "based solely on their proximity to the President." *Miers* at 101 (citing *Harlow*, 457 U.S. at 810).² And, although your letter to the White House cites several Department of Justice Office of Legal Counsel ("OLC") opinions in which OLC insists that such immunity exists even after *Miers*, yet another judge has forcefully rejected that position *after* OLC's last memorandum opinion addressing absolute immunity. *See Comm. on Judiciary v. McGahn*, 415 F. Supp. 3d 148 (D.D.C. 2019) ("To make the point as plain as possible, it is clear to this Court ... that, with respect to senior-level presidential aides, absolute immunity from compelled congressional process simply does not exist.").

Third, your correspondence, communications with Select Committee staff, and letter to the White House indicate that Mr. Meadows also believes that his potential testimony would be protected as privileged communications within the executive branch. That is not the case. Executive privilege is a qualified privilege—not an absolute one—that may be invoked to prevent disclosure of communications with the President related to his official responsibilities, as well as deliberations about official responsibilities within the executive branch. With respect to Mr. Meadows, I understand that Select Committee staff has already discussed with you a non-exhaustive list of deposition topics that fall outside of any executive-privilege claim, including:

¹ By civil complaint filed on October 19, 2021, in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, Mr. Trump has formally alleged that executive privileges should prevent the National Archives from producing Mr. Trump's White House documents to the Select Committee. That lawsuit does not formally assert any privilege with respect to Mr. Meadows and does not seek any relief related to the subpoena served on Mr. Meadows.

² It is also worth noting that the court in *Miers* rejected the former White House Counsel's claim of absolute immunity from congressional testimony even though the sitting President had formally invoked executive privilege. *Id.* at 62.

Mr. George Terwilliger III

Page 3

communications and meetings involving people who did not work for the United States government; communications and meetings with members of Congress; Mr. Meadows's campaign-related activities; communications and meetings about topics for which the Department of Justice and the White House have expressly declined to assert executive privilege; and, topics about which Mr. Meadows has already spoken publicly. Mr. Meadows must comply with the subpoena to answer questions about those and other issues, and his apparent reliance on a categorical claim of executive privilege runs afoul of long-standing caselaw requiring that any claim of executive privilege be asserted narrowly and specifically. *See, e.g., In re Sealed Case (Espy)*, 121 F.3d 729 (D.C. Cir. 1997); *Comm. on Oversight & Gov't Reform v. Holder*, No. 12-cv-1332, 2014 WL 12662665, at *2 (D.D.C. 2014) (rejecting a "blanket" executive-privilege claim over subpoenaed documents).

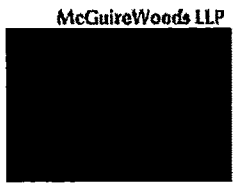
The Select Committee appreciates your ongoing willingness to discuss Mr. Meadows's appearance, and the Select Committee agreed to postpone the subpoena deadlines to give you and Mr. Meadows an opportunity to consult with the White House counsel's office to facilitate our discussion of this and other scoping issues. It now appears that Mr. Meadows may still believe that his appearance cannot be compelled and that his testimony is privileged. Given the impasse, the Select Committee must proceed and insist, pursuant to the subpoena, that Mr. Meadows produce all responsive documents by November 5, 2021, and appear for testimony on November 12, 2021. The Select Committee expects Mr. Meadows's production of documents and appearance for testimony on these dates. If there are specific questions at that deposition that you believe raise privilege issues, Mr. Meadows should state them at that time for the deposition record for the Select Committee's consideration and possible judicial review.

Please be advised that the Select Committee will view Mr. Meadows's failure to respond to the subpoena as willful non-compliance. Such willful non-compliance with the subpoena would force the Select Committee to consider invoking the contempt of Congress procedures in 2 U.S.C. §§ 192, 194—which could result in a referral from the House to the Department of Justice for criminal charges—as well as the possibility of having a civil action to enforce the subpoena brought against Mr. Meadows in his personal capacity.

Sincerely,



Bennie G. Thompson
Chairman



George J. Terwilliger III

McGUIREWOODS



November 3, 2021

VIA EMAIL

Honorable Bennie G. Thompson, Chairman
Honorable Liz Cheney, Vice Chair
Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capital
U.S. House of Representatives



Re: Subpoenas Served on Honorable Mark R. Meadows

Dear Chair Thompson and Vice Chair Cheney:

I write on behalf of Mr. Meadows in response to the request for production of documents in the Select Committee’s subpoena. In your letter of October 25, 2021, you indicated that you were extending the return date for the production of documents to Friday, November 5, 2021.

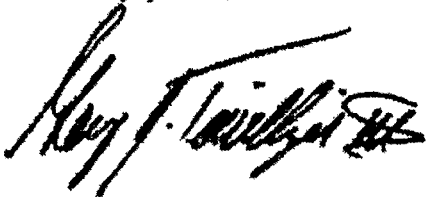
As I previously indicated in my letter of October 7, 2021, we believe that documents responsive to that subpoena are not in Mr. Meadows’s personal custody or control, but rather are in the possession of the Archivist of the United States pursuant to the Presidential Records Act of 1978, 44 U.S.C. §§ 2201-2207. We understand that the Select Committee has separately requested those records from the Archivist and that production of those letters is a current subject of litigation in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia. *See Trump v. Thompson*, No. 1:21-cv-2769-TSC (D.D.C.). Mr. Meadows is not a party to that litigation, though we understand that at least some of the documents at issue are from his former records. To the extent that responsive documents reside with the Archivist, they are outside Mr. Meadows’s custody and control, and he is therefore unable to produce them in response to the Select Committee’s subpoena. We expect that the Select Committee will obtain any portions of Mr. Meadows’s former records to which it may be entitled through its request to the Archivist, subject to any applicable rulings from the courts.

Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capital
November 3, 2021
Page 2

As I further indicated in my October 7 letter, and as I have explained our process to the Select Committee's counsel again this week, we are diligently taking steps to confirm that Mr. Meadows does not retain custody and control over documents that are responsive to the Select Committee's request, including through review of personal e-mail accounts and electronic devices. To date, we have not identified any such documents and therefore have no documents to produce. If we do discover any responsive, non-privileged documents, however, we will be prepared to produce them.

To summarize, we are not aware at this time of any documents that are responsive to the Select Committee's subpoena and maintained in Mr. Meadows's custody or control. We therefore have no documents to produce to the Select Committee this Friday, November 5. We are, however, diligently taking steps to confirm that no such documents exist. And we agree that we would produce any responsive, non-privileged documents we might find. I would be happy to discuss these matters further with you or with the Select Committee's investigative staff.

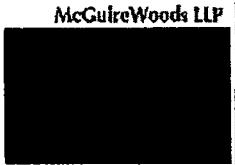
Sincerely yours,



George J. Terwilliger III

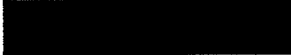
cc:





George J. Terwilliger III

McGUIREWOODS



November 3, 2021

VIA EMAIL

Honorable Bennie G. Thompson, Chairman
Honorable Liz Cheney, Vice Chair
Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capital
U.S. House of Representatives



Re: Subpoenas Served on Honorable Mark R. Meadows

Dear Chair Thompson and Vice Chair Cheney:

Thank you for your letter of October 25, 2021, and thanks to you and to the Select Committee for your willingness to engage with us on the important issues raised by the Select Committee’s subpoena to former White House Chief of Staff Mark Meadows. As your letter recognizes, these issues have been the frequent subject of litigation and of conflicting views between Congress and the Executive.

One of the important themes coming out of that litigation, and out of over 200 years of conflict between the branches, is that efforts to reach mutual accommodations to resolve differences have been the norm. *See, e.g., Trump v. Mazars USA, LLP*, 140 S. Ct. 2019, 2029–31 (2020). Considering that history of engagement to find accommodation—which the courts obviously favor—the Select Committee’s position, as expressed in your letter, is rather surprising, and indeed disappointing. The Select Committee apparently rejects each and every consideration raised in our correspondence with the Select Committee and with the White House Counsel that bears on whether and to what extent Mr. Meadows would be in a position to supply information to the Select Committee pursuant to its subpoena.

The purpose of this letter is to explore whether the Select Committee is willing to pursue some accommodation with Mr. Meadows that respects the position in which he finds himself and allows

Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capital

November 3, 2021

Page 2

the Committee to obtain information without abridging what Mr. Meadows believes in good faith to be his legal obligations arising from his tenure as White House Chief of Staff.

For context, former President Trump has directed Mr. Meadows, both in writing and orally, to maintain such privileges and immunities as apply to the demands of the Select Committee's subpoena. As you note in your letter, the former President has also filed a lawsuit challenging on various grounds the Select Committee's subpoena to the Archivist of the United States. While that lawsuit does not directly implicate the Select Committee's subpoena for Mr. Meadows's testimony, there is no reasonable doubt that the issues of privilege and valid legislative purpose raised in that lawsuit also bear on Mr. Meadows. Moreover, to date, and notwithstanding a specific inquiry through counsel to the Biden White House, Mr. Meadows has received no direction from the current President that contradicts or otherwise conflicts with the direction he has received from former President Trump.

Under these circumstances, it would be untenable for Mr. Meadows to decide unilaterally that he will waive privileges that not only protected his own work as a senior White House official but also protect current and future White House officials, who rely on executive privilege in giving their best, most candid advice to the President.

Thus, if we were forced to litigate whether Mr. Meadows must comply with the Select Committee's subpoena, we would of necessity assert executive privilege, among other challenges to the subpoena. That is especially necessary since, as mentioned above, your letter gives no indication of any willingness on the part of Select Committee to accommodate executive privilege or any of the other relevant considerations that inform Mr. Meadows's legal position.

In addition, the Select Committee's apparent unwillingness to pursue accommodation would compel Mr. Meadows to maintain his position, consistent with multiple opinions from a bipartisan group of Attorneys General, that senior White House aides cannot be compelled to testify before Congress in relation to their duties. I recognize, as your letter points out, that to date, the lower courts have not shared that view. But to our best knowledge, the Executive Branch has never retreated from that position, and of course, the Supreme Court has never had the opportunity to address it. What remains inescapable, in any event, is that compelling senior White House officials to testify before Congress has a chilling effect on the ability of senior aides, current and future, to communicate with and on behalf of the President they serve. For that reason, Mr. Meadows would resist being so compelled unless and until a court orders him to do otherwise, including after full appellate review.

Mr. Meadows is not resisting the Select Committee's subpoena to pick a fight or to hide unflattering information. To the contrary, it would be in his personal interest for members of the Select Committee and the public at large to understand the basic facts as to what occurred. For example, we anticipate that, if we were to be able to reach some accommodation with the Committee without vitiating privilege considerations, the Select Committee would learn that neither Mr. Meadows, nor to this knowledge anyone on the White House staff, had advanced knowledge of violent acts or a plan to infiltrate the Capitol Building, and that there was no delay

Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capital
November 3, 2021
Page 3

when the Administration was called to help restore order. Mr. Meadows is acting in good faith to protect the privileges and institutional prerogatives of the Executive Branch which attach to his tenure at the White House, as one would expect from any responsible former Chief of Staff.

It is not unusual for Congress and executive officials to have competing views about Congress's authority and executive officials' privileges and immunities. As noted above, such disputes have been a common feature of this sort of episode for more than two centuries. But equally common has been a willingness of both sides to discuss and negotiate in good faith to determine whether an accommodation can be reached. In that spirit, Mr. Meadows is willing to explore with the Select Committee whether, outside the confines of the subpoena, an accommodation could be reached by which he might be able to answer, under agreed upon and appropriate circumstances, a limited set of questions that would further a valid legislative purpose within the scope of the Select Committee's inquiry.

Sincerely yours,



George J. Terwilliger III

cc:



BENNIE G. THOMPSON, MISSISSIPPI
CHAIRMAN

ZOE LOFGREN, CALIFORNIA
ADAM B. SCHIFF, CALIFORNIA
PETE AGUILAR, CALIFORNIA
STEPHANIE N. MURPHY, FLORIDA
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LIZ CHENEY, WYOMING
ADAM KINZINGER, ILLINOIS



U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

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One Hundred Seventeenth Congress

Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol

November 5, 2021

Mr. George Terwilliger III
McGuire Woods LLP



Dear Mr. Terwilliger,

The Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack (“Select Committee”) is in receipt of your letters dated November 3, 2021, regarding the subpoena for documents and testimony served on your client, Mark R. Meadows (the “subpoena”). In your letter regarding deposition testimony, you suggest that Mr. Meadows maintains a “good faith” belief that he cannot appear before the Select Committee to answer any questions and, instead, proposes unspecified accommodations. In your letter regarding the production of documents, you said that there are “no documents to produce to the Select Committee” because you “are not aware at this time of any documents that are responsive to the Select Committee’s subpoena and maintained in Mr. Meadows’s custody or control.”

Per the Select Committee’s October 25, 2021 letter, the responsive date for Mr. Meadows to produce documents has been extended until November 5 and his deposition is scheduled for November 12. For the reasons that follow, the Select Committee cannot agree to further postponements.

First, regarding documents, you suggest that Mr. Meadows does not have any documents to produce, despite indicating, via telephone, earlier this week that you have gathered documents and continue to review them for responsiveness. If Mr. Meadows has responsive documents but believes that they are covered by an applicable privilege, please provide a privilege log that specifically identifies each document and each privilege that he believes applies so that the Select Committee can evaluate whether any additional actions are appropriate. As explained in the Select Committee’s October 25, 2021 letter, categorical claims of executive privilege are improper and Mr. Meadows must assert any claim of executive privilege narrowly and specifically. *See, e.g., In re Sealed Case (Espy)*, 121 F.3d 729 (D.C. Cir. 1997); *Comm. on Oversight & Gov’t Reform v. Holder*, No. 12-cv-1332, 2014 WL 12662665, at *2 (D.D.C. Aug. 20, 2014) (rejecting a “blanket” executive-privilege claim over subpoenaed documents). We also note that the Select Committee has received information suggesting that Mr. Meadows regularly communicated by text and verbally on his private cell phone when conducting government and campaign business. We expect that a number of those communications are

Mr. George Terwilliger III
Page 2

likely records covered and protected by the Presidential Records Act. We ask that you identify for us the current location of Mr. Meadows's cell phone and whether Mr. Meadows supplied his texts and other relevant cell phone records to the Archives.

Second, with respect to Mr. Meadows's deposition, the Select Committee appreciates your apparent willingness to seek an accommodation and have Mr. Meadows appear to testify before the Select Committee. To that end, we will provide further information about the topics we intend to develop with Mr. Meadows during the deposition. We have already identified some of those topics and articulated why they do not implicate executive privilege. *See* our October 25, 2021 letter.

After reviewing that letter and those topics, you indicated in a November 2 telephone conference with staff that Mr. Meadows may assert executive privilege with respect to even those areas and disagreed the Select Committee's position that those areas would be outside of any recognized privilege.

Despite this significant disagreement over the scope of executive privilege, we write today in a continued effort to reach an accommodation with Mr. Meadows. More specifically, we identify below the areas that we will seek to develop during Mr. Meadows' deposition. At present, the Select Committee plans to question Mr. Meadows about his knowledge, actions, and communications, including communications involving Mr. Trump and others, with respect to the following:

- (1) Messaging to or from the White House, Trump reelection campaign, party officials, and others about purported fraud, irregularities, or malfeasance in the November 2020 election. This includes, but is not limited to, Mr. Trump's and others frequent use of the "Stop the Steal" slogan, even after lawsuits, investigations, public reporting, discussions with agency heads, and internally created documents revealed that there had not been widespread election fraud.
- (2) White House officials' understanding of purported election-related fraud, irregularities, or malfeasance in the November 2020 election.
- (3) Efforts to pressure federal agencies, including the Department of Justice, to take actions to challenge the results of the presidential election, advance allegations of voter fraud, interfere with Congress's count of the Electoral College vote, or otherwise overturn President Biden's certified victory. This includes, but is not limited to, Mr. Trump's and others' efforts to use the Department of Justice to investigate alleged election-related conduct, file lawsuits, propose that state legislatures take election-related actions, or replace senior leadership. It also includes similar efforts at other agencies such as the Department of Homeland Security, the Department of Defense, and, among others, the Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency.

Mr. George Terwilliger III

Page 3

- (4) Efforts to pressure state and local officials and entities, including state attorneys general, state legislators, and state legislatures, to take actions to challenge the results of the presidential election, advance unsubstantiated allegations of voter fraud, interfere with Congress's count of the Electoral College vote, de-certify state election results, appoint alternate slates of electors, or otherwise overturn President Biden's certified victory. This includes, but is not limited to, an Oval Office meeting with legislators from Michigan, as well as a January 2, 2021 call with, among others, state officials, members of Congress, Mr. Trump, and Mr. Meadows.
- (5) Theories and strategies regarding Congress and the Vice President's (as President of the Senate) roles and responsibilities when counting the Electoral College vote. This includes, but is not limited to, the theories and/or understandings of John Eastman, Mark Martin, former Vice President Pence, and others.
- (6) Efforts to pressure former Vice President Pence, members of his staff, and members of Congress to delay or prevent certification of the Electoral College vote. This includes, but is not limited to, meetings between, or including, the former Vice President, Mr. Trump, aides, John Eastman, members of Congress, and others.
- (7) Campaign-related activities, including efforts to count, not count, or audit votes, as well as discussions about election-related matters with state and local officials. This includes, but is not limited to, Mr. Meadows' travel to Georgia to observe vote counting, as well as his or Mr. Trump's communications with officials and employees in the Georgia Secretary of State's Office. This also includes similar activities related to state and local officials in Michigan, Wisconsin, Nevada, Arizona, and Pennsylvania.
- (8) Meetings or other communications involving people who did not work for the United States government. This includes, but is not limited to, an Oval Office meeting on December 18, at which Mr. Trump, Michael Flynn, Patrick Byrne, and others discussed campaign-related steps that Mr. Trump purportedly could take to change the outcome of the November 2020 election and remain in office for a second term, such as seizing voting machines, litigating, and appointing a special counsel. It also includes communications with organizers of the January 6 rally like Amy Kremer of Women for America First.
- (9) Communications and meetings with members of Congress about the November 2020 election, purported election fraud, actual or proposed election-related litigation, and election-related rallies and/or protests. This includes, but is not limited to, a December 21, 2021 meeting involving Mr. Trump, members of his legal team, and members of the House and Senate, during which attendees discussed objecting to the November 2020 election's certified electoral college votes as part of an apparent fight "against mounting evidence of voter fraud."

Mr. George Terwilliger III

Page 4

- (10) Efforts by federal officials, including White House staff, Mr. Trump, the Trump reelection campaign, and members of Congress to plan or organize rallies and/or protests in Washington, D.C. related to the election, including, but not limited to, the January 6 rally on the Ellipse.
- (11) Advance knowledge of, and any preparations for, the possibility of violence during election-related rallies and/or protests in Washington, D.C.
- (12) Events in the days leading up to, and including, January 6. This includes, but is not limited to, campaign-related planning and activities at the Willard Hotel, planning and preparation for Mr. Trump's speech at the Ellipse, Mr. Trump and other White House officials' actions during and after the attack on the U.S. Capitol, and contact with members of Congress, law enforcement, the Department of Defense, and other federal agencies to address or respond to the attack.
- (13) The possibility of invoking martial law, the Insurrection Act, or the 25th Amendment based on election-related issues or the events in the days leading up to, and including, January 6.
- (14) The preservation or destruction of any information relating to the facts, circumstances, and causes relating to the attack of January 6th, including any such information that may have been stored, generated, or destroyed on personal electronic devices.
- (15) Documents and information, including the location of such documents and information, that are responsive to the Select Committee's subpoena. This includes, but is not limited to, information stored on electronic devices that Mr. Meadows uses and has used.
- (16) Topics about which Mr. Meadows has already spoken publicly. This includes, but is not limited to, Mr. Meadows's February 11, 2021, appearance on the Ingraham Angle show to discuss the January 6 attack on the U.S. Capitol, Mr. Trump's reactions to the attack, and the National Guard.

Again, this list is non-exclusive and may be supplemented as our investigation continues, but we do not expect to seek information from Mr. Meadows unrelated to the 2020 election and what led to and occurred on January 6. We also continue to interview additional witnesses who have personal knowledge of these issues and Mr. Meadows's involvement. As our investigation continues, we may develop additional information about the above-described areas or identify additional subjects about which we will seek information from your client. We will discuss those issues with you on an ongoing basis provided we are continuing to negotiate about these issues and Mr. Meadows's potential privilege assertions.

Mr. George Terwilliger III

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We believe that these topics either do not implicate any cognizable claim of executive privilege or raise issues for which the Select Committee's need for the information is sufficiently compelling that it overcomes any such claim. To that end, **please provide your input on the topics that the Select Committee has reiterated by way of this letter no later than Monday, November 8.** If there are areas listed above that you agree implicate no executive or other privilege, please identify those areas. Conversely, please articulate which privilege you believe applies to each area and how it is implicated. Our hope is that this process will sharpen our differences on privilege issues and allow us to develop unobjectionable areas promptly.

Mr. Meadows's deposition scheduled for November 12 can proceed on at least the agreed-upon topics, and we can move one step closer towards the resolution of outstanding issues.

Finally, it is worth emphasizing an additional point that is also addressed in the pending litigation involving the National Archives. For purposes of executive privilege, Mr. Meadows apparently sees no significant difference between himself and Mr. Trump as *former* executive branch officials, and President Biden and his chief of staff as *current* executive branch officials. That distinction, however, is meaningful because it is the incumbent President that is responsible for guarding executive privilege, not former officials. *Dellums v. Powell*, 561 F.2d 242, 247 (D.C. Cir. 1977); *see also Nixon v. GSA*, 433 U.S. 425, 449 (1977) (even the one residual privilege that a former president might assert, the communications privilege, exists "for the benefit of the Republic," rather than for the former "President as an individual"). With respect to the Select Committee's work, the incumbent President has actually expressly declined to assert executive privilege on a number of subjects on which the Select Committee has sought testimony or documents. *See Trump v. Thompson*, Case No. 1:21-cv-2769 (TSC), Doc. 21 (brief for the NARA defendants); *see also* Doc. 21-1 (Declaration of B. John Laster).

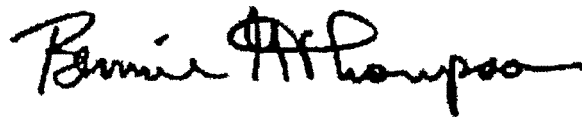
The accommodations process regarding potential claims of executive privilege is a process engaged in between the Executive Branch and the Legislative Branch. *See Trump v. Mazars USA LLP*, 140 S. Ct. 2019, 2030-31 (2020). Mr. Meadows represents neither. Nevertheless, we have in good faith considered your concerns and have proposed a course of action that reflects both that consideration and the Select Committee's urgent need for information.

Mr. George Terwilliger III

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Our hope is that this description of topics allows us to narrow the list of potentially disputed issues and move forward with Mr. Meadows' deposition. You have asked for negotiation, and we have responded in good faith. As was true before, however, the Select Committee will view Mr. Meadows's failure to respond to the subpoena as willful non-compliance. Such willful non-compliance with the subpoena would force the Select Committee to consider invoking the contempt of Congress procedures in 2 U.S.C. §§ 192, 194—which could result in a referral from the House to the Department of Justice for criminal charges—as well as the possibility of having a civil action to enforce the subpoena brought against Mr. Meadows in his personal capacity.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Bennie G. Thompson". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, stylized initial "B".

Bennie G. Thompson
Chairman

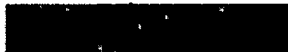
McGuireWoods LLP



George J. Terwilliger III



McGUIREWOODS



November 8, 2021

VIA EMAIL

Honorable Bennie G. Thompson, Chairman
Honorable Liz Cheney, Vice Chair
Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol
U.S. House of Representatives



Re: Subpoenas Served on Honorable Mark R. Meadows

Dear Chair Thompson and Vice Chair Cheney:

I write in response to Chairman Thompson’s letter of Friday, November 5, 2021. Thank you for your willingness to discuss the important issues raised by the Select Committee’s subpoena. You asked that I respond by today, Monday, November 8, 2021, and so I am writing to so respond and to further seek some reasonable accommodation of the Select Committee’s demands.

Please allow me to reiterate a fundamental point: Mr. Meadows position regarding testimony to the Select Committee is driven by his intent to maintain privileges that obviously attach to most subject matters arising from his tenure as White House Chief of Staff. Put simply, whether or not we agree that he lacks standing to assert privilege, it is obvious that he has no authority to unilaterally waive privilege. Moreover, as a responsible former Chief of Staff, he is abiding by the uniform, bi-partisan position of the Department of Justice that senior-most White House Staff cannot be compelled to provide congressional testimony. Unless the Department changes its position, and a court of competent authority directs him, after full appellate review, to do otherwise, that is the position we must maintain.

Despite that position, we have, now on several occasions, sought to find, outside the context of compulsion, accommodation with the Select Committee that would allow it to obtain some information from Mr. Meadows legitimately within the purview of a proper legislative purpose.

Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol

November 8, 2021

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We have gone so far as to proffer some information about a core aspect of apparent interest to the Select Committee. Unfortunately, our efforts have been met, including in your letter of November 5, with ever-broadening topical demands from the Select Committee (as detailed below), rather than an attempt to narrow our differences by focusing on a more particularized band of inquiry.

Nonetheless, we would propose yet again a means to accommodation outside the scope of subpoena that does not require Congress or Mr. Meadows to waive any legal rights. To that end, we would propose that the Select Committee propound written interrogatories to Mr. Meadows on any topics about which the Select Committee might wish to inquire. If the Select Committee is willing to do so, we are willing to respond to them as quickly as is feasible. That would allow Mr. Meadows to provide what information he can and/or to articulate clear assertions of privilege where applicable to specific questions. We believe doing so, at least initially, would present an orderly approach of far greater promise than would attempting to do so in a live setting.

With respect to the Select Committee's request for documents, please allow me to clarify as I believe your letter may misapprehend what we have related to your staff. While serving as White House Chief of Staff, Mr. Meadows conducted business on a computer and cell phone provided by the Federal Government. We believe that those devices contain the documents that are responsive to the Select Committee's subpoena. But those devices, and the documents on them, are no longer in Mr. Meadows's custody and control. He returned those devices to the Federal Government on January 20, 2021, and we believe them to be in the custody and control of the Archivist. We understand that the Select Committee is already in the process of seeking those and other documents from the National Archives, but Mr. Meadows does not have any formal role in that process.

Separately, to ensure that nothing has been missed, Mr. Meadows has provided us with access to electronic images from his personal accounts and devices. We do not expect those personal accounts and devices to contain much, if any, responsive material, but it is that review which is ongoing. My letter of November 3, 2021 was to indicate that we would agree to produce any responsive materials if we should identify any, without waiving attorney-client or any other applicable privilege. If we identify responsive materials that we conclude must be withheld based on an assertion of privilege, we will most certainly provide a privilege log as you request.

While we appreciate the Select Committee's expressed openness to an accommodation, we are concerned, as referenced above, that your latest letter expands, rather than narrows the scope of topics that any proposed accommodation might address. On October 12, I received from counsel for the Select Committee a list of topics that I was told reflected the Select Committee's view of what lay outside the scope of executive privilege. We had a different view about the applicability of executive privilege to those categories, but we appreciated the effort to reach common ground.

In your latest letter of November 5, however, there is listed an expanded set of categories that plainly implicate executive privilege even under a narrow interpretation of it. For instance, you ask Mr. Meadows to testify about "White House officials' understanding of purported election-related fraud, irregularities, or malfeasance in the November 2020 election." As you

Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol

November 8, 2021 .

Page 3

know, the Executive Branch is responsible for enforcing federal election laws, and it is natural for federal officials to discuss and deliberate on those issues. We do not see how Mr. Meadows could testify about that topic without implicating executive privilege. You also ask Mr. Meadows to testify about President Trump's "and others' efforts to use the Department of Justice to investigate alleged election-related conduct, file lawsuits, propose that state legislatures take election-related actions, or replace senior leadership." As you know, the President is Chief Executive and oversees the Department of Justice, as well as other federal agencies. We do not see how Mr. Meadows could testify about that topic without implicating executive privilege. If we are misunderstanding the Select Committee's position, and there is some narrower subset of these categories that the Select Committee genuinely believes to be outside executive privilege, we would welcome the clarification.

In addition to your expanded list of topics, you also maintain that "this list is non-exclusive and may be supplemented." You also state that the Select Committee "continue[s] to interview additional witnesses who have personal knowledge of these issues and Mr. Meadows's involvement." In addition to raising concerns about the Select Committee moving away from a reasonable accommodation, these statements also raise questions about why the Select Committee feels the need to subpoena the former White House Chief of Staff at all and, in particular, why the Select Committee is insisting on a November 12 date for such testimony. The courts have made clear that an important factor in assessing whether Congress can compel production of information about the President and his senior advisors is whether Congress has alternative means of getting the same information. See *Nixon v. Adm'r of Gen. Servs.*, 433 U.S. 425, 482 (1977); *Trump v. Mazars USA, LLP*, 140 S. Ct. 2019, 2025 (2020). If the Select Committee is already gathering documents and testimony about Mr. Meadows and his conduct during the relevant period, as your letter suggests, it is not clear why the Select Committee needs to gather that information again from him—in a posture that would threaten long-term effects for executive privilege.

The Executive Branch has prudently and consistently maintained in Administrations under both parties that Congress does not have the authority to compel testimony from the President's most senior advisors without the need to parse underlying questions of executive privilege. As the Supreme Court has noted, it can be very difficult to parse out the official and non-official duties of the President, who must serve as a one-man branch of government. See *Trump v. Mazars USA, LLP*, 140 S. Ct. 2019, 2024 (2020). It is all the more difficult to conduct that parsing during live testimony. Therefore, we believe that the alternate approach we respectfully suggest would provide the best path forward. We hope the Committee will give careful consideration to our suggestion for the use of voluntary interrogatory questions and answers.

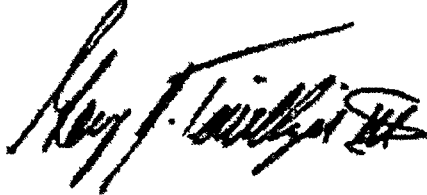
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Again, I want to thank you and the Select Committee for your willingness to engage on these important topics. We recognize that the Select Committee and Mr. Meadows have very different views about the scope of Congress' authority and the protections afforded to Mr. Meadows.

Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol
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Page 4

You also note in your letter that, if we do not reach an accommodation, you intend to pursue a contempt citation against Mr. Meadows. We do not believe that would be warranted under the circumstances, but we understand that the Select Committee will do what it sees most fit. We respectfully request, however, that, if the Select Committee does decide to pursue a contempt citation against Mr. Meadows, in fairness to him that our mutual correspondence would be entered into the official record at that time.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "George J. Terwilliger III". The signature is written in a cursive, somewhat stylized font.

George J. Terwilliger III

cc:



BENNIE G. THOMPSON, MISSISSIPPI
CHAIRMAN

ZOE LÖFGREN, CALIFORNIA
ADAM B. SCHIFF, CALIFORNIA
PETE ACUILAR, CALIFORNIA
STEPHANIE N. MURPHY, FLORIDA
JAMIE RASKIN, MARYLAND
ELAINE G. LURIA, VIRGINIA
LIZ CHENEY, WYOMING
ADAM KINZINGER, ILLINOIS



U S House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

january6th.house.gov
(202) 225-7500

One Hundred Seventeenth Congress

Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol

November 9, 2021

Mr. George Terwilliger III
McGuire Woods LLP

Dear Mr. Terwilliger:

The Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack (“Select Committee”) is in receipt of your letter dated November 8, 2021.

As explained in the Select Committee’s letter dated November 5, 2021, we have been, and remain, interested in reaching an accommodation with Mr. Meadows that allows the Select Committee to fulfill its purpose of understanding the complete picture of what led to and occurred on January 6th, making recommendations for changes to the law that will protect our democracy, and help ensure that nothing like January 6th ever happens again. To that end, we have endeavored to identify discrete areas of inquiry that we seek to develop with Mr. Meadows.

As you are aware, the Select Committee has identified sixteen subject matters for inquiry and asked that you explain your position as to whether any of those areas would trigger any claims of executive privilege. In your November 8 letter, you did not respond with any specificity about those areas, which we assume means that you believe all potentially implicate executive privilege. Without further input on those areas, it appears that the accommodation process has reached its natural conclusion.

As a result, the Select Committee must insist that Mr. Meadows appear for a deposition on November 12, 2021, as required by the subpoena. The deposition will begin at 10:00 a.m. in [REDACTED]. Although you have stated a preference to proceed by written interrogatories, there is simply no substitute for live, in-person testimony and the Select Committee respectfully declines your suggestion to proceed otherwise. At Friday’s deposition, we will inquire about the areas identified in the November 5 letter. We continue to believe they do not implicate any privilege, though we understand that Mr. Meadows may assert executive privilege as to certain questions. Our intention is to develop the areas that are outside of any privilege claim, and to give you and Mr. Meadows the opportunity to state privilege objections to specific questions on the record.

As we discussed by telephone today, our investigation has identified evidence regarding your client’s use of personal cellular telephones and email accounts. Mr. Meadows’s use of such personal devices and accounts will be a subject of inquiry at Friday’s deposition. More specifically,

Mr. George Terwilliger III

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we will seek to develop the following information, none of which implicates any executive or other privilege:

- (1) Between the dates November 3, 2020, and January 20, 2021, did Mr. Meadows use any electronic application with encryption technology to communicate any government-related messages? If so, which applications did Mr. Meadows use? Does Mr. Meadows still have access to these messages? Were these messages searched in response to the Select Committee's subpoena?
- (2) Between the dates November 3, 2020, and January 20, 2021, did Mr. Meadows use any personal communications devices, including but not limited to cell phones assigned the numbers [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]?
- (3) If Mr. Meadows had such personal communications devices, did he use them for any government-related communications?
- (4) If Mr. Meadows had such personal communications devices, does he still have those devices and any text messages stored therein?
- (5) If so, have those devices been searched for records responsive to the Select Committee's subpoena to Mr. Meadows?
- (6) If Mr. Meadows no longer has such personal communications devices or no longer has the text messages from the date range mentioned above, what did he do with those devices and messages? Did he turn them over to the National Archives? If he no longer has possession of them, does he have knowledge regarding their disposition?
- (7) During the date ranges mentioned above, did Mr. Meadows utilize a non-government email account, such as a Gmail account? If so, did Mr. Meadows use that account for any government-related communications? Does Mr. Meadows still have access to the account? Has any such account been searched for records responsive to the Select Committee's subpoena to Mr. Meadows?
- (8) If Mr. Meadows had a non-government email account during the dates mentioned above, but no longer has access to that account or no longer has emails from the date range mentioned above, what happened to that account or those emails? Did he provide all government-related emails to the National Archives?

As we discussed, it would be helpful to have information about these issues before Friday's deposition.


Please confirm receipt of this letter and Mr. Meadows' intent to appear for his deposition on Friday. Our staff is available to talk with you about logistical information such as building access. The Select Committee will view Mr. Meadows's failure to appear for the deposition and respond to the subpoena as willful non-compliance. Such willful non-compliance with the subpoena would force the Select Committee to consider invoking the contempt of Congress procedures in 2 U.S.C. §§ 192, 194—which could result in a referral from the House to the

Mr. George Terwilliger III

Page 3

Department of Justice for criminal charges—as well as the possibility of having a civil action to enforce the subpoena brought against Mr. Meadows in his personal capacity. Upon completion of Friday's deposition, we will have a record on which to base decisions about possible enforcement action.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Bennie G. Thompson". The signature is written in a cursive style with a long horizontal flourish at the end.

Bennie G. Thompson
Chairman

McGuireWoods LLP



George J. Terwilliger III

McGUIREWOODS



November 10, 2021

VIA EMAIL

Honorable Bennic G. Thompson, Chairman
Honorable Liz Cheney, Vice Chair
Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol
U.S. House of Representatives



Re: Subpoenas Served on Honorable Mark R. Meadows

Dear Chair Thompson and Vice Chair Cheney:

I write to acknowledge receipt of your letter of yesterday, November 9, 2021, in which you reject yet again a proposal for accommodation and ignore our suggestion to seek an accommodation outside the compulsion of a committee subpoena. Rather, the Select Committee insists that Mr. Meadows appear pursuant to a subpoena for a deposition this Friday, November 12, 2021, pertaining—without limitation in light of the privilege concerns we have raised—to sixteen wide-ranging subject matters as to which he would be questioned. You have made this demand notwithstanding the numerous outstanding issues that we have been discussing. Not least among these, we have asserted that Mr. Meadows feels duty bound to respect the bi-partisan positions of multiple presidential administrations, as expressed by the Department of Justice, that senior aides to the president cannot be compelled to provide congressional testimony. Mr. Meadows cannot agree to appear at 10 AM Friday.

The Select Committee has already threatened to enforce its subpoena against Mr. Meadows if he does not appear for live testimony, but I urge you to reconsider that position. It would be an extraordinary step for the Select Committee to seek to force Mr. Meadows to testify under these circumstances: The Select Committee's subpoena directly seeks information about Mr. Meadows's tenure as White House Chief of Staff, including information that he knows only from discussions with then-President Trump in the course of official duties. President Trump has instructed him to maintain and assert privilege and testimonial immunity to the full extent of the law, and Mr. Meadows has not received any contrary instruction from the current Administration. There is active litigation in the federal courts over related privilege issues that

Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol
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Page 2

could bear on Mr. Meadows's testimony. And as expressed in your letter of last Friday, November 5, 2021, the Select Committee still has not determined the full scope of information that it intends to seek from Mr. Meadows under its broad subpoena.

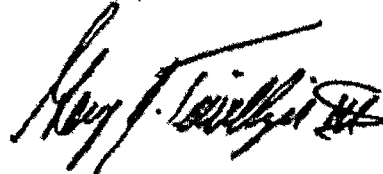
We also regret that we have not been able to reach an accommodation with the Select Committee outside the contours of the subpoena, as Congress has often been able to do with senior Executive officials over the past two centuries. Curiously, your letter insists that the accommodation process has stalled because the Select Committee does not have written views from Mr. Meadows on which subjects of the Select Committee's inquiry would be subject to legal privileges, including executive privilege. And yet that is precisely what we proposed to provide in response to written interrogatories from the Select Committee. We have never suggested that, by agreeing to propound interrogatories as a next step in the accommodation process, the Select Committee would forfeit the ability to seek live testimony. Nor would Mr. Meadows forfeit his ability to object to this request. That is the nature of an accommodation. It is therefore unfortunate that the Select Committee has rushed to compel live testimony now.

Mr. Meadows has proudly served in the House of Representatives. He fully appreciates Congress's role in our constitutional system. But in these circumstances, that appreciation for our constitutional system and the separation of powers dictates that he cannot appear on Friday to testify about his tenure as White House Chief of Staff. Mr. Meadows does not resist the Select Committee's subpoena out of self-interest. He instead feels duty-bound as former White House Chief of Staff to protect the prerogatives of that office and of Executive Branch in which he served. Mr. Meadows cannot, in good conscience, undermine the office and all who will hold it through a unilateral waiver of privilege and testimonial immunity.

* * * * *

I hope you will accept my sincere thanks for the opportunity to have engaged in this dialogue with you and the Select Committee concerning Mr. Meadows's compelled appearance before it. I regret that this frank exchange of views has not apparently led to an agreed upon resolution. As stated above, we do hope that the Select Committee will reconsider its apparent decision to enforce its subpoena against Mr. Meadows. But if not, we reiterate our request for the Select Committee to enter our mutual correspondence, including this letter, into the official record of any associated proceedings.

Sincerely yours,



George J. Terwilliger III

cc: [REDACTED]

BENNIE G. THOMPSON, MISSISSIPPI
CHAIRMAN

ZOE LÖFGREN, CALIFORNIA
ADAM B. SCHIFF, CALIFORNIA
PETE AGUILAR, CALIFORNIA
STEPHANIE N. MURPHY, FLORIDA
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LIZ CHENEY, WYOMING
ADAM KINZINGER, ILLINOIS



U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

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One Hundred Seventeenth Congress

Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol

November 11, 2021

Mr. George Terwilliger III
McGuire Woods LLP

Dear Mr. Terwilliger:

The Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack (“Select Committee”) is in receipt of your letter dated November 10, 2021, in which you state that Mr. Meadows feels “duty bound” to disregard the Select Committee’s subpoena requiring him to produce documents and appear for testimony. Mr. Meadows’s conclusion about his duty, however, relies on a misunderstanding of his legal obligations under the subpoena. The law requires that Mr. Meadows comply with the subpoena absent an applicable immunity or valid assertion of a Constitutionally based privilege. The attached letter from the White House Counsel’s Office, dated today, eviscerates any plausible claim of testimonial immunity or executive privilege, and compels compliance with the Select Committee’s subpoena.

In your letters and telephone conversations with the Select Committee since October 7, 2021, you have indicated that Mr. Meadows “is immune from compelled congressional testimony on matters related to his official responsibilities.” That position is based on Department of Justice Office of Legal Counsel (“OLC”) opinions in which OLC has advised past presidents to claim that senior advisors cannot be required to provide testimony to Congress about official actions. These opinions, however, do not justify Mr. Meadows’s refusal to provide the Select Committee information about one of the most significant events in our Nation’s history. As we previously conveyed, every federal court that has considered the issue of absolute immunity has rejected it, *even after* OLC last opined on the matter. *See, e.g., Comm. on the Judiciary v. Miers*, 558 F. Supp. 2d 53, 106 (D.D.C. 2008) (rejecting former White House counsel’s assertion of absolute immunity from compelled congressional process); *Comm. on Judiciary v. McGahn*, 415 F. Supp. 3d 148 (D.D.C. 2019) (“To make the point as plain as possible, it is clear to this Court . . . that, with respect to senior-level presidential aides, absolute immunity from compelled congressional process simply does not exist.”).

Your letters also broadly suggest that Mr. Meadows’s testimony is covered by claims of executive privilege. At the same time, you have failed to respond with specificity about any of the areas of inquiry the Select Committee has identified that do not implicate any privilege at all. For example, my most recent letter to you listed eight questions on which the Select Committee seeks Mr. Meadows’s testimony related to his use of personal cellular devices and email accounts. Your

Mr. George Terwilliger III

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letter in response did not address those issues and, instead, made general and unspecified blanket assertions of immunity and executive privilege. But, as you know and, as explained in my letter dated October 25, categorical claims of executive privilege run afoul of caselaw requiring that any claim of executive privilege be asserted narrowly and specifically. *See, e.g., In re Sealed Case (Espy)*, 121 F.3d 729, 752 (D.C. Cir. 1997) (“the presidential communications privilege should be construed as narrowly...”); *Comm. on Oversight & Gov’t Reform v. Holder*, 2014 WL 12662665, at *2 (rejecting a “blanket” executive-privilege claim over subpoenaed documents). We find it hard to consider your offer to answer questions in writing as genuine when you failed to respond to the questions we explicitly asked. Please respond to those questions no later than tomorrow.

In addition, Mr. Meadows has not produced even a single document in response to the Select Committee’s subpoena. Although you previously indicated that your firm was searching records that Mr. Meadows provided to you, more than enough time has passed for you to complete your review. Please immediately inform the Select Committee whether Mr. Meadows has any records responsive to the subpoena. Your search for responsive records should include (but not be limited to) any text messages, emails, or application-based messages associated with the cellular phone numbers and private email address the Select Committee has identified. If Mr. Meadows has records that you believe are protected by some form of privilege, you must provide the Select Committee a log describing each such record and the basis for the privilege asserted.

Further, the Select Committee understands that today, November 11, 2021, you received the attached letter from the White House Counsel’s Office addressing your previously stated concern that “Mr. Meadows has not received any contrary instruction from the current Administration.” The White House Counsel’s letter clearly explains the current President’s position: “[t]he President believes that the constitutional protections of executive privilege should not be used to shield information reflecting an effort to subvert the Constitution itself, and indeed believes that such an assertion in this circumstance would be at odds with the principles that underlie the privilege.” For that reason, and others, your client has now been advised that (i) “an assertion of privilege is not justified with respect to testimony and documents” relevant to the Select Committee’s investigation, and (ii) the President will not be asserting any claims of executive privilege or testimonial immunity regarding subjects about which the Select Committee seeks documents and testimony from Mr. Meadows.¹

Simply put, there is no valid legal basis for Mr. Meadows’s continued resistance to the Select Committee’s subpoena. As such, the Select Committee expects Mr. Meadows to produce

¹ Your letter states that Mr. Meadows cannot “in good conscience” give testimony out of an “appreciation for our constitutional system and the separation of powers” because doing so would “undermine the office and all who hold it.” You also acknowledge, however, that Congress has successfully obtained information from “senior Executive officials over the past two centuries,” as you must, because there is a long history of senior aides providing testimony to Congress without upending our constitutional system. *See, e.g., Trump v. Thompson*, No. 21-cv-2769 at 19-20 (D.D.C. Nov. 9, 2021) (describing congressional testimony of White House staff during the Nixon and Reagan administrations, as well as President George W. Bush’s interview with the 9/11 Commission); *see also Presidential Advisers’ Testimony Before Congressional Committees: An Overview*, CRS REPORT FOR CONGRESS (April 10, 2007) (providing numerous examples of presidential aides testifying before Congress including, Lloyd Cutler (Counsel to the President), Samuel Berger (Assistant to the President), Harold Ickes (Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff)).


Mr. George Terwilliger III

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all responsive documents and appear for deposition testimony tomorrow, November 12, 2021, at 10:00 a.m. If there are specific questions during that deposition that you believe raise legitimate privilege issues, Mr. Meadows should state them at that time on the record for the Select Committee's consideration and possible judicial review.

The Select Committee will view Mr. Meadows's failure to appear at the deposition, and to produce responsive documents or a privilege log indicating the specific basis for withholding any documents you believe are protected by privilege, as willful non-compliance. Such willful non-compliance with the subpoena would force the Select Committee to consider invoking the contempt of Congress procedures in 2 U.S.C. §§ 192, 194—which could result in a referral from the House of Representatives to the Department of Justice for criminal charges—as well as the possibility of having a civil action to enforce the subpoena brought against Mr. Meadows in his personal capacity.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Bennie G. Thompson". The signature is written in a cursive, slightly slanted style.

Bennie G. Thompson
Chairman

* * * *. I will mark as exhibit 3 and vember 11th, 2021, from the White Terwilliger as counsel for Mr. Mead- enter into the record a letter dated No- House Counsel's Office to Mr. George ows.

**Exhibit 3 — Letter from White House Counsel to
Counsel for Mr. Meadows, Nov. 11, 2021**



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 11, 2021

George J. Terwilliger III
McGuireWoods LLP

Dear Mr. Terwilliger:

I write in response to your letter of October 11, 2021, regarding a subpoena issued by the House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (the “Select Committee”) to your client, Mark R. Meadows.

In an October 8, 2021 letter to the Archivist of the United States regarding the Select Committee’s request for documents relevant to its investigation, the Counsel to the President wrote:

[T]he insurrection that took place on January 6, and the extraordinary events surrounding it, must be subject to a full accounting to ensure nothing similar ever happens again. Congress has a compelling need in service of its legislative functions to understand the circumstances that led to . . . the most serious attack on the operations of the Federal Government since the Civil War.¹

President Biden recognizes the importance of candid advice in the discharge of the President’s constitutional responsibilities and believes that, in appropriate cases, executive privilege should be asserted to protect former senior White House staff from having to testify about conversations concerning the President’s exercise of the duties of his office. But in recognition of these unique and extraordinary circumstances, where Congress is investigating an effort to obstruct the lawful transfer of power under our Constitution, President Biden has already determined that an assertion of executive privilege is not in the public interest, and is therefore not justified, with respect to particular subjects within the purview of the Select Committee. These subjects include: events within the White House on or about January 6, 2021; attempts to use the Department of Justice to advance a false narrative that the 2020 election was tainted by widespread fraud; and other efforts to alter election results or obstruct the transfer of power. The President believes that the constitutional protections of executive privilege should not be used to shield information reflecting an effort to subvert the Constitution itself, and indeed believes that such an assertion in this circumstance would be at odds with the principles that underlie the privilege.

¹ See Letter to David S. Ferriero, Archivist of the United States, from Dana A. Remus, Counsel to the President (Oct. 8, 2021).

Consistent with President Biden's determination that an assertion of privilege is not justified with respect to testimony and documents relating to these particular subjects, he has determined that he will not assert executive privilege with respect to your client's deposition testimony on these subjects, or any documents your client may possess that bear on them. For the same reasons underlying his decisions on executive privilege, President Biden has determined that he will not assert immunity to preclude your client from testifying before the Select Committee.

Please contact me if you have any questions about the matters described herein.

Sincerely,



Jonathan C. Su
Deputy Counsel to the President

cc:



Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol

* * * *. I will mark as exhibit 4 and enter into the record an email dated November 9th, 2021, and corresponding attachments from * * * *, chief investigative counsel to the select committee, to George Terwilliger, with subject line, "Deposition Rules." The attachments consist of, one, a document called "Document Production Definitions and Instructions"; two, "Deposition Rules," which is a copy of the House Congressional Record page H41 from January 4th, 2021; third, which is a copy of section 3(b) of House Resolution 8 dated January 4th, 2021.

**Exhibit 4 — Select Committee Staff Email to
Counsel for Mr. Meadows, Nov. 9, 2021**

[REDACTED]

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, November 9, 2021 7:39 PM
To: Terwilliger, George J. III
Cc: [REDACTED]
Subject: Deposition Rules
Attachments: Document Production Instructions.pdf; deposition rules.pdf; HRes8Sec3b.pdf

George,

As promised, I'm sending along the rules that govern procedure for depositions taken by committees of the House of Representatives. I've also attached the document production instructions, to guide any production you may provide.

As always, please let me know if you have any questions.

Thanks,

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack
on the United States Capitol
U.S. House of Representatives

[REDACTED]

DOCUMENT PRODUCTION DEFINITIONS AND INSTRUCTIONS

1. In complying with this request, produce all responsive documents, regardless of classification level, that are in your possession, custody, or control, whether held by you or your past or present agents, employees, and representatives acting on your behalf. Produce all documents that you have a legal right to obtain, that you have a right to copy, or to which you have access, as well as documents that you have placed in the temporary possession, custody, or control of any third party.
2. Requested documents, and all documents reasonably related to the requested documents, should not be destroyed, altered, removed, transferred, or otherwise made inaccessible to the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol ("Committee").
3. In the event that any entity, organization, or individual denoted in this request is or has been known by any name other than that herein denoted, the request shall be read also to include that alternative identification.
4. The Committee's preference is to receive documents in a protected electronic form (i.e., password protected CD, memory stick, thumb drive, or secure file transfer) in lieu of paper productions. With specific reference to classified material, you will coordinate with the Committee's Security Officer to arrange for the appropriate transfer of such information to the Committee. This includes, but is not necessarily limited to: a) identifying the classification level of the responsive document(s); and b) coordinating for the appropriate transfer of any classified responsive document(s).
5. Electronic document productions should be prepared according to the following standards:
 - a. If the production is completed through a series of multiple partial productions, field names and file order in all load files should match.
 - b. All electronic documents produced to the Committee should include the following fields of metadata specific to each document, and no modifications should be made to the original metadata:

BEGDOC, ENDDOC, TEXT, BEGATTACH, ENDATTACH, PAGECOUNT, CUSTODIAN, RECORDTYPE, DATE, TIME, SENTDATE, SENTTIME, BEGINDATE, BEGINTIME, ENDDATE, ENDTIME, AUTHOR, FROM, CC, TO, BCC, SUBJECT, TITLE, FILENAME, FILEEXT, FILESIZE, DATECREATED, TIMECREATED, DATELASTMOD, TIMELASTMOD, INTMSGID, INTMSGHEADER, NATIVELINK, INTFILPATH, EXCEPTION, BEGATTACH.

6. Documents produced to the Committee should include an index describing the contents of the production. To the extent more than one CD, hard drive, memory stick, thumb drive, zip file, box, or folder is produced, each should contain an index describing its contents.
7. Documents produced in response to this request shall be produced together with copies of file labels, dividers, or identifying markers with which they were associated when the request was served.
8. When you produce documents, you should identify the paragraph(s) or request(s) in the Committee's letter to which the documents respond.
9. The fact that any other person or entity also possesses non-identical or identical copies of the same documents shall not be a basis to withhold any information.
10. The pendency of or potential for litigation shall not be a basis to withhold any information.
11. In accordance with 5 U.S.C. § 552(d), the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) and any statutory exemptions to FOIA shall not be a basis for withholding any information.
12. Pursuant to 5 U.S.C. § 552a(b)(9), the Privacy Act shall not be a basis for withholding information.
13. If compliance with the request cannot be made in full by the specified return date, compliance shall be made to the extent possible by that date. An explanation of why full compliance is not possible shall be provided along with any partial production, as well as a date certain as to when full production will be satisfied.
14. In the event that a document is withheld on any basis, provide a log containing the following information concerning any such document: (a) the reason it is being withheld, including, if applicable, the privilege asserted; (b) the type of document; (c) the general subject matter; (d) the date, author, addressee, and any other recipient(s); (e) the relationship of the author and addressee to each other; and (f) the basis for the withholding.
15. If any document responsive to this request was, but no longer is, in your possession, custody, or control, identify the document (by date, author, subject, and recipients), and explain the circumstances under which the document ceased to be in your possession, custody, or control. Additionally, identify where the responsive document can now be found including name, location, and contact information of the entity or entities now in possession of the responsive document(s).
16. If a date or other descriptive detail set forth in this request referring to a document

- is inaccurate, but the actual date or other descriptive detail is known to you or is otherwise apparent from the context of the request, produce all documents that would be responsive as if the date or other descriptive detail were correct.
17. This request is continuing in nature and applies to any newly-discovered information. Any record, document, compilation of data, or information not produced because it has not been located or discovered by the return date shall be produced immediately upon subsequent location or discovery.
 18. All documents shall be Bates-stamped sequentially and produced sequentially.
 19. Upon completion of the production, submit a written certification, signed by you or your counsel, stating that: (1) a diligent search has been completed of all documents in your possession, custody, or control that reasonably could contain responsive documents; and
(2) all documents located during the search that are responsive have been produced to the Committee.

Definitions

1. The term “document” means any written, recorded, or graphic matter of any nature whatsoever, regardless of classification level, how recorded, or how stored/displayed (e.g. on a social media platform) and whether original or copy, including, but not limited to, the following: memoranda, reports, expense reports, books, manuals, instructions, financial reports, data, working papers, records, notes, letters, notices, confirmations, telegrams, receipts, appraisals, pamphlets, magazines, newspapers, prospectuses, communications, electronic mail (email), contracts, cables, notations of any type of conversation, telephone call, meeting or other inter-office or intra-office communication, bulletins, printed matter, computer printouts, computer or mobile device screenshots/screen captures, teletypes, invoices, transcripts, diaries, analyses, returns, summaries, minutes, bills, accounts, estimates, projections, comparisons, messages, correspondence, press releases, circulars, financial statements, reviews, opinions, offers, studies and investigations, questionnaires and surveys, and work sheets (and all drafts, preliminary versions, alterations, modifications, revisions, changes, and amendments of any of the foregoing, as well as any attachments or appendices thereto), and graphic or oral records or representations of any kind (including without limitation, photographs, charts, graphs, microfiche, microfilm, videotape, recordings and motion pictures), and electronic, mechanical, and electric records or representations of any kind (including, without limitation, tapes, cassettes, disks, and recordings) and other written, printed, typed, or other graphic or recorded matter of any kind or nature, however produced or reproduced, and whether preserved in writing, film, tape, disk, videotape, or otherwise. A document bearing any notation not a part of the original text is to be considered a separate document. A draft or non-identical copy is a separate document within the meaning of this term.

2. The term “communication” means each manner or means of disclosure or exchange of information, regardless of means utilized, whether oral, electronic, by document or otherwise, and whether in a meeting, by telephone, facsimile, mail, releases, electronic message including email (desktop or mobile device), text message, instant message, MMS or SMS message, message application, through a social media or online platform, or otherwise.
3. The terms “and” and “or” shall be construed broadly and either conjunctively or disjunctively to bring within the scope of this request any information that might otherwise be construed to be outside its scope. The singular includes plural number, and vice versa. The masculine includes the feminine and neutral genders.
4. The term “including” shall be construed broadly to mean “including, but not limited to.”
5. The term “Company” means the named legal entity as well as any units, firms, partnerships, associations, corporations, limited liability companies, trusts, subsidiaries, affiliates, divisions, departments, branches, joint ventures, proprietorships, syndicates, or other legal, business or government entities over which the named legal entity exercises control or in which the named entity has any ownership whatsoever.
6. The term “identify,” when used in a question about individuals, means to provide the following information: (a) the individual’s complete name and title; (b) the individual’s business or personal address and phone number; and (c) any and all known aliases.
7. The term “related to” or “referring or relating to,” with respect to any given subject, means anything that constitutes, contains, embodies, reflects, identifies, states, refers to, deals with, or is pertinent to that subject in any manner whatsoever.
8. The term “employee” means any past or present agent, borrowed employee, casual employee, consultant, contractor, de facto employee, detailee, assignee, fellow, independent contractor, intern, joint adventurer, loaned employee, officer, part-time employee, permanent employee, provisional employee, special government employee, subcontractor, or any other type of service provider.
9. The term “individual” means all natural persons and all persons or entities acting on their behalf.

January 4, 2021

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE

H41

health, safety, and well-being of others present in the Chamber and surrounding areas. Members and staff will not be permitted to enter the Hall of the House without wearing a mask. Masks will be available at the entry points for any Member who forgets to bring one. The Chair views the failure to wear a mask as a serious breach of decorum. The Sergeant-at-Arms is directed to enforce this policy. Based upon the health and safety guidance from the attending physician and the Sergeant-at-Arms, the Chair would further advise that all Members should leave the Chamber promptly after casting their votes. Furthermore, Members should avoid congregating in the rooms leading to the Chamber, including the Speaker's lobby. The Chair will continue the practice of providing small groups of Members with a minimum of 5 minutes within which to cast their votes. Members are encouraged to vote with their previously assigned group. After voting, Members must clear the Chamber to allow the next group a safe and sufficient opportunity to vote. It is essential for the health and safety of Members, staff, and the U.S. Capitol Police to consistently practice social distancing and to ensure that a safe capacity be maintained in the Chamber at all times. To that end, the Chair appreciates the cooperation of Members and staff in preserving order and decorum in the Chamber and in displaying respect and safety for one another by wearing a mask and practicing social distancing. All announced policies, including those addressing decorum in debate and the conduct of votes by electronic device, shall be carried out in harmony with this policy during the pendency of a covered period.

117TH CONGRESS REGULATIONS FOR USE OF DEPOSITION AUTHORITY

COMMITTEE ON RULES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, January 4, 2021.

Hon. NANCY PELOSI,
Speaker, House of Representatives,
Washington, DC

MADAM SPEAKER: Pursuant to section 3(b) of House Resolution 8, 117th Congress, I hereby submit the following regulations regarding the conduct of depositions by committee and select committee counsel for printing in the Congressional Record.

Sincerely,

JAMES P. MCGOVERN,
Chairman, Committee on Rules
REGULATIONS FOR THE USE OF DEPOSITION AUTHORITY

1. Notices for the taking of depositions shall specify the date, time, and place of examination. Depositions shall be taken under oath administered by a member or a person otherwise authorized to administer oaths. Depositions may continue from day to day.

2. Consultation with the ranking minority member shall include three days' notice before any deposition is taken. All members of the committee shall also receive three days' written notice that a deposition will be taken, except in exigent circumstances. For purposes of these procedures, a day shall not include Saturdays, Sundays, or legal holidays except when the House is in session on such a day.

3. Witnesses may be accompanied at a deposition by personal, nongovernmental counsel to advise them of their rights. Only members, committee staff designated by the chair or ranking minority member, an official reporter, the witness, and the witness's counsel are permitted to attend. Observers or counsel for other persons, including counsel for government agencies, may not attend.

4. The chair of the committee noticing the deposition may designate that deposition as part of a joint investigation between committees, and in that case, provide notice to the members of the committees. If such a designation is made, the chair and ranking minority member of the additional committee(s) may designate committee staff to attend pursuant to regulation 3. Members and designated staff of the committees may attend and ask questions as set forth below.

5. A deposition shall be conducted by any member or committee counsel designated by the chair or ranking minority member of the Committee that noticed the deposition. When depositions are conducted by committee counsel, there shall be no more than two committee counsel permitted to question a witness per round. One of the committee counsel shall be designated by the chair and the other by the ranking minority member per round.

6. Deposition questions shall be propounded in rounds. The length of each round shall not exceed 60 minutes per side, and shall provide equal time to the majority and the minority. In each round, the member(s) or committee counsel designated by the chair shall ask questions first, and the member(s) or committee counsel designated by the ranking minority member shall ask questions second.

7. Objections must be stated concisely and in a non-argumentative and non-suggestive manner. A witness's counsel may not instruct a witness to refuse to answer a question, except to preserve a privilege. In the event of professional, ethical, or other misconduct by the witness's counsel during the deposition, the Committee may take any appropriate disciplinary action. The witness may refuse to answer a question only to preserve a privilege. When the witness has refused to answer a question to preserve a privilege, members or staff may (i) proceed with the deposition, or (ii) either at that time or at a subsequent time, seek a ruling from the Chair either by telephone or otherwise. If the Chair overrules any such objection and thereby orders a witness to answer any question to which an objection was lodged, the witness shall be ordered to answer. If a member of the committee chooses to appeal the ruling of the chair, such appeal must be made within three days, in writing, and shall be preserved for committee consideration. The Committee's ruling on appeal shall be filed with the clerk of the Committee and shall be provided to the members and witness no less than three days before the reconvened deposition. A deponent who refuses to answer a question after being directed to answer by the chair may be subject to sanction, except that no sanctions may be imposed if the ruling of the chair is reversed by the committee on appeal.

8. The Committee chair shall ensure that the testimony is either transcribed or electronically recorded or both. If a witness's testimony is transcribed, the witness or the witness's counsel shall be afforded an opportunity to review a copy. No later than five days after the witness has been notified of the opportunity to review the transcript, the witness may submit suggested changes to the chair. Committee staff may make any typographical and technical changes. Substantive changes, modifications, clarifications, or amendments to the deposition transcript submitted by the witness must be accompanied by a letter signed by the witness requesting the changes and a statement of the witness's reasons for each proposed change. Any substantive changes, modifications, clarifications, or amendments shall be included as an appendix to the transcript conditioned upon the witness signing the transcript.

9. The individual administering the oath, if other than a member, shall certify on the transcript that the witness was duly sworn. The transcriber shall certify that the transcript is a true record of the testimony, and the transcript shall be filed, together with any electronic recording, with the clerk of the committee in Washington, DC. Depositions shall be considered to have been taken in Washington, DC, as well as the location actually taken once filed there with the clerk of the committee for the committee's use. The chair and the ranking minority member shall be provided with a copy of the transcripts of the deposition at the same time.

10. The chair and ranking minority member shall consult regarding the release of deposition testimony, transcripts, or recordings, and portions thereof. If either objects in writing to a proposed release of a deposition testimony, transcript, or recording, or a portion thereof, the matter shall be promptly referred to the committee for resolution.

11. A witness shall not be required to testify unless the witness has been provided with a copy of section 3(b) of H. Res. 8, 117th Congress, and these regulations.

REMOTE COMMITTEE PROCEEDINGS REGULATIONS PURSUANT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 8, 117TH CONGRESS

COMMITTEE ON RULES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, January 4, 2021.

Hon. NANCY PELOSI,
Speaker, House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

MADAM SPEAKER: Pursuant to section 3(a) of House Resolution 8, 117th Congress, I hereby submit the following regulations regarding remote committee proceedings for printing in the Congressional Record.

Sincerely,

JAMES P. MCGOVERN,
Chairman,
Committee on Rules

REMOTE COMMITTEE PROCEEDINGS REGULATIONS PURSUANT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 8

A. PRESENCE AND VOTING

1. Members participating remotely in a committee proceeding must be visible on the software platform's video function to be considered in attendance and to participate unless connectivity issues or other technical problems render the member unable to fully participate on camera (except as provided in regulations A.2 and A.3).

2. The exception in regulation A.1 for connectivity issues or other technical problems does not apply if a point of order has been made that a quorum is not present. Members participating remotely must be visible on the software platform's video function in order to be counted for the purpose of establishing a quorum.

3. The exception in regulation A.1 for connectivity issues or other technical problems does not apply during a vote. Members participating remotely must be visible on the software platform's video function in order to vote.

4. Members participating remotely off-camera due to connectivity issues or other technical problems pursuant to regulation A.1 must inform committee majority and minority staff either directly or through staff.

5. The chair shall make a good faith effort to provide every member experiencing connectivity issues an opportunity to participate fully in the proceedings, subject to regulations A.2 and A.3.

H. Res. 8

In the House of Representatives, U. S.,

January 4, 2021.

Resolved,

SECTION 1. ADOPTION OF THE RULES OF THE ONE HUNDRED SIXTEENTH CONGRESS.

The Rules of the House of Representatives of the One Hundred Sixteenth Congress, including applicable provisions of law or concurrent resolution that constituted rules of the House at the end of the One Hundred Sixteenth Congress, are adopted as the Rules of the House of Representatives of the One Hundred Seventeenth Congress, with amendments to the standing rules as provided in section 2, and with other orders as provided in this resolution.

SEC. 2. CHANGES TO THE STANDING RULES.

(a) **CONFORMING CHANGE.**—In clause 2(i) of rule II—

(1) strike the designation of subparagraph (1); and

(2) strike subparagraph (2).

(b) **OFFICE OF DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION AND OFFICE OF THE WHISTLEBLOWER OMBUDS.**—

SEC. 3. SEPARATE ORDERS.

(a) **MEMBER DAY HEARING REQUIREMENT.**—During the first session of the One Hundred Seventeenth Congress, each standing committee (other than the Committee on Ethics) or each subcommittee thereof (other than a subcommittee on oversight) shall hold a hearing at which it receives testimony from Members, Delegates, and the Resident Commissioner on proposed legislation within its jurisdiction, except that the Committee on Rules may hold such hearing during the second session of the One Hundred Seventeenth Congress.

(b) **DEPOSITION AUTHORITY.**—

(1) During the One Hundred Seventeenth Congress, the chair of a standing committee (other than the Committee on Rules), and the chair of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, upon consultation with the ranking minority member of such committee, may order the taking of depositions, including pursuant to subpoena, by a member or counsel of such committee.

(2) Depositions taken under the authority prescribed in this subsection shall be subject to regulations issued by the chair of the Committee on Rules and printed in the Congressional Record.

(c) **WAR POWERS RESOLUTION.**—During the One Hundred Seventeenth Congress, a motion to discharge a measure introduced pursuant to section 6 or section 7 of the War

* * * *. And, with that, I will note for the record that it is 10:07 a.m., and Mr. Meadows still has not appeared or communicated to the select committee that he will appear today as required by the subpoena. [Whereupon, at 10:07 a.m., the deposition was concluded.] Accordingly, the record is now closed as of 10:07 a.m.

The official transcript for Mr. Meadows's voluntary deposition on December 8, 2021, is as follows:

SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE JANUARY 6TH ATTACK ON THE U.S. CAPITOL, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, DC
DEPOSITION OF: MARK MEADOWS (NO-SHOW)

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 8, 2021
WASHINGTON, DC

The deposition in the above matter was held in * * * * commencing at 10:00 a.m.

PRESENT: Representatives SCHIFF and LOFGREN.

APPEARANCES:

FOR THE SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE JANUARY 6TH ATTACK ON THE U.S. CAPITOL:

****, ****
****, ****
****, ****
****, ****

****. All right. It's 10 a.m. So we'll go ahead and get started going on the record.

This is a deposition of Mark Meadows, conducted by the House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, pursuant to House Resolution 503.

My name is ****. That's ****, and I'm the chief investigative counsel to the select committee. With me today are ****, who is a senior investigative counsel, and Ms. ZOE LOFGREN, who is a member of the select committee, is also participating remotely.

Based on an agreement with counsel to Mr. Meadows, this deposition was to begin at 10 a.m. It is now 10 a.m., and Mr. Meadows has not appeared.

Mr. Meadows received a subpoena, dated September 23rd, 2021, requiring him to produce documents to the select committee and appear for a deposition. Staff engaged in several discussions with Mr. Meadows' counsel regarding the scope of his production and the subject matters to be developed at his deposition.

Staff provided Mr. Meadows' counsel with specific areas in which it is interested and asked Mr. Meadows to identify those that would trigger a privilege assertion. Rather than engage with the select committee, Mr. Meadows asserted that, as a former White House chief of staff, he cannot be compelled to provide information to Congress. He communicated his blanket assertion of immunity, in addition to claims of executive privilege, in writing to Chairman THOMPSON.

On November 12th, 2021, the select committee convened the scheduled deposition of Mr. Meadows after the current White House indicated, in writing, that President Biden would not assert any immunity or privilege that would prevent Mr. Meadows from appearing and answering the committee's questions.

Mr. Meadows did not appear for that deposition on November 12th, as indicated in his prior correspondence.

He also failed to produce any documents responsive to the select committee's subpoena or a privilege log asserting claims of privilege for specific documents.

After Mr. Meadows failed to appear for his deposition or produce documents, select committee staff engaged in further discussions with Mr. Meadows' counsel regarding the status of his noncooperation.

Mr. Meadows ultimately agreed to produce some documents and to appear for a deposition today, December 8th, 2021, at 10 a.m., an offer which the chairman extended to him as a good faith effort to enable Mr. Meadows to cure his failure to comply with the September 23rd subpoena and provide information relevant to the select committee's investigation.

Mr. Meadows has now produced documents. Counsel made clear that Mr. Meadows intended to withhold some responsive information due to a claim of executive privilege. He agreed to produce documents he believes are not covered by that or any other privilege and to produce a privilege log identifying responsive documents withheld due to such privilege assertions.

He also agreed to appear for a deposition, at which he would be asked questions on subject matters relevant to the select committee's inquiry, as identified in our prior correspondence, and either answer the questions or articulate a claimed privilege.

We agreed with Mr. Meadows' counsel that this production and deposition would clarify Mr. Meadows' position on the application of various privileges and create a record for further discussion and consideration of possible enforcement by the select committee.

Consistent with that agreement, Mr. Meadows did produce documents and privilege logs. More specifically, he produced approximately 6,600 pages of records taken from personal email accounts he used to conduct official business, as well as a privilege log describing other emails over which he claims privilege protection. He also produced approximately 2,000 text messages, which Mr. Meadows sent or received using a personal device which he used for official business, in addition to a privilege log, in which he describes privilege claims over other withheld text messages.

Mr. Meadows was scheduled to appear today, December 8th, 2021, for a deposition. However, he has not appeared and is not present today. We received correspondence from Mr. Meadows' attorney yesterday indicating that, despite his prior agreement to appear today, his position has changed and he would not appear.

We are disappointed in Mr. Meadows' failure to appear as planned, as it deprives the select committee of an opportunity to develop relevant information in Mr. Meadows' possession and to, more specifically, understand the contours of his executive privilege claim.

Again, the purpose of today's proceeding was to ask Mr. Meadows ques-

tions that we believe would be outside of any cognizable claim of executive, attorney client, Fifth Amendment, or other potentially applicable privilege.

Our hope is that he would answer those questions, which would materially advance the select committee's investigation, given Mr. Meadows' service as White House chief of staff. We expected that he would assert privileges in response to various questions, articulating the specific privilege he believes is implicated and how it applies to the question asked. We planned to evaluate Mr. Meadows' privilege assertions after today's proceeding, engage in further discussions with Mr. Meadows' counsel, and consider whether enforcement steps were appropriate and necessary.

Mr. Meadows' failure to appear for today's deposition deprives us of the opportunity to engage in that process. Instead, we are left with Mr. Meadows' complete refusal to appear for his deposition or cure his willful noncompliance with the select committee's subpoena.

Had Mr. Meadows appeared for his deposition today, we would have asked him a series of questions about subjects that we believe are well outside of any claim of executive privilege. More specifically, we would have asked Mr. Meadows questions about his use of personal email and cellular phones.

Mr. Meadows' document production includes documents taken from two Gmail accounts. We would've asked him how and for what purpose he used those Gmail accounts and when he used one of them as opposed to his official White House email account. We would've similarly asked him about his use of a personal cellular telephone.

We would have sought to develop information about when Mr. Meadows used his personal cell phone for calls and text messages and when he used his official White House cell phone for those purposes.

Mr. Meadows' production of documents shows that he used the Gmail accounts and his personal cellular phone for official business related to his service as White House chief of staff. Given that fact, we would ask Mr. Meadows about his efforts to preserve those documents and provide them to the National Archives, as required by the Presidential Records Act. Finally, we would have asked Mr. Meadows about his use of a signal account, which is reflected in the text messages he produced.

In addition, we would have asked Mr. Meadows about particular emails that he produced to the select committee. We do not believe these emails implicate any valid claim of executive or other privilege, given that Mr. Meadows has produced the emails to the select committee.

Specifically, we would've asked Mr. Meadows about emails about the Electoral Count Act and the prospect of State legislators sending alternate slates of electors to Congress, including a November 7th, 2020, email with

attachments. We would've asked him about emails reflecting the Trump campaign's effort to challenge election results, including a December 23rd email from Mr. Meadows indicating that, quote, "Rudy was put in charge. That was the President's decision," end quote, that reflects a direct communication between Mr. Meadows and the President.

We would've asked him about emails from Mr. Meadows to leadership at the Department of Justice on December 29th and 30th, 2020, and January 1st, 2021, encouraging investigations of suspected voter fraud, including claims that had been previously rebutted by State and Federal investigators and rejected by Federal courts.

We would have asked Mr. Meadows about emails regarding the deployment of the National Guard on January 6th, including a January 5th email from Mr. Meadows in which he indicates that the Guard would be present at the Capitol to, quote, "protect pro Trump people," end quote.

In addition, we would have asked Mr. Meadows about specific text messages he sent or received that he has produced to the select committee. Given Mr. Meadows' production of these text messages to the select committee, they do not, in our view, implicate any valid claim of executive or other privilege.

We would've specifically asked Mr. Meadows about text messages regarding efforts to encourage Republican legislators in certain States to send alternate slates of electors to Congress, including a message sent by Mr. Meadows on December 8th, 2020, in which Mr. Meadows said, quote, "We are," end quote, and another text from Mr. Meadows to someone else in which he said that, quote, "We have a team on it," end quote.

We would have asked Mr. Meadows about text messages sent to and from Members of Congress, including text messages received from a Member of Congress in November of 2020 regarding efforts to contact State legislators because, as Mr. Meadows indicates in his text messages, quote, "POTUS wants to chat with them," end quote, which reflects a direct communication with the President, as well as texts in December of 2020 regarding the prospect of the President's appointment of Jeffrey Clark as Acting Attorney General.

We would've asked Mr. Meadows about text messages sent to and from another Member of Congress in November of 2020, in which the member indicates that, quote, the President asked him to call Governor Ducey, end quote, and in which Mr. Meadows asks for contact information for the attorney general of Arizona to discuss allegations of election fraud.

We would've asked Mr. Meadows about text messages sent to and received from Members of the House of Representatives and the Senate about objections to the certification of electors in certain States on January 6th. We would have asked him about text

messages sent to and received from a Senator regarding the Vice President's power to reject electors, including a text in which Mr. Meadows recounts a direct communication with President Trump who, according to Mr. Meadows in his text messages, quote, "thinks the legislators have the power, but the VP has power too," end quote.

We would have asked Mr. Meadows about text messages sent to and received from a media personality on December 12th, 2021, regarding the negative impact of President Trump's election challenges on the Senate runoff elections in Georgia, President Trump's prospects for election in 2024, and Mr. Meadows possible employment by a news channel.

We would've asked Mr. Meadows about text messages sent to and received from an organizer of the January 6th events on the Ellipse about planning the event, including details about who would speak at the event and where certain individuals would be located.

We'd ask Mr. Meadows about text messages regarding President Trump's January 2nd, 2021, phone call with Georgia Secretary of State Brad Raffensperger, including texts to and from participants in the call as it took place, as well as text messages to and received from Members of Congress after the call took place regarding strategy for dealing with criticism of the call.

We would've asked Mr. Meadows about text messages exchanged with various individuals, including Members of Congress, on January 6th, both before, during, and after the attack on the United States Capitol, including text messages encouraging Mr. Meadows to facilitate a statement by President Trump discouraging violence at the Capitol on January 6th, including a text exchange with a media personality who had encouraged the presidential statement asking people to, quote, "peacefully leave the Capitol," end quote, as well as a text sent to one of—by one of the President's family members indicating that Mr. Meadows is, quote, "pushing hard," end quote, for a statement from President Trump to, quote, "condemn this shit," end quote, happening at the Capitol.

Text messages: We would ask Mr. Meadows questions about text messages reflecting Mr. Meadows' skepticism about public statements regarding allegations of election fraud put forth by Sidney Powell and his skepticism about the veracity of claims of tampering with Dominion voting machines.

In addition, we would've asked Mr. Meadows questions about specific representations in a book he has authored, *The Chief's Chief*, in which he recounts various facts relevant to the select committee's investigation and directly describes communications with the President, including on page 259, quote, "A few sentences later, President Trump ad libbed a line that no one had

seen before, saying, 'Now it is up to Congress to confront this egregious assault on our democracy. After this, we're going to walk down—and I'll be there with you—we're going to walk down to the Capitol and we're going to cheer on our brave Senators and Congressmen and women. We're probably not going to be cheering so much for some of them because you'll never take back our country with weakness. You have to show strength. You have to be strong.' When he got off stage, President Trump let me know that he had been speaking metaphorically about the walk to the Capitol. He knew as well as anyone that we wouldn't organize a trip like that on such short notice," end quote.

We would've asked Mr. Meadows about another passage in his book that appears on page 261. Quote, "In the aftermath of the attack, President Trump was mortified. He knew the media would take this terrible incident and twist it around. He also knew his days on Twitter were probably numbered," end quote.

We would've asked Mr. Meadows about another passage on page 261 in his book. Quote, "'Mark,' Trump would say to me, 'Look, if I lost, I'd have no problem admitting it. I would sit back and retire and probably have a much easier life, but I didn't lose. People need me to get back to work. We're not done yet,'" end quote.

We would've asked Mr. Meadows about another passage in his book on page 264 that reflects, quote, "On January 20th, with less than 5 hours left in his historic Presidency, at a time when most outgoing Presidents would be quietly making notes for their memoirs and taking stock of their time in the White House, President Trump was being forced to defend his legacy yet again. 'How do we look in Congress?' President Trump asked. 'I've heard that there are some Republicans who might be turning against us. That would be a very unwise thing for them to do,'" end quote.

We would've asked him about another passage on page 265 of his book. Quote, "But I assured President Trump, once again, that all would be well with the impeachment trial, and we discussed what my role in the proceedings would be after we left the White House," end quote.

We would've asked him about the passage on page 266 in his book where he recounts, quote, "On the phone on January 20th, President Trump spoke as if he wasn't planning to go anywhere. He mentioned the long list of pardons we hadn't been able to complete largely due to the slowness on the part of various attorneys in the Federal Government. He wondered again about the precise details of the impeachment trial, including how much money the new lawyers would charge and how we could best defend him against the Democrats' attacks," end quote.

These passages reflect direct communications between Mr. Meadows and

President Trump directly impacting his claims of executive privilege.

Finally, we would ask Mr. Meadows questions about statements in his book about his interactions with the Department of Justice. Specifically, he addresses such interactions with the Department of Justice on pages 257 and 258 of his book, in which he says, quote, “It didn’t surprise me that our many referrals to the Department of Justice were not seriously investigated. I never believed they would, given the track record of that Department in President Trump’s first term.” end quote.

Again, statements in Mr. Meadows’ book directly reflect subject matters

that the select committee seeks to develop, and his public statements directly impact his claims of executive privilege.

But, as of the current time, which is now 10:17, Mr. Meadows still has not appeared to cure his earlier noncompliance with the select committee’s September 23rd, 2021, subpoena. So we will not be able to ask any of those questions about the documents and messages that he apparently agrees are relevant to the select committee and not protected by any protective privilege.

I’d also note for the record that Congressman ADAM SCHIFF, a member of the select committee, has joined and,

again, that member of the committee, Representative LOFGREN, has joined.

Before we close the record, Mr. SCHIFF or Ms. LOFGREN, do either of you have any comments to make for the record?

Mr. SCHIFF. I do not. Thank you.

***. Ms. LOFGREN, anything?

Ms. LOFGREN. I’m good.

***. Okay. Thank you.

Accordingly, the record of this deposition of Mark Meadows, now at 10:18 a.m., is closed.

[Whereupon, at 10:18 a.m., the deposition was concluded.]

Additional correspondence between the Select Committee and counsel for Mr. Meadows is as follows (continuing the exhibit numbering from above):

5. Letter from Counsel to Mark Meadows to Chairman THOMPSON, Nov. 19, 2021.

6. Letter from Chairman THOMPSON to Counsel to Mark Meadows, Nov. 22, 2021.

7. Letter from Counsel to Mark Meadows to Chairman THOMPSON, Nov. 26, 2021.

8. Letter from Counsel to Mark Meadows to Chairman THOMPSON, Nov. 26, 2021.

9. Letter from Chairman THOMPSON to Counsel to Mark Meadows, Nov. 28, 2021.

10. Letter from Counsel to Mark Meadows to Chairman THOMPSON, Dec. 3, 2021.

11. Letter from Counsel to Mark Meadows to Chairman THOMPSON, Dec. 7, 2021.

12. Letter from Chairman THOMPSON to Counsel to Mark Meadows, Dec. 7, 2021.

**Exhibit 5 — Letter from Counsel to Mark
Meadows to Chairman Thompson, Nov. 19, 2021**



November 19, 2021

VIA EMAIL

Honorable Bennie G. Thompson, Chairman
Honorable Liz Cheney, Vice Chair
Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol
U.S. House of Representatives

Re: Subpoenas Served on Honorable Mark R. Meadows

Dear Chair Thompson and Vice Chair Cheney:

I write further to our discussions about the Select Committee's subpoena to former White House Chief of Staff Mark R. Meadows and to propose again, in greater detail, that we explore an accommodation that would allow the Select Committee to obtain useful information to further its legislative purpose while allowing both the Committee and Mr. Meadows to maintain their respective positions on relevant legal issues. We recognize that the Select Committee believes that it is entitled to enforce the full scope of its subpoena. The Select Committee likewise is in a position to recognize that Mr. Meadows disagrees with that position. If pressed, we would expect that disagreement to require judicial resolution, which could take a substantial amount of time and resources.

Therefore, consistent with the long tradition and practice in disputes between Congress and Executive Branch officials (both current and former), we propose below an accommodation that would allow the Select Committee to obtain information outside the compulsion of the subpoena and without requiring either side to give up its legal position.

We propose that, as an initial step, Mr. Meadows provide written responses to written interrogatories from the Select Committee on a defined set of topics, with the specific subject matter for questions to be discussed between the Select Committee's counsel and counsel for Mr. Meadows. In a letter dated November 11, 2021, which was copied to the Select Committee, the Office of White House Counsel informed me that President Biden is not asserting privilege over

Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol
November 19, 2021
Page 2

certain categories of information within the scope of the Select Committee's inquiry. Within those categories, we would propose an initial focus on the following topics:

Events on or about January 6, 2021. Mr. Meadows can provide written responses to the Select Committee about his conduct, activities, and communications on January 5–6, 2021, with the caveat that he is not able to disclose communications with or on behalf of the President, or with other senior White House aides, absent the former President's agreement. (As discussed further below, we are willing to seek that agreement in connection with specific questions or sets of questions concerning a particular topic). To the extent the Select Committee already has records of Mr. Meadows's activities from Presidential records or other sources, he is willing to provide context or other relevant background, consistent with the limitations described above.

Communications with the Department of Justice. Mr. Meadows can provide written responses to the Select Committee about his communications with the Department of Justice concerning the events of January 6 and concerning other post-election issues, consistent with the limitations described above.

Other Post-Election Communications. We also understand that the Select Committee is interested in other post-election efforts and discussions regarding the results of the election and allegations of election fraud, including any discussions between White House officials and state officials in Georgia and elsewhere. It has been publicly announced that the district attorney in Fulton, Georgia, has impaneled or soon will impanel a special grand jury to investigate such communications. We therefore would propose deferring discussion of questions on this topic until Mr. Meadows's status, if any, in that matter can be established.

As indicated above, Mr. Meadows has a reasonable basis in fact and law to take the position that private communications that he had with or on behalf of the President, or with other senior White House aides, are subject to claims of Executive Privilege, as those communications lie at the core of Executive Privilege. Even though President Biden has purported to waive Executive Privilege in this regard, President Trump has instructed Mr. Meadows to maintain the privilege. It is not for Mr. Meadows as a witness to be forced to choose between these conflicting instructions. Nevertheless, as part of an effort to accommodate the Select Committee outside the compulsion of the subpoena, we are willing to seek the former President's agreement for Mr. Meadows to provide selective information through the means outlined above to the extent it would inform the Select Committee in furthering a valid legislative purpose. Our goal in doing so would be to avoid a dispute over Executive Privilege that might require lengthy and costly judicial resolution for all parties involved. To the extent the former President agrees, Mr. Meadows will also include that information in written responses to the Select Committee.

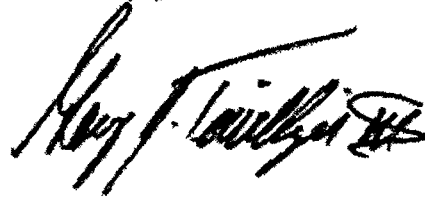
We submit this proposal as an initial step. Our expectation would be that, after working through this written process and after further consultation with counsel for the Select Committee, Mr. Meadows could agree outside of compulsion by subpoena to appear voluntarily for a deposition within the parameters established through the initial process.

Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol
November 19, 2021
Page 3

* * * * *

Thank you again for your willingness to discuss these important issues with us. We hope you will agree that the process outlined above can serve the interests of both parties and potentially avoid the prospect of time-consuming and resource-intensive litigation, all without prejudice to the prerogatives of the Select Committee or of Mr. Meadows as a former White House Chief of Staff. We will continue to stay in communication with counsel for the Select Committee, and if the Select Committee finds this proposal agreeable as an initial step, we will work quickly with them to identify the Select Committee's initial interrogatories and to begin preparing Mr. Meadows's responses.

Sincerely yours,



George J. Terwilliger III

cc:

[REDACTED]

**Exhibit 6 — Letter from Chairman Thompson to
Counsel to Mark Meadows, Nov. 22, 2021**

BENNIE G. THOMPSON, MISSISSIPPI
CHAIRMAN

ZOE LÖFGREN, CALIFORNIA
ADAM B. SCHIFF, CALIFORNIA
PETE AGUILAR, CALIFORNIA
STEPHANIE N. MURPHY, FLORIDA
JAMIE RASKIN, MARYLAND
ELAINE G. LURIA, VIRGINIA
LIZ CHENEY, WYOMING
ADAM KINZINGER, ILLINOIS



U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

january6th house gov
(202) 225-7800

One Hundred Seventeenth Congress

Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol

November 22, 2021

Mr. George Terwilliger III
McGuire Woods LLP

[REDACTED]

Dear Mr. Terwilliger,

The Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (“Select Committee”) has received and considered the letter you sent on November 19, 2021, a full week after your client, Mr. Mark Meadows, failed to appear for a deposition and two weeks after a deadline to produce documents.

Despite these failures, you again seek an accommodation via written interrogatories. Let me be clear, once more, on this issue: the Select Committee will not proceed with Mr. Meadows by submitting written interrogatories to him because we disagree that obtaining information from your client in writing is an appropriate accommodation. When Mr. Meadows first proposed interrogatories, he asked that the Select Committee “propound” them, but did not say that he would actually provide any substantive information in response.¹ Now, after his failure to comply with the Select Committee’s subpoena, he has added conditions: (1) the interrogatories can only ask questions about two days in January 2021 and Mr. Meadows’s communications with the Department of Justice; and (2) Mr. Meadows will only respond to questions about his communications “with or on behalf of the [former] president, *or* with other senior White House aides” *provided that* he first obtains the former President’s approval. These conditions stop short of an agreement to provide interrogatory responses, even if the Select Committee were inclined to consider them.

The Select Committee has attempted, on many occasions, to resolve the issues you have raised about Mr. Meadows’s compliance with the Select Committee’s subpoena. At your request, the Select Committee agreed to move the original subpoena compliance dates. When you asked for an overview of topics that the Select Committee planned to raise with your client, we accommodated your request. When you requested further accommodations, we provided additional details about the questions that the Select Committee intended to pose to Mr. Meadows in the form of a list of 16 specific topics. When you then raised, for the first time, your

¹ Letter to Chairman Thompson from George Terwilliger dated November 8, 2021 (in connection with his proposal to receive interrogatories, Mr. Meadows vaguely added that he would “provide what information he can and/or articulate clear assertions of privilege where applicable to specific questions”).

Mr. George Terwilliger III

Page 2

suggestion of written interrogatories, the Select Committee provided a list of eight questions about Mr. Meadows's use of communications accounts and devices. To date, Mr. Meadows has never provided a meaningful response to the Select Committee's attempts at accommodation, has never provided any documents or any privilege log, and has not even responded to written questions that he himself invited.

This history has led the Select Committee to suspect that you are simply engaged in an effort to delay, and that Mr. Meadows has no genuine intent to offer any testimony on any relevant topic. As you know, Mr. Meadows has extensive information unequivocally relevant to this investigation, including specific knowledge regarding former President Trump's failure for over three hours to demand that his supporters leave the Capitol during the violent confrontation on January 6th and his broader efforts to undercut the results of the fall 2020 election. Given that you have now for the first time identified Mr. Meadows's potential willingness to "appear voluntarily for a deposition," we will now supply you with that opportunity so that you can demonstrate that you and your client are operating in good faith. To that end, the Select Committee will agree to convene a deposition for your client on November 29, 2021, at 10:00 a.m. At that deposition, the Select Committee will begin by asking questions addressing obviously non-privileged topics that we have raised in earlier letters.² As indicated previously, we intend to ask Mr. Meadows about his communications with individuals outside of the executive branch, including Members of Congress, state officials, and third parties. We also intend to ask Mr. Meadows questions related to his use of private email accounts, cell phones, and other communications devices on January 6th and other relevant dates, as well as the required preservation of communications and other information on such accounts and devices.³ Those questions unequivocally call for non-privileged responses and are directly pertinent to the Select Committee's statutory right to obtain appropriate records from the National Archives under the Presidential Records Act. In short, there are multiple non-privileged subject matters within the scope of the Select Committee's investigation, as your most recent letter acknowledges. Again, we can conceive of no appropriate basis for your client's continued failure to appear and, at a minimum, answer these types of questions.

Your November 19 letter does not suggest any accommodation with respect to the production of documents, which to date your client has not produced. As I have stated previously, the Select Committee expects Mr. Meadows to produce documents in his possession that are responsive to the schedule set forth in the subpoena, and to assert in a privilege log any claims of executive privilege that he believes cover such documents, and on a document-by-document basis. To date, he has produced neither a single document nor a privilege log and, as a result, he remains in contempt of Congress for his failure to produce documents. Again, I have specifically asked Mr. Meadows to confirm his use and preservation of information contained within the specific cellular telephones and a personal email account mentioned above — issues that could not conceivably be covered by a privilege. He has failed to provide any information contained in those devices or accounts, or answer even those basic questions. Nonetheless, I will

² Letters to George Terwilliger from Chairman Thompson dated October 25, November 5, November 9, and November 11, 2021.

³ Letters to George Terwilliger from Chairman Thompson dated November 9 and November 11, 2021.

Mr. George Terwilliger III
Page 3

provide him one final opportunity to produce documents responsive to the September 23 subpoena and/or a privilege log. That information must be provided no later than Friday, November 26, 2021.

The accommodations process regarding potential claims of executive privilege typically involves discussions between the executive branch and the legislative branch. Mr. Meadows represents neither. The current administration has not asserted claims of absolute immunity or executive privilege. To the contrary, the White House Counsel's Office has specifically indicated in its letter dated November 11 that "an assertion in this circumstance would be at odds with the principles that underlie the privilege."⁴

Nevertheless, I have in good faith considered your concerns and have proposed a course of action that reflects both that consideration and the Select Committee's need for information to fulfill its purpose of understanding the complete picture of what led to and occurred on January 6th, making recommendations for changes to the law that will protect our democracy, and help ensure that nothing like January 6th ever happens again.

If Mr. Meadows seeks further engagement with the Select Committee in a good-faith effort to begin complying with the Select Committee's subpoena, he must produce documents and/or a privilege log by noon on Friday, November 26, 2021, and appear for his deposition at 10:00am on Monday, November 29, 2021. If at that time, you believe that the Committee's questions address topics for which you intend to continue to press a privilege claim, I trust that you will object and we can continue discussing your privilege arguments. The Select Committee will defer consideration of enforcement steps regarding Mr. Meadows's non-compliance with the Select Committee's subpoena pending the November 26 production of documents and November 29 deposition.

Sincerely,



Bennie G. Thompson
Chairman


⁴ Letter to George Terwilliger from the White House dated November 11, 2021.

**Exhibit 7 — Letter from Counsel to Mark
Meadows to Chairman Thompson, Nov. 26, 2021**

McGuireWoods LLP
George J. Terwilliger III
McGUIREWOODS


November 26, 2021

VIA EMAIL

Honorable Bennie G. Thompson, Chairman
Honorable Liz Cheney, Vice Chair
Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol
U.S. House of Representatives


Re: Subpoenas Served on Honorable Mark R. Meadows

Dear Chair Thompson and Vice Chair Cheney:

We have reviewed and considered your letter of November 23, 2021. We appreciate the efforts the Select Committee has made to discuss with us in correspondence the pertinent legal issues raised by the Select Committee's subpoena and to articulate the Select Committee's legal position on those issues, which you no doubt believe in good faith to be correct. Nonetheless, your letter is mistaken in several material respects which I will address just briefly.

Contrary to your suggestion that we are operating in bad faith, we have asserted the position that Mr. Meadows, as a former senior White House Official, is immune to being compelled to appear before Congress, period. That is the same position taken by the Department of Justice under Administrations of both political parties on numerous occasions and in fact asserted forcefully by then Attorney General Janet Reno. We have also taken the position that much of the matters about which the Committee would inquire of Mr. Meadows are subject to Executive Privilege, which is both generally and specifically recognized by the courts as a valid basis for a witness to refuse to answer such questions.

You state in your letter: "The accommodation process regarding potential claims of executive privilege typically involves discussions between the executive branch and the legislative branch. Mr. Meadows represents neither." We agree. Mr. Meadows has served in Congress, and at the times relevant to the Select Committee's inquiry, he served in the Executive Branch. But today, he is a private citizen. That is precisely why he, as a witness answering questions which would require him to provide information subject to claims of Executive Privilege arising from his

Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol

November 26, 2021

Page 2

former service as Chief of Staff to President Trump, is not the person responsible for deciding whether to waive that privilege. In addition, I would respectfully remind you that Congress is also not the arbiter of Executive Privilege. Thus, while you have indicated in your letter that you believe there are many non-privileged subjects of inquiry that Mr. Meadows could discuss in a deposition, we may not agree with your assessment of the applicability of privilege to any given topic or specific question. When disputes about Executive Privilege arise, they are traditionally resolved by the Executive Branch itself, through a negotiated accommodation between Congress and the Executive, or through the Courts if necessary. Mr. Meadows, as a former senior White House aide, has no legal authority of which we are aware to unilaterally waive the privilege, nor is there any legal authority that obligates him to accept whatever position the Select Committee may take as to the scope or applicability of such privilege.

We also understand that the Select Committee believes that President Biden is the sole arbiter of Executive Privilege, to the exclusion of former President Trump, over questions arising from President Trump's tenure. But as you know, that is a legal question that the Supreme Court has so far left open and the subject of a pending appeal in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit. So long as that issue remains unresolved, Mr. Meadows is not in a position to disregard instructions from former President Trump to maintain privilege.

Given these disagreements and unresolved legal issues, Mr. Meadows has not been able to appear for testimony in response to the Select Committee's subpoena. But we have nevertheless been and remain willing to find mutually agreeable means to share relevant information with the Select Committee outside the context of the testimonial subpoena.

Contrary to your letter's characterization of our offer to compromise, however, our suggestion of having a voluntary interview or deposition was only *to follow* a successful effort to engage in answers to interrogatories from the Select Committee. I should note that the use of written interrogatories is specifically provided for in the Select Committee's authorizing resolution. *See* H. Res. 503, § 5(c)(5) ("The chair of the Select Committee is authorized to compel by subpoena the furnishing of information by interrogatory."). Without any substantive response whatsoever, you have rejected this offer out of hand.

Nonetheless, your letter invites Mr. Meadows to appear voluntarily for a deposition to answer questions on what you believe to be non-privileged matters. We will agree to so appear, subject to the Select Committee's agreement to the following understandings and conditions:

1. *Mr. Meadows's appearance is voluntary, that is, not subject to the compulsion of the subpoena of September 23, 2021.*
2. *The Select Committee or its staff will in good faith limit the matters of inquiry and specific questions to that which it believes to be outside the scope of Executive Privilege*
3. *Mr Meadows, through counsel, retains full right to decline to answer questions that he believes in good faith, with the advice of counsel, would require him to answer with information subject to a claim of Executive Privilege.*

Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol

November 26, 2021

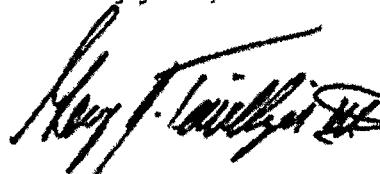
Page 3

4. *The Select Committee will provide to Mr. Meadows's counsel, at least 3 business days in advance of the session, any and all documents it intends to show or question him about in the session.*
5. *The duration of the deposition, exclusive of any agreed upon breaks or time off the record, will not exceed 4 hours.*
6. *The Select Committee will timely provide Mr. Meadows with the written record of the deposition.*

Your letter asks for any such appearance to occur on November 29, 2021. For separate reasons as to each of us, neither Mr. Meadows nor I could appear on that date.¹ In addition, that date, as you know, follows a traditionally long holiday weekend, and we have not received any of the documents that the Select Committee would like Mr. Meadows to be prepared to discuss. A deposition of Monday, November 29, would therefore not permit us adequate time to prepare for the session. We are prepared, however, to work with your staff to identify a date soon thereafter for Mr. Meadows to appear as outlined above.

As to the production of documents pursuant to the subpoena to Mr. Meadows, which you also raised in your letter, we are addressing that today in a separate communication to the Select Committee.

Sincerely yours,



George J. Terwilliger III

cc:

[REDACTED]

¹ I would be happy to explain to staff orally the reasons we could not attend on that date.

**Exhibit 8 — Letter from Counsel to Mark
Meadows to Chairman Thompson, Nov. 26, 2021**



McGUIREWOODS



November 26, 2021

VIA EMAIL

Honorable Bennie G. Thompson, Chairman
Honorable Liz Cheney, Vice Chair
Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol
U.S. House of Representatives



Re: *Subpoenas Served on Honorable Mark R. Meadows – Request for Production of Documents*

Dear Chair Thompson and Vice Chair Cheney:

On behalf of our client, the Honorable Mark R. Meadows, I write in response to the subpoena from the Select Committee on Finance dated September 23, 2021, and to your letter of November 23, 2021. As described below, Mr. Meadows is today making an initial production of documents in response to the subpoena and will continue working with the Select Committee to complete his response in a timely fashion. This initial production includes 1,139 documents and 6,836 pages.

As previously discussed, we believe that the vast majority of the documents responsive to the Select Committee’s subpoena are Presidential records now in the custody and control of the Archivist. We have nevertheless undertaken a review of Mr. Meadows’s personal devices and accounts to ascertain whether there are any responsive documents that remain in his custody and control. Previously we committed to producing any responsive, non-privileged documents that we identify. The documents included in today’s production were collected from Mr. Meadows’s personal Gmail account.

Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capital
November 26, 2021 – Documents
Page 2

This production is based on our careful review of all incoming and outgoing messages in Mr. Meadows personal Gmail account between the dates of November 3, 2020 to January 21, 2021. In response to the Committee's focus on this time frame in its subpoena, the review was done for all emails in this entire date range instead of through application of more limited search terms, for instance.

These documents are being produced in response to the Select Committee's subpoena. This letter and its attachments, any copies thereof, and any past or future correspondence regarding this matter, are not intended to waive any of Mr. Meadows's privileges or rights. They should not be construed as a waiver of any privilege or right. To the extent that we have identified responsive documents that are nevertheless privileged, we are providing a privilege log in connection with the production that identifies the documents withheld and the nature of the privileges asserted.

The materials included in today's production are produced in electronic format and Bates numbered: MM000001 through MM010784. The production file is password protected. We will provide instructions on accessing the production by separate email, and you should not hesitate to contact us should any issues arise.

This production and our related correspondence may include sensitive personal information. We respectfully request that these materials, including this letter and our other correspondence with the Select Committee and its staff, be treated as confidential under the House Rules; that they be afforded the fullest protection available by law and policy; and that they be treated as confidential and exempt from disclosure beyond the Select Committee. The production of any privileged or otherwise protected information which is not responsive to the subpoena is unintentional, and we request the prompt return of any such information if identified or upon our request. We further request that confidential treatment be accorded to any notes, memoranda, or other records created by or at the direction of the Select Committee or employees that reflect, refer, or relate to this letter or to any portion of the enclosed productions.

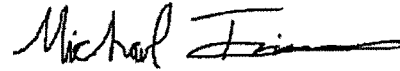
Please promptly inform me, at the address and phone number listed above, of any request seeking access to the documents or any of the above-mentioned records, including this letter, to enable us to substantiate the grounds for confidential treatment, unless the Select Committee intends to deny such request for access. At the conclusion of the Select Committee's review of the enclosed documents, we request that all copies be returned to me at the address above

In addition, we will review text messages and other potentially responsive information from Mr. Meadows' personal cell phone. As of the date of this initial production, we have encountered technical challenges that have prevented us from reviewing these materials for potentially responsive documents. We have previously explained to staff that Mr. Meadows did not retain his cell phone after January 2021. However, some information may have been retained in the form of a backup data set from the phone. After our initial efforts to access that backup were unsuccessful, we have retained a new outside vendor to assist us in our efforts to access and review the material. We expect to have a more detailed update on the status of this data next week. We continue to use substantial diligence to seek to obtain any potentially responsive material.

Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capital
November 26, 2021 – Documents
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If you have any questions regarding the enclosed materials or any issues relating to this matter, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely yours,



Michael Francisco*

cc:



* Not admitted in DC; admitted in CO. Application for admission to the DC bar filed; working under the direct supervision of an enrolled, active member of the DC bar

**Exhibit 9 — Letter from Chairman Thompson to
Counsel to Mark Meadows, Nov. 28, 2021**

BENNIE G. THOMPSON, MISSISSIPPI
CHAIRMAN

ZOE LOFGREN, CALIFORNIA
ADAM B. SCHIFF, CALIFORNIA
PETE AGUILAR, CALIFORNIA
STEPHANIE N. MURPHY, FLORIDA
JAMIE RASKIN, MARYLAND
ELAINE G. LURIA, VIRGINIA
LIZ CHENEY, WYOMING
ADAM KINZINGER, ILLINOIS



U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

january6th.house.gov
(202) 225-7800

One Hundred Seventeenth Congress

Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol

November 28, 2021

Mr. George Terwilliger III
McGuire Woods LLP



Dear Mr. Terwilliger,

The Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (“Select Committee”) has received and considered the letters you sent on November 26, 2021. One letter addressed Mr. Meadows’ potential deposition testimony, and the other addressed an initial production of documents and a privilege log. Separately, staff for the Select Committee received a link from your law firm to download Mr. Meadows’s initial document production that same day.

The Select Committee is working to download and process the documents Mr. Meadows produced and will review them as soon as practicable. As your letter indicates, that production includes 1,139 documents and 6,836 pages that are responsive to the Select Committee’s subpoena, as well as a privilege log describing hundreds more responsive documents that Mr. Meadows has withheld. I understand that this is an initial production, and that you are working to provide additional responsive documents including text messages taken from a personal cell phone that Mr. Meadows used during the relevant timeframe. Mr. Meadows’ production and privilege log comes well after the original and revised dates by which he was required to produce documents: October 7 and November 5, respectively. Given this delay and for the reasons stated below, I request that you complete the remaining production expeditiously, and no later than Friday, December 3, 2021.

In addition, the Select Committee is encouraged to hear that Mr. Meadows is interested in appearing for deposition testimony without further delay. I understand the extenuating circumstances for your request that we schedule the deposition for the week of December 6. I am willing to accommodate your request, *provided that* you complete production of documents from Mr. Meadows no later than Friday, December 3, 2021. More specifically, the Select Committee will convene a deposition on Wednesday, December 8, 2021, at 10:00 a.m. The deposition will be conducted pursuant to H. Res. 503, section 3(b) of H. Res. 8, and the Rules of the House of Representatives. Specifically, Mr. Meadows will be placed under oath to answer questions posed by staff and Members of the Select Committee. He will answer the questions asked or specifically articulate a privilege or other objection to such questions. As Chairman of the Select

Mr. George Terwilliger III

Page 2

Committee, I will consider and may rule upon those objections, as provided by the Rules of the House of Representatives. For your reference, I have enclosed the House Deposition Authority Regulations.

During the deposition, counsel and Members of the Select Committee will ask questions of your client that are relevant to the Select Committee's investigation. To be clear, the Select Committee's view of applicable executive privilege will be consistent with the prior letters that we have sent to you as well as the November 11, 2021, White House letter addressed to Mr. Meadows. Our hope is that Mr. Meadows will answer all questions put forth during the deposition. If, however, the Select Committee's questions address topics which you believe are protected by privilege, you will state such privilege objection on the record. After the deposition concludes, we will have a specific record on which to base continued discussion of your privilege claims.

The Select Committee hopes to limit the number of times Mr. Meadows must appear for testimony, but also recognizes that it might be necessary to continue the deposition to address issues that are not covered in this deposition, such as areas where you assert some executive-privilege-based objection that is later resolved. At this deposition, Select Committee staff will raise, in good faith, all relevant topics with Mr. Meadows in order to both obtain information that is relevant and necessary to its inquiry and narrow the scope of questions to which Mr. Meadows objects. If Mr. Meadows is forthcoming and cooperative, this process may take more than four hours, and the Select Committee cannot agree to such a time limit.

The Select Committee will endeavor to provide you, as counsel for Mr. Meadows, access to the nonpublic documents that it intends to show or question him about during the deposition that the Select Committee has received from sources other than your document production, *provided that* both you and Mr. Meadows agree to keep the documents confidential and not produce them, or otherwise disclose their contents, to any third parties. As noted above, it is imperative that we receive a complete production of documents from Mr. Meadows by December 3. This production must include, but not be limited to, production of text messages and other information contained in Mr. Meadows' personal cellular device(s). The Select Committee is also willing to provide access to the written record of the deposition upon the completion of the deposition pursuant to House rules.

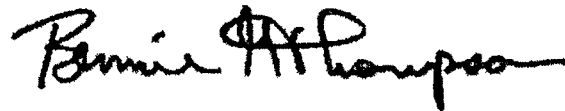
I trust that Mr. Meadows' stated position indicates a willingness to cooperate with the Select Committee. If so, he must complete his document production by Friday, December 3, 2021, and appear for a deposition at 10:00 a.m. on Wednesday, December 8, 2021. As was true in the letter that I sent dated November 22, 2021, the Select Committee will defer consideration of enforcement steps regarding Mr. Meadows' non-compliance with the Select Committee's September 23, 2021, subpoena pending the December 8, 2021, deposition.

Mr. George Terwilliger III

Page 3

Please find the previously mentioned enclosures to this letter below. I look forward to your speedy reply.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Bennie G. Thompson". The signature is written in a cursive style with a long horizontal flourish at the end.

Bennie G. Thompson
Chairman

Enclosures.

H. Res. 8

In the House of Representatives, U. S.,

January 4, 2021.

Resolved,

SECTION 1. ADOPTION OF THE RULES OF THE ONE HUNDRED SIXTEENTH CONGRESS.

The Rules of the House of Representatives of the One Hundred Sixteenth Congress, including applicable provisions of law or concurrent resolution that constituted rules of the House at the end of the One Hundred Sixteenth Congress, are adopted as the Rules of the House of Representatives of the One Hundred Seventeenth Congress, with amendments to the standing rules as provided in section 2, and with other orders as provided in this resolution.

SEC. 2. CHANGES TO THE STANDING RULES.

- (a) **CONFORMING CHANGE.**—In clause 2(i) of rule II—
- (1) strike the designation of subparagraph (1); and
 - (2) strike subparagraph (2).
- (b) **OFFICE OF DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION AND OFFICE OF THE WHISTLEBLOWER OMBUDS.**—

SEC. 3. SEPARATE ORDERS.

(a) **MEMBER DAY HEARING REQUIREMENT.**—During the first session of the One Hundred Seventeenth Congress, each standing committee (other than the Committee on Ethics) or each subcommittee thereof (other than a subcommittee on oversight) shall hold a hearing at which it receives testimony from Members, Delegates, and the Resident Commissioner on proposed legislation within its jurisdiction, except that the Committee on Rules may hold such hearing during the second session of the One Hundred Seventeenth Congress.

(b) **DEPOSITION AUTHORITY.**—

(1) During the One Hundred Seventeenth Congress, the chair of a standing committee (other than the Committee on Rules), and the chair of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, upon consultation with the ranking minority member of such committee, may order the taking of depositions, including pursuant to subpoena, by a member or counsel of such committee.

(2) Depositions taken under the authority prescribed in this subsection shall be subject to regulations issued by the chair of the Committee on Rules and printed in the Congressional Record.

(c) **WAR POWERS RESOLUTION.**—During the One Hundred Seventeenth Congress, a motion to discharge a measure introduced pursuant to section 6 or section 7 of the War

January 4, 2021

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE

H41

health, safety, and well-being of others present in the Chamber and surrounding areas. Members and staff will not be permitted to enter the Hall of the House without wearing a mask. Masks will be available at the entry points for any Member who forgets to bring one. The Chair views the failure to wear a mask as a serious breach of decorum. The Sergeant-at-Arms is directed to enforce this policy. Based upon the health and safety guidance from the attending physician and the Sergeant-at-Arms, the Chair would further advise that all Members should leave the Chamber promptly after casting their votes. Furthermore, Members should avoid congregating in the rooms leading to the Chamber, including the Speaker's lobby. The Chair will continue the practice of providing small groups of Members with a minimum of 5 minutes within which to cast their votes. Members are encouraged to vote with their previously assigned group. After voting, Members must clear the Chamber to allow the next group a safe and sufficient opportunity to vote. It is essential for the health and safety of Members, staff, and the U.S. Capitol Police to consistently practice social distancing and to ensure that a safe capacity be maintained in the Chamber at all times. To that end, the Chair appreciates the cooperation of Members and staff in preserving order and decorum in the Chamber and in displaying respect and safety for one another by wearing a mask and practicing social distancing. All announced politeness, including those addressing decorum in debate and the conduct of votes by electronic device, shall be carried out in harmony with this policy during the pendency of a covered period.

117TH CONGRESS REGULATIONS FOR USE OF DEPOSITION AUTHORITY

COMMITTEE ON RULES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, January 4, 2021

HON. NANCY PELOSI,
Speaker, House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

MADAM SPEAKER: Pursuant to section 3(b) of House Resolution 8, 117th Congress, I hereby submit the following regulations regarding the conduct of depositions by committee and select committee counsel for printing in the Congressional Record.

Sincerely,

JAMES P. MCGOVERN,
Chairman, Committee on Rules.

REGULATIONS FOR THE USE OF DEPOSITION AUTHORITY

1. Notices for the taking of depositions shall specify the date, time, and place of examination. Depositions shall be taken under oath administered by a member or a person otherwise authorized to administer oaths. Depositions may continue from day to day.

2. Consultation with the ranking minority member shall include three days' notice before any deposition is taken. All members of the committee shall also receive three days written notice that a deposition will be taken, except in exigent circumstances. For purposes of these procedures, a day shall not include Saturdays, Sundays, or legal holidays except when the House is in session on such a day.

3. Witnesses may be accompanied at a deposition by personal, nongovernmental counsel to advise them of their rights. Only members, committee staff designated by the chair or ranking minority member, an official reporter, the witness, and the witness's counsel are permitted to attend. Observers or counsel for other persons, including counsel for government agencies, may not attend.

4. The chair of the committee noticing the deposition may designate that deposition as part of a joint investigation between committees, and in that case, provide notice to the members of the committees. If such a designation is made, the chair and ranking minority member of the additional committee(s) may designate committee staff to attend pursuant to regulation 3. Members and designated staff of the committees may attend and ask questions as set forth below.

5. A deposition shall be conducted by any member or committee counsel designated by the chair or ranking minority member of the Committee that noticed the deposition. When depositions are conducted by committee counsel, there shall be no more than two committee counsel permitted to question a witness per round. One of the committee counsel shall be designated by the chair and the other by the ranking minority member per round.

6. Deposition questions shall be propounded in rounds. The length of each round shall not exceed 60 minutes per side, and shall provide equal time to the majority and the minority. In each round, the member(s) or committee counsel designated by the chair shall ask questions first, and the member(s) or committee counsel designated by the ranking minority member shall ask questions second.

7. Objections must be stated concisely and in a non-argumentative and non-suggestive manner. A witness's counsel may not instruct a witness to refuse to answer a question, except to preserve a privilege. In the event of professional, ethical, or other misconduct by the witness's counsel during the deposition, the Committee may take any appropriate disciplinary action. The witness may refuse to answer a question only to preserve a privilege. When the witness has refused to answer a question to preserve a privilege, members or staff may (1) proceed with the deposition, or (2) either at that time or at a subsequent time, seek a ruling from the Chair either by telephone or otherwise. If the Chair overrules any such objection and thereby orders a witness to answer any question to which an objection was lodged, the witness shall be ordered to answer. If a member of the committee chooses to appeal the ruling of the chair, such appeal must be made within three days, in writing, and shall be preserved for committee consideration. The Committee's ruling on appeal shall be filed with the clerk of the Committee and shall be provided to the members and witness no less than three days before the reconvened deposition. A deponent who refuses to answer a question after being directed to answer by the chair may be subject to sanction, except that no sanctions may be imposed if the ruling of the chair is reversed by the committee on appeal.

8. The Committee chair shall ensure that the testimony is either transcribed or electronically recorded or both. If a witness's testimony is transcribed, the witness or the witness's counsel shall be afforded an opportunity to review a copy. No later than five days after the witness has been notified of the opportunity to review the transcript, the witness may submit suggested changes to the chair. Committee staff may make any typographical and technical changes. Substantive changes, modifications, clarifications, or amendments to the deposition transcript submitted by the witness must be accompanied by a letter signed by the witness requesting the changes and a statement of the witness's reasons for each proposed change. Any substantive changes, modifications, clarifications, or amendments shall be included as an appendix to the transcript conditioned upon the witness signing the transcript.

9. The individual administering the oath, if other than a member, shall certify on the transcript that the witness was duly sworn. The transcriber shall certify that the transcript is a true record of the testimony, and the transcript shall be filed, together with any electronic recording, with the clerk of the committee in Washington, DC. Depositions shall be considered to have been taken in Washington, DC, as well as the location actually taken once filed there with the clerk of the committee for the committee's use. The chair and the ranking minority member shall be provided with a copy of the transcripts of the deposition at the same time.

10. The chair and ranking minority member shall consult regarding the release of deposition testimony, transcripts, or recordings, and portions thereof. If either objects in writing to a proposed release of a deposition testimony, transcript, or recording, or a portion thereof, the matter shall be promptly referred to the committee for resolution.

11. A witness shall not be required to testify unless the witness has been provided with a copy of section 3(b) of H. Res. 8, 117th Congress, and these regulations.

REMOTE COMMITTEE PROCEEDINGS REGULATIONS PURSUANT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 8, 117TH CONGRESS

COMMITTEE ON RULES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, January 4, 2021.

HON. NANCY PELOSI,
Speaker, House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

MADAM SPEAKER: Pursuant to section 3(s) of House Resolution 8, 117th Congress, I hereby submit the following regulations regarding remote committee proceedings for printing in the Congressional Record.

Sincerely,

JAMES P. MCGOVERN,
Chairman,
Committee on Rules.

REMOTE COMMITTEE PROCEEDINGS REGULATIONS PURSUANT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 8

A. PRESENCE AND VOTING

1. Members participating remotely in a committee proceeding must be visible on the software platform's video function to be considered in attendance and to participate unless connectivity issues or other technical problems render the member unable to fully participate on camera (except as provided in regulations A.2 and A.3).

2. The exception in regulation A.1 for connectivity issues or other technical problems does not apply if a point of order has been made that a quorum is not present. Members participating remotely must be visible on the software platform's video function in order to be counted for the purpose of establishing a quorum.

3. The exception in regulation A.1 for connectivity issues or other technical problems does not apply during a vote. Members participating remotely must be visible on the software platform's video function in order to vote.

4. Members participating remotely off-camera due to connectivity issues or other technical problems pursuant to regulation A.1 must inform committee majority and minority staff either directly or through staff.

5. The chair shall make a good faith effort to provide every member experiencing connectivity issues an opportunity to participate fully in the proceedings, subject to regulations A.2 and A.3.

**Exhibit 10 — Letter from Counsel to Mark
Meadows to Chairman Thompson, Dec. 3, 2021**



McGUIREWOODS



December 3, 2021

VIA EMAIL

Honorable Bennie G. Thompson, Chairman
Honorable Liz Cheney, Vice Chair
Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol
U.S. House of Representatives



Re: *Subpoenas Served on Honorable Mark R. Meadows – Request for Production of Documents*

Dear Chair Thompson and Vice Chair Cheney:

On behalf of our client, the Honorable Mark R. Meadows, I write in response to the subpoena from the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol dated September 23, 2021, and to your letter of November 23, 2021. As described below, Mr. Meadows is today making a continuing production of documents in response to the subpoena. This production includes 2,319 documents and 2,514 pages. For text messages withheld as privileged, there are 38 text message threads with attorney-client privilege and 23 text message threads with executive privilege.

Previously we committed to producing any responsive, non-privileged documents that we identify. The documents included in today’s production were collected primarily from backup data from Mr. Meadows’s personal devices. As we have previously explained, Mr. Meadows no longer has his personal cell phone available to him; this production is based on all remaining available data from that device.

Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol
December 3, 2021 – Documents
Page 2

This production is based on our careful review of all incoming and outgoing text messages in Mr. Meadows's custody or control between the dates of November 3, 2020 to January 21, 2021 as well as any available attachments or other identifiable documents from Mr. Meadows's personal computer. In response to the Select Committee's focus on this time frame in its subpoena, the review was done for all text messages in this entire date range instead of through application of more limited search terms, for instance.

These documents are being produced in response to the Select Committee's subpoena. This letter and its attachments, any copies thereof, and any past or future correspondence regarding this matter, are not intended to waive any of Mr. Meadows's privileges or rights. They should not be construed as a waiver of any privilege or right. To the extent that we have identified responsive documents that are nevertheless privileged, we are providing a privilege log in connection with the production that identifies the documents withheld and the nature of the privileges asserted.

The materials included in today's production are produced in electronic format and Bates numbered: MM010785 through MM015356. The production file is password protected. We will provide instructions on accessing the production by separate email, and you should not hesitate to contact us should any issues arise.

Today Mr. Meadows is also producing some non-privileged, responsive emails and attachments that were recovered from his personal computer. Most communications recovered from this device were associated with his personal email account. Thus, we have previously reviewed for responsiveness and privilege and produced appropriate communications to the Select Committee. Any responsive, nonprivileged documents not previously reviewed are being produced today. This production includes 20 documents in 42 pages.

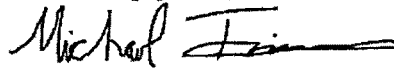
As with the initial production, this production and our related correspondence may include sensitive personal information. We respectfully request that these materials, including this letter and our other correspondence with the Select Committee and its staff, be treated as confidential under the House Rules; that they be afforded the fullest protection available by law and policy; and that they be treated as confidential and exempt from disclosure beyond the Select Committee. The production of any privileged or otherwise protected information which is not responsive to the subpoena is unintentional, and we request the prompt return of any such information if identified or upon our request. We further request that confidential treatment be accorded to any notes, memoranda, or other records created by or at the direction of the Select Committee or employees that reflect, refer, or relate to this letter or to any portion of the enclosed productions.

Please promptly inform me, at the address and phone number listed above, of any request seeking access to the documents or any of the above-mentioned records, including this letter, to enable us to substantiate the grounds for confidential treatment, unless the Select Committee intends to deny such request for access. At the conclusion of the Select Committee's review of the enclosed documents, we request that all copies be returned to me at the address above.

Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol
December 3, 2021 – Documents
Page 3

If you have any questions regarding the enclosed materials or any issues relating to this matter, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely yours,



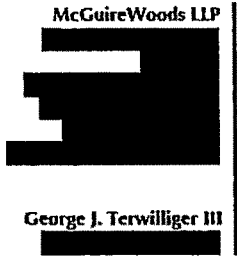
Michael Francisco*

cc:



* Not admitted in DC; admitted in CO. Application for admission to the DC bar filed; working under the direct supervision of an enrolled, active member of the DC bar

**Exhibit 11 — Letter from Counsel to Mark
Meadows to Chairman Thompson, Dec. 7, 2021**



McGUIREWOODS



December 7, 2021

VIA EMAIL

Honorable Bennie G. Thompson, Chairman
 Honorable Liz Cheney, Vice Chair
 Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol
 U.S. House of Representatives



Re: Subpoenas Served on Honorable Mark R. Meadows

Dear Chair Thompson and Vice Chair Cheney:

Over the last several weeks, Mr. Meadows has consistently sought in good faith to pursue an accommodation with the Select Committee and up until yesterday we believed that could be obtained. We acted on the belief that the Select Committee would receive, also in good faith, relevant, responsive but non-privileged facts. We have consistently communicated to the Select Committee that Mr. Meadows is precluded from making a unilateral decision to waive Executive Privilege claims asserted by the former president.

We agreed to provide thousands of pages of responsive documents and Mr. Meadows was willing to appear voluntarily, not under compulsion of the Select Committee’s subpoena to him, for a deposition to answer questions about non-privileged matters. Now actions by the Select Committee have made such an appearance untenable. In short, we now have every indication from the information supplied to us last Friday - upon which Mr. Meadows could expect to be questioned - that the Select Committee has no intention of respecting boundaries concerning Executive Privilege. In addition, we learned over the weekend that the Select Committee had, without even the basic courtesy of notice to us, issued wide ranging subpoenas for information from a third party communications provider without regard to either the broad breadth of the information sought, which would include intensely personal communications of no moment to any legitimate matters of interest to the Select Committee, nor to the potentially privileged status of the information demanded. Moreover, Mr. Chairman, your recent comments in regard to another

Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol

December 7, 2021

Page 2

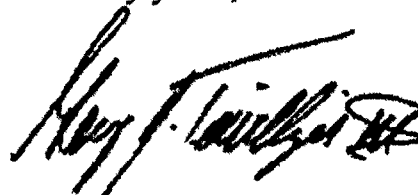
witness that his assertion of 5th Amendment rights before the Select Committee is tantamount to an admission of guilt calls into question for us what we had hoped would be the Select Committee’s commitment to fundamental fairness in dealing with witnesses.

As a result of careful and deliberate consideration of these factors, we now must decline the opportunity to appear voluntarily for a deposition. It is well-established that Congress’s subpoena authority is limited to the pursuit of a legitimate legislative purpose. Congress has no authority to conduct law enforcement investigations or free-standing “fact finding” missions. Even where there is a legislative purpose, requests that implicate the Separation of Powers by targeting current or former Executive officials must be narrowly tailored. Yet again, with the breadth of its subpoenas and its pugnacious approach, the Select Committee has made clear that it does not intend to respect these important constitutional limits.

* * * * *

Mr. Meadows proudly served as Chief of Staff to President Trump and in that role assumed responsibility to protect Executive Privilege during and after his tenure. He assumed that responsibility not for his own benefit but for the benefit of all those who will serve after him, including future presidents. His appreciation for our constitutional system and for the Separation of Powers dictates that he cannot voluntarily appear under these circumstances. Nonetheless, as we have before, we reiterate our willingness to consider an interrogatory process of Select Committee written questions and answers from Mr. Meadows so that there might be both an orderly process and a clear record of questions and related assertions of privilege where appropriate.

Sincerely yours,



George J. Terwilliger III

cc:



**Exhibit 12 — Letter from Chairman Thompson to
Counsel to Mark Meadows, Dec. 7, 2021**

BENNIE G. THOMPSON, MISSISSIPPI
CHAIRMAN

ZOE LÖFGREN, CALIFORNIA
ADAM B. SCHIFF, CALIFORNIA
PETE AGUILAR, CALIFORNIA
STEPHANIE N. MURPHY, FLORIDA
JAMIE BASKIN, MARYLAND
ELAINE G. LURIA, VIRGINIA
LIZ CHENY, WYOMING
ADAM KINZINGER, ILLINOIS



U S House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

January6th house.gov
(202) 225-7800

One Hundred Seventeenth Congress

Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol

December 7, 2021

Mr. George Terwilliger III
McGuire Woods LLP



Dear Mr. Terwilliger:

The Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (“Select Committee”) is in receipt of your letter dated December 7, 2021, regarding your client, Mr. Mark Meadows. Your letter confirms that, despite our prior efforts to facilitate a deposition for Mr. Meadows, he does not intend to cooperate with the Select Committee.

As you no doubt recall, on November 22, 2021, I sent you a letter which explained to you that Mr. Meadows had wholly failed to comply with the subpoena that the Select Committee issued to him on September 23, 2021, and offered him, in good faith, a course of action that would cure his previous non-compliance. That course required Mr. Meadows to produce documents and appear for a deposition.

Mr. Meadows has produced documents. On November 26, 2021, Mr. Meadows provided to the Select Committee certain documents that you obtained from Mr. Meadows’s personal email account and determined were responsive to the Select Committee’s subpoena. In doing so, you also provided a privilege log indicating that you withheld several hundred additional documents from Mr. Meadows’s personal email account based on claims of executive, attorney-client, or other privilege. Despite your very broad claims of privilege, Mr. Meadows has also produced documents that you apparently agree are relevant and *not* protected by any privilege at all. Those documents include: a November 7, 2020, email discussing the appointment of alternate slates of electors as part of a “direct and collateral attack” after the election; a January 5, 2021, email regarding a 38-page PowerPoint briefing titled “Election Fraud, Foreign Interference & Options for 6 JAN” that was to be provided “on the hill”; and, among others, a January 5, 2021, email about having the National Guard on standby.

Then, on December 3, 2021, you provided to the Select Committee certain relevant messages that you obtained from saved and backed up phone data from Mr. Meadows’s personal cell phone. According to representations made to us, Mr. Meadows reportedly turned in this personal device to his cell phone provider in the weeks following January 6, 2021. You also produced a privilege log indicating that you withheld over 1,000 text messages from Mr. Meadows’s personal cell phone based on similarly broad claims of executive, attorney-client, and other privileges. The text messages you did produce include a November 6, 2020, text exchange

Mr. George Terwilliger III

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with a Member of Congress apparently about appointing alternate electors in certain states as part of a plan that the Member acknowledged would be “highly controversial” and to which Mr. Meadows apparently said, “I love it”; an early January 2021 text message exchange between Mr. Meadows and an organizer of the January 6th rally on the Ellipse; and text messages about the need for the former President to issue a public statement that could have stopped the January 6th attack on the Capitol.

All of those documents raise issues about which the Select Committee would like to question Mr. Meadows and about which you appear to agree are not subject to a claim of privilege. Yet, despite your recent agreement to have Mr. Meadows to come in and answer questions in a deposition, Mr. Meadows now, once again, refuses to do so. In your December 7, 2021, letter, you specifically indicated that Mr. Meadows’s refusal to appear is motivated by, among other things, the documents that Select Committee staff provided to you in advance, pursuant to your request for an accommodation. You go on to suggest that those documents somehow indicate that the “Select Committee has no intention of respecting boundaries concerning Executive Privilege.” That assertion runs counter to the stated purpose of the December 8, 2021, deposition, which was to give Mr. Meadows a chance to answer the Select Committee’s questions or assert and articulate a specific privilege he believes protects that information from disclosure.

Indeed, the Select Committee has tried repeatedly to identify with specificity the areas of inquiry that Mr. Meadows believes are protected by a claim of executive privilege, but neither you nor Mr. Meadows has meaningfully provided that information. As a result, and as I have said numerous times, the Select Committee planned to ask Mr. Meadows questions during a deposition that are relevant to the investigation, while giving Mr. Meadows the opportunity to answer those questions or assert a claim of privilege on a question-by-question basis. That is not a lack of respect for the boundaries of executive privilege but rather an appreciation for the proper process for asserting any protective privilege.

It is also worth noting that your identification of executive privilege issues with documents that came from Mr. Meadows’ personal email account and personal cell phone raises the question of whether these materials have been transferred to the National Archives in compliance with the Presidential Records Act.

In your December 7, 2021, letter, you also cite “wide ranging subpoenas for information from a third party communications provider” that the Select Committee has issued “without regard to either the breadth of the information sought . . . nor to the potentially privileged status of the information demanded.” I assume that this representation refers to the Select Committee’s compulsion of call data records regarding particular cellular telephone numbers. Contrary to your assertion, that information does not implicate privilege, but rather concerns the date, time, and dialing information about calls and messages sent or received by the specific phone numbers indicated on the subpoena. Moreover, production of that information does not impact Mr. Meadows’s production of documents and text messages, which are the areas we seek to develop during his deposition tomorrow.

Finally, you reference news accounts regarding another witness’s “assertion of 5th Amendment rights before the Select Committee” and claim that my comments suggest that a

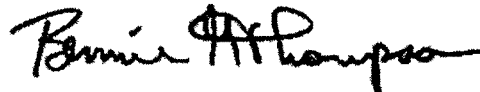
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witness's assertion of 5th Amendment rights is "tantamount to an admission of guilt." That is not an accurate characterization of my position on the 5th Amendment, nor is that interpretation of my comments consistent with our discussions about the purpose of tomorrow's deposition — *i.e.*, a proceeding in which your client can assert privilege claims with sufficient particularity for further consideration. The Select Committee is trying to ascertain facts that place the January 6th attack on the Capitol in context, not conduct a law enforcement inquiry. If you appear, the Select Committee would consider and evaluate your assertion of any privilege. Your failure to do so prevents that evaluation, which brings us once again to a consideration of enforcement options. This occurs at the same time Mr. Meadows has published a book in which he discusses the January 6th attack. That he would sell his telling of the facts of that day while denying a congressional committee the opportunity to ask him about the attack on our Capitol marks an historic and aggressive defiance of Congress.

In summary, on November 12, 2021, Mr. Meadows failed to appear for the deposition required by the Select Committee's subpoena. On November 22, 2021, the Select Committee gave Mr. Meadows an opportunity to cure his non-compliance by appearing for a deposition, which was ultimately scheduled for December 8, 2021. Now, the day before the deposition, Mr. Meadows has rejected the opportunity to cure his non-compliance and made it clear that he does not intend to participate in a deposition. There is no legitimate legal basis for Mr. Meadows to refuse to cooperate with the Select Committee and answer questions about the documents he produced, the personal devices and accounts he used, the events he wrote about in his newly released book,¹ and, among other things, his other public statements. The Select Committee is left with no choice but to advance contempt proceedings and recommend that the body in which Mr. Meadows once served refer him for criminal prosecution.

Sincerely,



Bennie G. Thompson
Chairman

¹ See Mark Meadows, *THE CHIEF'S CHIEF* (2021) (released December 7, 2021)

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Madam Speaker, by direction of the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, I call up the resolution (H. Res. 851) recommending that the House of Representatives find Mark Randall Meadows in contempt of Congress for refusal to comply with a subpoena duly issued by the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 848, the resolution is considered read.

The text of the resolution is as follows:

H. RES. 851

Resolved, That Mark Randall Meadows shall be found to be in contempt of Congress for failure to comply with a congressional subpoena.

Resolved, That pursuant to 2 U.S.C. §§ 192 and 194, the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall certify the report of the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, detailing the refusal of Mark Randall Meadows to appear for a deposition before the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol as directed by subpoena, to the United States Attorney for the District of Columbia, to the end that Mr. Meadows be proceeded against in the manner and form provided by law.

Resolved, That the Speaker of the House shall otherwise take all appropriate action to enforce the subpoena.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The resolution shall be debatable for 1 hour equally divided among and controlled by the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. THOMPSON) and the gentlewoman from Wyoming (Ms. CHENEY), and an opponent, or their respective designees.

The gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. THOMPSON), the gentlewoman from Wyoming (Ms. CHENEY), and the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BANKS) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Mississippi.

□ 1615

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Madam Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on this measure.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Madam Speaker, it is regrettable that we are back on the floor considering another criminal contempt referral, but our former colleague, Mr. Meadows, has left us no choice.

The select committee is investigating an attack on our democracy, and it is essential that witnesses co-

operate with our investigation to get answers. The law requires them to do so. And when a witness defies the law, that amounts to more than obstructing our investigation, it is an attack on the rule of law.

In September, the select committee subpoenaed Mr. Meadows for records and testimony because we believed he had information relevant to our investigation.

For weeks, we went back and forth with Mr. Meadows, through his lawyer, to try to get cooperation. We extended his initial deposition date to November 12. When the date came, he hadn't produced any documents, and he didn't show up. Throughout this time, Mr. Meadows and his representatives made a lot of noise about executive privilege and so-called absolute immunity; the idea that people who serve or served in certain senior roles are completely exempt from testifying before Congress.

Now, let's be clear. Courts have rejected absolute immunity at every opportunity, and the Justice Department has never authored an opinion that would support the sort of claim Mr. Meadows had made about his unofficial conduct. And we have lots of questions for Mr. Meadows about the unofficial conduct. And as for executive privilege, President Biden has chosen not to invoke it as far as Mr. Meadows is concerned.

So Mr. Meadows was obligated to comply with our subpoena and appear at a deposition. When he didn't, we were prepared at that point to move ahead with contempt proceedings. But at the same time, Madam Speaker, out of an abundance of fairness, we gave Mr. Meadows a final chance to cooperate.

When he faced the possibility of contempt a few weeks ago, he finally decided, in part, to do the right thing and start providing information. He turned over roughly 9,000 pages of records that he himself said couldn't be covered by any claim of privilege. He also said he would appear at a deposition with the select committee, which we scheduled for December 8.

This is key. In an investigation like ours, when you produce records, you are expected to come in and answer questions about those records. And because not even Mr. Meadows was asserting any privilege claim over these records, there is no possible justification for wholesale refusing to answer questions about them.

But that is what he did. He told us the day before his deposition—the same day his book was published—that he would no longer cooperate with our investigation, and that he wasn't coming in to be interviewed.

Put all the other arguments aside. This isn't about any sort of privilege or immunity. This is about Mr. Meadows refusing to comply with a subpoena to discuss the records he himself turned over. Now he is hiding behind excuses.

And at the end of the day, it is a simple proposition: If you are making ex-

cuses to avoid cooperating with our investigations, you are making excuses to hide the truth from the American people about what happened on January 6. You are making excuses as part of a coverup. And if you echo these excuses, if you base your arguments on these excuses, if you adopt these excuses as your own to explain why you will not take action, then you are part of that coverup, too.

I want my colleagues to think long and hard about that; because as the select committee has made clear in the last day and will continue to make clear, there was a steady stream of communication between certain Members of Congress and Mr. Meadows about matters central to our investigation.

We have questions about those communications. We will pursue those questions. And we won't let the facts be buried by a coverup.

Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. CHENEY. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Madam Speaker, as Chairman THOMPSON noted, we are here with great sadness. We are here recognizing and understanding the serious nature of this situation. And, Madam Speaker, we wish we had another alternative. We wish that we did not have to meet today to urge our colleagues to vote criminal contempt for one of our former colleagues and the former chief of staff to President Trump.

We don't take this step lightly.

As my colleagues have noted, and will no doubt say again today, for weeks the committee has worked with Mr. Meadows, with his counsel to reach an agreement on cooperation, to reach an agreement and accommodation.

Now, the reality, Madam Speaker, is the accommodations process is a process that takes place between the legislative branch and the executive branch. Mr. Meadows is a member of neither, and yet, the committee has taken the extra step of working to try to make sure that we do everything we can to secure Mr. Meadows' testimony.

He is improperly asserting executive and other privileges, but the vote on contempt today relates principally to his refusal to testify about messages and other communications that he admits are not privileged. He has not claimed, and he does not have, privilege to refuse entirely to testify regarding these topics.

There are just three examples I will give you this afternoon of issues which we need to speak to Mr. Meadows about and on which his testimony is required, indeed compelled by our subpoena.

First, is President Trump's failure to stop the violence when this Chamber, and indeed, the entire Capitol building was attacked and invaded. The mob that attacked this Chamber was summoned to Washington by President Trump. And as many of those involved have admitted on videotape and social

media and in Federal District Court, they were provoked to violence by President Trump's false claims that the election was stolen.

As the violence unfolded that afternoon, nearly 1 year ago, it was evident to all, not only to those of us who were in the Chamber at that time. It was covered in real time by almost every news channel. But for 187 minutes, President Trump refused to act. Let's let that sink in, Madam Speaker. He refused to act. When action by our President was required, it was essential, and it was compelled by his oath to our Constitution.

Mr. Meadows received numerous text messages which he has produced without any privilege claim imploring that Mr. Trump take the specific action we all know his duty required. Indeed, some of those text messages, Madam Speaker, came from Members in the Chamber right now, Members who understood that a violent assault was underway at the Capitol, Members who pleaded with the chief of staff to get the President to take action. Dozens of texts, including from Trump administration officials and Members of Congress urged that the President take immediate action.

I read a number of these last night at our hearing. I won't read them all today, but I will read a few of them. "Mark," one Member said: "he needs to stop this. Now." In all caps: "TELL THEM TO GO HOME." "POTUS has to come out firmly and tell the protestors to dissipate. Someone is going to get killed."

Indeed, a number of members of the press, a number of Members of this body, a member of the President's own family, all urged the President to take action because they understood that the President of the United States had a responsibility to call off the mob.

Hours passed despite this without any action by the President. All of these texts are nonprivileged. They are texts that Mr. Meadows has turned over. And they are evidence of President Trump's supreme dereliction of duty for 187 minutes. And Mr. Meadows' testimony will bear on another fundamental question before this committee, and that is whether Donald J. Trump, through action or inaction, corruptly sought to obstruct or impede Congress' official proceeding to count electoral votes.

This committee is entitled to Mr. Meadows' testimony, and it will inform our legislative judgments. But Mr. Meadows has refused to give any testimony at all, even regarding nonprivileged topics. He is in contempt of Congress.

Second, Mr. Meadows has knowledge regarding President Trump's efforts to persuade State officials to alter official election results.

In Georgia, for instance, Mr. Meadows participated in a phone call between President Trump and the Georgia secretary of state. Mr. Meadows was actually on the phone when Presi-

dent Trump asked the secretary of state to "find 11,780 votes" to change the results of the Presidential election in Georgia. That is the President of the United States telling a State official to "find 11,780 votes."

While this was happening, Mr. Meadows appears to have been texting with another participant on this call. Mr. Meadows has no conceivable privilege basis to refuse to testify on this topic. He is in contempt of Congress.

Third, in the weeks before January 6, President Trump's appointees at the Justice Department informed him repeatedly that the President's claims of election fraud were not supported by the evidence and that the election was not, in fact, stolen.

President Trump intended to appoint Jeffrey Clark as attorney general in part so that Mr. Clark could alter the Department of Justice's conclusions regarding the election. Mr. Clark has now informed this committee that he anticipates potential criminal prosecution related to these matters and, therefore, intends in upcoming testimony to invoke his Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination.

As Mr. Meadows' nonprivileged texts reveal, Mr. Meadows communicated multiple times with another Member of this body who was working with Mr. Clark. Mr. Meadows has no basis to refuse to testify regarding those communications. He is in contempt.

January 6 was without precedent. There has been no stronger case in our Nation's history for a congressional investigation into the actions of a former President. This body must investigate the facts in detail, and we are entitled to ask Mr. Meadows about the nonprivileged materials he has produced to us.

Madam Speaker, I am sure you will hear my colleagues this afternoon say that there are privilege issues here that must be resolved before we can move forward. Any argument that the courts need to resolve privilege issues first is a pretext. We will question Mr. Meadows about emails and texts he gave us without any privilege claim.

Mr. Meadows' role in the Raffensperger call cannot be privileged, nor can his dealings with a Member of this body regarding Jeff Clark. This committee must get to the objective truth and ensure that January 6 never happens again.

Madam Speaker, Mr. Meadows is in contempt. He must testify. And I urge my colleagues to vote "yes" on this resolution.

Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

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

Madam Speaker, here we go again. For the first time in history, Democrats have complete control over a select committee. I hope the American people are paying close attention. I hope they see what happens when Democrats get total power. They abuse it. They intimidate, they threaten, and

they harass. And they try to put their political opponents in jail.

□ 1630

In a matter of weeks, the committee has passed three criminal contempt citations. Today, we vote on holding Mark Meadows in contempt of Congress.

On September 23, 2021, the select committee served former Congressman Meadows a subpoena for a sweeping set of documents and a deposition. In October, President Trump instructed Mr. Meadows to maintain his executive privilege in any response to that subpoena. Mr. Meadows then told the select committee that he would give them any information they requested that wasn't protected by executive privilege.

Mr. Meadows gave the select committee over 6,800 pages of information, including 1,100 documents and 2,300 text messages. Mr. Meadows agreed to sit for a deposition if it was limited to areas not protected by executive privilege. He tried to cooperate, but the select committee didn't care.

Mr. Meadows even sought an independent ruling on the question of executive privilege, but the select committee voted to hold him in contempt anyway, just like they did with Mr. Clark, who offered to participate pending the Supreme Court's decision in Trump v. Thompson.

Apparently, the select committee's rules go like this: Ignore the former President and don't wait for legal rulings. Immediately do everything that we say without objection, or we will refer you for criminal prosecution.

They don't care about fairness or due process. The point isn't cooperation or factfinding. They care about punishment. The point is prosecution. And, of course, the point is the headline that they are going for: Former Trump Chief of Staff found in contempt of Congress. But that headline omits the ugly and partisan truth about the select committee.

According to the committee's charter, H. Res. 503: "The Speaker shall appoint 13 Members to the select committee, five of whom shall be appointed after consultation with the minority leader." But the committee has zero members appointed in consultation with Leader MCCARTHY. And it doesn't have 13 members; it has 9.

According to the committee's charter, if Mr. Meadows had come in for a deposition, the minority must have been allowed to question Mr. Meadows for the same length of time as the majority, except no members of the committee were named by the minority.

This isn't nitpicking. The Supreme Court has found that a select committee must follow its own rules to act with legal force.

So we have the select committee as it exists legally and on paper, and then we have something completely different. I don't know what to call it, but it doesn't resemble the select committee that Democrats voted to pass

on the House floor. It is just nine members picked by Speaker PELOSI.

The group is trampling on Americans' constitutional rights and the rights of Congress, like Mr. Meadows, and current Members of Congress. They even include Americans whose sole offense, according to Chairman THOMPSON, was planning a legal, permitted, and First Amendment-protected political rally.

Thanks to media reports, we know that Democrats have seized their enemies' call and text records, geolocation data, and personal contacts. We know of hundreds of instances. It could be more.

All we know for sure about this partisan investigation is that it is massive. It is happening without accountability, and it is happening in secret.

The select committee should serve as a warning to all Americans. This is what you get when Democrats get free rein: secret snooping, harassment, contempt for the rules of Congress, criminalization of dissent, and it all ends with their opponents in jail.

Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), the distinguished majority leader of the House.

Mr. HOYER. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Madam Speaker, every Member of the House ought to vote for this resolution—every one of you. I see one shaking their head vigorously “no.”

For those of us who have been here for some time, we have seen extraordinary energy exercised by the other side of the aisle in conducting oversight. Mr. Burton from Indiana summoned tens and tens more and ten thereafter, on and on and on, to hold accountable an administration with whom he did not agree and thought was not doing the right thing. And he issued subpoena after subpoena after subpoena.

The reason I say every one of us ought to vote for this is because this institution needs this power. This institution is charged under the Constitution with protecting the welfare of the American people and expanding the opportunities of our people.

To do so, as the gentlewoman from Wyoming has observed, we need to gather information, and in the conduct of gathering that information, it must be our ability to compel people to testify, to come before the Congress of the United States and tell us facts that we need.

Now, my Republican friends, when they were in charge, thought there was some type of wrongdoing, which resulted in the loss of four lives, tragically, in Benghazi, Libya. They had eight separate hearings on that issue, the last of which was the select committee led by Trey Gowdy of South Carolina. Every one of those committees reached the same conclusion, but there were eight of them.

Madam Speaker, perhaps some of my Republican friends will recall that Hillary Clinton, the Secretary of State during that time, appeared for 11 hours before one of these committees, the select committee.

Madam Speaker, I have a speech here that deals with what the gentleman from North Carolina, Mr. Meadows, has done. I have chosen not to give this speech because the issue, in my view, is not what Meadows has done, but clearly in contempt, as the gentlewoman from Wyoming pointed out so factually, but it is about this institution, about whether or not a President or anybody else can simply say, “I will not testify,” and then take months and months and months.

Now, the gentleman who just spoke, the gentleman from Indiana, laments the fact that we have this committee. But the gentleman from Indiana voted against forming an equally numbered committee to be set up to adjudge this issue. He voted against that, as did his Republican colleagues, save a few. And now he comes and says, Oh, my goodness, this is not what I wanted. But like so many of his colleagues, he voted against what he says he wanted.

Madam Speaker, the gentleman from Indiana who just spoke voted against holding in contempt Steve Bannon not because of any executive privilege. He was a private citizen, not a member of the President's Cabinet. And the gentleman from Indiana voted against having him honor a subpoena of the Congress of the United States.

Yes, it ought to be noted that, at the time of the insurrection, we had a vote on whether to confirm what court after court after court had said was a legitimate election. He voted against certifying the election of the President of the United States. So I am not surprised that the gentleman from Indiana does not want to see this subpoena honored because, Madam Speaker, I believe that he fears the information that would be brought forward. Fearing the truth is not an excuse for not honoring a subpoena of this Congress.

So, again, it is not just simply the actions of Mr. Meadows that are at issue here. What is at issue here is what power does the Congress have to get the information it needs—in this case, the most important information it needs to achieve one of its most important objectives, which the gentlewoman from Wyoming has not only talked about but has shown extraordinary courage in standing up to her party. She is, after all, the former chair of the Republican Conference, the daughter of a Vice President of the United States and former Secretary of Defense and former minority whip of this House, who has shown extraordinary courage in the face of almost united opposition on her side of the aisle, leading to her removal from the position she held.

Would that all of us all the time have the courage of our convictions that the gentlewoman from Wyoming has shown.

So I say to my colleagues, all 434 or 433 of us here—

Mr. PERRY. Madam Speaker, parliamentary privilege.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman from Maryland yield?

Mr. HOYER. I do not yield.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Maryland is recognized.

POINT OF ORDER

Mr. PERRY. Madam Speaker, point of order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state his point of order.

Mr. PERRY. It seems to me that my friend, the gentleman from Maryland, disparaged the gentleman from Indiana here personally and should have his words taken down.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is the gentleman making a demand that words be taken down?

Mr. PERRY. Yes, I am.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Maryland will be seated.

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

The Clerk read as follows:

So I am not surprised that the gentleman from Indiana does not want to see this subpoena honored. Because, Madam Speaker, I believe that he fears the information that would be brought forward. Fearing the truth is not an excuse for not honoring a subpoena of this Congress.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair is prepared to rule.

The words of the gentleman from Maryland contain an allegation that the gentleman from Indiana fears the truth. Comparing the remarks to the precedents memorialized in Deschler-Brown Precedents, chapter 29, section 63, as well as section 370 of the House Rules and Manual, the Chair finds that the words are not accompanied by an allegation of personal mendacity and, therefore, are not unparliamentary.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

Mr. PERRY. Madam Speaker, further parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. PERRY. Accusing a decorated naval officer in the United States military is never in good form and should be out of order in this Chamber.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman has not stated a parliamentary inquiry.

The gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER) is recognized for his 1 minute.

Mr. HOYER. Madam Speaker, first let me say that I respect the gentleman's service in the United States Navy as I respect all of our men and women in the Armed Forces of the United States.

Let me end as I began. All of us ought to vote for this motion to hold somebody in contempt who refuses to come forth, who is clearly and, obviously, in contempt of the Congress of the United States. I urge every Member on behalf of this institution, not on behalf of any political party; on behalf of our democracy, not on behalf of Democrats; on behalf of the Constitution of

the United States to vote “yea” on this resolution.

Ms. CHENEY. Madam Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. LOFGREN).

□ 1730

Ms. LOFGREN. Madam Speaker, Mark Meadows, a former colleague for many of us, left Congress in 2020 to serve as chief of staff to then-President Donald Trump.

Sadly and shockingly, Mr. Meadows has admitted he played both an official and unofficial role in trying to overturn the results of the 2020 Presidential election.

He has also admitted that he has responsive and nonprivileged documents and communications relating to January 6. In fact, he already sent some of those materials to our select committee charged with preventing a future attack on our Capitol. Now, the select committee needs to speak with him about the full plot leading up to January 6.

For example, it has been reported that the White House was directing the Department of Justice to investigate outrageous and really crazy conspiracy theories to benefit Mr. Trump politically, as well as to orchestrate the dissemination of election misinformation. We need to talk to Mr. Meadows about this.

We have learned that Mr. Meadows made a surprise visit to a State-run audit in Georgia, which led to the now-infamous call in which Mr. Trump improperly asked the Georgia Secretary of State to find votes. We need to talk to Mr. Meadows about that.

We also need to ask him about text messages which he provided to our committee that show an official in Georgia texting Mr. Meadows during the Trump-Raffensperger call saying that they “need to end this call,” and emphasizing: “I don’t think this will be productive much longer.” We need to talk to Mr. Meadows about that.

We also know that during that same week in early January, Mr. Meadows was in direct contact with campaign staff and organizers of the rally at the Ellipse where his boss, the President, urged supporters to fight. We need to talk to Mr. Meadows about that.

While domestic terrorists invaded the Halls where he used to work, Mr. Meadows interacted with many people, including some of our colleagues who were here in this Chamber. We have learned many of those interactions took place on his personal device. We need to talk to Mr. Meadows about that.

Clearly, Mr. Meadows has important information about events that culminated in the violent attack on the Capitol and on our democracy. He must follow the law. He must cooperate with the select committee’s lawful requests. No one is above the law. He must be held accountable for his violation of the law.

Mr. BANKS. Madam Speaker, I include in the RECORD three articles.

First: “J6 Committee Misleading Witnesses About Republican Staff Presence,” by Mollie Hemingway, that was published in *The Federalist*.

Second: “The Democratic Norm Breakers: The January 6 committee wants to subpoena GOP phone records,” by *The Wall Street Journal* editorial page.

Third: “Civil Liberties Are Being Trampled by Exploiting ‘Insurrection’ Fears. Congress’s 1/6 Committee May Be the Worst Abuse Yet: The Unconstitutionality of the 1/6 Committee,” by Glenn Greenwald, published by *Substack*.

[From the *Federalist*, Nov. 10, 2021]

J6 COMMITTEE MISLEADING WITNESSES ABOUT REPUBLICAN STAFF PRESENCE

Wyoming Rep. Liz Cheney ran to CNN a few weeks ago to accuse conservative stalwart Rep. Jim Banks of falsely presenting himself as the Jan. 6 commission’s ranking member. Banks is, in fact, congressional Republicans’ choice to be their top investigator on the committee, but he has been prevented from fulfilling his duties by Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi.

However, it’s Cheney who appears to be misrepresenting herself as the ranking member—that is, the top Republican—on the committee.

January 6 Select Committee staff have been falsely telling witnesses that Republican staff will be present for interviews, according to multiple eyewitness sources and documents. In fact, not a single Republican-appointed member of Congress nor a single staff member representing the Republican conference is part of the controversial committee.

Witnesses are being told that John Wood, a longtime friend and ally of the Cheney family, will represent Republicans when witnesses testify. But neither Cheney nor her friend is representing the Republican conference. In fact, Cheney was appointed to the committee in early July by Pelosi herself.

“John Wood works for the Democrat Party, just like Liz Cheney, who was appointed by Pelosi and is not the Ranking Member of the Select Committee. She is misleading witnesses, before they testify under penalty of law, about the motives and the position of the person questioning them,” said Banks, who has continued leading Republicans’ investigation of the federal government’s handling of the Jan. 6 riot at the Capitol. Cheney’s work with CNN was designed to prevent him from being able to gain answers to the questions the select committee was ostensibly set up to answer.

Cheney was given six days to explain whether she considers herself just the Democrat-appointed vice-chair of the committee or also the Republican ranking member, as is being represented to key witnesses. She has not responded to multiple requests for comment.

The misrepresentation to witnesses is key because the absence of any ranking member—meaning, in this case, any Republican-appointed member—or minority party staff means the committee appears to be failing to adhere to ironclad rules for its work.

Pelosi “blew up” the Jan. 6 committee when she took what she herself admitted was the “unprecedented” step of refusing to seat multiple Republican-appointed members, including the highly respected Navy officer and Indiana Republican Banks, who was to be the committee’s ranking member. She also banned Rep. Jim Jordan of Ohio, who currently serves as the top Republican on the Judiciary Committee.

Pelosi chose two of her key Republican allies and anti-Trump obsessives to fill two of her slots for the committee. As such, they do not represent the Republican conference, which opposed their selection, but the Democrat conference, which supported their selection.

Cheney was promoted to vice-chair in September in thanks for her stalwart work on Pelosi’s behalf. Cheney, who has been censured by Wyoming Republicans for working against Republican voters and their interests, and who lost her position as House Conference chair for hijacking multiple briefings for Republican policy initiatives to talk about her personal vendetta against Trump, is facing precipitously low poll numbers and a challenge from popular Republican Harriet Hageman.

Cheney was joined by lame-duck Adam Kinzinger of Illinois, who recently announced his retirement rather than facing certain defeat from Illinois constituents who don’t share his anti-Trump obsession. Kinzinger was appointed by Pelosi in late July to make the committee appear more bipartisan after she’d vetoed Banks and Jordan. Cheney, her selection for vice-chair, was brought in for the sole purpose of helping Democrats with their tribunal.

The resolution establishing the committee, purportedly to investigate the federal government’s role in detecting, preventing, preparing for, and responding to the Jan. 6 riot, says depositions taken by the select committee must follow House rules.

Those rules clearly state, “Consultation with the ranking minority member shall include three days’ notice before any deposition.” Also, “A deposition shall be conducted by any member or committee counsel designated by the chair or ranking minority member of the Committee that noticed the deposition. When depositions are conducted by committee counsel, there shall be no more than two committee counsel permitted to question a witness per round. One of the committee counsel shall be designated by the chair and the other by the ranking minority member per round.”

Additionally, the rules say, “Deposition questions shall be propounded in rounds. The length of each round shall not exceed 60 minutes per side and shall provide equal time to the majority and the minority. In each round, the member(s) or committee counsel designated by the chair shall ask questions first, and the member(s) or committee counsel designated by the ranking minority member shall ask questions second.”

The point of these rules is to structure depositions so the minority and the majority counsel have the same opportunity to question witnesses and gather information for their separate reports. That’s why they rotate and why they’re allotted equal time. Having questions alternate from one hostile lawyer to another hostile lawyer who is working with the first makes a mockery of the provisions. It also means that the hostile lawyers can coordinate and cherry-pick which information to leak or publish, and which to conceal from the public because it contradicts their preferred narrative.

The rules do not envision the circumstances that accompany Pelosi’s uniparty select committee. The House Rules “become nonsensical in a situation like this,” said one congressional aide, adding, “This isn’t just a partisan investigation—it’s a coverup.”

For the select committee to be in accordance with the rules regarding consultation for depositions, Cheney must be considered simultaneously the ranking member for the minority party while also being the vice-chair for the majority party.

Hill lawyers say Pelosi’s handling of the committee casts doubt on its adherence to

the rules. Because she vetoed the ranking member from the committee, it has no ranking member. But the committee rules require consultation with the ranking member before taking certain basic actions, such as taking depositions, including those pursuant to subpoenas.

"So how can you consult with the ranking member when you don't have one?" asked one Hill attorney.

The multiple sources consulted for this article include a document which confirmed January 6 Committee staff represented to a witness that Wood would be the Republican counsel during their interview.

"If this was a real investigation, that'd land you in jail for prosecutorial misconduct," Banks said of the false representation. "Fortunately for Liz, this is a sham investigation," he added.

[From The Wall Street Journal, Sept. 1, 2021]

THE DEMOCRATIC NORM BREAKERS

(By The Editorial Board)

Critics feared that Speaker Nancy Pelosi's probe of the Jan. 6 Capitol riot would be partisan, and the latest proof are subpoenas for the private phone records of House Republicans. This is a violation of political norms that Democrats will come to regret.

Bennie Thompson (D., Miss.), chair of the House special committee, sent letters Monday to 35 companies, from AT&T to Facebook to Parler, asking them to preserve information about account holders charged with crimes related to, or "potentially involved with discussions" in planning, the Jan. 6 riot. The companies are requested to preserve emails, and voice, text and direct messages in preparation for subpoenas to come.

The letters contained a list of individuals whose names haven't leaked. But CNN reports that nearly a dozen House Republicans are on the committee's "evolving" radar, including Jim Jordan, ranking Member of the House Judiciary Committee.

Republicans are furious, and rightly so. Indiana Rep. Jim Banks noted in a letter to Mr. Thompson that this "authoritarian undertaking" would depart "from more than 230 years of Congressional oversight." The move recalls California Democrat Adam Schiff's public release of the call logs of Republican Rep. Devin Nunes in 2019.

At least Democrats claimed the collection of Mr. Nunes's information was incidental to other records it targeted. The special committee is using its oversight power to snoop on political opponents. They'd gain access to information far beyond the events of Jan. 6.

Democrats say they need the call lists to see if Members of Congress fomented the assault on the Capitol. They hope to confirm their narrative that the riot was a planned "insurrection," though Reuters reports that the FBI has found no such evidence in six months of looking. Conspiracy is a crime and matter for the Justice Department, not Congress.

The subpoenas are also legally dubious, coming after recent judicial warnings about the limits of Congressional fishing. The Supreme Court last year in *Trump v. Mazars* reminded Congress that subpoenas must have a "valid legislative purpose." The Jan. 6 committee has offered no such rationale. Our legal sources say the subpoenas may violate the Constitution's Speech and Debate Clause because Congress can't pass a law that would limit Members' speech.

The private companies may want to think twice about complying. In the Schiff affair, the telcos handed over call logs without even notifying the targets. Mr. Thompson's letter is demanding the same, telling companies that if they "are not able or willing to respond to this request without alerting the

subscribers or the accounts" to "please contact the Select Committee prior to proceeding." The "please" part is an admission that the committee knows it lacks authority to make such a demand.

Federal Communications Commissioner Brendan Carr says "federal law requires telecommunications carriers to protect the privacy and confidentiality of Americans' call records." He says his agency "has brought enforcement actions against carriers to ensure their compliance," and Congress isn't automatically entitled to anyone's private records.

Even if the companies don't want to fight the subpoenas in court, they have an obligation to alert targets so they can contest the subpoenas. Mr. Banks's Friday letter reminded corporate general counsels of their "legal obligation not to hand over individuals' private records unless the subject of the subpoena consents to the information being shared or the company has a court order to turn over the records."

House Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy also warned companies against rolling over to Democratic pressure, noting they could forfeit their "ability to operate in the United States." Democrats and the media spun this as pressuring companies to ignore "duly" issued subpoenas. But Mr. McCarthy was pointing out that federal privacy law protects information, and that Democrats haven't proved in court that their committee is entitled to these records.

If Democrats follow through and use their power to investigate GOP opponents, there will be no end to it. Republicans are likely to take the majority as early as 2022, and two can play at Adam Schiff's nasty game.

THE UNCONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE 1/6 COMMITTEE

Civil liberties abuses of this type are common when the U.S. security state scares enough people into believing that the threat they face is so acute that normal constitutional safeguards must be disregarded. What is most definitely not common, and is arguably the greatest 1/6-related civil liberties abuse of them all, is the House of Representatives Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol.

To say that the investigative acts of the 1/6 Committee are radical is a wild understatement. Along with serving subpoenas on four former Trump officials, they have also served subpoenas on eleven Private citizens: people selected for interrogation precisely because they exercised their Constitutional right of free assembly by applying for and receiving a permit to hold a protest on January 6 opposing certification of the 2020 election.

When the Select 1/6 Committee recently boasted of these subpoenas in its press release, it made clear what methodology it used for selecting who it was targeting: "The committee used permit paperwork for the Jan. 6 rally to identify other individuals involved in organizing." In other words, any citizen whose name appeared on permit applications to protest was targeted for that reason alone. The committee's stated goal is "to collect information from them and their associated entities on the planning, organization, and funding of those events": to haul citizens before Congress to interrogate them on their constitutionally protected right to assemble and protest and probe their political beliefs and associations:

Press Release

SELECT COMMITTEE SUBPOENAS ORGANIZERS OF RALLIES AND EVENTS PRECEDING JANUARY 6TH INSURRECTION

[Sep 29, 2021]

Washington—Today, Chairman Bennie G. Thompson announced that the Select Com-

mittee has issued subpoenas for deposition testimony and records to individuals tied to the events and rallies leading up to the January 6th insurrection, including the January 6th rally at the Ellipse that immediately preceded the violent attack on the U.S. Capitol. The subpoenas were sent to 11 individuals as part of the Select Committee's efforts to collect information from them and their associated entities on the planning, organization, and funding of those events. In letters to rally organizers, Chairman Thompson instructed witnesses to testify at depositions and to produce a sweeping range of records.

The subpoenas seek a range of records that include materials dealing with the planning, funding, and participation in the events and bus tours; social media activity of associated entities; and communications with or involvement of Trump Administration officials and lawmakers. The Select Committee issued subpoenas for records from the following individuals and their associated entities, and has instructed the individuals to testify at depositions:

Amy Kremer, founder and Chair of WFAF.
Kylie Kremer, founder and Executive Director of WFAF.

Cynthia Chafian, submitted the first permit application on behalf of WFAF for the January 6th rally, and founder of the Eighty Percent Coalition.

Caroline Wren, listed on permit paperwork for the January 6th rally as "VIP Advisor."

Maggie Mulvaney, listed on permit paperwork for the January 6th rally as "VIP Lead."

Justin Caporale, of Event Strategies, Inc., listed on permit paperwork for the January 6th rally as "Project Manager."

Tim Unes, of Event Strategies, Inc., listed on permit paperwork for the January 6th rally as "Stage Manager."

Megan Powers, of MPowers Consulting LLC, listed on permit paperwork for the January 6th rally as "Operations Manager for Scheduling and Guidance."

Hannah Salem, of Salem Strategies LLC, listed on permit paperwork for the January 6th rally as "Operations Manager for Logistics and Communications."

Lyndon Brentnall, of RMS Protective Services, listed on permit paperwork for the January 6th rally as "On-Site supervisor."

Katrina Pierson, former Trump campaign official, reportedly involved in the organization of the January 5th and 6th rallies and was in direct communication with the former President about the rallies.

Even worse are the so-called "preservation notices" which the committee secretly issued to dozens if not hundreds of telecoms, email and cell phone providers, and other social media platforms (including Twitter and Parler), ordering those companies to retain extremely invasive data regarding the communications and physical activities of more than 100 citizens, with the obvious intent to allow the committee to subpoena those documents. The communications and physical movement data sought by the committee begins in April, 2020—nine months before the 1/6 riot. The committee refuses to make public the list of individuals it is targeting with these sweeping third-party subpoenas, but on the list are what CNN calls "many members of Congress," along with dozens of private citizens involved in obtaining the permit to protest and then promoting and planning the gathering on social media.

What makes these secret notices especially pernicious is that the committee requested that these companies not notify their customers that the committee has demanded the preservation of their data. The committee knows it lacks the power to impose a "gag order" on these companies to prevent

them from notifying their users that they received the precursor to a subpoena: a power the FBI in conjunction with courts does have. So they are relying instead on “voluntary compliance” with the gag order request, accompanied by the thuggish threat that any companies refusing to voluntarily comply risk the public relations harm of appearing to be obstructing the committee’s investigation and, worse, protecting the 1/6 “insurrectionists.”

Worse still, the committee in its preservation notices to these communications companies requested that “you do not disable, suspend, lock, cancel, or interrupt service to these subscribers or accounts solely due to this request,” and that they should first contact the committee “if you are not able or willing to respond to this request without alerting the subscribers.” The motive here is obvious: if any of these companies risk the PR hit by refusing to conceal from their customers the fact that Congress is seeking to obtain their private data, they are instructed to contact the committee instead, so that the committee can withdraw the request. That way, none of the customers will ever be aware that the committee targeted their private data and will thus never be able to challenge the legality of the committee’s acts in a court of law.

In other words, even the committee knows that its power to seek this information about private citizens lacks any convincing legal justification and, for that reason, wants to ensure that nobody has the ability to seek a judicial ruling on the legality of their actions. All of these behaviors raise serious civil liberties concerns, so much so that even left-liberal legal scholars and at least one civil liberties group (obviously not the ACLU)—petrified until now of creating any appearance that they are defending 1/6 protesters by objecting to civil liberties abuses—have begun very delicately to raise doubts and concerns about the committee’s actions.

But the most serious constitutional problem is not the specific investigative acts of the committee but the very existence of the committee itself. There is ample reason to doubt the constitutionality of this committee’s existence.

When crimes are committed in the United States, there are two branches of government—and only two—vested by the Constitution with the power to investigate criminal suspects and adjudicate guilt: the executive branch (through the FBI and DOJ) and the judiciary. Congress has no role to play in any of that, and for good and important reasons. The Constitution places limits on what the executive branch and judiciary can do when investigating suspects

Mr. BANKS. Madam Speaker, I yield as much time as he may consume to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. JORDAN).

Mr. JORDAN. Madam Speaker, Democrats prevent Republicans from serving on the select committee. Democrats kick Republicans off standing committees. Democrats try to make D.C. a State. Democrats try to end the filibuster. They try to pack the court. They do secret impeachment hearings in the bunker of the basement of the Capitol. And they just said a naval veteran is afraid of the truth. Now, today, they are destroying executive privilege.

The United States Supreme Court held those who assist the President must be free to explore alternatives in the process of shaping policies and making decisions and to do so in a way

that many would be unwilling to do, except privately. The Court further stated Presidential administrations of both parties have asserted that the President’s close advisers are an extension of the President.

Who are these close advisers? Who are these individuals who are an extension of the President of the United States? Well, there are actually a bunch, but certainly, the three most important are the National Security Advisor, the White House counsel, and the chief of staff to the President. I would argue the chief of staff is the closest of the close. He is the one who spends more time with the Commander in Chief than anyone else.

Now, why do we have this privilege? Why do we have it? Why is the decisionmaking process between the President and his closest advisers a private matter? Why is that?

Well, guess what, the Supreme Court told us the answer to that one, too. Executive privilege serves “the necessity for protection of the public interest in candid, objective, and even . . . harsh opinions in Presidential decision-making.”

Let me just say that again: Executive privilege serves the public interest. It is for us. It is for we the people. It is not for President Trump. It is not for Mark Meadows. It is not for any President. It is not for any chief of staff. It is for the country.

But the Democrats are not going to worry about that. They are going to forget about that because they think this is good politics. They think this is all about politics.

They used to care. They used to care about executive privilege. When Republicans wanted information during the Fast and Furious scandal, President Obama asserted executive privilege for bureaucrats at the ATF and DOJ. Think about it. A bureaucrat in a Federal agency gets privilege but not the chief of staff to the President? Because Mark Meadows worked for President Trump, and Democrats have been out to get President Trump before he ever took office when they first tried to spy on him, and actually did spy on him, in 2016.

They are going to destroy this precedent even though this very question is in front of the courts as we speak. They are going to destroy this precedent that has been around since 1794 when our first President first asserted it. And for what?

What did Mark Meadows do? He gave the committee thousands of emails; he gave the committee thousands of text messages; and he agreed to come in front of the committee and answer any question as long as it didn’t violate executive privilege; the privilege that is not his to waive but belongs to the President; the privilege that the Court said is critical to executive decision-making; the privilege that exists for the benefit of we the people; and the privilege that has been around since George Washington asserted it.

But Democrats say: No, not good enough, Mr. Meadows. You have to come in and answer any and every question we ask you, or we are going to try to put you in prison.

It is so disgusting. Think about it. We weren’t allowed to know who the so-called anonymous whistleblower was when they tried to impeach President Trump, did impeach President Trump, but Democrats can destroy executive privilege? The country wasn’t allowed to know what took place in that bunker in the basement of the Capitol during impeachment, but they get to know any and everything they want about conversations between the President and his top adviser.

This is so wrong. Democrats on the select committee also can’t make up their minds. With Steve Bannon, they said: You have to appear in person to assert any privilege. And because he didn’t come, they held him in contempt.

With Jeff Clark, they said to come in person, assert privilege, which he did, and they said, no, that is not good enough. And they held him in contempt.

Now, with Mark Meadows, he gave them thousands of documents and agreed to come, and they still said not good enough. What a charade.

Make no mistake, when Democrats vote in favor of this resolution, it is a vote to put a good man in prison. Don’t pretend to argue, either. Don’t even attempt the argument: No, no, no, this is just the House acting; the Justice Department will make a decision whether to prosecute or not. Come on. Is there anyone who believes that?

It took the Attorney General all of 5 days to treat parents as terrorists, all of 5 days. If a leftwing political group can write the White House asking the Department of Justice to use the PATRIOT Act against moms and dads and 5 days later the Attorney General of the United States does just that, then what do you think he is going to do when 225 Democrats in the House of Representatives ask him to put President Trump’s chief of staff in prison?

I have been in Congress for a while, 15 years. I have seen Democrats weaponize the government to attack their political opponents. Ten years ago, they used the IRS to target good people around this country, good, conservative people. Five years ago, they abused the FISA process and used the FBI to spy on President Trump’s campaign. Two months ago, the Department of Justice used the Counterterrorism Division at the FBI to put a threat tag, a label, a designation, on parents who had the gall to go speak up at school board meetings and defend their kids, speak out against some crazy curriculum.

Now, they are destroying executive privilege. Now, they are attacking that. This might be the worst, destroying a precedent that has been around since George Washington and treating Mark Meadows as a criminal.

Mark Meadows is our former colleague. He is a good man, and he is my friend. This is as wrong as it gets. I think, deep down, everyone knows it. I think they know it as well. They know this is wrong. We have all served with this guy. He has done more work with Democrats than probably any Republican. We all know what a good man he is. This is as wrong as it gets.

Madam Speaker, they all know it, but their lust for power, their lust to get their opponents, is so intense, they don't care. I hope they reconsider. I hope we don't take this action.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Madam Speaker, just for the record, the gentleman from Ohio is aware of congressional oversight prerogatives. When Mr. Meadows was a member and later chairman of the House Committee on Oversight and Reform, he himself demanded testimony from senior executive branch officials and chided those who failed to cooperate with congressional oversight.

Madam Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. SCHIFF), the distinguished chairman of the House Intelligence Committee.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, Mark Meadows was served with a subpoena for testimony and documents 3 months ago. Since that time, he has done TV interviews, published a book, and produced over 9,000 documents about January 6, which he concedes are not covered by any form of privilege.

These documents include chilling text messages from the President's son, Don, Jr., urging Meadows to get his father to do something to stop the violence; from Members of Congress, urging that the Vice President simply ignore electoral votes he personally deems unconstitutional; and, even after the violence of January 6, bemoaning the fact that the effort to overturn the counting of the electors was a failure.

One of the texts to Meadows, on January 3, came from an unknown caller and referred to efforts to replace the leadership of the Department of Justice and said the following: "I heard Jeff Clark is getting put in on Monday. That's amazing. It will make a lot of patriots happy, and I'm personally so proud that you are at the tip of the spear and I can call you a friend."

But notwithstanding his texts, his emails, his interviews, and his book, Mr. Meadows refused to appear for his deposition, claiming that to discuss the same issues, documents, and book is somehow privileged. The inconsistency, the hypocrisy, grabs you by the neck, and so does his utter contempt of Congress.

Mr. Meadows is a central participant and witness to the events of January 6. He is at the tip of the spear. If he can get away with ignoring the law, if witnesses summoned before Congress can merely pick and choose when they comply, our power of oversight will be gone and along with it our cherished system of checks and balances.

Take away Congress' power to compel evidence and you take away Congress' power to protect the public from a dangerous and malign executive. People died on January 6. A Congress that cannot enforce its subpoenas in such an investigation is no more effective than a court in a homicide case which cannot compel witnesses to appear. We would cease to be a Congress and become a mere plaything in the hands of a despot.

Mark Meadows has demonstrated contempt for Congress and for the public. Now, he must be held in contempt. He should be prosecuted like anyone else who ignores the law because no one is above the law.

□ 1745

Ms. CHENEY. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Madam Speaker, let me just make sure people understand some facts in light of some of the charges that the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. JORDAN) just made, which are flat false.

Number one, Mr. Meadows refused to show up for his deposition. The committee scheduled a deposition after extensive coordination with Mr. Meadows on a day that he chose, that he selected, and then he refused to show up.

He refused to show up to testify about nonprivileged questions. My colleague from Ohio can talk as much as he would like about executive privilege and about George Washington and about the extent to which it is crucial for the survival of the Republic, with which I agree, but we are talking here about testimony about nonprivileged materials.

Secondly, Madam Speaker, I would say that we all on this side of the aisle used to be in agreement about what had happened on January 6. There was a brief period of time, days perhaps, when we were in agreement.

Standing—perhaps at this microphone—the minority leader, KEVIN MCCARTHY, said this on January 13: "The President bears responsibility for Wednesday's attack on Congress by mob rioters. He should have immediately denounced the mob when he saw what was unfolding. These facts require immediate action by President Trump. . . ."

Unfortunately, Mr. MCCARTHY's position changed on this issue. Mr. MCCARTHY then worked against, voted against the resolution that would have created a bipartisan commission to investigate these matters, and he withdrew his nominees to this committee. Let me say that again. He withdrew his nominees to this committee.

This committee is engaged in critical investigative and legislative activity for which there is no greater purpose in terms of Congress' responsibility, no matter what my colleague on the other side may claim in terms of Mr. Meadows.

Madam Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. AGUILAR).

Mr. AGUILAR. Madam Speaker, I thank the vice chair for yielding.

Last Tuesday, December 7, the select committee received a letter from Mr. Meadows' lawyer telling us that his client's appearance for a deposition had become, and I quote, "untenable".

Something else happened last Tuesday. Mr. Meadows' book, "The Chief's Chief," hit bookstores.

This is a witness who is refusing to comply with the law and answer our questions, in part because the former President has instructed him to do so, he says. He says that as chief of staff he couldn't possibly disclose the conversations with the former President.

But look at his book, and you get more information about his confidential conversations with the former President than our committee did.

This is from a section dealing with the January 6 rally at the Ellipse. "When he got off stage, President Trump let me know that he had been speaking metaphorically about the walk to the Capitol. He knew as well as anyone that we couldn't organize a trip like that on such short notice."

That part is interesting because the select committee has a lot of questions about what the President said and did on January 6. We have a lot of questions about how protests that day escalated into a riot. And Mark Meadows says he can't discuss these details with us. But apparently, he can put them in his book.

We have also learned from those very documents Mr. Meadows turned over that he was willing to discuss what the President was thinking with Members of Congress.

On January 3, Mr. Meadows was exchanging text messages with a lawmaker about the pressure campaign to get State legislatures to overturn the results of the election. In one text message to a lawmaker, Mr. Meadows wrote, "He," he presumably being President Trump, "He thinks the legislatures have the power, but the VP has power, too."

The power to do what? We could guess the power to overturn the election results, the power to reject the will of the voters. And days later a violent mob tried to get Vice President Pence to do just that. We would like to ask Mr. Meadows about that, about what the former President thought.

Days before the violent attack, Mr. Meadows was willing to share what he, President Trump, thinks, but he won't tell us.

That is why Mr. Meadows' testimony is so important. That is why his privilege claims are so outrageous, and that is why we need to adopt this resolution.

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

Madam Speaker, let's be very, very clear. The Democrats aren't interested in finding out how a disorganized horde of rioters managed to break into the United States Capitol on January 6. They don't want to learn more about

the security breakdown that occurred that day, and they don't care about protecting the Capitol from future attacks. They have proven it to us.

None of the 51 subpoenas that the committee has publicly touted have anything to do with Capitol security. As they have proven yet again today, over and over again, they only care about attacking their political enemies.

Madam Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. RODNEY DAVIS).

Mr. RODNEY DAVIS of Illinois. Madam Speaker, here we are again, considering another politically motivated contempt resolution. This time the contempt resolution is for someone who actually provided this select committee with nearly 7,000 pages of non-privileged e-mails and other documents in response to a subpoena. More than 1,100 documents and more than 2,300 text messages were also provided. But that doesn't seem to be enough for this select committee. It really has turned out to be nothing more than a partisan committee just to investigate the former President.

Subpoenas are not open-ended. They are required to be narrowly tailored. Unfortunately, this committee doesn't seem to care about the rules.

I also have some serious concerns with the way whistleblowers and other witnesses are being treated by this select committee.

I asked this question the last time we were here voting on a politically motivated contempt resolution, and it still hasn't been answered by the majority, so I will ask it again: Why was the Capitol so unprotected on January 6?

There are serious security vulnerabilities that have not been addressed and won't be addressed nearly a year after January 6. There has been little real action taken in response to the Senate report on January 6 and the Honore task force findings. The Capitol Police inspector general has released 7 reports and 103 findings, yet the majority has failed to ensure these findings are implemented in a meaningful way.

We know massive changes to intel, perimeter protection, training, leadership structure, decision-making processes, and many, many more are needed, but neither this select committee nor the Committee on House Administration seem at all interested in ensuring that these changes are made.

Additionally, a number of questions, Madam Speaker, from that day still remain unanswered. I am still waiting on the Speaker of the House to answer a letter I sent her back in February that asks why the National Guard request by then Police Chief Steven Sund were denied? Why the Speaker was involved in eventually approving the request? And why the House Sergeant at Arms has refused to comply with preservation and production requests from my office? I am the ranking member of the oversight committee for the Sergeant at Arms. They will not comply with

the preservation request from the committee of jurisdiction.

We have many other unanswered questions, too, Madam Speaker. With these questions still unanswered and another purely political contempt resolution on the floor today, it makes you ask yourself, what is the majority hiding? And why are their priorities not the men and women serving in the Capitol Police and making this Capitol more secure for everyone? We need these reforms. They should have been done months ago.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. CHENEY. Madam Speaker, I yield 3½ minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. RASKIN).

Mr. RASKIN. Madam Speaker, like 300 other witnesses called to meet with the January 6 committee and our staff, Mark Meadows was, indeed, cooperating with our committee and voluntarily released thousands of pages of admittedly unprivileged documents, and then something changed. His book came out and apparently embarrassed Donald Trump.

After ex-President Trump exploded and called the book fake news, Meadows performed a U-turn and suddenly refused to appear at the December 8 deposition that he had previously agreed to. He called his own book fake news, which is a pretty devastating review to render on your own book, and he brought a lawsuit against the committee alleging—check this out—that we have no legislative purpose.

Meadows' sudden vanishing act cannot vaporize the Article I legislative power of our committee to investigate the massive assault on American democracy that took place on January 6. If the January 6 committee has no legislative purpose, then none of our committees do, for the first rule of democratic government is self-preservation.

Article I, Section 8, Clause 15 gives us the power to suppress insurrections and repel invasions against the Union, and this we will do by investigating and reporting on the most dangerous political violence ever unleashed against the Capitol by a domestic enemy.

We have hundreds of questions. Yes, we do. The fact that Donald Trump, who gave Mr. Meadows a positive blurb for his book, apparently changed his mind about the book doesn't mean that Mr. Meadows can now violate a congressional subpoena, something that Meadows frequently insisted upon himself as a leading member of the House Oversight Committee, and he knows it. And we have pages and pages of his insisting upon the central importance of honoring the subpoenas of Congress.

We have hundreds of questions for Mr. Meadows about information he has already admitted is not privileged in any way at all by the executive privilege, the Fifth Amendment, or anything else.

Here is one of them: How did the following text from a House lawmaker in-

fluence Trump's plans to overthrow Joe Biden's electoral college majority of 306 to 232 after Joe Biden beat Donald Trump?

Here is what that lawmaker wrote him. On November 4, a Member of this body wrote to Meadows: Here is an aggressive strategy—one day after the election—why can't the States of Georgia, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and other Republican-controlled State houses declare this is BS where conflicts in election not called that night and just send their own electors to vote and have it go to the SCOTUS, the Supreme Court of the United States.

How did this text influence the planning of Mark Meadows and Donald Trump to try to destroy the lawful electoral college majority that had been established by the people of the United States and the States for Joe Biden?

Those are the kind of questions that we have a right to ask Mark Meadows. He does not have any special privilege above any other citizen to get out of his civic responsibility.

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

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Madam Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from Virginia (Mrs. LURIA), a distinguished member of the select committee, as well as the Committees on Armed Services, Homeland Security, and Veterans' Affairs.

Mrs. LURIA. Madam Speaker, this is not a vote that I ever thought I would be asked to take. The idea that this body would find a former chief of staff to the President of the United States, a former Member of Congress, in contempt was unthinkable prior to today.

We must approve this resolution, Madam Speaker, because of one simple fact: 187 minutes. For 187 minutes, Mark Meadows was besieged by cries for help from citizens, from members of the press, from members of the President's own family, and from our colleagues in this Chamber, pleading for Mr. Meadows to intervene and stop the attack.

The American people need to understand exactly what happened during that 187 minutes. Mr. Meadows knows, which is why he must come forward. It is increasingly clear that for 187 minutes the Commander in Chief was derelict of his duty. We know this because Mr. Meadows provided the evidence to the committee without any assertions of privilege.

And while the records he has handed over are helpful, there are many questions that we need to ask him.

Mr. Meadows received a text, one of several, from one lawmaker in the days leading up to the attack saying, "Check your signal." The signal messages are encrypted. Only Mr. Meadows can tell us what they said, so we would like to ask him about that.

□ 1800

In the course of our investigation, we have heard from individuals involved

in planning the rallies that immediately preceded the violent attack on the Capitol.

Those people talked with Mr. Meadows.

We want to ask him about that.

We have heard from former White House staffers who ultimately reported to Mr. Meadows as the chief of staff.

We want to ask him about that.

We have heard from Justice Department officials who received instructions to amplify false claims about the election which Mr. Meadows knew about.

We want to ask him about that.

And we have heard from State officials about the pressure campaigns and the relentless attacks on democracy in Arizona, Michigan, and Georgia.

Mr. Meadows actually went to Georgia in connection with the recount effort.

The American people must hear from him about that.

We are investigating an attempt, as one rioter simply put it, and accurately, "to overthrow the government."

Our republic—which I myself served in uniform for 20 years—has never faced a threat as acute and imminent as what we face today.

Think back to the day of the violent attack. If you believed that Mark Meadows could help stop that attack, if you were one of the Members of this body who texted him to stop that attack, you must vote "yes" today.

If, for 187 minutes, you knew the former President could call off the rioters, you must vote "yes" today.

Ms. CHENEY. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

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

My Republican colleagues and I have repeatedly condemned political violence in all of its forms, including the violence on January 6.

But the chair of the House Judiciary Committee, who was elected by Democrats to oversee Federal law enforcement, secured a Presidential pardon for Susan Rosenberg, a domestic terrorist who set off a bomb in the Senate Cloakroom in 1983. That is a fact.

Merrick Garland, appointed by Democrats to head the Justice Department, helped the Obama administration to dismiss an indictment against Elizabeth Ann Duke, a fugitive who was also arrested for setting off a bomb inside the United States Capitol.

Madam Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ROY).

Mr. ROY. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Indiana for yielding.

A year ago in January I spoke on this floor in defense of the rule of law and my view that it was incumbent upon Congress to count the electors sent to us from their respective States.

In doing so, I reminded the Chamber that we are deeply divided.

Now we are a Nation perilously divided further. And a divided Nation

must return to first principles. Those first principles include separation of powers; and in so doing, the judicious use of the congressional subpoena power as requiring, per the United States Supreme Court, "a valid legislative purpose."

That power is not, per the court, limitless, it is not, per the court, a power to expose for the sake of exposure, it is not, per the court, a power to punish, as such would be "indefensible."

The January 6th Committee was born in politics. After all, we have standing committees like Judiciary, which have had precisely zero hearings about the 500 Americans who have been charged, arrested, and are jailed regarding January 6.

And then the natural pursuit of any conspiracy associated with such crimes—no, the select committee continually moves the goalpost far from a core legislative purpose. Indeed, one target seeking to claim privilege was told to take specific tests to claim that privilege, then did so, and then was told, sorry, this was not sufficient en route to contempt.

Now we have the targeting of our friend, Mark Meadows. Congressman Meadows sought accommodation. While, yes, it is between branches, the question in privilege regarding the former President continues to be litigated for good reason.

The gentlewoman from Wyoming outlined text messages from some of us imploring action by the President. The text messages from which she read were, in fact, turned over by Mr. Meadows. He produced more than 1,100 documents totaling 9,000 pages and over 2,300 text messages.

Mr. Meadows offered to appear before the committee to address the agreed-upon nonprivileged documents.

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

Mr. BANKS. Madam Speaker, I yield the gentleman an additional 15 seconds.

Mr. ROY. Madam Speaker, Mr. Meadows agrees to continue to work through questions of privilege. But again, here we are facing a vote to hold Mr. Meadows in contempt.

Anger over January 6 and the events leading to it is not reason for a committee formed from that anger and in partisanship to exercise unlimited power to command attendance of production while moving the goalpost. This itself is an assault on liberty and our republic.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Madam Speaker, I am prepared to close after the gentlewoman from Wyoming (Ms. CHENEY) and the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BANKS).

Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. CHENEY. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BANKS. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. BIGGS).

Mr. BIGGS. Madam Speaker, in spite of the protestations of the gentleman

from Maryland that we heard earlier that this bogus, fraudulently organized committee has a legislative purpose that is legitimate, and he said it was self-preservation, but everything every Democrat has said today is meant to attack one person, and that is Donald Trump.

And so I am reminded of the case that gave us the long progeny of all these cases that deal with legislative purpose in committees and subpoenas, the Kilbourn case. In that case, the Court ruled the congressional investigation unconstitutional because its real purpose was not to consider legislative reforms, as the House has claimed, but rather to investigate possible crimes by this citizen, a power only the executive and judicial branches have the right to exercise.

That is what we see happening here today.

This committee is illegitimate. It has violated its own rules of creation. It has violated its own rules of creation and it says they want to find out this massive truth here about what happened on January 6. You can't have a committee to find out what happened because you are interested. You can't do that. And that is what they are doing today.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Indiana is recognized for 45 seconds, if you are prepared to close.

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

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. CHENEY. Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

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

Again, what you have heard today proves what we have said all along. This select committee is not at all interested in doing anything to prevent something like January 6 from ever happening again. It is all about burying their political opponents. That is what they are about to do today by holding Mr. Meadows in contempt. It is what they have already done two times before. It is an absolute shame. We shouldn't allow it to happen.

I urge all of my colleagues to vote against this resolution today.

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

Ms. CHENEY. Madam Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Madam Speaker, President Trump is hiding behind executive privilege. All of my colleagues, all of them knew that what happened on January 6 was an assault on our Constitution. They knew it at the time, yet now they are defending the indefensible.

Whether we tell the truth, get to the truth and defend ourselves against it ever happening again is the moral test of our time. How we address January 6 is the moral test of our generation.

It is very sad to see how my colleagues on the other side of the aisle are addressing this issue. Mr. Meadows

has refused to testify about nonprivileged material. He is in contempt.

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

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Madam Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

I thank my colleague from Wyoming for supporting this effort of the committee. She has been a wonderful member of the committee, and I look forward to continuing the relationship.

I thank my colleagues who presented on the majority side today who made a clear case of why Mr. Meadows' defiance is unacceptable.

I take no joy in having to ask this House to make this referral. Mr. Meadows served here with us for 7 years, but that doesn't excuse his conduct. If anything, he should know better.

It is disappointing that he put himself in this category with a small handful of uncooperative witnesses who are drawing out a lot of attention hiding behind every privilege you can think of trying to slow down and slow-walk this process. We want to hear from them all.

But we have heard from more than 300 witnesses. Just this week, three significant individuals have already come in and spoken with us on the record. As you have heard, last night and today, we have made some significant findings. This investigation is moving ahead swiftly, but even with all that cooperation, we need to send a clear message that this sort of defiance of the rule of law cannot stand.

We need to hear from Mr. Meadows, and his refusal to appear is plain and simple contempt.

I ask all Members to support this resolution, and I yield back the balance of my time.

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

Pursuant to the rule, the previous question is ordered on the resolution.

The question is on the resolution.

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

Mr. BANKS. Madam Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to section 3(s) of House Resolution 8, the yeas and nays are ordered.

Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, further proceedings on this question are postponed.

FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A further message from the Senate by Ms. Byrd, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate has agreed to a joint resolution of the following title in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S.J. Res. 33. Joint Resolution relating to increasing the debt limit.

COMBATING INTERNATIONAL ISLAMOPHOBIA ACT

Mr. MEEKS. Madam Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 849, I call up

the bill (H.R. 5665) to establish in the Department of State the Office to Monitor and Combat Islamophobia, and for other purposes, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Ms. CASTOR of Florida). Pursuant to House Resolution 849, in lieu of the amendments recommended by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, printed in the bill, an amendment in the nature of a substitute consisting of the text of Rules Committee Print 117-23, modified by the amendment printed in House Report 117-218, is adopted, and the bill, as amended, is considered read.

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

H.R. 5665

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 "Combating International Islamophobia Act".

SEC. 2. AUTHORIZATION FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF OFFICE TO MONITOR AND COMBAT ISLAMOPHOBIA.

Title I of the State Department Basic Authorities Act of 1956 (22 U.S.C. 2651a et seq.) is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

"SEC. 64. MONITORING AND COMBATING ISLAMOPHOBIA.

"(a) OFFICE TO MONITOR AND COMBAT ISLAMOPHOBIA.—

"(1) ESTABLISHMENT.—The Secretary of State shall establish within the Department of State an Office to Monitor and Combat Islamophobia (in this section referred to as the 'Office').

"(2) HEAD OF OFFICE.—

"(A) SPECIAL ENVOY FOR MONITORING AND COMBATING ISLAMOPHOBIA.—The head of the Office shall be the Special Envoy for Monitoring and Combating Islamophobia (in this section referred to as the 'Special Envoy').

"(B) APPOINTMENT OF SPECIAL ENVOY.—The President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint the Special Envoy. If the President determines that such is appropriate, the President may appoint the Special Envoy from among officers and employees of the Department of State. The Secretary of State may allow such officer or employee to retain the position (and the responsibilities associated with such position) held by such officer or employee prior to such appointment.

"(b) PURPOSE OF OFFICE.—Upon establishment, the Office shall assume primary responsibility for the following:

"(1) Monitoring and combating acts of Islamophobia and Islamophobic incitement that occur in foreign countries.

"(2) Coordinating and assisting in the preparation of that portion of the reports required by paragraph (9) of section 116(d) and subsection (k) of section 502B of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2151n(d) and 2304) relating to an assessment and description of the nature and extent of acts of Islamophobia and Islamophobic incitement.

"(3) Coordinating and assisting in the preparation of that portion of the report required by clause (viii) of section 102(b)(1)(A) of the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998 (22 U.S.C. 6412(b)(1)(A)) relating to an assessment and description of the nature and extent of acts of Islamophobia and Islamophobic incitement.

"(c) CONSULTATIONS.—The Special Envoy shall consult with domestic and inter-

national nongovernmental organizations and multilateral organizations and institutions, as the Special Envoy considers appropriate, to carry out this section."

SEC. 3. INCLUSION IN DEPARTMENT OF STATE ANNUAL REPORTS OF INFORMATION CONCERNING ACTS OF ISLAMOPHOBIA IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

(a) INCLUSION IN ANNUAL COUNTRY REPORTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES.—The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2151 et seq.) is amended—

(1) in section 116(d) (22 U.S.C. 2151n(d))—

(A) by redesignating paragraphs (9), (10), (11), and (12), as paragraphs (10), (11), (12), and (13), respectively; and

(B) by inserting after paragraph (8) the following new paragraph:

"(9) wherever applicable, a description of the nature and extent of acts of Islamophobia and Islamophobic incitement that occur during the preceding year, including descriptions of—

"(A) acts of physical violence against, or harassment of, Muslim people, and acts of violence against, or vandalism of, Muslim community institutions, including schools, mosques, and cemeteries;

"(B) instances of propaganda in government and nongovernment media that attempt to justify or promote racial hatred or incite acts of violence against Muslim people;

"(C) the actions, if any, taken by the government of the country to respond to such violence and attacks or to eliminate such propaganda or incitement;

"(D) the actions taken by such government to enact and enforce laws relating to the protection of the right to religious freedom of Muslim people;

"(E) the efforts of such government to promote anti-bias and tolerance education; and

"(F) any instances of forced labor, reeducation, or the presence of concentration camps, such as those targeting the Uyghurs in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China;"

(2) in section 502B (22 U.S.C. 2304), by—

(A) redesignating the second subsection (i) (relating to child marriage status) as subsection (j); and

(B) by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(k) INFORMATION CONCERNING ACTS OF ISLAMOPHOBIA IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.—The report required by subsection (b) shall include, wherever applicable, a description of the nature and extent of acts of Islamophobia and Islamophobic incitement that occur during the preceding year, including descriptions of—

"(1) acts of physical violence against, or harassment of, Muslim people, and acts of violence against, or vandalism of, Muslim community institutions, including schools, mosques, and cemeteries;

"(2) instances of propaganda in government and nongovernment media that attempt to justify or promote racial hatred or incite acts of violence against Muslim people;

"(3) the actions, if any, taken by the government of the country to respond to such violence and attacks or to eliminate such propaganda or incitement;

"(4) the actions taken by such government to enact and enforce laws relating to the protection of the right to religious freedom of Muslim people;

"(5) the efforts of such government to promote anti-bias and tolerance education; and

"(6) any instances of forced labor, reeducation, or the presence of concentration camps, such as those targeting the Uyghurs in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China."

(b) INCLUSION IN ANNUAL REPORT ON INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.—Section 102(b)(1)(A) of the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998 (22 U.S.C. 6412(b)(1)(A)) is amended—

(1) in clause (vi), by striking “and” at the end;

(2) in clause (vii)(II), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”;

(3) by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(viii) wherever applicable, an assessment and description of the nature and extent of acts of Islamophobia and Islamophobic incitement that occur in that country during the preceding the year, including—

“(I) acts of physical violence against, or harassment of, Muslim people, acts of violence against, or vandalism of, Muslim community institutions, instances of propaganda in government and nongovernment media that incite such acts, and statements and actions relating thereto;

“(II) the actions taken by the government of that country to respond to such violence and attacks or to eliminate such propaganda or incitement, to enact and enforce laws relating to the protection of the right to religious freedom of Muslims, and to promote anti-bias and tolerance education; and

“(III) any instances of forced labor, reeducation, or the presence of concentration camps, such as those targeting the Uyghurs in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of the People’s Republic of China.”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE OF INCLUSIONS.—The amendments made by subsections (a) and (b) shall apply beginning with the first reports required under sections 116(d) and 502B of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2151n and 2304) and section 102(b)(1)(A) of the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998 (22 U.S.C. 6312(b)(1)(A)) that are submitted after the date that is 180 days after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 4. PROHIBITION.

No funds made available pursuant to this Act or an amendment made by this Act may be used to promote or endorse a Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) movement ideology or used to promote or endorse a Muslim ban, such as the one instituted by former President Trump.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The bill, as amended, shall be debatable for 1 hour, equally divided and controlled by the Chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs or their respective designees.

The gentleman from New York (Mr. MEEKS) and the gentleman from Texas (Mr. MCCAUL) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York (Mr. MEEKS).

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. MEEKS. Madam Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material in the RECORD on H.R. 5665.

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

There was no objection.

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

Madam Speaker, I rise in strong support of H.R. 5665, the Combating International Islamophobia Act.

Before I continue, let me insert in the RECORD a Statement of Adminis-

tration Policy, which begins by stating: “The administration supports passage of H.R. 5665, the Combating International Islamophobia Act.” And “Our country’s commitment to defending freedom of religion and belief goes back centuries, and the administration strongly believes that people of all faiths and backgrounds should be treated with equal dignity and respect around the world.”

STATEMENT OF ADMINISTRATION POLICY

H.R. 5665—COMBATTING INTERNATIONAL ISLAMOPHOBIA ACT—REP. OMAR, D-MN, AND 56 CO-SPONSORS

The Administration supports passage of H.R. 5665, the Combating International Islamophobia Act. Religious freedom is a fundamental human right. This freedom is enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and is also part of the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Our country’s commitment to defending freedom of religion and belief goes back centuries, and the Administration strongly believes that people of all faiths and backgrounds should be treated with equal dignity and respect around the world.

The Administration also supports language in H.R. 5665 that calls attention to instances of forced labor, reeducation, or the presence of concentration camps, such as those targeting Uyghur and other minorities in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of the People’s Republic of China.

The Administration looks forward to working with Congress to ensure the Secretary of State has the necessary flexibility and permissive authority to designate such an office and special envoy and to provide for an annual report monitoring concerning acts of Islamophobia in foreign countries.

Mr. MEEKS. Madam Speaker, I could not agree more. The world is seeing an alarming rise in anti-Muslim sentiment and violence, and we are witnessing those same trends, unfortunately, here in the United States of America.

In recent years, anti-Muslim bigotry has been on the rise with mosques being vandalized and Muslims beaten and attacked and elected officials on the receiving end of death threats and other hateful rhetoric all due to their Muslim faith.

Bigotry is unacceptable, and it is incumbent on all of us to condemn it wherever and whenever it occurs.

□ 1815

The great Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., said: “Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.” Not only must we address anti-Muslim bigotry here in the United States, but we are also obligated to confront that bigotry wherever and whenever we see it happening around the world.

In 2019, New Zealand witnessed the worst terrorist attack in that nation’s history when a white supremacist gunman killed 51 Muslim worshippers and injured 40 others at two mosques.

Just last week, here on the House floor, we discussed the horrific atrocities being committed against Uyghur Muslims in China and the Rohingya Muslims in Burma. We did it in a bipartisan way with my good friend and col-

league Mr. MCCAUL. That is who we should be, and that is what we should represent because freedom of religion is a fundamental human right, and no one should be the target of discrimination because of their faith.

Prior to considering H.R. 5665, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs held numerous hearings, including with Secretary of State Anthony Blinken, U.N. Ambassador Linda Thomas-Greenfield, and leading academics across the country that discussed and better informed our understanding of anti-Muslim bigotry and Islamophobia.

With the passage of H.R. 5665, the establishment of an office at the State Department to help combat the scourge of Islamophobia, we take an important step toward addressing this problem. That is why I am proud to support the Combating International Islamophobia Act. This important legislation would do three very, very important but simple things. First, it would establish an office to monitor and combat Islamophobia at the State Department. Second, it would provide the authority to the executive branch to appoint a special envoy for monitoring and combating Islamophobia. And third, it will help to improve State Department reporting on threats to Muslims around the world.

Now, several of my colleagues on the other side have stated that they oppose this bill, that the bill does not define Islamophobia, but I believe, and I think they seem to have an awareness, as we all do, for Islamophobia when they criticize the bill for not doing enough to address Islamophobia against the Uyghur population in China.

Madam Speaker, discrimination and bigotry are abhorrent, and combating them is something which we should all be able to do together. That is why I am so heartened to see this important piece of legislation being led by a Muslim Member of Congress and a Jewish Member of Congress. I wish I could say by a Democratic Member of Congress and a Republican Member of Congress. That would be the right message to send to the world.

Discrimination and bigotry bring out the worst in humanity. I know that my friend and colleague feels the same way. I know he does, as do many of my colleagues on the other side. But we have to stand up and say it right here on the floor so the world knows what we stand for. If left unchecked, they can lead to terrible atrocities, to crimes against humanity, and even to genocide. So this legislation will help shine a light on this problem and help address the global rise of Islamophobia at a time in which Islamophobia remains rampant.

Madam Speaker, I strongly encourage all Members of this House to support this very timely and important bill.

Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

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

Madam Speaker, let me just say to my good friend, Chairman MEEKS, we all deplore anti-Muslim persecution. No one should ever be attacked or denied their human rights or dignity because of their faith. So, we actually agree on the intent and the spirit behind this. But I do have some concerns with the wording in many parts of this legislation.

Madam Speaker, the United States Government is rightly committed to opposing these monstrous acts of violence that we have seen directed at Muslims around the world. This includes the horrific mosque shootings in Switzerland, Quebec, and Christchurch.

Our commitment must also apply to anti-Muslim persecution by foreign regimes, especially when it amounts to genocide. I am proud of our bipartisan work to condemn and punish the Burmese military's genocide against the Rohingya Muslims that began in 2016.

We are also working in a bipartisan fashion to oppose the Chinese Communist Party's ongoing genocide against the Uyghur Muslims that we passed together in a bipartisan manner on this floor just the other day.

Today, more than 1 million Muslims and other ethnic and religious minorities are held in camps and exploited as slave labor. Muslim children are ripped from their mothers' arms to be raised by the Communist Party. Muslim women are suffering systematic sexual violence, forced sterilization, and forced abortion.

Members on our side are fully committed to combating these anti-Muslim atrocities. I am proud of the work, again, that Chairman MEEKS and I were able to do together to hold the Chinese Communist Party accountable for their genocide, and I thank the gentleman for his efforts.

In addition, I am pleased that right after this bill, Chairman MCGOVERN, who has worked so hard with this committee, and Senator MARCO RUBIO in the Senate will finally be able to send to the President's desk a bipartisan, bicameral bill to combat the forced labor that supports the CCP's Uyghur genocide.

Unfortunately, the rushed, partisan bill before us today does not live up to these two serious bipartisan efforts. Committee Democrats made no effort to work toward a bipartisan agreement before the markup, and the bill has no Republican cosponsors.

This legislation is dangerously vague and unnecessarily duplicative. It doesn't frame things in terms of anti-Muslim persecution, nor does it use the typical statutory language like "gross violations of internationally recognized human rights."

Instead, it uses the undefined, nonlegal term of "Islamophobia." This word appears nowhere in the Federal statutes. It is so vague and subjective that it could be used against legitimate speech for partisan purposes. Even the term "phobia" connotes irrational fear, not discrimination.

The bill also completely ignores the State Department's extensive efforts already underway to protect the rights of Muslims. Regular monitoring and reporting are already carried out by human rights officers or embassies worldwide, as well as the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor; the Office of International Religious Freedom; and the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom.

The annual "Country Reports" on human rights contain detailed, country-specific narratives of human rights violations targeting Muslims. The "Annual Report on International Religious Freedom" details anti-Muslim abuses and U.S. Government policy to address such challenges.

In addition, the current nominee to serve as the Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom, Rashad Hussain, is a prominent Muslim American.

Madam Speaker, the lack of a special envoy is not a sign of bigotry. In fact, there is no special envoy for the hundreds of millions of Christians who face dangerous persecution today. Also, there is no special envoy for the Hindus or the Buddhists or the Baha'is or the Yazidis or many other people of faith who experience persecution.

We have heard a lot from the other side about the office and special envoy on anti-Semitism, and I imagine that we will continue to hear about this during this debate. But while the wording of today's bill is modeled after the two prior anti-Semitism bills, the process has been completely different and inadequate.

Both bills, in 2004 and 2020, came after dedicated hearings showing the need for specialized legislation. The second bill is based on 16 years of experience before a Senate-confirmed special envoy was added.

In stark contrast, today's bill is the result of a hurried, partisan push over the last 6 days. This legislation was introduced less than 2 months ago. We have not held any hearings focused on whether the new State Department bureaucracy is needed or useful to counter anti-Muslim hate.

Finally, today we received the oddest Statement of Administration Policy that I can ever recall, basically saying that while the administration supports passage of the bill, it would like for this bill to be rewritten. This State Department would like for this bill to be rewritten. Why aren't we consulting with the State Department to get this bill right before we throw it on the House floor and pass it with such haste?

In it, the administration also says that it wants to include language to "ensure the Secretary of State has the necessary flexibility and permissive authority to designate such an office and special envoy." In other words, the administration doesn't want to be required to create this office and position, as this bill mandates.

Combating religious persecution against all people of faith, including

Muslims, is a serious issue, and it deserves the kind of serious attention that draws bipartisan support. I also believe that a definition for clarity as to what Islamophobia is and how it would apply should be done through the legislative intent of the Congress and not left up to the bureaucracy in the State Department.

Unfortunately, the text has been rushed to the floor. It is vague and redundant, as I have said. For that reason, I do oppose it.

I am going to get, later, into some definitions of Islamophobia from various scholars and lawyerly articles that really bring out how vague this term is. We are not saying we are protecting against persecution of Muslims or international human rights for Muslims. It is Islamophobia that I think draws the most scrutiny to this bill.

Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MEEKS. Madam Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentlewoman from Minnesota (Ms. OMAR), the sponsor of this most timely bill.

Ms. OMAR. Madam Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding.

Madam Speaker, today, I rise because we are in the midst of a staggering rise of anti-Muslim violence and discrimination around the world. At its worst, it is Uyghurs in concentration camps in China and genocide against the Rohingya in Burma. But those atrocities are part of a deeper fabric of violence against Muslims and impunity for violence against Muslims at a global level.

In India, Prime Minister Modi's government has moved to strip citizenship from millions of Muslims. In Sri Lanka, anti-Muslim laws and violence have imposed terror on the community. In Hungary, Belarus, and Poland, politicians have stoked fear of Muslim migrants and refugees. In New Zealand and Canada, white supremacist violence has targeted Muslims, including at their places of worship. And, of course, we in the United States are not immune to this hatred.

It is no secret that the previous President of the United States explicitly vowed "a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States." But Trump was simply taking advantage of a deeper culture of Islamophobia that has existed for the past two decades, from the PATRIOT Act to the CVE program to Abu Ghraib.

□ 1830

None of these things are happening in isolation. We must understand that these problems are interlinked. In fact, earlier this year the United Nations commissioned a report and concluded that Islamophobia has reached "epidemic proportions," and urged nations around the world to take all necessary measures to combat it.

As a country that was founded on religious liberty, our leadership on international religious freedom depends on

recognizing that Islamophobia is global in scope and we must lead the global effort to address it. That is why Representative SCHAKOWSKY and I have introduced this bill, to create a special envoy for monitoring and combating Islamophobia at the State Department.

This bill also adds violence and incitement targeted at Muslims to the State Department's annual human rights report and international religious freedom report.

There are cynics who would rather see us divided on racial, ethnic, gender, and religious lines because it suits their political agenda. But I believe as Americans we should stand united against all forms of bigotry.

In fact, this legislation is modeled on the special envoy to combat anti-Semitism, and I was proud to cosponsor and vote last Congress on legislation to elevate that envoy to a cabinet-level position.

Because it is important, Madam Speaker, that we live in a world where everyone is free of persecution based on their religious background and beliefs. And until everyone is free to practice their religion, no one is.

I want to thank the colead of this bill, a partner in justice, Representative JAN SCHAKOWSKY, along with Chairman MEEKS, Speaker PELOSI, and the leadership team for their commitment to this legislation.

Madam Speaker, I also want to thank the Council on American-Islamic Relations for their advocacy on this, and all the groups representing a cross-section of human rights, civil rights, and faith coalitions, who fight for religious rights for everyone around the world.

Mr. MCCAUL. Madam Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. CHABOT), a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Mr. CHABOT. Madam Speaker, I rise this evening in opposition to H.R. 5665.

All Americans can agree that persecution against any person or any group on the basis of religion is wrong. Religious tolerance is a fundamental value upon which this Nation was founded, which is why the free exercise of religion is protected in the very first amendment to our Constitution.

That same fundamental principle is why I persistently, in a bipartisan manner, supported the Rohingya Muslims who have been oppressed, victimized, and suffered genocide at the hands of the Burmese military. This principle also explains why the Ambassador At Large for International Religious Freedom and two other human rights offices at the State Department are already doing the work called for in this legislation.

However, the reasons to oppose this bill go beyond mere redundancy. It is also significantly flawed because Democrats have refused to include a definition of Islamophobia and Islamophobic incitement—the very subject matter the bill purports to address. In fact, Democrats voted down an amendment that I offered in com-

mittee to exclude legitimate criticism from what counts as Islamophobia.

As a result, this bill doesn't make it clear whether the term Islamophobia includes, for example, criticizing radical Islamic terrorist groups or calling out the persecution of Christians. Is it Islamophobic to oppose unacceptably intolerant blasphemy laws, or criticize those who call for the destruction of Israel?

What about criticizing the Taliban's brutal repression of women, or condemning those who deny the Holocaust, as Iran's Supreme Leader has repeatedly done?

While clearly, none of these criticisms should be considered Islamophobic, it is deeply concerning that this bill's supporters have refused to protect such legitimate free speech. Thus, this legislation could be used to label almost any criticism of Islam, including criticism of Sharia law as Islamophobic.

It is almost as if its goal is to shut down all debate and protect Islam from any criticism in polite society. Thus, we get to the core problem of this bill—it treats the persecution of Muslims as uniquely unacceptable. Let's face it, pretty much every religion faces persecution, as anyone who has studied history can attest.

Arguably, Christians endured global persecution equal to or worse than Muslims. Further, Hindus, the Falun Gong, the Baha'is, Tibetan Buddhists, even atheists all experience repression on some corner of the globe. While Muslims do face heinous genocides in China and Burma, Christians and Yazidis also faced genocide at the hands of the Islamic State not long ago.

Finally, this legislation ill-advisedly evaluates the persecution of Muslims to a special category similar to the legislation that created the special envoy to combat anti-Semitism. Unlike alleged Islamophobia, anti-Semitism is a truly unique problem. In the aftermath of the Holocaust, the world realized just how pernicious anti-Semitism was and has been for centuries, and rightly sought to eliminate it.

Putting Islamophobia in the same category as anti-Semitism dramatically understates, even trivializes the historic and pervasive nature that makes anti-Semitism such a difficult problem to overcome. Such a dangerous false equivalence might be used by extremists to justify further anti-Semitic activity.

Madam Speaker, for these reasons, I urge my colleagues to oppose this legislation.

Mr. MEEKS. Madam Speaker, let me just reply to Mr. MCCAUL earlier that the anti-Semitism legislation was introduced on January 3 of 2019, passed the House on January 11 of 2019. There were no hearings that were held that last Congress before we passed the vote, and there was no markup, as we had in our committee this year at all.

Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Illinois (Ms.

SCHAKOWSKY), the cosponsor of this legislation.

Ms. SCHAKOWSKY. Madam Speaker, I rise as a proud colead of the Combating International Islamophobia Act.

In the United States alone, nearly 70 percent of American Muslims have reported personally experiencing anti-Muslim hate, bigotry, and even violence. This anti-Muslim hate isn't just confined to certain communities and areas of this country. It has reached out in ugly ways, including in my own community, in my own district, to a member of my staff and her family.

My colleagues and friends in Congress know that Congresswoman ILHAN OMAR, the chief sponsor of this legislation, knows all about this in far too personal a way. She has been subjected to relentless attacks and horrifying threats, not just from her fellow Americans, but even within the Halls of Congress. Enough is enough.

This should not be a controversial bill. We have had a special envoy to monitor and combat anti-Semitism for years, and I proudly support that office's work. As a Jew myself, I see the parallel quite directly between anti-Semitism and Islamophobia, and we need to be combating both.

As a Nation that prides itself on defending human rights and standing up against hate and bigotry, creating a special envoy to monitor and combat Islamophobia makes perfect sense.

Madam Speaker, I urge all of my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to do what is right, which is to vote "yes" on the Combating International Islamophobia Act.

Mr. MCCAUL. Madam Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. PERRY), a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Mr. PERRY. Madam Speaker, I am proud to represent south central Pennsylvania, where there is a large community of Ahmadiyya Muslims, the most persecuted—the most persecuted Muslims—in the Muslim faith, but yet there is nothing in this bill to safeguard them.

As a matter of fact, many of my colleagues have and will continue to speak about the lack of definition because it is going to be made up, ladies and gentlemen, it is just going to be made up based on your political proclivities. You are either going to be persecuted or you are not, depending on who you are and who you vote for.

Let's face it, aside from the attempts to placate an anti-Semitic Member of this Chamber, all that is really happening here is that House Democrats are deflecting from the real issue confronting the House of Representatives, and that is that the maker of this bill has no business sitting on House committees, has no business in this Chamber—a myriad of anti-Semitic comments and those of support of violence and terrorisms against the United States are wholly unacceptable. But we are not going to deal with that because we are going to deal with this.

Let's not forget the moment the author of this bill breathtakingly referred to the murder of nearly 3,000 Americans on 9/11 by Islamist terrorists as some people who did some thing—some people who did something.

During last week's markup of this legislation in the Foreign Affairs Committee, I was assailed by my colleagues on the other side of the aisle, they told me I was Islamophobic, nasty, mean, and rude. Why?

Because I offered amendments that would have prevented American tax dollars from going to organizations with ties to terrorism. Ties to terrorism. You would think that that would be something we could agree on because we all agree that nobody should be persecuted based on their faith. We all agree on that.

But American taxpayers shouldn't be forced to pay terrorist organizations; organizations that the maker of this bill is affiliated with, like the one that is an unindicted co-conspirator in the largest terror finance case in the United States of America's history. Not because I say so, because the judge says so.

By intentionally leaving the definition of Islamophobia blank in this bill, the gentlelady and my friends on the other side of the aisle are creating an office in our State Department that will likely spew anti-Semitic hatred and attack Western ideas throughout the world under the farce of protecting Islam.

As you can see by this debate, the goal is to silence dissent and critics of terrorism.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will suspend.

Mr. MEEKS. Madam Speaker, we want to take down the words. I ask that the words be taken down.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Pennsylvania will take his seat.

(1945)

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

The Clerk read as follows:

You are either going to be persecuted or you are not, depending on who you are and who you vote for.

Let's face it, aside from the attempts to placate an anti-Semitic Member of this Chamber, all that is really happening here is House Democrats are deflecting from the real issue confronting the House of Representatives, and that is that the maker of this bill has no business sitting on House committees, has no business in this Chamber—a myriad of anti-Semitic comments and those of support of violence and terrorisms against the United States are wholly unacceptable. But we are not going to deal with that because we are going to deal with this.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will further report the words.

The Clerk continued to read as follows:

But American taxpayers shouldn't be forced to pay terrorist organizations; organizations that the maker of this bill is affiliated with, like the one that is an unindicted co-conspirator in the largest terror finance

case in the United States of America's history. Not because I say so, because the judge says so.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair is prepared to rule. The words from the gentleman from Pennsylvania contain an allegation that the "maker of the bill" is affiliated with a terrorist organization. This remark impugns the patriotism or loyalty of a Member of the House, which is not in order as stated in section 370 of the House Rules and Manual. The gentleman from Pennsylvania also alleges that the "maker of the bill" is anti-Semitic. This remark constitutes an allegation of discrimination, which is not in order as stated in section 370 of the House Rules and Manual. The gentlewoman from Minnesota is the sponsor of this measure, H.R. 5665, as reflected in the official records of the House. Therefore, the Chair finds that the remarks constitute personalities directed toward an identifiable Member.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRIES

Mr. BIGGS. Madam Speaker, I have a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. BIGGS. I have several inquiries, if I might. I am not trying to press. I am trying to understand.

The first one is did the Speaker and the Parliamentarian distinguish or identify by the term "author" of the bill, "maker" of the bill, or "sponsor" of the bill when making its ruling and determination in this case?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair has addressed that in the ruling.

Does the gentleman have an additional inquiry?

Mr. BIGGS. Yes, I do. Thank you.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state his inquiry.

Mr. BIGGS. My question is regarding the determination that these words were nonparliamentary. What is the extent of the protection of the debate and speech clause, vis-a-vis, for instance, when we have had a resolution to strip a Member of committee, another resolution to strip a different Member of committee this year. And during the debate of that we had all kinds of aspersions and comments, and if these allegations, which were put forward by the gentleman from Pennsylvania are accurate and can be defended, was that taken into account in both the context and his terms, this taking into account, when you made the determination that his speech was nonparliamentary.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair is not going to provide an advisory opinion.

Mr. BIGGS. I am not asking for an advisory opinion. I am asking what you took into account with the Parliamentarian to determine that his words were nonparliamentary. That is what I am asking. And I have given you context and relationship of previous actions, and I have asked for specifically how you limited the speech and debate

clause here, and whether the fact that he has documentation to prove his assertions or not or whether they are relevant.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair relied on section 370 of the House Rules and Manual as stated in the ruling.

Mr. BIGGS. Thank you.

Mr. MEEKS. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS) a member of the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS of Illinois. Madam Speaker, I rise in strong support of passage of H.R. 5665, and commend its sponsor, Representative OMAR, and my colleague from Illinois, Representative SCHAKOWSKY, for its introduction.

I was taught early in life to accentuate the positive, eliminate the negative, and don't mess around with Mister-In-Between.

This resolution reaffirms many of the principles in practice that we have been taught and learned that religion is sacrosanct, that religion is sacred, and every person deserves to have their religious thoughts, ideas, and ideology protected.

I urge support and passage of this legislation.

Mr. MCCAUL. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee, (Mr. BURCHETT), a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Mr. BURCHETT. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I oppose this bill, Madam Speaker, because it is redundant and will grow a State Department bureaucracy that is already overgrown. This is the same State Department that already has two bureaus tasked with this issue.

I wish someone would tell me what exactly it is these bureaucrats are doing now, since they now need a third department to help them do their job.

These are the same State Department bureaucrats who spent 4 years undermining the foreign policy of a Republican President from deep within the government. Now they are getting a pass from the Biden administration to be soft on China, soft on Russia, and of course, soft on Iran.

And the Democrats in the House want us to spend even more taxpayer money on this already bloated bureaucracy, Madam Speaker.

For my friends across the aisle, the solution always seems to be throwing more money at a problem.

After 3 years in the House, I am beginning to realize that, for the Democrats in Congress, our tax dollars are nothing more than political duct tape. The problem with duct tape, Madam Speaker, is it does not actually fix anything, contrary to what some people believe. Like growing government and spending more money, duct tape is not a solution.

So here is an idea I wish my friends across the aisle and President Biden would consider: Rather than feeding the beast, let's cut the State Department's budget until the bureaucrats

deep within decide to get back to work for the American people.

Instead of pushing a woke globalist agenda, Secretary of State Blinkin needs to call his workers back to the office, rather than letting them continue to stay home while passports and visa applications go unprocessed for American citizens and visitors.

Let's not waste our constituents' hard-earned tax dollars playing politics. Our government is big enough. We can do without another dadgum bureaucracy at the State Department.

Mr. MEEKS. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN), a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Mr. LEVIN of Michigan. Madam Speaker, Islamophobia is a problem across the world, including in my own district, where one of the many mosques that I represent was vandalized last year.

It is a problem in this body, where only four Muslims have ever served, and where the most visible among them, Congresswoman OMAR, has been the subject of horrible anti-Muslim attacks.

And it is obviously a problem abroad, even rising to the level of genocide in Burma and China.

I am a Jewish Member of Congress who considers fighting all forms of oppression and all instances of religious discrimination core to my faith.

Mr. Speaker, let's all come together and reaffirm that cardinal American value, freedom of religion. Let's pass this law as a step towards protecting the rights of the world's 1.8 million Muslims and an integral part of our work to win freedom and security for all people everywhere.

Mr. MCCAUL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 6 minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. BARR), a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Mr. BARR. Mr. Speaker, I thank the ranking member of the Foreign Affairs Committee for yielding.

I rise in opposition to this legislation. Mr. Speaker, Islamophobia is wrong, just as anti-Semitism, anti-Christian hatred, and all forms of discrimination based on race or religion are wrong.

But this bill, despite whatever the author and defenders of this legislation claim as its purpose or their intent, is not targeted to counter actual Islamophobia.

In fact, this bill is so poorly drafted, any objective analysis of it raises serious concerns about what the true intentions of the bill are because it specifically does not define Islamophobia.

This lack of definition not only risks confusing U.S. foreign policy, but it also would compromise U.S. counterterrorism efforts and undermine our national security.

What we need, Mr. Speaker, and what this bill fails to provide is moral clarity. We don't need nuance or political correctness or silencing debate or censorship on the issue of radical Islamic

terrorism. What we need is intellectual and moral clarity.

□ 2000

Before 9/11, radical Islamic terrorists were at war with the United States. That was before 9/11. Since then, radical Islamic terrorists have been at war with the United States.

Now, you may wish that wasn't the case, but it is a historical fact. If you cannot even acknowledge who the enemy is or that we are at war with them, then how can you expect to defeat that enemy?

We must face the truth, the truth that there is a very real struggle within the Islamic world between religious tolerance, the purported goal of this bill, and an evil, toxic intolerance, the potential byproduct of this bill that says if you are a Christian or if you are a Jew or if you are a moderate Muslim, then you must be destroyed.

This bill, either unintentionally or by design, gives voice to this toxic religious intolerance by failing to exclude from the definition of Islamophobia any policy or viewpoint that rejects radical Islamic terrorism.

This ideology of evil and extreme religious intolerance must be confronted with clarity, as much as each individual act of terrorism. And an over-inclusive definition of Islamophobia threatens to encourage the very extremism that we all say we oppose.

Is it Islamophobia to criticize the Taliban, a self-proclaimed Islamic organization, when they commit grave human rights abuses and oppress women?

Is it Islamophobia to criticize rejoining the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action when talking about the malign, theocratic Islamic Republic of Iran, the leaders of which chant, "Death to America," and promise the destruction of the State of Israel?

Is it Islamophobia to condemn Hamas when they are firing rockets on innocent Israelis from Gaza?

Is it Islamophobia to criticize someone who dismissively, derisively, and defensively refers to 9/11 hijackers as "people who did some things"?

These actions are not Islamophobic. These are beliefs motivated out of security and fact. However, we are voting shortly on a bill that actually does combat Islamophobia, real Islamophobia, a bipartisan bill to combat the forced labor of Uyghur people and the systemic genocide of peaceful Muslim minorities by the Chinese Communist Party.

Mr. Speaker, that bill makes a clear, defined difference. This bill does not. Simply saying we are against Islamophobia without clearly and correctly defining it and establishing an office within the State Department to combat it without safeguards against the relativist views of the politically correct is an invitation to weaponize our foreign policy against itself. We must deal with this problem as it is, not as we would hope it to be.

History teaches us that when Islamic extremists and jihadists are not fought, they grow. Their movement metastasizes. The longer they are not confronted, the more they become emboldened. The more they are appeased and tolerated, the more they overrun territories in the areas they occupy and secure safe havens from which they can launch attacks against the United States and the West.

As a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, I was more than disappointed that my Democratic colleagues, many of whom I respect very, very much, rejected a good faith amendment in our markup to clearly define what Islamophobia actually is.

We do have a Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism who works off an internationally adopted definition of anti-Semitism. But the way this bill is structured fails to acknowledge that a policy of countering jihad is not, never has been, and never will be Islamophobia. And the bill establishes an office that would actually undermine the very mission of the Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism.

In sum, this bill, without definitional restraint, will invite anti-Semitism and anti-Christian bias into State Department decisionmaking, and it will do so under the guise of combating Islamophobia. That is what this bill will do without definition.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. KILDEE). The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MCCAUL. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 30 seconds to the gentleman.

Mr. BARR. Maybe this bill is well-intentioned, but if we don't agree to some kind of definition, if we do not provide some clarity—moral clarity, intellectual clarity—as to who the enemy is versus what Islamophobia is, then what we have here in this bill is a wolf in sheep's clothing. Nuance and political correctness will not help us defeat our enemy, and it leaves peaceful practitioners of Islam robbed of the definition that they truly deserve.

Mr. Speaker, for these reasons, I urge my colleagues to oppose this legislation.

Mr. MEEKS. Mr. Speaker, clearly, we are not here to talk about criticism. We are here to talk about persecution. We are here to talk about anti-Muslim hate. We are even here to talk about genocide. And we should know it when we see it.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Ms. LEE).

Ms. LEE of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H.R. 5665, the Combating International Islamophobia Act. I thank my friend, Congresswoman ILHAN OMAR, for her leadership on this issue, and also Chairman MEEKS and the Speaker for bringing this bill to the floor.

Mr. Speaker, the bill creates mechanisms for the State Department to monitor and combat international

Islamophobia. There are approximately 1.8 billion Muslims in the world, including 3.5 million Muslims in the United States.

Now, the truth is, while Islamophobia is not a new phenomenon, anti-Muslim violence has increased significantly over the past 20 years. Just ask any Muslim what Islamophobia is.

We have seen incidents such as the terrorist attacks on mosques in New Zealand, atrocities against the Uyghurs in China, and Islamophobic laws in France that prevent girls from wearing the hijab in public.

The United Nations Human Rights Council now says that discrimination and hatred toward Muslims have risen to epidemic portions.

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

Mr. MEEKS. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 15 seconds to the gentlewoman.

Ms. LEE of California. Mr. Speaker, whether in the Halls of Congress, our districts, or across the world, we will not tolerate Islamophobia. We know what it is. We must work together to end this bigotry.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to vote "yes" on H.R. 5665.

Mr. MCCAUL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. VAN DUYNE).

Ms. VAN DUYNE. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to H.R. 5665. Bringing this bill to the floor is nothing more than empty theatrics from Democrats.

Our Nation has delivered more freedom, opportunity, and liberty to more people around the world than any nation in our history. We have served as the arsenal of democracy and a liberator of oppressed people because we are a good and just nation founded on fundamental, God-given liberties. Included among those, as part of our very first amendment, is the freedom of speech.

Our Nation has lost precious treasure of our fellow countrymen to free people from the horrors of Islamic fundamentalism. We need only look at what has happened to women in Afghanistan since Biden's disastrous and botched departure. Women are being stoned to death in the street for having the gall to be educated. Women are forced into marriages with blood-thirsty Taliban savages to serve as breeders of the next jihad.

The fight against these kinds of atrocities deserves plainspoken and hard truths be told. Instead, the other side would like to sterilize free speech and determine what words are allowed under their Orwellian tyranny.

Our Nation and the world deserve so much better than this ridiculous attempt to stifle free speech. There is tremendous evil in this world. Every day that evil is trying to infiltrate and undermine our exceptional Nation.

I will never shy away from calling out evil ideologies, and I will never back down from speaking against them

and how they are used to oppress women, children, and the vulnerable. We must stay committed to opposing heinous acts of violence directed at any religious group around the world, but the fact is, the State Department is already doing this.

This bill brought to the floor today is for one purpose only: to appease the hurt feelings of Members who themselves have well-documented backgrounds of anti-American and anti-Semitic remarks.

I rise against this bill just as I will rise against any attempts to weaken our rights, diminish our liberties, and distract this body from dealing with real issues to strengthen our Nation and empower our people.

Mr. MEEKS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Michigan (Mrs. DINGELL).

Mrs. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the Combating International Islamophobia Act.

This legislation creates an office to monitor and combat Islamophobia at the Department of State. In recent years, we have seen tragedies like the 2019 Christchurch shooting, as well as the state-sponsored persecution of Uyghurs in China.

My hometown of Dearborn, Michigan, has a very large Muslim community, and it is also a constant target of Islamophobic hate. There have been thousands of documented complaints of anti-Muslim hate and bias in the United States this year alone. In my community are good-standing Americans. They are afraid and fearful of these actions, and I have heard from constituents who are afraid of visiting their mosques or going to events as a result.

Passing this bill sends a strong message about our shared commitment to safeguarding religious liberty worldwide.

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

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

Mr. MEEKS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the Representative from the great State of Texas (Mr. GREEN).

Mr. GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, and still I rise as a Christian to say *as-salamu alaykum*, which means peace be upon you.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 5665 addresses the age-old question: Am I my brother's and, I might add, sister's keeper?

If the answer is yes, then what do we do about it when our brothers and our sisters are being victimized by Islamophobia—threatened, murdered, killed?

Mr. Speaker, you can't be your brothers' or sisters' keeper without keeping your brothers and your sisters.

H.R. 5665 addresses this by establishing an office to monitor and combat Islamophobia in the Department of State. H.R. 5665 does something such that we can be our brothers' and our sisters' keepers.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to be a co-sponsor of it, and I close with Allah hafiz. May God protect you.

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

Mr. MEEKS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. CORREA).

Mr. CORREA. Mr. Speaker, I also rise in strong support of the Combating International Islamophobia Act.

A recent report in California found that 56 percent of the students in California feel unsafe in their school because of their Muslim religious identity. That is not the America I know. Our Nation stands for many freedoms, including the freedom of religion.

I am a proud sponsor of this legislation to create a special envoy to fight anti-Muslim hate crimes in the U.S. and abroad.

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

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

Mr. MEEKS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON LEE).

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H.R. 5665, Combating International Islamophobia Act.

I have listened to my friends on the other side of the aisle, and they are my friends. I hope that we will have the opportunity to work together for what the values of America stand for.

I have heard my colleagues recount the various efforts of inhumane treatment of Muslims around the world. This is an important statement made by America, to create the position of special envoy for monitoring and combating Islamophobia that will be responsible for tracking and coordinating efforts to combat Islamophobia. Also, it would require the State Department's annual "Country Reports on Human Rights Practices" to include acts of Islamophobia.

□ 2015

With 1 billion Muslims, the reason why I support this legislation is the statement it makes to the world about the values of this country, and the values of this country should be grounded in the fact that the religious freedom of all should be respected.

Then, finally, I am really overwhelmed by the constant battering of our colleague, ILHAN OMAR. To make her the center point of opposition in this place is beneath the dignity of this House. So by passing this legislation, let the world know that America's values are valuing religious freedom and that we stand against the abuse of Muslims around the world as well as here in the United States.

Mr. Speaker, this is an important piece of legislation. I thank the chairman for his leadership, and I ask my colleagues, Republicans and Democrats, to support H.R. 5665.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 5665, the Combating International Islamophobia Act,

which will address the increasing number of incidents of Islamophobia around the world.

Specifically, this bill will:

Create the position of Special Envoy for Monitoring and Combating Islamophobia, who will be responsible for tracking and coordinating efforts to combat Islamophobia abroad; and

Require that the State Department's annual country reports on human rights practices and annual Report on International Religious Freedom include, wherever possible, assessments of the nature and extent of acts of Islamophobia and Islamophobic incitement that occur abroad.

As Islamophobia rises globally, it is vital that the State Department have senior personnel in place charged with understanding, reporting on, and combating this scourge worldwide.

In recent decades, we have seen a staggering rise in incidents of violent Islamophobia worldwide.

Whether it is the atrocities being committed against the Uyghurs in China and the Rohingya in Burma, the brutal crackdowns on Muslim populations in India and Sri Lanka, the scapegoating of Muslim refugees and other Muslims in Hungary and Poland, the acts of white supremacist violence targeting Muslims in New Zealand and Canada, or the targeting of minority Muslim communities in Muslim-majority countries like Pakistan, Bahrain, and Iran, it is time for us as policymakers to understand these problems as interconnected and genuinely global.

A staggering number of people have experienced anti-Muslim hate in their lifetime; a number that has only inflated since 9/11.

America is home to one of the most diverse Muslim populations in the world, including people of almost every ethnicity, country, and school of thought.

Approximately one third of the community is African American, one third is of South Asian descent, one quarter is of Arab descent, and the rest are from all over the world, including a growing Latino Muslim population.

While exact numbers are difficult to establish, there are between 3–6 million American Muslims. About one half of this population was born in the U.S., a percentage that continues to grow as immigration slows and younger individuals start having families.

American Muslims are present in all walks of life, as doctors and taxi drivers; lawyers and newspaper vendors; and accountants, homemakers, academics, media personalities, athletes, and entertainers.

Although American Muslims make up approximately one percent of the U.S. population, most Americans can name several famous American Muslims. Names like Muhammad Ali, Malcolm X, Mos Def, Fareed Zakaria, Shaquille O'Neal, Lupe Fiasco, Dr. Oz, and Rima Fakhri are part of our popular consciousness.

Important business figures like Farooq Kathwari (CEO of Ethan Allen), Malik M. Hasan (a pioneer in the field of HMOs), and Safi Qureshey (a leader in PC component manufacturing) are all American Muslims.

Many American Muslims are also civically engaged, working with their neighbors to better their communities. Well-known American Muslim leaders include Rep. Keith Ellison (DFL–Minn.), the first American Muslim to be elected to the U.S. Congress; Rep. ANDRÉ CARSON (D–Ind.); Mohammed Hameeduddin

(Mayor, Teaneck, N.J.); and Amer Ahmad (Comptroller, Chicago).

Nevertheless, levels of Islamophobia are so high that the United Nations Human Rights Council has declared it an issue of “epidemic proportions.”

Atrocities have been occurring across the globe, from hate-messages spray-painted on buildings in America to the violent genocide of the Uyghurs in China.

The United States State Department estimated that up to 2 million members of Muslim minorities have experienced a system of detention centers in Xinjiang, known political indoctrination, forced labor, torture, and sexual abuse.

The US, UK, and Canada have accused China of committing genocide and crimes against humanity against Muslim populations at Xinjiang.

In 2018, UN investigators accused the Myanmar's military of carrying out mass killings of Muslim populations with “genocidal intent.”

There are reports of attacks on mosques in India and Iran, a history of anti-Muslim sentiments and attacks in Sri Lanka, police targeting against Shia Muslims in Pakistan, massacres of Muslim people in New Zealand, and Islamophobic hate-speech in Canada.

This global injustice must be addressed and rectified and the United States must step up to spearhead the movement.

We need to establish a comprehensive plan for combating Islamophobia not only to ensure the religious freedom and human rights of Muslims, but to protect against a threat to international religious freedom and democratic principles.

The Combating International Islamophobia Act will require the State Department to create a Special Envoy for monitoring and combating Islamophobia answering the call of the American Muslim community for the past two decades.

The envoy will work with domestic and international nongovernmental organizations and institutions to carry out its directives.

The special envoy will give reports on acts of physical violence or harassment against Muslim people as well as acts of vandalism of Muslim community institutions like schools, mosques, and cemeteries.

Regarding anti-Muslim government actions, the envoy will monitor instances of propaganda in media that attempt to justify or promote racial hatred or incite acts of violence against Muslim people.

With the new wealth of information this envoy will bring, policymakers will have a better understanding of the interconnected, global problem of anti-Muslim bigotry.

As part of our commitment to international religious freedom and human rights, we must recognize Islamophobia as a pattern that is repeating in nearly every corner of the globe.

It is past time for the United States to stand firmly in favor of religious freedom for all, and to give the global problem of Islamophobia the attention and prioritization it deserves.

Mr. MCCAUL. I continue to reserve the balance of my time, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. MEEKS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from the great State of Michigan (Ms. TLAIB).

Ms. TLAIB. Mr. Speaker, I have a lot of emotions as I stand before you today.

This bill is a strong step toward combating Islamophobia, but it is only a start. The reality today is that Muslim Americans still face constant abuse right here at home. While it is great to fight Islamophobia abroad, we need to be honest with ourselves about how widespread this disgusting and bigoted anti-Muslim hate is right here in our own country.

Simply put, my two sons and children across our country deserve to grow up in a country where their religion, their faith, will not be used as an excuse to target them and endanger their lives and freedoms.

Muslims across our country deserve Representatives on both sides of the aisle who will embrace them and who will love them for who they are, not those who encourage religious violence for their own political gain.

Mr. Speaker, I would say to my fellow Americans who believe in a free, inclusive, and accepting country, know that we will win this fight. The actions of a hateful group of individuals in our country and in this body are out of touch from the vast majority of our Americans and neighbors who are good, decent people who reject this violent White nationalist hate and will put party aside to protect one another from this bigotry.

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

Mr. MEEKS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI).

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I thank Chairman GREGORY MEEKS, of the Foreign Affairs Committee, for his leadership in bringing this important legislation to the floor which addresses an issue of faith, of values, and of our country.

The House comes together, hopefully, in a spirit of unity—I would have hoped—and patriotism to condemn and combat Islamophobia and all forms of racism, prejudice, and discrimination.

Listening to the debate, I heard Mr. DANNY DAVIS earlier as he was singing “don't mess with Mister In-Between” talking about religion and talking about how it should be off-limits and people's religion should be respected. I know—and probably it is true of everyone here—the respect we have for our own faith and our own religion enables us to appreciate the faith and respect people have for their faith. That is why this is so sad because it is an attack on the faith of one of our Members.

Sadly, but clearly, Islamophobia is a sinister, growing, and for too many American Muslims, a constant presence in our Nation.

To just review some of the figures: Nearly 70 percent of American Muslims have personally experienced anti-Muslim discrimination since September 11.

Thousands of documented acts of anti-Muslim bigotry and violence are recorded each year, with many thousands unreported.

Attacks are growing more common and more brazen—from vandalism of

mosques, to physical assaults on women wearing hijabs, to hate speech from public officials, to bullying and violence of children at schools. Think of how the children hear this.

As we all know, this bigotry has targeted one of our own—shamefully, from within this congressional community. Racism and bigotry of any form, including Islamophobia, must always be called out and condemned in any place it is found. This is particularly true in the Halls of Congress which are the very heart of our democracy and where we have a responsibility under the rules of the House to behave in a way that brings dignity to this body.

Our first President, George Washington—there he is looking over us—over 230 years ago in a letter to the Hebrew Congregation in Newport wrote: “For happily the Government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens, in giving it on all occasions their effectual support.” He, himself, was defining what is the right way to live. Indeed, bigotry and persecution have always been un-American as demonstrated by our patriarch, George Washington.

Anti-Muslim bigotry affects not only Members but many other members of our congressional community. As hundreds of Muslim staffers wrote in a letter last week, Mr. Speaker, they said “hateful rhetoric by public officials directly impacts us and puts our safety at risk, both at the workplace and in our everyday lives.”

The Muslim staffers whom we value here further said: “We must now come to work every day knowing that the same Members and staff who perpetuate Islamophobic tropes and insinuate that we are terrorists also walk by us in the Halls of Congress.”

It is really frightening.

Disturbingly, Islamophobia is not a unique American experience but a global scourge. Earlier this year, the U.N. Human Rights Council declared that discrimination against Muslims has risen to epidemic proportions. Around the world, we see tragedy and tragic consequences of anti-Muslim attitudes: the genocide against the Uyghur people and other Muslim minorities in China, atrocities committed against the Rohingya in Burma, attacks on Muslim refugees in central Europe and white supremacist violence against Muslims in New Zealand and Canada, the targeting of Muslim minority communities in western Asia and the Middle East.

We must confront Islamophobia or any form of racism wherever it is found—around the world, in our country, or even in these very Halls.

This legislation will not only address the rise in incidents of Islamophobia worldwide but launch a plan to combat this bigotry.

I thank Congresswoman JAN SCHAKOWSKY and Congresswoman ILHAN

OMAR for their leadership in advancing equity, justice, and dignity in our Congress, in America, and in the world with this action. I thank also the Foreign Affairs Committee chairman, GREGORY MEEKS, for his support of this important action.

With this bill’s passage, Mr. Speaker, a special envoy for monitoring and combating Islamophobia will be created, just as the State Department has special envoys on anti-Semitism and international religious freedom. That is something we have always shared in this body, across the aisle and across the Capitol in a bipartisan way, support for and respect for religious freedom at home and internationally.

This special envoy created here will be charged with establishing a comprehensive strategy to combat Islamophobia worldwide. The State Department’s annual human rights reports will be expanded to include state sponsors of Islamophobic violence and impunity.

As a nation that prides itself on the defense of human rights and dignity, we must be leaders both on the global stage and at home by example to combat violence against Muslims.

Again, Islamophobia in any place is offensive, dangerous, and must be condemned; and Islamophobia in our own congressional community—specifically, the repeated, ongoing, and targeted Islamophobic comments and actions against another Member as we witnessed this past year—is appalling and totally unacceptable.

That language and behavior are far beneath the dignity, integrity, and decency with which the Constitution and our constituents require that we act in this House. These actions must be called out and not tolerated.

Mr. Speaker, every day that we are in session we begin with a prayer because we believe in our own way. Some don’t believe, but by and large, most people here believe. We do so with reverence for our own religious beliefs and with respect for the beliefs of others. If we didn’t have such strong beliefs in ourselves and our own religion, it would be okay and easy to believe that somebody might be frivolous about respecting someone else’s devotion. But we do. We all profess to be people of faith.

The House will continue to look into an array of options to address this priority and to take real action to combat Islamophobia as we have many times taken action to condemn anti-Semitism and other forms of bigotry.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman again for his leadership and Congresswoman SCHAKOWSKY, who was very much a part of this, and Congresswoman OMAR; and I urge a strong, bipartisan vote on this important legislation.

Mr. McCAUL. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman from New York is prepared to close, I am ready to close.

Mr. MEEKS. Mr. Speaker, I am ready to close.

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

Let me just first say that all of us deplore anti-Muslim persecution. We are seeing a lot of that in Afghanistan today, especially the small children. We deplore violence on violence, Sunni against Shia. No one should ever be attacked or denied their human rights or dignity because of their faith. I believe both sides of the aisle agree on this, and I personally agree with the intent and the spirit of this bill.

The United States Government is rightly committed to opposing these acts of violence that we have seen directed at Muslims around the world. The State Department has an office to do so.

What I do object to, Mr. Speaker, is the unfortunate circumstance that the bill before us abandons the usual statutory language about violations of internationally recognized human rights. Instead, it uses this vague term, Islamophobia. Look it up on Wikipedia. It says it can mean many things.

This Islamophobia is not defined. It is not that we are against the anti-Muslim persecution or against international human rights violations against Muslims, but rather this Islamophobia.

In connection with that, I would like to quote a 2016 article from Columbia Law Review that states: “There is no singular, cogent, or consensus definition of Islamophobia.”

Similarly, the University of Oslo’s Center for Research on Extremism calls Islamophobia a “contested term.”

These are law review articles, not mine.

It goes on further to say: “The term conflates opposition to Islam with prejudice toward Muslims.”

These expert descriptions underscore the need for due diligence that this text has not yet received. I wish the minority had been given an opportunity to discuss this bill before it was thrown in on the markup, for we all oppose religious persecution against Muslims or any other faith. I am a Catholic. Any other believers in any faith should be protected from this hate speech and violence.

So for those reasons, because the definition is not provided, Islamophobia is a very broad term that can be subject to many interpretations.

If we don’t define that in the Congress through legislative intent, who will?

That means we cede our authority over to the executive branch, and then they write what Islamophobia means. I wish we had used different terms, terminologies that are in statute under law rather than something that is sort of borne on a Wikipedia page.

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To me, that is not the way we legislate here. I have done a lot of great legislation with the chairman and the previous chairman of this committee, and I intend to keep doing that with him. I

appreciate our joint efforts to advance strong, responsible bipartisan legislation to protect religious freedom.

We are going to have one of those bills coming up right after this one on the Uyghur Muslims, and I appreciate that. I know this has been a heated debate, and some things have been said today that could be offensive. This is not about one Member of Congress. This is about our ability to come together as Americans and come out with a strong bipartisan bill that makes sense so we can send the message around the world that this will not be tolerated, just as we are standing up for the Uyghur Muslims with the genocide bill and the bill that is going to follow this debate here today.

Mr. Speaker, it has been a rigorous debate, and we expected this. I yield back the balance of my time.

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

Mr. Speaker, I thank Mr. McCaul for his statements. Yes, we work very closely together, as well as many Members in this House, especially on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, strong fighters on both sides of the aisle for human rights.

The question that presents itself with this plain and simple bill that simply calls for us to establish an office to monitor and combat Islamophobia at the State Department is: Do we all agree? I think I have heard my colleagues on the other side say that Islamophobia is wrong. That means you know that Islamophobia exists.

You know it when you see it. You know it when you feel it. You know it when you talk about the Uyghurs, the Rohingyas, or right here in the United States of America. There is a definition right there. You see it. They have said it. We have said it. Islamophobia exists.

What we need to do is call it out. What we need to do is lock arms and stand together. This is an important bill. The camera of history is rolling on us. It is an important bill, and it is a bill of consequence. It should be of consequence to every human being on the planet, no matter your religion or no matter your race.

It is important to nearly 2 billion Muslims in the world. We need to focus on what this bill does. Some of the proudest moments of mine—I live in and represent one of the most diverse districts in all the United States, in the most diverse county in the United States. I have seen ugliness raise its ugly head, whether it is racism, anti-Semitism, or Islamophobia.

But the proud moment is when I see Muslims and Jews walking arm-in-arm against Islamophobia and against anti-Semitism, when I see people of all races and nationalities standing together and not being silent.

Inaction is unacceptable. We cannot stand idly by as atrocity after atrocity is inflicted on people of the Muslim faith, or any faith, for no reason other than bigotry against their religion.

Freedom of religion is a human right. We can and must do better at combating Islamophobia here at home and abroad. I wish it was today, but I keep dreams and hopes alive that we will lock arms—we have good people here—and say in unison, as I have seen people do in my district, that we are going to call out Islamophobia wherever we see it, the same with racism and the same with anti-Semitism.

Mr. Speaker, this bill that everybody is watching—we travel a lot on our committee. We know that people watch what is happening on this floor. They take it to their gut. I hope that they look at this bill and know that we are going to call it out and not accept it. Silence will not be accepted.

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

Mr. CONNOLLY. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to support this bill that sends a clear signal about United States policy with respect to discrimination, especially violent, murderous discrimination against a whole class of people because of their ethnicity and/or religion.

But the significance of this bill is much more profound; it moves us forward in terms of our self-definition as Americans.

Our history is pockmarked with violent discrimination against groups that “got in the way.” Groups that challenged us to improve on the prevailing self-definition at the time.

From Native Americans who were dehumanized, Chinese Americans denied citizenship and naturalization as a group in our immigration laws, African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Irish-Catholics discriminated against by Abolitionists.

The intent of this bill goes to our self-definition as a nation, something every generation must revisit.

By enshrining this in our State Department as a priority policy, that will be propounded with other nations, we make ourselves better too. We live up to our ideals as a people.

I hope we rise above the partisan temptations to score points at the expense of a whole class of people, at the expense of people all around the world who we have never met but count on us to do the right thing on their behalf.

This bill is important for those people who can't find their own voice, because they have been denied it, but let's use ours on their behalf. It will save lives and it will improve our own sense of identity, who we are, what it means to be American.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 849, the previous question is ordered on the bill, as amended.

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.

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.

Mr. McCaul. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to section 3(s) of House Resolution 8, the yeas and nays are ordered.

Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, further proceedings on this question are postponed.

FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A further message from the Senate by Ms. Byrd, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate has passed with an amendment in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 5746. An act to amend title 51, United States Code, to extend the authority of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to enter into leases of non-excess property of the Administration.

CAPITOL POLICE EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE ACT OF 2021

Ms. LOFGREN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (S. 3377) to empower the Chief of the United States Capitol Police to unilaterally request the assistance of the DC National Guard or Federal law enforcement agencies in emergencies without prior approval of the Capitol Police Board, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

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

There was no objection.

The text of the bill is as follows:

S. 3377

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 “Capitol Police Emergency Assistance Act of 2021”.

SEC. 2. EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE FOR THE CAPITOL POLICE.

(a) ASSISTANCE BY EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES.—Section 911(a) of division B of the Department of Defense and Emergency Supplemental Appropriations for Recovery from and Response to Terrorist Attacks on the United States Act, 2002 (2 U.S.C. 1970(a)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by inserting “or in accordance with paragraph (4)” before “and on a permanent”;

(2) in paragraph (4)(B)—

(A) in the matter preceding clause (i), by striking “advance”; and

(B) in clause (ii)—

(i) in subclause (I), by striking “or” after the semicolon;

(ii) in subclause (II), by striking “and” after the semicolon and inserting “or”; and

(iii) by adding at the end the following:

“(III) the Chief of the Capitol Police, if the Chief of the Capitol Police has determined that the provision of assistance is necessary to prevent the significant disruption of governmental function and public order within the United States Capitol Buildings and Grounds, as described in section 9 of the Act entitled ‘An Act to define the area of the United States Capitol Grounds, to regulate the use thereof, and for other purposes’, approved July 31, 1946 (2 U.S.C. 1961); and”;

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(5) REVOCATION.—The Capitol Police Board may revoke a request for assistance provided under paragraph (4)(B)(ii)(III) upon

consultation with appropriate Members of the Senate and House of Representatives in leadership positions.”.

(b) CAPITOL POLICE SPECIAL OFFICERS.—Section 1017 of division H of the Consolidated Appropriations Resolution, 2003 (2 U.S.C. 1974) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)—

(A) in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by inserting “or as determined by the Chief of the Capitol Police in accordance with section 911(a)(4)(B)(ii)(III) of division B of the Department of Defense and Emergency Supplemental Appropriations for Recovery from and Response to Terrorist Attacks on the United States Act, 2002 (2 U.S.C. 1970(a)(4)(B)(ii)(III)),” after “Congress;”; and

(B) by adding at the end the following: “An appointment under this section due to an emergency determined by the Chief of the Capitol Police under paragraph (4)(B)(ii)(III) of section 911(a) of division B of the Department of Defense and Emergency Supplemental Appropriations for Recovery from and Response to Terrorist Attacks on the United States Act, 2002 (2 U.S.C. 1970(a)) shall be in effect for the period of the emergency, unless and until the Capitol Police Board revokes the request for assistance under paragraph (5) of such section.”;

(2) by striking subsections (c) and (e);

(3) by redesignating subsections (d), (f), and (g) as subsections (c), (d), and (e), respectively; and

(4) in subsection (d), as redesignated by paragraph (3) of this subsection, by striking “President pro tempore” and inserting “Majority Leader”.

SEC. 3. JOINT OVERSIGHT HEARINGS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate and the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives (referred to in this section as the “Committees”) are authorized to jointly conduct oversight hearings regarding the Capitol Police Board and may request the attendance of all members of the Capitol Police Board at any such hearing. Members of the Capitol Police Board shall attend a joint hearing under this section, as requested and under such rules or procedures as may be adopted by the Committees.

(b) TIMING.—The Committees may conduct oversight hearings under this section as determined appropriate by the Committees, but shall conduct not less than one oversight hearing under this section during each Congress.

SEC. 4. EFFECTIVE DATE.

The amendments made by this Act shall take effect on October 1, 2021.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

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 the yeas and nays are ordered.

The House will resume proceedings on postponed questions at a later time.

UYGHUR FORCED LABOR PREVENTION ACT

Mr. MEEKS. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 6256) to ensure that goods made

with forced labor in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of the People’s Republic of China do not enter the United States market, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 6256

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. STATEMENT OF POLICY.

It is the policy of the United States—

(1) to strengthen the prohibition against the importation of goods made with forced labor, including by ensuring that the Government of the People’s Republic of China does not undermine the effective enforcement of section 307 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1307), which prohibits the importation of all “goods, wares, articles, and merchandise mined, produced or manufactured wholly or in part in any foreign country by ... forced labor”;

(2) to lead the international community in ending forced labor practices wherever such practices occur through all means available to the United States Government, including by stopping the importation of any goods made with forced labor, including those goods mined, produced, or manufactured wholly or in part in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region;

(3) to coordinate with Mexico and Canada to effectively implement Article 23.6 of the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement to prohibit the importation of goods produced in whole or in part by forced or compulsory labor, including those goods mined, produced, or manufactured wholly or in part in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region;

(4) to actively work to prevent, publicly denounce, and end human trafficking including with respect to forced labor, whether sponsored by the government of a foreign country or not, and to restore the lives of those affected by human trafficking, a modern form of slavery;

(5) to regard the prevention of atrocities as it is in the national interest of the United States, including efforts to prevent torture, enforced disappearances, severe deprivation of liberty, including mass internment, arbitrary detention, and widespread and systematic use of forced labor, and persecution targeting any identifiable ethnic or religious group; and

(6) to address gross violations of human rights in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region

(A) through bilateral diplomatic channels and multilateral institutions where both the United States and the People’s Republic of China are members; and

(B) using all the authorities available to the United States Government, including visa and financial sanctions, export restrictions, and import controls.

SEC. 2. STRATEGY TO ENFORCE PROHIBITION ON IMPORTATION OF GOODS MADE THROUGH FORCED LABOR IN THE XINJIANG UYGHUR AUTONOMOUS REGION.

(a) PUBLIC COMMENT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 30 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Forced Labor Enforcement Task Force, established under section 741 of the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement Implementation Act (19 U.S.C. 4681), shall publish in the Federal Register a notice soliciting public comments on how best to ensure that goods mined, produced, or manufactured wholly or in part with forced labor in the People’s Republic of China, including by Uyghurs, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Tibetans, and

members of other persecuted groups in the People’s Republic of China, and especially in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, are not imported into the United States.

(2) PERIOD FOR COMMENT.—The Forced Labor Enforcement Task Force shall provide the public with not less than 45 days to submit comments in response to the notice required by paragraph (1).

(b) PUBLIC HEARING.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 45 days after the close of the period to submit comments under subsection (a)(2), the Forced Labor Enforcement Task Force shall conduct a public hearing inviting witnesses to testify with respect to the use of forced labor in the People’s Republic of China and potential measures, including the measures described in paragraph (2), to prevent the importation of goods mined, produced, or manufactured wholly or in part with forced labor in the People’s Republic of China into the United States.

(2) MEASURES DESCRIBED.—The measures described in this paragraph are—

(A) measures that can be taken to trace the origin of goods, offer greater supply chain transparency, and identify third country supply chain routes for goods mined, produced, or manufactured wholly or in part with forced labor in the People’s Republic of China; and

(B) other measures for ensuring that goods mined, produced, or manufactured wholly or in part with forced labor do not enter the United States.

(c) DEVELOPMENT OF STRATEGY.—After receiving public comments under subsection (a) and holding the hearing required by subsection (b), the Forced Labor Enforcement Task Force, in consultation with the Secretary of Commerce and the Director of National Intelligence, shall develop a strategy for supporting enforcement of Section 307 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1307) to prevent the importation into the United States of goods mined, produced, or manufactured wholly or in part with forced labor in the People’s Republic of China.

(d) ELEMENTS.—The strategy developed under subsection (c) shall include the following:

(1) A comprehensive assessment of the risk of importing goods mined, produced, or manufactured wholly or in part with forced labor in the People’s Republic of China, including from the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region or made by Uyghurs, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Tibetans, or members of other persecuted groups in any other part of the People’s Republic of China, that identifies, to the extent feasible—

(A) threats, including through the potential involvement in supply chains of entities that may use forced labor, that could lead to the importation into the United States from the People’s Republic of China, including through third countries, of goods mined, produced, or manufactured wholly or in part with forced labor; and

(B) what procedures can be implemented or improved to reduce such threats.

(2) A comprehensive description and evaluation—

(A) of “pairing assistance” and “poverty alleviation” or any other government labor scheme that includes the forced labor of Uyghurs, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Tibetans, or members of other persecuted groups outside of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region or similar programs of the People’s Republic of China in which work or services are extracted from Uyghurs, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Tibetans, or members of other persecuted groups through the threat of penalty or for which the Uyghurs, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Tibetans, or members of other persecuted groups have not offered themselves voluntarily; and

(B) that includes—

(i) a list of entities in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region that mine, produce, or manufacture wholly or in part any goods, wares, articles and merchandise with forced labor;

(ii) a list of entities working with the government of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region to recruit, transport, transfer, harbor or receive forced labor or Uyghurs, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, or members of other persecuted groups out of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region;

(iii) a list of products mined, produced, or manufactured wholly or in part by entities on the list required by clause (i) or (ii);

(iv) a list of entities that exported products described in clause (iii) from the People's Republic of China into the United States;

(v) a list of facilities and entities, including the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps, that source material from the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region or from persons working with the government of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region or the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps for purposes of the “poverty alleviation” program or the “pairing-assistance” program or any other government labor scheme that uses forced labor;

(vi) a plan for identifying additional facilities and entities described in clause (v);

(vii) an enforcement plan for each such entity whose goods, wares, articles, or merchandise are exported into the United States, which may include issuing withhold release orders to support enforcement of section 4 with respect to the entity;

(viii) a list of high-priority sectors for enforcement, which shall include cotton, tomatoes, and polysilicon; and

(ix) an enforcement plan for each such high-priority sector.

(3) Recommendations for efforts, initiatives, and tools and technologies to be adopted to ensure that U.S. Customs and Border Protection can accurately identify and trace goods made in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region entering at any of the ports of the United States.

(4) A description of how U.S. Customs and Border Protection plans to enhance its use of legal authorities and other tools to ensure that no goods are entered at any of the ports of the United States in violation of section 307 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1307), including through the initiation of pilot programs to test the viability of technologies to assist in the examination of such goods.

(5) A description of the additional resources necessary for U.S. Customs and Border Protection to ensure that no goods are entered at any of the ports of the United States in violation of section 307 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1307).

(6) Guidance to importers with respect to—
(A) due diligence, effective supply chain tracing, and supply chain management measures to ensure that such importers do not import any goods mined, produced, or manufactured wholly or in part with forced labor from the People's Republic of China, especially from the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region;

(B) the type, nature, and extent of evidence that demonstrates that goods originating in the People's Republic of China were not mined, produced, or manufactured wholly or in part in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region; and

(C) the type, nature, and extent of evidence that demonstrates that goods originating in the People's Republic of China, including goods detained or seized pursuant to section 307 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1307), were not mined, produced, or manufactured wholly or in part with forced labor.

(7) A plan to coordinate and collaborate with appropriate nongovernmental organizations and private sector entities to implement and update the strategy developed under subsection (c).

(e) SUBMISSION OF STRATEGY.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, and annually thereafter, the Forced Labor Enforcement Task Force, in consultation with the Department of Commerce and the Director of National Intelligence, shall submit to the appropriate congressional committees a report that—

(A) in the case of the first such report, sets forth the strategy developed under subsection (c); and

(B) in the case of any subsequent such report, sets forth any updates to the strategy.

(2) UPDATES OF CERTAIN MATTERS.—Not less frequently than annually after the submission under paragraph (1)(A) of the strategy developed under subsection (c), the Forced Labor Enforcement Task Force shall submit to the appropriate congressional committees updates to the strategy with respect to the matters described in clauses (i) through (ix) of subsection (d)(2)(B).

(3) FORM OF REPORT.—Each report required by paragraph (1) shall be submitted in unclassified form, but may include a classified annex, if necessary.

(4) PUBLIC AVAILABILITY.—The unclassified portion of each report required by paragraph (1) shall be made available to the public.

(f) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this section may be construed to limit the application of regulations in effect on or measures taken before the date of the enactment of this Act to prevent the importation of goods mined, produced, or manufactured wholly or in part with forced labor into the United States, including withhold release orders issued before such date of enactment.

SEC. 3. REBUTTABLE PRESUMPTION THAT IMPORT PROHIBITION APPLIES TO GOODS MINED, PRODUCED, OR MANUFACTURED IN THE XINJIANG UYGHUR AUTONOMOUS REGION OR BY CERTAIN ENTITIES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The Commissioner of U.S. Customs and Border Protection shall, except as provided by subsection (b), apply a presumption that, with respect to any goods, wares, articles, and merchandise mined, produced, or manufactured wholly or in part in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China or produced by an entity on a list required by clause (i), (ii), (iv) or (v) of section 2(d)(2)(B)—

(1) the importation of such goods, wares, articles, and merchandise is prohibited under section 307 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1307); and

(2) such goods, wares, articles, and merchandise are not entitled to entry at any of the ports of the United States.

(b) EXCEPTIONS.—The Commissioner shall apply the presumption under subsection (a) unless the Commissioner determines—

(1) that the importer of record has—

(A) fully complied with the guidance described in section 2(d)(6) and any regulations issued to implement that guidance; and

(B) completely and substantively responded to all inquiries for information submitted by the Commissioner to ascertain whether the goods were mined, produced, or manufactured wholly or in part with forced labor; and

(2) by clear and convincing evidence, that the good, ware, article, or merchandise was not mined, produced, or manufactured wholly or in part by forced labor.

(c) REPORT REQUIRED.—The Commissioner shall submit to the appropriate congressional committees and make available to the public, not later than 30 days after making a

determination of an exception under subsection (b), a report identifying the good and the evidence considered under subsection (b).

(d) REGULATIONS.—The Commissioner may prescribe regulations—

(1) to implement paragraphs (1) and (2) of subsection (b); or

(2) to amend any other regulations relating to withhold release orders in order to implement this section.

(e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This section takes effect on the date that is 180 days after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 4. DIPLOMATIC STRATEGY TO ADDRESS FORCED LABOR IN THE XINJIANG UYGHUR AUTONOMOUS REGION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 90 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State, in coordination with the heads of other appropriate Federal departments and agencies, shall submit to the appropriate congressional committees a report that contains a United States strategy to promote initiatives to enhance international awareness of and to address forced labor in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China.

(b) MATTERS TO BE INCLUDED.—The strategy required by subsection (a) shall include—

(1) a plan to enhance bilateral and multilateral coordination, including sustained engagement with the governments of United States partners and allies, to end forced labor of Uyghurs, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Tibetans, and members of other persecuted groups in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region;

(2) a description of public affairs, public diplomacy, and counter-messaging efforts to promote awareness of the human rights situation, including forced labor in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region; and

(3) a plan—

(A) to coordinate and collaborate with appropriate nongovernmental organizations and private sector entities to raise awareness about goods mined, produced, or manufactured wholly or in part with forced labor in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region; and

(B) to provide humanitarian assistance, including with respect to resettlement and advocacy for imprisoned family members, to Uyghurs, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Tibetans, and members of other persecuted groups, including members of such groups formerly detained in mass internment camps in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region

(c) ADDITIONAL MATTERS TO BE INCLUDED.—The Secretary shall include in the report required by subsection (a), based on consultations with the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Homeland Security, and the Secretary of the Treasury, the following—

(1) to the extent practicable, a list of—

(A) entities in the People's Republic of China or affiliates of such entities that use or benefit from forced labor in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region; and

(B) Foreign persons that acted as agents of the entities or affiliates of entities described in subparagraph (A) to import goods into the United States.

(2) A plan for working with private sector entities seeking to conduct supply chain due diligence to prevent the importation of goods mined, produced, or manufactured wholly or in part with forced labor into the United States.

(3) A plan of actions taken by the United States Government to address forced labor in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region under existing authorities, including—

(A) the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 (Public Law 106-386; 22 U.S.C. 7101 et seq.);

(B) the Elie Wiesel Genocide and Atrocities Prevention Act of 2018 (Public Law 115-441; 22 U.S.C. 2656 note); and

(C) the Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act (22 U.S.C. 2656 note).

(d) FORM.—The report required by subsection (a) shall be submitted in unclassified form, but may include a classified annex, if necessary.

(e) UPDATES.—The Secretary of State may include any updates to the strategy required by subsection (a) in the annual Trafficking in Persons report required by section 110(b) of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 (22 U.S.C. 7107(b)).

SEC. 5. IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS RELATING TO FORCED LABOR IN THE XINJIANG UYGHUR AUTONOMOUS REGION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 6(a)(1) of the Uyghur Human Rights Policy Act of 2020 (Public Law 116-145; 22 U.S.C. 6901 note) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(F) Serious human rights abuses in connection with forced labor.”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE; APPLICABILITY.—The amendment made by subsection (a)—

(1) takes effect on the date of the enactment of this Act; and

(2) applies with respect to the first report required by section 6(a)(1) of the Uyghur Human Rights Policy Act of 2020 submitted after such date of enactment.

(c) TRANSITION RULE.—

(1) INTERIM REPORT.—Not later than 180 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the President shall submit to the committees specified in section 6(a)(1) of the Uyghur Human Rights Policy Act of 2020 a report that identifies each foreign person, including any official of the Government of the People’s Republic of China, that the President determines is responsible for serious human rights abuses in connection with forced labor with respect to Uyghurs, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, or members of other persecuted groups, or other persons in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region.

(2) IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS.—The President shall impose sanctions under subsection (c) of section 6 of the Uyghur Human Rights Policy Act of 2020 with respect to each foreign person identified in the report required by paragraph (1), subject to the provisions of subsections (d), (e), (f), and (g) of that section.

SEC. 6. SUNSET.

Sections 3, 4, and 5 shall cease to have effect on the earlier of—

(1) the date that is 8 years after the date of the enactment of this Act; or

(2) the date on which the President submits to the appropriate congressional committees a determination that the Government of the People’s Republic of China has ended mass internment, forced labor, and any other gross violations of human rights experienced by Uyghurs, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Tibetans, and members of other persecuted groups in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region.

SEC. 7. DEFINITIONS.

In this Act:

(1) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES.—The term “appropriate congressional committees” means—

(A) the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Committee on Financial Services, the Committee on Ways and Means and the Committee on Homeland Security of the House of Representatives; and

(B) the Committee on Foreign Relations, the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, the Committee on Finance and the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs of the Senate.

(2) FORCED LABOR.—The term “forced labor”—

(A) has the meaning given that term in section 307 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1307); and

(B) includes convict labor and indentured labor under penal sanctions.

(3) FOREIGN PERSON.—The term “foreign person” means a person that is not a United States person.

(4) PERSON.—The term “person” means an individual or entity.

(5) UNITED STATES PERSON.—The term “United States person” means—

(A) a United States citizen or an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence to the United States; or

(B) an entity organized under the laws of the United States or any jurisdiction within the United States, including a foreign branch of such an entity

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from New York (Mr. MEEKS) and the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. BARR) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. MEEKS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on H.R. 6256.

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

There was no objection.

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

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of H.R. 6256, the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act introduced by my good friend, colleague, and chair of the Rules Committee, Mr. MCGOVERN.

Last week, Mr. Speaker, we passed Chair MCGOVERN’s original legislation on the House floor. I heard my Republican friends comment that this bill was being slow-walked by the House Democrats; that we were supposedly passing Chairman MCGOVERN’s bill to stall and negotiate the Senate bill. Even if we did reach agreement, my colleagues across the aisle surmised that the President would not support the compromise package.

Here we are, less than 6 days later, and a compromise between the House and the Senate versions has already been negotiated. Just a few hours ago, unsurprisingly, the Biden administration announced that it would sign this vital piece of legislation.

The biggest difference between the two packages was the House called for implementation in 120 days; the Senate wanted to wait 270 days. We have negotiated them down to 180 days. The crucial protections of this law will come into effect months earlier because of House Democrats.

Let me be clear, this is a good thing because it is a bipartisan measure. I am glad that such important legislation will pass with near unanimous support from both parties. That is what this should be.

Since 2017, the People’s Republic of China has systematically carried out mass detention, torture, political indoctrination, restrictions on religious practices, and inhumane atrocities against Uyghurs and members of other

ethnic and religious minority groups in Xinjiang.

We have seen the People’s Republic of China expand its extensive program of oppression and transform it into a system of state-sponsored forced labor. Under the guise of vocational training or poverty alleviation, authorities in Xinjiang have forced thousands of adults and children to work against their will and under threat of punishment to produce goods and raw materials that are then woven into international supply chains and then to our homes.

This bill, which has passed the House before, prohibits the import of goods and merchandise from Xinjiang unless the importer can prove the products did not come from forced labor, imposes sanctions on officials facilitating the use of forced labor against Chinese ethnic minorities, adds important financial disclosures for public companies that do business in the region, and also calls for a diplomatic strategy to address forced labor in Xinjiang.

This is a straightforward bill. It signals that America will not tolerate forced labor, and products made from forced labor shall not enter the American marketplace. In 2021, for any country to utilize forced labor systematically and to oppress and exploit its population is unconscionable, unacceptable, and, indeed, un-American. We cannot and will not stand idly by.

This legislation is critical to showing that we are putting human rights at the center of our foreign and economic policy. I support this bill, and I look forward to continuing to work.

Mr. Speaker, I want to thank Mr. BARR, Mr. MCCAUL, and my colleagues on both sides of the aisle for coming forward and speaking up, and I reserve the balance of my time.

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

Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, my good friend from New York (Mr. MEEKS), for his leadership in helping support this legislation and bringing it to the House floor.

I want to thank the gentleman from Massachusetts for his leadership in recognizing this serious human rights travesty that is happening.

I also want to thank the 11 House Foreign Affairs Committee Republicans who are cosponsors of this legislation, including Mr. SMITH of New Jersey.

I want to thank Senator RUBIO from Florida for working with the gentleman from Massachusetts on finding a bipartisan and bicameral compromise to bring this important legislation to the floor.

□ 2045

Mr. Speaker, it is past time for this Chamber and the Congress to act to stop the Chinese Communist Party from using American consumers to subsidize its brutality. Preventing products made with slave labor from

contaminating our market is a long-standing priority of U.S. trade, not just because it puts American manufacturers at a disadvantage, but because the American values that we all share will not tolerate it.

Truly free trade cannot involve slave labor. But today, the CCP is using the forced labor of Uyghurs and other minorities to help bankroll its genocide against those very same groups. The repression taking place right now in Xinjiang is breathtaking in its scope and in its brutality. More than 1 million people have been locked in concentration camps and subjected to surveillance and brainwashing on a massive scale.

Families are being broken up and children are being taken from their parents. Forced sterilization and forced abortion are being used to limit births among ethnic groups targeted by the CCP.

This is outrageous human rights violations and the world cannot turn a blind eye. It is a horrific warning, not only to China's neighbors and to the American people, but to the world. The Chinese Communist Party is fundamentally focused on expanding its power and its authoritarian style of government. It views things that it does not control, like religion, cultural identity, and the yearning of all people for freedom, as threats that must be destroyed.

Because we have drawn the CCP into many of our most critical supply chains, it has the ability to hold our national security hostage while it uses U.S. consumers to subsidize its atrocities. This cannot stand. As many as one in five cotton garments globally are potentially tainted with Uyghur slave labor.

Last year, U.S. Customs and Border Protection seized a 13-ton shipment of human hair that originated in Xinjiang's forced labor system. We have a duty to prevent the CCP from making Americans complicit in these sickening abuses. For that reason, I support the bipartisan bill before us today, and I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MEEKS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MCGOVERN), the sponsor of this bill and chairman of the Rules Committee.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank Chairman MEEKS for yielding me the time and for his leadership on this important issue.

Mr. Speaker, I am glad that we are able to move this compromised Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act so quickly after the House passed my bill, H.R. 1155, last week. And I want to thank my partner in this effort in the Senate, Senator MARCO RUBIO, for working quickly and diligently with us to negotiate this agreement. I wanted to especially thank Speaker PELOSI for her strong moral leadership in getting this done. No one in this body—and I mean no one—has had a more consistent and

principled position in standing up for the human rights of the people of China and Tibet. She has been a critical part of nearly every single piece of China human rights legislation focused on China that Congress has passed in recent years, and her steadfast commitment to getting this bill across the finish line is why we are here today.

Forced labor is a serious human rights abuse. It is illegal under United States law to import goods made with forced labor. But we are compelled to move this legislation by the genocide and crimes against humanity being committed by the Chinese Government against Uyghurs and other Muslim minorities, of which forced labor is a key factor.

We must pass this legislation to give Americans the peace of mind that the clothes they wear, the food they eat, and the technology that they use are not tainted by forced labor perpetrated by the Chinese Government.

This bill combines my legislation, which passed the House by a vote of 428-1 last week, and Senator RUBIO's bill, which passed by voice vote, into a version that both Chambers can support. This is a strong, bipartisan, bicameral consensus bill. This bill shortens the time the forced labor import ban goes into effect to 180 days, from the Senate's 300 days.

It requires a strong, clear and convincing evidence standard for exceptions to the rebuttable presumption.

It empowers the Forced Labor Enforcement Task Force to devise and oversee the strategy to prohibit the import of forced labor goods from Xinjiang.

In short, this is a good bill. It is a tougher bill than what passed the Senate, and I want to thank my House colleagues for this report.

I want to thank Chairman MEEKS again. I want to thank Ranking Member MCCAUL, Chairman NEAL, and Chairwoman WATERS for their work. I want to thank Congressman CHRIS SMITH of New Jersey for all of his support.

On the Senate side, I want to thank Senators RUBIO and MERKLEY for their leadership. And, again, I want to thank Speaker PELOSI for her strong and steadfast commitment to getting this done.

So let's stand up for human rights. Let's stand against genocide and against crimes against humanity. And let's get the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act to the President's desk as soon as possible.

Mr. BARR. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH), a Member of this body who, for many, many years, has been a champion of human rights and, frankly, no one has done more to advance the cause of human rights than my colleague from New Jersey.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding and for his leadership, and I

want to thank the chairman and the ranking member for their concerted efforts to get this legislation and like-minded legislation moving forward; and, of course, JIM MCGOVERN, he is the prime sponsor, and I am the prime Republican cosponsor, I want to thank him for his leadership on this as well. It is so very, very important.

Mr. Speaker, Mihrigul Tursun said she pleaded with God to end her life as her Chinese jailers increased the electrical currents coursing through her body.

Mihrigul, a Muslim Uyghur, whose escape from Xi Jinping's genocide led her to the United States, actually broke down weeping at a November 28, 2018, congressional hearing co-chaired by Senator MARCO RUBIO and I—as co-chairs of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China—as she recounted her experience in one of China's infamous concentration camps.

She testified, and I quote her in part, that “there were around 60 people kept in a 430-square-foot cell, so at night, 10 to 15 women would stand up while the rest of us would sleep on our sides.” She said, “There were people there who had not taken a shower in over a year.

“I clearly remember the torture . . .” she said, “in the tiger chair the second time I was incarcerated. I was taken to a special room with an electric chair. It was the interrogation room, and it had one light and one chair. There were belts and whips hanging on the wall. I was placed in a high chair that clicked to lock my arms and legs in place and tightened when they pressed the button.”

She goes on, “My head was shaved beforehand for the maximum impact. The authorities put a helmet-like thing on my head. Each time I was electrocuted,” she went on, “my whole body would shake violently, and I could feel the pain in my veins. I thought I would rather die than go through this torture and begged them to kill me. They insulted me with humiliating words and pressured me to admit my guilt.

“The nights were the busiest time in the camps,” she went on. “A lot of activities such as transferring people between cells and removing the dead bodies would happen all night long. In the silence of the night, we would hear the men from the other cells groaning in agony. We could hear the beatings, the men screaming. . . .”

“While burying my 4-month-old baby,” she had had triplets, “I was tormented and filled with the guilt of not being able to save my son.”

She admonished us, pleaded with us, “Please take action against the Chinese officials responsible for my torture and the death of my little boy and the death of so many innocent Uyghurs in the camps.”

Mr. Speaker, there are millions and millions of stories just like this waiting to be told, truly nightmarish accounts of President Xi Jinping's genocide.

In response, I, joined by my friend and colleague, TOM SUOZZI, introduced

the Uyghur Human Rights Policy Act of 2018.

But this bill, H.R. 1155, the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act, which, again, I cosponsored with Mr. MCGOVERN, is important and necessary to end or at least mitigate our complicity in Xi Jinping's genocide.

Let's not forget the documents obtained by The New York Times which made clear that this is Xi Jinping's genocide. He ordered it. And early next year he will be hosting the Winter Olympics.

The leaked documents show Xi saying things like show "absolutely no mercy" in dealing with the Uyghurs and other predominantly Muslim minorities. In one speech he said: "The weapons of the people's democratic dictatorship must be wielded without any hesitation or wavering."

Mr. Speaker, the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act prohibits imports from Xinjiang to the U.S. by creating a rebuttable presumption. That is the core of this bill, a presumption that all goods produced in the region are made with forced labor unless U.S. Customs and Border Protection certifies by clear and convincing evidence that goods were not produced with forced labor. It is a good bill and deserves the support of every Member of this body.

Mr. MEEKS. Mr. Speaker, it is my honor to yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Rhode Island (Mr. CICILLINE), a great member of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Mr. CICILLINE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding and thank him for his extraordinary bipartisan leadership on this issue and on so many issues that come before our committee. I want to begin by acknowledging the leadership of the Speaker who has been an advocate and a strong voice for human rights around the world, but particularly in China for many, many years.

I rise, Mr. Speaker, in strong support of this bicameral version of the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act, to ensure that the United States does all we can to condemn the appalling human rights record of the Chinese Government against Uyghur Muslims. With the ongoing genocide against the Uyghur population in Xinjiang, and with the crackdown on democracy and the rule of law in Hong Kong, the world has seen what a glimpse of Chinese leadership in the international system would mean: a rejection of human rights; a commitment to authoritarianism; a silenced press; and the abandonment of the rule of law.

In Xinjiang, over 1 million members of the Uyghur population have been forced to live in squalor; forced to abandon their beliefs; forced to abandon their children; and forced to work. Many have been tortured. Many have died. All have suffered.

Policies undertaken in Xinjiang continue to stir the conscience and represent this country's most agonizing

human rights catastrophes ever. The Chinese Government has unleashed a series of draconian measures that should give anyone in the civilized world a pause. They have mandated abortions, they have forcibly sterilized men and women; they have forcibly taken over half a million children from their families, and they have sent them to so-called reeducation centers.

They monitor the movements and the online activities of millions, ensuring Uyghurs and other minorities are robbed of their privacy; and they force Uyghurs and other minorities into factories for no pay and with no recourse.

We must recognize that the Chinese Government built this policy over time. What has happened to the Uyghur population is not borne out of spontaneous brutality; it has been a well-planned endeavor designed to extinguish a population that China finds undesirable.

This is a systematic policy that denies the Uyghurs their humanity, their dignity, and seeks to ultimately deny them of their existence.

We must do all we can to ensure that the clarion call of "never again" reverberates around the globe. This bill would ensure that goods made in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region imported into the United States are not made with forced labor.

I want to thank Chairman MCGOVERN for his extraordinary leadership and urge all of my colleagues to support the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act and again thank the chairman for his courtesy.

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

Mr. Speaker, in recent years the world has stood by as the Chinese Communist Party has detained more than 1 million ethnic minorities in concentration camps where they are tortured, brainwashed, and put into forced labor. This is all part of a deliberate program by the CCP to wipe out their ethnic identity, their religion, their culture, anything that might compete with the Communist Party for their loyalties and affection.

We have a moral duty to speak out against these horrifying crimes, but we have an even greater duty to avoid funding this genocide by paying for slave labor in Xinjiang.

Many American companies have built their businesses on values that include respect for basic human rights. The United States must continue to lead the world in setting corporate responsibility standards. There can no longer be business as usual with China. The world is watching.

While this bill did not go through regular order in the Foreign Affairs Committee, I commend Chairman MCGOVERN and Senator MARCO RUBIO for coming to this important bipartisan agreement.

I appreciate the chairman's leadership, and it is good to have a bipartisan bill where we stand united in one voice for human rights, and to hold the Chinese Communist Party accountable.

I support this bill. I urge my colleagues to support this bill, and I yield back the balance of my time.

□ 2100

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

H.R. 6256, the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act, is an opportunity for this body to send a resounding message to the world. We are engaged in a strategic competition with China around the world, and our stance on this issue, I believe, will define why our system is better. We aggressively oppose forced labor and Islamophobia, and we will back up our values with our actions.

In this major piece of legislation, we are doing it together, Democrats and Republicans, working with Ranking Member MCCAUL and others, because it is the right thing to do. It is the right message to send.

So let us do it; let us get it out; let us stand tall; let us be true to our values. Let not China get away with Islamophobia. Let's make sure we wipe out Islamophobia, racism, and anti-Semitism from all corners of this place that we call the planet Earth.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New York (Mr. MEEKS) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 6256.

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.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF S.J. RES. 33, JOINT RESOLUTION RELATING TO INCREASING THE DEBT LIMIT

Mr. MORELLE. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 852 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 852

Resolved, That upon adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to consider in the House the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 33) joint resolution relating to increasing the debt limit. All points of order against consideration of the joint resolution are waived. The joint resolution shall be considered as read. All points of order against provisions in the joint resolution are waived. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the joint resolution and on any amendment thereto to final passage without intervening motion except: (1) one hour of debate equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Ways and Means or their respective designees; and (2) one motion to commit.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. MORELLE. Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to the gentleman

from Texas (Mr. BURGESS), my distinguished colleague from the Rules Committee, pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume. During consideration of this resolution, all time yielded is for the purpose of debate only.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. MORELLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. MORELLE. Mr. Speaker, today, the Rules Committee met and reported a rule, House Resolution 852, providing for consideration of S.J. Res. 33, a joint resolution relating to increasing the debt limit, under a closed rule. The rule provides for 1 hour of debate equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking member of the Committee on Ways and Means, or their designees, and provides one motion to commit.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today to urge my colleagues to adopt the rule and support lifting the Nation's debt ceiling.

Failing to lift the debt ceiling and defaulting on our debt is not an option. If we do not act, a default could result in the loss of millions of jobs and \$15 trillion in household wealth, according to nonpartisan Moody's Analytics economist Mark Zandi. Mr. Zandi has characterized a default as "financial Armageddon," and JPMorgan Chase CEO Jamie Dimon has gone even further, stating that a default "could cause an immediate, literally cascading catastrophe of unbelievable proportions and damage America for 100 years."

Earlier this year, a bipartisan group of former Treasury Secretaries wrote to Congress arguing that protecting U.S. creditworthiness is a "sacrosanct responsibility." I couldn't agree more.

Let's be clear about what we are talking about here today. The debt limit is the total amount of money that the United States Government is authorized to borrow to meet its existing legal obligations, including Social Security and Medicare benefits, payments to veterans and servicemembers, and tax refunds. The debt limit does not authorize any new spending; it simply allows the government to pay its bills for obligations it has already incurred.

Mr. Speaker, much of this debt was accrued on a bipartisan basis. It includes emergency measures to combat the pandemic and increase defense spending. While many on the other side of the aisle have tried to tie raising the debt ceiling to our efforts to pass the President's agenda, it should be noted that 97 percent of the total national debt accrued before President Biden even took office.

Since 1960, Congress has acted 78 times to address the debt limit, 49 times under Republican Presidents and

29 times under Democratic Presidents. In the last 10 years, the debt limit has been addressed seven times on a bipartisan basis, including three times under the last administration, during which, I would like to remind my Republican colleagues, \$7.8 trillion of the total national debt was incurred.

Arguments about raising the debt ceiling have become nonsensical. In the current discourse, both sides of the aisle have agreed to spend Federal dollars on important programs, but only one side of the aisle believes that we should actually fulfill our obligations to pay our creditors for those very same programs.

Mr. Speaker, if we choose not to honor our obligations to creditors, what message does that send to the American people and, frankly, the rest of the world? Everyday Americans pay their bills and honor their commitments. Why shouldn't we do the same?

Mr. Speaker, it is frankly outrageous to hold the position that we shouldn't be held to the same standard as families who work hard to find a way to pay their bills every day.

I urge my colleagues to support the rule and the underlying legislation to raise our Nation's debt ceiling, ensuring that America can continue to pay its bills and honor its obligations.

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

Mr. BURGESS. Mr. Speaker, I thank Representative MORELLE for yielding me the customary 30 minutes, and I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, this rule provides for consideration of S.J. Res. 33, a bill to raise the debt ceiling by \$2.5 trillion.

The Federal debt limit began over 100 years ago, in 1917, and it has been required to be raised 100 times since then.

The problem isn't whether we should increase our debt limit; it is that we have to issue debt at all. Debts are issued to cover the difference between what you make and what you spend. When you spend more than you make, you have to find a way to pay for the spending.

We are in the middle of a spending spree. For the last 11 months, well over \$1 trillion in taxpayer money was spent largely on partisan priorities, and more likely coming if the Democrats manage to get a final agreement on the Build Back Better Act or perhaps what more aptly might be described as a socialist spending scam.

On December 10, the Congressional Budget Office published an estimate of the Build Back Better Act, confirming the bill's true cost to be almost \$5 trillion, \$4.9 trillion, while adding \$3 trillion in new debt.

Democrats claim the bill is paid for, but that is simply not true. Now, it is confirmed by independent analysis. Instead of zero dollars, the bill will create a carve-out for deducting State and local taxes that will add almost \$250 billion to the deficit.

□ 2110

It will protect so-called green companies from a new minimum tax and provide \$12,500 tax credits for purchasing an electric vehicle so long as that vehicle is made using union labor.

The bill will also provide billions in benefits to the wealthy through the expanded child tax credit that will add over \$1.5 trillion to the deficit if this policy is made permanent, and that is, of course, what is being pushed for in the Build Back Better Act.

Additionally, the \$1 trillion infrastructure bill that the Democrats just ushered into law requires a \$118 billion transfer from Treasury to the highway trust fund, which Treasury Secretary Janet Yellen has stated will occur tomorrow, December 15.

Republicans will not support raising the debt limit while Democrats push through trillions of dollars for purely partisan political spending, thereby depleting our Treasury not just for today but for generations to come.

Unfortunately, all this spending will only exacerbate the very high rate of inflation, inflation which has been crippling so many Americans and causing so much suffering in the last 11 months.

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, in November, the Consumer Price Index rose by 0.8 percent, but 6.8 percent over the last 12 months. The most significant increase was in the energy sector, while prices went up for gas, food, shelter, and vehicles, among other things.

Here is the real bad news: We have only seen the tip of the iceberg when it comes to inflation. Likely, the inflation rates by March are going to be absolutely astonishing. And that is what happens when you push so many dollars out into an economy that has no way to absorb them.

Sure, 2 years ago we all voted for the CARES Act, a trillion dollars to rescue the country from the coronavirus. And then there was additional coronavirus relief passed in December. And then almost immediately another coronavirus bill in February, and then the transportation bill in September, and now the Build Back Better Act.

The economy simply cannot absorb those dollars that the Federal Government is pushing out. They have got no place to go except to create more and more inflation. And who does inflation hurt? It hurts those people at the lower end of the income scale.

Despite repeated encouragement from the Committee on the Budget Ranking Member JASON SMITH and Senator MCCONNELL, Democrats have refused to raise the debt ceiling through reconciliation, which of course is their right to do. They have majorities in both the House and the Senate.

They have had ample time to do this, but they simply would not act. So, instead, a temporary extension that would only last a couple of months happened earlier this year. And now, once again, in the middle of the night,

we are having to vote on a bill to increase the national debt in order to pay for Democrats' social spending and infrastructure policies.

Democrats claim that raising the debt limit has always been bipartisan. But, you know, here is just a little bit of history: In 1993, the Democrats used reconciliation to raise the debt limit with a party-line vote in the omnibus budget reconciliation bill.

In 2010, the Democrats again raised the debt limit by \$1.9 trillion with a purely party-line vote. Republicans voted in opposition out of concern for the then-Obama administration's amount of spending that was occurring. A New York Times article reporting on the vote said, "They wanted to raise the ceiling enough to avoid putting their Members through another such vote before the midterm elections."

Do you kind of get the sense that history is repeating itself tonight?

Financial success and financial longevity begins years before it is realized. We certainly cannot be reckless and feckless with the Nation's future now. Under no argument is this plan fiscally responsible. Under no fantasy is the Build Back Better Act paid for.

We have to remember to be beneficial to the American people, we have to be demonstrative of representative government. We should not be raising the debt limit to allow for continuation of partisan social spending.

Mr. Speaker, I urge opposition to the rule, and I reserve the balance of my time.

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

Those who know me know I am not a very sophisticated guy, and they also know I am not a financial wizard; but I will tell you this: I would love to have a philosophical debate, maybe sit down, have a cup of coffee with the distinguished gentleman from Texas, and we might even find some common ground about what our practices ought to be relative to spending and taxing and all those things.

But to be clear, none of what Dr. BURGESS just talked about has anything to do with what we are doing here today. Ninety-seven percent of the debt that we have incurred as a Nation happened before Joe Biden took office.

As for Build Back Better, which many on our side of the aisle are working to try to enact, that is something that is prospective. We are talking tonight about paying the bills of things that we have already agreed to pay for. It has absolutely nothing to do with it.

I appreciate the distinguished gentleman because he is trying to bring into this debate many things which have no relevance here, apparently to make a better case, but the truth is we have a decision before us that is a serious one. It not only affects the creditworthiness of the United States, but it affects global markets. This would be, as I indicated earlier, catastrophic. This is Armageddon if it doesn't happen.

Just to note, in 2016, prior to the election of the previous administration, the national debt was \$19.5 trillion or 105 percent of GDP. In 2020, when the administration's time had run its course, the debt had risen to \$27.7 trillion or 129 percent of GDP, a \$7.8 trillion increase. Included in that was a \$1.9 trillion tax cut, which hasn't paid for itself, which has added dramatically to the debt. But the debt has been accumulated during decades of real need by the American public.

So we could have a conversation; and, frankly, the discussion about spending takes place in the Appropriations Committee, it takes place in the Budget Committee, taxation takes place in the Ways and Means Committee. What we are doing now is making a decision to pay our bills. Fundamentally, bottom line. It doesn't require a whole lot of sophistication or talk about financial markets. It is clearly a simple question, are we going to pay for the things that we have agreed to buy, and that is it. It is as simple as can be.

Every household in America makes those decisions. You get something, you get a bill in the mail, you pay for it. Even if you have buyer's remorse, even if your wife says to you that fine exercise thing that you bought, which is going to be the most expensive coat hanger in the house because you are not going to use it, we still pay for it because it is in the house, and we bought it. That is as simple as it can possibly be.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, if we defeat the previous question, Republicans will amend the rule to immediately consider an amendment to the Democrats' fiscal year 2022 budget resolution to replace the socialist \$5 trillion tax-and-spend reconciliation instructions with new instructions for authorizing committees to produce legislation to reduce the deficit to combat runaway inflation currently fueling the highest price spike in 40 years and to get Americans back to work.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert the text of this amendment into the RECORD, along with extraneous material, immediately prior to the vote on the previous question.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SMITH), the ranking member of the Budget Committee, to explain the amendment.

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, if we defeat the previous question, we will consider an amendment to the rule to replace the socialist \$5 trillion tax-and-spend reconciliation instructions from the fiscal year 2022 budget with a new call for committees to draft legislation to reduce the deficit, to combat runaway inflation and help get Americans back to work.

This country has been through a lot in the past year under one-party rule

by the Washington Democrats and President Biden.

We have an inflation crisis; we have an energy crisis; we have a border crisis; and we have a supply chain crisis. Contributing to it all is a leadership crisis in the Oval Office.

With all of these problems, you would think Democrats would finish the year addressing just one—just one—of those issues.

But instead, Mr. Speaker, we are here on the last day of session for the year, and Democrats have chosen to spend this valuable time attacking former President Trump and his staff, attacking members of the Republican Conference, and they have even found room to include a \$2.5 trillion increase to the debt ceiling.

□ 2120

In fact, since Speaker PELOSI took the gavel in the House in 2019, House Democrats have added more than \$9 trillion—House Democrats since 2019 have added more than \$9 trillion to the national debt, which is more than the combined deficits under all 72 years that Republicans have ever been in the majority.

The American people, Mr. Speaker, they deserve a Congress that is focused on the problems that they are facing in their everyday lives; a Congress that is delivering on policies to stop the runaway rise in prices, a problem that has now reached a 40-year high.

Even President Biden's budget in May predicted inflation at 2 percent, Mr. Speaker. We are now at over 7 percent, the highest inflation in 40 years.

The White House administration says that inflation is a high-class problem, Mr. Speaker. I will tell you, the people across America believe it is a real problem. They care about the prices in the grocery store. They don't care about the prices in the stock market.

But you know what, House Democrats argue and say inflation is transitory, yet now they are finally agreeing that these rising costs in prices are actually having a real impact.

We could be working on legislation to actually help American families by reducing the cost of energy during the winter.

To do that, we need to get rid of the reconciliation instructions in the Democrats' budget, the same reconciliation plan that has paralyzed Washington for months as Democrats fought over how to spend \$5 trillion.

Even the Congressional Budget Office on Friday confirmed that what passed out of this Chamber a few weeks ago does not cost zero. It cost \$5 trillion.

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

Mr. BURGESS. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman an additional 2 minutes.

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, the official congressional scorekeepers said on Friday that the build back broke bill that passed out of here a couple weeks ago did not cost \$1.5 trillion, did not cost \$2 trillion, but cost \$5

trillion. But this administration will say it costs zero.

The American people see right through it. They see right through this mess. And they know one thing. They know that this is nothing but hogwash. It is hogwash, Mr. Speaker. And we should instead replace all of these reconciliation instructions to bring forward a plan to reduce the deficit and stop the inflation that is destroying family budgets.

Mr. Speaker, I ask all my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to defeat the previous question, so that we can actually work on legislation to help American families at the supermarket, to help combat a price spike that is pushing working families to the brink and to actually provide some real solutions this week on behalf of the American people whom we represent in this body.

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

I appreciate Mr. SMITH's enthusiasm and exuberance. The arguments that folks would make that House Democrats are responsible for the spending of the Trump administration and the Trump White House, that argument is, frankly, absurd and happened during a global pandemic, so we had much work to do to spare the American public.

But I am going to do this: Moved by the spirit of the season, I am going bestow a gift on Members, and I am not going to rebut point by point but rather reserve the balance of my time and allow my colleague to speak.

Mr. BURGESS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. FALLON).

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, if our friends across the aisle are concerned about paying our bills and they are alarmed by the debt, then I think we should all get together, all 435 Members, and talk about fiscal responsibility and pass a balanced budget amendment. That is the way forward and to avert this financial catastrophe that we are flirting with.

Let's be very candid, Mr. Speaker, about what we are doing here. Let's be candid with the American people about what we are doing here in this Chamber tonight.

This is about a debt ceiling limit increase to ram through more wasteful and reckless spending.

We are renovating our house in Texas, and I found an old political mailer, a 9-year-old mailer; and I was outraged about the fact that we had a \$14 trillion debt. Today that is \$29 trillion.

It is not about placing blame on Republicans or Democrats, it is about recognizing we have an issue that is going to destroy this country if we don't address it. And we continue to kick the can down the road and land that can on the backs of future generations like my 15-year-old son and my 12-year-old son.

There are failed states in this world. Here is a \$100 trillion bill from the Nation of Zimbabwe. It is worth maybe 40 cents. It is essentially worthless. That

could be what we end up with if we don't recognize the fact that at the local level cities can't spend more than they take in, counties can't, even States can't. So why does the Federal Government get to? Because we own a printing press down the street?

Let's be responsible. Let's work together. This Chamber 20-plus years ago passed a balanced budget amendment, if I am not mistaken, and it failed in the Senate. It is time to do the right thing, the courageous thing, the American thing, and pass a balanced budget amendment.

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

I wonder, when the gentleman finished his home's renovations if he paid the contractor or refused to pay because he might be tempted to do renovations in the future.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, just before I close, I do want to take a moment and acknowledge that it was 1 year ago last night that the FedEx trucks departed from Kalamazoo, Michigan, carrying the very first doses of what we now know as the Pfizer-BioNTech vaccine.

And when you stop and reflect upon what was accomplished between the middle of May and the middle of December of 2020, it truly was a startling scientific accomplishment; not one, not two, but three vaccines.

We told ourselves at the beginning of the Operation Warp Speed process that if we got 40 to 45 percent effectiveness, it would be a victory, and those vaccines delivered in excess of 90 percent. People might quibble and say, well, you have to get a booster or you have to get an additional shot. We are so fortunate to have those tools to be able to combat this illness.

We are by no means through, but then even just last week the additional news that now an oral medication, the so-called Tamiflu for coronavirus, is now available, which I submit is going to change with the application of additional therapeutics, is really going to change the equation, and I just wanted to take a minute and reflect on that.

We are, again, just one day past the 1-year anniversary of Kalamazoo, Michigan, delivering that vaccine to the world.

Otherwise in closing to this argument, raising the debt ceiling to \$2.5 trillion does seem a tad irresponsible in the middle of unprecedented spending by House Democrats. You have got control of the White House, you have got control of the Senate, you have got control of the House, and you haven't passed a single appropriations bill.

How are we supposed to run our business if we will not do our normal work and pass a budget and pass the 12 appropriations bills?

□ 2130

The Federal Government is currently operating under the second continuing

resolution of this fiscal year. One-third of Federal spending is done through discretionary appropriations. When you stop to think about it, that is really not much. That means two-thirds comes through on autopilot. But the amount that we actually tell ourselves we are going to control, the one-third of the Federal budget, we haven't done our work.

Now, we are talking about raising the debt limit to pay for trillions of dollars in spending, and the Democrats won't even fund the basic functions of government through regular appropriations. That actually comes at a cost. It is very difficult to get a phone call answered by a Federal agency, by the head of a Federal agency, by a Cabinet Secretary because we no longer make the appropriations.

These folks are relatively new on the job, within the last year. They have no history of knowing that they have to come to Congress to get their appropriations bills passed. So as a consequence, they basically ignore the Congress.

Democrats are desperate to push through as much social spending as they can because the balance of power, quite likely, is getting ready to change. Why else would they be so reckless in such a short amount of time with Americans' hard-earned taxpayer dollars? We cannot push inflation higher by raising the debt limit to allow for trillions in additional partisan spending.

Mr. Speaker, here is the real problem that is going to lead to that balance of power shift. It is inflation that is at levels that have not been seen since the Carter administration.

Again, my prediction is, over the next 6 months, this is going to become a great deal worse. It will be unsustainable for most American families who live paycheck to paycheck. Then on top of that, it is a spending level that is driving that inflation level. And we are doing nothing, nothing to put the brakes on that.

Mr. Speaker, again, I urge a "no" vote on the previous question so we can get to the talk for fiscal sanity and "no" on the underlying measure, and I yield back the balance of my time.

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

First, let me echo Dr. BURGESS' comments about the vaccine. I want to encourage every American to get that vaccine. We still have far too many people who have chosen not to get the vaccine and the third dose, for those who are eligible, under the messenger RNA, to do a third shot. But we encourage every single American to do it, and I want to make sure to repeat that. I join with my colleague in thanking those who made that possible.

Mr. Speaker, I also thank all of my colleagues for their work in support of the rule before us today. As I mentioned earlier, protecting U.S. creditworthiness is a sacred responsibility, and it would be an abdication of that

sacred responsibility to fail to address the debt limit and ensure that the United States Government pays its bills.

We have heard a lot of rhetoric today, but we all know that the measure before us today is not about new spending. No matter how many times it is said, it is not about new spending.

We are acting today to ensure that America can pay its obligations that we have already agreed to incur. Pretending otherwise is a disservice to the American people.

Mr. Speaker, I urge a “yes” vote on the rule and the previous question.

The material previously referred to by Mr. BURGESS is as follows:

AMENDMENT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 852

At the end of the resolution, add the following:

SEC. 2. The provisions of Senate Concurrent Resolution 14 shall continue to have force and effect for all purposes in the House, except with the following revisions:

- (1) In title II—
- (A) strike “increase” in each place it appears and insert “decrease”;
- (B) strike “by not more than” in each place it appears and insert “by at least”;
- (C) strike each dollar amount and insert “\$100,000,000”; and
- (D) strike “September 15, 2021,” in each place it appears and insert “December 31, 2021.”

(2) By adding at the end the following:

TITLE V—POLICY STATEMENT ON INFLATION AND RECONCILIATION

SEC. 501. POLICY STATEMENT ON INFLATION AND RECONCILIATION.

(a) FINDINGS.—The House finds the following as it relates to the inflationary impact of the policies of the Democrat-controlled Congress and Biden Administration:

(1) President Biden’s Fiscal Year 2022 budget request assumed inflation, under the Administration’s policies, would amount to two percent in 2021, 2022, and over the next decade.

(2) Actual inflation under the Administration’s policies has totaled more than three times these estimates.

(3) Since Joe Biden took office, inflation has increased at an annualized rate of more than seven percent, the highest level in 40 years.

(A) Gasoline prices have increased by 58 percent on an annualized basis.

(B) Household energy prices have increased by 13 percent on an annualized basis.

(C) Meat prices have increased by 14 percent on an annualized basis.

(D) According to the Congressional Budget Office, ‘Inflation has eroded the purchasing power of families’.

(4) There is a clear link between the Democrats’ reckless out-of-control deficit spending and the inflation crisis Americans currently face. After one year of Democrat control, House Democrats have passed \$7.5 trillion in new spending—more than the Federal Government has ever spent in any year in American history—\$3 trillion of which has been enacted. This amounts to nearly \$60,000 per American household. This includes Public Law 117–2, Public Law 117–58, and as confirmed by the Congressional Budget Office, the \$5 trillion reckless reconciliation spending plan—the largest spending bill in United States history, and the direct product of the prior reconciliation instructions previously enacted.

(b) POLICY ON HALTING OUT-OF-CONTROL DEFICIENT SPENDING AND PROMOTING POLICIES

TO ADDRESS THE INFLATION CRISIS.—It is the policy of this concurrent resolution to adopt reconciliation instructions that instruct authorizing committees to produce legislation to:

(1) Cut Washington spending to reduce the deficit and combat governmental fueled inflation.

(2) Address the crisis of rising prices currently facing American families by providing solutions to bring down the cost of goods and get more Americans back to work.

SEC 3. H.R. 5376 is laid on the table.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on ordering the previous question.

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

Mr. BURGESS. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to section 3(s) of House Resolution 8, the yeas and nays are ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 220, nays 212, not voting 1, as follows:

[Roll No. 445]

YEAS—220

- | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Adams | DeSaunier | Lee (NV) |
| Aguilar | Deutch | Leger Fernandez |
| Alfred | Dingell | Levin (CA) |
| Auchincloss | Doggett | Levin (MI) |
| Axne | Doyle, Michael | Lieu |
| Barragán | F. | Lofgren |
| Bass | Escobar | Lowenthal |
| Beatty | Eshoo | Luria |
| Bera | Españat | Lynch |
| Beyer | Evans | Malinowski |
| Bishop (GA) | Fletcher | Maloney. |
| Blumenauer | Poster | Carolyn B. |
| Blunt Rochester | Frankel, Lois | Maloney, Sean |
| Bonamici | Gallo | Manning |
| Bourdeaux | Garamendi | Matsui |
| Bowman | Garcia (IL) | McBath |
| Boyle, Brendan | Garcia (TX) | McCollum |
| F. | Golden | McEachin |
| Brown (MD) | Gomez | McGovern |
| Brown (OH) | Gonzalez, | McNerney |
| Brownley | Vicente | Meeks |
| Bush | Gottheimer | Meng |
| Bustos | Green, Al (TX) | Mfume |
| Butterfield | Grijalva | Moore (WI) |
| Carbajal | Harder (CA) | Morelle |
| Cárdenas | Hayes | Moulton |
| Carson | Higgins (NY) | Mrvan |
| Carter (LA) | Himes | Murphy (FL) |
| Cartwright | Horsford | Nadler |
| Case | Houlahan | Napolitano |
| Casten | Hoyer | Neal |
| Castor (FL) | Huffman | Neguse |
| Castro (TX) | Jackson Lee | Newman |
| Chu | Jacobs (CA) | Norcross |
| Cicilline | Jayapal | O’Halleran |
| Clark (MA) | Jeffries | Ocasio-Cortez |
| Clarke (NY) | Johnson (GA) | Omar |
| Cleaver | Johnson (TX) | Pallone |
| Clyburn | Jones | Panetta |
| Cohen | Kahele | Pappas |
| Connolly | Kaptur | Pascrell |
| Cooper | Keating | Payne |
| Correa | Kelly (IL) | Perlmutter |
| Costa | Khanna | Peters |
| Courtney | Kildeer | Phillips |
| Craig | Kimler | Pingree |
| Crist | Kim (NJ) | Pocan |
| Crow | Kind | Porter |
| Cuellar | Kirkpatrick | Pressley |
| Davids (KS) | Krishnamoorthi | Price (NC) |
| Davis, Danny K. | Kuster | Raskin |
| Dean | Lamb | Rice (NY) |
| DeFazio | Langevin | Ross |
| DeGette | Larsen (WA) | Roybal-Allard |
| DeLauro | Larson (CT) | Ruiz |
| DelBene | Lawrence | Ruppersberger |
| Delgado | Lawson (FL) | Rush |
| Demings | Lee (CA) | |

- | | | |
|--------------|---------------|----------------|
| Ryan | Soto | Trahan |
| Sánchez | Spanberger | Trone |
| Sarbanes | Speier | Underwood |
| Scanlon | Stansbury | Vargas |
| Schakowsky | Stanton | Veasey |
| Schiff | Stevens | Vela |
| Schneider | Strickland | Velázquez |
| Schrader | Suozzi | Wasserman |
| Schrier | Swalwell | Schultz |
| Scott (VA) | Takano | Waters |
| Scott, David | Thompson (CA) | Watson Coleman |
| Sewell | Thompson (MS) | Welch |
| Sherman | Titus | Wexton |
| Sherrill | Tlaib | Wild |
| Sires | Tonko | Williams (GA) |
| Slotkin | Torres (CA) | Wilson (FL) |
| Smith (WA) | Torres (NY) | Yarmuth |

NAYS—212

- | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|---------------|
| Aderholt | Gimenez | Miller-Meeks |
| Allen | Gohmert | Moolenaar |
| Amodeli | Gonzales, Tony | Mooney |
| Armstrong | Gonzalez (OH) | Moore (AL) |
| Arrington | Good (VA) | Moore (UT) |
| Babin | Gooden (TX) | Mullin |
| Bacon | Gosar | Murphy (NC) |
| Baird | Granger | Nehls |
| Balderson | Graves (LA) | Newhouse |
| Banks | Graves (MO) | Norman |
| Barr | Green (TN) | Nunes |
| Bentz | Greene (GA) | Obernolte |
| Bergman | Griffith | Owens |
| Bice (OK) | Grothman | Palazzo |
| Biggs | Guest | Palmer |
| Bilirakis | Guthrie | Pence |
| Bishop (NC) | Hagedorn | Perry |
| Boebert | Harris | Pfluger |
| Bost | Harshbarger | Posey |
| Brady | Hartzler | Reed |
| Brooks | Hern | Reschenthaler |
| Buchanan | Herrell | Rice (SC) |
| Buck | Herrera Beutler | Rodgers (WA) |
| Bucshon | Hice (GA) | Rogers (AL) |
| Budd | Hill | Rogers (KY) |
| Burchett | Hinson | Rose |
| Burgess | Hollingsworth | Rosendale |
| Calvert | Hudson | Rouzer |
| Cammack | Huizenga | Roy |
| Carey | Issa | Rutherford |
| Carl | Jackson | Salazar |
| Carter (GA) | Jacobs (NY) | Scalise |
| Carter (TX) | Johnson (LA) | Schweikert |
| Cawthorn | Johnson (OH) | Scott, Austin |
| Chabot | Johnson (SD) | Sessions |
| Cheney | Jordan | Simpson |
| Cline | Joyce (OH) | Smith (MO) |
| Cloud | Joyce (PA) | Smith (NE) |
| Clyde | Katko | Smith (NJ) |
| Cole | Keller | Smucker |
| Comer | Kelly (MS) | Spartz |
| Crawford | Kelly (PA) | Stauber |
| Crenshaw | Kim (CA) | Steel |
| Curtis | Kinzinger | Stefanik |
| Davidson | Kustoff | Steil |
| Davis, Rodney | LaHood | Steube |
| DesJarlais | LaMalfa | Stewart |
| Diaz-Balart | Lamborn | Taylor |
| Donalds | Latta | Tenney |
| Duncan | LaTurner | Thompson (PA) |
| Dunn | Lesko | Tiffany |
| Ellzey | Letlow | Timmons |
| Emmer | Long | Turner |
| Estes | Loudermilk | Upton |
| Fallon | Lucas | Valadao |
| Feenstra | Luetkemeyer | Van Drew |
| Ferguson | Mace | Van Duyne |
| Fischbach | Malliotakis | Wagner |
| Fitzgerald | Mann | Walberg |
| Omar | Massie | Walorski |
| Fleischmann | Mast | Waltz |
| Fortenberry | McCarthy | Weber (TX) |
| Fox | McCaul | Webster (FL) |
| Franklin, C. | McClain | Wenstrup |
| Scott | McClintock | Westerman |
| Fulcher | McHenry | Williams (TX) |
| Gaetz | McKinley | Wilson (SC) |
| Gallagher | Meijer | Wittman |
| Garbarino | Meuser | Womack |
| Garcia (CA) | Miller (IL) | Young |
| Gibbs | Miller (WV) | Zeldin |

NOT VOTING—1

Higgins (LA)

□ 2208

So the previous question was ordered. The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

MEMBERS RECORDED PURSUANT TO HOUSE
RESOLUTION 8, 117TH CONGRESS

Amodei (Balderson) Graves (MO) Negue (Perlmutter)
Armstrong (Johnson (SD)) Green (TN) Nehls (Fallon)
Axne (Wild) Grijalva (Stanton) Nunes (Garcia (CA))
Baird (Buchson) Guthrie (Bucshon) Ocasio-Cortez (Garcia (IL))
Barragan (Beyer) Hagedorn (Mooleenaar) O'Halleran (Stanton)
Bass (Cicilline) Hartzler (Owens)
Beatty (Blunt) Hartzler (DesJarlais) (Stewart)
Rochester) Hayes (Wild) Pascrell (Pallone)
Bera (Aguilar) Bilirakis (Fleischmann) Hern (Lucas) Payne (Pallone)
Blumenauer (Beyer) Herrera Beutler (Rice (SC)) Peters (Kildee)
Bonamici (Kuster) Horsford (Carter (LA)) Pingree (Kuster)
Bowman (Pocan) Huffman (Levin (CA)) Porter (Aguilar)
Boyle, Brendan F. (Evans) Brooks (Moore (AL)) Jacobs (CA) (Correa) (Connolly) Price (NC)
Brownley (Kuster) Jacobs (NY) (Garbarino) Reed (Rice (SC)) Reschenthaler (Burgess)
Buchanan (Waltz) Dwyne) Rodgers (WA) (Joyce (PA))
Butterfield (Kildee) Johnson (TX) Roybal-Allard (Connolly)
Carl (Joyce (PA)) Calvert (Garcia (CA)) Jones (Craig) Joyce (OH) Ruppertsberger (Aguilar)
Cárdenas (Gomez) Kahele (Mrvan) Katko (Meijer) Salazar (Cammack)
Carter (TX) (Weber (TX)) Khanna (Connolly) Sánchez (Costa) Schrader (Correa)
Case (Correa) Cawthorn (McClain) Clark (MA) (Kuster) (Gonzalez (OH)) Sessions (Babin) Sewell (Cicilline)
Cohen (Beyer) Cole (Lucas) Crist (Soto) Cuellar (Green (TX)) Krishnamoorthi (Brown (MD))
Curtis (Stewart) DeFazio (Brown (MD)) LaHood (Wenstrup) Casten (Burgess)
DelBene (Larsen (WA)) Lawson (FL) (Evans) Suozzi (Kildee) Swallow (Gomez)
DeGette (Blunt Rochester) Leger Fernandez (Gallego) Lesko (Joyce (PA)) Titus (Connolly) Tonko (Pallone)
DeSaulnier (Beyer) Diaz-Balart (Burgess) Long (Banks) Loudermilk (Fleischmann)
Doggett (Raskin) Doyle, Michael F. (Evans) Lowenthal (Beyer) Luetkemeyer (McHenry)
Escobar (Garcia (TX)) Espaillat (Correa) Maloney, Carolyn B. (Wasserman) (Schultz)
Fletcher (Raskin) Frankel, Lois (Kuster) Garamendi (Sherman) Gimenez (Cammack) Gohmert (Weber (TX)) Gonzalez, Vicente (Correa) Gosar (Boebert) Gottheimer (Sherrill) Granger (Arrington)

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. BURGESS. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to section 3(s) of House Resolution 8, the yeas and nays are ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 220, nays 212, not voting 1, as follows:

[Roll No. 446]

YEAS—220

Adams Espaillat McCollum
Aguilar Evans McEachin
Allred Fletcher McGovern
Auchincloss Foster McNeerney
Axne Frankel, Lois Meeks
Barragan Gallego Meng
Bass Garamendi Mfume
Beatty Garcia (IL) Moore (WI)
Bera Garcia (TX) Murrelle
Beyer Golden Moulton
Bishop (GA) Gomez Mrvan
Blumenauer Gonzalez, Vicente Murphy (FL)
Blunt Rochester Gottheimer Napolitano
Bonamici Green, Al (TX) Neal
Bourdeaux Grijalva Neguse
Bowman Harder (CA) Newman
Boyle, Brendan F. Hayes Norcross
Brown (MD) Higgins (NY) O'Halleran
Brown (OH) Himes Ocasio-Cortez
Brownley Horsford Omar
Bush Houlahan Pallone
Bustos Hoyer Panetta
Butterfield Huffman Pappas
Carbajal Jackson Lee Pascrell
Cárdenas Jacobs (CA) Payne
Carson Jayapal Perlmutter
Carter (LA) Jeffries Peters
Cartwright Johnson (GA) Phillips
Case Jones Johnson (TX) Pingree
Casten Johns Pincus
Castor (FL) Kahele Porter
Castro (TX) Kaptur Pressley
Chu Keating Price (NC)
Cicilline Kelly (IL) Quigley
Clark (MA) Khanna Raskin
Kildee Kildeer Rice (NY)
Kilmer Kilmer Ross
Kim (NJ) Kim (NJ) Roybal-Allard
Kind Kirkpatrick Ruiz
Kirkpatrick Krishnamoorthi Ruppertsberger
Cooper Kuster Rush
Correa Correa Ryan
Costa Lamb Sánchez
Courtney Langevin Sarbanes
Craig Larsen (WA) Scanlon
Crist Larson (CT) Schakowsky
Crow Lawrence Schiff
Cuellar Lawson (FL) Schneider
Davids (KS) Lee (CA) Schrader
Davis, Danny K. Lee (NV) Schrier
Dean Leger Fernandez Scott (VA)
DeFazio Levin (CA) Scott, David
DeGette Levin (MI) Sewell
DeLauro Lieu Sherman
Lieu Lofgren Sherrill
DelBene Lofgren Sires
Delgado Lowenthal Slotkin
Demings Luria Smith (WA)
DeSaulnier Lynch Soto
Deutsch Malinowski Soto
Dingell Maloney, S. Spanberger
Doggett Carolyn B. Speier
Doyle, Michael Maloney, Sean Stansbury
F. Manning Stanton
Escobar Matsui Stevens
Eshoo McBath Strickland

Suozzi Swallow Takano Thompson (CA) Thompson (MS) Titus Tlaib Tonko Torres (CA) Torres (NY) Torres (NY)

Trahan Trone Underwood Vargas Veasey Vela Velázquez Wasserman Schultz Waters

Watson Coleman Welch Wexton Wild Williams (GA) Wilson (FL) Yarmuth

NAYS—212

Aderholt Gimenez Miller-Meeks
Allen Gohmert Mooleenaar
Amodei Gohmert Mooney
Armstrong Gonzalez, Tony Moore (AL)
Arrington Good (VA) Moore (UT)
Babin Gooden (TX) Mullin
Bacon Gosar Murphy (NC)
Baird Granger Nehls
Balderson Graves (LA) Newhouse
Banks Graves (MO) Norman
Barr Green (TN) Nunes
Bentz Greene (GA) Obernolte
Bergman Griffith Owens
Bice (OK) Grothman Palazzo
Biggs Guest Palmer
Bilirakis Guthrie Pence
Bishop (NC) Hagedorn Perry
Boebert Harris Pfluger
Bost Harshbarger Posey
Brady Hartzler Reed
Brooks Hern Reschenthaler
Buchanan Herrell Rice (SC)
Buck Herrera Beutler Rodgers (WA)
Bucshon Hice (GA) Rogers (AL)
Budd Hill Rogers (KY)
Burchett Hinson Rose
Burgess Hollingsworth Rosendale
Calvert Hudson Rouzer
Cammack Huizenga Roy
Carey Issa Rutherford
Carl Jackson Salazar
Carter (GA) Jacobs (NY) Scalise
Carter (TX) Johnson (LA) Schweikert
Cawthorn Johnson (OH) Scott, Austin
Chabot Johnson (SD) Sessions
Cheney Jordan Simpson
Cline Joyce (OH) Smith (MO)
Cloud Joyce (PA) Smith (NE)
Clyde Katko Smith (NJ)
Cole Keller Smucker
Comer Kelly (MS) Spartz
Crawford Kelly (PA) Stauber
Crenshaw Kim (CA) Steel
Curtis Kinzinger Stefaniak
Davidson Kustoff Steil
Davis, Rodney LaHood Steube
DesJarlais LaMalfa Stewart
Diaz-Balart Lamborn Taylor
Donalds Latta Tenney
Duncan LaTurner Thompson (PA)
Dunn Lesko Tiffany
Ellzey Letlow Timmons
Emmer Long Turner
Estes Loudermilk Upton
Fallon Lucas Valadao
Feenstra Luetkemeyer Van Drew
Ferguson Mace Van Duyn
Fischbach Malliotakis Wagner
Fitzgerald Mann Walberg
Fitzpatrick Mann Walorski
Foxy Mast Waltz
Fortenberry McCarthy Weber (TX)
Franklin, C. McCaul McCaul (FL)
Scott McClain Wenstrup
Fulcher McClintock Westerman
Gaetz McHenry Williams (TX)
Gallagher McKinley Wilson (SC)
Garbarino Meijer Wittman
Garcia (CA) Meuser Womack
Gibbs Miller (IL) Young
Miller (WV) Zeldin

NOT VOTING—1

Higgins (LA)

Feenstra	Joyce (OH)	Reed	Garamendi	Krishnamoorthi	Reschenthaler	Clarke (NY)	Keating	Pocan
Ferguson	Joyce (PA)	Reschenthaler	(Sherman)	(Brown (MD))	(Burgess)	Cleaver	Kelly (IL)	Porter
Fischbach	Katko	Rice (SC)	Gimenez	LaHood	Rodgers (WA)	Clyburn	Khanna	Pressley
Fitzgerald	Keller	Rodgers (WA)	(Cammack)	(Wenstrup)	(Joyce (PA))	Cohen	Kildee	Price (NC)
Fitzpatrick	Kelly (MS)	Rogers (KY)	Gohmert (Weber)	Lamborn (Bacon)	Roybal-Allard	Connolly	Kilmer	Quigley
Fleischmann	Kelly (PA)	Rose	(TX)	Lawson (FL)	(Connolly)	Cooper	Kim (NJ)	Raskin
Fortenberry	Kim (CA)	Rosendale	Gonzalez,	(Evans)	Ruiz (Aguilar)	Correa	Kind	Ross
Fox	Kustoff	Rouzer	Vicente	Leger Fernandez	(Aguilar)	Costa	Kirkpatrick	Roybal-Allard
Franklin, C.	LaHood	Roy	(Correa)	(Gallego)	Ruppersberger	Courtney	Krishnamoorthi	Ruiz
Scott	Lamborn	Rutherford	Gosar (Boebert)	Lesko (Joyce	(Aguilar)	Craig	Kuster	Ruppersberger
Fulcher	Latta	Salazar	Gottheimer	(PA)	Rush (Quigley)	Crist	Lamb	Rush
Gaetz	LaTurner	Scalise	(Herrill)	Long (Banks)	Salazar	Crow	Langevin	Ryan
Gallagher	Lesko	Schweikert	Granger	Loudermilk	(Cammack)	Cuellar	Larsen (WA)	Ryan
Garbarino	Letlow	Scott, Austin	(Arrington)	(Fleischmann)	Sánchez (Costa)	Davids (KS)	Larson (CT)	Sánchez
Garcia (CA)	Long	Sessions	Graves (MO)	Lowenthal	Schrader	Davis, Danny K.	Lawrence	Sarbanes
Gibbs	Loudermilk	(Correa)	(Fleischmann)	(Beyer)	(Correa)	Dean	Lawson (FL)	Scanlon
Gimenez	Lucas	Simpson	Green (TN)	Luetkemeyer	Sessions (Babin)	DeFazio	Lee (CA)	Schakowsky
Gohmert	Luetkemeyer	Smith (MO)	(Fleischmann)	(McHenry)	Sewell (Cicilline)	DeGette	Lee (NV)	Schiff
Gonzales, Tony	Lucas	Smith (NE)	Grijalva	Maloney	Simpson	DeLauro	Leger Fernandez	Schneider
Gonzalez (OH)	Malliotakis	Smith (NJ)	(Stanton)	Carolyn B.	(Stewart)	DelBene	Levin (CA)	Schrader
Good (VA)	Mann	Smucker	Guthrie	(Wasserman)	Sires (Pallone)	Delgado	Levin (MI)	Schrier
Gooden (TX)	Massie	Spartz	(Buchson)	Schultz	Speier (Scanlon)	Demings	Scott (VA)	Scott, David
Gosar	Mast	Staubert	Hagedorn	Mast (Waltz)	Stansbury	DeSaulnier	Lieu	Scott, David
Granger	McCarthy	Steel	(Moolenaar)	McCaul (Burgess)	(Kuster)	DeSaulnier	Lofgren	Sewell
Graves (LA)	McCaul	Stefanik	Hartzler	McEachin	Stefanik	Deutch	Lowenthal	Sherman
Graves (MO)	McClain	Steil	(DesJarlais)	(Brown (MD))	(Burgess)	Dingell	Luria	Sherrill
Green (TN)	McClintock	Steupe	Hayes (Wild)	Meng (Kuster)	Strickland	Doggett	Lynch	Sires
Greene (GA)	McHenry	Stewart	Hern (Lucas)	Meuser (Burgess)	(Schrier)	Doyle, Michael	Malinowski	Slotkin
Griffith	McKinley	Taylor	Herrera Beutler	Miller (WV) (Van	Suozi (Kildee)	F.	Maloney,	Smith (WA)
Grothman	Meijer	Tenney	(Rice (SC))	Duynes)	Swalwell	Escobar	Maloney, Sean	Soto
Guest	Meuser	Thompson (PA)	Horsford (Carter	Moore (UT)	(Gomez)	Eshoo	Manning	Spanberger
Guthrie	Miller (IL)	Tiffany	(LA)	(Stewart)	Titus (Connolly)	Espallat	Matsui	Speier
Hagedorn	Miller (WV)	Timmons	Huffman (Levin	Moulton (Beyer)	Tonko (Pallone)	Evans	McBath	Stansbury
Harris	Miller-Meeks	Turner	(CA)	Napoliitano	Torres (NY)	Fletcher	Foster	Stanton
Harshbarger	Moolenaar	Upton	Jacobs (CA)	(Correa)	(Cicilline)	Frankel, Lois	McCollum	Stevens
Hartzler	Mooney	Valadao	(Correa)	Neal (Beyer)	Trahan	Gallego	McEachin	Strickland
Hern	Moore (AL)	Van Drew	Jacobs (NY)	Neguse	(McGovern)	Garamendi	McGovern	Suozi
Herrell	Moore (UT)	Van Duynes	(Garbarino)	(Perlmutter)	Trone (Brown	Garcia (IL)	McNerney	Swalwell
Herrera Beutler	Mullin	Walberg	Jackson (Van	Nehls (Fallon)	(MD))	Garcia (TX)	Meeks	Takano
Hice (GA)	Murphy (NC)	Nehls	Duynes)	Nehls (Fallon)	Underwood	Meng	Golden	Thompson (CA)
Hill	Newhouse	Waltz	Jayapal (Raskin)	Nehls (Wild)	(Casten)	Golden	Gomez	Thompson (MS)
Hinlon	Norman	Weber (TX)	Nunes (Garcia	Nunes (Garcia	Van Drew	Moore (WI)	Gonzalez,	Titus
Hollingsworth	Nunes	Webster (FL)	(CA)	(CA)	(Burgess)	Morelle	Vicente	Tlaib
Hudson	Nunes	Westerman	Jones (Craig)	Ocasio-Cortez	Vargas (Correa)	Moulton	Gottheimer	Tonko
Huizenga	Obernolte	Williams (TX)	Joyce (OH)	(Garcia (IL))	Velázquez	Mrvan	Green, Al (TX)	Torres (CA)
Issa	Owens	Wilson (SC)	O'Halleran	(Clarke (NY))	(Clarke (NY))	Nadler	Green, Al (TX)	Torres (NY)
Jackson	Palazzo	Wittman	(Stanton)	Wagner	Wagner	Napolitano	Grijalva	Trahan
Jacobs (NY)	Palmer	Womack	Kahele (Mrvan)	Owens (Stewart)	(McHenry)	Neal	Harder (CA)	Trone
Johnson (LA)	Pence	Young	Katko (Meijer)	Pascrell	Walorski (Banks)	Neguse	Higgins (NY)	Underwood
Johnson (OH)	Perry	Zeldin	Khanna	(Pallone)	Watson Coleman	Newman	Himes	Vargas
Johnson (SD)	Plunger		(Connolly)	(Pallone)	(Pallone)	Norcross	Horsford	Veasey
Jordan	Posey		Payne (Pallone)	Payne (Pallone)	(Pallone)	O'Halleran	Houlihan	Veasey
			Peters (Kildee)	Peters (Kildee)	(Pallone)	Ocasio-Cortez	Hoyer	Vela
			Pingree (Kuster)	Pingree (Kuster)	(Pallone)	Velázquez	Huffman	Velázquez
			Porter (Aguilar)	Porter (Aguilar)	(Pallone)	Wilson (FL)	Jackson Lee	Wasserman
			Posey	Posey	(Pallone)	(Brown (MD))	Jacobs (CA)	Wasserman
			(Cammack)	(Cammack)	(Pallone)	(Dunn)	Jayapal	Schultz
			Price (NC)	Price (NC)	(Pallone)	(Dunn)	Jeffries	Waters
			(Connolly)	(Connolly)	(Pallone)	(Dunn)	Johnson (GA)	Watson Coleman
			Reed (Rice (SC))	Reed (Rice (SC))	(Pallone)	(Dunn)	Johnson (TX)	Welch
					(Pallone)	(Dunn)	Kapoor	Wexton
					(Pallone)	(Dunn)		Wild
					(Pallone)	(Dunn)		Williams (GA)
					(Pallone)	(Dunn)		Wilson (FL)
					(Pallone)	(Dunn)		Yarmuth

NOT VOTING—3

Higgins (LA) LaMalfa Rogers (AL)

□ 2303

Mr. GALLEGO changed his vote from “nay” to “yea.”

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.

Stated against:

Mr. LAMALFA. Madam Speaker, I was in a conference with a constituent and inadvertently missed the vote. Had I been present, I would have voted “nay” on rollcall No. 447.

MEMBERS RECORDED PURSUANT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 8, 117TH CONGRESS

Amodei	Brownley	Curtis (Stewart)
(Balderson)	(Kuster)	(Kuster)
Armstrong	Buchanan	DeFazio (Brown
(Johnson (SD))	(Waltz)	(MD))
Axne (Wild)	Butterfield	DelBene (Larsen
Baird (Buchson)	(Kildee)	(WA))
Barragán (Beyer)	Carl (Joyce (PA))	DeGette (Blunt
Bass (Cicilline)	Calvert (Garcia	Rochester)
Beatty (Blunt	(CA))	DeSaulnier
Rochester)	Cárdenas	(Beyer)
Bera (Aguilar)	(Gomez)	Diaz-Balart
Bilirakis	Carter (TX)	(Burgess)
(Fleischmann)	(Weber (TX))	Doggett (Raskin)
Blumenauer	Case (Correa)	Doyle, Michael
(Beyer)	Cawthorn	F. (Evans)
Bonamici	(McClain)	Escobar (Garcia
(Kuster)	Clark (MA)	(TX))
Bowman (Pocan)	(Kuster)	Espallat
Boyle, Brendan	Cohen (Beyer)	(Correa)
F. (Evans)	Cole (Lucas)	Fletcher
Brooks (Moore	Crist (Soto)	(Raskin)
(AL))	Cuellar (Green	Frankel, Lois
	(TX))	(Kuster)

COMBATING INTERNATIONAL ISLAMOPHOBIA ACT

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Ms. JACKSON LEE). Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, the unfinished business is the vote on the passage of the bill (H.R. 5665) to establish in the Department of State the Office to Monitor and Combat Islamophobia, and for other purposes, 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 passage of the bill.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 219, nays 212, not voting 3, as follows:

[Roll No. 448]

YEAS—219

Adams	Blunt	Carbajal
Aguilar	Bonamici	Cárdenas
Allred	Bourdeaux	Carson
Auchincloss	Bowman	Carter (LA)
Axne	Boyle, Brendan	Cartwright
Barragán	F.	Case
Bass	Brown (MD)	Casten
Beatty	Brown (OH)	Castor (FL)
Bera	Brownley	Castro (TX)
Beyer	Bush	Chu
Bishop (GA)	Bustos	Cicilline
Blumenauer	Butterfield	Clark (MA)

Aderholt	Chabot	Garbarino
Allen	Cheney	Garcia (CA)
Amodei	Cline	Gibbs
Armstrong	Cloud	Gimenez
Arrington	Clyde	Gohmert
Babin	Cole	Gonzales, Tony
Bacon	Comer	Gonzalez (OH)
Baird	Crawford	Good (VA)
Balderson	Crenshaw	Gooden (TX)
Banks	Curtis	Gosar
Barr	Davidson	Granger
Bentz	Davis, Rodney	Graves (LA)
Bergman	DesJarlais	Graves (MO)
Bice (OK)	Diaz-Balart	Green (TN)
Biggs	Donalds	Greene (GA)
Bilirakis	Duncan	Griffith
Bishop (NC)	Dunn	Grothman
Boebert	Ellzey	Guest
Bost	Emmer	Guthrie
Brady	Estes	Hagedorn
Brooks	Fallon	Harris
Buchanan	Feenstra	Harshbarger
Buck	Ferguson	Hartzler
Bucshon	Fischbach	Hern
Budd	Fitzgerald	Herrell
Burchett	Fitzpatrick	Herrera Beutler
Burgess	Fleischmann	Hice (GA)
Calvert	Fortenberry	Hill
Cammack	Fox	Hinson
Carey	Franklin, C.	Hollingsworth
Carl	Scott	Hudson
Carter (GA)	Fulcher	Huizenga
Carter (TX)	Gaetz	Issa
Cawthorn	Gallagher	Jackson

NAYS—212

Jacobs (NY)	Meuser	Sessions	Lowenthal	Pascrell	Strickland
Johnson (LA)	Miller (IL)	Simpson	(Beyer)	(Pallone)	(Schrier)
Johnson (OH)	Miller (WV)	Smith (MO)	Luetkemeyer	Payne (Pallone)	Suozi (Kildee)
Johnson (SD)	Miller-Meeeks	Smith (NE)	(McHenry)	Peters (Kildee)	Swalwell
Jordan	Moolenaar	Smith (NJ)	Maloney	Pingree (Kuster)	(Gomez)
Joyce (OH)	Mooney	Smucker	Carolyn B.	Porter (Aguilar)	Titus (Connolly)
Joyce (PA)	Moore (AL)	Spartz	(Wasserman	Posey	Tonko (Pallone)
Katko	Moore (UT)	Stauber	Schultz)	(Cammack)	Torres (NY)
Keller	Mullin	Steel	Mast (Waltz)	Price (NC)	(Cicilline)
Kelly (MS)	Murphy (NC)	Stefanik	McCaul (Burgess)	(Connolly)	Trahan
Kelly (PA)	Nehls	Steil	McEachin	Reed (Rice (SC))	(McGovern)
Kim (CA)	Newhouse	Steube	(Brown (MD))	Reschenthaler	Trone (Brown
Kinzinger	Norman	Stewart	Meng (Kuster)	(Burgess)	(MD))
Kustoff	Nunes	Taylor	Meuser (Burgess)	Rodgers (WA)	Underwood
LaHood	Obernoite	Tenney	Miller (WV) (Van	(Joyce (PA))	(Casten)
LaMalfa	Owens	Thompson (PA)	Duynes)	Roybal-Allard	Van Drew
Lamborn	Palazzo	Tiffany	Moore (UT)	(Connolly)	(Burgess)
Latta	Palmer	Timmons	(Stewart)	Ruiz (Aguilar)	Vargas (Correa)
LaTurner	Pence	Turner	Moulton (Beyer)	Ruppersberger	Velázquez
Lesko	Perry	Upton	Nadler (Pallone)	(Aguilar)	(Clarke (NY))
Letlow	Pfleger	Valadao	Napolitano	Rush (Quigley)	Salazar
Long	Posey	Van Drew	(Correa)	Salazar	(Cammack)
Loudermilk	Reed	Van Duynes	Neal (Beyer)	(Cammack)	Sánchez (Costa)
Lucas	Reschenthaler	Wagner	Neguse	(Stewart)	Schrader
Luetkemeyer	Rice (SC)	Walberg	(Perlmutter)	(Sires (Pallone))	(Correa)
Mace	Rodgers (WA)	Walorski	Nehls (Fallon)	Speier (Scanlon)	Sewell (Cicilline)
Malliotakis	Rogers (AL)	Waltz	Newman (Wild)	Stansbury	Simpson
Mann	Rogers (KY)	Weber (TX)	Nunes (Garcia	(Kuster)	(Stewart)
Massie	Rose	Webster (FL)	(CA))	Stefanik	(Sires (Pallone))
Mast	Rosendale	Wenstrup	Ocasio-Cortez	(Burgess)	(Sires (Pallone))
McCarthy	Rouzer	Westerman	(Garcia (IL))		
McCaul	Roy	Williams (TX)	O'Halleran		
McClain	Rutherford	Wilson (SC)	(Stanton)		
McClintock	Salazar	Wittman	Owens (Stewart)		
McHenry	Scalise	Womack			
McKinley	Schweikert	Young			
Meijer	Scott, Austin	Zeldin			

NOT VOTING—3

Higgins (LA) Murphy (FL) Rice (NY)

□ 2328

So the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

MEMBERS RECORDED PURSUANT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 8, 117TH CONGRESS

Amodei	DeFazio (Brown	Hayes (Wild)
(Balderson)	(MD))	(MD))
Armstrong	DelBene (Larsen	Hern (Lucas)
(Johnson (SD))	(WA))	Herrera Beutler
Axne (Wild)	DeGette (Blunt	(Rice (SC))
Baird (Bucshon)	Rochester)	Horsford (Carter
Barragán (Beyer)	DeSaulnier	(LA))
Bass (Cicilline)	(Beyer)	Huffman (Levin
Beatty (Blunt	Diaz-Balart	(CA))
Rochester)	(Burgess)	Jacobs (CA)
Bera (Aguilar)	Doggett (Raskin)	(Correa)
Billirakis	Doyle, Michael	Jacobs (NY)
(Fleischmann)	F. (Evans)	(Garbarino)
Blumenauer	Escobar (Garcia	Jackson (Van
(Beyer)	(TX))	Duynes)
Bonamici	Españat	Jayapal (Raskin)
(Kuster)	(Correa)	Johnson (TX)
Bowman (Pocan)	Fletcher	(Beyer)
Boyle, Brendan	(Raskin)	Jones (Craig)
F. (Evans)	Frankel, Lois	Joyce (OH)
Brooks (Moore	(Kuster)	(Garbarino)
(AL))	Garamendi	Kahele (Mrvan)
Brownley	(Sherman)	Katko (Meijer)
(Kuster)	Gimenez	Khanna
Buchanan	(Cammack)	(Connolly)
(Waltz)	Gohmert (Weber	Kilmer (Kildee)
Butterfield	(TX))	Kim (CA)
(Kildee)	Gonzalez,	(Gonzalez
Carl (Joyce (PA))	Vicente	(OH))
Calvert (Garcia	(Correa)	Kinzinger
(CA))	Gosar (Boebert)	(Meijer)
Cárdenas	Gottheimer	Kirkpatrick
(Gomez)	(Sherrill)	(Pallone)
Carter (TX)	Granger	Krishnamoorthi
(Weber (TX))	(Arrington)	(Brown (MD))
Case (Correa)	Graves (MO)	LaHood
Cawthorn	(Fleischmann)	(Wenstrup)
(McClain)	Green (TN)	Lamborn (Bacon)
Clark (MA)	(Fleischmann)	Lawson (FL)
(Kuster)	Grijalva	(Evans)
Cohen (Beyer)	(Stanton)	Leger Fernandez
Cole (Lucas)	Guthrie	(Gallego)
Crist (Soto)	(Bucshon)	Lesko (Joyce
Cuellar (Green	Hagedorn	(PA))
(TX))	(Moolenaar)	Long (Banks)
Curtis (Stewart)	Hartzler	Loudermilk
	(DesJarlais)	(Fleischmann)

JOINT RESOLUTION RELATING TO INCREASING THE DEBT LIMIT

Mr. BEYER. Madam Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 852, I call up the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 33) joint resolution relating to increasing the debt limit, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 852, the joint resolution is considered read.

The text of the joint resolution is as follows:

S.J. RES. 33

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, The the limitation under section 3101(b) of title 31, United States Code, as most recently increased by Public Law 117-50 (31 U.S.C. 3101 note), is increased by \$2,500,000,000.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The joint resolution shall be debatable for 1 hour equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Ways and Means or their respective designees.

The gentleman from Virginia (Mr. BEYER) and the gentleman from Texas (Mr. BRADY) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Virginia.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. BEYER. Madam Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and insert extraneous material on Senate Joint Resolution 33.

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

There was no objection.

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

Madam Speaker, I am pleased that today the House will take action to

protect our Nation's full faith and credit. S.J. Res. 33 will ensure that the United States continues to be a nation that pays its bills, period.

Without today's action, for the first time in our history, the United States Government could default on its debt obligations because of the debt limit, and this would be ruinous for U.S. workers and their families.

It would trigger a financial crisis on par with that of 2008, resulting in catastrophic economic damage with millions of jobs lost, businesses shuttered, and a banking system in chaos.

At a time when our recovery is strong but uncertain, we risk the loss of six million jobs, an unemployment rate of nearly 9 percent, the elimination of \$15 trillion in household wealth, and a decline in real GDP of 4 percent.

Nonpartisan Moody's Analytics economist Mark Zandi predicted that following a default, a global market panic on the scale of the 2008 financial crisis would ensue.

J.P. Morgan Chase CEO Jamie Dimon predicted that such a default could "cause an immediate, literally cascading catastrophe of unbelievable proportions and damage America for 100 years."

If the United States were to default, it would likely prompt a lasting downgrade of the country's credit that would drastically increase costs for mortgages, car loans, student loans, credit card bills, and other borrowing. This would threaten the livelihoods of the very people we are here to represent.

I want to be very clear. Raising the debt ceiling is not about incurring new debts. We are simply ensuring the Federal Government keeps its existing commitments, that it pays the bills we have already racked up.

By raising the debt limit, we are meeting our existing obligations to members of the military, veterans, and recipients of Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security.

In fact, 97 percent of the debts currently necessitating an increase were accrued prior to the Biden administration, many of which were passed with bipartisan support. This includes emergency pandemic relief measures, increased defense spending, and continued government operations.

Madam Speaker, the time to act is now. Treasury Secretary Yellen has issued a dire warning: Without congressional action by tomorrow, the government will be left with insufficient funds to finance government operations.

Over 50 million seniors could stop receiving Social Security checks for a time. Troops would go unpaid. Millions of families who rely on the monthly child tax credit could see delays. Our current economic recovery would reverse into recession, with billions of dollars of growth and millions of jobs lost.

As the 2011 debt ceiling crisis shows, even narrowly avoiding a default costs

the country billions of dollars. While raising the debt ceiling does not, on its own, create new debts for the United States Government, a failure to do so certainly would.

Congress has addressed the debt limit 79 times since 1960 to prevent default; 30 times with a Democrat in the White House, 49 times under a Republican President. In fact, under President Trump, Congress took action to address the debt limit three times and did so without drama. Today's action should be no different.

I urge my colleagues to support this measure to lift the debt ceiling, continue paying our bills, and ensure our continued economic recovery.

Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

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

In 2018, Democrat Leader NANCY PELOSI, Leader HOYER, Whip CLYBURN, and 116 other House Democrats voted to default on the debt, shut down the government, and refuse disaster relief to devastated communities across America like mine.

One even said, Republicans control the House, the Senate, and the White House; responsibility to govern rests squarely on their shoulders.

Well, right now the Democrats control the House, the Senate, and the White House. Responsibility rests squarely on their shoulders.

Make no mistake, Democrats have known this day has been coming for 2 years and did absolutely nothing. They passed no budget, passed no appropriations bills, and they didn't spend a moment in bipartisan outreach to address the debt ceiling.

I agree, Congress should not play political games with the debt ceiling, but neither should it ignore the future financial crisis at risk of accelerating if President Biden and congressional Democrats pass their nearly \$5 trillion socialist welfare plan.

Despite its desperate bid to shift blame for this debt ceiling crisis Democrats themselves created, increasing America's national debt is necessary to make room in the so-called Build Back Better bill for trillions of wasteful spending and special interest handouts for the wealthy and big business.

Make no mistake, the debt ceiling is not merely about paying for past spending, it is about making room for new wasteful spending, trillions that will pour more fuel on the inflation fire that marks Joe Biden's Presidency, the highest rate in decades, that has robbed families of their real wage gains from the past 3 years.

Although the President and Democrats in Congress continue to deny that inflation is real, this is now a crisis for families, and especially seniors on fixed incomes. Their claims that this costs zero has been debunked by the independent Congressional Budget Office and multiple organizations, and fact-checked as false and misleading by The Washington Post.

And Democrats' insistence that future permanence will be paid for begs the question they refuse to answer. How? Everyone knows there are only two ways to raise trillions of dollars more: Tax middle-class families or rob from entitlement programs like Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid.

The truth is, the Democrats need this debt ceiling to fund special interests, give tax subsidies for luxury electric vehicles, and tax windfalls to millionaires, while the middle class gets nothing, or even a tax hike.

□ 2340

They need this debt ceiling to give tax breaks to trial lawyers, local media corporations, and pay 1.5 million workers more to stay home than go back to work.

Democrats need a quarter of a trillion dollars to lift the SALT cap so that two out of three millionaires will get a huge tax break.

Meanwhile, for working families, inflation grows worse. Main Street businesses continue to struggle hard to find workers, and many parents will pay over \$1,000 a month more for childcare under Build Back Better.

These are President Biden's priorities. Congressional Democrats, these are their priorities. The question to America is, are these your priorities? The answer is no, which is why so many Americans overwhelmingly question the competence of President Biden and Democrats to lead this country.

I urge a strong "no" vote on this bill, and I reserve the balance of my time.

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

Mr. BRADY. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. DAVIDSON).

Mr. DAVIDSON. Madam Speaker, it is not compassionate to bankrupt America. That is exactly what this plan does. It equips this country with more debt to pay for the past debt with no plan to pay for the future debt. The only thing is more debt. It is a debt bomb, and it is something that this body has an obligation to stop.

This country is on auto pilot for a crash site, and the only plan is to keep riding on auto pilot right into the crash site. The whole point of the debt ceiling is to force this body to do its duty and to come up with a plan to not default.

The only question isn't whether we default tomorrow, which we shouldn't, of course we should pay our debts, but we shouldn't default in the future either. And unless we come up with a different course of action, this is going to ride all the way to the crash site.

I will oppose this, and I encourage all of my colleagues to do the same, and we should continue to oppose it until there is a plan to avert the crisis in the crash that is coming.

Don't bankrupt America.

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

Mr. BRADY. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. PALMER).

Mr. PALMER. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Texas for his leadership. A lot has been said about the Congressional Budget Office scoring the Build Back Better bill, that it increases the deficit by \$3 trillion, putting truth to the lie that the bill is paid for. It is not.

What the American people need to know is that there is another CBO report that was released earlier this fall that should be front and center of this debate over raising the debt limit.

Here is what that report says about the direction America is heading. According to the CBO, by 2051, America's debt-to-GDP ratio will be over 200 percent. In other words, our debt will be twice the size of our entire economy.

That CBO report said a growing debt burden would increase the risk of a fiscal crisis and higher inflation, as well as undermine confidence in the U.S. dollar, making it more costly to finance public and private activity in international markets.

The CBO reported that, with growing debt and rising interest rates, net spending for interest more than triples relative to the size of the economy.

A New York Times article reported that the CBO warned that such high debt levels will lift borrowing costs, slow economic output, and raise the risk of a fiscal crisis.

The Committee for a Responsible Budget warned that the Nation's long-term output was an air raid siren that can be heard for miles. It said the mounting debt will make it harder to address income inequality and to make needed infrastructure improvements. Apparently, my Democratic colleagues are deaf to that siren.

Now my colleagues want to raise the debt limit by another \$2.5 trillion so they can continue down the path of reckless spending with no regard for the consequences for our Nation's future. That is the wrong path. That is the dangerous path. And that is why every Member should heed the warnings and vote "no."

Mr. BEYER. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI), the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Ms. PELOSI. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time, and more importantly, for bringing this important legislation to the floor. Now we say that with many bills, and let me tell you, Madam Speaker, what this means to America's families.

America's families, as they gather around the kitchen table and figure out their priorities and how they are going to pay their bills is what keeps them up at night.

We must lift the debt ceiling to cover the expenses already incurred. It is important to note over 95 percent of it occurred during the Trump administration, under 4 percent of it during the Biden administration.

But sadly, Republicans have not only abandoned the responsibility they have

in all of this, this is what it means to you.

For families, a default could mean millions of American jobs eliminated, trillions in household wealth erased, reducing the value of the dollar and an immediate reversal of our strong economic recovery—six million jobs already under Joe Biden—and having a terrible impact globally for decades to come.

Just the discussion of not lifting the debt ceiling a number of years ago when the Republicans in Congress were refusing to do so lowered the credit rating of the United States of America.

Our Constitution says and it makes clear the validity of the public debt of the United States authorized by law shall not be questioned.

I point out this other fact. If you have a car loan, if you have a mortgage, if you have a student loan, if you have credit card bills, any other borrowing, your interest rates will go up unless we lift the debt ceiling. So this has a direct impact on the pockets of the American people on the prospects for their success.

Let's be clear, Republicans want less money in the pockets of the American people for whatever reason. I don't know what the middle class and working families ever did to them for them to want to exact this toll on our economy, on our standing in the world and what it means globally, but very importantly when you are discussing your finances over the kitchen table, understand that if your interest rates go up it is because the refusal of the Republicans to lift the debt ceiling.

I close by saying the full faith and credit of the United States should never be questioned. The health of our economy should never be threatened. The financial security of our families must never be gambled.

I urge a strong "yes" vote for this legislation so that we strengthen our economic recovery, spare families the pain of a catastrophic default and uphold our duty in the Constitution of the United States to uphold the full faith and credit of the United States of America.

Madam Speaker, I urge an "aye" vote, and I thank Mr. BEYER for his leadership on this issue and Mr. RICHIE NEAL, the chair of the committee, as well.

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

Madam Speaker, sort of a gentle reminder, 2018 Democratic leader NANCY PELOSI, Leader HOYER, Whip CLYBURN, and 116 other Democrats voted to default on America's debt to shut down our government at the same time and refused disaster relief to devastated communities across America, including in Texas. And as they said, Republicans controlled the House, the Senate, and the White House, and the responsibility to govern rests squarely on their shoulders.

And another gentle reminder to the American public, our Democratic

friends have known this day has been coming for 2 years. This is a crisis that they created. Didn't bother to pass a budget, didn't do their appropriations bill, no bipartisan outreach. Waited again and again for this cliff and created this crisis. It has been frustrating to watch this go on.

And, too, I know middle-class Americans, one out of every three, will see a tax hike in the Build Back Better bill, but two out of three millionaires get a huge tax cut. A quarter of a trillion dollars of this debt ceiling, a quarter of a trillion dollars of this increase will go to millionaires and billionaires and other wealthy Americans.

□ 2350

Not to mention the heat your home tax on middle-class families, the toddler tax on middle-class families, the made in America tax on our Main Street businesses. What is now clear is that President Biden is a pay-cut President. Even as most Americans work hard to get ahead in their careers and their workplaces, they are now falling behind every month of this Presidency.

They have lost 3 years' worth of real wage growth, went backward in getting ahead. And just since spring, Americans are losing an average of \$377 a month in real purchasing power.

Who is the party for the middle class and working families? Not Democrats, who are robbing—inflation—from their paychecks. Adding another \$5 trillion to the inflation fire will only cause prices to continue to grow faster than paychecks.

The middle class is on the hook for Democrats' handouts to the highest earners, including their government checks to the top 1 percent and the biggest corporations, lavish subsidies for luxury electric vehicles, and tax cuts for the wealthiest.

Over half of families with two kids who pay for childcare will be forced to pay a \$27,000 toddler tax each year under the Democrats' Washington takeover of childcare. All this hurts American workers and their families, the poor, and the seniors.

We ought to stop this economic strain. We ought to stop this economic suppression. We ought to stop this attack on middle-class and working families. We ought to make pro-growth tax reform permanent. It lifted millions of Americans out of poverty, brought jobs back from overseas, and, for the first time, started to shrink income inequality.

Madam Speaker, you may remember, in 2019, families in America, their household income grew more in 1 year under President Trump and the Republicans than in all 8 years of President Obama and Biden combined.

We believe there is a smarter way to help American working families, but I know this: Democrats are wrong to fight for \$5 trillion of social spending that will send jobs overseas, limit choice in childcare, worsen healthcare,

and lower paychecks by flaming inflation longer and making the worker shortage worse.

Madam Speaker, we can't afford this pay-cut Presidency. I once again urge my colleagues to vote "no" on this measure, and I yield back the balance of my time.

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

Madam Speaker, very briefly, it seems my Republican friends would like to make this debate about the bipartisan infrastructure bill and about the Build Back Better bill despite the fact that these were wildly popular with the American people. Listening to my Republican friends, it sounds like we are in a desperate country instead of one that has created 6 million jobs so far this year, an all-time record that has 6 percent GDP growth expected this year. Our unemployment rate is 4.2 percent. It has recovered faster than any time in American history.

We are about to fund daycare for American working families, bring 3- and 4-year-olds to school. The child tax credit will be extended.

Our infrastructure bills are going to build more roads and highways, electric grid, broadband, fix the lead pipes.

All this is in two bills that are paid for—that are paid for—every penny. When people suggest that the benefits may be extended, we have also promised to pay for them if that, in fact, happens.

You complain that we haven't done the appropriations bill. This House did the appropriations bill. But in the Senate, which requires 60 votes, the appropriations bill didn't happen over there.

Madam Speaker, this is not about two very good bills, two paid-for bills that don't increase the deficit, that don't add to inflation. It is about the simple fact that we need to pay our bills.

It is a simple bill. This vote should be simple.

During the Trump administration, the Republicans added \$7.9 trillion—50 percent—to the national debt. Their Tax Cuts and Jobs Act alone added \$1.9 trillion. We have to pay for that. That is what we are paying for tonight.

Madam Speaker, I urge my colleagues, Democrat and Republican, to vote for this good Senate joint resolution to lift the debt ceiling.

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

Mr. OBERNOLTE. Madam Speaker, I rise today to oppose this \$2.5 trillion debt limit increase which this Congress is voting on without any discussion of how this debt will ever be repaid.

Over the past year, Congress' record levels of spending has sparked record-breaking inflation. Just last week, our nation hit its highest inflation rate in 40 years with current annual inflation for the twelve months ending in November at 6.8%. As a consequence, real average hourly earnings decreased by half a percent in November. Surging costs for food, energy, housing, and other items have left the average American family reeling. In my California district, the average price of a tank of

gasoline has increased over \$20 since January, while the price of natural gas is up more than 25 percent.

Congress is not only spending at a level that is well beyond our self-imposed limits, but also beyond what our economy can safely handle, and Madam Speaker, instead of reducing our spending and finding places to save as any American family would, this institution is working to push through another multi-trillion-dollar social spending package that would drive our debt and our inflation further into crisis.

Madam Speaker, this unconscionable spending is the epitome of irresponsible governance. We must take measures to end this reckless spending and put our financial house in order. To that end I have introduced two bills that the House might better spend its time considering in the coming weeks instead of continuing debate on the reckless social spending bill.

My Constitutional Amendment to balance the budget would amend the U.S. Constitution to ensure total federal spending for a fiscal year does not exceed the total amount of federal revenue. It includes off-ramps that encourage bipartisanship in times of crisis and would end the seemingly-endless cycle of budget deficits.

Likewise, my Finding Federal Savings Committee Resolution would help to cut back on government waste by creating a bipartisan committee in this body to identify underperforming and nonessential federal programs and recommend their elimination or modification. Neither of these ideas are partisan, nor are they radical. They simply take steps to solve a problem that this body has continued to kick down the road for future generations to repay.

Madam Speaker, this Congress must do better. I call on my colleagues to reverse course, to stop this reckless spending, and to vote no on raising the debt ceiling without a plan to repay our debt.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Madam Speaker, as a senior member of the Committees on the Judiciary, on Homeland Security, and on the Budget, I rise in support of S.J. Res. 33—Joint resolution relating to increasing the debt limit, a measure raising the national debt limit by \$2.5 trillion, which is imperative to avoid a wasteful, irresponsible, reckless threatening of the nation’s singular indispensable asset: the full faith and credit of the United States.

Madam Speaker, preserving the full faith and credit of the United States by raising to the debt limit to ensure that America pays the bills for past expenditures when they come due is not a partisan exercise but an act of patriotism, a recognition and embrace of the solemn obligation to preserve the unrivaled advantages that flow from the ability provided in the Article I, Section 8, clause 2 of the Constitution to “borrow money on the credit of the United States.”

Long ago, in 1789, Alexander Hamilton, the nation’s first and greatest Treasury Secretary, understood that the path to American prosperity and greatness lay in its creditworthiness which provided the affordable access to capital needed to fund internal improvements and economic growth.

It is because of the existence and wise use of the Borrowing Power that the nation was able to expand its reaches, resources, and riches by financing the Louisiana Purchase,

the purchase of Alaska from Russia, to fund the investments to end the Great Depression, to finance the mobilization of resources needed in World War II to defeat fascism and save freedom in the nation and the world, to revive the economy after the catastrophic Great Recession of 2008, and most recently, to protect the public health and safety and restore the economy during the COVID–19 pandemic.

This is why the ability to borrow money on the credit of the United States to finance its growth and protect its people and interests is essential to the national security and led Hamilton to proclaim that “the proper funding of the present debt, will render it a national blessing.”

But to maintain this blessing, or to “render public credit immortal,” Hamilton understood that it was necessary that: “the creation of debt should always be accompanied with the means of extinguishment.”

In other words, to retain and enjoy the prosperity that flows from good credit, it is necessary for a nation to pay its bills.

The United States has never defaulted on the payment of any debt incurred, and because of the size and strength of its economic and unmatched creditworthiness, is able to borrow on the lowest and most favorable terms of any nation or entity in the history of the world.

So secure and reliable is a bond issues by the Department of Treasury that the United States is the preferred haven for investments of foreign governments, corporations, and sovereign wealth funds.

The interest rate charged the federal government of the United States is the base for which every rate, from the prime rate charged the richest corporation to rates charged small business on purchases to the mortgages rates and students loans taken out by consumers.

If you raise the cost of borrowing for the government of the United States, you set off a chain reaction of increased interest rates for every other borrower in the United States and around the world.

This is why leading public finance experts and agencies, like Moody’s Chief Economist Mark Zandi, have said it would be “cataclysmic” for the United States to default on its loan obligations.

Republicans know the debt ceiling needs to be raised; in 2019 during the Trump Administration, the Republican Senate Majority Leader marshalled Senate Republicans to vote to raise the debt ceiling, saying: “We raised the debt ceiling because America can’t default[,] that would be a disaster.”

Madam Speaker, this debate over extending the debt limit is not about restraining future spending, it is about paying the bills piled up already under both Republican and Democratic administrations.

The question of raising the national debt limit does not depend on how one feels about the Build Back Better agenda, as wildly popular as it is among all Americans, Democrats, Independents, and Republicans included.

It is instead about preserving the singular asset of the United States, its enviable and unrivaled creditworthiness, to finance future investments beneficial to the national interest, like the provision of free college for two years, or \$2 billion investment to reduce violence in communities approved by the Committee on the Judiciary, or investments to preserve and strengthen Medicaid expansion programs, or

extend broadband to underserved rural and urban areas, an action that will be as life-changing as the rural electrification program was in the 1930s.

Madam Speaker, if our friends across the aisle really want to shrink the deficit, reduce the national debt, practice fiscal responsibility, and bring about sustained economic growth and prosperity, there is a much better, easier, and more certain way to achieve these goals than by tampering with the U.S. Constitution.

The easier and better way is for the American people to keep a Democrat in the White House and place Democratic majorities in the House and Senate.

In the 1990s under the leadership of President Clinton the budget was balanced for four consecutive years, the national debt was paid down, the national debt, 23 million new jobs were created, and projected surpluses exceeded \$5 trillion.

Under President Obama the financial crisis and economic meltdown inherited from his Republican predecessor was ended, the annual deficit was reduced by 67 percent, the auto industry was saved from collapse, and 15 million jobs were created.

In contrast, under every Republican administration since President Reagan the size of the deficit bequeathed to his successor was substantially larger than the deficit he inherited, a major economic recession occurred, and economic growth was lower than it was at the beginning of his administration.

To preserve the sanctity of the full faith and credit of the United States, protect American jobs and businesses of all sizes, and ensure the continued growth of the economy, I support and urge all Members to join me in voting for S.J. Res. 33—Joint resolution relating to increasing the debt limit.

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

Pursuant to the rule, the previous question is ordered on the joint resolution.

The question is on the third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to be read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the passage of the joint resolution.

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

Mr. BRADY. Madam Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to section 3(s) of House Resolution 8, the yeas and nays are ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 221, nays 209, not voting 4, as follows:

[Roll No. 449]

YEAS—221

Adams	Blunt Rochester	Carbajal
Aguilar	Bonamici	Cárdenas
Allred	Bourdeaux	Carson
Auchincloss	Bowman	Carter (LA)
Axne	Boyle, Brendan	Cartwright
Barragán	F.	Case
Bass	Brown (MD)	Casten
Beatty	Brown (OH)	Castor (FL)
Bera	Brownley	Castro (TX)
Beyer	Bush	Chu
Bishop (GA)	Bustos	Cicilline
Blumenauer	Butterfield	Clark (MA)

Clarke (NY)	Kelly (IL)	Pocan	Jackson	Meuser	Sessions	Jacobs (NY)	McEachin	Sánchez (Costa)
Cleaver	Khanna	Porter	Jacobs (NY)	Miller (IL)	Simpson	(Garbarino)	(Brown (MD))	Schrader
Clyburn	Kildee	Pressley	Johnson (LA)	Miller (WV)	Smith (MO)	Jackson (Van	Meng (Kuster)	(Correa)
Cohen	Kilmer	Price (NC)	Johnson (OH)	Miller-Meeks	Smith (NE)	Duyne)	Meuser (Burgess)	Sewell (Cicilline)
Connolly	Kim (NJ)	Ruiz	Johnson (SD)	Moolenaar	Smith (NJ)	Jayapal (Raskin)	Miller (WV) (Van	Simpson
Cooper	Kind	Raskin	Jordan	Mooney	Smucker	Johnson (TX)	Duyne)	(Stewart)
Correa	Kinzinger	Rice (NY)	Joyce (OH)	Moore (AL)	Spartz	(Beyer)	Moore (UT)	Sires (Pallone)
Costa	Kirkpatrick	Ross	Joyce (PA)	Moore (UT)	Stauber	Jones (Craig)	(Stewart)	Speier (Scanlon)
Courtney	Krishnamoorthi	Roybal-Allard	Katko	Mullin	Steel	Joyce (OH)	Moulton (Beyer)	Stansbury
Craig	Kuster	Ruiz	Keller	Murphy (NC)	Stefanik	(Garbarino)	Nadler (Pallone)	(Kuster)
Crist	Lamb	Ruppersberger	Kelly (MS)	Nehls	Steil	Kahele (Mrvan)	Napolitano	Stefanik
Crow	Langevin	Rush	Kelly (PA)	Newhouse	Steube	(Correa)	(Correa)	(Burgess)
Cuellar	Larsen (WA)	Ryan	Kim (CA)	Norman	Stewart	Katko (Meijer)	Neal (Beyer)	Strickland
David (KS)	Larson (CT)	Sánchez	Kustoff	Nunes	Taylor	Khanna	Neguse	(Schrier)
Davis, Danny K.	Lawrence	Sarbanes	LaHood	Obernolte	Tenney	(Connolly)	(Perlmutter)	Suozi (Kildee)
Dean	Lawson (FL)	Scanlon	LaMalfa	Owens	Thompson (PA)	Kilmer (Kildee)	Nehls (Fallon)	Swalwell
DeFazio	Lee (CA)	Scanlon	Lamborn	Palazzo	Tiffany	Kim (CA)	Newman (Wild)	(Gomez)
DeGette	Lee (NV)	Schakowsky	Latta	Palmer	Timmons	(Gonzalez	Nunes (Garcia	(Gomez)
DeLauro	Leger Fernandez	Schiff	LaTurner	Pence	Turner	(OH))	(CA))	Titus (Connolly)
DeBene	Levin (CA)	Schneider	Lesko	Perry	Upton	Kinzinger	Ocasio-Cortez	Tonko (Pallone)
Delgado	Levin (MI)	Schrader	Letlow	Pfluger	Valadao	(Meijer)	(Garcia (IL))	Torres (NY)
Demings	Lieu	Schrier	Long	Posey	Van Drew	Kirkpatrick	O'Halleran	(Cicilline)
DeSaulnier	Lofgren	Scott (VA)	Loudermilk	Reed	Van Dune	(Pallone)	(Stanton)	Trahan
Deutch	Lowenthal	Scott, David	Lucas	Reschenthaler	Wagner	Krishnamoorthi	Owens (Stewart)	(McGovern)
Dingell	Luria	Sewell	Luetkemeyer	Rice (SC)	Walberg	(Brown (MD))	Pascrell	Trone (Brown
Doggett	Lynch	Sherman	Mace	Rodgers (WA)	Walorski	LaHood	(Pallone)	(MD))
Doyle, Michael	Malinowski	Sherrill	Malliotakis	Rogers (AL)	Waltz	(Wenstrup)	Payne (Pallone)	Underwood
F.	Maloney	Sires	Mann	Rogers (KY)	Weber (TX)	Lamborn (Bacon)	Peters (Kildee)	(Casten)
Escobar	Carolyn B.	Slotkin	Massie	Rose	Webster (FL)	Lawson (FL)	Pingree (Kuster)	Van Drew
Eshoo	Maloney, Sean	Smith (WA)	Mast	Rosendale	Wenstrup	(Evans)	Porter (Aguilar)	(Burgess)
Espallat	Manning	Soto	McCarthy	Rouzer	Westerman	Leger Fernandez	Posey	Vargas (Correa)
Evans	Matsui	Spanberger	McCaul	Roy	Williams (TX)	(Gallego)	(Cammack)	Velázquez
Fletcher	McBath	Speier	McClain	Rutherford	Wilson (SC)	Lesko (Joyce	Price (NC)	(Clarke (NY))
Foster	McCollum	Stansbury	McClintock	Salazar	Wittman	(PA))	(Connolly)	Wagner
Frankel, Lois	McEachin	Stanton	McHenry	Scalise	Womack	Long (Banks)	Reed (Rice (SC))	(McHenry)
Galleo	McGovern	Stevens	McKinley	Schweikert	Young	Loudermilk	Reschenthaler	Walorski (Banks)
Garamendi	McNerney	Strickland	Meijer	Scott, Austin	Zeldin	(Fleischmann)	(Burgess)	Watson Coleman
Garcia (IL)	Meeks	Suozi				Lowenthal	Rodgers (WA)	(Pallone)
Garcia (TX)	Meng	Swalwell				(Beyer)	(Joyce (PA))	Welch
Golden	Mfume	Takano	Cawthorn	Higgins (LA)		Luetkemeyer	Roybal-Allard	(McGovern)
Gomez	Moore (WI)	Thompson (CA)	Hice (GA)	Vela		(McHenry)	(Connolly)	Wilson (FL)
Gonzalez,	Morelle	Thompson (MS)				Maloney,	Ruiz (Aguilar)	(Brown (MD))
Vicente	Moulton	Titus				Carolyn B.	Ruppersberger	(Aguilar)
Gottheimer	Mrvan	Tlaib				(Wasserman	(Aguilar)	Wilson (SC)
Green, Al (TX)	Murphy (FL)	Tonko				Schultz)	Rush (Quigley)	(Dunn)
Grijalva	Nadler	Torres (CA)				Mast (Waltz)	Salazar	Zeldin
Harder (CA)	Napolitano	Torres (NY)				McCaul (Burgess)	(Cammack)	(Timmons)
Hayes	Neal	Trahan						
Higgins (NY)	Neguse	Trone						
Himes	Newman	Underwood						
Horsford	Norcross	Vargas						
Houlihan	O'Halleran	Veasey						
Hoyer	Ocasio-Cortez	Velázquez						
Huffman	Omar	Wasserman						
Jackson Lee	Pallone	Schultz						
Jacobs (CA)	Panetta	Waters						
Jayapal	Pappas	Watson Coleman						
Jeffries	Pascrell	Welch						
Johnson (GA)	Payne	Wexton						
Johnson (TX)	Pelosi	Wild						
Jones	Perlmutter	Williams (GA)						
Kahele	Peters	Wilson (FL)						
Kaptur	Phillips	Yarmuth						
Keating	Pingree							

NOT VOTING—4

□ 0020

So the joint resolution was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Started for:

Mr. VELA. Madam Speaker, I was present and voted "yea" on rollcall No. 449, final passage of S.J. Res. 33. However, it has come to my attention that the record was not recorded, and I would like the record to show how my vote would have been counted on S.J. Res. 33. Had I been present, I would have voted "yea" on rollcall No. 449.

MEMBERS RECORDED PURSUANT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 8, 117TH CONGRESS

Aderholt	Chabot	Gallagher	Amodei	Case (Correa)	Gimenez
Allen	Cheney	Garbarino	(Balderson)	Clark (MA)	(Cammack)
Amodei	Cline	Garcia (CA)	Armstrong	(Kuster)	Gohmert (Weber
Armstrong	Cloud	Gibbs	(Johnson (SD))	Cohen (Beyer)	(TX))
Arrington	Clyde	Gimenez	Axne (Wild)	Cole (Lucas)	Gonzalez,
Babin	Cole	Gohmert	Baird (Bucshon)	Crist (Soto)	Vicente
Bacon	Comer	Gonzales, Tony	Barragan (Beyer)	Cuellar (Green	(Correa)
Baird	Crawford	Gonzalez (OH)	Bass (Cicilline)	(TX))	Gosar (Boebert)
Balderson	Crenshaw	Good (VA)	Beatty (Blunt	Curtis (Stewart)	Gottheimer
Banks	Curtis	Gooden (TX)	Rochester)	DeFazio (Brown	(Sherrill)
Barr	Davidson	Gosar	Bera (Aguilar)	(MD))	Granger
Bentz	Davis, Rodney	Granger	Bilirakis	DelBene (Larsen	(Arrington)
Bergman	DesJarlais	Graves (LA)	(Fleischmann)	(WA))	Graves (MO)
Bice (OK)	Diaz-Balart	Graves (MO)	Blumenauer	(Beyer)	(Fleischmann)
Biggs	Donalds	Green (TN)	(Bayer)	DeGette (Blunt	Green (TN)
Billrakis	Duncan	Greene (GA)	Bonamici	Rochester)	(Fleischmann)
Bishop (NC)	Dunn	Griffith	(Kuster)	DeSaulnier	(Beyer)
Boebert	Ellzey	Grothman	Bowman (Pocan)	(Bayer)	Grijalva
Boyd	Emmer	Guest	Boyle, Brendan	Diaz-Balart	(Stanton)
Brady	Estes	Guthrie	F. (Evans)	(Burgess)	Guthrie
Brooks	Fallon	Hagedorn	Brooks (Moore	Doggett (Raskin)	(Bucshon)
Buchanan	Feenstra	Harris	(AL))	Doyle, Michael	Hagedorn
Buck	Ferguson	Harshbarger	Brownley	F. (Evans)	(Moolenaar)
Bucshon	Fischbach	Hartzler	(Kuster)	Escobar (Garcia	Hartzler
Budd	Fitzgerald	Hern	Buchanan	(TX))	(DesJarlais)
Burchett	Fitzpatrick	Herrrell	(Waltz)	Espallat	Hayes (Wild)
Burgess	Fleischmann	Herrera Beutler	Butterfield	(Correa)	Hern (Lucas)
Calvert	Fortenberry	Hill	(Kildee)	Fletcher	Herrera Beutler
Cammack	Fox	Hinson	Carl (Joyce (PA))	(Raskin)	(Rice (SC))
Carey	Franklin, C.	Hollingsworth	Calvert (Garcia	Frankel, Lois	Horsford (Carter
Carl	Scott	Hudson	(CA))	(Kuster)	(LA))
Carter (GA)	Fulcher	Huizenga	Cárdenas	Fulcher (Johnson	Huffman (Levin
Carter (TX)	Gaetz	Issa	(Gomez)	(OH)	(CA))
			Carter (TX)	Garamendi	Jacobs (CA)
			(Weber (TX))	(Sherman)	(Correa)

BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Cheryl L. Johnson, Clerk of the House, reported that on December 3, 2021, she presented to the President of the United States, for his approval, the following bill:

H.R. 6119. Making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2022, and for other purposes.

Cheryl L. Johnson, Clerk of the House, further reported that on December 7, 2021, she presented to the President of the United States, for his approval, the following bill:

H.R. 5142. To award posthumously a Congressional Gold Medal, in commemoration to the servicemembers who perished in Afghanistan on August 26, 2021, during the evacuation of citizens of the United States and Afghan allies at Hamid Karzai International Airport, and for other purposes.

ADJOURNMENT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to section 11(b) of House Resolution 188, the House stands adjourned until 11 a.m. on Thursday, December 16, 2021.

Thereupon (at 12 o'clock and 23 minutes a.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Thursday, December 16, 2021, at 11 a.m.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

EC-2948. A letter from the Program Specialist, Chief Counsel's Office, Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, Department of the Treasury, transmitting the Department's final rule — Collective Investment Funds: Prior Notice Period for Withdrawals [Docket ID: OCC-2020-0031] (RIN: 1557-AE99) received December 2, 2021, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Financial Services.

EC-2949. A letter from the Program Specialist, Chief Counsel's Office, Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, Department of the Treasury, transmitting the Department's final rule — Appraisals for Higher-Priced Mortgage Loans Exemption Threshold [Docket No.: OCC-2021-0019] (RIN: 1557-AF13) received December 2, 2021, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Financial Services.

EC-2950. A letter from the Program Specialist, Chief Counsel's Office, Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, Department of the Treasury, transmitting the Department's final rule — Computer-Security Incident Notification Requirements for Banking Organizations and Their Bank Service Providers [Docket ID: OCC-2020-0038] (RIN: 1557-AF02) received December 2, 2021, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Financial Services.

EC-2951. A letter from the Secretary, Department of the Treasury, transmitting an update regarding the Treasury Department's ability to continue to finance the operations of the federal government under the constraints of the debt limit; to the Committee on Financial Services.

EC-2952. A letter from the Associate Director, Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule — Addition of Natural Gas Processing Facilities to the Toxics Release Inventory [EPA-HQ-TRI-2016-0390; FRL-5879-02-OCSP] (RIN: 2070-AK16) received December 2, 2021, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

EC-2953. A letter from the Associate Director, Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule — Clean Air Plans; California; San Joaquin Valley Moderate Area Plan and Reclassification as Serious Nonattainment for the 2012 PM2.5 NAAQS; Contingency Measures for the 2006 PM2.5 NAAQS [EPA-R09-OAR-2021-0543; FRL-8846-02-R9] received December 2, 2021, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

EC-2954. A letter from the Associate Director, Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule — Partial Approval and Partial Disapproval of Air Quality Implementation Plans; California; San Joaquin Valley Serious Area and Section 189(d) Plan for Attainment of the 1997 Annual PM2.5 NAAQS [EPA-R09-OAR-2021-0260; FRL-8644-01-R9] received December 2, 2021, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

EC-2955. A letter from the Associate Director, Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule — Louisiana: Incorporation by Reference of Approved State Hazardous Waste Management Program [EPA-R06-RCRA-2020-0261; FRL-9240-02-R6] received December 2, 2021, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

EC-2956. A letter from the Associate Director, Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule — Additional Revised Air Quality Designations for the 2015 Ozone National Ambient Air Quality Standards: El Paso County, Texas and Weld County, Colorado [EPA-HQ-OAR-2017-0548; FRL: 8260.1-02-OAR] received December 2, 2021, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

EC-2957. A letter from the Deputy Bureau Chief, Public Safety and Homeland Security Bureau, Federal Communications Commission, transmitting the Commission's final rule — Procedures for Commission Review of State Opt-Out Requests from the FirstNet Radio Access Network [PS Docket No.: 16-269] December 2, 2021, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

EC-2958. A letter from the Deputy Division Chief, Competition Policy Division, Wireline Competition Bureau, Federal Communications Commission, transmitting the Commission's final rule — Implementation of the National Suicide Hotline Improvement Act of 2018 [WC Docket No.: 18-336] received December 2, 2021, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

EC-2959. A letter from the Senior Bureau Official, Bureau of Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting Department Report Number: 004511, Progress Report on the U.S. Embassy in Jerusalem, pursuant to Public Law 104-45; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

EC-2960. A letter from the Sanctions Regulations Advisor, Department of the Treasury, transmitting the Department's final rule — Syrian Sanctions Regulations received December 2, 2021, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

EC-2961. A letter from the Director, President's Pay Agent, Office of Personnel Management, transmitting a detailed report justifying the reasons for the extension of locality-based comparability payments to non-General Schedule categories of positions that are in more than one executive agency, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 5304(h)(2)(C); Public Law 89-554, Sec. 5304(h) (as added by Public Law 102-378, Sec. 2(26)(E)(ii)); (106 Stat. 1349); to the Committee on Oversight and Reform.

EC-2962. A letter from the Senior Bureau Official, Bureau of Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting the Department's FY 2021 Agency Financial Report, pursuant to 31 U.S.C. 3515(a)(1); Public Law 101-576, Sec. 303(a)(1) (as amended by Public Law 107-289, Sec. 2(a)); (116 Stat. 2049); to the Committee on Oversight and Reform.

EC-2963. A letter from the Director, Congressional Affairs, Federal Election Commission, transmitting the Commission's Fiscal Year 2021 Agency Financial Report, pursuant to 31 U.S.C. 3515(a)(1); Public Law 101-576, Sec. 303(a)(1) (as amended by Public Law 107-289, Sec. 2(a)); (116 Stat. 2049); to the Committee on Oversight and Reform.

EC-2964. A letter from the Director, Office of Personnel Management, transmitting the Semiannual Report of the Inspector General and the Management Response for the period of April 1, 2021, to September 30, 2021, pursuant to Section 5, Public Law 95-452; to the Committee on Oversight and Reform.

EC-2965. A letter from the Acting Commissioner, Social Security Administration, transmitting the Administration's Inspector General Semiannual Report to Congress for the period April 1, 2021 through September

30, 2021, pursuant to the Inspector General Act of 1978; to the Committee on Oversight and Reform.

EC-2966. A letter from the Director, Regulation and Disclosure Law Division, U.S. Customs and Border Protection, Department of Homeland Security, transmitting the Department's final rule — Extension and Amendment of Import Restrictions Imposed on Archaeological and Ethnological Material of Greece [CBP Dec.: 21-16] (RIN: 1515-AE68) received December 2, 2021, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

EC-2967. A letter from the Branch Chief, Legal Processing Division, Internal Revenue Service, transmitting the Service's IRB only rule — Homeowner Assistant Fund safe harbor (Rev. Proc. 2021-47) received December 2, 2021, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

EC-2968. A letter from the Regulations Writer — Federal Register Liaison, Office of Regulations and Reports Clearance, Social Security Administration, transmitting the Administration's final rule — Extension of Expiration Dates for Three Body System Listings [Docket No.: SSA-2021-0035] (RIN: 0960-AI56) received December 2, 2021, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

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. RASKIN: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 848. Resolution relating to the consideration of House Report 117-216 and an accompanying resolution (Rept. 117-217). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. MCGOVERN: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 849. Resolution providing for consideration of the (H.R. 5665) to establish in the Department of State the Office to Monitor and Combat Islamophobia, and for other purposes (Rept. 117-218). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. MORELLE: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 852. Resolution providing for consideration of the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 33) joint resolution relating to increasing the debt limit (Rept. 117-219). Referred to the House Calendar.

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. MCGOVERN (for himself and Mr. SMITH of New Jersey):

H.R. 6256. A bill to ensure that goods made with forced labor in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China do not enter the United States market, and for other purposes; to the Committees on Foreign Affairs, Ways and Means, and the Judiciary; considered and passed.

By Mr. WEBSTER of Florida (for himself, Mr. GRAVES of Missouri, Mrs. MCCLAIN, Mr. NORMAN, Mr. WEBER of Texas, Mr. POSEY, Mr. PERRY, Mrs. BOEBERT, Mr. BUDD, and Mr. GAETZ):

H.R. 6257. A bill to prohibit the Federal Government from imposing a vaccine mandate on individuals traveling on public or private transportation for hire within the

United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

By Mr. PALAZZO (for himself and Mr. CASE):

H.R. 6258. A bill to establish a regulatory system for sustainable offshore aquaculture in the United States exclusive economic zone, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Natural Resources, and in addition to the Committees on Agriculture, and Transportation and Infrastructure, 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. ARRINGTON (for himself, Mr. NEWHOUSE, Ms. VAN DUYN, Mr. JACKSON, Ms. GRANGER, Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas, Mr. CAWTHORN, Mrs. MILLER of West Virginia, Mr. PFLUGER, Mr. TONY GONZALES of Texas, Mr. BUDD, Mr. BALDERSON, Mr. ROY, Mr. FALLON, Mr. BABIN, Mr. SESSIONS, Mr. GOODEN of Texas, Mr. DUNCAN, Mrs. BICE of Oklahoma, Mr. CLOUD, Mr. TAYLOR, Mr. CRENSHAW, and Mr. MCCAUL):

H.R. 6259. A bill to revise the authority provided to the President to impose export licensing requirements or other restrictions on the export of crude oil from the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. BACON:

H.R. 6260. A bill to direct the Secretary of Defense to establish a working group for the reform of the casualty assistance officer program, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. BOWMAN (for himself, Ms. JACKSON LEE, Ms. CLARKE of New York, Mr. PAYNE, Mr. GARCÍA of Illinois, Ms. JOHNSON of Texas, Mr. DAVID SCOTT of Georgia, Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi, Mr. CARSON, Mr. CLEAVER, Mr. JONES, Ms. NORTON, Ms. TLAIB, Mrs. CAROLYN B. MALONEY of New York, Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin, Mrs. WATSON COLEMAN, Mr. KHANNA, Ms. LEE of California, Mr. EVANS, Mr. NADLER, Ms. WILLIAMS of Georgia, Mr. CÁRDENAS, Ms. BUSH, Mr. BROWN of Maryland, Mr. MEEKS, Mr. CONNOLLY, Ms. WILSON of Florida, Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS of Illinois, Mr. BLUMENAUER, Mr. KAHELE, Mr. MCGOVERN, Ms. JAYAPAL, Mr. VARGAS, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Ms. MCCOLLUM, Ms. ADAMS, Mr. LEVIN of Michigan, Mrs. BEATTY, Mr. BUTTERFIELD, Mr. HORSFORD, Mrs. LAWRENCE, Mr. COHEN, Ms. KELLY of Illinois, Mr. AUCHINCLOSS, Ms. MENG, Mr. RUSH, Ms. BASS, Ms. OCASIO-CORTEZ, Mr. JOHNSON of Georgia, Ms. OMAR, Mr. GALLEGRO, Mr. POCAN, Ms. PRESSLEY, and Mr. GREEN of Texas):

H.R. 6261. A bill to authorize the Director of the National Museum of African American History and Culture to support African American history education programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. CARTER of Georgia (for himself, Mr. DUNCAN, Mr. WEBER of Texas, Mr. TIFFANY, Mr. GOHMERT, and Mr. BABIN):

H.R. 6262. A bill to ban the teaching of critical race theory in public education, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. DIAZ-BALART:

H.R. 6263. A bill to amend title 54, United States Code, and the Federal Lands Recreation Enhancement Act to prohibit medical discrimination relating to applications for commercial use authorizations and special

recreation permits, and to clarify the status of the holders of commercial use authorizations and special recreation permits, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Natural Resources, 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. GARBARINO (for himself, Mr. BUDD, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mr. JACOBS of New York, Mrs. MILLER-MEEKS, Mrs. HINSON, Mr. VAN DREW, Mr. WEBER of Texas, Mrs. CAMMACK, Mr. GIMENEZ, Ms. MALLIOTAKIS, Mr. BISHOP of North Carolina, Ms. TENNEY, Mr. GUEST, Ms. STEFANIK, Mr. KATKO, and Mr. ZELDIN):

H.R. 6264. A bill to make the assault of a law enforcement officer a deportable offense, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HILL (for himself and Mr. BRENDAN F. BOYLE of Pennsylvania):

H.R. 6265. A bill to require a strategy by the United States Government to disrupt and dismantle the Captagon trade and narcotics networks of Bashar al-Assad in Syria; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and in addition to the Committees on Intelligence (Permanent Select), Armed Services, and the Judiciary, 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. JOHNSON of Georgia (for himself, Mr. JONES, Mr. COHEN, and Ms. OCASIO-CORTEZ):

H.R. 6266. A bill to amend title 28, United States Code, to require certain disclosures related to amicus activities; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JONES (for himself, Mr. SUOZZI, Ms. MENG, Ms. VELÁZQUEZ, Mr. JEFFRIES, Ms. CLARKE of New York, Mr. NADLER, Mrs. CAROLYN B. MALONEY of New York, Mr. ESPALLAT, Mr. TORRES of New York, Mr. SEAN PATRICK MALONEY of New York, Mr. DELGADO, and Mr. JACOBS of New York):

H.R. 6267. A bill to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 15 Chestnut Street in Suffern, New York, as the "Sergeant Gerald T. 'Jerry' Donnellan Post Office"; to the Committee on Oversight and Reform.

By Ms. KELLY of Illinois (for herself, Ms. CLARKE of New York, Mr. FITZPATRICK, and Mrs. WATSON COLEMAN):

H.R. 6268. A bill to establish an Interagency Task Force to examine the conditions and experiences of Black women and girls in education, economic development, healthcare, labor and employment, housing, justice and civil rights, to promote community-based methods for mitigating and addressing harm and ensuring accountability, and to study societal effects on Black women and girls, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary, and in addition to the Committees on Education and Labor, Energy and Commerce, and Financial Services, 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. KRISHNAMOORTHY (for himself and Mr. STEWART):

H.R. 6269. A bill to require a report on cooperation between China and the United Arab Emirates regarding defense, security, technology, and other strategically sensitive matters that implicate the national security interests of the United States, and for other

purposes; to the Committee on Intelligence (Permanent Select).

By Mr. LARSEN of Washington (for himself, Mr. GRAVES of Louisiana, and Ms. TITUS):

H.R. 6270. A bill to direct the Secretary of Transportation to establish a pilot program to provide grants related to advanced air mobility infrastructure, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

By Mr. LATURNER:

H.R. 6271. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to improve access to health care through expanded health savings accounts, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means, and in addition to the Committees on Energy and Commerce, and the Judiciary, 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. LAWSON of Florida (for himself, Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin, Ms. TLAIB, Ms. LEE of California, Mr. KHANNA, Mr. GRIJALVA, Ms. JACOBS of California, Ms. MENG, Ms. BASS, Mr. JOHNSON of Georgia, Mrs. DEMINGS, Mr. MCGOVERN, Ms. WILSON of Florida, Mr. TRONE, Mr. BOWMAN, Mrs. WATSON COLEMAN, Mr. ESPALLAT, Mr. HUFFMAN, Mr. TORRES of New York, Mr. GARCÍA of Illinois, Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD, Mr. CLEAVER, Mr. MOULTON, Mr. VICENTE GONZALEZ of Texas, Mr. DESAULNIER, Mr. RUSH, Mr. PAYNE, Ms. DEAN, Mr. SWALWELL, Mr. KILMER, Mr. GALLEGRO, Ms. BUSH, Mr. CORREA, Mr. EVANS, Mr. WELCH, Mr. CRIST, Mr. BLUMENAUER, Mr. JONES, Mr. CUELLAR, and Mrs. HAYES):

H.R. 6272. A bill to amend the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 to expand the eligibility of students to participate in the supplemental nutrition assistance program, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mrs. LEE of Nevada (for herself, Mr. TONY GONZALES of Texas, Mr. ALLRED, and Mr. GONZALEZ of Ohio):

H.R. 6273. A bill to direct the Secretary of Veterans Affairs to establish the Zero Suicide Initiative pilot program of the Department of Veterans Affairs; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. LUETKEMEYER (for himself, Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas, Mr. BUDD, Mrs. WAGNER, Mr. HUIZENGA, Mr. TIMMONS, Mr. MOONEY, Mr. EMMER, Mr. LOUDERMILK, Mr. POSEY, Mr. ROSE, Mr. KUSTOFF, Mr. TAYLOR, Mr. STEEL, Mr. GONZALEZ of Ohio, Mr. GOODEN of Texas, Mr. DAVIDSON, Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH, Mr. MCHENRY, Mr. ZELDIN, Mr. HILL, Mr. BARR, Mr. LUCAS, and Mr. SESSIONS):

H.R. 6274. A bill to amend the Federal Deposit Insurance Act to revise the membership requirements for the Board of Directors of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Financial Services.

By Ms. MACE:

H.R. 6275. A bill to prohibit the use of Federal funds to administer a COVID-19 vaccine to officers and employees of the U.S. Border Patrol, U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, or certain Department of the Interior officers and employees or require that such officers and employees receive such a vaccine as a condition of employment; to the Committee on Homeland Security, and in addition to the Committees on Natural Resources, and the Judiciary, 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. MCCLINTOCK (for himself, Mr. THOMPSON of California, Mr. MCNERNEY, Mr. ISSA, Mrs. STEEL, Mr. COSTA, Mr. HUFFMAN, Mr. NUNES, Mr. GARCIA of California, Mr. OBERNOLTE, Ms. BROWNLEY, Mr. VALADAO, Mr. LAMALFA, Mr. LEVIN of California, Ms. PORTER, Mr. CALVERT, Mr. SHERMAN, Mr. LIEU, Mr. CARBAJAL, Mrs. KIM of California, Mr. MCCARTHY, Mr. PETERS, Mr. HARDER of California, Mr. SWALWELL, and Mr. PANETTA):

H.R. 6276. A bill to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 3045 Sacramento Street in Placerville, California, as the “Deputy Sheriff Brian Ishmael Post Office”; to the Committee on Oversight and Reform.

By Mr. MOOLENAAR (for himself and Mr. MEUSER):

H.R. 6277. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to exclude ethylene from taxation under the Superfund excise tax; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MOULTON (for himself and Mrs. TRAHAN):

H.R. 6278. A bill to amend the Servicemembers Civil Relief Act to make a violation of such Act, relating to the enforcement of a storage lien, a felony; to the Committee on Veterans’ Affairs, and in addition to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, 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. NORCROSS (for himself and Mr. TRONE):

H.R. 6279. A bill to authorize a study on certain exemptions for treatment of opioid use disorder through opioid treatment programs during the COVID-19 public health emergency, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

By Mr. O’HALLERAN (for himself, Mr. STEWART, and Mr. MOORE of Utah):

H.R. 6280. A bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to exempt certain employees engaged in outdoor recreational outfitting or guiding services from maximum hours requirements; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. PANETTA (for himself, Mr. AUCHINCLOSS, Ms. NORTON, Mr. SWALWELL, and Mr. THOMPSON of California):

H.R. 6281. A bill to require the search and retention of certain records with respect to conducting criminal background checks, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

By Mr. PERRY (for himself and Mr. GOHMERT):

H.R. 6282. A bill to amend title III of the Public Health Service Act to eliminate immunity for manufacturers of COVID-19 vaccines, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

By Mr. RASKIN (for himself, Mr. JONES, Mr. CASE, Ms. NORTON, Mr. LIEU, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. COOPER, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Mr. POCAN, Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD, Mr. JOHNSON of Georgia, Ms. TLAIB, Mr. SUOZZI, Ms. TITUS, Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS of Illinois, Mr. DESAULNIER, Mr. QUIGLEY, Mr. TRONE, Mr. DEUTCH, and Ms. WILLIAMS of Georgia):

H.R. 6283. A bill to amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to apply the ban on contributions and expenditures by foreign nationals under such Act to foreign-controlled, foreign-influenced, and foreign-owned domestic business entities, and for other purposes; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. ROSENDALE (for himself, Mr. WESTERMAN, Mr. NEWHOUSE, and Mr. FULCHER):

H.R. 6284. A bill to direct the Secretary of the Interior to reissue a final rule relating to removing the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem population of grizzly bears from the Federal list of endangered and threatened wildlife and to issue a new rule removing the Northern Continental Divide Ecosystem population of grizzly bears from such list; to the Committee on Natural Resources.

By Mr. SHERMAN (for himself, Mrs. SPARTZ, and Mr. BARR):

H.R. 6285. A bill to amend the Sarbanes-Oxley Act of 2002 to institute a trading prohibition for certain issuers that retain public accounting firms that have not been subject to inspection by the Public Company Accounting Oversight Board, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Financial Services.

By Ms. SHERRILL (for herself, Mr. KRISHNAMOORTHY, and Mr. STEWART):

H.R. 6286. A bill to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to vest regulatory authority with respect to tobacco products containing nicotine not made or derived from tobacco, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

By Ms. SHERRILL (for herself, Ms. DEAN, Mr. CARSON, Mr. HARDER of California, Ms. BONAMICI, Mr. YARMUTH, Ms. SCANLON, Mr. FITZPATRICK, Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS of Illinois, Mr. BACON, and Mr. POSEY):

H.R. 6287. A bill to amend the McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act to meet the needs of homeless children, youth, and families, and honor the assessments and priorities of local communities; to the Committee on Financial Services, and in addition to the Committee on Education and Labor, 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. SMITH of New Jersey:

H.R. 6288. A bill to establish certain protections for members of the Armed Forces who refuse to receive vaccinations against COVID-19; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Ms. STANSBURY (for herself and Ms. LEGER FERNANDEZ):

H.R. 6289. A bill to provide the consent of Congress to an amendment to the Constitution of the State of New Mexico; to the Committee on Natural Resources.

By Mr. TONKO (for himself, Mrs. AXNE, and Mr. UPTON):

H.R. 6290. A bill to provide for the establishment of a section of the website of the Department of Commerce that shall serve as the primary hub for information relating to Federal manufacturing programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

By Mr. TONKO (for himself and Mr. ELLZEY):

H.R. 6291. A bill to provide for a comprehensive and integrative program to accelerate microelectronics research and development at the Department of Energy, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Science, Space, and Technology.

By Mr. WENSTRUP (for himself and Mr. TURNER):

H.R. 6292. A bill to direct the Department of Defense to report to Congress on the potential integration of advanced propulsion systems into F-35 aircraft, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Ms. WILSON of Florida (for herself, Ms. NORTON, Mr. GRIJALVA, and Mr. MOULTON):

H.R. 6293. A bill to amend the National Voter Registration Act of 1993 to require

States to designate public high schools as voter registration agencies, to direct such schools to conduct voter registration drives for students attending such schools, to direct the Secretary of Education to make grants to reimburse such schools for the costs of conducting such voter registration drives, and for other purposes; to the Committee on House Administration, and in addition to the Committee on Education and Labor, 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. YOUNG:

H.R. 6294. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for demonstration grants and create a Federal Work Group to reduce and prevent the incidence of teen dating violence; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

By Mr. LAMBORN (for himself, Mr. SCALISE, Mr. BANKS, Mr. CAWTHORN, Mr. OBERNOLTE, Mrs. HARTZLER, Mr. WITTMAN, Mr. ALLEN, Mr. GOOD of Virginia, Ms. MALLIOTAKIS, Mr. GROTHMAN, Mr. DUNCAN, Mr. ROUZER, Mr. AUSTIN SCOTT of Georgia, Mr. GARCIA of California, Mr. MOOLENAAR, Mr. JACOBS of New York, Mr. CARL, Mr. WEBER of Texas, Mr. ADERHOLT, Mr. BURGESS, Mrs. HARSHBARGER, Mr. PFLUGER, Mr. BABIN, Ms. VAN DUYNE, Mr. LAMALFA, Mr. MEUSER, Mr. WILSON of South Carolina, Mr. BERGMAN, Mrs. MILLER of Illinois, Mr. HUIZENGA, Mr. HERN, Mr. WALBERG, Mr. GAETZ, Mr. PALAZZO, Mr. NORMAN, Mr. CLINE, and Mr. STAUBER):

H. Res. 850. A resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the symbols and traditions of Christmas should be protected for use by those who celebrate Christmas; to the Committee on Oversight and Reform.

By Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi:

H. Res. 851. A resolution recommending that the House of Representatives find Mark Randall Meadows in contempt of Congress for refusal to comply with a subpoena duly issued by the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol; considered and agreed to.

By Ms. JACOBS of California (for herself and Mr. FITZPATRICK):

H. Res. 853. A resolution calling on the United States and international donors to prioritize children, including the efforts of UNICEF, in COVID-19 rebuilding efforts; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Ms. NORTON:

H. Res. 854. A resolution calling on Congress to condemn voter suppression laws enacted by States and political subdivisions; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. STAUBER (for himself, Mr. NEWHOUSE, Mr. PFLUGER, Mr. YOUNG, Mr. AMODEI, Mr. MCKINLEY, Mr. GOSAR, Mr. GRIFFITH, Mr. BOST, Mr. KELLER, Mr. MEUSER, Mr. LAMBORN, Mr. STEWART, Ms. HERRELL, Mr. MOONEY, Mr. TIFFANY, Mrs. FISCHBACH, Mr. RODNEY DAVIS of Illinois, Mrs. BOEBERT, Ms. CHENEY, Mr. EMMER, Mr. LAMALFA, Mr. NORMAN, Mr. FULCHER, and Mr. BUCHSHON):

H. Res. 855. A resolution expressing support for designation of the first week of December 2022 as National United States Miners Week; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Ms. WILD (for herself and Mr. FITZPATRICK):

H. Res. 856. A resolution expressing support for the designation of “National Amplified Musculoskeletal Pain Syndrome Awareness Day”; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of rule XII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

ML-127. The SPEAKER presented a memorial of the General Assembly of the State of North Dakota, relative to House Concurrent Resolution No. 3049, recognizing parents as the chief stakeholder of the future and education to their children; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

ML-128. Also, a memorial of the House of Representatives of the State of Michigan, relative to House Resolution No. 177, to demand that President Biden and the United States Congress provide no support to the Taliban, either direct or indirect, including but not limited to aid; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

ML-129. Also, a memorial of the Senate of the State of Michigan, relative to Senate Resolution No. 88, to support the religious liberty of Michigan citizens; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

ML-130. Also, a memorial of the Senate of the State of Michigan, relative to Senate Resolution No. 89, urging the Federal Government to allow persons under the age of 21 to operate commercial vehicles on interstate routes; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

ML-131. Also, a memorial of the Senate of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, relative to Senate Resolution No. 195, urging the Congress of the United States to oppose the proposal to make an unnecessary and harmful change to Internal Revenue Service reporting requirements that affect financial institutions and their customers in this Commonwealth; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

ML-132. Also, a memorial of the House of Representatives of the State of Michigan, relative to House Resolution No. 157, urging the members of Congress to take action to mitigate the depletion of the Social Security and Medicare Trust Funds; jointly to the Committees on Energy and Commerce and Ways and Means.

 PRIVATE BILLS AND
RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XII,

Mr. MOULTON introduced A bill (H.R. 6295) to For the relief of Maria Merida de Macario and Firely Airlen Rios Cano; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

 CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY
STATEMENT

Pursuant to clause 7 of rule XII of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the following statements are submitted regarding the specific powers granted to Congress in the Constitution to enact the accompanying bill or joint resolution.

By Mr. MCGOVERN:

H.R. 6256.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 3 and Clause 18

By Mr. WEBSTER of Florida:

H.R. 6257.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8, Clause 3 and Article 1, Section 8, Clause 18

By Mr. PALAZZO:

H.R. 6258.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution
By Mr. ARRINGTON:

H.R. 6259.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8, Clause 18

By Mr. BACON:

H.R. 6260.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8 provides Congress the authority to "make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces"

By Mr. BOWMAN:

H.R. 6261.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, section 8 of the Constitution of the United States.

By Mr. CARTER of Georgia:

H.R. 6262.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution

By Mr. DIAZ-BALART:

H.R. 6263.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8

By Mr. GARBARINO:

H.R. 6264.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following: Article 1, Section 8 of the United States Constitution.

By Mr. HILL:

H.R. 6265.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution

By Mr. JOHNSON of Georgia:

H.R. 6266.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

This bill is enacted pursuant to Article I, section 8, clause 18 of the United States Constitution.

By Mr. JONES:

H.R. 6267.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8, of the United States Constitution.

By Ms. KELLY of Illinois:

H.R. 6268.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Clause 18 of Section 8 Article 1 of the Constitution

By Mr. KRISHNAMOORTHY:

H.R. 6269.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1 Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution

By Mr. LARSEN of Washington:

H.R. 6270.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution.

By Mr. LATURNER:

H.R. 6271.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I Section 8 which provides Congress the power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States.

By Mr. LAWSON of Florida:

H.R. 6272.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8: To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers,

and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof

By Mrs. LEE of Nevada:

H.R. 6273.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 1 provides Congress with the power to "lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises" in order to "provide for the . . . general Welfare of the United States."

By Mr. LUETKEMEYER:

H.R. 6274.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution: Congress shall have the power to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

By Ms. MACE:

H.R. 6275.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, section 8, Clauses 1 and 18

By Mr. MCCLINTOCK:

H.R. 6276.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 7 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

By Mr. MOOLENAAR:

H.R. 6277.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8 of the United States Constitution

By Mr. MOULTON:

H.R. 6278.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

This bill is enacted pursuant to the power granted to Congress under Article 1, Section 8 of the United States Constitution.

By Mr. NORCROSS:

H.R. 6279.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1 Section 8

By Mr. O'HALLERAN:

H.R. 6280.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Clause 18, section 8 of article 1 of the Constitution

By Mr. PANETTA:

H.R. 6281.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, clause 18

By Mr. PERRY:

H.R. 6282.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8

By Mr. RASKIN:

H.R. 6283.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

This bill is enacted pursuant to the power granted to Congress under Article 1, Section 8 of the United States Constitution.

By Mr. ROSENDALE:

H.R. 6284.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution of the United States

By Mr. SHERMAN:

H.R. 6285.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

The power granted to Congress under Article I, Section 8, Clauses 1 and 18 of the United States Constitution.

By Ms. SHERRILL:
H.R. 6286.
Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:
Clause 18 of Section 8 or Article 1 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

By Ms. SHERRILL:
H.R. 6287.
Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:
Clause 18 of Section 8 or Article 1 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

By Mr. SMITH of New Jersey:
H.R. 6288.
Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:
Article I Section 8 of the US Constitution
By Ms. STANSBURY:
H.R. 6289.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:
Article I, section 8
By Mr. TONKO:
H.R. 6290.
Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:
Article I, section 8 of the Constitution of the United States.

By Mr. TONKO:
H.R. 6291.
Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:
Article I, section 8 of the Constitution of the United States.

By Mr. WENSTRUP:
H.R. 6292.
Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:
Article I, Section 8
By Ms. WILSON of Florida:
H.R. 6293.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:
Article 1, Section 8
By Mr. YOUNG:
H.R. 6294.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:
Article I, Section 8, Clause 1 and Article I, Section 8, Clause 18

By Mr. MOULTON:
H.R. 6295.
Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:
Article I; Section 8, Clause 4 and 18 of the United States Constitution.

ADDITIONAL SPONSORS

Under clause 7 of rule XII, sponsors were added to public bills and resolutions, as follows:

H.R. 38: Mr. FLEISCHMANN and Mr. MCCAUL.
H.R. 55: Ms. TITUS and Mr. LEVIN of Michigan.

H.R. 82: Mr. LATURNER.
H.R. 151: Ms. MALLIOTAKIS, Mr. GARAMENDI, Mr. DOGGETT, and Mr. PAYNE.

H.R. 203: Mr. CRENSHAW.
H.R. 222: Ms. WILLIAMS of Georgia.
H.R. 255: Ms. SANCHEZ.
H.R. 263: Mr. DOGGETT.
H.R. 310: Mr. PALAZZO.
H.R. 415: Mr. BERA.
H.R. 426: Mr. VAN DREW.
H.R. 504: Mr. BABIN, Mr. BUDD, and Mrs. MILLER-MEEKS.

H.R. 571: Mr. PAYNE.
H.R. 616: Mr. GALLEGO and Mr. LEVIN of California.

H.R. 623: Mrs. KIM of California.
H.R. 725: Mr. GOOD of Virginia.
H.R. 748: Mr. SMITH of Washington, Mr. POSTER, Ms. LOFGREN, Mrs. TORRES of California, and Ms. UNDERWOOD.

H.R. 794: Mrs. CAROLYN B. MALONEY of New York and Ms. LEE of California.

H.R. 849: Mr. PHILLIPS, Mr. PAYNE, and Ms. PRESSLEY.

H.R. 890: Mr. JOYCE of Pennsylvania and Ms. LEE of California.

H.R. 962: Ms. LOIS FRANKEL of Florida.
H.R. 971: Mr. LARSEN of Washington.
H.R. 1012: Mrs. TRAHAN and Mrs. KIM of California.

H.R. 1095: Mr. VALADAO and Mrs. STEEL.
H.R. 1111: Ms. JACOBS of California.
H.R. 1115: Mr. VAN DREW.
H.R. 1182: Ms. JACOBS of California.
H.R. 1183: Ms. JACOBS of California.

H.R. 1211: Mr. DELGADO.
H.R. 1259: Mr. FITZPATRICK.
H.R. 1282: Mr. CORREA, Ms. WEXTON, and Mr. HICE of Georgia.

H.R. 1304: Mr. PERRY.
H.R. 1305: Ms. WILLIAMS of Georgia.
H.R. 1344: Mr. PAYNE.
H.R. 1378: Mr. CORREA, Mr. VARGAS, and Mr. GOMEZ.

H.R. 1397: Ms. LEE of California and Mr. FITZPATRICK.

H.R. 1408: Ms. BONAMICI.
H.R. 1432: Ms. BONAMICI.
H.R. 1456: Ms. WILLIAMS of Georgia.
H.R. 1558: Mr. BOWMAN and Ms. CHU.
H.R. 1577: Mr. MCGOVERN.

H.R. 1596: Ms. WILLIAMS of Georgia.
H.R. 1676: Ms. LEE of California.
H.R. 1697: Mrs. HAYES.

H.R. 1729: Mr. WITTMAN, Mr. DONALDS, and Mr. BISHOP of North Carolina.

H.R. 1755: Mr. HUFFMAN.
H.R. 1785: Ms. DEGETTE.
H.R. 1813: Mrs. MILLER-MEEKS and Mrs. FLETCHER.

H.R. 1842: Ms. MENG, Mrs. NAPOLITANO, Mr. CONNOLLY, Mr. GARCÍA of Illinois, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mr. EVANS, Ms. ESCOBAR, Ms. TLAIB, Mr. AMODEI, Mr. PAYNE, Mr. QUIGLEY, Ms. LOIS FRANKEL of Florida, Mr. BLUMENAUER, Mr. KIM of New Jersey, Mr. CARBAJAL, Ms. LOFGREN, and Mrs. TORRES of California.

H.R. 1861: Mr. MAST, Mr. KELLY of Mississippi, Mr. PFLUGER, Mr. WALBERG, Mr. MOORE of Alabama, Mr. MURPHY of North Carolina, Mrs. HARSHBARGER, Mr. CRAWFORD, Mr. YOUNG, and Ms. SCHRIER.

H.R. 1954: Mr. GOTTHEIMER.
H.R. 1972: Mr. KIM of New Jersey.
H.R. 1997: Ms. CRAIG.

H.R. 2007: Ms. LEGER FERNANDEZ and Ms. LOIS FRANKEL of Florida.

H.R. 2012: Ms. LEGER FERNANDEZ.
H.R. 2021: Ms. JACOBS of California.

H.R. 2054: Ms. BOURDEAUX.
H.R. 2085: Mr. VAN DREW, Mr. KILDEE, Mr. MALINOWSKI, Ms. TITUS, Mr. LIEU, Mr. KRISHNAMOORTHY, Mr. RUPPERSBERGER, Mr. RASKIN, Ms. ESCOBAR, and Mr. AGUILAR.

H.R. 2151: Mr. DELGADO.
H.R. 2154: Ms. SPANBERGER.
H.R. 2175: Ms. BONAMICI.

H.R. 2182: Mr. LEVIN of California.
H.R. 2193: Mr. MCEACHIN, Mrs. MURPHY of Florida, and Mrs. MCBATH.

H.R. 2199: Mr. GROTHMAN.
H.R. 2222: Ms. WILLIAMS of Georgia, Ms. DEGETTE, and Ms. SCANLON.

H.R. 2249: Ms. BOURDEAUX, Mr. TIFFANY, and Ms. BROWN of Ohio.
H.R. 2255: Mr. HARDER of California and Mr. CÁRDENAS.

H.R. 2269: Mr. KRISHNAMOORTHY.
H.R. 2282: Ms. KELLY of Illinois.
H.R. 2377: Mr. KILMER.

H.R. 2515: Mr. TIFFANY.
H.R. 2538: Mr. BERA.

H.R. 2565: Mrs. MCCLAIN, Ms. STEVENS, Mr. WALTZ, Mr. CÁRDENAS, Ms. KAPTUR, and Mr. SESSIONS.

H.R. 2584: Ms. NORTON and Mr. LEVIN of Michigan.

H.R. 2586: Mr. LEVIN of California and Mr. RUSH.

H.R. 2600: Ms. SALAZAR.
H.R. 2748: Mr. BURGESS.

H.R. 2800: Mr. GOTTHEIMER.
H.R. 2820: Mrs. MCBATH, Mrs. STEEL, and Mr. BURCHETT.

H.R. 2827: Ms. SHERRILL.
H.R. 2834: Ms. NORTON.
H.R. 2837: Mr. RASKIN.

H.R. 2840: Mr. GARAMENDI, Mr. CLEAVER, and Ms. DELAURO.

H.R. 2898: Mrs. HAYES.
H.R. 2985: Mr. TRONE.
H.R. 3010: Mr. ALLRED.

H.R. 3075: Ms. JAYAPAL.
H.R. 3076: Ms. ESHOO and Mrs. SPARTZ.
H.R. 3085: Mr. DONALDS.

H.R. 3095: Mrs. LURIA, Mr. KILDEE, Ms. KUSTER, Mrs. FLETCHER, Mr. STAUBER, and Mr. GARBARINO.

H.R. 3100: Mr. GRIJALVA and Mr. SWALWELL.

H.R. 3115: Mr. TAKANO.
H.R. 3172: Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mr. VEASEY, Mr. PAPPAS, and Mr. CORREA.

H.R. 3187: Miss RICE of New York.
H.R. 3252: Mr. BURCHETT.
H.R. 3277: Ms. TITUS.

H.R. 3295: Mr. DONALDS.
H.R. 3321: Mr. GALLEGO and Ms. BOURDEAUX.

H.R. 3327: Mr. DELGADO.
H.R. 3400: Mr. ALLRED.
H.R. 3408: Mr. BISHOP of Georgia.

H.R. 3455: Mr. SIRES.
H.R. 3456: Mrs. FLETCHER.
H.R. 3466: Mr. CARBAJAL.

H.R. 3474: Ms. ESCOBAR.
H.R. 3488: Mr. LARSON of Connecticut, Mr. PRICE of North Carolina, Mr. HUFFMAN, Mr. SCHIFF, Mr. CORREA, and Mr. GOMEZ.

H.R. 3498: Mr. DONALDS.
H.R. 3512: Mr. CARSON.
H.R. 3517: Mr. BUTTERFIELD.

H.R. 3525: Mr. BRENDAN F. BOYLE of Pennsylvania.

H.R. 3541: Mr. CÁRDENAS, Mr. GREEN of Tennessee, and Mr. NEGUSE.
H.R. 3548: Mr. CLEAVER and Mr. PRICE of North Carolina.

H.R. 3554: Mr. RODNEY DAVIS of Illinois.
H.R. 3577: Mr. CICILLINE, Mr. OWENS, Mr. HIGGINS of New York, Ms. MCCOLLUM, Mr. BUTTERFIELD, Mrs. KIM of California, and Mrs. NAPOLITANO.

H.R. 3586: Ms. SCHRIER, Mr. COURTNEY, Ms. LEGER FERNANDEZ, Ms. STEVENS, Mr. YARMUTH, Ms. ADAMS, Mr. BOWMAN, Ms. SALAZAR, Ms. SPEIER, and Mr. DEUTCH.

H.R. 3602: Mr. COHEN and Ms. WILD.
H.R. 3655: Mr. BLUMENAUER.
H.R. 3656: Mr. BLUMENAUER.

H.R. 3671: Ms. JAYAPAL.
H.R. 3780: Mr. MOULTON and Mr. CARBAJAL.
H.R. 3807: Mrs. MURPHY of Florida.

H.R. 3843: Mr. SHERMAN.
H.R. 3858: Mr. ELLZEY.
H.R. 3860: Mr. RODNEY DAVIS of Illinois and Mr. WEBSTER of Florida.

H.R. 3868: Mrs. LESKO.
H.R. 3883: Ms. SHERRILL.
H.R. 3884: Mr. COHEN.

H.R. 3932: Mr. DESAULNIER and Mr. BACON.
H.R. 3953: Mr. DEFAZIO.
H.R. 3962: Mr. CARTWRIGHT.

H.R. 3990: Mr. PAPPAS.
H.R. 4017: Mrs. CAROLYN B. MALONEY of New York.

H.R. 4042: Miss GONZÁLEZ-COLON.
H.R. 4058: Ms. CLARKE of New York.
H.R. 4079: Mr. GALLEGO.

H.R. 4110: Ms. BONAMICI, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Ms. MATSUI, Ms. CASTOR of Florida, Ms. CLARKE of New York, Mr. CÁRDENAS, Mr. RUIZ, Mrs. DINGELL, Mr. VEASEY, Ms. KUSTER, Ms. BARRAGAN, Mr. MCEACHIN, Mr. SOTO, Mr. KILMER, Ms. KAPTUR, Mr. RUPPERSBERGER, and Mr. TRONE.

- H.R. 4114: Mr. GARBARINO.
H.R. 4122: Mr. KIM of New Jersey.
H.R. 4130: Mr. RUSH and Mr. MEEKS.
H.R. 4134: Mr. MOULTON.
H.R. 4141: Mr. HAGEDORN, Ms. DAVIDS of Kansas, Ms. DEAN, Mr. SMITH of Nebraska, and Mr. ADERHOLT.
H.R. 4146: Mr. DOGGETT.
H.R. 4148: Ms. LOIS FRANKEL of Florida and Mr. CUELLAR.
H.R. 4150: Mr. SCHNEIDER.
H.R. 4166: Mr. MCEACHIN.
H.R. 4176: Mr. VARGAS, Mr. CORREA, Mr. SCHIFF, Mr. HUFFMAN, Mr. GOMEZ, and Mr. BERA.
H.R. 4186: Ms. WILLIAMS of Georgia, Mrs. NAPOLITANO, and Ms. SÁNCHEZ.
H.R. 4277: Mr. WELCH.
H.R. 4295: Mr. DELGADO.
H.R. 4311: Mr. CASTRO of Texas.
H.R. 4402: Mr. ALLRED, Ms. ESCOBAR, and Mr. GOMEZ.
H.R. 4407: Mrs. BUSTOS.
H.R. 4476: Mr. DELGADO.
H.R. 4526: Mr. LEVIN of California.
H.R. 4575: Mr. GARBARINO and Mr. GRIF-FITH.
H.R. 4585: Mr. COSTA.
H.R. 4602: Ms. NORTON.
H.R. 4634: Mr. KIND.
H.R. 4677: Mr. PAYNE and Mr. NORCROSS.
H.R. 4693: Mr. PENCE, Mr. BLUMENAUER, and Mr. LATURNER.
H.R. 4728: Ms. JACKSON LEE.
H.R. 4743: Ms. NORTON.
H.R. 4744: Ms. NORTON.
H.R. 4750: Mr. COOPER, Ms. JAYAPAL, and Mrs. AXNE.
H.R. 4758: Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania.
H.R. 4766: Mr. SMITH of Washington.
H.R. 4786: Mr. KILMER.
H.R. 4794: Mr. KILMER.
H.R. 4803: Mr. SUOZZI and Ms. LEE of California.
H.R. 4810: Mr. SESSIONS.
H.R. 4811: Mr. JEFFRIES, Mrs. LAWRENCE, and Mr. DESAULNIER.
H.R. 4859: Mr. BACON.
H.R. 4870: Mr. DOGGETT.
H.R. 4878: Mr. LIEU.
H.R. 4880: Mr. BANKS and Mr. LEVIN of California.
H.R. 4917: Ms. SCHAKOWSKY.
H.R. 4942: Ms. LEE of California.
H.R. 5019: Ms. ROSS.
H.R. 5106: Mr. PALMER.
H.R. 5124: Mr. MICHAEL F. DOYLE of Pennsylvania.
H.R. 5141: Mr. PERLMUTTER, Ms. DELBENE, Mr. TRONE, Mr. DEUTCH, Mr. PANETTA, Mr. CLEAVER, Mr. HIGGINS of New York, Mr. CLYBURN, Mr. ALLRED, and Ms. HOULAHAN.
H.R. 5151: Ms. SHERRILL and Mr. CASE.
H.R. 5174: Mr. MURPHY of North Carolina.
H.R. 5186: Mr. GOTTHEIMER.
H.R. 5218: Mr. CLEAVER.
H.R. 5224: Mr. JACOBS of New York and Ms. MALLIOTAKIS.
H.R. 5300: Ms. WILLIAMS of Georgia, Ms. WASSERMAN SCHULTZ, and Mr. CÁRDENAS.
H.R. 5332: Mr. COHEN.
H.R. 5344: Mr. RUSH.
H.R. 5429: Mr. DELGADO.
H.R. 5441: Mr. PALLONE.
H.R. 5444: Mr. CARBAJAL.
H.R. 5468: Mr. MCNERNEY and Ms. BARRAGÁN.
H.R. 5502: Ms. SÁNCHEZ, Mr. DAVID SCOTT of Georgia, Ms. FOX, and Mr. GUEST.
H.R. 5508: Mr. PALLONE.
H.R. 5514: Mr. BURGESS.
H.R. 5528: Mr. CASE.
H.R. 5533: Mrs. MCBATH.
H.R. 5536: Mr. CÁRDENAS, Mr. BACON, and Ms. SCHAKOWSKY.
H.R. 5548: Ms. SHERRILL.
H.R. 5554: Mr. DEUTCH, Mr. RASKIN, Mr. COHEN, Mr. NEGUSE, and Mr. LIEU.
H.R. 5562: Mr. O'HALLERAN.
H.R. 5577: Mr. TURNER, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mr. BARR, Mr. LAMALFA, Mr. SCHWEIKERT, Mr. CRENSHAW, Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota, Mr. VALADAO, Mr. LAHOOD, Mr. LATURNER, Mr. HUDSON, and Mr. MAST.
H.R. 5581: Mr. DEUTCH.
H.R. 5585: Ms. JACOBS of California.
H.R. 5605: Mr. HORSFORD.
H.R. 5607: Mr. ALLRED.
H.R. 5611: Ms. CLARKE of New York and Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD.
H.R. 5620: Mrs. MILLER-MEEKS.
H.R. 5651: Ms. NORTON.
H.R. 5656: Mr. VALADAO.
H.R. 5718: Mr. JOHNSON of Georgia.
H.R. 5735: Mr. ALLRED, Mr. WITTMAN, Mr. VELA, Mr. KUSTOFF, Ms. STANSBURY, Mr. DONALDS, Mr. WELCH, and Mr. BABIN.
H.R. 5737: Mr. NEGUSE.
H.R. 5744: Mr. YARMUTH, Ms. CHU, and Mr. WELCH.
H.R. 5754: Mr. PALAZZO.
H.R. 5761: Mr. TRONE.
H.R. 5764: Ms. SCHAKOWSKY.
H.R. 5776: Ms. SHERRILL and Ms. WILLIAMS of Georgia.
H.R. 5788: Mrs. BICE of Oklahoma and Mr. DELGADO.
H.R. 5809: Mr. LOWENTHAL and Mr. CÁRDENAS.
H.R. 5819: Mr. SWALWELL.
H.R. 5828: Mr. KHANNA.
H.R. 5842: Ms. BARRAGÁN, Ms. DEAN, Mr. GARCÍA of Illinois, Ms. JACKSON LEE, Mr. LEVIN of Michigan, Mr. MOULTON, Mr. MRVAN, and Ms. PORTER.
H.R. 5853: Mr. BLUMENAUER, Mr. CONNOLLY, Mr. SMITH of Washington, Ms. TLAIB, Mr. TRONE, Ms. DEAN, and Mr. TORRES of New York.
H.R. 5888: Mr. DONALDS.
H.R. 5901: Mr. TIMMONS.
H.R. 5905: Mr. SOTO, Mr. EVANS, Mrs. MCBATH, Mr. CARTER of Louisiana, Mr. PAPPAS, and Ms. BARRAGÁN.
H.R. 5919: Mr. CORREA, Ms. MANNING, and Mr. CARBAJAL.
H.R. 5922: Mr. VARGAS and Ms. LEE of California.
H.R. 5937: Mr. SCHIFF and Mr. DESAULNIER.
H.R. 5950: Mr. BACON.
H.R. 5971: Ms. MACE.
H.R. 5975: Ms. LETLOW.
H.R. 5984: Mr. CORREA, Mr. MCGOVERN, Ms. CHU, Mr. JOHNSON of Georgia, Mrs. NAPOLITANO, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. HARDER of California, Mr. ALLRED, Mrs. MCBATH, Mr. CÁRDENAS, Ms. KELLY of Illinois, Ms. LEE of California, Ms. BROWNLEY, Mr. THOMPSON of California, Mr. CARTWRIGHT, Mrs. RODGERS of Washington, and Mr. KIM of New Jersey.
H.R. 6006: Mr. DONALDS.
H.R. 6009: Mr. ROSE and Mr. TIFFANY.
H.R. 6015: Mr. KIND, Mr. RUIZ, Mr. BROWN of Maryland, Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS of Illinois, Mr. SEAN PATRICK MALONEY of New York, Ms. LEE of California, Mr. BRENDAN F. BOYLE of Pennsylvania, Ms. BROWN of Ohio, Mr. LEVIN of Michigan, Mr. LANGEVIN, Mr. PERLMUTTER, Ms. KUSTER, Mr. KEATING, Mr. BEYER, Ms. WEXTON, Mr. VELA, Ms. PINGREE, Ms. WATERS, Mr. TORRES of New York, Mr. PAPPAS, Mr. O'HALLERAN, Ms. NEWMAN, Mrs. LEE of Nevada, Mr. MORELLE, Ms. SCHRIER, Mrs. NAPOLITANO, Mrs. KIRKPATRICK, Mr. WELCH, Ms. STRICKLAND, Mr. LAWSON of Florida, Mr. LYNCH, Mr. TONKO, Mr. RUPPERSBERGER, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. MCEACHIN, Mr. JONES, Ms. JACOBS of California, Mr. CARTWRIGHT, Ms. CHU, Mr. COOPER, Mr. COURTNEY, Mr. PAYNE, Ms. BARRAGÁN, Mr. CARBAJAL, Ms. CLARKE of New York, Mr. HARDER of California, Mr. HIGGINS of New York, Mr. HORSFORD, Ms. KAPTUR, Mr. KILDEE, Mr. LIEU, Ms. LOFGREN, Mr. MEEKS, Mr. MRVAN, Ms. OMAR, Mr. PHILLIPS, Ms. STANSBURY, Mr. VEASEY, and Mr. CORREA.
H.R. 6016: Mr. JACOBS of New York.
H.R. 6020: Mr. KILMER, Mr. KIM of New Jersey, Mr. GREEN of Tennessee, and Ms. WILLIAMS of Georgia.
H.R. 6023: Mrs. DINGELL, Ms. KAPTUR, Mr. QUIGLEY, Mrs. MCBATH, Mrs. CAROLYN B. MALONEY of New York, Mr. ESPAILLAT, Mr. LOWENTHAL, Mr. CONNOLLY, Mr. MEEKS, Mr. COHEN, Ms. NORTON, Mr. KRISHNAMOORTHY, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. THOMPSON of California, Ms. TITUS, Mr. CASE, Ms. MCCOLLUM, and Mr. YOUNG.
H.R. 6024: Mr. PHILLIPS.
H.R. 6056: Mr. SMUCKER.
H.R. 6059: Ms. NORTON, Mr. HORSFORD, and Mr. KHANNA.
H.R. 6069: Mrs. KIM of California.
H.R. 6089: Mr. SMITH of Nebraska.
H.R. 6095: Mr. TAKANO and Ms. JAYAPAL.
H.R. 6096: Ms. SHERRILL and Mr. CASE.
H.R. 6107: Mr. TAKANO.
H.R. 6114: Mr. SMITH of Nebraska.
H.R. 6121: Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS of Illinois, Mr. CRAWFORD, Mr. MRVAN, and Mr. BUCSHON.
H.R. 6122: Mr. FITZPATRICK.
H.R. 6123: Mr. FITZGERALD.
H.R. 6128: Mr. DONALDS.
H.R. 6132: Mr. FITZPATRICK and Mrs. MILLER-MEEKS.
H.R. 6133: Mr. LOUDERMILK.
H.R. 6144: Mr. KUSTOFF and Mr. ESTES.
H.R. 6145: Mr. MULLIN and Mr. LATURNER.
H.R. 6152: Mr. DELGADO.
H.R. 6161: Mr. MEUSER, Ms. NORTON, Ms. MANNING, Mr. PHILLIPS, Mr. WILSON of South Carolina, and Mr. DELGADO.
H.R. 6173: Mr. MCKINLEY and Mr. WENSTRUP.
H.R. 6175: Mr. LATURNER, Mr. ESTES, and Ms. DAVIDS of Kansas.
H.R. 6178: Mr. RODNEY DAVIS of Illinois and Mr. WEBER of Texas.
H.R. 6184: Mr. ROGERS of Kentucky, Mr. HILL, Mr. KUSTOFF, and Mr. BUDD.
H.R. 6186: Mr. MAST and Mr. VAN DREW.
H.R. 6202: Mr. DEFazio, Mrs. STEEL, and Mr. CASE.
H.R. 6205: Mr. BOWMAN.
H.R. 6206: Mr. BABIN and Mr. GOSAR.
H.R. 6207: Mr. CASTEN, Mr. CARTWRIGHT, Mr. THOMPSON of California, Mr. GALLEG0, Ms. ESCOBAR, Mrs. DEMINGS, Mr. MCNERNEY, Ms. WASSERMAN SCHULTZ, Mr. RASKIN, Mr. RUSH, Ms. WILD, Mr. CORREA, Mr. CLEAVER, Mr. AUCHINCLOSS, Mr. DOGGETT, Mr. LARSEN of Washington, Mr. PASCRELL, Ms. WILLIAMS of Georgia, Ms. SALAZAR, Mr. HUFFMAN, Ms. NEWMAN, Ms. DEAN, Mr. COHEN, Mr. GOTTHEIMER, Ms. ROSS, Mr. CARSON, Mr. SWALWELL, Mr. DEUTCH, Ms. PORTER, Mr. SUOZZI, and Ms. SLOTKIN.
H.R. 6219: Mrs. TRAHAN and Mrs. WATSON COLEMAN.
H.R. 6222: Ms. CHU and Mr. CÁRDENAS.
H.R. 6223: Mr. BIGGS, Mrs. LESKO, Mr. CRAWFORD, and Mr. STEUBE.
H.R. 6225: Ms. NORTON, Mr. AUCHINCLOSS, and Mr. PAYNE.
H.R. 6226: Mr. SMITH of Nebraska.
H.R. 6228: Mr. TRONE and Ms. WILLIAMS of Georgia.
H.R. 6229: Mr. DIAZ-BALART.
H.R. 6232: Mr. NEWHOUSE, Mr. BAIRD, and Mr. PANETTA.
H.R. 6234: Mr. PASCRELL.
H.R. 6235: Mrs. WALORSKI, Mr. LATURNER, Mr. BAIRD, Mr. BABIN, Mr. RESCHENTHALER, Mr. JOHNSON of Louisiana, and Ms. GRANGER.
H.R. 6237: Mr. RODNEY DAVIS of Illinois, Mr. CRAWFORD, Ms. MALLIOTAKIS, and Mr. BABIN.
H.R. 6238: Mr. BOWMAN and Ms. BUSH.
H.R. 6239: Mr. BUDD, Mr. BUCSHON, Mr. WENSTRUP, Mrs. HINSON, and Mr. RUTHERFORD.
H.R. 6247: Mr. PALAZZO and Mr. DESJARLAIS.
H.J. Res. 53: Mr. COOPER.

H. Con. Res. 19: Mr. PHILLIPS, Mr. MORELLE, Ms. TITUS, Mr. MICHAEL F. DOYLE of Pennsylvania, Ms. KAPTUR, Mr. RUIZ, Ms. WEXTON, Mr. CUELLAR, and Ms. LEGER FERNANDEZ.

H. Con. Res. 21: Mr. LATURNER.
 H. Con. Res. 57: Mr. LATTA.
 H. Res. 47: Mr. CORREA.
 H. Res. 49: Ms. NORTON.
 H. Res. 366: Mr. MANN.
 H. Res. 404: Mr. SWALWELL.
 H. Res. 586: Ms. VELÁZQUEZ.
 H. Res. 645: Mr. CALVERT.
 H. Res. 794: Mr. KIM of New Jersey.
 H. Res. 812: Ms. WILLIAMS of Georgia and Mr. LYNCH.
 H. Res. 831: Mr. FITZPATRICK, Mr. VARGAS, Mr. ISSA, and Mr. SMITH of Nebraska.
 H. Res. 846: Mr. CASE.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 3 of rule XII, petitions and papers were laid on the clerk's desk and referred as follows:

PT-87. The SPEAKER presented a petition of the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco, CA, relative to Resolution No. 444-21, supporting the Green New Deal for Public Schools Act of 2021 (H.R. 4442), to invest \$1.43 trillion to provide green renovations and retrofits to public schools to meet health, accessibility, safety needs, identify and alleviate educational and economic disparities among students, and provide funding for special education services; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

PT-88. Also, a petition of the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco, CA, relative to Resolution No. 443-21, retroactively declaring August 30 as International Day of the Victims of Enforced Disappearances, and observing this date every year thereafter, and condemning enforced disappearances in El Salvador; to the Committee on Oversight and Reform.

PT-89. Also, a petition of the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco, CA, relative to Resolution No. 509-21, urging the United States Senate to re-

authorize the Violence Against Woman Act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PT-90. Also, a petition of the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco, CA, relative to Resolution No. 409-21, supporting California State Senate Joint Resolution No. 8, introduced by Senator Caballero to urge the President and the Congress of the United States to amend specified provisions of the federal Social Security Act to allow recipients of disabled adult child benefits under the act to continue to receive those benefits upon marriage; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

PT-91. Also, a petition of the City Commission of Miami, FL, relative to Resolution R-21-0430, urging President Joseph R. Biden and his administration, including United States Secretary of State Anthony Blinken, to designate the Frente Sandinista De Liberacion Nacional as a Foreign Terrorist Organization; jointly to the Committees on the Judiciary and Foreign Affairs.



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Vol. 167

WASHINGTON, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 14, 2021

No. 215

Senate

The Senate met at 10 a.m. and was called to order by the Honorable RAPHAEL G. WARNOCK, a Senator from the State of Georgia.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Barry C. Black, offered the following prayer:

Let us pray.

O God, lover of humanity, give us today Your pardon and peace. Pardon the sins of our lips: the unkind words we may have spoken. Pardon the sins of our minds: the refusal to face facts. Lord, pardon the sins of our hearts: the pride that makes us forget to love our neighbors as we love ourselves.

Mighty God, place Your peace within our Senators, providing them with the certainty that Your love can vanquish fear. And, Lord, we continue to pray for the tornado recovery efforts.

We pray in Your great Name. Amen.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The Presiding Officer 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.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. LEAHY).

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, DC, December 14, 2021.

To the Senate:

Under the provisions of rule I, paragraph 3, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby appoint the Honorable RAPHAEL G. WARNOCK, a Senator from the State of Georgia, to perform the duties of the Chair.

PATRICK J. LEAHY,
President pro tempore.

Mr. WARNOCK thereupon assumed the Chair as Acting President pro tempore.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Morning business is closed.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senate will proceed to executive session and resume consideration of the following nomination, which the clerk will report.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Samantha D. Elliott, of New Hampshire, to be United States District Judge for the District of New Hampshire.

RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The majority leader is recognized.

SENATE LEGISLATIVE AGENDA

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, today, the Senate will vote to advance at least one more Biden judicial nominee; we will move forward on our annual Defense bill; we will vote on the motion to proceed on legislation to raise the debt ceiling—all, hopefully, before we start the afternoon. It is a busy day for the Senate, so let me break down each of these items in some detail.

On the legislative front, later this morning, the Senate will vote to invoke cloture on the annual Defense bill, negotiated on a bicameral-bipar-

tisan basis. For over 60 years, the NDAA, the National Defense Authorization Act, has passed without fail, on a mostly bipartisan basis. So I thank all of my colleagues for working in good faith to get this Defense bill done.

The Senate will then turn to the critical matter of addressing the debt limit in order to avoid a first-ever default on our sovereign debt. Last week, Democrats and Republicans came together to pass legislation, setting up a fast-track process for addressing the debt limit. Today, we are going to complete that process, and it will come in two steps.

First, as I said, we will vote on the motion to proceed, followed by a vote on final passage later today. Thanks to last week's agreement between Democrats and Republicans, today's motion to proceed will be set at a majority threshold. Once we are on the bill, no amendments will be in order. Debate will be limited to 10 hours, and we hope to yield back debate time on our side to keep this process moving. The resolution we will vote on will provide for the raising of the debt limit to a level commensurate to funding that is necessary to get into 2023.

As I have said repeatedly, this is about paying debt accumulated by both parties, so I am pleased Republicans and Democrats came together to facilitate a process that has made addressing the debt ceiling possible. I want to thank the Republican leader and all of my Republican colleagues who reached out across the aisle in good faith to bring us to this point—no brinksmanship, no default on the debt, no risk of another recession. Responsible governing has won on this exceedingly important issue. The American people can breathe easy and rest assured there will not be a default.

So, once again, I thank the Republican leader and my Republican colleagues who voted with us to address this issue. The Senate can be done with this matter before the end of the day—

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



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crossing another major item off of our December to-do list.

Off the floor, Democrats continue working to put the Senate in a position to act on President Biden's Build Back Better Act, along with the timeline I have set out for our caucus. This week, bipartisan Byrd bath meetings with the Parliamentarian will continue. I thank my colleagues, the Parliamentarian, and her team for working through this important and difficult process.

The President will also continue his conversations with our caucus as we hash out the final details of the legislation. Build Back Better is moving forward, and I thank all of my colleagues and the President for their diligence and their commitment to get this done.

JUDICIAL NOMINATIONS

Mr. President, on judges and nominations, in addition to our legislative agenda, the Senate will also work today and the rest of the week on confirming more of President Biden's nominees to serve on the Federal bench.

First, we will hold a vote this morning to proceed on the nomination of Samantha Elliott to serve as a district judge for the District of New Hampshire. As soon as today, we also hope to vote on the confirmation of Jennifer Sung of Oregon, nominated to sit on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit. The Senate invoked cloture on Ms. Sung at the end of last week, and I want to say a few words in support of this remarkable nominee.

Throughout her career, Ms. Sung has proven herself to be an exceptionally impartial adjudicator, a valiant advocate for working Americans, and I am confident she will be an excellent judge who adds to the personal and professional diversity of the Ninth Circuit.

A graduate of Oberlin and Yale Law School, Ms. Sung's first experience with the Ninth Circuit came while she served as a clerk for Judge Betty Fletcher before embarking on a career in private practice focused on employment and on labor law. For over a decade, she regularly represented low-income workers, minority workers, and underserved communities in disputes against their employers. As a member of the Oregon Employment Relations Board, she struck a difficult balance between protecting the rights of working Americans while applying the law without prejudice—the key ingredients for any successful Federal judge.

If confirmed, Ms. Sung will be one of the very few Asian Americans to sit on the Federal judiciary. Along with Ms. Elliott, she would be the 31st judge whom the Senate Democratic majority has confirmed this year—the most under any President's first year in decades—and we are doing it with outstanding, impartial, and diverse nominees, and we are going to keep working in the months ahead.

Today, article III judges are still overwhelmingly White, overwhelmingly male, and overwhelmingly from big law firms or prosecutorial back-

grounds. Many of these individuals have served admirably on the bench, but we hope the trailblazers of today can be closer to the norm of tomorrow. We want our courts to include more women, more diverse candidates, both demographically and professionally, and more judges who come from unique walks of life. That is how we can strengthen Americans' trust in an independent and impartial judiciary—so important to the vitality of our democracy.

CORONAVIRUS

Now, Mr. President, on the COVID moment of silence, this evening, I will join the Speaker and other congressional leaders on the Capitol steps to mark a dreaded and sorrowful milestone as 800,000 Americans—800,000—have now lost their lives to the COVID-19 pandemic. We will hold a moment of silence in their memory.

As Americans come together for the holidays, as we take stock of the long road we have taken this year, many of us carry in our hearts an unresolvable contradiction: gratitude for the progress we have made but grief for the loss we have endured along the way.

Thanks to vaccines, tens of thousands of deaths—maybe even hundreds of thousands—have been, thankfully, prevented. Across the country, Americans are returning to work and once again are meeting at bars, at restaurants, at concerts.

Our country is far better off today than we were a year ago, but on this day—this day—we will remember that 800,000 loved ones did not make it this far: a lost father or grandfather, mother or grandmother, friend or familiar face in the neighborhood. All of us know someone whom this disease has taken away. And, of course, we are not out of the woods yet. As the Omicron variant makes its way across the country, I urge my fellow New Yorkers and all of my fellow Americans to get vaccinated and boosted as soon as possible, if eligible. Vaccines remain the best—the very best—way to bring this disease to an end.

I hope the milestone we observe today is the final one in our fight against this awful disease. With vaccines, we can rid ourselves of COVID and avoid adding to the awful sum that we have reached this week.

As for those we have lost, today, we remember them. We hold them close to our hearts, and we commit to doing our part to bring this pandemic to an end.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

The Republican leader is recognized.

KENTUCKY

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, Kentucky is working to recover from the deadly storms and tornadoes. Each day brings entirely new challenges. Tens of thousands are still dealing with water, gas, or power outages. Families are in shock and grief over the loss of loved ones. Rebuilding the areas in Kentucky leveled by this storm will take months, if not years, to complete.

Amid this pain, though, bright lights of hope shine through. In the face of tragedy, Kentuckians are still as strong and as generous as we have always been.

Yesterday, I spoke with the Taylor County judge-executive. He told me that 70 families in his county had lost their homes in the storm. Emergency responders made shelters available, but folks were completely taken in by family, friends, or neighbors—just the kind of people we have in Kentucky.

In Mayfield, residents are already beginning to rebuild only days after the storm leveled full city blocks. Churches hosted Sunday services this past weekend. Locals brought their chain saws and cleared debris from the city's roads. People from nearby counties and States have flooded—literally flooded—in to help.

One man, Jimmy Finch, has struck a chord with America's hearts all across the country. He had no connections to Mayfield whatsoever. He is from Clarksville, TN. But after the disaster, he borrowed a big meat smoker, got into his car, made the hour-and-a-half journey in the dead of night and started serving up food the next morning. This fellow from Tennessee came up to Kentucky and brought a whole bunch of food. On Sunday morning, for hours, he fed chicken, hot links, and burgers to hungry residents who had been without heat or power for days.

Western Kentucky's radio and TV stations have kept operating throughout this crisis, delivering vital information, even amid roving power outages. State parks opened their doors to residents who lost their homes. Businesses, individuals, and charities have been generous with food, water, and shelter.

Kentucky's first responders are working hand in hand with FEMA to provide coordinated relief. Doctors, nurses, firefighters, and law enforcement officers are working literally through the night. Utility workers are making a Herculean effort to restore power and water.

Hundreds of Kentucky National Guardsmen have deployed to Western Kentucky to offer their assistance. And in Fort Campbell, the Federal Government has provided a critical lifeline of support: 61 generators, 74,000 meals, 135,000 liters of water, thousands of cots and blankets, all supplied by Fort Campbell.

I am in close contact with Governor Beshear, our Federal Agencies, and local leaders. My staff and I have been in frequent touch with the White House.

Kentucky will come back from this bigger and better than ever before. I will make sure the Senate provides all the assistance we can to make sure that is a reality.

INFLATION

Now, Mr. President, on a totally different matter, Washington Democrats' printing, borrowing, and spending addiction is directly hurting American families.

Two-thirds of the American people, a supermajority, are worried about inflation. About half the middle class and 70 percent of low-income families say soaring prices have personally hurt their household. And it isn't getting better, like the Biden administration promised it would. It is actually getting worse.

Last Friday, the Labor Department released a jaw-dropping report: The consumer price index has shot up 6.8 percent over the past year; 6.8 percent inflation, the worst inflation—listen to this—the worst inflation in 40 years.

Now, it is true that the average American worker has gotten a pay increase since 2020, but rising prices have more—more—than wiped that totally out.

We have a remarkable situation where American workers are earning raises, but their bigger paychecks buy their families even less than what their smaller paychecks bought before the Democrats took power. The net effect is a nearly 2-percent pay cut for the average American.

Now, our citizens do know what is happening. Sixty-seven percent of the country says Washington needs to "cut back on spending and printing money." Let me say that again. Sixty-seven percent of the country says Washington needs to "cut back on spending and printing money."

But here in Washington, leading Democrats want to plow ahead and double down on the reckless taxing-and-spending spree that got us here. They want to respond to this stunning inflation report by printing, borrowing, and spending trillions upon trillions more on new entitlements and far-left programs.

If that weren't bad enough, on Friday, a new report showed their socialist shopping spree could cost the country trillions more than Democrats are willing to admit.

You see, as one of our Democratic colleagues explained last month, his party's bill is packed full of "shell games" and "budget gimmicks"—"shell games" and "budget gimmicks." For example, their bill pretends that major new entitlements would simply expire after a few years.

Of course, that never happens. As a wise man once said, "Nothing is so permanent as a temporary government program." And Democrats aren't even pretending they think the spending would stop. They are boasting about a permanent transformation. The fake expiration dates are just an accounting trick so the pricetag looks artificially low.

And last Friday, the Congressional Budget Office announced that if we acknowledge the permanent entitlements would be permanent—in other words, tell the truth—their bill would actually cost \$4.9 trillion in the first decade alone. That is the truth of the situation. It would explode the deficit by \$3 trillion in that same 10-year period.

Democrats are trying to reassure their alarmed Members that they would find new ways to offset future extensions. But let's think about it. They have just spent months shoveling every possible pay-for into this existing bill. They already burned through huge permanent tax hikes just to partially offset the bill with the gimmicks. Extending these programs further would either explode our national debt or it would take even further trillions and even further gigantic tax hikes that Democrats are simply unwilling to specify.

So which is it, historic deficits or trillions more in secret tax hikes? The right answer for the country is neither.

Later today, every Senate Democrat is going to vote along party lines to raise our Nation's debt limit by trillions of dollars. If they jam through another reckless taxing-and-spending spree, this massive debt increase will just be the beginning: more printing and borrowing to set up more reckless spending, to cause more inflation, to hurt working families even more.

What the American people need is a break.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT

Mr. President, now, on one final matter, for months, while our colleagues have been writing their reckless taxing-and-spending spree behind closed doors, the Democratic majority let the National Defense Authorization Act sit in limbo. This week, 4½ months after it was cleared by the Armed Services Committee, the Senate should finally—finally—finish this legislation.

Unfortunately, those who mean America harm haven't been waiting around for us to act. Threats to our national security are grave and getting graver. Since the Biden administration's disastrous retreat from Afghanistan, according to our top commander in the region, the U.S. military has but a small fraction of the actionable intelligence they had before the coalition withdrew.

But the predictable, avoidable resurgence of terrorist networks, of course, has continued apace. We also know that more American citizens and permanent residents remain stranded under Taliban rule than the Biden administration is willing to admit.

Meanwhile, the threat of further Russian aggression toward Ukraine is testing whether this White House and our allies in Europe will avoid misguided half measures to deter and defend against grave and growing threats.

So at the risk of stating the obvious, the United States needs to follow through with promises of urgent, substantive assistance to Ukraine and en-

courage other NATO allies to do the same thing. This should not be controversial. Only in the warped world of Kremlin propaganda is giving Ukraine the means to defend itself considered provocative.

These real threats to national security and others too numerous to name should serve as a reminder of the need for America to lead by example and commit to modernizing our own military capabilities, which in turn means taking the National Defense Authorization Act seriously.

So I am glad the Senate is finally set to vote on this crucial legislation. While the process has been imperfect, I am glad that bipartisan work has produced a bill that authorizes an increase in top-line funding for our national defense.

After months of delays, our colleagues have an opportunity to begin showing that America is serious about keeping pace with adversaries like Russia that have spent literally decades modernizing their militaries with a singular focus on countering our military advantage.

We have an opportunity to pay more than just lip service to competition with China. We have an opportunity to lay a foundation that we ought to follow through with robust and full-year Defense appropriations.

I would encourage all Senators to advance this legislation today.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The majority whip.

TORNADOES

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, the monstrous chain of tornadoes and violent storms that rampaged across Illinois and five other States last Friday is a terrible reminder in America that we are all one people.

The killer storms didn't stop at State lines. They didn't discriminate based on skin color, creed, political party, or age. Among the more than 90 victims that we know of at this moment, the eldest was 86 years old; the youngest, sadly, was a tiny baby of just 5 months old.

Even as people in my State of Illinois grieve for victims in our State, we also mourn for and with all those who died and are suffering in nearby States: Arkansas, Tennessee, Mississippi, Missouri, and especially our neighbor to the south, Kentucky.

Senator MCCONNELL has spoken, and we have all seen reports, of the staggering destruction in Mayfield, KY, and other communities.

I want to say a few words about the destruction that was wreaked on my own State and also about the tremendous outpouring of compassion and community.

The National Weather Service tells us more than 30 tornadoes tore through 6 States last Friday night. The most destructive may go down as the longest continuous tornado in the history of the United States. That tornado appears to have remained on the ground for 4 hours, traveling 290 miles across

four States, pulverizing everything in its path.

From Kentucky, there were reports of objects being lifted 30,000 feet in the air by the force of the tornado. Treasured family photos were found 100 miles away. Sadly, at least 80 people have lost their lives in Kentucky.

In Illinois, we have also suffered staggering losses. Four tornadoes tore across our State between 7:30 and 10 last Friday. The greatest devastation was in Edwardsville, IL, Madison County, where a powerful tornado with winds up to 155 miles an hour peeled the roof off a massive Amazon distribution facility about 9 o'clock. I know the facility. I have been there.

Massive concrete walls 11 inches thick and 40 feet high caved in, trapping employees who were working to fill Christmas and holiday orders. Fire and rescue crews from at least 20 communities rushed to the scene. More than 45 workers managed to escape from that mountain of rubble, but 6 workers died when the warehouse collapsed. The oldest was 62; the youngest was 26. Thirty more workers were hurt. One is still hospitalized with critical injuries.

I know I speak for millions of Americans when I say that our hearts go out to all those who perished in Friday's tornadoes and to those they left behind.

I thank President Biden for responding quickly. Yesterday, our Governor, JB Pritzker, requested an emergency declaration, and of course we joined him. The President issued the emergency order just a few hours after that request. This assistance will help our State immediately, but there is more to do. Our thanks to the Red Cross and so many volunteers, local residents in communities across Illinois, for pitching in to help the victims. Supplementing that fine work are volunteers who have come to help in any way they can.

It was ironic that last week I had a coffee for a man named Jose Andres. Jose Andres is well known by many across the country for his extraordinary efforts to feed hungry people. Last Tuesday, he spoke to us, a few members of our caucus, about his nonprofit organization, the World Central Kitchen. They have come to the rescue of people in need in Puerto Rico and Haiti and all across the United States and around the world.

Today, World Central Kitchen is on the ground in Mayfield, KY, where the tornadoes struck last Friday, providing hot food to the victims. It is a time when America, a divided nation, actually sees our Nation coming together.

The tornadoes didn't distinguish between red States and blue States, between Trump supporters and Biden supporters, and it is my great hope that the Senate will also put aside its politics for a few moments and stand together to help the victims.

BUILD BACK BETTER ACT

Mr. President, on a related matter, while we cannot say that last week's

killer tornadoes were directly related to climate change, there is no doubt among scientists that climate change is making the world's weather patterns more volatile and destructive.

How many times in the past year have Members of this Senate come to the floor to respond to a once-in-a-century heat wave or a once-in-a-century storm that has hit their home State? I will just say, for tornadoes, you can't be a kid growing up in the Midwest, as I was, and not know about tornadoes—how many times in the middle of the summer we were rousted from our bed as the sirens went off, and Mom would take us down to the basement, a safe place, until the storm would blow over. That was a summer phenomena.

I just have to remind you that we just went through a December tornado in that same area—unheard of in years gone by.

Over the summer, the Pacific Northwest burned in the worst heat wave on record; there were droughts in Western States; a polar vortex knocked a Texas power grid offline. Each of these deadly and disastrous weather events are related to the next, and it is fair warning to all of us that what is happening to the climate in the United States is happening around the world.

Just yesterday, scientists warned that a glacier the size of Florida is at risk of splitting apart in the next few years, causing catastrophic rise in sea levels that could threaten the millions of people living in coastal areas.

When we talk about Build Back Better, the reconciliation bill, and that part of the bill that is focused on environmental resilience, being ready to protect ourselves and to bounce back, if necessary, when extreme weather hits, it is the topic in this morning's newspaper, and it will be in tomorrow's as well.

We ought to be coming together and finally putting aside our political differences and realize that climate change is the threat to us now and an even greater threat to our children and grandchildren.

Last week, I received a letter from one of the small business owners in our area, Dr. Dane Glueck. A few years ago, he started a company called StraightUp Solar, developing solar energy systems for homes and businesses in my State of Illinois and Missouri.

He wrote and he said: "Solar is a job-creator, and the long-term tax incentives in the Build Back Better Act for solar, storage, and domestic manufacturing will put us on a path to decarbonize the electric grid, reach the President's 2035 clean energy target, and create hundreds of thousands of quality career opportunities in every community."

Today, Dr. Glueck employs almost 100 people throughout the Midwest, but with investments in the Build Back Better Act, the reconciliation bill, he is going to expand operation and hire more workers. Let's give him the incentive that he needs.

I heard the Senator from Kentucky, the Republican leader, coming to the floor, and, once again, he is critical of this whole effort. I wish he would stop and reflect on the fact that our incentives to move in the right direction on the environment really are an important part of the conversation we should have after the devastation last Friday in his State and mine and across the Midwest.

It is time to transform our environmental crisis into an economic catalyst.

INSULIN

Mr. President, it turns out it is an anniversary, just this month. You see, in 1921, 100 years ago, a Canadian scientist named Frederick Banting discovered insulin. He sold the patent for this discovery to the University of Toronto for \$1. He declared that this life-saving drug didn't belong to him: "It belongs to the world."

He wasn't the only unselfish scientist I can remember. I remember, as a kid, our fear of polio, and along came Dr. Jonas Salk—bless his soul—who discovered the vaccine that we needed to protect ourselves. There was no great political debate. People weren't threatening lawsuits. My mom and dad said: Line up and roll up your sleeve, kid; we are going to do what needs to be done to protect you from polio.

Dr. Jonas Salk gave away the patent to that drug as well. It was a different era, perhaps, when insulin was discovered or the polio vaccine, but we should reflect on the state of play today of that drug, insulin.

One hundred years later, there are 8.4 million diabetics in the United States who rely on insulin. They have to pay—many of them—an exorbitant amount of money for a drug that supposedly belongs to them, according to its discoverer.

As the cost of insulin has risen, average list prices increased 40 percent for insulin between 2014 and 2018.

I am quoting from an article in today's USA Today by Katie Wedell.

Patients and their families shell out hundreds of dollars a month even if they have good insurance.

Rod Regalado is a father of a teen with type 1 diabetes. Do you know what he calls the insulin pricing system? Legal extortion.

This article tells the story of what he went through. He had never heard of a pharmacy benefit manager before 2 years ago, but it was 2 years ago that his son Matt, then 14 years old, was diagnosed with type 1 diabetes, and Mr. Regalado got a crash course in insulin pricing in America today.

His first trip to the pharmacy when his son was released from a hospital came with a \$1,000 price tag for all the testing supplies and insulin he'd never purchased before. The next month, when all he had to do was buy more insulin, the price was still north of \$400 after insurance.

The single dad of two said he thought he had good insurance until he found himself having to redo his entire household budget to afford the insulin to keep his son alive.

"I thought how do people do this?" he said.

He is a resident of Tekamah, NE. He started making calls to his insurance company, the pharmacy, and doctors, trying to figure out a way to lower his out-of-pocket expenses for the insulin that his son needed to survive.

Then he called his Congressman. Congressman JEFF FORTENBERRY, a Republican of Nebraska, said in July: "The harsh reality is that the cost of insulin is artificially high and ever-escalating."

He has introduced a bill for capping the prices. They call it Matt's Act, after Mr. Regalado's son. Matt's Act would make insulin prices fair for everyone by capping the price at \$60 a vial and \$20 a vial for those on insurance.

What a dramatic difference that would make for the Regalado family in Nebraska—instead of \$400, \$20.

The reason I raise that is that the provision in law that we are trying to enact is in the same bill that the Republican leader just came to the floor and told us America cannot afford. The tax increases in that bill—and there will be tax increases—will only apply to people making over \$400,000 a year. And yet the Republican leader comes to the floor and talks about this terrible idea of raising taxes.

So let's step back and measure the difference here. Should Mr. Regalado—a single dad, father of two, with a 14-year-old son who needs insulin to live—be paying \$400 a month or \$20 a month for the insulin—the lifesaving insulin? And to make up the difference, is it unfair to ask someone making over \$400,000 a year to pay more in taxes?

You be the judge. I don't even think it is a close call.

What we need to do is to get down to business. I don't know that there will be a single Republican voting to support this effort to reduce the cost of insulin for diabetics. That is just the way politics works in this Chamber, I am afraid. But I do hope that the 8 million families who have a diabetic son or daughter, father or mother will step up and speak up in the next few days because we have a chance to bring this measure to the floor this year—a measure that will affect many different areas of the law but, specifically, the cost of insulin for American families.

If those 8 million families will stand up and speak up and say to Members of the U.S. Senate, "Enough, you have negotiated enough; close the deal; do something that will be helpful to our families," just maybe that can make a difference.

Maybe the endless negotiations that have gone on for month after month after month will finally come to an end. Now is the time to get it done. We have work to do in the Senate at clearing the bill for final passage. But I think we are on track to get that done. What we need to have is a groundswell of support from across the America.

When you take a look at the other provisions in the bill, helping working

families to pay for daycare—for goodness' sake, there is hardly a family around, unless they are very wealthy, that isn't concerned about the cost and quality of daycare available.

We have a provision in this bill, the same bill that Senator MCCONNELL spoke against just a few minutes ago, to help families pay for daycare. Is it important to these families? Well, it is important to my family. I visited with my granddaughter over the weekend, and I am sure there are many people in my situation, with grandchildren, who look at those kids and realize they should be in a safe, nurturing, affordable environment every single day so mom and dad don't have to think twice.

Is it important to have a provision in the law which says we are going to provide home healthcare services to elderly members of our family or disabled members of our family?

I will tell you this. The elderly folks whom I spoke to, the senior citizens, want to stay independent as long as possible, and they want to stay home as long as possible. If we can help them stay home and be independent, why wouldn't we do it? If it means a tax increase for people making over \$400,000 a year, so be it. Sign me up for that increase. That is the sort of thing I think we do in America. Those who are well off pay a little bit more in taxes so those who are struggling can get a helping hand.

So when the Republicans come to the floor and tell us how terrible this bill is, well, tell it to 8 million families in America with someone who needs insulin to stay alive each month. Tell it to the millions of families with kids who want to make sure they have peace of mind that these kids are being taken care of while they go to work. Tell it to the families with elderly parents or people who are disabled in their household who need a helping hand to be able to stay home and have quality healthcare.

All of these things are addressed in this bill. It is important that we pass it, and I hope we do it soon. But we need to hear from America to create the momentum to get that job done.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD this entire article, from USA Today, on insulin.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From USA Today]

'IT IS LEGAL EXTORTION': DIABETICS PAY STEEP PRICE FOR INSULIN AS REBATES DRIVE UP COSTS

(By Katie Wedell)

In 1921, Canadian scientist Frederick Banting discovered insulin and later sold the patent to the University of Toronto for \$1, declaring that the lifesaving drug did not belong to him. "It belongs to the world."

One hundred years later, the 8.4 million diabetics in the USA who rely on insulin pay an exorbitant amount of money for a drug that supposedly belongs to them.

As the cost of insulin has risen—average list prices increased 40% from 2014 to 2018—patients and their families shell out hundreds of dollars a month even when they have good insurance. They pay other bills late to keep their insulin-dependent children alive. When they can't make ends meet any other way, they ration their medication, often ending up in a hospital because they could afford only a fraction of the insulin they were supposed to use that month.

"It is legal extortion," Rod Regalado, father of a teen with Type 1 diabetes, said about the opaque insulin pricing system.

A bill that would create a federal cap on monthly insulin out-of-pocket costs is named after his son. Matt's Act would cap insulin prices at \$20 to \$60 a month or even \$0 for those with high-deductible health plans. Similar provisions are included in the House-passed version of the Build Back Better Act, which proposes an insurance co-pay cap of \$35 for insulin.

The bills attempt to simplify costs for consumers who are kept in the dark when it comes to the complex negotiations driving insulin prices up.

"If you or I were buying a gallon of milk from Kroger or whoever, if we saw that it was \$20, we would know that we're getting ripped off," said Antonio Ciaccia, former lobbyist for the Ohio Pharmacists Association and CEO of 46brooklyn, a drug price research firm. "The gallon of milk stays within a slightly competitive range because we know where we could go elsewhere to find a \$3 gallon."

That competitive price pressure doesn't exist in health care, he said. "Because we as cash-paying customers aren't the predominant source of revenue for health care."

In a report on insulin prices released in January, the Senate Finance Committee laid out the numerous factors that combine to make insulin so expensive.

The committee found that drug manufacturers continually increase insulin's list price to offer larger rebates to pharmacy benefit managers and health insurers, "all in the hopes that their product would receive preferred formulary placement," the report said.

Pharmacy benefit managers, or PBMs, oversee the prescription drug part of health plans—negotiating with drugmakers for bulk discounts and deciding which drugs will be covered and which will be excluded from their formularies or approved drug lists. Their clients are health insurance plans, including employers and government-run Medicare and Medicaid.

No drugmaker wants to be left off the preferred list of a big PBM such as CVS Caremark or Express Scripts, because tens of millions of Americans are covered by insurers using their services.

This pricing structure exists for almost every drug on the market, but insulin has gotten focused attention because of the number of diabetics that rely on the lifesaving drug and the fact that it's 100 years old yet getting more expensive every year.

"They're kind of between a rock and a hard place," Ciaccia said of the manufacturers. Many have made lower-cost versions of their products available, but those don't get listed on the formularies because they don't offer any rebates on them, he said.

Rebates are payments offered back to the PBMs in exchange for preferred placement on their formularies. If the list price is \$400 for an insulin product, the manufacturer may make \$100 and give the other \$300 back to the PBM, which typically passes those savings to its clients—employer and commercial health plans.

Patients may be forced to pay that \$400 list price when they are in their deductible phase

and don't get any of that rebated money directly.

The government report found that manufacturers offered higher and higher rebates each year, in fear of being kicked off the preferred formularies. That means they must also inflate the list price each year to keep pace.

In July 2013, insulin maker Sanofi offered rebates of 2% to 4% of the list price—also called the wholesale acquisition cost or WAC—for preferred placement on CVS Caremark's formulary, the finance committee found. Five years later, Sanofi rebates were as high as 56%.

Critics of the rebate system say it amounts to legalized kickbacks. In 2019, a class-action lawsuit accused manufacturers and PBMs of engaging in a commercial bribery "scheme," conspiring to raise the prices of insulin drugs to increase the fees manufacturers paid to PBMs.

Pharmacy benefit managers say the manufacturers drive up prices and keep out any competition from generics.

"Insulin pricing strategies used by drug manufacturers to avoid competition through ongoing patent extensions on insulin products are a significant barrier to getting costs down," said Greg Lopes, spokesman for the Pharmaceutical Care Management Association, which represents PBMs.

"PBMs have introduced programs to cap, or outright eliminate, out-of-pocket costs on insulin, and PBMs have stepped up efforts to help patients living with diabetes by providing clinical support and education, which result in better medication adherence and improve health outcomes," Lopes said.

Manufacturers, PBMs and nonprofits have set up patient assistance and coupon programs to reduce what patients spend on insulin. Each program has its own requirements to qualify, its own rules and restrictions, and patients have to be aware that the programs exist.

Drugmakers often advertise their patient assistance programs, but the onus ultimately lies with the patient to find and apply for free or reduced-cost insulin. Numerous organizations have developed databases of assistance programs to help patients navigate the sea of options, including PhRMA's Medicine Assistance Tool, RxAssist, NeedyMeds and Beyond Typel's GetInsulin.org.

"For the population that can take advantage of those programs, that's great," said American Diabetes Association Chief Advocacy Officer Lisa Murdock. "We think insulin should be affordable at the point of sale for everyone."

Lopes pointed out that PBMs pass through to health plan sponsors the vast amount of the rebates they negotiate. In the case of Medicare Part D, the PCMA said that amount is 99.6%.

"The rebates are then used to lower premiums and out-of-pocket costs for patients," Lopes said.

CONSUMERS CAN PAY HUNDREDS MORE UNDER REBATE SYSTEM

Nonprofit drug price research group 46brooklyn released a report demonstrating how patients end up paying more because of rebates.

It looked at a box of Lantus insulin pens—which hold pre-dosed cartridges for easier injection—with a list price of \$425. According to the Finance Committee's report, Lantus offered the PBM OptumRx a rebate of 79.76% or \$339 in 2019.

The consumer's health plan gets that rebate every month regardless of whether the consumer pays full-price in the deductible phase or pays a smaller co-insurance amount later in the year.

46brooklyn used a fictional consumer who had a deductible of \$1,644—a figure the Kaiser Family Foundation says is the U.S. average.

Each month, January through April, the consumer in this scenario would pay close to the full list price for insulin, \$408 in this case based on retail price data. Those same months, the health plan, paying \$0 toward the insulin, would receive a \$339 rebate. The manufacturer of the insulin would get the difference, or \$69 in this scenario.

The rest of the year, once the consumer hit his deductible, he would pay about \$34 for insulin each month. The health plan, after rebates, would pay about \$35, giving the manufacturer the same total of \$69.

At the end of the year, this fictional diabetic spent a total of \$1,906 for insulin while the manufacturer made \$828. The consumer's health plan via the PBM came out ahead, profiting \$1,078 after getting more than \$4,000 worth of rebates.

If all the middlemen and insurance were cut out, and the consumer was simply charged the net cost of the drug every month, 46brooklyn argued, the consumer would save more than \$1,000 a year while the manufacturer would make the same profit.

A study by researchers at the University of Southern California found that manufacturers, often blamed for rising prices, actually make less money as list prices rise. Since 2014, while list prices rose by 40%, the net price that manufacturers made off their insulin products decreased more than 30%, according to the study published in the Journal of the American Medical Association.

The PCMA disputed the accuracy of 46brooklyn's rebate scenario.

"By cherry picking an extreme and unrealistic example of high patient out-of-pocket costs, the 46brooklyn report does a poor job of depicting the health care experience for most insured people with diabetes," Lopes said. "For example, the report's out-of-pocket cost assumption is actually significantly higher than the amount at which many plans set or cap patient cost sharing for insulin."

There are consumers who reported paying \$400 out-of-pocket for a month's supply of insulin after insurance. Rod Regalado is one of them.

A FATHER'S CRUSADE

Regalado had never heard of a pharmacy benefit manager before two years ago.

That's when his son Matt, then 14, was diagnosed with Type 1 diabetes and Regalado got a crash course in insulin pricing.

His first trip to the pharmacy when his son was released from a hospital came with a \$1,000 price tag for all the testing supplies and insulin he'd never purchased before. The next month, when all he had to do was buy more insulin, the price was still north of \$400 after insurance.

The single dad of two said he thought he had good insurance until he found himself having to redo his entire household budget to afford insulin.

"I thought how do people do this?" he said.

The resident of Tekamah, Nebraska, started making calls to his insurance, pharmacy and doctors, trying to figure out a way to lower his out-of-pocket costs. Then he called his congressman.

"The harsh reality is that the cost of insulin is artificially high and ever-escalating," U.S. Rep. Jeff Fortenberry, R-Nebr., said in July when he and Rep. Angie Craig, D-Minn., reintroduced their bill aimed at capping prices. "Matt's Act makes insulin prices fair for everyone by capping the price at \$60 a vial and \$20 a vial for those on insurance."

Though legislative efforts have focused on capping out-of-pocket costs, there has been a push to eliminate rebates altogether and drive down list prices across the market.

That would require the buy-in of all parts of the drug supply chain.

Some PBMs have created formularies that don't require rebates, but they struggle to get health plans to adopt them. The insurers have come to expect and rely on the money from rebates, and some have them written into their PBM contracts.

'A MOMENTOUS DAY'

Ciaccia of 46brooklyn pointed to the new insulin product Semglee as an example of how dysfunctional the marketplace can be.

In July, the FDA approved Semglee as the first interchangeable biosimilar insulin product. Biosimilars are like generic drugs in that they can be substituted at the pharmacy counter without needing a separate prescription.

Semglee is interchangeable with Lantus.

More biosimilars are likely to gain approval in the next few years. They've been touted as game changers that will lead to lower prices and more options for patients.

Acting FDA Commissioner Janet Woodcock called it "a momentous day" for people who depend on insulin. "Biosimilar and interchangeable biosimilar products have the potential to greatly reduce health care costs," she said.

Biocon and Viatris, the makers of Semglee, launched two different versions of the drug—the branded one called Semglee and a non-branded version called insulin glargine.

The nonbranded version's list price is about \$148 for a package of five 3-ml pens, which is 65% cheaper than Lantus.

There is indication that the largest PBMs in the country won't carry that version on their preferred drug formularies, instead offering the branded Semglee, which has a reported list price of \$404 per package of five. That makes it only slightly cheaper than Lantus at \$425.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Republican whip.

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be able to complete my remarks prior to the vote.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE ECONOMY

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, the latest inflation numbers came out Friday, and the news was not good. Inflation is currently at the highest level in nearly 40 years—40 years. The last time inflation was this bad, "E.T." and "Rocky III" were in theaters, and the Green Bay Packers were being coached by Bart Starr.

High inflation is taking a major toll on American families. Gas prices are at a 7-year high. The price of used cars and trucks is up 31 percent—31 percent. Propane, kerosene, and firewood are up 34 percent.

Food prices have increased significantly. Ground beef is up 14 percent. Apples are up 7.4 percent. Pork is up 17 percent; eggs, 8 percent. Baby food is up 6.7 percent. Bacon and related products are up 21 percent. And the list continues.

Rent prices are up. Utility prices are up. Furniture prices are up, and on and on.

Inflation is so bad that, despite wage growth this year, Americans have seen a de facto pay cut, with real average hourly earnings down 1.9 percent this year.

Inflation is what happens when you have too many dollars chasing too few goods and services. And a big reason for our current inflation situation is the Democrats' decision to pour a lot of unnecessary government money into the economy earlier this year, despite—despite, I might add—being warned that their partisan \$1.9 trillion American Rescue Plan spending spree could stoke inflation.

And you don't have to take my word for it. Here is what former Obama economic adviser Jason Furman had to say recently when discussing our inflation problem:

The original sin was an oversized American Rescue Plan. It contributed to both higher output but also higher prices.

That quote from Mr. Furman appeared in a New York Times article that also noted:

But some economists, including veterans of previous Democratic administrations, say much of Mr. Biden's inflation struggle is self-inflicted. Lawrence H. Summers is one of those who say the stimulus bill [that] the president signed in March gave too much of a boost to consumer spending. . . . Mr. Summers, who served in the Obama and Clinton administrations, says inflation now risks spiraling out of control and other Democratic economists agree there are risks.

Again, that is from the New York Times.

Inflation is spiraling out of control, and Democrats are preparing to throw more fuel on the fire. That is right. Democrats are preparing to double down on the strategy that helped get us in this mess in the first place and pass yet another massive government spending bill.

I am not sure whether Democrats simply don't care about the inflation situation facing American families or whether they are operating under the delusion that they can somehow pass another major government spending bill without serious consequences for the economy.

Regardless, there is no question that pouring another \$1.75 trillion in government money into the economy would likely make our inflation crisis even worse than it is today.

I say \$1.75 trillion because that is what Democrats have been selling as the pricetag for their so-called Build Back Better plan. But as we learned on Friday of last week from the Congressional Budget Office's latest analysis, the Democrats' spending spree would far exceed \$1.75 trillion. When you take away the shell games and budget gimmicks, the Democrats' spending spree would cost almost \$5 trillion—5 trillion. And, of course, the tax hikes in the Democrats' plan, as large as they are, wouldn't even come close to funding that amount.

The Democrats' Build Back Better proposal, if implemented over 10 years, as they plan, would add an eye-popping \$3 trillion to our national debt. It turns out that Build Back Better is more like "Build Back Bankrupt."

Democrats have attempted to disguise the true cost of their "Build

Back Bankrupt" plan by strategically sunseting various provisions before the end of the bill's 10-year budget window. Of course, Democrats have never had any intention of actually sunseting these provisions. But by claiming that they are going to sunset these measures, they have been able to sort of disguise the fact that their spending spree would actually cost nearly \$5 trillion.

That is the Congressional Budget Office, not me. The Congressional Budget Office, last Friday said, if extended—the 10-year window—this bill would cost \$5 trillion.

Democrats are implicitly admitting that they plan to extend these programs, but they are saying that people shouldn't worry, that the cost of these extensions will be offset. Well, I would like to know just how exactly they plan to do that.

With massive new tax hikes, on top of the tax hikes they have already included in their bill—just how many tax hikes do Democrats think our economy can handle?

And if Democrats had a plan for future offsets, why didn't they include those offsets in their bill, in the first place, along with an honest accounting of the length of their programs?

Is it because they thought that the American people would balk if they knew the true cost of the bill, that they might not be crazy about the idea of a bill that would cost them \$5 trillion?

I am hard-pressed to think of anything more irresponsible than for Democrats to pass their Build Back Better—or their "Build Back Bankrupt"—measure right now. Inflation is soaring, as I have just pointed out, and there is no clear end in sight. Even the Federal Reserve is now acknowledging that this isn't transitory. They removed that word from their description.

We are emerging from a pandemic that required a lot of government expenditure and a corresponding increase in our debt, and we have no idea what government money might be needed down the road.

Passing a \$5 trillion spending spree that would add \$3 trillion to our national debt is the very last thing that we should be doing.

I hope that at least some of my Democrat colleagues will think better of their spending plans before the American people are forced to discover just what "Building Back Bankrupt" is really like.

I yield the floor.

CLOTURE MOTION

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PADILLA). Pursuant to rule XXII, the Chair lays before the Senate the pending cloture motion, which the clerk will state.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the

Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the nomination of Executive Calendar No. 576, Samantha D. Elliott, of New Hampshire, to be United States District Judge for the District of New Hampshire.

Charles E. Schumer, Richard J. Durbin, Tina Smith, Martin Heinrich, Elizabeth Warren, Patty Murray, Tammy Duckworth, Tim Kaine, Gary C. Peters, Angus S. King, Jr., Brian Schatz, Margaret Wood Hassan, Jacky Rosen, Chris Van Hollen, Jeanne Shaheen, Christopher Murphy, Ron Wyden.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. By unanimous consent, the mandatory quorum call has been waived.

The question is, Is it the sense of the Senate that debate on the nomination of Samantha D. Elliott, of New Hampshire, to be United States District Judge for the District of New Hampshire, shall be brought to a close?

The yeas and nays are mandatory under the rule.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. THUNE. The following Senator is necessarily absent: the Senator from Wyoming (Ms. LUMMIS).

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 59, nays 40, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 495 Ex.]

YEAS—59

Baldwin	Hassan	Reed
Bennet	Heinrich	Romney
Blumenthal	Hickenlooper	Rosen
Booker	Hirono	Sanders
Brown	Kaine	Schatz
Burr	Kelly	Schumer
Cantwell	King	Shaheen
Cardin	Klobuchar	Sinema
Carper	Leahy	Smith
Casey	Lujan	Stabenow
Collins	Manchin	Tester
Coons	Markey	Tillis
Cornyn	Menendez	Toomey
Cortez Masto	Merkley	Van Hollen
Duckworth	Murkowski	Warner
Durbin	Murphy	Warnock
Feinstein	Murray	Warren
Gillibrand	Ossoff	Whitehouse
Graham	Padilla	Wyden
Grassley	Peters	

NAYS—40

Barrasso	Hagerty	Risch
Blackburn	Hawley	Rounds
Blunt	Hoeben	Rubio
Boozman	Hyde-Smith	Sasse
Braun	Inhofe	Scott (FL)
Capito	Johnson	Scott (SC)
Cassidy	Kennedy	Shelby
Cotton	Lankford	Sullivan
Cramer	Lee	Thune
Crapo	Marshall	Tuberville
Cruz	McConnell	Wicker
Daines	Moran	Young
Ernst	Paul	
Fischer	Portman	

NOT VOTING—1

Lummis

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote, the yeas are 59, the nays are 40.

The motion is agreed to.

CLOTURE MOTION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Pursuant to rule XXII, the Chair lays before the Senate the pending cloture motion, which the clerk will state.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the

Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the motion to concur in the House amendment to S. 1605, an act to designate the National Pulse Memorial located at 1912 South Orange Avenue in Orlando, Florida, and for other purpose.

Charles E. Schumer, Tina Smith, Martin Heinrich, Patty Murray, Tammy Duckworth, Tim Kaine, Gary C. Peters, Angus S. King, Jr., Richard J. Durbin, Jack Reed, Brian Schatz, Margaret Wood Hassan, Jacky Rosen, Chris Van Hollen, Jeanne Shaheen, Christopher Murphy, Debbie Stabenow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. By unanimous consent, the mandatory quorum call has been waived.

The question is, Is it the sense of the Senate that debate on the motion to concur in the House amendment to S. 1605, an act to designate the National Pulse Memorial located at 1912 South Orange Avenue in Orlando, Florida, and for other purposes, shall be brought to a close?

The yeas and nays are mandatory under the rule.

The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. THUNE. The following Senator is necessarily absent: the Senator from Wyoming (Ms. LUMMIS).

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 86, nays 13, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 496 Ex.]

YEAS—86

Baldwin	Graham	Peters
Barrasso	Grassley	Reed
Bennet	Hagerty	Risch
Blackburn	Hassan	Romney
Blumenthal	Hawley	Rosen
Blunt	Heinrich	Rounds
Booker	Hickenlooper	Rubio
Boozman	Hirono	Sasse
Brown	Hoeven	Schatz
Burr	Hyde-Smith	Schumer
Cantwell	Inhofe	Scott (FL)
Capito	Johnson	Scott (SC)
Carper	Kaine	Shaheen
Casey	Kelly	Shelby
Cassidy	Kennedy	Sinema
Collins	King	Smith
Coons	Klobuchar	Stabenow
Cornyn	Lankford	Sullivan
Cortez Masto	Leahy	Tester
Cotton	Lujan	Thune
Cramer	Manchin	Tillis
Crapo	Marshall	Tuberville
Cruz	McConnell	Van Hollen
Daines	Menendez	Warner
Duckworth	Moran	Warnock
Durbin	Murkowski	Whitehouse
Ernst	Murphy	Wicker
Feinstein	Murray	Young
Fischer	Ossoff	

NAYS—13

Braun	Merkley	Toomey
Cardin	Padilla	Warren
Gillibrand	Paul	Wyden
Lee	Portman	
Markey	Sanders	

NOT VOTING—1

Lummis

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LUJÁN). On this vote, the yeas are 86, the nays are 13.

Three-fifths of the Senators duly chosen and sworn having voted in the affirmative, the motion is agreed to.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 2022

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Cloture having been invoked, the Senate will resume legislative session to resume consideration of the House message to accompany S. 1605, which the clerk will report.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the bill from the Senate (S. 1605) entitled "An Act to designate the National Pulse Memorial located at 1912 South Orange Avenue in Orlando, Florida, and for other purposes.", do pass with an amendment.

Pending:

Schumer motion to concur in the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill.

Schumer motion to concur in the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill, with Schumer amendment No. 4880 (to the House amendment), to add an effective date.

Schumer amendment No. 4881 (to amendment No. 4880), to modify the effective date.

Schumer motion to refer the message of the House on the bill to the Committee on Armed Services, with instructions, Schumer amendment No. 4882, to add an effective date.

Schumer amendment No. 4883 (to the instructions (amendment No. 4882) of the motion to refer), to modify the effective date.

Schumer amendment No. 4884 (to amendment No. 4883), to modify the effective date.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion to refer, and the amendments pending thereto, fall.

The majority leader.

RELATING TO INCREASING THE DEBT LIMIT—Motion to Proceed

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I move to proceed to Calendar No. 184, S.J. Res. 33.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the motion.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A joint resolution (S.J. Res. 33) relating to increasing the debt limit.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion.

Mr. SCHUMER. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. THUNE. The following Senator is necessarily absent: the Senator from Wyoming (Ms. LUMMIS.)

The result was announced—yeas 50, nays 49, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 497 Leg.]

YEAS—50

Baldwin	Brown	Casey
Bennet	Cantwell	Coons
Blumenthal	Cardin	Cortez Masto
Booker	Carper	Duckworth

Durbin	Manchin	Schumer
Feinstein	Markey	Shaheen
Gillibrand	Menendez	Sinema
Hassan	Merkley	Smith
Heinrich	Murphy	Stabenow
Hickenlooper	Murray	Tester
Hirono	Ossoff	Van Hollen
Kaine	Padilla	Warner
Kelly	Peters	Warnock
King	Reed	Warren
Klobuchar	Rosen	Whitehouse
Leahy	Sanders	Wyden
Lujan	Schatz	

NAYS—49

Barrasso	Graham	Risch
Blackburn	Grassley	Romney
Blunt	Hagerty	Rounds
Boozman	Hawley	Rubio
Braun	Hoeven	Sasse
Burr	Hyde-Smith	Scott (FL)
Capito	Inhofe	Scott (SC)
Cassidy	Johnson	Shelby
Collins	Kennedy	Sullivan
Cornyn	Lankford	Thune
Cotton	Lee	Tillis
Cramer	Marshall	Toomey
Crapo	McConnell	Tuberville
Cruz	Moran	Wicker
Daines	Murkowski	Young
Ernst	Paul	
Fischer	Portman	

NOT VOTING—1

Lummis

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. SINEMA). On this vote, the yeas are 50, the nays are 49.

The motion is agreed to.

RELATING TO INCREASING THE DEBT LIMIT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the joint resolution.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A joint resolution (S.J. Res. 33) relating to increasing the debt limit.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 117-71, there will now be 10 hours of debate on the joint resolution, equally divided between the chairman and the ranking member of the Committee on Finance.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority whip.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. DURBIN. I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess until 2:15 p.m. and that all time during recess count equally against both sides on the joint resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DURBIN. For the information of Senators, we expect a rollcall vote on the passage of S.J. Res. 33 to occur at approximately 4 p.m. today.

RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands in recess until 2:15 p.m.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 1:09 p.m., recessed until 2:15 p.m. and reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Ms. SINEMA).

RELATING TO INCREASING THE DEBT LIMIT—Continued

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT

Mrs. FISCHER. Madam President, after months of delay with NDAA, it has finally made its way to the Senate floor. The Senate Armed Services Committee passed its version by a strong, bipartisan vote of 23 to 3, and that was back in July.

As a member of the Armed Services Committee since my first day here in the Senate, I have been proud to help draft this bill each year since 2013, and I was honored to play a part in drafting the bill this year.

First and foremost, the 2022 NDAA takes care of the greatest asset America has—our men and women in uniform. It supports a well-deserved pay raise for members of the military, and it reauthorizes important special pays and bonuses.

Keeping faith with our All-Volunteer Forces is essential so that our military men and women are able to focus on combating the threats that our Nation faces abroad. You don't have to look far to see the threats I am talking about.

Vladimir Putin has placed nearly 100,000 Russian troops right on Russia's border with Ukraine, essentially posturing to invade a sovereign country. China continues to make shocking progress in developing new types of weapons. The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff said that China's recent test of a fractional orbital bombardment system was very close to a "Sputnik moment." This new missile could potentially carry a nuclear warhead anywhere in the world, and it was specifically designed to evade U.S. defenses. Our adversaries are making huge strides forward. The NDAA recognizes that and addresses it.

This bill will keep the modernization of our strategic nuclear deterrent on schedule. This is crucial because even though our nuclear forces are still effective, we have pushed our weapons far beyond their designed lifetimes—in some cases, by decades. This bill authorizes the resources necessary to keep modernization on track, and it will help make sure the next generation of systems is available before our current nuclear triad ages out.

Perhaps most importantly, the NDAA tries to keep defense spending on pace with rising inflation. Inflation is at its highest level in decades, and it doesn't look like it is slowing down anytime soon.

The Biden administration originally proposed a top-line defense spending increase of just 1.6 percent. That would not have kept pace with inflation even in a normal year, but in a year when it is threatening to spiral out of control, it would have meant an unacceptable cut in resources for our military. The NDAA takes this year's runaway inflation into account. It offers an increase of \$25 billion on top of President Biden's proposal, and we came together across party lines to agree to that because it is what our military needs.

At the risk of stating the obvious, the NDAA is about investing in our na-

tional defense. It is in the name, the "National Defense Authorization Act." But every State contributes in its own way to that national goal, and I am proud to say that this bill will bring some major wins to Nebraska, which has a long and rich military history.

It includes \$100 million for the National Disaster Recovery Fund, which will help rebuild Offutt Air Force Base, the home of the Air Force's 55th Wing and U.S. Strategic Command, after the devastating flooding that Nebraska experienced in 2019. It recognizes how critical the 55th Wing is to our Nation's intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance capabilities. Their missions take them all over the world, but they are proudly based in my State of Nebraska.

The men and women who wear American military uniforms are part of the best fighting force the world has ever known. Our job here in Congress is to give them what they need, and this year's NDAA does just that.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LEE. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

BUILD BACK BETTER ACT

Mr. LEE. Madam President, in her 1993 Nobel lecture, Toni Morrison—no conservative—told a story of an old woman who was approached by a group of kids, mocking her and asking her to offer her conjecture:

Old woman, I hold in my hand a bird. Tell me whether it is living or dead.

The blind, old woman was revered for her wisdom and experience.

She responded:

I don't know whether the bird you are holding is dead or alive, but what I do know is that it is in your hands. It is in your hands.

The old woman, of course, meant whether the bird is alive or dead is the responsibility of the person who holds it.

Morrison said:

The blind woman shifts attention away from assertions of power to the instrument through which that power is exercised.

Now, Morrison could have been talking about Congress. I will leave to your judgment who in Congress is a mocking youth and who is the old woman, but in politics it is the instrument of power rather than the assertion of power that matters.

Just this last week, the instruments of power were used, despite assertions otherwise, to quietly pave the way for the Democrats' "Destroy America" bill, which they have called Build Back Better. Congress used a novel procedure to pass a bill, giving Democrats a blank check to raise the debt ceiling to pay for Build Back Better. Procedural

ujitsu is hardly the stuff of base-motivating campaign rhetoric, but it is the instrument of power.

Now I will describe how this happened, but a bit of background is necessary.

Like most legislation in the Senate, raising the debt ceiling, which has been done now 99 times since the end of the Second World War, ordinarily requires 60 votes, which, in an evenly divided Senate, means Democrats and Republicans have to work together to find an acceptable outcome.

There is, of course, an exception that would allow Democrats to use a special budget reconciliation procedure to raise the debt ceiling without Republican help, with a simple majority vote—a simple majority vote that they could achieve if all 50 Democrats cast their votes. If there is an evenly divided vote at the end of the day, it can be broken by the Vice President. But they didn't want to use this special procedure, and I believe they didn't want to use it for two independent reasons.

First, it was inconvenient. The special reconciliation procedure would require too many steps and too much time for their tastes. Still, I don't know of a single Republican Senator, myself included, who would unduly stall the Democrats from proceeding to its consideration. In fact, under the rules, if they follow the right steps, it is, more or less, a guaranteed outcome, one that doesn't require a supermajority and, at the end of the day, can be accomplished with a simple majority.

Second, I suspect that Democrats didn't want to bear the political cost of raising the debt ceiling without some Republican cover. This would ordinarily mean using the standard 60-vote process, but that is not how it happened. Instead of Democrats and Republicans working together to find consensus on the appropriate way to raise the debt ceiling, likely in exchange for spending reforms, some combination of Senate and House leadership concocted a new mechanism.

On a 60-vote bill, Republicans agreed to let Democrats pass an entirely separate bill to raise the debt ceiling—without any Republican votes—by whatever amount they want. So, rather than negotiating a reasonable number, Republicans agreed to ensure that the debt ceiling was increased by as many trillions of dollars as the Democrats might need to fulfill their agenda. There is an actual blank space in the bill where Democrats can write in whatever number they want.

In exchange, Republicans would be protected from scrutiny for insisting that Democrats follow the established rules for raising the debt ceiling through the reconciliation procedure and would be able to launder this vote to appear as something other than helping Democrats raise the debt ceiling, which they had publicly committed—in writing, no less—not to do.

To make matters worse, congressional leadership tied this to a bill preventing automatic Medicare cuts. This sent a clear message: Give Democrats a blank check or there would be Medicare cuts. Some of my Republican colleagues couldn't allow them to shoot that hostage, that hostage being held captive by Democrats.

The playbook is written. The idea that this is a onetime thing or is somehow similar to other expedited procedures—for example, those found under the Congressional Review Act to disapprove of executive Agency rules—is preposterous. The comparison doesn't work. These are very different creatures. I am sure this vicious tactic, the one used here, has not seen its last use—far from it. I am certain it will be used in the future to enact other progressive agenda items, including many that are simply unable to garner the 60 votes necessary under the normal and transparent Senate filibuster rules.

With a blank check and a new special procedure, Democrats are able to raise the debt ceiling by whatever amount they deem necessary to accommodate their “Destroy America” bill, which they call Build Back Better. They have set that price—and we know this now as of just the last few hours—at \$2.5 trillion. This is the behemoth bill that would seek to grant a form of amnesty to illegal aliens; to further the Green New Deal agenda; to overturn State right-to-work laws; to increase vaccine mandate fines on private employers to \$700,000; to infuse critical race theory indoctrination into medical care; and to grow the IRS by 87,000 agents. That isn't even the tip of the iceberg.

The blank check to remake America was a gift to progressives from those within the Republican Party who decided to grant it. I regret deeply their decision to do so, and the filibuster—the major instrument of power preserving the unique identity of the U.S. Senate—was all it cost.

As to who was the old woman and who were the mocking children from Toni Morrison's story, I can't say, but America is the bird.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Ms. COLLINS. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

INFLATION

Ms. COLLINS. Madam President, on Friday, the Department of Labor reported that inflation had hit a near-40-year high, confirming what many American families have been feeling in their wallets for many months.

The soaring cost of virtually everything, from gasoline to groceries, is a growing crisis that has hit families across our Nation. The numbers are alarming.

During the past year, the Consumer Price Index, which measures the price of goods and services, jumped by nearly 7 percent. That is the highest rate since 1982. It represents the sixth consecutive month of inflation exceeding 5 percent.

The goods experiencing the greatest increases read like a list of everyday essentials. Energy costs are up by 33 percent. Used vehicles are up by 31 percent. Hamburger costs are up by 14 percent. Milk, eggs, baby food, furniture, and many other necessities all cost more, and those prices are simply unsustainable for many working families.

The pain is being felt across the Nation, including in my State of Maine. I have heard from many Mainers worried about how they will be able to afford to heat their homes this winter. The average price of heating oil in Maine is currently \$3.15 per gallon, compared to \$2.11 per gallon this time last year. While the amount of heating oil a household uses varies considerably, a typical Maine family will spend nearly \$1,000 more this year on home heating oil. The State of Maine is disproportionately affected by this rise in costs since more than 60 percent of our homes use fuel oil as their primary energy source for heating compared to only 4 percent of households nationally.

The rise in the price of heating oil is not the only hardship that Mainers are facing this winter. Mainers have shared with me their genuine concerns about being able to afford to drive back and forth to work and to put nutritious food on the table. Gas prices in Maine are about \$1.30 per gallon higher than last year.

Business owners face the often impossible challenge of paying higher prices for commodities, food, and supplies without passing those increases on to their already struggling consumers. For example, Maine restaurant owners, who have already experienced an extraordinarily difficult 18 months due to the pandemic, are now grappling with double-digit percentage increases in the costs of ingredients and other goods needed to run their businesses. An owner of a restaurant I visited in Searsport told me that the cost of fryer grease has skyrocketed from \$19 to \$48 per case. Another restaurant owner in Rockland recently told the Bangor Daily News that the price for prime ribs has more than doubled from \$7 to \$17. These supply costs shrink their already slim margins and exacerbate other difficulties the industry is facing with staffing shortages and pandemic-related closures.

After a tough 2020 caused by COVID-related market disruptions and drought, Maine's resilient potato growers rebounded with yields up 20 percent over last year. Such a strong harvest usually would be cause for celebration, but farmers are facing rising transportation, fuel, and fertilizer costs that are hurting their bottom line and forc-

ing them to pass on some of the inflationary costs to their customers. The increased costs of doing business mean that families and processors will pay more for potatoes and growers will get a lower return on their crop.

This weekend, the Wall Street Journal reported on how inflation is harming the employees at the One Stop Tulsa gas station in Aroostook County in Northern Maine. One clerk was working 60 hours each week—up from 40 before the pandemic—because they are so shortstaffed. Even with the increased hours, she said she is struggling with rising costs, from food to electricity.

Melissa Holmes, the gas station manager, said that her twice monthly grocery bill has increased from \$300 to \$500 and it now costs her \$60 to fill up her 2011 Ford Explorer. That is \$20 more than last year.

Ms. Holmes also described facing customers who are frustrated by the higher prices. The cost of chicken, for example, has gone up so an order of chicken tenders has jumped from \$5.49 to \$8.99. That is a big increase, and customers are feeling that squeeze.

After passage of the President's \$1.9 trillion stimulus this spring, the price of goods and services went up. We heard reassurances from the President's team that this inflation was transitory but no acknowledgement of the role that their policies have had on soaring prices. Americans are feeling the consequences as Washington has overheated the economy.

We in Congress must confront this inflation crisis, but instead the Biden administration is pushing trillions in additional macroeconomic stimulus in the President's Build Back Better plan. The consequences for an already overheated economy could be devastating. Given the clear link between recent extraordinary government spending and rampant inflation, we should not be adding more fuel to the fire. Our economy is ailing so it would be wise to begin to follow the maxim that guides medical professionals: First, do no harm.

Democrats have said that their spending spree, which follows the Build Back Better plan, would cost \$1.7 trillion. Several of the proposals in that plan would be set to expire after 1, 3, or 5 years—a gimmick that hides the true cost because we know that is not what the real hope is nor what is going to happen.

Last week, the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office projected that making the social spending programs in the Build Back Better plan permanent would, in fact, cost \$4.9 trillion over the decade—\$4.9 trillion. Doing so would add \$3 trillion to the deficit unless paid for with even more taxes beyond those that the Democrats have already proposed in their bill. That is much higher than the purported \$1.7 trillion pricetag because we know that the ultimate goal is to make these expensive programs permanent.

Inflation is a regressive tax. It does not discriminate among the rich and the poor. It does not take into account the ability to pay. It is a cruel tax, one that punishes thrift by diminishing the value of savings. This is damaging to families who are saving to buy a home or for their children's education. It can be devastating to our seniors, who can do nothing but helplessly watch as the retirement funds that they have worked for their whole lives don't go nearly as far as they had expected.

Like the pandemic itself, we do not know for certain whether this inflation crisis will abate, be prolonged, or even accelerate. Our immediate focus should be on measures that we know will have a lasting and beneficial impact on our economy, such as implementing the bipartisan infrastructure law, opening up and repairing our supply chains, getting more Americans back to work, and protecting the earnings of hard-working Americans.

What we should not do is pass trillions of dollars in additional spending in the administration's Build Back Better bill that would exacerbate the toll that inflation imposes on seniors, working families, and small businesses. We should not take that risk.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. WARNOCK. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

VOTING RIGHTS

Mr. WARNOCK. Madam President, I come to the floor today after a long week of wrestling with my conscience. Before we left Washington last week, we in this Chamber made a change in the Senate's rules in order to push forward something that all of us think is important. We set the stage to raise the Nation's debt ceiling.

Yet as we cast that vote to begin addressing the debt ceiling, this same Chamber is allowing the ceiling of our democracy to crash in around us. The American people have been pushing for leaders in Washington to address voting rights.

Everywhere I turn, I have been hearing from my constituents in Georgia. They are deeply worried. I heard it all weekend. I have been hearing it over the last several months.

And I submit that they are worried for good reason. They know their history. They are witnessing what is happening to our democracy in real time, and they see the handwriting on the wall. They see the sweeping voter suppression proposals in 49 States and the dozens of new laws that have now popped up across the Nation, fueled by the Big Lie that seeks to delegitimize the voices of millions of Georgians and Americans who made their voices heard, made history, and, more impor-

tantly, made a difference last November and last January.

The American people see what is happening in Arizona and in Texas and in Florida and in Wisconsin and in Iowa. They see what is happening in Georgia, my home State, where a new law, SB 202—passed right after I won—will make it harder for some voters to access their ballots by making it more difficult to vote by mail, allowing far fewer drop boxes, and only allowing for the use of those boxes—listen—during business hours. You can use the drop boxes during business hours, which sort of defeats the purpose of having a drop box. In fact, back home, the second most senior Republican in the Georgia State Senate announced recently that he wants to do away with election drop boxes altogether—literal boxes where registered, eligible voters simply can drop off their ballots on their way to the night shift or on their way back home. It seems to me that they want fewer voters and more dark money in our elections, and that is the sad place we are in right now.

But what is even more disconcerting is that these politicians in the State legislature have already laid the tracks to take over local boards of elections, for almost any frivolous reason, to undermine the voices of local voters and local election administrators, control the count, muddy the waters, question or determine the outcome.

In the face of this crisis, the question is this: Has this Chamber risen to the occasion to take on the issue of voting rights, which I submit is the central moral issue confronting this Congress in this moment? What have we done to strengthen access to the ballot as bedrock voting rights protections have been shredded by our courts or to protect the sacred right to vote as partisan State legislatures have passed laws to dilute that right for so many people?

Well, some of us have acted. Democrats in this body have tried not once, not twice, but we have tried this Congress on three occasions to consider legislation to protect and expand voting rights so that more eligible Americans can make their voices heard and help shape the direction of our country. Each time—whether it was the For the People Act or the John Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act or the Freedom to Vote Act—with just one lone exception, all of our friends across the aisle have refused to engage with us in any way to address the growing barriers to what is basic to American democracy: the ballot box.

Here is what we have said. We have said to our Republican friends: If you don't like this provision or that provision, let's talk about it. Offer some amendments. Come, let us reason together. Let us have a debate out in the open so that the American people can hear it.

Everybody talks about the divisions in America right now. Here is what folks on the left and the right agree on:

There is something awry in our democracy. In this moment in which there is this debate happening on the outside, how is it that we refuse to even have a debate in the Senate? They don't even want to have a debate.

So here we are. Months have passed. No, that is not true—years have passed. Democrats have tried again and again to engage our Republican friends in a discussion on this issue—one that lies at the foundation of our democracy—and time and time again, because of a lack of good-faith engagement, the rules of the Senate have prevented us from moving that conversation forward.

We could not imagine changing the rules—that is, until last week, because last week, we did exactly that. Be very clear. Last week, we changed the rules of the Senate to address another important issue: the economy. This is a step—a change in the Senate rules—we haven't been willing to take to save our broken democracy but one that a bipartisan majority of this Chamber thought was necessary in order to keep our economy strong. We changed the rules to protect the full faith and credit of the U.S. Government. We have decided we must do it for the economy but not for the democracy.

I will be honest. This has been a difficult week for me as I pondered how am I going to vote on this debt ceiling question we are about to take. I feel like I am being asked to take a road that is a point of moral dissonance for me because while I deeply believe that both our democracy and our economy are important, I believe that it is misplaced to change the Senate rules only for the benefit of the economy when the warning lights on our democracy are flashing at the same time.

I happen to believe that our democracy is at least as important as the economy. Ours is a great nation built upon both free enterprise and free exercise of basic democratic rights. You cannot have good capitalism without freedom. Each is strengthened by the other, and together they make for a nation that is both prosperous and free, a nation where everybody can breathe and every child has a chance to live up to her highest potential.

So I stand here because of my children. I have two precious children, and I think every day what kind of country I want them to grow up in. I stand here today because we are in a place where we are dealing with the consequence of misaligned values and misplaced priorities, and that is, for me, a serious problem because I lead Ebenezer Baptist Church, where John Lewis worshipped and where Dr. King preached. I asked myself all weekend as I wrestled with how I would vote—I asked myself, what would Dr. King do?

I thought this week about Dr. King's speech in front of the Lincoln Memorial—no, not the 1963 "I Have a Dream" speech but the one he gave the first time he spoke in front of the Lincoln Memorial in 1957, where he addressed

what he called “all types of conniving methods” that were getting in the way of the free exercise of the constitutional right to vote. His rallying cry that day in 1957 was “Give Us the Ballot.”

In light of the conniving methods of voter suppression we have seen enacted into law since the January 6 attack on the Capitol, I come to the floor today to share with the people of Georgia and the American people the message that I shared with my colleagues over the weekend and earlier today during our caucus meeting.

I said to my Democratic colleagues over the last several days—No. 1—unfortunately, the vast majority of our Republican friends have made it clear that they have no intention of trying to work with us to address voter suppression or to protect voting rights. They have embodied by their actions the sentiments of conservative strategist Paul Weyrich, who dared say in 1981: “I don’t want everybody to vote.” That is what he said. “Elections are not won by a majority of the people. They never have been from the beginning of our country and they are not now. As a matter of fact,” he went on to say, “our leverage in the elections quite candidly goes up as the voting populace goes down.”

The second thing I said to my Democratic colleagues today is that while we cannot let our Republican friends off the hook for not being equitable governing partners, if we are serious about protecting the right to vote that is under assault right now, here is the truth: It will fall to Democrats to do it. If Democrats alone must raise the debt ceiling, then Democrats alone must raise and repair the ceiling of our democracy. How do we in good conscience justify doing one and not the other?

Some of my Democratic colleagues are saying: But what about bipartisanship? Isn’t that important?

I say: Of course it is, but here is the thing we must remember. Slavery was bipartisan. Jim Crow’s segregation was bipartisan. The refusal of women’s suffrage was bipartisan. The denial of the basic dignity of members of the LGBTQ community has long been bipartisan. The Three-fifths Compromise was the creation of a putative national unity at the expense of Black people’s basic humanity.

So when colleagues in this Chamber talk to me about bipartisanship, which I believe in, I just have to ask, at whose expense? Who is being asked to foot the bill for this bipartisanship, and is liberty itself the cost? I submit that is a price too high and a bridge too far.

So I struggled this weekend. I talked to folk I believe in. Among them, I spoke with Reverend Ambassador Andrew Young, who was with Dr. King until the very end, about this vote. I talked to Ambassador Young, and I asked him: What do you think?

He said: I try not to worry, but I am worried about our country.

Then this 89-year-old, battle-worn soldier in the nonviolent army of the Lord drew silent on the phone, and then he said to me: Tell your colleagues that among your constituent are people who literally laid their lives on the line for the basic right to vote. They lost friends. They lost so much.

And so this is a real moral quandary for me, and it makes it difficult for me to cast this vote today. But after many conversations with colleagues, with Georgians, with experts who know the economy, with voting rights advocates, and civil rights leaders, I will, indeed, vote today with anguish. I will vote to raise the debt ceiling.

I am voting yes because I am thinking about the kids in the Kayton Homes Housing Projects where I grew up in Savannah, GA. I am thinking about the hard-working families pushing to recover from the pressures of this pandemic, those on the margins and those who are least resilient, for whom a collapse of the economy would be catastrophic. Ironically, many of these are the same people who are also being targeted by the voter suppression efforts I mentioned earlier. I am thinking of them and the people of Georgia as I cast my vote today to raise the debt ceiling.

But I am also thinking about what we need to do to keep our democracy and our economy strong today and for the next generation. Once we handle the debt ceiling, the Senate needs to make voting rights the very next issue we take up. We must do voting rights, and we must deal with this issue now.

Let me be clear. I am so proud of what we did with the bipartisan infrastructure bill and the major economic investments we are putting the finishing touches on that will close the Medicaid coverage gap and deliver historic relief for Georgia farmers and expand broadband access and so much more.

I have to tell you that the most important thing that we can do in this Congress is to get voting rights done. Voting rights are preservative of all other rights. They lay the ground for all of the other debates.

So to my Democratic colleagues, I say, while it is deeply unfortunate, it is more than apparent that it has been left to us to handle alone the task of safeguarding our democracy. Sadly, many of our Republican friends have already cast their vote with voter suppression.

So the judgment of history is upon us. Future generations will ask when the democracy was in a 9-1 state of emergency, what did you do to put the fire out? Did we rise to the moment or did we hide behind procedural rules? I believe that we Democrats can figure out how to get this done, even if that requires a change in the rules, which we established just last week that we can do when the issue is important enough.

Well, the people of Georgia and across the country are saying that vot-

ing rights are important enough. I think that voting rights are important enough so we cannot delay. We must continue to urge the party of Lincoln not to give into the very forces of voter suppression that Dr. King described in that 1957 speech while standing in the shadow of Lincoln. But even as we do that, we cannot wait. We cannot wait on them. With uncanny and eerie relevance, Dr. King’s words summon us to this very moment. He said:

The hour is late. The clock of destiny is ticking out. We must act now before it is too late.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio.

BUILD BACK BETTER ACT

Mr. BROWN. Madam President, I learned a long time ago, I never want to give a speech after that, but certainly I agree with what Senator WARNOCK said, and the Senate schedule kind of made me do this.

I want to thank Senator WARNOCK, who is one of the principals in our legislation, Senator BENNET, Senator BOOKER, and Senator KAINE for their leadership and their work to deliver what is, pure and simple, the largest tax cut for working families ever.

Tomorrow, for the sixth month in a row—July 15, August 15, September, October, November. Tomorrow is the sixth month in a row that Ohio parents, 92 percent of parents in Ohio with children under 18, will again see \$250 or \$300 in their bank accounts or in their mailbox per child. If they have two infant children, they will get \$600.

This is the most consequential thing we have done in decades to make people’s hard work pay off. We know how hard parents work at their jobs, at raising kids. Any parent knows how much work it is to take care of children, especially young children. It has only gotten harder over the last couple of years. Often, that hard work doesn’t pay off like it should. We have seen what has happened over the past decades. Productivity has gone up; the stock market has soared; executive compensation is stratospheric; but wages have been flat.

Workers’ paychecks are finally—finally, during this administration and this Senate, this Congress—finally, because of the work we are doing, workers’ paychecks are starting to go up. But after decades of stagnation, we have a long way to go.

Meanwhile, parents know how expensive it is to raise kids. Healthcare, school lunches, diapers, clothes, school supplies, braces, sports fees, camp fees—the list never seems to end.

Of course, one of the biggest, if not the biggest expense for so many families is childcare. Parents feel like they are trapped. They can’t keep up no matter how hard they work. They work more hours to provide for their family. They have to put their money right back into childcare. Sometimes the extra money in their paycheck doesn’t even cover the extra daycare costs.

That is why Senators BOOKER and KAINE and BENNET and WARNOCK worked so hard to enact the child tax credit. As I said, the largest—it is a \$3,000 tax cut so 92 percent of the families in my State with children get at least a \$3,000 tax cut. It is the same in Virginia, same in New Jersey, the same in Georgia. It is about finally—finally—making parents' hard work pay off so they can keep up with the costs of raising a family.

I was talking to Senator KAINE, and I know he is going to say some of the same things. Let me share a handful of some really quick stories or comments that people have gone on our website and posted at the 15th of the month.

Kristen from Columbus says she is using this money to pay for "daycare. For two kids it is \$600 a week."

Alex in Cleveland:

Every penny is going to daycare. 4 kids in daycare is around \$800/week.

CeCe said her tax cut helps her pay for daycare. She said:

Daycare is the same amount as my mortgage payment for 4 days a week! So this is so, so helpful!

Courtney from Southeast Ohio in Athens:

[S]lightly more than half the cost of part time daycare tuition per month here in Athens—much appreciated help getting kiddo back into childcare . . . keeping me and my husband in the workforce.

Brittany said:

Daycare.

Ellie said:

Daycare.

They also mean parents can afford to work and can afford to keep up with all the extra costs of raising kids.

Katie in Akron:

Help[s] [to] pay for school supplies.

Caitlin:

Pay for preschool for my son.

Lyndsay:

Back to school clothes.

Fern:

It will pay for preschool for both of them and the rest is going in a savings account for them.

Jennifer:

Put away for college tuition.

Melissa:

I used part of it to buy school uniform pieces for my 4-year-old.

Maia:

Food and school supplies.

These parents are all working hard to provide for their families and raise their kids. They are working a whole lot harder than the CEOs and the hedge fund managers who it looks like, under Build Back Better, may continue to get some of their tax cuts—their tax preference, if you will. It is a lot harder for these workers than the CEOs and the hedge fund managers and the Swiss bank account holders who are always getting tax cuts from politicians in this building.

We all remember what happened. We can look down the hall. We have done

that before and seen the lobbyists line up in front of Leader MCCONNELL's office and line up in front of the politicians who always do their bidding with their tax cuts for the wealthy and for corporations that outsource jobs. You know what they told us 4 years ago, when those tax cuts for the rich passed. They said: It is going to trickle down and help everybody else. We will hire more people, raise wages.

Of course, corporations didn't spend the money to raise wages. Of course, they didn't spend the money to lower prices. And then they blame everybody else for inflation. Of course, they spent it—no surprise here—with stock buybacks, and they are still at it today.

This year, without a single vote, not a single vote from Republicans in Congress—twice, every Democrat voting for it, a 51-to-50 vote—twice we passed the child tax credit. It is a simple contrast: Whose side are you on? Do you want tax cuts for billionaires and corporations or tax cuts for working families?

We want tax cuts for working families, Americans from all over the country, from all kinds of backgrounds. Let's deliver that for them. Let's keep the largest tax cut for working families ever so that parents can have that peace of mind, can relieve some of their anxiety they face every month to pay the rent and pay the bills. They can have the peace of mind that the child tax credit will keep delivering money in their pockets through the holidays this year, into next year, into next year's holiday.

I yield the floor to Senator BOOKER.

Mr. BOOKER. It is frustrating, I know, to see such an incredible action taken, where we have made a difference, where the child tax credit already has had a significant impact. The Columbia Center on Poverty found that the October payment of the expanded child tax credit helped ensure 3.6 million American children—3.6 million American children—are no longer living below the poverty line.

What does that mean? When a child is raised above the poverty line, their horizons are transformed. It actually saves an incredible amount of taxpayer dollars. For every dollar we spend bringing a child above the poverty line, we return \$7 back to our economy.

But it is deeper than that. There is a moral urgency. Children below the poverty line have so many more challenges. Their horizons are constrained, their life outcomes are lessened.

Above the poverty line, our children start to exhibit their genius. Children raised above the poverty line have higher lifetime earnings. They have lower medical costs. Children above the poverty line are less likely to go to the hospital, less likely to get in trouble with the police. Children above the poverty line have less inhibitions with their contributions to this country.

I, too, like my dear friend Senator BROWN, have heard lots from people in

my State about what this little bit of money in their bank accounts—how that little bit of investment makes a transformation in the lives of those families.

Take Kelly in Pitman, NJ. She was forced to quit her job when her children's school and daycare closed due to the pandemic. She hasn't been able to return to work without reliable childcare, and the child tax credit is helping her family. It is helping to make up costs that were lost when she lost her income. It is helping her provide for her children. It is that little bit of help by returning those tax dollars which she has paid in—she is getting more out now—and helping that family.

Take Stacey in Kearny, NJ, the child tax credit payments were a lifeline and helped her and her husband keep their family afloat during this pandemic, during this crisis. She was indefinitely furloughed, and Stacey used those payments to send her two daughters back to preschool.

Well, we know the evidence is in. Sending her two daughters back to preschool means her children will do better in school, are more likely to go to college, have higher lifetime earnings, more success that inures to the benefit of us all in society.

Senator after Senator, on both sides of the aisle, has thousands of these stories about what getting more of their hard-earned tax money back means. In a nation where we have seen the tax cuts of the last decade inure overwhelmingly to the richest of the rich, this was the first tax cut in my lifetime—the biggest of the tax cuts in my lifetime that went overwhelmingly to middle-class families, working-class families, low-income families.

And now it sits on a precipice. As many people are aware, tomorrow is the last day that these payments are scheduled to go out to families like Kelly's and families like Stacy's and millions of families across this country.

The changes we made to the child tax credit will expire. Struggling Americans, working Americans, middle-class Americans will not receive that payment in January, unless this body acts.

To prevent this from happening, to make sure families continue to get more of their tax dollars back and have greater security, hope in challenging times, Congress can pass the Build Back Better Act, which includes the extension of the child tax credit payments, which are lowering costs for American middle-class, working-class, and low-income families.

Now, I know there is concern being raised about the Build Back Better legislation today, but I urge my colleagues to understand the high cost of inaction.

First and foremost, letting this program expire will raise costs for families at the very worst time. With the cost of gas and groceries going up, a tax increase, which is effectively what

this would be, would mean millions of families in difficult times would have it be harder to make ends meet, to make those kitchen table economics work out.

It will add burdens to people at a time we should be lifting them, at a time that we should be providing relief. And, again, it is not just working-class families, middle-class families. It is children living in that moral obscenity, that dark place within our society that is termed “child poverty”.

The cost of inaction for all of those children, the cost to our society overall of having children grow up in poverty is \$1.1 trillion—\$1.1 trillion. That is what poverty costs.

But there is a moral cost that is greater than that. There is a moral obscenity that we are experiencing right now, a stain on the soul of our Nation that we have without this tax credit—the highest child poverty rates of all of our industrial peers.

This is a moral moment in America. Our inaction will plunge our Nation back with millions of families facing crisis. We have seen this body act in difficult times before. We have seen us invest in people. We have seen us stand up for children. My worry now is that tomorrow will be the last day, unless we stand up and act.

I join my colleagues Senator BROWN, Senator BENNET, and I join my colleagues Senator KAINE, Senator WARNOCK in calling us to meet this moment, to meet the moral urgency of now, and to please make sure that before this body leaves for the holidays, that for those families who are in stress and economic strain, those families who are worrying about what will happen next month, that we show them that we care, that we show them that we are fiscally prudent, and we make the best investment possible in America. It is not a stock or a bond. The best investment we can make is making sure the child tax credit continues because it is an investment in our children.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. KAINE. Madam President, I am honored to join my colleagues today to speak about the child tax credit and to do something similar to what they have done and just make it personal to families.

Tomorrow, on the 15th of December, more than 930,000 Virginia families, who together have 1.6 million kids, will receive a child tax cut payment—\$300 for a child under age 6 and \$250 for each child between ages 6 and 17. Those are big numbers. Those are big numbers—1.6 million children; 930,000 families.

And I am here joining my colleagues to ask that this payment to parents—this parents’ tax cut—to help their children is not the last, because unless we act, the sixth payment that will go out tomorrow will be the last.

Now, the numbers are big, but sometimes the numbers can obscure—data

and statistics can obscure—what is really at stake. So just a week ago, I put up on my Senate web page a question: What has this tax cut meant to your family?

In 1 week we have received more than 200 responses, and I just want to share a few with you.

Heather, from Glenn Allen, is a full-time caretaker of her physically disabled daughter. Her daughter started having trouble with the stairs in her home. So they used the child tax cut payment to help them buy a new stair lift so her daughter is still able to navigate the home.

Heather wrote this to me:

My family deeply appreciates the child tax credit because we routinely incur additional expenses while caring for a loved one with a disability. I take care of our daughter full time, which makes us a one-income household, so the tax credit helped make a difference.

Beatrice from Rockingham, in the Shenandoah Valley, works at Cooks Creek Presbyterian Church, and she sees how the child tax cuts have affected families they work with. One mother of six, whose husband is incarcerated, relies on the payments to help with her child’s medical expenses. Another couple that comes to this church, who are in their sixties, are raising their great-nephew because his mother suffers from addiction. The tax cut is helping them cover necessities for this great-nephew.

Lawanda—I have a picture of Lawanda and her family. She is a single mom from South Boston, down on the North Carolina border. Lawanda sent me this picture and said: Use this picture. She used the payments to help buy clothes and shoes for her children and to buy fresh fruit and vegetables, which they usually can’t afford.

I love this picture because this is a picture of people with smiles. These are resilient people, who dream of a better future, and this child tax cut is helping them achieve at something as simple as being able to buy fresh vegetables rather than canned, or shoes. Something as simple as that is what this child tax cut is about.

A Virginian from Lynchburg wrote that the tax cut has helped buy healthy food, clothing, and shoes. And then she said this:

Children grow so fast now and eat more, which causes many trips to the grocery store. We are senior citizen, retired grandparents with legal guardianship of our granddaughter. With this being the last payment in December, which would be used partly for Christmas gifts for her, we will [really] have to stretch this.

Grandparents—grandparents raising their granddaughter and finding in this tax cut the ability to afford Christmas gifts.

Nicole from Leesburg is using the tax cut for therapy for her autistic son because insurance no longer covers it.

In another picture is Sasha from Midlothian, which is right outside of Richmond. Sasha wrote to me and said this—and this is Sasha and her young one:

My husband and I both have secure jobs, but the cost of full-time infant care is very high. We spend 23 percent of our combined monthly income on daycare for one child—our 1-year-old son. We also just paid off my student loans and are saving to buy our first house next year. The child tax credit has allowed us to save more money for that house and to pay off debts. We would like to grow our family but worry about our financial burden.

She also wrote:

Thank you for working so hard to pass the Build Back Better bill. I am following it closely because it means so much to my family’s future.

From Alexandria, a constituent wrote:

Before the pandemic, the high price of childcare made it difficult to balance my family’s budget. Each month we went into debt a little bit more. My husband is a full-time student, and I am the sole breadwinner.

The child tax credit helped them start to pay down debt, to begin an emergency fund, and to start a college fund for their son.

A resident from Waynesboro:

I benefited tremendously with the child tax credit. I am a single parent in every aspect, raising two growing boys. It has helped me out with getting things they need for the school year. Also I saved some to be able to give them a good Christmas.

Finally, Laquanda from Roanoke—all she said was this:

Please fight for us. Please fight for us.

I could go on for a long time with these messages, as could my colleagues, but I will stop there. I have read you stories from people who live in every region of Virginia.

I want to thank my colleagues Senators BENNET, BROWN, BOOKER, WARNOCK, CORTEZ MASTO, and others for leading the charge on getting this policy into the American Rescue Plan earlier this year, and I want to thank all of my Democratic colleagues because this thing passed by one vote in March. If any of us had been absent, if any of us had lost our last race, the American Rescue Plan would have failed, and none of these families would have received the support of the child tax credit.

Well, we are going to have that opportunity again, and, given the fact that one party has said they will not support this bill, it is on our shoulders. These families who are struggling and working so hard and who have hopes as high as any of our hopes, they need us. As Laquanda said, they need us to fight for them.

Thank you to my colleagues for joining in that.

With that, I yield the floor but would defer to my colleague from Colorado.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado.

Mr. BENNET. Madam President, it is a wonderful moment to be here with my colleagues to acknowledge that in March we passed the biggest reduction in poverty in generations in our country. That was through the expansion of the child tax credit, which increased the credit, made it payable on a

monthly basis, and, for the first time in American history, made it fully refundable so the millions of children in this country who were too poor to get the benefit of the credit because their families were too poor would get the benefit of that credit. And we needed to do it.

The United States, before we passed this, was 38th out of 41 industrialized countries in the world when it came to childhood poverty. The poorest generation in this country are our children, and I think what we said was that there is no reason for us to accept those outcomes or those numbers as a permanent feature of our economy or our democracy. And in the end, this isn't about numbers. This is about children all over our country and the future of the United States of America.

Childhood poverty costs this country a trillion dollars a year, and one of the things we decided was that maybe, instead of paying for the effects of childhood poverty, we could actually begin to try to reduce the amount of childhood poverty that exists in our country, the way other countries around the world have already done it.

Nationally, the child tax credit, as I say, is cutting childhood poverty in half. It is reducing hunger among families by a quarter. Let that linger for a second.

When was the last time we were able to come to the floor of the Senate and say we cut hunger in this country by a quarter? It has been generations since anybody has been able to say that on this floor.

In Colorado, a million kids and their families are benefitting from this credit. That is 90 percent of the kids in my State. It is 90 percent of the kids across the country. Parents in Colorado are getting an average of \$240 a month to pay for groceries, to help with the rent, and, really importantly, to pay for a little extra childcare so people can stay at work. And I know that because of what parents have told me they are spending the money on.

When we first passed this credit back in June—I think it was then that it first went into effect—July and August, people were getting ready to go back to school, and I had mom after mom after mom across the State tell me how important it was that they were able to buy school clothes for their kids without bankrupting their family, for the first time.

And, you know, all of this is the reflection of an economy that for 50 years has worked extremely well for the top 10 percent of Americans and hasn't really worked for anybody else, and where the families who come to see me in my townhall say: MICHAEL, we are working really hard, but no matter what we do, we can't afford some combination of housing, healthcare, higher education, early childhood education, if we can even find early childhood education or daycare.

We can't save. We feel like our families are going to live a more diminished

life than we did and that our kids will as well.

So I brought a few photos today to the floor to share some stories of Coloradans with all of you and my colleagues.

This is April Pratt from El Paso County, and she lives there with her three daughters, who are ages 8, 2½, and 1½.

When April was pregnant with her youngest daughter, her husband tragically passed away. Now, she is the sole breadwinner for the family. And although she works full-time at the local school, there is not much left after her mortgage, diapers, and groceries for three young kids. Let me just say that again. She works full-time.

Before the Child Tax Credit, April said she “felt like I was having a lot of anxiety every month about whether I was going to be able to afford my bills. It was eating up a lot of my attention.”

Thanks to the child tax credit, April can afford the \$1,200 a month for childcare for her two youngest daughters so she can work—so she can work. She said, “If I wasn't able to afford childcare, I'd have to quit my job.”

Without the child tax credit, April said that she would be “forced to use my credit card to fill in the gaps, and that debt just accumulates and accumulates, and that becomes crippling, and my family wouldn't be able to get ahead.” She said it was “nice that our government is finally doing something to help working families and middle-class families.”

Finally, after we have cut taxes for the wealthiest people in this country by more than \$5 trillion since 2001, we finally have a tax cut for working families. We should be making it permanent.

This is Amberly Atencio, also from Colorado. She is here with her three girls that are ages 9, 12, and 14. When I got to this place, my daughters were 9, 7, and 4, so I have some appreciation for what she has got on her hands.

They lived their entire lives in Monte Vista, a small town in southwest Colorado in the San Luis Valley. And for the past 3 years, Amberly has been working full-time and studying. And last week, she graduated with her second associate's degree.

She works for a local health insurance company. And before the child tax credit, her paycheck was the only source of income for her family. She said that knowing that monthly support comes on the same day each month helps her pay the rent and buy food. She said: “I'm a single parent. This is like heaven to me, knowing that I have that extra income to provide for my children. . . . It has helped so much.”

Her daughters love sports—soccer, basketball, volleyball, and track. But between the shorts, knee pads, cleats, shin guards, and fees, it all adds up. And with the child tax credit, she has bought that equipment for her daughters so they can play sports with their

friends, which means the world to them.

I had a mom who told me that she had bought a bike for her son and he was able to take it to stay at school late to engage in afterschool activities he otherwise wouldn't be able to do without that bike.

And, finally, here is Ayesha Bogart from Colorado Springs. Here is another mom from the Springs with her three kids, aged 12, 13, and 23. Ayesha served for 16 years as a medic in the U.S. Army and U.S. Army Reserves. While she was on Active Duty, she was injured during a training accident when her Humvee rolled over, and it left her with a traumatic brain injury. Now, she is a single mom supporting three kids all by herself. And before the child tax credit, she couldn't afford to buy new shoes for her kids.

She said there were days when they didn't have shampoo at home and her kids would get teased at school. Thanks to the child tax credit, she bought her kids new pairs of shoes. She bought them school supplies so they feel like they are on a level playing field with the other children in their school. She said the child tax credit has given her “breathing room where there wasn't any before.”

I have heard stories like that all across the State of Colorado. This is not an anecdotal reflection of people not working hard. All of these people are working hard. It is hard work just to raise a child, much less do the kind of jobs these folks are doing. And the economy has worked really well for the top 10 percent, as I said, but hasn't really worked for anybody else.

And what has Washington's response been time and time and time again? To come here and cut taxes for the richest people in America and ignore the needs of working people. That is what we have done since 2001, \$8 trillion in tax cuts, almost all of which have gone to the wealthiest people in this country.

And now, we have a tax cut for working people in an economy that has not lifted them up the way it has lifted the people at the very top. We are saying we don't have to accept childhood poverty as a permanent feature of our economy or our democracy. We don't have to accept an economy where it only grows for the wealthiest Americans. We don't have to accept that Congress is only paying attention to special interests and to the wealthiest Americans.

We can build an economy that includes everybody, that when it grows, everybody benefits from it because the whole society benefits from this as well. Childhood poverty costs this country \$1 trillion a year. We can't afford not to do it, which is why so many other countries in the world have done this.

We can create opportunity for every American family and give every child a chance to contribute to this economy and to our society. And I believe it is fundamentally important to strengthening our democracy, making sure we

have got something we are proud of to turn over to the next generation of Americans.

That is why it is critical for us to extend this child tax credit, to not allow it to lapse at the end of the year, and in my mind, make it permanent. I would argue that we cannot afford not to.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MURPHY). The Senator from Nevada.

Ms. CORTEZ MASTO. Mr. President, like all Americans, Nevadans have been through a difficult 2 years. Our State was one of the hardest hit by the pandemic. Nevada relies on tourism and the travel industry, and with the country in lockdown, a huge proportion of our families saw layoffs or furloughs. In fact, we had one of the highest unemployment rates in the country at one time: 30 percent.

For those families, the middle-class tax cuts we passed in the American Rescue Plan have been an incredible lifeline. Today, I am joining my colleagues to stand up for extending these tax cuts. It is so important that we get this done for people not only in the Silver State but across the country.

In many cases, this is money that Nevadans have earned, and it really needs to go back into their pockets. We are talking about a tax cut that benefits the vast majority of families in Nevada.

In July of this year, because of the American Rescue Plan, the child tax credit increased to \$300 per month for children under 6 years of age and \$250 a month for children between 6 and 17 years of age. Working families with two young kids are receiving more than \$500 a month back from the government to help them make ends meet, and it is making a tremendous difference. Over 594,000 children in Nevada and their families qualify for this money.

I have heard story after story from people in the Silver State about the way the money is supporting their children. Some families are using the money for rent, to make sure that their kids don't suffer from housing insecurity. Others use it for clothes for their children or schoolbooks and other school supplies.

Lori Munoz from Henderson, NV, told the Las Vegas Sun that she uses it for school lunches and other school expenses. She said, "You always think, 'oh, it's some extra money.' It's never extra money. . . . Kids always need, there's always something that needs to be bought."

Many families use it just for food on the table. After those first payments were issued in July, the number of adults reporting that children in their households didn't have enough to eat fell by one-third.

And Jessie Cartinella from Reno told me that receiving the monthly payments let her stay afloat as a single mom on a teacher's salary and kept her from running up credit card bills. She

said, and I quote: "Thanks to the Advance Child Tax Credit, I've mostly avoided this and been able to pay bills and even enjoy special outings with my children. The Child Tax Credit encourages my family to make better choices in general—affording me assistance with quality childcare, options for healthier products and food, and providing the opportunity to participate in extracurricular activities that I believe are critical to a kid's social and physical development."

That was Jessie. And that is why it was so beneficial to her family and her children.

Social interactions are so important for kids' mental health as well, and we have known that throughout this pandemic. Treanna James, a single mom in Las Vegas, used her extra funds to take her two sons to visit an uncle and an aunt in northern California for the first time since the pandemic began. Because of underlying medical issues, they had to be very careful about travel; but she said the child tax credit helped make it possible for them to spend time with family again at Thanksgiving.

So these tax cuts have really been key for Nevada families. Now, they are set to expire at the end of 2021, but the budget proposal that we are considering extends them for 1 more year.

Our hard-working families want us to keep this critical support going to them. This is not the time to make it harder for people to keep a roof over their heads or give their kids the essentials they need.

So let's make sure Nevadans can keep that money that they have earned and extend these middle-class tax cuts to Nevadans and all families across the country. Let's support the working people. Let's support hard-working individuals every day and help them with their economic recovery.

I yield the floor.

Mr. BENNET. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Ms. SMITH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The majority leader.

VOTE ON S.J. RES. 33

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all remaining time be yielded back.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading and was read the third time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution having been read the third time, the question is, Shall the joint resolution pass?

Mr. SCHUMER. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. THUNE. The following Senator is necessarily absent: the Senator from Wyoming (Ms. LUMMIS).

The result was announced—yeas 50, nays 49, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 498 Leg.]

YEAS—50

Baldwin	Hickenlooper	Reed
Bennet	Hirono	Rosen
Blumenthal	Kaine	Sanders
Booker	Kelly	Schatz
Brown	King	Schumer
Cantwell	Klobuchar	Shaheen
Cardin	Leahy	Sinema
Carper	Lujan	Smith
Casey	Manchin	Stabenow
Coons	Markey	Tester
Cortez Masto	Menendez	Van Hollen
Duckworth	Merkley	Warner
Durbin	Murphy	Warnock
Feinstein	Murray	Warren
Gillibrand	Ossoff	Whitehouse
Hassan	Padilla	Wyden
Heinrich	Peters	

NAYS—49

Barrasso	Graham	Risch
Blackburn	Grassley	Romney
Blunt	Hagerty	Rounds
Boozman	Hawley	Rubio
Braun	Hoeben	Sasse
Burr	Hyde-Smith	Scott (FL)
Capito	Inhofe	Scott (SC)
Cassidy	Johnson	Shelby
Collins	Kennedy	Sullivan
Cornyn	Lankford	Thune
Cotton	Lee	Tillis
Cramer	Marshall	Toomey
Crapo	McConnell	Tuberville
Cruz	Moran	Wicker
Daines	Murkowski	Young
Ernst	Paul	
Fischer	Portman	

NOT VOTING—1

Lummis

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 33) was passed, as follows:

S.J. RES. 33

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the limitation under section 3101(b) of title 31, United States Code, as most recently increased by Public Law 117-50 (31 U.S.C. 3101 note), is increased by \$2,500,000,000,000.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT REQUEST—EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. KELLY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to executive session and consider the following nomination: Executive Calendar No. 476, David A. Honey, of Virginia, to be Deputy Under Secretary of Defense; that the nomination be confirmed and the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate; that no further motions be in order to the nomination; that the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action; and that the Senate resume legislative session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MARKEY). Is there objection?

The Senator from Missouri.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. President, I object.

It is now December. It has been nearly four months since the disastrous withdrawal from Afghanistan.

Thirteen servicemembers lost their lives in the attack on Abbey Gate along with hundreds of civilians. As a result of the botched evacuation operation, hundreds, if not thousands, of American civilians were left behind to the enemy.

We hear from our friends on the other side of the aisle that my insistence that we actually vote on nominees is unprecedented. I would humbly suggest that the crisis into which this President has led this country is unprecedented. In my lifetime, it is unprecedented.

It is unprecedented for an American President to watch 13 servicemembers lose their lives in an evacuation for which he is responsible and then to celebrate that operation as “an unqualified success” or “an extraordinary success.” I believe those were President Biden’s words.

Really, an extraordinary success? Thirteen servicemembers dead, hundreds of civilians dead, hundreds of Americans left behind to the enemy—that is success? No, that is a failure. That is unacceptable.

And who has been held accountable for this disaster? No one. Who has the President fired? Who has offered their resignation? Which of the planners at the Department of State or the Department of Defense or the National Security Council has been relieved of duty? No one.

Until there is accountability, I am going to ask that the Senate do the simple task of its job, which is to actually vote on these nominees. The least we could do is observe regular order and vote on these leadership positions at the Department of State and at the Department of Defense.

My colleagues say that we have got to put national security first. I agree with them about that. But I believe that begins at the top, with the President of the United States and the leadership of the Department of Defense and the Department of State. I, for one, am not going to stand by and look the other way while this administration systematically endangers our national security, imperils the American people, and watches the sacrifice of our soldiers go by without any accountability, without any change in direction.

I am not willing to look the other way and just pretend that Afghanistan didn’t happen, which seems to be the posture that many in this body have adopted. I am not willing to do that. I can’t do that because I promised the parents of the fallen that I wouldn’t do that.

I am going to discharge my responsibility. And as long as it takes, I will continue to draw attention to what happened at Abbey Gate and to demand accountability for the disaster that this administration has pushed upon this country and upon the people of my State.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mr. KELLY. Mr. President, the Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Research and Engineering is a critical position that helps lead and manage our military’s science and technology work. This includes work on disruptive, cutting-edge technologies like quantum science, hypersonics, and artificial intelligence. Maintaining our competitive edge over China in these areas has been a focus of the Subcommittee on Emerging Threats and Capabilities, which I chair, and I know that all of us—all of us—here understand how important it is.

We worked on a bipartisan basis to include investment and policy changes for these priorities in the NDAA that we are hoping to pass this week. The Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Research and Engineering is tasked with carrying out many of these changes. Yet the nominee for this post has yet to be confirmed.

Dr. David A. Honey is qualified. He brings decades of experience, including as an Air Force pilot, an intelligence officer, and in leadership roles at DARPA, the Office of the Secretary of Defense, and within the intelligence community. Reflecting his qualifications, Dr. Honey’s nomination has bipartisan support and was voice-voted out of the Senate Armed Services Committee in October.

At a time when our adversaries are investing heavily in an attempt to outpace the United States, we need all hands on deck and confirmed leadership in this post, so I am very disappointed that we could not do that today. This is a matter of national security.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas.

INFLATION

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, for months now, American families have struggled with the growing burden of inflation. New data shows just how bad things have gotten.

Last month, consumer prices increased at the fastest pace in 40 years. Now, I would like to take a little walk down memory lane. The last time the American people endured price spikes like this, “Eye of the Tiger” was one of the top songs on the radio. I am sure the Senator from Delaware remembers that very well. The world had yet to be introduced to Nintendo and Mario. Consumers were anxiously awaiting the release of the first cell phone, which weighed in at a whopping 2 pounds. I remember those unwieldy telephones well.

Over the last four decades, of course, a lot has changed, and I am not just talking about technology—the attacks of September 11, wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the great recession.

Even during the first year of the pandemic, inflation didn’t come close to hitting the heights that it has today. Between March 2020 and February 2021,

the inflation rate never topped 2 percent.

There were countless reasons for us to be optimistic. We had three highly effective vaccines, with shots going into the arms of millions of people every day. Schools were reopening. Employees were returning to work. The American people began to discover a new semblance of normal post-COVID.

But the administration ignored all of this progress because they had another plan in mind. They seized on what one House Democrat described as a “tremendous opportunity to restructure things to fit [their] vision.” They crafted a nearly \$2 trillion piece of legislation that included their ideological priorities and tried to brand it as necessary pandemic relief. But we know that only about 10 percent of that \$2 trillion expenditure went to COVID-19. Less than 1 percent went for vaccines. What it did include was backdoor funding for Planned Parenthood, a blank check for mismanaged union pension plans, and money for climate justice. It was easy to see through the COVID relief facade.

Well, as our colleagues pushed this bill forward, they ignored warning signs from leading economists that this kind of spending chasing limited goods and services could trigger inflation. Larry Summers, who served as Secretary of Treasury during the Obama administration, even predicted that this package could “set off inflationary pressures of a kind we have not seen in a generation.”

Our colleagues couldn’t be convinced to change course, and look where we are now as a result. We are experiencing inflation of a kind that we have not seen in a generation. Last month, prices jumped a whopping 6.8 percent from the previous year, marking the sixth consecutive month in which inflation has topped 5 percent.

When concerns were raised about this, the Federal Reserve claimed that this inflation was transitory—in other words, it was a passing moment—but the longer and longer inflation continues to rise and continues to be a problem, it is looking less and less transitory and more and more frightening. The reason it is frightening, of course, is because particularly people on fixed incomes are seeing less and less buying power for each dollar they spend. It is, some have said, a hidden tax on the American people, which describes its impact very well.

Well, month after month, the data has now demonstrated that this is not just transitory and it isn’t just a blip on the radar of our economy. Inflation is running much hotter than expected, and things are not expected to cool down anytime soon.

As families prepare for the Christmas holiday season, they are bracing their wallets for higher than normal expenses, and one of the biggest hits is for grocery bills—hardly something optional. Breakfast on Christmas morning is sure to cost a lot more than it

did just a year ago. Egg prices are up 8 percent. Bacon costs a whopping 21 percent more than it did just a year ago. Dinner—it won't be any cheaper either. Prices are up for everything from ham to salad dressing to pie.

Cooking that meal will cost you a lot more too. Electricity prices are up 6.5 percent, and anyone cooking on a gas range will shell out 25 percent more than they did last year.

If you are traveling to see your extended family this year, you better start saving for it now. Gas prices are up a whopping 58 percent, the largest increase since 1980.

Of course, this ignores the rising cost of gifts sitting under the Christmas tree, if you can get them because of broken and delayed supply chains. So the new cars and the washing machines and sofas that countless families have purchased this year, all of those cost more.

You would think that our Democratic colleagues who are proposing another \$5 trillion in spending under the so-called BBB—or Build Back Better bill—you would think they would view this with caution and back off of their plans or at least tap the brakes for a second round of unnecessary spending. Unfortunately, that does not appear to be the case. In fact, the Senate majority leader, Senator SCHUMER, is trying to double down on this next round of inflationary spending.

We know that every trick in the book has been employed to try to make the BBB, the Build Back Better—“Build Back Broke,” “Build Back Bad,” “Build Back Bankrupt,” you call it what you will—our Democratic colleagues have used every gimmick in the book to make the price of this bill look as small as possible. Of course, they started with the chairman of the Budget Committee. Senator SANDERS wanted to spend \$6 trillion more. That was pared down to \$3.5 trillion. Now, they claim it is only \$1.75 trillion. In order to achieve that number, they have gamed the Tax Code to fund part of the bill while handing out tax breaks to millionaires and billionaires in relief for State and local taxes. They have strategically chosen start dates, sunsets, and expiration dates that make these programs appear deceptively to cost less.

One of our colleagues acknowledged that this is disingenuous advertising and even told Mr. GRAHAM, the Senator from South Carolina, that he knew that this score they were promoting was full of gimmicks.

Of course, that is a lot different than the President himself, who said this bill will cost zero. Now, everybody knows that is not true.

But there had been some debate about what the honest score would be even with all the gimmicks. If the temporary provisions were extended, as we all know they would be—there is no such thing as a temporary government program around here or, as Ronald Reagan said, the closest thing to eter-

nal life is a temporary government program—this legislation will cost a lot more than they admit, and we now know how much that will be.

Senator GRAHAM, who serves as a ranking member on the Budget Committee, asked the Congressional Budget Office to provide a more accurate cost estimate for this legislation. Others like me asked the CBO and the Joint Committee on Taxation to give us an updated estimate. There have been a lot of requests made to come up with an accurate, truth-in-advertising score for this huge bill.

Last week, we got what we asked for. We finally received the true score for this legislation, and it is a whole lot more than the American people were told and much more than they have bargained for. Let's start with the cost provision of just one part of this bill, the expanded child tax credit. This expansion initially came on the scene as a temporary measure in the first partisan spending bill just 9 months ago. So this actually builds on the \$2 trillion our colleagues passed at the beginning of this year. The very first payments had barely gone out the door when our friends on the other side of the aisle called for these temporary provisions to be made permanent. Our colleagues knew that a permanent expansion would have been far too expensive so they opted for a temporary extension.

Earlier drafts of this bill would have extended this policy through 2025. As time went on, the pricetag was still too high so Democrats scaled it back to a 1-year extension, but still nothing has changed. Calls to make this temporary provision permanent have not gone away, and I see no indication that our colleagues will ever be content to let this extension expire after just 1 year.

Our colleagues on the other side of the aisle say this provision will cost taxpayers \$185 billion, as if that were a bargain. The latest estimate from the CBO places the actual cost at roughly \$1.6 trillion. You heard that right. Our colleagues across the aisle said it would just cost \$185 billion, but the latest estimate from the Congressional Budget Office placed the actual cost during the 10-year budget window at roughly \$1.6 trillion, nine times higher than what Democrats have been telling the American people. The true cost of this one provision is nearly as high as what our colleagues said the entire package would cost.

Then you add in the other higher-than-promised expenses. The true costs of payoffs and subsidies to organize labor, allowing dues to become tax deductible will cost taxpayers billions more than advertised.

But I will give them credit about one thing. They are transparent when it comes to subsidizing more frivolous lawsuits against small businesses by giving a permanent tax cut to trial lawyers. When you add up all the not-so-temporary provisions, the Congressional Budget Office says this bill will

cost \$4.9 trillion during the first 10 years—not \$1.75 trillion, not zero, but \$4.9 trillion. Deficits and debt would increase by a staggering \$3 trillion; in other words, borrowed money that the next generation or maybe next two generations will have to repay, which makes President Biden's comment about “zero” even more bizarre.

When it comes to solving our country's biggest problems, our colleagues across the aisle have proven themselves to be a one-trick pony. Whether the American people are facing a pandemic, a sluggish economic recovery, red-hot inflation, or any combination of crises, President Biden and our Democratic colleagues here in Congress think trillions of dollars in new spending is the best path forward.

The first round of reckless spending hurt our economic recovery and sent the American people on a wild inflationary ride. Our colleagues continue to ignore clear signals from the economy, including warnings by Democratic economists about the consequences to unchecked spending.

And we are now experiencing the highest inflation in a generation. This second round of spending would usher in more inflation, higher deficits, and even greater financial trouble for the American people. The American people have clearly suffered enough, and it is time to simply put the “Build Back Bankrupt” bill out of its misery.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

BIDEN ADMINISTRATION

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. President, as we approach the Christmas break and the advent of the new year, I believe it is instructive to take an inventory of the year that was. So in honor of the holiday season, let's take stock of the first year of the reign of Biden, SCHUMER, and PELOSI. In fact, in the spirit of the season, I am going to call this recitation the “Twelve Biden Blunders of Christmas.”

The first blunder that Joe Biden gave to us is a free Big Government socialist agenda, otherwise known as the Democrats' Build Back Better plan, designed to pass with no support from or, frankly, input from any of these pesky Republicans.

Time and time again, Joe Biden and his Democratic toymakers have parroted the claim that their Big Government socialist agenda costs zero—zero. Can you imagine a piece of legislation designed to give away trillions of dollars but doesn't cost anything? But perhaps they have some elf dust that makes it possible.

Obviously, this isn't true. Analysis by nongovernment, nonpartisan

groups, including the Penn Wharton model and the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, did an analysis and concluded that the cost was much, much higher, like just under \$5 trillion. A recent thorough analysis, based on the history and the traditions of Congress and spending, by the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office agrees. The Washington Post's Fact Checker even gave Treasury Secretary Janet Yellen two Pinocchios when she repeated the same bogus claim that this bill would cost nothing.

The second blunder Joe Biden gave to us is hiding from media reporters and not taking questions. It is unbelievable to me—it is hard to imagine the leader of the freest country in the world, in fact, the leader of the free world, is afraid to take questions from the fourth estate or that his staffers are afraid of what might come out of his mouth.

Freedom of the press is enshrined in the First Amendment of our Constitution on purpose. Yet on David Axelrod's podcast, the White House Press Secretary Jen Psaki admitted out loud that "a lot of times we say, 'Don't take questions.'"

The media in the United States is not supposed to be the mouthpiece of the government or its leaders. Transparency is essential—essential—in our exceptional self-governing system.

Now, I am not the President of the United States, but reporters who work in the halls of this temple of liberty and, of course, reporters back home in North Dakota know I am always willing to engage. I don't hide from my votes or explanations for them. I am not scripted to the point of resigning my own thoughts or opinions or even mistakes and decisions. North Dakotans elected me, not my staff. Americans elected Joe Biden, not his staff, not some buffer of bureaucracy. He has the responsibility to be accessible, and the media has the responsibility to demand it of him.

But the slippery slope doesn't end here. Another third blunder Joe Biden gave to us is the White House deciding what is "misinformation." In a news conference, Jen Psaki said:

We're flagging—

Imagine this now, the White House spokesperson:

We're flagging problematic posts for Facebook that spread disinformation. We're working with doctors and medical experts . . . who are popular with their audience with accurate information. So, we're helping get trusted content out there.

That is frightening language coming from a spokesperson for the President. It sounds an awful lot like the U.S. Government colluding with the media to decide what, in fact, counts as fact. In fact, reading between the lines on this one, it seems the White House is playing the ultimate arbiter of the truth. If this seems a little Orwellian, well, it is. It is.

While it is easy to see why Ms. Psaki might conclude—and, frankly, other

Democrats—that they, in fact, control a "state media," the fact is, they don't. Give the American people some credit here. They are smarter than being spoon-fed information from the West Wing through their "elfin folk" at Facebook.

The fourth blunder Joe Biden gave to us is raging inflation from pumping trillions of free dollars into the economy. We all saw the writing on the wall when Democrats and the Biden administration pushed for \$2 trillion in "COVID relief" in March, just 3 months removed from the bipartisan \$900 billion relief bill. This was a total partisan, reckless \$2 trillion that came at a time when there was obvious economic recovery coming out of the pandemic.

And now, Democrats want to spend nearly \$5 trillion on their "Build Back Broke" plan. To put these massive numbers in perspective, the sum of these two bills—just these two bills—is more than the U.S. Government spent fighting World War II. In 2019 dollars, the United States spent \$4.69 trillion over the course of just under 4 years to fight and defeat Nazi Germany and the Axis powers.

Liberal and left-of-center economists, including Larry Summers and Jason Furman, sounded warning bells early this year, but Democrats forged ahead sending inflation to levels not seen in nearly 40 years. They continue to insist that inflation is "transitory," but Americans know better. Americans paying more and more for everything with each passing month know that this is more than transitory inflation.

The fifth blunder Joe Biden's Cabinet gave to us is Homeland Security Secretary Alejandro Mayorkas's assessment of the southern border crisis. Remember the hordes of illegal immigrants camping out on the bridge in Del Rio, TX? "Don't worry," Secretary Mayorkas said as he low-balled the numbers, citing:

Approximately, I think it's about 10,000 or so, 12,000. It could be even higher.

Actually, conservative estimates have the tally upward of 15,000 people.

While we are talking about the crisis at the southern border, it is important to note Joe Biden made multiple claims that he visited the border. But guess what. He hasn't. The Washington Post Fact Checker wrote: "We cannot find evidence that Biden at one point made a visit to the southern border" in his many decades of public office.

It is as though he thinks, if he says it, somehow that makes it true. The problem is lying doesn't make the lie true. I have been to the border, most recently, about 6 weeks ago. I can tell you, it is bad. I can tell you, it is a crisis. Our Customs and Border Patrol agents are completely overwhelmed. I went on a ride-along and aerial tour of the Rio Grande Valley and visited the Donna Processing Facility, where families and unaccompanied minors are processed. If there is any takeaway from seeing this firsthand, it is this:

There is no way to adequately understand the magnitude of the problem or the severity of the crisis unless you see it with your own two eyes. So I implore the President, who has held elected office nearly uninterrupted since 1973, please visit the southern border and acknowledge what is obvious to everybody else. This is a national crisis.

The sixth blunder Joe Biden gave to us is a new kind of border wall, not the wall we need to secure the crisis on the southern border, which has seen record numbers as nearly 2 million people have attempted to enter the country illegally under Biden's watch.

By the way, this is just the number of illegal immigrants who have been apprehended by our CBP heroes. Now, that is more than twice the population of my home State.

But according to Secretary Mayorkas, a border wall is an affront to—get this—an affront to humanitarian relief. Obviously, the ranchers and the innocent American citizens living and working near the border don't qualify for this humanitarian relief. Yet his Agency secured and awarded a contract for nearly half a million taxpayer dollars to build and install a fence around Joe Biden's home in Delaware. What kind of humanitarian relief does Joe Biden's beach mansion need?

The seventh blunder Joe Biden gave to us is \$450,000 settlements for illegal immigrants, just for being illegal. The Wall Street Journal was the first to report this absurd plan. While North Dakota families and businesses are struggling with inflation and skyrocketing costs on everything because of Joe Biden's spending policies, his administration wants to hand out hundreds of thousands of dollars to illegal immigrants.

In comparison to the \$450,000 proposed payout for illegal border crossers, the U.S. Government pays only \$100,000 to the families of soldiers killed in service to our country, and people who are wrongly accused and incarcerated in Federal prison are eligible for just \$50,000. That is right—\$100,000 if you die defending our freedom but \$450,000 if you violate our freedom.

Now, when confronted about this, President Biden said this is not going to happen, but he was quickly corrected by his own White House and the Justice Department. Negotiations are ongoing, so we don't know what any final number will be. I have helped sponsor legislation and amendments to prevent this policy from ever being implemented. The last thing we need is another incentive for people to come to our country illegally.

The eighth blunder Joe Biden gave to us is private jet-setting climate apologist John Kerry's comments on coal. Kerry stated:

By 2030 in the United States, we won't have coal. We will not have coal plants.

While a State Department spokesperson walked back Kerry's statement, "noting the administration's plan still

would allow coal," it is absurd on its face.

Cutting off coal would shut down American innovation, kill all the progress we have made on carbon capture technology, eliminate good-paying U.S. jobs, scrap grid reliability, and increase the cost of energy and everything that is produced that is dependent on the energy—like we need more inflation—and cede energy dominance to foreign adversaries who have a total lack of environmental concern and standards. Canceling coal is merely a transfer of emissions guilt to other countries with dirtier energy production than we have.

The ninth blunder Joe Biden gave to us is moral authority and other gaffes from Energy Secretary Jennifer Granholm. Most notably, Secretary Granholm—while in North Dakota, no less—said: "We don't have much moral authority to call out China when it comes to energy production and emissions."

This is not just wrong; it is embarrassing. It is not just an intellectual mistake; it is an embarrassing gaffe. The stringent environmental and, I might add, labor standards of the United States are far superior to the lack of any of them in China. And I rest my case on the facts of the situation here.

One, according to the BBC and several other agencies—but the BBC says China emits 27 percent of global emissions, and it is a rising percentage because it is a rising number, while the United States is around 10 percent and a declining percent.

Two, according to the EPA, total U.S. energy-related carbon emissions fell by 12 percent from 2005 to 2018 while the United States became the No. 1 energy producer in the world.

In contrast, global energy-related carbon emissions increased nearly 24 percent. So the United States reduces 12; the globe increases 24 percent. This is significant by any standard and certainly qualifies us to be able to say we have moral authority over China when it comes to polluting and greenhouse gas emissions.

In North Dakota, in fact, we are performing ground-breaking research and piloting innovative demonstration projects. We are in the process of adding carbon capture technology to facilities like the Milton R. Young and Coal Creek power generation stations.

Furthermore, the United States has invested more in clean energy, research, development, and deployment than the next two countries combined.

We are a global leader in climate mitigation measures for new energy sources, carbon management, and efficiency. The radical and backwards energy policy of this administration ignores American exceptionalism and the real progress that we have made as a nation.

The Chinese Communist Party, Russia, and other polluters have shown no real interest in doing so, yet Secretary

Granholm and Joe Biden provide cover for them, along, of course, with John Kerry, even greenlighting their fossil fuel energy projects, while they kill America's.

The tenth blunder Joe Biden gave to us is a disastrous withdrawal from Afghanistan. There is a lot to unpack here, and nothing about this topic is meant to be glib or sarcastic. This withdrawal was nothing short of a tragic disaster and an international embarrassment.

We will continue searching for answers and accountability from the administration on this, but let's focus on the failed commitments from Joe Biden. He said his administration would get all Americans and our allies out of the country ahead of his arbitrary August 31 withdrawal deadline.

He also said the United States would stay in Afghanistan until all Americans who want to leave can do so. This is obviously not what happened.

After the botched withdrawal, the administration listed numbers ranging from 85 people to 200 or maybe 400 Americans left in Afghanistan. The State Department, however, believes as many as 14,000 legal permanent U.S. residents remain in Afghanistan, according to a foreign policy press report. Whatever the number, the President went on national television and told the world this withdrawal was "an extraordinary success."

Can you imagine being one of the people left behind and seeing your President on TV calling what he did an extraordinary success, saying that we got out successfully? It is abundantly clear there are significant numbers of U.S. citizens, residents, and important Afghan allies still stranded in the country if, in fact, they are still alive at all.

The 11th blunder Joe Biden gave to us is welcoming stiff competition with China. In October, Jen Psaki was asked about the Chinese Communist Party's hypersonic missile test successfully circumventing the whole globe which, from reports, indicate they are capable of delivering a nuclear warhead. Her response, Oh, we welcome stiff competition.

Really? Really? Why would the White House welcome military competition from our peer adversary communist China?

As a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, it has been a priority to ensure the U.S. military maintains a secure and effective deterrent, a nuclear deterrent. In order to do so, we need to modernize our nuclear triad. America's nuclear triad of missiles, submarines, and aircraft are 60-plus years old in many cases, and they are not the same strong deterrent to our adversaries that they once were. It is clear and concerning that the Chinese Communist Party is prioritizing a nuclear buildup, and the White House seems comfortable with all of this.

The 12th blunder Joe Biden gave to us is the consistent confusion and

alarm in regards to his own comments about Taiwan.

In October, Joe Biden told reporters, "I have spoken with Xi Jinping about Taiwan. We agree, we will abide by the Taiwan agreement," he said. Of course, immediately, alarm bells rang out, causing confusion and a lot of head scratching. You have to remember, we have a backdrop of Beijing ramping up military pressure on Taiwan, and Joe Biden can't properly articulate our Nation's foreign policy posture.

The lack of understanding on something as critical as China is dumbfounding. Taiwan is a strategic ally and important trading partner to the United States, especially given the increased risk China poses, not only to the region but to the world. If this was an isolated incident, it would be one thing, but this isn't the only time his comments in Taiwan had to be clarified—no. In a CNN townhall, Anderson Cooper interrupted the President to ask if Joe Biden was "saying that the U.S. would come to Taiwan's defense if China attacked?"

Joe Biden promptly responded with, Yes, we have a commitment.

The White House resorted once again to walking back these comments, in what seems to be a recurring occurrence at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. One Washington Post article wrote:

Most analysts believe simply that Biden misspoke.

Misspeaking is a kind way to dismiss the obvious lack of clear understanding of a critical foreign policy issue by our Commander in Chief. If there were to be an attack, I am not even sure the President would know what to do if he can't accurately express what our policy is.

I am not sure I can sum this up as succinctly as two turtledoves and a partridge in a pear tree, but I can conclude that Joe Biden and his leftwing extremist allies deserve a lump of carbon-intense coal in their White House stockings this Christmas.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

ANNIVERSARY OF SANDY HOOK SHOOTING

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, 9 years ago this morning, I was in Bridgeport, CT. I had just done an event with the city of Bridgeport, and I was meeting my wife and, at the time, my two very young children, ages 4 and 1, in 2012 at the Bridgeport train station. We were going to take the train down to New York City, and Cathy and I were going to show our two kids the splendor of New York City. We were going to go see the Christmas tree. We were going to go to the ice rink.

And as we were waiting for the train to arrive, I got news that there had been a shooting at a school in Newtown, CT. Newtown is a beautiful community, a quintessential small town, close-knit. The Labor Day parade every year attracts every civic and community group to it, the pride of the community.

And I wondered whether I could still continue on to this family trip or whether I needed to wait to find out more. I figured it was a disgruntled employee. A few moments passed as I waited for the train, and the news began to come in that this was much more grim, that there were children shot, perhaps many.

And I decided that I should get in a car and head to Sandy Hook. There are a lot of days when I wish I didn't see the things that I saw or hear the things that I heard in Newtown that day.

Senator BLUMENTHAL, who is on the floor with me right now, he and I were there, and we were just witnesses. We were just interlopers. Neither of us lost a loved one that day, but it is a day that I will never, ever forget, etched into my brain.

And we come here likely every December 14 to memorialize another year having passed since Sandy Hook. And, of course, at some point, you come to a loss for words. You can't figure out what new to say to your colleagues to try to explain what has happened to these families, to this community, why there is such an aching for action, a disbelief that this country refuses to stand up and do something about the safety of our kids—because, well, Newtown caught the Nation's attention for good reason, twenty 6 and 7-year-olds vanishing from the Earth in an instant. Every single day, there are mothers and fathers who are losing children to gun violence—gun violence that is completely preventable.

A few weeks after Newtown, I was in a community center in the north end of Hartford with parents who were furious that the country was just waking up to this epidemic of gun violence after White children were shot in Newtown because it had been happening to their Black children for decades.

And so, today, I want to do something very simple for my colleagues and for the country, I want to just explain to you what the grief of these families feels like, what it looks like when you lose a child, whether that child is 6 or 7 or 16 or 17. When you outlive your child, when your child doesn't even make it to adulthood, there is an all-consuming grief that is inescapable.

One of the emotions that is connected to this grief that I have learned about is the tendency to deny the reality that has become your surrounding.

That is logical, to momentarily, either purposely or subconsciously, try to figure out a way out of this world that you are living in without your child or without your son or daughter whom you had planned to spend the rest of your life with.

And so I want to talk a little bit about that emotion today. I live now in the South End of Hartford. I live just two blocks from the intersection of South Prospect and Shelby Street. I think I live there intentionally, because I know this story so well, and when my family and I were looking for

a house in Hartford and there was one available just two blocks from this intersection, I think there was probably something intentional about the choice we made.

On and at that intersection, just two months before the Sandy Hook shooting, Shane Oliver, a young African American, 20 years old, was meeting a couple of acquaintances. He was transferring a car that he had fixed up to this other group of individuals whom he knew in passing.

He was there with his girlfriend, and during the exchange of this vehicle, an argument broke out. It started because of something untoward that his sellers said about his girlfriend. It was essentially an argument over a girl that turned into a fistfight that then prompted Luis Rodriguez to go back to his car. Inside that car was an illegal gun. He walked out of the car with a gun. Shane Oliver tried to run, and he was shot in the back. He died that night at a Hartford hospital.

His mother, for a good deal afterward, would wake up in the middle of the night, awaken from a deep sleep, put her clothes on, get into her car, and start driving. She would do this night after night.

She would drive from her home to the corner of South Prospect and Shelby Street, where her son died. And when she got there, she would shift her transmission into park and she would turn on the high beams and just wait for hours—the car in park, the high beams on—ostensibly, waiting for her son to come back. It is impossible. Shane Oliver had died months ago. He wasn't coming back. But his mother, consumed by this grief, consumed by this need to deny what had happened, sat there in her car.

Around the same time, one parent whom both Dick and I have gotten to know very well in Sandy Hook came up with her own trick. She would pretend that her son who had died that day at Sandy Hook wasn't dead. In fact, he was just visiting a friend for the afternoon.

She was trying to figure out ways to just get some housework done, to just tidy up the place, to make some phone calls that she needed to in order to get her family's business done, and the only way that she could do that was to imagine that her son was at a play date and that he would be coming home soon. And, of course, that dream would vanish, and she would once again come to grips with the reality that her son was never, ever coming home. But that need to deny that reality, even for a few hours, was what was necessary for her in order to get through the day.

I just tell those two stories because I want people to understand how desperate your life becomes when you lose a child. We lost 26 individuals—20 kids and 6 educators—9 years ago today in Sandy Hook, and the families of all 26 of these individuals—the parents, the brothers, the sisters, the children—their lives will never, ever be the same.

Newtown will never, ever be the same. Many of these kids lived within a block or two of each other. Everyone in Newtown knew one of these families, two of these families. Half of these kids all went to the same church. The funerals that we went to over and over again were at the same place, with the same priest presiding over funeral after funeral, wake after wake.

And so sometimes those of us who work in and around this issue of gun violence get angry at our colleagues, because how can you listen to these stories of grief—and they happen in every State—and choose not to act?

Lastly, I want to do something that I have done several times on the floor, because I am running out of ways to express what happened in Sandy Hook and why our inaction is inexcusable. I am running out of turns of phrase to do it myself. So maybe the words of a parent will help you understand why we need to act. So I am going to read a few excerpts from testimony that our friend Neil Heslin gave before the U.S. Senate just 2 months after Sandy Hook occurred.

Neil is a complicated guy, a good friend who had hard times in his life. But his best friend was his son Jesse Lewis. And I will end by reading what he wrote to the U.S. Senate 9 years ago.

On December 14, Jesse got up and got ready for school. He was always excited to go to school. I remember on that day we stopped at Misty Vale Deli. It's funny the things you remember. I remember Jesse got the sausage, egg and cheese he always gets, with hot chocolate. And I remember the hug he gave me when I dropped him off. He just held me, and he rubbed my back. I can still feel that hug.

And Jesse said "It's going to be alright."

I mentioned that his father Neil had a rough life. He had a hard time, like a lot of folks.

And Jesse said "It's going to be alright. Everything's going to be okay, Dad." Looking back it makes me wonder. What did he know? Did he have some idea about what was about to happen? But at the time I didn't think much of it. I just thought he was being sweet.

He was always being sweet like that. He was the kind of kid who used to leave me voice messages where he'd sing me happy birthday even when it wasn't my birthday. I'd ask him about it, and he'd say "I just wanted to make you feel happy."

He had so much wisdom. He would know things, and I would have no idea how he knew. But whatever he said, it was always right. He would remember things we'd done and places we'd been that I had completely forgotten about. I used to think of him as a tiny adult.

Other people felt it, too. Teachers would tell me about his laugh, how he made things at school more fun just by being there.

Jesse had this idea that you never leave people hurt. If you can help somebody, you do it.

That's what Jesse thought. If you can make somebody feel better, you do it.

They tell me that's how he died. I guess we still don't know exactly what happened at that school. Maybe we'll never know. But what people tell me is Jesse did something

different. When he heard the shooting, he didn't run and hide. He started yelling. People disagree [about what he said]. . . . [But] ten kids from my son's class made it to safety. I hope to God something Jesse did [that day] helped them survive. . . .

What I know is that Jesse wasn't shot in the back. He took two bullets. The first one grazed the side of his head, but that [probably] didn't stop him yelling. The other hit him in the forehead. Both bullets were fired from the front. That means the last thing my son did was look Adam Lanza straight in the face. . . .

Jesse grew up with guns, just like I did. I started shooting . . . when I was eight years old. My dad was a vice president for years at a local gun club. He started taking me shooting when I was eight. . . . He taught me to respect guns, just like I taught Jesse.

Jesse . . . had an interest in guns. He had a bb gun. I watched over him like a hawk with that. I taught him gun safety. He knew it. He could recite it to you.

Some guns just don't have any place in the hands of civilians. The assault weapons we're talking about today, their sole purpose is to put a lot of lead out in a battlefield quickly. That's what they do. That's what they did at Sandy Hook Elementary.

I wish I wasn't here with you today.

Neil writes:

The best day of my life was the day my son was born. The worst day was the day he died. I don't want to relive that day by talking to you here about it. It would be easier for me just to stay home.

But I know that's not what Jesse would do. Jesse died screaming at a man with a gun. He died yelling at the top of his lungs so maybe some of his classmates could get to safety.

I'm not real political. Half the time I think it doesn't matter which group of you guys runs things out here, no offense. I've always thought it wasn't a real good idea for people to be walking around the streets with military weapons, but I probably wouldn't have said anything about it.

So the reason I say this isn't about politics is because what I felt on that day, and what I've felt since, doesn't have anything to do with politics. In politics, people like to debate and say if we banned the weapon that Adam Lanza used would he just find something else. Let me tell you, when you're sitting at a firehouse and it is one in the morning and you are hoping against hope that your son is still hiding somewhere in that school, you want any change that makes it one bit more likely you'll see your boy again.

Before he died, Jesse and I used to talk about maybe coming to Washington someday. He wanted to go up the Washington monument. When we talked about it last year Jesse asked if we could come and meet the President.

I said earlier that I can be a little cynical about politicians. But Jesse believed in you. He learned about you in school and he believed in you. I want to believe in you, too. I know you can't give me Jesse back. Believe me, if I thought you could I'd be asking you for that. But I want to believe that you will think about what I told you [here] today. I want to believe that you'll think about it and then you'll do something about it, whatever you can do to make sure that no other father has to see what I've seen.

Dick and I were at that firehouse all day and all night, and I will never, ever forget that when all the parents had gone home, having told what happened,

the first responders had almost all left. Sitting in the middle of the firehouse all by himself was this one man. And it was Neil Heslin. I left that firehouse—I can't remember—at 10 o'clock or 11 o'clock at night. And Neal was the last person I talked to. And, as he tells you in his testimony, he didn't leave until 1:30. If there was any chance that Jesse was coming back, that he was running around in the woods, he was going to be sitting there at the firehouse.

It gets harder every year, and I have no personal stake in this. I went home that night to both of my kids, who were sleeping safely in their beds.

What the hell is going on in this country that we sit here and memorialize year after year since those 20 kids died and we don't do anything meaningful about it?

Next December will be 10 years, and I am just going to tell you how hard it will be for so many of these families to live through a 10-year mark of Sandy Hook with no action from this body.

We have a year to get our act together here to make sure that in some small way we can honor these children with action.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PETERS). The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. BLUMENTHAL. Mr. President, this day is one of the profound moments for both Senator MURPHY and myself, because we lived through that day—a searing, grief-stricken day that neither of us will ever forget, 9 years ago. And at this moment on that day, I stood before a church full of parents and members of that Newtown community. And what I said then was, "The world is watching. The world is watching us and what we will do."

Today, we remember not only what we lost but also what we still need to do as, 9 years ago, those 20 beautiful children and 6 great educators lost their lives. Today, as we did at St. Rose of Lima Church that evening, we remember the lives they lived. Their names will be forever engraved in our hearts. We remember them for bringing bursts of light and laughter and love into our lives, mostly into the lives of their families.

We also remember the heroism, the real heroism, of those educators on that day—of the six who bravely sought to shield their children. Literally, with their own bodies, they sought to protect their children—running unhesitatingly toward that danger, barricading classrooms, drawing on all their reserves of calm and professionalism to protect the children in their care. They were heroes, and so were emergency responders, State police, and all who came to the firehouse that day. I remember the broken faces—the heartbroken faces—of men who went into the school building to secure the crime scene and saw the bodies of children who could have been their own. They were tough State policemen who had seen it all. Those

emergency responders, the ministers, the priests, the people of faith who tended to the parents, and, yes, indeed, the parents themselves—heroes.

My colleague Senator MURPHY has talked about Jesse's dad, Neil Heslin. Jesse's mom, Scarlett Lewis, became a hero as a champion of social and emotional learning to try to prevent the conflict and the emotional travail that could lead someone like Adam Lanza to do what he did.

I will never forget, at one of those wakes and funerals that we attended in the days afterward—they seemed interminable in the cold and the deadening light of winter—the one mom whom I approached and said: "When the time is right, when you are ready, I think we should do something about gun violence." She looked at me and said: "I am ready now."

The ferocity, the bravery, the strength, and fortitude of those parents in the days and months afterward, coming here, as we sought to do something about gun violence, and then they sat in the Gallery when, by a handful of votes, we failed, and the cry of shame—shame—that one of those parents shouted to us.

They worked bravely, and they have continued that work with the kind of unflinching courage that it takes every time they tell their stories and every time one of the surviving families talks about their children in the quest to save others. That is what it is all about. That is why those brave parents—heroes—of this story have continued.

For them, that December morning began like every other. They took their children to school, kissed them goodbye, maybe admonished them to be good that day. It was a normal day until it wasn't. Then, time stopped for them and for all of us. Time stopped, and the world changed forever—irreparably. Irreparably, it changed forever for them and for all of us. Nine years later, they live with that grief so far more deeply than any of us that it almost feels like an incursion on their privacy to talk about that day. The scars of that day are for them but also for the brothers and sisters. For everyone who suffered a loss, that trauma and grief continue, and they relive it on this day.

There also are heroes in that community of Newtown and Sandy Hook—a beautiful, quintessential New England town, with such great spirit. They came together that evening at the St. Rose of Lima Church and in the days and weeks and years afterward with unyielding conviction and courage.

Yet we know that they are so far from alone because, in that time—incredibly, in the time—of the 9 years since that day, 900,000 more people have perished; 900,000 more people have died from gun violence and so many of them children. One-third of American children live in a home with a gun, and 3 million children are exposed to gun violence every year.

Firearms are the leading cause of death among American children and teenagers—the leading cause of death for children younger than the age of 13. So often, they occur at home—outside the front door, in the neighborhood. Black children and teens are 14 times more likely than White children and teens to die by gun homicide. There is a searing inequity and injustice here that radiates outside the boundaries of Sandy Hook and Newtown. It affects every community. None is immune. None is above gun violence.

Because 60 percent of all deaths by gun violence are suicide, there are solutions here, like safe storage and emergency risk protection orders, and red flag statutes that simply keep guns safely stored, like Ethan's Law, or that separate guns from people who say they are going to kill themselves or others or who give evidence that that is what they are going to do.

The good news is we are seeing a new generation of leaders. We are seeing a political movement, not just a moment but a political movement, and a group of organizations that is mobilizing the vast majority of the American people who know we need to put an end to gun violence: Sandy Hook Promise, Newtown Action Alliance, Connecticut Against Gun Violence, Moms Demand Action, Students Demand Action, Giffords, Brady, March for Our Lives—in the wake of Parkland, March for Our Lives. This is a new generation brought together by tragedy, united regardless of their party. Regardless of their other politics, they are together in demanding action.

With every one of these mass tragedies—Parkland, Las Vegas, Charleston, El Paso, Orlando, Pittsburgh, Atlanta, Boulder, Indianapolis, and now Oxford, MI—the scourge of gun violence has united these groups in a way that has never happened before, with the hope that Americans will express themselves not only in their neighborhoods and at community meetings but also at the ballot box in order to hold us accountable—truly responsible—for the complicity of Congress. Yes, it is complicity in that death and murder that occur literally every day. More than 100 lives are lost every day.

There are real commonsense solutions here. I don't need to describe them in detail—that will be for another day: expanding background checks and closing loopholes in that background check system, keeping weapons of war and ghost guns off our streets, funding public health research and community violence intervention programs, protecting domestic violence survivors, setting standards for safe and secure storage, implementing those red flag statutes, and holding the gun industry and its nefarious partners accountable. We know what to do. We know what is necessary to help stop gun violence. There is no mystery here, and this movement—a political movement and social movement—can achieve it.

But I want to talk not only about the grief suffered by families who have lost

loved ones but about the impact on the living who may not even know about Sandy Hook. There are children at schools right now, children who routinely do active shooter drills, diving under their desks or barricading their doors in anticipation of a mass murder in the place that should be the safest to them.

What will this generation think of school? What will this generation think of safety?

Today, in some schools, there was no school because of the copycat threats phoned in to those schools.

What kind of nation has to shut down schools because of the threat of mass murder? Not our Nation, I would hope; not our Nation, if we use our power to make our Nation safer; not our Nation, if we have the same kind of courage and guts and grit that those families of Sandy Hook have. We promised to honor them with action.

We should keep in mind the grace and bravery of people like Kristin and Mike Song, who lost their son, a teenager, at a friend's house, to a shooting that was the result of an unsecured weapon—unsecured because the parents of his friend failed to put it under lock and key. They made it accessible. Kids die like that every day, every week. As our hearts break, we should remember the bravery of Kristin and Michael Song, who crusaded for Ethan's Law, named after their son.

They were here just last week at a vigil—literally, within a stone's throw of the Capitol—reciting their story, seeking to inspire us to act and take that step toward safe storage but taking nobody's gun away. These measures take no one's gun away. They just make it safe to own a gun and to save lives.

We have children. I have four children. My colleagues on the floor have children and families. We remember those days when our kids were 6 years old. We remember the joy and life they brought to our lives.

There is a saying that no parent should outlive a child. Until we know someone who loses a child, but most especially at that age, the power of that saying may have less meaning.

In 10 years, we should have done a lot more, if we mark 10 years without doing more. In 10 years, next year at this time, we should hold ourselves accountable for doing more.

Over this next year, we have work to do. And as dark as December may seem, it is also a season of light. And the heroism of those families, of the first responders, of the community of Sandy Hook should provide us with the inspiration we need to honor those brave and wonderful children, to honor them with action, not just words.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming.

TRIBUTE TO BRYN STEWART

Mr. BARRASSO. Mr. President, I come to the floor today to honor an extraordinary public servant. It is my

longtime legislative director, Bryn Stewart.

He is going to be leaving the Senate after a 20-year career of working on behalf of the people of Wyoming.

He served in this great institution under two different U.S. Senators from Wyoming. He and his family have deep roots within our State, and he is a third-generation Wyomingite.

Bryn was born and raised in Sheridan, WY. His father Clyde was a high school business teacher who also coached basketball and the golf team. His mother Jerrie worked at the Sheridan Press, our local newspaper. Both of his parents encouraged him to work hard, to always be respectful, and, most importantly, to be himself, not to be what others expected him to be. Well, he has exceeded all expectations, I will tell you.

Family means everything to Bryn. He is the fifth oldest of seven children. And while it is Bryn's career that we are here to pay tribute to today, in terms of his work in the Senate, his older sister Kendall was the first Stewart sibling to work in the U.S. Senate. She worked for Wyoming Senator Malcolm Wallop. She then came to work in my own office in Sheridan, WY, in Bryn's hometown.

It is also important to point out that Bryn's brother Dow also worked in the U.S. Senate. What a testament to Bryn's parents that so many of their children were committed to public service.

Bryn took a very different route to the U.S. Senate than his siblings. After graduating from the University of Wyoming with a finance degree, Bryn went on to earn his law degree from the College of Law at the university in 1985.

It turns out that Bryn wasn't the only standout from his class that year at the University of Wyoming School of Law. My fellow U.S. Senator from Wyoming, CYNTHIA LUMMIS, was Bryn's classmate in the law school, and the two of them remain great friends to today.

After passing the Wyoming State Bar, Bryn has maintained his membership in the Wyoming Bar for 36 years.

He moved to Gillette, WY, and he started his career there as legal advisor to the Campbell County sheriff and deputy county attorney. Now, I would point out that Campbell County, in Gillette, is the town where Mike Enzi, my former colleague, had been a representative in the legislature as well as the mayor. And Mike Enzi also had graduated, as has Bryn, from Sheridan High School.

Ten years later, Bryn became the director of administrative services for the Campbell County Board of Commissioners. In that role, Bryn was able to balance the budget during a major economic downturn without laying off any employees. This was not an easy achievement.

Now, after more than 16 years of serving the people of Campbell County,

Bryn made the move to Washington, DC. He came to DC to work for my predecessor, Senator Craig Thomas, as his tax and trade counsel. The person who gets full credit for convincing Bryn to come work for the U.S. Senate wasn't Senator Thomas; it wasn't me; it was my incredible wife Bobbi Brown Barrasso who encouraged Bryn to take the job and move across the country.

Bryn fondly tells the story of how my wife Bobbi, who was then the State director for Senator Thomas at the time in 2001, reached out to Bryn about the opportunity that really did change the course of his life and his career.

Now, she knew that he would be a perfect fit for the job. We are all very grateful to Bobbi in so many ways but most certainly for recognizing Bryn's talent and talking him into taking a leap of faith.

Although it turns out a cross-country move wouldn't be the biggest shock of the journey for Bryn—it is a long way from Wyoming to Washington—but he was officially offered the job the Friday before the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

Many people would have reconsidered moving to Washington, DC, after the largest terrorist attack in our country's history, but Bryn didn't think twice. In fact, it only strengthened his resolve and his commitment to serve the Nation and the people of Wyoming.

It turns out he would need that resolve because during his first week in the DC office, the anthrax attacks occurred against our Nation, against our Capitol, and against a Senate office building. Anonymous letters laced with deadly anthrax arrived in congressional offices, and Bryn, like so many staffers on the Hill, was displaced for months into temporary quarters.

Despite the chaos and the rocky start, Bryn was not deterred, and he immediately jumped into his legislative role at full speed.

For his first 2½ years, Bryn served as counsel for Senator Thomas. He worked on numerous tax and trade bills. Most notably, he helped draft and pass legislation providing critical relief to drought-stricken livestock producers in Wyoming and across the country. Senator Thomas was so impressed with Bryn's work that he promoted him to be his legislative director in 2004.

As you know, legislative directors have a very big job and lots of responsibility. They guide the entire policy staff in developing and implementing the Senator's legislative agenda. As a result, legislative directors must be up to speed on all of the issues.

Bryn recalls one story in particular from his early days as legislative director directly on this point. During the 2005 energy bill debate, Senator Thomas was selected to serve on the conference committee. A week into the committee meetings, Senator Thomas's then-energy legislative assistant was diagnosed with cancer. Never one to back down from a challenge, Bryn immediately stepped in.

He quickly took over the reins, and he helped Senator Thomas successfully lead the fight for Wyoming coal and other important energy resources.

Bryn recounts this experience as one of the highlights of his legislative career—always ready to help, always ready to act.

In 2007, when Wyoming and the Senate tragically lost Senator Craig Thomas to cancer, Bryn was central in supporting our entire staff, many of whom are on the floor today, through an extremely difficult and emotional time. And when I was selected to fill Senator Thomas's seat, I asked Bryn to stay on as my legislative director. It is a decision that I have never regretted.

For more than 14 years, I have been incredibly fortunate to have his advice and his counsel. We worked together on critical issues that will have a lasting and positive impact on Wyoming for decades to come. This includes his great work in helping to pass the Craig Thomas Snake Headwaters Legacy Act, which was signed into law in 2009.

Bryn was also instrumental in securing the return of Wyoming's abandoned mine land funds to our State, which is why I have always referred to him as our hundred-million-dollar man.

Now, these are just a few examples of the work Bryn is most proud of in his 20-year Senate career.

Bryn's dependability and knowledge made him an indispensable member of my team. His work ethic and his dedication are legendary. He stays late; he works weekends; and he does whatever it takes to get the job done. We often joke in the office that Bryn is the first one in the "leg shop" and the last one to leave. It doesn't matter if it is a blizzard outside or a global pandemic, Bryn is infamous for not letting anything keep him from doing the work in the Senate for the benefit of the people of Wyoming.

While I have talked a lot about Bryn's professional accomplishments, I also want to highlight the ways that he continues to give back to the community and give back to others. He makes it his mission to live his life with a purpose. It is one of the reasons he prioritizes giving back to the community as much as he can.

One of his biggest passions is supporting organizations focused on providing food and shelter to those in need. He serves as a member of the Salvation Army board in his local community. He served in organizations that build homeless shelters, operate food pantries, and run low-income energy assistance programs. He is also a member of the Northern Wyoming Community College Advisory Board in Gillette that focuses on providing high-quality, postsecondary education to the people in Campbell County and around Wyoming.

Bryn's departure from the Senate leaves very big shoes to fill. And while we are all sad to see him go, we are happy to know he is moving back to where it all started for him, his hometown, Sheridan, WY.

He will be closer to family, also be able to spend time camping, hiking, and biking through his beloved Bighorn Mountains.

Bryn, Bobbi joins me, along with our entire staff, many of whom are here on the floor—the current staff, but it is also the past staff, the present staff—in commending you on a remarkable career of service.

We are grateful that you chose to dedicate your life to helping make Wyoming and our country a better place to live and a better place to work.

It is with admiration, appreciation, and respect that I wish you every success as you embark on this new adventure. And we are not just saying that because today is your birthday. You will be truly missed.

Thank you.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio.

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. President, first, I want to offer my congratulations to Bryn Stewart.

That was a beautiful speech about the public service that he has contributed to Wyoming and to the U.S. Senate. I thank my colleague from Wyoming for that.

KENTUCKY

Mr. President, I also want to say that over the weekend, I had the opportunity to travel to Kentucky.

I live in Ohio so Kentucky is our neighboring State. I went down to help some of our neighbors get back on their feet after these devastating tornadoes. It was very emotional, partly, obviously, seeing people's lives just be devastated—houses ruined and family heirlooms lost and, unfortunately, some loss of life—as the tornado hit some of the residential areas in Western Kentucky, but also another emotion, which is gratitude for the people who came forward as volunteers to help, neighbor helping neighbor.

As always happens when you have one of these natural disasters, the only silver lining is that people do come together in providing water and food and help getting people out of their homes through urban search and rescue teams, like Ohio Task Force One, that went down to Kentucky chain-sawing trees down so that people can get their cars out and try to repair some of the damage, get their lives back together.

It was a terrible thing to see the devastation but also a wonderful thing to see people coming together to help one another to get through a tough time.

INFLATION

Mr. President, I am on the floor today primarily to talk about the legislation that has been proposed by the Biden administration and by the Democratic leadership.

This is the 11th consecutive week that I have come to the floor to talk about this because, every week since it was introduced 11 weeks ago, I have wanted to talk about what is actually in this legislation, how it would impact our communities, how it would impact our economy.

So, today, I am here to talk a little about some of the new numbers we have in terms of inflation and how this would impact inflation and some of the new numbers that just came out since last week from the Congressional Budget Office, which is the nonpartisan group up here that analyzes these legislative efforts, and what they are saying about what the cost of this bill will be.

So I think it is worth having this conversation before Congress—the Senate and the House—votes on this massive tax bill, a massive spending bill that could fundamentally change the way our economy works and, I think, put us in a very difficult position as it relates to inflation and the economy and our debt and our deficit.

Democrats want to push this through under what is called reconciliation, which is a special procedure here in the Senate where, instead of getting the normal supermajority of 60 votes, they could do it with only 50 votes and then have a tie-breaker be the Vice President in her role as President of the Senate. So I have concerns about the substance of the legislation but also in terms of the process.

Wouldn't it be great if this could actually go through committees and the committees could vet some of these proposals? Last week, I talked about some of the tax proposals, for instance, which I think have inadvertent impacts on pensions—defined benefit plans, in particular—inadvertent effects on businesses that aren't going to be able to write off expansions and plant equipment, which we want them to do.

Maybe some of these things are inadvertent, but it also has a change in the tax policy where it says that the State and local tax deduction would no longer be capped at \$10,000. This is a Federal deduction people are able to take on their State and local taxes, but they would raise that to \$80,000, that cap.

The impact of that and a couple other things in the legislation means that 70 percent of millionaires—people who make over \$1 million in income a year—would get a significant tax cut under this legislation; whereas, if you only make 30,000 bucks a year, only 30 percent of those people get a tax cut.

And that is in the first year. In the second year, it goes down to about half that. And in the third year, it goes down to 10 percent and below. So it really is skewed toward providing tax relief for the wealthy at a time when, obviously, we are concerned about those people. Given the economic uncertainty, given the COVID issues, given the natural disasters, given the other issues that we face, you would want to help those who need the help the most. That is not what this legislation does.

Again, if it had gone through the process of the committees of jurisdiction—in this case, the Finance Committee, the Ways and Means Com-

mittee—I don't think we would be seeing this. All these issues are ones that could have been ironed out had it not been jammed through on this reconciliation process without any committee consideration.

So I am upset that Congress is being thwarted from doing its work, and I think, if we had, it would be a very different piece of legislation.

This plan is also going to hurt, in my view, with regard to inflation. We are looking at the highest inflation we have had in decades. I think everybody knows that now, not because they are looking at the numbers, which I will talk about in a second, but because when they go to the grocery store, they are paying a lot more for a hamburger or for milk or for bread; or when they go to fill up their car with gas, they are seeing the prices at the pump.

I filled up my pickup truck—I took it to Kentucky on the trip I just talked about—and it was almost a hundred bucks to fill it up. That is a lot for people who are on a fixed income or young people or someone who has to commute to work. That really takes a bite out of your budget. But that inflation is across our economy right now, and it is tough on people.

The work shortages that we see, the workforce shortages, the supply chain delays, the inflation—all of these things are problems in our economy right now. All of them get worse, in my view, if we do it the way the Democrats propose because, by adding more fuel to the fire, more stimulus spending—in this case, trillions of dollars—you are going to stimulate more demand in the economy. And inflation happens when demand outstrips supply. So you have a lot of demand for something, but you don't have the supply for it, and it raises inflation.

And that is exactly what many of us predicted would have happened back in March of this year when Congress did the same thing—\$1.9 trillion. A lot of it was stimulus spending. And people said, "This is going to cause inflation," and, sure enough, it did. It wasn't just me and other Republicans. It was some Democrats as well.

So that trend of rising inflation, which has made things so costly and expensive for so many people in my home State of Ohio, shows no sign of slowing down. Late last week, the Labor Department reported that the Consumer Price Index, or the CPI, rose by 6.8 percent over the last 12 months. That is the biggest year-to-year inflationary increase in 39 years—39 years.

And last month, the number for inflation—1 month alone—was 0.8 percent. So get on your calculator and do the math: 0.8 percent in 1 month. Do that times 12 months, and you end up with inflation of 10 percent on an annualized basis. That is just from last month, if we just extrapolate that out over the year.

Ten percent inflation? For those who lived through inflation in the late 1970s, early 1980s, you know what that

does to your economy. So the notion that the Biden administration has that this is going to be temporary or transitory, that is just not true. And, by the way, the Federal Reserve has now said that is not true. It is going to be here for a while.

Although we are hearing a lot of stories these days about businesses paying higher wages to attract workers, average wages went up by 4.3 percent last year. So with all of the labor shortages and the increase in wages, wages went up 4.3 percent. Again, inflation went up 6.8 percent in the same 12-month period.

So this is why, if you are getting a raise at work and you feel pretty good about it—getting the raise—but then you go to the grocery store or go to the gas pump or buy some clothes and you don't feel so good about it, it is because your inflation is higher than your wage gain. So unless your wage gain is over 6.8 percent over the last year, on average, you are losing out. And that is a real problem.

By the way, in 2020, as we got into the COVID-19 crisis, we had a very different economy. In February of 2020, we had the 19th straight month of wage gains of 3 percent or more, and inflation was 1, 1.5 percent. So people were feeling: Hey, I am making more money, and it is not being eaten up by inflation.

That is not the case now, unfortunately. Wages are not keeping pace with these higher prices, and people are finding that their paychecks just don't go as far as they used to.

We can see by some data that just came out from a survey of consumer expectations from the New York Fed that an increasing number of people are reporting that they are struggling more financially than they did a year ago. That is from the Fed, the New York Fed. And fewer are expecting their financial situation to improve by this time next year. That is not a great feeling as we approach the holiday season. That is a real concern.

The other report we have had since I was on the floor last week is with regard to the Producer Price Index. We have talked about the Consumer Price Index. The Producer Price Index is about businesses: What are businesses seeing in terms of inflation on business-to-business purchases, for instance?

The new number out this week on that is the largest increase year over year since we started keeping track of this number, which was about 11 years ago, 12 years ago. So the Producer Price Index is also going up, and the Consumer Price Index is already up.

What this means is that that Producer Price Index number is eventually going to be reflected in higher consumer costs—right?—because businesses are going to pass that along. So this is not a good week because we just got that data, and I was very sorry to see it because what you want to see is the Producer Price Index going down;

meaning that, in the future, the consumer prices are going to go down too. Instead, we are seeing a situation where it is likely that prices are going to keep going up.

Again, Republicans warned of this when the \$1.9 trillion was spent, mostly to stimulate the economy, saying this is going to overheat the economy—more demand, less supply, partly because of COVID. In other words, COVID made it harder to get supply in. If demand goes up, you are going to have inflation. And sure enough, that is what happened.

Larry Summers is the former Secretary of the Treasury under President Obama, former Chair of the national Council of Economic Advisers. Actually, he was Treasury Secretary for President Clinton and Chair of the National Economic Council for President Obama, a respected economist. He, too, warned of this. So it is not just a partisan issue, not Republicans and Democrats. It is the reality of what is happening when you increase demand much more than supply can handle. You get inflation. So it is not a surprise that it happened. Unfortunately, his prediction came true: overheated economy, demand outstripping supply. We found ourselves in this spiral of rising prices.

That was 9 months ago. I think it is fair to say that the inflation that people said was transitory is going to stay here for a while. That is a real cause for concern.

So why are we doing this? Why are we, again, spending trillions of dollars? And what is the cost?

Something that happened since we talked last week is that the true cost of the Build Back Better plan is now being revealed by this group on the outside from the University of Pennsylvania Wharton School, by the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, and by others, but now by the Congressional Budget Office itself.

So the Congressional Budget Office is the nonpartisan group up here in Congress that tells us what the fiscal impact is, what the spending impact is, what the taxing impact is, what the economic impact is of legislation.

And the number that has been cited for the cost of this Build Back Better legislation is \$1.7 trillion over 10 years. That is a lot. That would make it the second most expensive bill ever passed by Congress, the first being the \$1.9 trillion we talked about in March.

But it is worse than that because it turns out that even those staggeringly high costs we just talked about—\$1.7 trillion—miss the mark based on the analysis that just came out. Just as prices for everyday goods and services are going up, the estimates we are seeing for the true cost of Build Back Better are increasing with every analysis we see.

These studies have shown us that because the legislation sunsets programs, if you actually assume those programs are not going to be stopped after—let's

say with the child tax credit—1 year or 2 years or 3 years, but you continue it through the life of the legislation, it is going to be much more expensive.

So people tell me: Well, Rob, that is fine, but the child tax credit, as an example, only costs \$185 billion—only.

And I say: Well, actually, if you take it out over time, that becomes trillions of dollars—like \$1.6, \$1.7 trillion.

They say: Well, we are just going to do it for 1 year.

Well, that is just not what happens here in Congress. The history of this is that once we put a program like that in place, it continues to live on year after year.

Let me give you the best example of that. You have probably heard a lot of Democrats saying over the past few weeks: We have to pass this Build Back Better legislation by the end of this year.

Why? Because the child tax credit—it is already in law based on the March legislation—is expiring. So there is a tremendous amount of pressure, right? They are saying you have to extend it.

Well, that makes our case. So you have to extend it this year? That means, I assume, you have to extend it next year and the next year and the next year and the next year.

And anybody who says that they don't want to extend it—on the other side of the aisle—I would like to hear from them because I don't think they are going to say that. And so, if you assume it is extended, then you have this huge cost. The spending is going to continue to increase, and the program is not going to sunset. The total cost of the bill goes from \$1.7 trillion that we talked about to about \$4.5 trillion based on the Penn Wharton study I talked about.

Under the Congressional Budget Office analysis, it actually goes even higher—even higher—to \$4.9 trillion. And when you add interest on the debt, it goes actually over \$5 trillion.

So it is difficult to understand these numbers we are talking about because they are so huge. You know, \$4.5 trillion is \$4,500 billion. We have never spent this kind of money before. I mean, if it is \$5 trillion, that is the size of our budget, more or less—the whole budget for the entire country for a year, in one bill.

Now, people say: Well, it is paid for. Well, the 1.7 part, you could argue, is paid for—although we can talk about that, too, because some of the things in the pay-fors are not sustainable in my view, including, again, the impact on pension funds or the impact on being able to write off investments or the impact of the SALT issue. So there are lots of things that need to be worked out on the spending side but also on the revenue side.

So let's assume it is \$1.7 trillion, but that is not going to cover it because you have these expenses—like the child tax credit—that will continue.

So I am glad that my colleague Senator LINDSEY GRAHAM, who is the rank-

ing member of the Budget Committee, a top Republican, and Senator JOHN CORNYN, another colleague, asked the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office to do their analysis, because they showed that, without the sunset, the 10-year cost of the child tax credit goes from \$185 billion to \$1.6 trillion.

They also found that, in line with another study by the nonpartisan Joint Committee on Taxation, the revenue lost would be \$1.6 trillion, either taking us further into debt by \$1.6 trillion or requiring new tax hikes.

So that is just one part of the legislation. It would be the costliest expenditure by Congress in our history, but it is just one part of the legislation. The hundreds of billions in funding Democrats are proposing as an example for childcare under a new approach to childcare, which we can also talk about, the substance of that, but it is going to hurt a lot of our State the way they are doing it. But that will end up costing double the written amount over the next decade if they remain in place, for example.

So all in all, the Congressional Budget Office looked at 18 supposedly sunset social spending programs and found that they will end up costing the taxpayers nearly \$3.5 trillion over the next decade when they get extended, if they do. Again, the history around here is that they would. So, you know, the price tag goes up and up and up.

When you add that spending to another program in Build Back Better, the CBO says the total spending in the legislation, again, goes to \$4.9 trillion; \$4.9 trillion is bigger than the economy of any country in the world, with the exception of the U.S., China, and Japan.

Again, these numbers are just astronomical. But think about that. It is bigger than the entire economy, the entire GDP of any country in the world except for the three of us: the United States, China, and Japan.

We are seeing record debts and record deficits right now, as you know. The Congressional Budget Office says that the American people can expect Build Back Better, if the sunsets don't hold, to add another \$3 trillion to the Federal deficit.

So if we continue to debate this in Congress, which way should we go, we just ought to know these numbers. We ought to analyze them. And again, if people on the other side of the aisle are going to say we don't want to have the child tax credit be extended, we need to know that. But my sense is, just as they want to extend it right now, they will want to extend it next year and the next year and the next year.

So is this the right time to do that? Is this the right time to add that kind of stimulus to an economy that already is overstimulated, where you have more demand chasing not enough supply, do you want to add more to the demand side? That is what is going to happen if we pass this.

I hope that we will not make that mistake, and I hope that we will slow

down and look at these numbers and analyze where we are in terms of our spending. We just extended the debt limit. No Republican voted for it, but all the Democrats voted for it, and that is all they needed to be able to extend the debt limit because it was under a special 50-vote margin. That debt limit was just extended for basically 1 year. So after the elections next year, \$2.5 trillion more debt. We had to make room for \$2.5 trillion more debt, in 1 year.

It is clear that a lot of Americans are nervous about that. When you look at the polling data, it says that. But just talking to people—over the weekend, I was also in southeast Ohio, part of our State that is very rural, a lot of people are hurting in terms of the economy because they don't have access to broadband and so on. So we are talking about how they feel about the economy, and there is a lot of nervousness. They feel the surging inflation. They are paying more for everything.

And, you know, common steps, people are saying, Let's just slow down and think about this. They may end up thinking at the end of the day they are for some of this, but they don't want to move forward precipitously and make a mistake and have this add more inflation and more problems for our debt and deficit for our kids and grandkids. They are saying, Let's do the right thing for the country and put the brakes on this.

And if we do put the brakes on this unprecedented spending and taxing, it will help us to avoid some of these economic challenges that we otherwise are going to be facing. If we go ahead with it, it is going to make the economic challenges like inflation even worse.

My hope is that we will put the brakes on, and these economic challenges will not worsen, and instead, we can get the country back on the right track.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. HASSAN). The Senator from Washington.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Ms. CANTWELL. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to executive session to consider the following nominations en bloc: Calendar Nos. 402, 587, 606; that the Senate vote on the nominations en bloc with no intervening action or debate; that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate; that any statements related to the nominations be printed in the RECORD and the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the nominations of Thea D. Rozman Kendler, of Maryland,

to be an Assistant Secretary of Commerce; Alanna McCargo, of Virginia, to be President, Government National Mortgage Association; and Dawn N. Ison, of Michigan, to be United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Michigan for the term of four years?

The nominations were confirmed en bloc.

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Ms. CANTWELL. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate consider the following nominations en bloc: Calendar Nos. 497, 597, and 598; that the Senate vote on the nominations en bloc without intervening action or debate; that the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate; that any statement related to the nominations be printed in the RECORD and the President be immediately notified of the Senate's actions.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the nominations of Nickolas Guertin, of Virginia, to be Director of Operational Test and Evaluation, Department of Defense; John Bradley Sherman, of Texas, to be Chief Information Officer of the Department of Defense; and Carrie Frances Ricci, of Virginia, to be General Counsel of the Department of the Army?

The nominations were confirmed en bloc.

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Ms. CANTWELL. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate consider the following nominations: Calendar Nos. 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, and all nominations on the Secretary's desk in the Air Force, Army, Marine Corps, Navy, and Space Force; that the nominations be confirmed en bloc; the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate; that no further motions be in order to any of the nominations; that the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action and the Senate then resume legislative session.

Without objection, it is so ordered.

The nominations considered and confirmed are as follows:

IN THE ARMY

The following named Army National Guard of the United States officer for appointment in the Reserve of the Army to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., sections 12203 and 12211:

To be major general

Brig. Gen. William J. Prendergast, IV

The following named officer for appointment to the grade indicated in the United States Army while serving as Chief Defense Counsel for Military Commissions under article II, section 2, clause 2 of the United States Constitution and section 1037 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2014:

To be brigadier general

Col. Jackie L. Thompson, Jr.

IN THE SPACE FORCE

The following named officer for appointment to the grade in the United States Space Force under title 10, U.S.C., section 624:

To be brigadier general

Col. Timothy A. Sejba

IN THE ARMY

The following named Army National Guard of the United States officer for appointment in the Reserve of the Army to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., sections 12203 and 12211:

To be major general

Brig. Gen. Roger D. Lyles

IN THE MARINE CORPS

The following named officers for appointment in the United States Marine Corps to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 624:

To be major general

Brig. Gen. James H. Adams, III
Brig. Gen. Eric E. Austin
Brig. Gen. Michael J. Borgschulte
Brig. Gen. William J. Bowers
Brig. Gen. Stephen E. Liszewski
Brig. Gen. Keith D. Reventlow
Brig. Gen. Sean M. Salene
Brig. Gen. Roberta L. Shea
Brig. Gen. Benjamin T. Watson
Brig. Gen. Christian F. Wortman

NOMINATIONS PLACED ON THE SECRETARY'S DESK

IN THE AIR FORCE

PN1307 AIR FORCE nomination of Troy J. Johnson, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of October 27, 2021.

PN1308 AIR FORCE nomination of Mary T. Guest, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of October 27, 2021.

PN1309 AIR FORCE nomination of Eric J. Jordan, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of October 27, 2021.

PN1310 AIR FORCE nominations (24) beginning ZACHARY P. AUGUSTINE, and ending MICHAEL L. TOOMER, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of October 27, 2021.

PN1311 AIR FORCE nominations (11) beginning CHAD A. BELLAMY, and ending ANDREW L. THORNLEY, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of October 27, 2021.

PN1312 AIR FORCE nominations (37) beginning ROSS ANDREW BROWN, and ending LISA MARIE WOTKOWICZ, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of October 27, 2021.

PN1313 AIR FORCE nominations (25) beginning KIP T. AVERETT, and ending DANIEL S. WALKER, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of October 27, 2021.

PN1314 AIR FORCE nominations (73) beginning SHAWN J. ALVES, and ending ALEXANDER J. ZOLL, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of October 27, 2021.

PN1315 AIR FORCE nominations (29) beginning PATRICK E. BRACKEN, and ending THADDAEUS J. WERNER, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of October 27, 2021.

PN1329 AIR FORCE nomination of Anthony W. Perez, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 1, 2021.

PN1330 AIR FORCE nomination of Dustin R. Meredith, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 1, 2021.

PN1387 AIR FORCE nominations (9) beginning GEORGE L. CHAPMAN, and ending MI-CHAEL L. YAMZON, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 15, 2021.

PN1388 AIR FORCE nominations (79) beginning LUIS J. ADAMES, and ending MI-CHAEL J. WILLEN, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 15, 2021.

PN1389 AIR FORCE nomination of Rebecca L. Hess, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 15, 2021.

PN1390 AIR FORCE nominations (2) beginning ANGELICA M. DREXEL, and ending WILLIAM R. SINGISER, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 15, 2021.

PN1391 AIR FORCE nomination of Kyle P. Allen, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 15, 2021.

PN1392 AIR FORCE nominations (5) beginning SEAN M. BATZER, and ending LENARD W. TOL, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 15, 2021.

PN1393 AIR FORCE nominations (4) beginning ASHLEY D. BROWN, and ending ALEXANDER T. PINGREE, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 15, 2021.

PN1394 AIR FORCE nomination of Ross C. Stanley, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 15, 2021.

PN1395 AIR FORCE nominations (296) beginning BRANDON R. ABEL, and ending BRANDON A. ZUERCHER, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 15, 2021.

PN1396 AIR FORCE nominations (110) beginning BRADLEY D. ALTMAN, and ending ROBERT J. YATES, III, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 15, 2021.

PN1397 AIR FORCE nominations (52) beginning ALICIA D. ABRAMS, and ending JAMES A. WRIGHT, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 15, 2021.

PN1398 AIR FORCE nomination of Simone E. Zacharias, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 15, 2021.

PN1414 AIR FORCE nomination of Adrian A. Andrews, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 17, 2021.

IN THE ARMY

PN984 ARMY nomination of Richard J. Sonnenfeld, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of August 4, 2021.

PN1266 ARMY nomination of Andrea N. Apple, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of October 19, 2021.

PN1304 ARMY nominations (21) beginning ROBERT J. ABBOTT, and ending MEGAN WAKEFIELD, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of October 27, 2021.

PN1305 ARMY nomination of Tanya K. Bindernagel, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of October 27, 2021.

PN1306 ARMY nominations (80) beginning GRANT T. ALEXIS, and ending THOMAS J. WITKOWSKI, which nominations were re-

ceived by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of October 27, 2021.

PN1331 ARMY nomination of Gabrielle L. Murray, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 1, 2021.

PN1332 ARMY nomination of Michael R. Ruiz, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 1, 2021.

PN1333 ARMY nomination of Nicholas J. Beck, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 1, 2021.

PN1334 ARMY nomination of Peter A. Doblar, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 1, 2021.

PN1335 ARMY nomination of Francis E. Igo, IV, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 1, 2021.

PN1336 ARMY nomination of Ken M. Woods, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 1, 2021.

PN1337 ARMY nominations (46) beginning KATHARINE M. E. ADAMS, and ending HANS P. ZELLER, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 1, 2021.

PN1338 ARMY nominations (3) beginning ALEJANDRO L. BUNIAG, JR., and ending MICHAEL W. WEAVER, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 1, 2021.

PN1339 ARMY nomination of Erica A. Wheatley, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 1, 2021.

PN1340 ARMY nomination of Jamison S. Nielsen, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 1, 2021.

PN1341 ARMY nominations (2) beginning ROBERT P. LEWIS, and ending SCOT W. MCCOSH, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 1, 2021.

PN1342 ARMY nomination of Jader A. Morales, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 1, 2021.

PN1343 ARMY nomination of Moises Salinas, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 1, 2021.

PN1399 ARMY nomination of Michael S. Schwamberger, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 15, 2021.

PN1400 ARMY nomination of Kyle A. Lippold, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 15, 2021.

PN1401 ARMY nomination of Taylor K. Opel, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 15, 2021.

PN1402 ARMY nominations (21) beginning SHAWN G. ABBE, and ending NATHANIEL C. STONE, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 15, 2021.

PN1403 ARMY nomination of Jamie E. Mueller, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 15, 2021.

PN1415 ARMY nominations (9) beginning PETER S. BLACK, and ending ROBERT G. SACCA, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 17, 2021.

PN1430 ARMY nomination of Edward W. Lumpkins, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of December 1, 2021.

PN1431 ARMY nomination of Gina M. Farrington, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of December 1, 2021.

PN1432 ARMY nomination of Disa L. Rifkin, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of December 1, 2021.

PN1449 ARMY nomination of Jessica K. Smyth, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of December 2, 2021.

PN1450 ARMY nomination of Brock A. Chavez, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of December 2, 2021.

IN THE MARINE CORPS

PN1344 MARINE CORPS nomination of Eric A. Walraven, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 1, 2021.

PN1345 MARINE CORPS nomination of Daniel T. Celotto, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 1, 2021.

PN1346 MARINE CORPS nomination of Jason A. Retter, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 1, 2021.

PN1404 MARINE CORPS nominations (100) beginning RYAN P. ALLEN, and ending MATTHEW P. ZUMMO, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 15, 2021.

PN1416 MARINE CORPS nominations (629) beginning NICHOLAS P. ADAMS, and ending JOHN B. ZIMMER, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 17, 2021.

IN THE NAVY

PN1316 NAVY nomination of Stephen M. Dyer, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of October 27, 2021.

PN1347 NAVY nominations (34) beginning MITCHELL I. BELL, and ending PATRICK Z. X. YU, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 1, 2021.

PN1348 NAVY nomination of Matthew C. Dennis, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 1, 2021.

PN1405 NAVY nomination of Joseph M. Molina, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 15, 2021.

PN1451 NAVY nomination of Stephen B. Koye, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of December 2, 2021.

PN1452 NAVY nomination of Michael J. Urbaitis, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of December 2, 2021.

PN1453 NAVY nominations (3) beginning ALEXANDER C. CHARALAMBOUS, and ending TAIBATU E. I. OBASI, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of December 2, 2021.

IN THE SPACE FORCE

PN1349 SPACE FORCE nominations (2) beginning CHRISTINA N. GILLETTE, and ending D. S. ROGERS, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 1, 2021.

PN1406 SPACE FORCE nominations (10) beginning ALBERT J. ASHBY, and ending JOHN C. ZINGARELLI, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 15, 2021.

PN1407 SPACE FORCE nomination of Kevin G. Amsden, which was received by the

Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 15, 2021.

PN1408 SPACE FORCE nomination of Travis Richard Prater, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 15, 2021.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will now resume legislative session.

NASA ENHANCED USE LEASING EXTENSION ACT OF 2021

Ms. CANTWELL. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of H.R. 5746, which was received from the House.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the bill by title.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 5746) to amend title 51, United States Code, to extend the authority of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to enter into leases of non-excess property of the Administration.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Ms. CANTWELL. I ask that the Cantwell amendment, which is at the desk, be agreed to; that the bill, as amended, be considered read a third time and passed; and the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment (No. 4893), in the nature of a substitute, was agreed to as follows:

(Purpose: In the nature of substitute)

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the “NASA Enhanced Use Leasing Extension Act of 2021”.

SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

Congress find the following:

(1) NASA uses enhanced use leasing to enter into agreements with private sector entities, State and local governments, academic institutions, and other Federal agencies for lease of non-excess, underutilized NASA properties and facilities.

(2) NASA uses enhanced use leasing authority to support responsible management of its real property, including to improve the use of underutilized property for activities that are compatible with NASA’s mission and to reduce facility operating and maintenance costs.

(3) In fiscal year 2019, under its enhanced use lease authority, NASA leased 65 real properties.

(4) In fiscal year 2019, NASA’s use of enhanced use leasing resulted in the collection of \$10,843,025.77 in net revenue.

(5) In fiscal year 2019, NASA used a portion of its enhanced use leasing revenues for repairs of facility control systems such as lighting and heating, ventilation, and air conditioning.

(6) NASA’s use of enhanced use leasing authority can contribute to reducing the rate of increase of the Agency’s overall deferred maintenance cost.

SEC. 3. EXTENSION OF AUTHORITY TO ENTER INTO LEASES OF NON-EXCESS PROPERTY OF THE NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION.

Section 20145(g) of title 51, United States Code, is amended by striking “December 31, 2021” and inserting “March 31, 2022”.

SEC. 4. DETERMINATION OF BUDGETARY EFFECTS.

The budgetary effects of this Act, for the purpose of complying with the Statutory Pay-As-You-Go Act of 2010, shall be determined by reference to the latest statement titled “Budgetary Effects of PAYGO Legislation” for this Act, submitted for printing in the Congressional Record by the Chairman of the House Budget Committee, provided that such statement has been submitted prior to the vote on passage.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time.

The bill (H.R. 5746), as amended, was passed.

SUICIDE TRAINING AND AWARENESS NATIONALLY DELIVERED FOR UNIVERSAL PREVENTION ACT OF 2021

Ms. CANTWELL. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of Calendar No. 127, S. 1543.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the bill by title.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1543) to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide best practices on student suicide awareness and prevention training and condition State educational agencies, local educational agencies, and tribal educational agencies receiving funds under section 520A of such Act to establish and implement a school-based student suicide awareness and prevention training policy.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions, with an amendment to strike all after the enacting clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the “Suicide Training and Awareness Nationally Delivered for Universal Prevention Act of 2021” or the “STANDUP Act of 2021”.

SEC. 2. STUDENT SUICIDE AWARENESS AND PREVENTION TRAINING.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Title V of the Public Health Service Act is amended by inserting after section 520A of such Act (42 U.S.C. 290bb-32) the following:

“SEC. 520B. STUDENT SUICIDE AWARENESS AND PREVENTION TRAINING.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—In awarding funds under section 520A, the Secretary shall give priority to applications under such section from a State educational agency, local educational agency, or Tribal educational agency, submitted directly or through a State or Indian Tribe, for funding for activities in secondary schools, where such agency has implemented, or includes in such application a plan to implement, a student suicide awareness and prevention training policy, which may include applicable youth suicide early intervention and prevention strategies implemented through section 520E—

“(1) establishing and implementing a school-based student suicide awareness and prevention

training policy in accordance with subsection (c);

“(2) consulting with stakeholders (including principals, teachers, parents, local Tribal officials, and other relevant experts) and, as appropriate, utilizing information, models, and other resources made available by the Suicide Prevention Technical Assistance Center authorized under section 520C in the development of the policy under paragraph (1); and

“(3) collecting and reporting information in accordance with subsection (d).

“(b) CONSIDERATION.—In giving priority to applicants as described in subsection (a), the Secretary shall, as appropriate, take into consideration the incidence and prevalence of suicide in the applicable jurisdiction and the costs of establishing and implementing, as applicable, a school-based student suicide awareness and prevention training policy.

“(c) SCHOOL-BASED STUDENT SUICIDE AWARENESS AND PREVENTION TRAINING POLICY.—A school-based student suicide awareness and prevention training policy implemented pursuant to subsection (a)(1) shall—

“(1) be evidence-based;

“(2) be culturally- and linguistically-appropriate;

“(3) provide evidence-based training to students in grades 6 through 12, in coordination with school-based mental health resources, as applicable, regarding—

“(A) suicide prevention education and awareness, including associated risk factors;

“(B) methods that students can use to seek help; and

“(C) student resources for suicide awareness and prevention; and

“(4) provide for periodic retraining of such students.

“(d) COLLECTION OF INFORMATION AND REPORTING.—Each State educational agency, local educational agency, and Tribal educational agency that receives priority to implement a new training policy pursuant to subsection (a)(1) shall report to the Secretary the following aggregated information, in a manner that protects personal privacy, consistent with applicable Federal and State privacy laws:

“(1) The number of trainings conducted, including the number of student trainings conducted, and the training delivery method used.

“(2) The number of students trained, disaggregated by age and grade level.

“(3) The number of help-seeking reports made by students after implementation of such policy.

“(e) EVIDENCE-BASED PROGRAM AVAILABILITY.—The Secretary shall coordinate with the Secretary of Education and the Secretary of the Interior to—

“(1) make publicly available the policies established by State educational agencies, local educational agencies, and Tribal educational agencies pursuant to this section and the training that is available to students and teams pursuant to such policies, in accordance with section 543A; and

“(2) provide technical assistance and disseminate best practices on student suicide awareness and prevention training policies, including through the Suicide Prevention Technical Assistance Center authorized under section 520C, as applicable, to State educational agencies, local educational agencies, and Tribal agencies.

“(f) IMPLEMENTATION.—Not later than September 30, 2024, the Secretary shall report to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions of the Senate and the Committee on Energy and Commerce of the House of Representatives the number of recipients of funds under section 520A who have implemented training policies described in subsection (a)(1) and a summary of the information received under subsection (d).

“(g) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

“(1) The term ‘evidence-based’ has the meaning given such term in section 8101 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

“(2) The term ‘local educational agency’ has the meaning given to such term in section 8101 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

“(3) The term ‘State educational agency’ has the meaning given to such term in section 8101 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

“(4) The term ‘Tribal educational agency’ has the meaning given to the term ‘tribal educational agency’ in section 6132 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.”

SEC. 3. EFFECTIVE DATE.

The amendment made by this Act shall apply only with respect to applications for assistance under section 520A of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 290bb–32) that are submitted after the date of enactment of this Act.

Ms. CANTWELL. I ask that the committee-reported substitute be agreed to; and that the bill, as amended, be considered read a third time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The committee-reported amendment, in the nature of a substitute, was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading and was read the third time.

Ms. CANTWELL. I know of no further debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further debate?

Hearing none, and the bill having been read the third time, the question is, Shall the bill pass?

The bill (S. 1543), as amended, was passed.

Ms. CANTWELL. I ask that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

FEDERAL ROTATIONAL CYBER WORKFORCE PROGRAM ACT OF 2021

Ms. CANTWELL. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of Calendar No. 177, S. 1097.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the bill by title.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1097) to establish a Federal rotational cyber workforce program for the Federal cyber workforce.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

Ms. CANTWELL. I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered read a third time and passed and that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The bill (S. 1097) was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 1097

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 “Federal Rotational Cyber Workforce Program Act of 2021”.

SEC. 2. DEFINITIONS.

In this Act:

(1) AGENCY.—The term “agency” has the meaning given the term “Executive agency” in section 105 of title 5, United States Code, except that the term does not include the Government Accountability Office.

(2) COMPETITIVE SERVICE.—The term “competitive service” has the meaning given that term in section 2102 of title 5, United States Code.

(3) COUNCILS.—The term “Councils” means—

(A) the Chief Human Capital Officers Council established under section 1303 of the Chief Human Capital Officers Act of 2002 (5 U.S.C. 1401 note); and

(B) the Chief Information Officers Council established under section 3603 of title 44, United States Code.

(4) CYBER WORKFORCE POSITION.—The term “cyber workforce position” means a position identified as having information technology, cybersecurity, or other cyber-related functions under section 303 of the Federal Cybersecurity Workforce Assessment Act of 2015 (5 U.S.C. 301 note).

(5) DIRECTOR.—The term “Director” means the Director of the Office of Personnel Management.

(6) EMPLOYEE.—The term “employee” has the meaning given the term in section 2105 of title 5, United States Code.

(7) EMPLOYING AGENCY.—The term “employing agency” means the agency from which an employee is detailed to a rotational cyber workforce position.

(8) EXCEPTED SERVICE.—The term “excepted service” has the meaning given that term in section 2103 of title 5, United States Code.

(9) ROTATIONAL CYBER WORKFORCE POSITION.—The term “rotational cyber workforce position” means a cyber workforce position with respect to which a determination has been made under section 3(a)(1).

(10) ROTATIONAL CYBER WORKFORCE PROGRAM.—The term “rotational cyber workforce program” means the program for the detail of employees among rotational cyber workforce positions at agencies.

(11) SECRETARY.—The term “Secretary” means the Secretary of Homeland Security.

SEC. 3. ROTATIONAL CYBER WORKFORCE POSITIONS.

(a) DETERMINATION WITH RESPECT TO ROTATIONAL SERVICE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The head of each agency may determine that a cyber workforce position in that agency is eligible for the rotational cyber workforce program, which shall not be construed to modify the requirement under section 4(b)(3) that participation in the rotational cyber workforce program by an employee shall be voluntary.

(2) NOTICE PROVIDED.—The head of an agency shall submit to the Director—

(A) notice regarding any determination made by the head of the agency under paragraph (1); and

(B) for each position with respect to which the head of the agency makes a determination under paragraph (1), the information required under subsection (b)(1).

(b) PREPARATION OF LIST.—The Director, with assistance from the Councils and the Secretary, shall develop a list of rotational cyber workforce positions that—

(1) with respect to each such position, to the extent that the information does not disclose sensitive national security information, includes—

(A) the title of the position;

(B) the occupational series with respect to the position;

(C) the grade level or work level with respect to the position;

(D) the agency in which the position is located;

(E) the duty location with respect to the position; and

(F) the major duties and functions of the position; and

(2) shall be used to support the rotational cyber workforce program.

(c) DISTRIBUTION OF LIST.—Not less frequently than annually, the Director shall distribute an updated list developed under subsection (b) to the head of each agency and other appropriate entities.

SEC. 4. ROTATIONAL CYBER WORKFORCE PROGRAM.

(a) OPERATION PLAN.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 270 days after the date of enactment of this Act, and in consultation with the Councils, the Secretary, representatives of other agencies, and any other entity as the Director determines appropriate, the Director shall develop and issue a Federal Rotational Cyber Workforce Program operation plan providing policies, processes, and procedures for a program for the detailing of employees among rotational cyber workforce positions at agencies, which may be incorporated into and implemented through mechanisms in existence on the date of enactment of this Act.

(2) UPDATING.—The Director may, in consultation with the Councils, the Secretary, and other entities as the Director determines appropriate, periodically update the operation plan developed and issued under paragraph (1).

(b) REQUIREMENTS.—The operation plan developed and issued under subsection (a) shall, at a minimum—

(1) identify agencies for participation in the rotational cyber workforce program;

(2) establish procedures for the rotational cyber workforce program, including—

(A) any training, education, or career development requirements associated with participation in the rotational cyber workforce program;

(B) any prerequisites or requirements for participation in the rotational cyber workforce program; and

(C) appropriate rotational cyber workforce program performance measures, reporting requirements, employee exit surveys, and other accountability devices for the evaluation of the program;

(3) provide that participation in the rotational cyber workforce program by an employee shall be voluntary;

(4) provide that an employee shall be eligible to participate in the rotational cyber workforce program if the head of the employing agency of the employee, or a designee of the head of the employing agency of the employee, approves of the participation of the employee;

(5) provide that the detail of an employee to a rotational cyber workforce position under the rotational cyber workforce program shall be on a nonreimbursable basis;

(6) provide that agencies may agree to partner to ensure that the employing agency of an employee that participates in the rotational cyber workforce program is able to fill the position vacated by the employee;

(7) require that an employee detailed to a rotational cyber workforce position under the rotational cyber workforce program, upon the end of the period of service with respect to the detail, shall be entitled to return to the position held by the employee, or an equivalent position, in the employing agency of the employee without loss of pay, seniority, or other rights or benefits to

which the employee would have been entitled had the employee not been detailed;

(8) provide that discretion with respect to the assignment of an employee under the rotational cyber workforce program shall remain with the employing agency of the employee;

(9) require that an employee detailed to a rotational cyber workforce position under the rotational cyber workforce program in an agency that is not the employing agency of the employee shall have all the rights that would be available to the employee if the employee were detailed under a provision of law other than this Act from the employing agency to the agency in which the rotational cyber workforce position is located;

(10) provide that participation by an employee in the rotational cyber workforce program shall not constitute a change in the conditions of the employment of the employee; and

(11) provide that an employee participating in the rotational cyber workforce program shall receive performance evaluations relating to service in the rotational cyber workforce program in a participating agency that are—

(A) prepared by an appropriate officer, supervisor, or management official of the employing agency, acting in coordination with the supervisor at the agency in which the employee is performing service in the rotational cyber workforce position;

(B) based on objectives identified in the operation plan with respect to the employee; and

(C) based in whole or in part on the contribution of the employee to the agency in which the employee performed such service, as communicated from that agency to the employing agency of the employee.

(c) PROGRAM REQUIREMENTS FOR ROTATIONAL SERVICE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—An employee serving in a cyber workforce position in an agency may, with the approval of the head of the agency, submit an application for detail to a rotational cyber workforce position that appears on the list developed under section 3(b).

(2) OPM APPROVAL FOR CERTAIN POSITIONS.—An employee serving in a position in the excepted service may only be selected for a rotational cyber workforce position that is in the competitive service with the prior approval of the Office of Personnel Management, in accordance with section 300.301 of title 5, Code of Federal Regulations, or any successor thereto.

(3) SELECTION AND TERM.—

(A) SELECTION.—The head of an agency shall select an employee for a rotational cyber workforce position under the rotational cyber workforce program in a manner that is consistent with the merit system principles under section 2301(b) of title 5, United States Code.

(B) TERM.—Except as provided in subparagraph (C), and notwithstanding section 3341(b) of title 5, United States Code, a detail to a rotational cyber workforce position shall be for a period of not less than 180 days and not more than 1 year.

(C) EXTENSION.—The Chief Human Capital Officer of the agency to which an employee is detailed under the rotational cyber workforce program may extend the period of a detail described in subparagraph (B) for a period of 60 days unless the Chief Human Capital Officer of the employing agency of the employee objects to that extension.

(4) WRITTEN SERVICE AGREEMENTS.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—The detail of an employee to a rotational cyber workforce position shall be contingent upon the employee entering into a written service agreement with the employing agency under which the employee is required to complete a period of

employment with the employing agency following the conclusion of the detail that is equal in length to the period of the detail.

(B) OTHER AGREEMENTS AND OBLIGATIONS.—A written service agreement under subparagraph (A) shall not supersede or modify the terms or conditions of any other service agreement entered into by the employee under any other authority or relieve the obligations between the employee and the employing agency under such a service agreement. Nothing in this subparagraph prevents an employing agency from terminating a service agreement entered into under any other authority under the terms of such agreement or as required by law or regulation.

SEC. 5. REPORTING BY GAO.

Not later than the end of the third fiscal year after the fiscal year in which the operation plan under section 4(a) is issued, the Comptroller General of the United States shall submit to Congress a report assessing the operation and effectiveness of the rotational cyber workforce program, which shall address, at a minimum—

(1) the extent to which agencies have participated in the rotational cyber workforce program, including whether the head of each such participating agency has—

(A) identified positions within the agency that are rotational cyber workforce positions;

(B) had employees from other participating agencies serve in positions described in subparagraph (A); and

(C) had employees of the agency request to serve in rotational cyber workforce positions under the rotational cyber workforce program in participating agencies, including a description of how many such requests were approved; and

(2) the experiences of employees serving in rotational cyber workforce positions under the rotational cyber workforce program, including an assessment of—

(A) the period of service;

(B) the positions (including grade level and occupational series or work level) held by employees before completing service in a rotational cyber workforce position under the rotational cyber workforce program;

(C) the extent to which each employee who completed service in a rotational cyber workforce position under the rotational cyber workforce program achieved a higher skill level, or attained a skill level in a different area, with respect to information technology, cybersecurity, or other cyber-related functions; and

(D) the extent to which service in rotational cyber workforce positions has affected intra-agency and interagency integration and coordination of cyber practices, functions, and personnel management.

SEC. 6. SUNSET.

Effective 5 years after the date of enactment of this Act, this Act is repealed.

SUPPORTING THE GOALS AND IDEALS OF AMERICAN DIABETES MONTH

Ms. CANTWELL. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of S. Res. 479, submitted earlier today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the resolution by title.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 479) supporting the goals and ideals of American Diabetes Month.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Ms. CANTWELL. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be agreed to; that the preamble be agreed to; and that the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The resolution (S. Res. 479) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

(The resolution, with its preamble, is printed in today's RECORD under "Submitted Resolutions.")

MORNING BUSINESS

RECOGNIZING THE 2021 KEYNOTE ADDRESS AT THE 24TH VERMONT WOMEN'S ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY CONFERENCE

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, I would like to take a moment to recognize Xusana Davis, who delivered the keynote address for Vermont's 24th Annual Women's Economic Opportunity Conference earlier this year. Each year, Marcelle and I host this conference to bring together Vermonters to learn how to navigate, grow, and succeed in today's workplace. While public health concerns led to an online conference this year, the dedication of the women who participated shone through. I hope the participants were as inspired by Ms. Davis's words as I was.

Xusana Davis is Vermont's first Executive Director of Racial Equity and was appointed in 2019 by Vermont Governor Phil Scott. In her position as the Director of Racial Equity, she works with Vermont agencies and communities to address systemic racial disparities, ensures the State's operations meet its equity goals and objectives, and guides policy on equity issues. She offered an insightful view of how we can all advance equity in our communities and offered her remarks with grace and eloquence.

Ms. Davis's leadership comes at a time when we continue to see great need for equity in the workplace. The pandemic has worsened preexisting disparities that have affected women, especially those who identify with historically marginalized communities. As Ms. Davis emphasizes in her speech, we must all work to promote equity as we collectively participate in our Nation's economic recovery. I would like to share her inspiring words by submitting them for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in the hopes that we may all take her message to heart.

I ask unanimous consent to have them printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[Oct. 23, 2021]

"OPPORTUNITY IS NOT A FUNGIBLE GOOD"

(By Xusana Davis)

Thank you, Senator Leahy, for inviting me to join you today.

Hola, buenos días, everyone. As you might have heard, the Executive Director of Racial Equity is a relatively new position for Vermont state government. While it got its share of fanfare in the summer of 2019 when I was first appointed, I'd like to share with you a little bit of the work we've been doing since then. We've worked hard with our sister agencies across state government on internal and external-facing policy. Things like the Fair and Impartial Policing policy, stimulus funds to get communities through tough times at the outset of the pandemic, and how we provide health services to people by treating the whole person. We've been poking our noses into conversations all over the state to help people at the local level figure out how to grow—or at least retain—their town populations. And of course, we've been a sounding board for leaders of all kinds who want to take bold action to be and do better on matters of equity.

But you probably knew all that. What you may not have known is that all of this work is bigger than race and ethnicity. It always has been. This work is essential in all corners of the state and in every sector, because there's a collective benefit to equity, and a collective harm to inequity. But before we jump into that, let's back up a bit . . .

First, let's talk about "opportunity." Do you ever notice that we talk about "opportunity" like it's a fungible good? Like it's some sort of coupon that we can pass to the person behind us in the checkout line. We talk about "giving" opportunities. Or "seizing" them—maybe you're a bit more aggressive, and that's okay! Or we talk about "creating" opportunities, as if they can just materialize.

But out of all the verbs we choose to deploy on these opportunities, there's always the implication that there's a transfer. That there's a person who holds or creates opportunities, and that the rest of us are just trying to get a piece. That's our first mistake—thinking that an opportunity is something that must be given or surrendered to us, something that we must wrestle from someone's firm grip. And there are a few reasons for this thinking: After all, there's a lot of money to be made from commodifying "girl power." We can produce highly dramatized films about long-ignored women historical figures. Or sell a self-help book about how to be the next successful businesswoman who "can have it all." But for a lot of us, the barriers to opportunity are not something we can unlock with three easy payments of \$39.99 but wait, there's more. No, many of the barriers to opportunity are systemic. They are structural. They are bigger than any of us as individuals, but they absolutely impact all of us as individuals.

That's what I meant when I said racial equity is bigger than race. You see, when we think of women's economic opportunity, many people incorrectly assume that these opportunities are only for the benefit of women. They are not. Women are 51 % of the U.S. population—we're not a "special interest." We are the interest. Something that impacts the numerical majority is inevitably something that impacts the whole. Think about it: Childcare. Reproductive justice. You think these are only women's issues? Well, have you ever been a child? Or cared about a child? Then childcare and child development should matter to you. I'm reminded of the late Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia, who for years was, well, rather indignant about parental leave and childcare issues. He didn't get it and he didn't want to get it . . . until his daughter had children and struggled to balance her parental duties with her professional life. Then suddenly Grandpa Scalia was dropping off children here and there, and babysitting, and

you know what? He changed his stance. He suddenly realized that the burden did not simply fall on his adult daughter—and that even if it did, it shouldn't have. And that's the point: there are ripple effects to the ways in which we treat people in society. And when we talk about women's economic opportunity like it's a hobby or a solo mission, like it's something that can be bartered or restricted to only during nap time, then we're ignoring the network of people surrounding us who will be impacted by those choices and resources.

This is true in the racial equity space, too. In workshops and trainings, I often ask people to consider the benefits and rights they enjoy today that were fought and won by people of color. For example, Ernesto Miranda. Do you know him? You do . . . You just may not know you do. Ernesto Miranda is a Latino man who is the reason that you get read your Miranda rights if you get arrested. Sylvia Mendez. Ring a bell? You know her—sure you do! She was on a postal stamp! *Mendez v. Westminster*. 1946. That's the court case that gave us *Brown v. Board*. And *Brown v. Board* is the case that gave every child—including your child—the right to a free and fair basic education. Truth is, in the United States, every gain accomplished by members of dominant groups always benefits members of dominant groups, and only sometimes benefits members of historically marginalized or oppressed groups. But every gain accomplished by historically oppressed groups always benefits members of dominant groups. Affirmative action. Do you know what is the number one beneficiary group of affirmative action policies in education and employment in the U.S.? That's right, White women.

So when we think about equity and reducing structural, systemic barriers, there is always a collective benefit to equity. And that's why Senator Leahy has been doing this conference since 1996—you think he likes making people wake up early on a Saturday? No! Well, maybe . . . But really, it's because he knows what's been right in front of us all along—that when we stop disempowering people, we all move forward. We all win. And you know why? Because life isn't zero-sum. And your winning does not equate my losing.

And we know this now, but people didn't always recognize this truth. Let's think back to the women's suffrage movement. Susan B. Anthony was pretty racist. That's why people like Sojourner Truth and, later, bell hooks had to ask the question "Ain't I A Woman?" This is reflective of a bigger concept—a concept you've likely heard of—called Intersectionality. Intersectionality is what makes us dynamic and multi-faceted. It's what multiplies our strength as a movement and as a community. Because I'm not just a woman. I'm also a person of color. I'm also a Millennial. I'm right-handed. These are only some of my many identities, and not even the more important ones. And when we allow ourselves to represent all of our selves, without letting it come between us, that's when we will have used intersectionality for good.

Of course, intersectionality sometimes has its thorns. Two days ago was Latina Women's Equal Pay Day in the U.S. I'll explain what that means: You see, we already know that in the U.S., women statistically make less money for the same work than men do. And separately, we also know that people of color statistically make less money for the same work than White people do. So statistically speaking, my intersecting identities as a woman and as a person of color make me more likely to earn less than my male counterparts of all ethnicities, and less than my women-identified peers who are White.

So what is Women's Equal Pay Day? Well, it's the symbolic date that represents how much more a woman has to work in order to match the earnings of a man in a given calendar year. In 2021, Women's Equal Pay Day was March 24th. So that means if a woman and a man started working on Jan 1, 2020, then it would take the woman until March 24 of this year to catch up to the earning of a man by Dec 31 of 2020. But that's not the full story: for most women of color, Equal Pay Day comes much later. For example, Equal Pay Day for Asian American and Pacific Islander women was March 9th. But for Black American women, it was August 3rd. For Indigenous women in the U.S., Equal Pay Day was Sept 8th of this year. And for Latina women—that's the bucket where you'll find me—it was Oct 21st. So in other words, statistically speaking, I would have needed to work all of calendar year 2020, plus an additional 9 months and 3 weeks to earn the same that a White man earned in calendar year 2020. And remember intersectionality? Well, it goes beyond just race. There are different Equal Pay Days for mothers and for members of the LGBTQIA+ community. And I need to make an important point, one that my best friend frequently raises: the goal is not to look at what White men are doing and saying "Yeah, we want the right to do that . . ." That's not the standard. It's not about making the same money for the same work if that work is only fueling oppression and ecological harm.

All of this is to say that it's not enough to lump us all into one large bucket and think we're doing enough. That's not true equity. Equity means recognizing that within our communities there are certainly different challenges, but also different skill sets for finding solutions to those challenges. Trust each other more. Trust one another's experience more.

And on the topic of trust, and speaking of solutions, let's think about how we can we turn this dialogue towards action. First things first: action by whom? Who gets to do the thing? And who gets to decide what the thing is? If your rights and liberties are restricted and determined by someone else, then your power is contingent upon them giving you permission to exercise it. Like asking men who can vote to vote on whether you can vote. As Upton Sinclair said, "It is difficult to get a man to understand something when his salary depends on his not understanding." Or holding hearings on reproductive justice without any women present—don't ever forget: "nothing about us without us."

So we're through asking for permission. For those who want to join us in advancing justice, what we need is genuine and sincere support. And support is different from permission—it is not about asking to be "given" opportunities, and it is not about having to "seize" them either. It's about the recognition that opportunity just exists—it always has. And the question is not whether or how to grant it, but rather, how to stop blocking it. This is an important point: People often see equity work as some kind of handout, as if people who have been oppressed are asking to be given something. Incorrect. What's needed is that we stop actively blocking and suppressing people's ability to move and thrive and grow and exist. That's the key.

So how do we stop blocking? Well, first we must make meaningful investments of time, effort, and finances—not token gestures. It means when we talk about mentorship, we don't just shuttle women into the same paths where they still wind up working for rich men to make those men richer. It means when your staff tell you they want you to revise workplace policies because they unjustly prejudice your women-identified

workers, you listen. And don't just listen for the sake of saying "Okay, we listened and we're still going to keep doing things the same way we've always done them because that's how we've always done them . . ." it means listening for the purpose of action. Take a broad view: if you don't provide parental leave to a male employee, you know who suffers? A new mother who might have to delay her re-entry into the workforce—perhaps permanently—because her partner can't participate in childrearing duties. That's a withholding of a women's economic opportunity. And you need to turn your thermostats up in the office. I'm serious—this has "Patriarchy" written all over it. You see, the so-called ideal office temperature is based on a formula that calculated the average of workers' resting metabolic rates, but the workers in question were all men, an average of 40 old, and an average of 154 pounds. Oh, and they were wearing suits and ties. Today's workforce doesn't look the same. There are women in the workforce—and remember, the rigid gender binary has created the expectation that women wear things like skirts and sandals in warmer months, so the clothing differences already create more exposure for us. We also have seniors working longer before retirement, so the workforce also has an aging population that may be more thermosensitive.

That's what we mean when we say inequity is "systemic"—the formulas are actually built in to our lives through infrastructure, fashion, and employment practices. So anyway, when half the office is shivering and stepping into the service stairwell every couple hours to thaw out, you need to bump up the temperature.

So as I bring my remarks to a close, I want to share with you a quote from James Joyce's *Ulysses*, in which the speaker says "We feel in England that we have treated you rather unfairly. It seems history is to blame." And I really enjoy that line because it speaks to how we distance ourselves from the oppression of others. You see, by stating that "history" is to blame, it implies [a] that there was nothing we could have done about it, and [b] that we're not responsible for fixing things. But of course, that isn't true. We are absolutely in control of how we invest, how we govern, how we vote, and how we envision "opportunity." As you engage with workshops, panels, and networking settings throughout today's event, keep these things in mind: who is at the table, who is missing, which intersecting identities are at play here, and who shapes the agenda for action. Remember what Senator Leahy said: "a stronger and more equitable economy." We can get there, but it must include all of us . . . whatever your career might be, equity is still your job. Thank you for your time.

BUDGETARY REVISIONS

Mr. SANDERS. Madam President, S. Con. Res. 14, the fiscal year 2022 congressional budget resolution, included a reserve fund in section 3003 to allow the chairman of the Committee on the Budget to revise budget aggregates and committee allocations for legislation that would not increase the deficit over the period of fiscal years 2022 to 2031.

The Senate will soon consider S. 1605, the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2022, as amended by the House, which meets the condition of not increasing the deficit over the relevant 10-year period. As such, I am filing a revision to the aggregates and committee allocations under the bud-

et resolution, which were last revised on December 9. Specifically, the Congressional Budget Office estimates that the anti-fraud provisions in the bill would increase both direct spending and revenues by \$23 million over 5 years and \$72 million over 10 years.

I ask unanimous consent that the accompanying tables, which provide details about the adjustment, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REVISIONS TO BUDGET REVENUE AGGREGATES
(Pursuant to Section 3003 of S. Con. Res. 14, the Concurrent Resolution on the Budget for Fiscal Year 2022)
(\$ in billions)

	2022	2022–2026	2026–2031
Current Revenue Aggregates	3,401.380	17,795.670	38,957.374
Adjustments	0	0.023	0.072
Revised Revenue Aggregates	3,401.380	17,795.693	38,957.446

REVISIONS TO ALLOCATION TO SENATE COMMITTEES
(Pursuant to Section 3003 of S. Con. Res. 14, the Concurrent Resolution on the Budget for Fiscal Year 2022)
(\$ in billions)

	2022	2022–2026	2022–2031
Armed Services:			
Budget Authority	204.681	1,081.825	1,709.208
Outlays	209.330	1,080.912	1,707.478
Adjustments:			
Budget Authority	0	0.023	0.072
Outlays	0	0.023	0.072
Revised Allocation:			
Budget Authority	204.681	1,081.848	1,709.280
Outlays	209.330	1,080.935	1,707.550

VOTE EXPLANATION

Ms. SINEMA. Madam President, I was necessarily absent, but had I been present I would have voted yes on rollcall vote No. 492 on the Motion to Invoke Cloture on Lucy Koh, to be U.S. Circuit Judge for the Ninth Circuit.

I was necessarily absent, but had I been present I would have voted yes on rollcall vote No. 493 on the Motion to Invoke Cloture on Jennifer Sung, to be U.S. Circuit Judge for the Ninth Circuit.

TRIBUTE TO LIEUTENANT SEAN McDONALD

Mr. KING. Madam President, today I wish to recognize LT Sean McDonald, U.S. Navy, for his outstanding work on behalf of the people of Maine and the Nation as a 2021 Department of Defense Legislative Fellow serving in my Washington, DC, office. Lieutenant McDonald has been integral to shaping my foreign policy and national security priorities and helped secure a number of provisions in the fiscal year 2022 National Defense Authorization Act—FY22 NDAA—that will make our country stronger and safer. Lieutenant McDonald's contributions, both to office morale and to our collective work product, are representative of his good character, competence, and strong work ethic.

Throughout his tenure in my office, Lieutenant McDonald demonstrated a

level of professionalism and hard work I have come to expect—but that I do not take for granted—from Department of Defense Legislative Fellows. Indeed, Lieutenant McDonald follows a long line of accomplished U.S. Navy and Marine Corps officers who have made impactful contributions to my office and to U.S. national security policy. Over the course of the year, Lieutenant McDonald prepared and personally advised me on wide-ranging and complex matters under consideration before the Senate Armed Services Committee. Lieutenant McDonald brought his naval expertise to bear to help secure authorization for the procurement of additional Arleigh Burke-class destroyers in the FY22 NDAA, a critical capability for the U.S. fleet and a boon to the Maine shipbuilding workforce. He also helped guide my work as chairman of the Subcommittee on Strategic Forces during my inaugural year in this position, helping craft policy on nuclear and strategic forces, missile defense, and space programs. Further, during the withdrawal of U.S. forces in Afghanistan, Lieutenant McDonald provided clear-headed and thoughtful analysis on the withdrawal and liaised with representatives from the White House, State Department, and Department of Defense to convey my positions and concerns. His candor and honest assessments provided critical insights during this challenging time, and our Nation is better because of it.

On behalf of my colleagues and the U.S. Congress, I thank Lieutenant McDonald for his dedicated service to my staff, the U.S. Navy, and the Nation. I wish him all the best and know that he will excel in his next endeavors.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

TRIBUTE TO MICHAEL C. NELSEN

● Mr. LEE. Madam President, it is an honor to stand here today to recognize and celebrate the career of Police Chief Michael C. Nelsen of the Brigham City Police Department. For the last 42 years, he has diligently served and protected the people of Brigham City. His positive impact on the lives of many will be remembered as he transitions into retirement.

I wonder if, as a young pre-law student at Rick's College in Rexburg, ID, Mike Nelsen ever sat back to imagine the impact his life would have on so many others? I wonder if, as a student of criminal, justice administration at Brigham Young University, Mike Nelsen ever dreamed of leading a police department to new heights and great successes? However, I hope that at the sunset of an impressive career, Chief Nelsen realizes the significance of the mark he has left on the lives of countless others and the new heights and great successes he has achieved.

During his career as a police officer, Chief Nelsen climbed through the

ranks. He rose from corporal, to sergeant, to lieutenant, and—most notably—to chief. Yet, despite the grandeur of his rise through the ranks, he always remained a faithful and committed public servant. Humility, sacrifice, and character have all been exemplified during his years of police work.

Early in his career, Chief Nelsen earned a reputation for being willing to go the extra mile. From day 1, he set a standard for community engagement outside of day to day policing. Perhaps the best example of this extra-curricular community engagement is Chief Nelsen's avid support of the Special Olympics.

Despite his many responsibilities as a police officer, Chief Nelsen has dedicated hours of service to his role as the director of the Box Elder Torch Run for the Special Olympics. For his service, he has had the honor to run in the International Torch Run for the Special Olympics in Alaska and to carry the Olympic Torch for the 2002 Winter Olympic Games in Salt Lake City. He has been an emissary of Brigham City and of Utah to the world.

Public servants like Chief Nelsen deserve high praise. Their dedicated and faithful service sets an example for those who follow in their footsteps. I know that Chief Nelsen will be missed. However, thanks to the foundation that Chief Nelsen has laid over the last four decades, I have no doubt that the department will continue to flourish.

I am grateful to Chief Nelsen for the commitment he has shown to a difficult, but meaningful job. Without individuals like him willing to shoulder this responsibility, our communities would not prosper as they do. Both he and his family have faithfully made sacrifices for the good of their community for decades. I thank them for their dedication. As Chief Nelsen transitions into retirement, I hope he does so knowing that his community has prospered as a result of his service and the memory of his servant leadership will live on.●

MEASURES PLACED ON THE CALENDAR

The following resolution was read, and placed on the calendar:

S.J. Res. 33. Joint resolution joint resolution relating to increasing the debt limit.

EXECUTIVE AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were laid before the Senate, together with accompanying papers, reports, and documents, and were referred as indicated:

EC-2800. A communication from the Secretary of the Securities and Exchange Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Holding Foreign Companies Accountable Act Disclosure" (RIN3235-AM84) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2021; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-2801. A communication from the Assistant Secretary, Division of Corporation Finance, Securities and Exchange Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Universal Proxy" (RIN3235-AL84) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2021; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-2802. A communication from the Program Specialist, Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Appraisals for Higher-Priced Mortgage Loans Exemption Threshold" (RIN1557-AF13) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2021; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-2803. A communication from the Program Specialist, Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Computer-Security Incident Notification Requirements for Banking Organizations and Their Bank Service Providers" (RIN1557-AF02) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2021; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-2804. A communication from the Senior Congressional Liaison, Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Fair Credit Reporting Act Disclosures" (12 CFR Part 1022) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2021; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-2805. A communication from the Senior Congressional Liaison, Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Consumer Leasing (Regulation M)" (12 CFR Part 1013) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2021; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-2806. A communication from the Senior Congressional Liaison, Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Appraisals for Higher-Priced Mortgage Loans Exemption Threshold" (12 CFR Part 1026) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2021; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-2807. A communication from the Senior Congressional Liaison, Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Truth in Lending (Regulation Z)" (12 CFR Part 1026) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2021; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-2808. A communication from the Senior Congressional Liaison, Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Facilitating the LIBOR Transition (Regulation Z)" (RIN3170-AB01) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2021; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-2809. A communication from the Director of Congressional Research, Office of Nuclear Regulatory Research, Nuclear Regulatory Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Regulatory Guide (RG) 1.91 Rev 3, Evaluations of Explosions Postulated To Occur at Nearby Facilities or on Transportation Routes Near Nuclear Power Plants" received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2021; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-2810. A communication from the Chief Counsel, Economic Development Administration, Department of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Permitting Additional Eligible Tribal Entities" (RIN0610-AA82) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2021; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-2811. A communication from the Associate Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Air Plan Approval; Illinois; 2008 Ozone Moderate VOC RACT for Chicago; Correction" (FRL No. 8822-03-R5) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2021; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-2812. A communication from the Associate Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Air Plan Approval; North Carolina; Mecklenburg Air Quality Permit Rules Revisions" (FRL No. 8958-02-R4) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2021; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-2813. A communication from the Associate Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Air Plan Approval; FL, GA, NC, SC; Interstate Transport (Prongs 1 and 2) for the 2015 8-Hour Ozone Standard" (FRL No. 8697-02-R4) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2021; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-2814. A communication from the Associate Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Air Plan Approval; TN; Montgomery County Limited Maintenance Plan for the 1997 8-Hour Ozone NAAQS" (FRL No. 8911-02-R4) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2021; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-2815. A communication from the Associate Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Air Plan Approval; Michigan; Sulfur Dioxide Clean Data Determination for St. Clair" (FRL No. 8826-02-R5) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2021; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-2816. A communication from the Associate Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Calcium Bisulfate; Exemption from the Requirement of a Tolerance" (FRL No. 9810-01-OCSPP) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2021; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-2817. A communication from the Associate Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Approval and Promulgation of State Plans for Designated Facilities and Pollutants; Colorado; Control of Emissions from Existing Municipal Solid Waste Landfills" (FRL No. 8789-02-R8) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2021; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-2818. A communication from the Associate Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Air Plan Approval;

AK; Eagle River Second 10-Year PM10 Limited Maintenance Plan" (FRL No. 8787-02-R10) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2021; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-2819. A communication from the Associate Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Change of Submissions for CERCLA Section 103 Continuous Release Reports to the Appropriate EPA Headquarters Office" (FRL No. 9115-01-OLEM) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2021; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-2820. A communication from the Associate Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Significant New Use Rules on Certain Chemical Substances (20-10.B)" (FRL No. 8215-01-OCSPP) (RIN2070-AB27) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2021; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-2821. A communication from the Associate Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Air Plan Approval; North Carolina; Mecklenburg Ambient Air Quality Standards" (FRL No. 9059-02-R4) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2021; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-2822. A communication from the Assistant Chief Counsel, International Trade Administration, Department of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Procedures and Rules for Article 10.12 of the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement" (RIN0625-AB20) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2021; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-2823. A communication from the Director of the Legal Processing Division, Internal Revenue Service, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "COVID-19 Relief under section 45D" (Notice 2020-49) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2021; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-2824. A communication from the Director of the Regulations and Disclosure Law Division, Customs and Border Protection, Department of Homeland Security, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Extension and Amendment of Import Restrictions Imposed on Archaeological and Ethnological Material of Greece" (RIN1515-AB68) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2021; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-2825. A communication from the Secretary of Health and Human Services, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "Risk Adjustment in Medicare Advantage 2021"; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-2826. A communication from the Branch Chief of the Legal Processing Division, Internal Revenue Service, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Timing of Tax-Exempt Income Relating to Forgiven Paycheck Protection Program Loans" (Rev. Proc. 2021-48) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2021; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-2827. A communication from the Senior Advisor, Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report relative to two (2) vacancies in the Department of Health and Human Services,

received in the Office of the President of the Senate on November 30, 2021; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-2828. A communication from the Acting Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting, pursuant to law, thirty-four (34) reports relative to vacancies in the Department of State, received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 8, 2021; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEE

The following executive reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. REED for the Committee on Armed Services.

Navy nomination of Rear Adm. Collin P. Green, to be Vice Admiral.

*Navy nomination of Adm. Christopher W. Grady, to be Admiral.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, for the Committee on Armed Services I report favorably the following nomination lists which were printed in the RECORDS on the dates indicated, and ask unanimous consent, to save the expense of reprinting on the Executive Calendar that these nominations lie at the Secretary's desk for the information of Senators.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Army nomination of Todd E. Moszer, to be Major.

Space Force nominations beginning with Marc D. Daniels and ending with Jay M. Steingold, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record on December 7, 2021.

*Nomination was reported with recommendation that it be confirmed subject to the nominee's commitment to respond to requests to appear and testify before any duly constituted committee of the Senate.

(Nominations without an asterisk were reported with the recommendation that they be confirmed.)

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first and second times by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

By Mr. TOOMEY:

S. 3379. A bill to amend the Private Security Officer Employment Authorization Act of 2004 to establish a national criminal history background check system and criminal history review program for private security officers; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Ms. KLOBUCHAR (for herself, Mr. GRASSLEY, Ms. DUCKWORTH, and Ms. ERNST):

S. 3380. A bill to prohibit the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency from retroactively reducing certain determinations under the Renewable Fuel Program, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

By Mr. THUNE (for himself, Ms. SMITH, Mr. ROUNDS, and Mr. TESTER):

S. 3381. A bill to require the Bureau of Indian Affairs to process and complete all mortgage packages associated with residential and business mortgages on Indian land

by certain deadlines, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. SCOTT of South Carolina (for himself, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. TOOMEY, Mr. PAUL, Mr. THUNE, Mr. RISCH, Mr. CRAPO, Mr. INHOFE, Mr. BARRASSO, Mr. MARSHALL, Mr. DAINES, Mr. TILLIS, Mr. CRAMER, Mr. LANKFORD, Mr. CORNYN, Mr. MORAN, Mr. CASSIDY, Mr. BOOZMAN, Mr. ROUNDS, and Mr. SCOTT of Florida):

S. 3382. A bill to prohibit the Administrator of the Small Business Administration from directly making loans under the 7(a) loan program, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship.

By Mr. MENENDEZ (for himself and Mr. CASSIDY):

S. 3383. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to modify the cover over of certain distilled spirits taxes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. BOOKER (for himself, Mr. CARDIN, and Mr. SANDERS):

S. 3384. A bill to establish in the Department of State the Office to Monitor and Combat Islamophobia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. WHITEHOUSE (for himself, Mr. SANDERS, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Ms. HIRONO, Ms. WARREN, and Mr. LUJÁN):

S. 3385. A bill to amend title 28, United States Code, to require certain disclosures related to amicus activities; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MENENDEZ (for himself and Mr. YOUNG):

S. 3386. A bill to prevent, treat, and cure tuberculosis globally; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mrs. FEINSTEIN (for herself, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Mr. BOOKER, Mr. BROWN, Mr. MENENDEZ, Mr. MURPHY, Mr. PADILLA, and Mr. WHITEHOUSE):

S. 3387. A bill to require the search and retention of certain records with respect to conducting criminal background checks, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TESTER (for himself and Mr. MORAN):

S. 3388. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to improve benefits administered by the Secretary of Veterans Affairs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. BOOKER (for himself and Mr. SCOTT of South Carolina):

S. 3389. A bill to amend title XIX of the Social Security Act to establish a demonstration project to improve outpatient clinical care for individuals with sickle cell disease; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. LUJÁN (for himself and Mr. HEINRICH):

S. 3390. A bill to increase research, education, and treatment for cerebral cavernous malformations; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

By Mr. KENNEDY:

S. 3391. A bill to amend the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 to establish a registration exemption for merger and acquisition brokers, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

By Mr. MARSHALL:

S. 3392. A bill to require an interagency strategy to disrupt and dismantle narcotics production and trafficking and affiliated networks linked in the regime of Bashar al-Assad in Syria; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. BROWN (for himself, Ms. STABENOW, Mr. CASEY, and Ms. BALDWIN):

S. 3393. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to permanently extend the

Health Coverage Tax Credit; to the Committee on Finance.

By Ms. HASSAN (for herself, Mr. BRAUN, and Ms. MURKOWSKI):

S. 3394. A bill to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act with respect to emergency use authorization transparency; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

By Ms. BALDWIN (for herself and Mr. CASSIDY):

S. 3395. A bill to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act with respect to records and other information inspections; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

By Mr. SCHUMER:

S.J. Res. 33. A joint resolution relating to increasing the debt limit; considered and passed.

SUBMISSION OF CONCURRENT AND SENATE RESOLUTIONS

The following concurrent resolutions and Senate resolutions were read, and referred (or acted upon), as indicated:

By Mrs. BLACKBURN (for herself, Ms. ERNST, Mr. MARSHALL, and Mr. SCOTT of Florida):

S. Res. 478. A resolution amending rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate to increase the voting threshold to invoke cloture on general appropriation bills during periods of high inflation; to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

By Mrs. SHAHEEN (for herself, Ms. COLLINS, Mr. BROWN, Ms. CANTWELL, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, Mr. LANKFORD, Ms. SMITH, Mr. WARNER, Mrs. FEINSTEIN, Ms. STABENOW, Mr. COONS, and Mr. MANCHIN):

S. Res. 479. A resolution supporting the goals and ideals of American Diabetes Month; considered and agreed to.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 79

At the request of Mr. BOOKER, the name of the Senator from Maine (Ms. COLLINS) was added as a cosponsor of S. 79, a bill to eliminate the disparity in sentencing for cocaine offenses, and for other purposes.

S. 450

At the request of Mr. BURR, the names of the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. INHOFE), the Senator from New York (Mrs. GILLIBRAND), the Senator from Utah (Mr. ROMNEY) and the Senator from Indiana (Mr. YOUNG) were added as cosponsors of S. 450, a bill to award posthumously the Congressional Gold Medal to Emmett Till and Mamie Till-Mobley.

S. 839

At the request of Mr. CASSIDY, the name of the Senator from Maryland (Mr. VAN HOLLEN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 839, a bill to establish a postsecondary student data system.

S. 1136

At the request of Ms. CANTWELL, the name of the Senator from Michigan (Mr. PETERS) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1136, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to reform the low-income housing credit, and for other purposes.

S. 1452

At the request of Mr. GRASSLEY, the name of the Senator from Maryland

(Mr. VAN HOLLEN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1452, a bill to require a standard financial aid offer form, and for other purposes.

S. 1457

At the request of Mr. MARKEY, the name of the Senator from Vermont (Mr. SANDERS) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1457, a bill to establish programs to address addiction and overdoses caused by illicit fentanyl and other opioids, and for other purposes.

S. 1813

At the request of Mr. COONS, the names of the Senator from Tennessee (Mrs. BLACKBURN) and the Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. REED) were added as cosponsors of S. 1813, a bill to direct the Secretary of Health and Human Services to support research on, and expanded access to, investigational drugs for amyotrophic lateral sclerosis, and for other purposes.

S. 1877

At the request of Mr. TILLIS, the name of the Senator from Georgia (Mr. WARNOCK) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1877, a bill to modify eligibility requirements for certain hazard mitigation assistance programs, and for other purposes.

S. 1893

At the request of Mr. TESTER, the name of the Senator from Montana (Mr. DAINES) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1893, a bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to support rural residency training funding that is equitable for all States, and for other purposes.

S. 2283

At the request of Mr. TESTER, the name of the Senator from Georgia (Mr. OSSOFF) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2283, a bill to improve the Veterans Crisis Line of the Department of Veterans Affairs, and for other purposes.

S. 2597

At the request of Mr. GRASSLEY, the names of the Senator from Kansas (Mr. MORAN) and the Senator from Georgia (Mr. WARNOCK) were added as cosponsors of S. 2597, a bill to amend the Animal Health Protection Act with respect to the importation of live dogs, and for other purposes.

S. 2889

At the request of Mr. CORNYN, the name of the Senator from Washington (Mrs. MURRAY) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2889, a bill to amend the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2021 to address the timing for the use of funds with respect to grants made to shuttered venue operators.

S. 3037

At the request of Mr. COTTON, the name of the Senator from Indiana (Mr. BRAUN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 3037, a bill to require elementary schools and secondary schools that receive Federal funds to obtain parental consent before facilitating a child's gender transition in any form, and for other purposes.

S. 3196

At the request of Mr. WICKER, the name of the Senator from Kansas (Mr.

MORAN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 3196, a bill to enhance the policies, procedures, and training for midshipmen at the United States Merchant Marine Academy, and for other purposes.

S. 3245

At the request of Ms. MURKOWSKI, the name of the Senator from Maine (Ms. COLLINS) was added as a cosponsor of S. 3245, a bill to establish the Interagency Working Group on Coastal Blue Carbon, and for other purposes.

S. 3349

At the request of Mr. RISCH, the name of the Senator from New Hampshire (Mrs. SHAHEEN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 3349, a bill to require the Administrator of the Small Business Administration to provide applicants for certain loans and grants with updates with respect to those applications, and for other purposes.

S. 3375

At the request of Ms. ROSEN, the name of the Senator from Arizona (Ms. SINEMA) was added as a cosponsor of S. 3375, a bill to promote travel and tourism in the United States, to improve the health safety and security of international flights entering the United States, and for other purposes.

S. RES. 336

At the request of Mr. KAINE, the names of the Senator from Wyoming (Ms. LUMMIS) and the Senator from Maine (Ms. COLLINS) were added as cosponsors of S. Res. 336, a resolution designating September 15, 2021, as "International Myotonic Dystrophy Awareness Day" and supporting the goals and ideals of International Myotonic Dystrophy Awareness Day.

S. RES. 455

At the request of Ms. ROSEN, the name of the Senator from Maine (Mr. KING) was added as a cosponsor of S. Res. 455, a resolution designating November 2021 as "National Hospice and Palliative Care Month".

STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. THUNE (for himself, Ms. SMITH, Mr. ROUNDS, and Mr. TESTER):

S. 3381. A bill to require the Bureau of Indian Affairs to process and complete all mortgage packages associated with residential and business mortgages on Indian land by certain deadlines, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the text of the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 3381

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 "Tribal Trust Land Homeownership Act of 2021".

SEC. 2. DEFINITIONS.

In this Act:

(1) APPLICABLE BUREAU OFFICE.—The term “applicable Bureau office” means—

- (A) a Regional office of the Bureau;
- (B) an Agency office of the Bureau; or
- (C) a Land Titles and Records Office of the Bureau.

(2) BUREAU.—The term “Bureau” means the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

(3) DIRECTOR.—The term “Director” means the Director of the Bureau.

(4) FIRST CERTIFIED TITLE STATUS REPORT.—The term “first certified title status report” means the title status report needed to verify title status on Indian land.

(5) INDIAN LAND.—The term “Indian land” has the meaning given the term in section 162.003 of title 25, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on the date of enactment of this Act).

(6) LAND MORTGAGE.—The term “land mortgage” means a mortgage obtained by an individual Indian who owns a tract of trust land for the purpose of—

- (A) home acquisition;
- (B) home construction;
- (C) home improvements; or
- (D) economic development.

(7) LEASEHOLD MORTGAGE.—The term “leasehold mortgage” means a mortgage, deed of trust, or other instrument that pledges the leasehold interest of a lessee as security for a debt or other obligation owed by the lessee to a lender or other mortgagee.

(8) MORTGAGE PACKAGE.—The term “mortgage package” means a proposed residential leasehold mortgage, business leasehold mortgage, land mortgage, or right-of-way document submitted to an applicable Bureau office under section 3(a)(1).

(9) RELEVANT FEDERAL AGENCY.—The term “relevant Federal agency” means any of the following Federal agencies that guarantee or make direct mortgage loans on Indian land:

- (A) The Department of Agriculture.
- (B) The Department of Housing and Urban Development.

(C) The Department of Veterans Affairs.

(10) RIGHT-OF-WAY DOCUMENT.—The term “right-of-way document” has the meaning given the term in section 169.2 of title 25, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on the date of enactment of this Act).

(11) SUBSEQUENT CERTIFIED TITLE STATUS REPORT.—The term “subsequent certified title status report” means the title status report needed to identify any liens against a residential, business, or land lease on Indian land.

SEC. 3. MORTGAGE REVIEW AND PROCESSING.

(a) REVIEW AND PROCESSING DEADLINES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—As soon as practicable after receiving a proposed residential leasehold mortgage, business leasehold mortgage, land mortgage, or right-of-way document, the applicable Bureau office shall notify the lender that the proposed residential leasehold mortgage, business leasehold mortgage, or right-of-way document has been received.

(2) PRELIMINARY REVIEW.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 10 calendar days after receipt of a proposed residential leasehold mortgage, business leasehold mortgage, land mortgage, or right-of-way document, the applicable Bureau office shall conduct and complete a preliminary review of the residential leasehold mortgage, business leasehold mortgage, land mortgage, or right-of-way document to verify that all required documents are included.

(B) INCOMPLETE DOCUMENTS.—As soon as practicable, but not more than 2 calendar days, after finding that any required documents are missing under subparagraph (A), the applicable Bureau office shall notify the lender of the missing documents.

(3) APPROVAL OR DISAPPROVAL.—

(A) LEASEHOLD MORTGAGES.—Not later than 20 calendar days after receipt of a com-

plete executed residential leasehold mortgage or business leasehold mortgage, proof of required consents, and other required documentation, the applicable Bureau office shall approve or disapprove the residential leasehold mortgage or business leasehold mortgage.

(B) RIGHT-OF-WAY DOCUMENTS.—Not later than 30 calendar days after receipt of a complete executed right-of-way document, proof of required consents, and other required documentation, the applicable Bureau office shall approve or disapprove the right-of-way document.

(C) LAND MORTGAGES.—Not later than 30 calendar days after receipt of a complete executed land mortgage, proof of required consents, and other required documentation, the applicable Bureau office shall approve or disapprove the land mortgage.

(D) REQUIREMENTS.—The determination of whether to approve or disapprove a residential leasehold mortgage or business leasehold mortgage under subparagraph (A), a right-of-way document under subparagraph (B), or a land mortgage under subparagraph (C)—

- (i) shall be in writing; and
- (ii) in the case of a determination to disapprove a residential leasehold mortgage, business leasehold mortgage, right-of-way document, or land mortgage shall, state the basis for the determination.

(E) APPLICATION.—This paragraph shall not apply to a residential leasehold mortgage or business leasehold mortgage with respect to Indian land in cases in which the applicant for the residential leasehold mortgage or business leasehold mortgage is an Indian tribe (as defined in subsection (d) of the first section of the Act of 1955 (69 Stat. 539, chapter 615; 126 Stat. 1150; 25 U.S.C. 415(d))) that has been approved for leasing under subsection (h) of that section (69 Stat. 539, chapter 615; 126 Stat. 1151; 25 U.S.C. 415(h)).

(4) CERTIFIED TITLE STATUS REPORTS.—

(A) COMPLETION OF REPORTS.—

(i) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 10 calendar days after the applicable Bureau office approves a residential leasehold mortgage, business leasehold mortgage, land mortgage, or right-of-way document under paragraph (3), the applicable Bureau office shall complete the processing of, as applicable—

(I) a first certified title status report, if a first certified title status report was not completed prior to the approval of the residential leasehold mortgage, business leasehold mortgage, land mortgage, or right-of-way document; and

(II) a subsequent certified title status report.

(i) REQUESTS FOR FIRST CERTIFIED TITLE STATUS REPORTS.—Notwithstanding clause (i), not later than 14 calendar days after the applicable Bureau office receives a request for a first certified title status report from an applicant for a residential leasehold mortgage, business leasehold mortgage, land mortgage, or right-of-way document under paragraph (1), the applicable Bureau office shall complete the processing of the first certified title status report.

(B) NOTICE.—

(i) IN GENERAL.—As soon as practicable after completion of the processing of, as applicable, a first certified title status report or a subsequent certified title status report under subparagraph (A), but by not later than the applicable deadline described in that subparagraph, the applicable Bureau office shall give notice of the completion to the lender.

(ii) FORM OF NOTICE.—The applicable Bureau office shall give notice under clause (i)—

- (I) electronically through secure, encryption software; and
- (II) through the United States mail.

(iii) OPTION TO OPT OUT.—The lender may opt out of receiving notice electronically under clause (ii)(I).

(b) NOTICES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—If the applicable Bureau office does not complete the review and processing of mortgage packages under subsection (a) (including any corresponding first certified title status report or subsequent certified title status report under paragraph (4) of that subsection) by the applicable deadline described in that subsection, immediately after missing the deadline, the applicable Bureau office shall provide notice of the delay in review and processing to—

(A) the party that submitted the mortgage package or requested the first certified title status report; and

(B) the lender for which the mortgage package (including any corresponding first certified title status report or subsequent certified title status report) is being requested.

(2) REQUESTS FOR UPDATES.—In addition to providing the notices required under paragraph (1), not later than 2 calendar days after receiving a relevant inquiry with respect to a submitted mortgage package from the party that submitted the mortgage package or the lender for which the mortgage package (including any corresponding first certified title status report or subsequent certified title status report) is being requested or an inquiry with respect to a requested first certified title status report from the party that requested the first certified title status report, the applicable Bureau office shall respond to the inquiry.

(c) DELIVERY OF FIRST AND SUBSEQUENT CERTIFIED TITLE STATUS REPORTS.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, any first certified title status report and any subsequent certified title status report, as applicable, shall be delivered directly to—

- (1) the lender;
- (2) any local or regional agency office of the Bureau that requests the first certified title status report or subsequent certified title status report;

(3) in the case of a proposed residential leasehold mortgage or land mortgage, the relevant Federal agency that insures or guarantees the loan; and

(4) if requested, any individual or entity described in section 150.303 of title 25, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on the date of enactment of this Act).

(d) ACCESS TO TRUST ASSET AND ACCOUNTING MANAGEMENT SYSTEM.—Beginning on the date of enactment of this Act, the relevant Federal agencies and Indian Tribes shall have read-only access to the Trust Asset and Accounting Management System maintained by the Bureau.

(e) ANNUAL REPORT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than March 1 of each calendar year, the Director shall submit to the Committee on Indian Affairs of the Senate and the Committee on Natural Resources of the House of Representatives a report describing—

(A) for the most recent calendar year, the number of requests received to complete residential leasehold mortgage packages, business leasehold mortgage packages, land mortgage packages, and right-of-way document packages (including any requests for corresponding first certified title status reports and subsequent certified title status reports), including a detailed description of—

(i) requests that were and were not successfully completed by the applicable deadline described in subsection (a) by each applicable Bureau office; and

(ii) the reasons for each applicable Bureau office not meeting any applicable deadlines; and

(B) the length of time needed by each applicable Bureau office during the most recent calendar year to provide the notices required under subsection (b)(1).

(2) **REQUIREMENT.**—In submitting the report required under paragraph (1), the Director shall maintain the confidentiality of personally identifiable information of the parties involved in requesting the completion of residential leasehold mortgage packages, business leasehold mortgage packages, land mortgage packages, and right-of-way document packages (including any corresponding first certified title status reports and subsequent certified title status reports).

(f) **GAO STUDY.**—Not later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this Act, the Comptroller General of the United States shall submit to the Committee on Indian Affairs of the Senate and the Committee on Natural Resources of the House of Representatives a report that includes—

(1) an evaluation of the need for residential leasehold mortgage packages, business leasehold mortgage packages, land mortgage packages, and right-of-way document packages of each Indian Tribe to be digitized for the purpose of streamlining and expediting the completion of mortgage packages for residential mortgages on Indian land (including the corresponding first certified title status reports and subsequent certified title status reports); and

(2) an estimate of the time and total cost necessary for Indian Tribes to digitize the records described in paragraph (1), in conjunction with assistance in that digitization from the Bureau.

SEC. 4. ESTABLISHMENT OF REALTY OMBUDSMAN POSITION.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—The Director shall establish within the Division of Real Estate Services of the Bureau the position of Realty Ombudsman, who shall report directly to the Secretary of the Interior.

(b) **FUNCTIONS.**—The Realty Ombudsman shall—

(1) ensure that the applicable Bureau offices are meeting the mortgage review and processing deadlines established by section 3(a);

(2) ensure that the applicable Bureau offices comply with the notices required under subsections (a) and (b) of section 3;

(3) serve as a liaison to other Federal agencies, including by—

(A) ensuring the Bureau is responsive to all of the inquiries from the relevant Federal agencies; and

(B) helping to facilitate communications between the relevant Federal agencies and the Bureau on matters relating to mortgages on Indian land;

(4) receive inquiries, questions, and complaints directly from Indian Tribes, members of Indian Tribes, and lenders in regard to executed residential leasehold mortgages, business leasehold mortgages, land mortgages, or right-of-way documents; and

(5) serve as the intermediary between the Indian Tribes, members of Indian Tribes, and lenders and the Bureau in responding to inquiries and questions and resolving complaints.

By Mrs. FEINSTEIN (for herself, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Mr. BOOKER, Mr. BROWN, Mr. MENENDEZ, Mr. MURPHY, Mr. PADILLA, and Mr. WHITEHOUSE):

S. 3387. A bill to require the search and retention of certain records with respect to conducting criminal background checks, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, today, I am reintroducing legislation

that would help bolster the Nation's background check system for firearms.

Under current law, the FBI is forced to remove records from incomplete background checks from their systems if those checks are not finalized within 90 days. As a result, many firearms are sold without completed background checks—a dangerous practice that allows individuals to access a firearm even if they are prohibited by law from possessing such weapons.

In 2020, Americans purchased a record number of guns—over 23 million firearms—and this year is expected to set records once again. That record number of purchases is overwhelming our background check system.

The large majority of background checks are straightforward and are completed within 3 days, but especially due to the volume of checks required by the increase in gun purchases, some can take significantly longer.

According to Everytown for Gun Safety, between March 2020 and July 2020, the FBI was unable to resolve 207,694 background checks within 90 days and was therefore required to wipe the incomplete checks from their systems. Since these background checks were never completed, it is impossible to know how many firearms were transferred to prohibited purchasers.

As firearms sales continue to soar, Congress must act to protect public safety by ensuring background checks are completed.

This bill would do exactly that. It would allow the FBI to maintain gun purchase records until the background checks is completed. It would also require the FBI to query additional relevant databases as part of a firearm-related background check. This would guarantee that the information necessary for conducting effective firearm background checks is maintained.

I thank Senators BLUMENTHAL, BOOKER, BROWN, MENENDEZ, MURPHY, PADILLA, and WHITEHOUSE for their support and urge the rest of my colleagues to support the bill as well.

SUBMITTED RESOLUTIONS

SENATE RESOLUTION 478—AMENDING RULE XXII OF THE STANDING RULES OF THE SENATE TO INCREASE THE VOTING THRESHOLD TO INVOKE CLOTURE ON GENERAL APPROPRIATION BILLS DURING PERIODS OF HIGH INFLATION

Mrs. BLACKBURN (for herself, Ms. ERNST, Mr. MARSHALL, and Mr. SCOTT of Florida) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration:

S. RES. 478

Resolved,
SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This resolution may be cited as the “Stop Inflationary Spending Resolution”.

SEC. 2. CLOTURE THRESHOLD FOR GENERAL APPROPRIATION BILLS DURING PERIODS OF HIGH INFLATION.

Paragraph 2 of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended in the second undesignated subparagraph by inserting “, or on a general appropriation bill, or an amendment thereto, amendment between the Houses in relation thereto, conference report thereon, or motion thereon, that is considered during a period during which the increase in the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers with respect to the preceding 12-month period, as determined by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, is more than 4.0 percent, in which case the necessary affirmative vote shall be two-thirds of the Senators present and voting” after “present and voting”.

SENATE RESOLUTION 479—SUPPORTING THE GOALS AND IDEALS OF AMERICAN DIABETES MONTH

Mrs. SHAHEEN (for herself, Ms. COLLINS, Mr. BROWN, Ms. CANTWELL, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, Mr. LANKFORD, Ms. SMITH, Mr. WARNER, Mrs. FEINSTEIN, Ms. STABENOW, Mr. COONS, and Mr. MANCHIN) submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

S. RES. 479

Whereas, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (referred to in this preamble as the “CDC”)—

(1) 34,200,000 individuals in the United States have diabetes; and

(2) an estimated 88,000,000 individuals in the United States who are 18 years of age or older have prediabetes;

Whereas diabetes is a serious chronic condition that affects individuals of every age, race, ethnicity, and income level;

Whereas the CDC reports that—

(1) Hispanic Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans, and Native Americans are disproportionately affected by diabetes and develop the disease at much higher rates than the general population of the United States; and

(2) an estimated 21.4 percent of individuals with diabetes in the United States have not yet been diagnosed with the disease;

Whereas, in the United States, more than 10.5 percent of the population, including 26.8 percent of individuals who are 65 years of age or older, have diabetes;

Whereas, of the 18,820,000 veterans in the United States, 1 in 4 are receiving care for diabetes from the Department of Veterans Affairs;

Whereas the risk of developing type 2 diabetes at some point in life is 40 percent for adults in the United States;

Whereas, according to the American Diabetes Association, the United States spent an estimated \$237,000,000,000 on direct medical costs for cases of diagnosed diabetes in 2017, and out-of-pocket costs for insulin have grown significantly in recent years for many patients;

Whereas the American Diabetes Association reports that care for people with diagnosed diabetes accounts for 1 in 4 health care dollars spent in the United States;

Whereas the cost of health care is estimated to be 2.3 times higher for individuals in the United States with diabetes than those without diabetes;

Whereas, as of November 2021, a cure for diabetes does not exist;

Whereas there are successful means to reduce the incidence, and delay the onset, of type 2 diabetes;

Whereas, with proper management and treatment, individuals with diabetes live healthy and productive lives; and

Whereas individuals in the United States celebrate American Diabetes Month in November: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate—

(1) supports the goals and ideals of American Diabetes Month, including—

(A) encouraging individuals in the United States to fight diabetes through increased awareness of prevention and treatment options; and

(B) enhancing diabetes education;

(2) recognizes the importance of awareness and early detection, including awareness of symptoms and risk factors such as—

(A) being—

(i) older than 45 years of age; or

(ii) overweight; and

(B) having—

(i) a racial and ethnic background that is disproportionately affected by diabetes;

(ii) a low level of physical activity;

(iii) high blood pressure;

(iv) a family history of diabetes; or

(v) a history of diabetes during pregnancy;

(3) supports decreasing the prevalence of type 1, type 2, and gestational diabetes in the United States through research, treatment, and prevention; and

(4) recognizes the importance of addressing systemic barriers to health care that—

(A) leave many communities at a heightened risk for diabetes; and

(B) limit access to health care resources that are needed to effectively prevent the onset, and to manage the condition, of diabetes.

AMENDMENTS SUBMITTED AND PROPOSED

SA 4893. Ms. CANTWELL proposed an amendment to the bill H.R. 5746, to amend title 51, United States Code, to extend the authority of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to enter into leases of non-excess property of the Administration.

TEXT OF AMENDMENTS

SA 4893. Ms. CANTWELL proposed an amendment to the bill H.R. 5746, to amend title 51, United States Code, to extend the authority of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to enter into leases of non-excess property of the Administration; as follows:

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the “NASA Enhanced Use Leasing Extension Act of 2021”.

SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

Congress find the following:

(1) NASA uses enhanced use leasing to enter into agreements with private sector entities, State and local governments, academic institutions, and other Federal agencies for lease of non-excess, underutilized NASA properties and facilities.

(2) NASA uses enhanced use leasing authority to support responsible management of its real property, including to improve the use of underutilized property for activities that are compatible with NASA’s mission and to reduce facility operating and maintenance costs.

(3) In fiscal year 2019, under its enhanced use lease authority, NASA leased 65 real properties.

(4) In fiscal year 2019, NASA’s use of enhanced use leasing resulted in the collection of \$10,843,025.77 in net revenue.

(5) In fiscal year 2019, NASA used a portion of its enhanced use leasing revenues for repairs of facility control systems such as lighting and heating, ventilation, and air conditioning.

(6) NASA’s use of enhanced use leasing authority can contribute to reducing the rate of increase of the Agency’s overall deferred maintenance cost.

SEC. 3. EXTENSION OF AUTHORITY TO ENTER INTO LEASES OF NON-EXCESS PROPERTY OF THE NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION.

Section 20145(g) of title 51, United States Code, is amended by striking “December 31, 2021” and inserting “March 31, 2022”.

SEC. 4. DETERMINATION OF BUDGETARY EFFECTS.

The budgetary effects of this Act, for the purpose of complying with the Statutory Pay-As-You-Go Act of 2010, shall be determined by reference to the latest statement titled “Budgetary Effects of PAYGO Legislation” for this Act, submitted for printing in the Congressional Record by the Chairman of the House Budget Committee, provided that such statement has been submitted prior to the vote on passage.

AUTHORITY FOR COMMITTEES TO MEET

Ms. SMITH. Mr. President, I have 5 requests for committees to meet during today’s session of the Senate. They have the approval of the Majority and Minority Leaders.

Pursuant to rule XXVI, paragraph 5(a), of the Standing Rules of the Senate, the following committees are authorized to meet during today’s session of the Senate:

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

The Committee on Armed Services is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Tuesday, December 14, 2021, at 11:30 a.m., to conduct a hearing on nominations.

COMMITTEE ON BANKING, HOUSING, AND URBAN AFFAIRS

The Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Tuesday, December 14, 2021, at 10:15 a.m., to conduct a hearing.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

The Committee on Foreign Relations is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Tuesday, December 14, 2021, at 10 a.m., to conduct a hearing on nominations.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

The Committee on Foreign Relations is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Tuesday, December 14, 2021, at 2:30 p.m., to conduct a hearing on nominations.

COMMITTEE ON HEALTH, EDUCATION, LABOR, AND PENSIONS

The Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Tuesday, December 14, 2021, at 10 a.m., to conduct a hearing on a nomination.

ORDERS FOR WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 15, 2021

Ms. CANTWELL. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that when the

Senate completes its business today, it adjourn until 10 a.m., Wednesday, December 15; that following the prayer and pledge, the morning hour be deemed expired, the Journal of proceedings be approved to date, the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day, and morning business be closed; that upon the conclusion of morning business, the Senate resume consideration of the House message to accompany S. 1605; further, that at 11:30 a.m., the motion to concur with amendment No. 4880 be withdrawn and the Senate vote on the motion to concur; and that following disposition of the House message, the Senate proceed to executive session to resume consideration of the Sung nomination and vote on confirmation of the nomination; further, that at 2:15 p.m., the Senate vote on confirmation of the Elliott nomination; and finally, that if any of the nominations are confirmed, the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate and the President be immediately notified of the Senate’s action.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 10 A.M. TOMORROW

Ms. CANTWELL. Madam President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask unanimous consent that it stand adjourned under the previous order.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 7:21 p.m., adjourned until Wednesday, December 15, 2021, at 10 a.m.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate December 14, 2021:

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

THEA D. ROZMAN KENDLER, OF MARYLAND, TO BE AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF COMMERCE.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

NICKOLAS GUERTIN, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE DIRECTOR OF OPERATIONAL TEST AND EVALUATION, DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE.

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

ALANNA MCCARGO, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE PRESIDENT, GOVERNMENT NATIONAL MORTGAGE ASSOCIATION.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

JOHN BRADLEY SHERMAN, OF TEXAS, TO BE CHIEF INFORMATION OFFICER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE.

CARRIE FRANCES RICCI, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE GENERAL COUNSEL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY.

IN THE ARMY

THE FOLLOWING NAMED ARMY NATIONAL GUARD OF THE UNITED STATES OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE RESERVE OF THE ARMY TO THE GRADE INDICATED UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTIONS 12203 AND 12211:

To be major general

BRIG. GEN. WILLIAM J. PRENDERGAST IV

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY WHILE SERVING AS CHIEF DEFENSE COUNSEL FOR MILITARY COMMISSIONS UNDER ARTICLE II, SECTION 2, CLAUSE 2 OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION AND SECTION 1087 OF THE NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 2014:

To be brigadier general

COL. JACKIE L. THOMPSON, JR.

IN THE SPACE FORCE

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE IN THE UNITED STATES SPACE FORCE UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 624:

To be brigadier general

COL. TIMOTHY A. SEJBA

IN THE ARMY

THE FOLLOWING NAMED ARMY NATIONAL GUARD OF THE UNITED STATES OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE RESERVE OF THE ARMY TO THE GRADE INDICATED UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTIONS 12203 AND 12211:

To be major general

BRIG. GEN. ROGER D. LYLES

IN THE MARINE CORPS

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICERS FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS TO THE GRADE INDICATED UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 624:

To be major general

BRIG. GEN. JAMES H. ADAMS III
BRIG. GEN. ERIC E. AUSTIN
BRIG. GEN. MICHAEL J. BORGSCHELT
BRIG. GEN. WILLIAM J. BOWERS
BRIG. GEN. STEPHEN E. LISZEWSKI
BRIG. GEN. KEITH D. REVENTLOW
BRIG. GEN. SEAN M. SALENE
BRIG. GEN. ROBERTA L. SHEA
BRIG. GEN. BENJAMIN T. WATSON
BRIG. GEN. CHRISTIAN F. WORTMAN

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

DAWN N. ISON, OF MICHIGAN, TO BE UNITED STATES ATTORNEY FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF MICHIGAN FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS.

IN THE AIR FORCE

AIR FORCE NOMINATION OF TROY J. JOHNSON, TO BE MAJOR.

AIR FORCE NOMINATION OF MARY T. GUEST, TO BE COLONEL.

AIR FORCE NOMINATION OF ERIC J. JORDAN, TO BE COLONEL.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH ZACHARY P. AUGUSTINE AND ENDING WITH MICHAEL L. TOOMER, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON OCTOBER 27, 2021.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH CHAD A. BELLAMY AND ENDING WITH ANDREW L. THORNLEY, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON OCTOBER 27, 2021.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH ROSS ANDREW BROWN AND ENDING WITH LISA MARIE WOTKOWICZ, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON OCTOBER 27, 2021.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH KIP T. AVERETT AND ENDING WITH DANIEL S. WALKER, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON OCTOBER 27, 2021.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH SHAWN J. ALVES AND ENDING WITH ALEXANDER J. ZOLL, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON OCTOBER 27, 2021.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH PATRICK E. BRACKEN AND ENDING WITH THADDAEUS J. WERNER, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON OCTOBER 27, 2021.

AIR FORCE NOMINATION OF ANTHONY W. PEREZ, TO BE LIEUTENANT COLONEL.

AIR FORCE NOMINATION OF DUSTIN R. MEREDITH, TO BE MAJOR.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH GEORGE L. CHAPMAN AND ENDING WITH MICHAEL L. YAMZON, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON NOVEMBER 15, 2021.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH LUIS J. ADAMES AND ENDING WITH MICHAEL J. WILLEN, WHICH

NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON NOVEMBER 15, 2021.

AIR FORCE NOMINATION OF REBECCA L. HESS, TO BE LIEUTENANT COLONEL.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH ANGELICA M. DREXEL AND ENDING WITH WILLIAM R. SINGISER, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON NOVEMBER 15, 2021.

AIR FORCE NOMINATION OF KYLE P. ALLEN, TO BE MAJOR.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH SEAN M. BATZER AND ENDING WITH LENARD W. TOL, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON NOVEMBER 15, 2021.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH ASHLEY D. BROWN AND ENDING WITH ALEXANDER T. PINGREE, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON NOVEMBER 15, 2021.

AIR FORCE NOMINATION OF ROSS C. STANLEY, TO BE MAJOR.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH BRANDON R. ABEL AND ENDING WITH BRANDON A. ZUERCHER, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON NOVEMBER 15, 2021.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH BRADLEY D. ALTMAN AND ENDING WITH ROBERT J. YATES III, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON NOVEMBER 15, 2021.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH ALICIA D. ABRAMS AND ENDING WITH JAMES A. WRIGHT, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON NOVEMBER 15, 2021.

AIR FORCE NOMINATION OF SIMONE E. ZACHARIAS, TO BE MAJOR.

AIR FORCE NOMINATION OF ADRIAN A. ANDREWS, TO BE COLONEL.

IN THE ARMY

ARMY NOMINATION OF RICHARD J. SONNENFELD, TO BE COLONEL.

ARMY NOMINATION OF ANDREA N. APPLE, TO BE MAJOR.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH ROBERT J. ABBOTT AND ENDING WITH MEGAN WAKEFIELD, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON OCTOBER 27, 2021.

ARMY NOMINATION OF TANYA K. BINDERNAGEL, TO BE MAJOR.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH GRANT T. ALEXIS AND ENDING WITH THOMAS J. WITKOWSKI, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON OCTOBER 27, 2021.

ARMY NOMINATION OF GABRIELLE L. MURRAY, TO BE MAJOR.

ARMY NOMINATION OF MICHAEL R. RUIZ, TO BE MAJOR.

ARMY NOMINATION OF NICHOLAS J. BECK, TO BE LIEUTENANT COLONEL.

ARMY NOMINATION OF PETER A. DOBLAR, TO BE MAJOR.

ARMY NOMINATION OF FRANCIS E. IGO IV, TO BE MAJOR.

ARMY NOMINATION OF KEN M. WOODS, TO BE MAJOR.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH KATHARINE M. E. ADAMS AND ENDING WITH HANS P. ZELLER, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON NOVEMBER 1, 2021.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH ALEJANDRO L. BUNIAG, JR. AND ENDING WITH MICHAEL W. WEAVER, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON NOVEMBER 1, 2021.

ARMY NOMINATION OF ERICA A. WHEATLEY, TO BE COLONEL.

ARMY NOMINATION OF JAMISON S. NIELSEN, TO BE COLONEL.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH ROBERT P. LEWIS AND ENDING WITH SCOT W. MCCOSH, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON NOVEMBER 1, 2021.

ARMY NOMINATION OF JADER A. MORALES, TO BE MAJOR.

ARMY NOMINATION OF MOISES SALINAS, TO BE MAJOR.

ARMY NOMINATION OF MICHAEL S. SCHWAMBERGER, TO BE COLONEL.

ARMY NOMINATION OF KYLE A. LIPPOLD, TO BE LIEUTENANT COLONEL.

ARMY NOMINATION OF TAYLOR K. OPEL, TO BE LIEUTENANT COLONEL.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH SHAWN G. ABBE AND ENDING WITH NATHANIEL C. STONE, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON NOVEMBER 15, 2021.

ARMY NOMINATION OF JAMIE E. MUELLER, TO BE MAJOR.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH PETER S. BLACK AND ENDING WITH ROBERT G. SACCA, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON NOVEMBER 17, 2021.

ARMY NOMINATION OF EDWARD W. LUMPKINS, TO BE COLONEL.

ARMY NOMINATION OF GINA M. FARRINGTON, TO BE MAJOR.

ARMY NOMINATION OF DISA L. RIFKIN, TO BE COLONEL.

ARMY NOMINATION OF JESSICA K. SMYTH, TO BE LIEUTENANT COLONEL.

ARMY NOMINATION OF BROCK A. CHAVEZ, TO BE MAJOR.

IN THE MARINE CORPS

MARINE CORPS NOMINATION OF ERIC A. WALRAVEN, TO BE LIEUTENANT COLONEL.

MARINE CORPS NOMINATION OF DANIEL T. CELOTTO, TO BE COLONEL.

MARINE CORPS NOMINATION OF JASON A. RETTER, TO BE MAJOR.

MARINE CORPS NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH RYAN P. ALLEN AND ENDING WITH MATTHEW P. ZUMMO, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON NOVEMBER 15, 2021.

MARINE CORPS NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH NICHOLAS P. ADAMS AND ENDING WITH JOHN B. ZIMMER, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON NOVEMBER 17, 2021.

IN THE NAVY

NAVY NOMINATION OF STEPHEN M. DYER, TO BE LIEUTENANT COMMANDER.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH MITCHELL I. BELL AND ENDING WITH PATRICK Z. X. YU, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON NOVEMBER 1, 2021.

NAVY NOMINATION OF MATTHEW C. DENNIS, TO BE LIEUTENANT COMMANDER.

NAVY NOMINATION OF JOSEPH M. MOLINA, TO BE LIEUTENANT COMMANDER.

NAVY NOMINATION OF STEPHEN B. KOYE, TO BE LIEUTENANT COMMANDER.

NAVY NOMINATION OF MICHAEL J. URBAITIS, TO BE LIEUTENANT COMMANDER.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH ALEXANDER C. CHARALAMBOUS AND ENDING WITH TAIBATU E. I. OBASI, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON DECEMBER 2, 2021.

IN THE SPACE FORCE

SPACE FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH CHRISTINA N. GILLETTE AND ENDING WITH D. S. ROGERS, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON NOVEMBER 1, 2021.

SPACE FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH ALBERT J. ASHBY AND ENDING WITH JOHN C. ZINGARELLI, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON NOVEMBER 15, 2021.

SPACE FORCE NOMINATION OF KEVIN G. AMSDEN, TO BE COLONEL.

SPACE FORCE NOMINATION OF TRAVIS RICHARD PRATER, TO BE COLONEL.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

RECOGNIZING THE BRANDON
BULLDOGS AS MHSAA 6A SOUTH
STATE CHAMPIONS

HON. MICHAEL GUEST

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. GUEST. Madam Speaker, I'd like to congratulate the Brandon Bulldogs and Coach Sam Williams on their MHSAA 6A South State Championship victory. Coach Williams led the talented team to an impressive 11–3 season with stunning wins over some of the best teams in the state. I commend Coach Williams for his success at the helm of the Bulldogs football team and wish him and his team continued success in the future.

I would also like to extend my congratulations to the young men who worked tirelessly for their successful season. Every early morning, every extra rep, and every sacrifice they made to better themselves and their team resulted in victory time and time again until they became one of the best high school football programs in Mississippi.

I would encourage those young men to reflect deeply on the investment they made to realize such a successful season. They will never forget the feeling of their great accomplishment; but in the future, as they reminisce on this season, I would challenge them to remember the qualities that made them one of the best teams in the entire state.

Those qualities of hard-work, commitment, and determination will continue to serve them well in the future as they transition from leaders on the field to leaders in their families, communities, state, and Nation.

Congratulations to the Brandon Bulldogs on their very successful season.

CONGRATULATING THE
SCHUYLERVILLE BLACK HORSES
ON AN IMPRESSIVE FOOTBALL
SEASON AND EARNING A STATE
CHAMPIONSHIP BERTH

HON. ELISE M. STEFANIK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Ms. STEFANIK. Madam Speaker, I rise today to congratulate the Schuylerville High School football team on their impressive season and hard-fought championship game.

The Schuylerville Black Horses, led by head coach John Bowen, handily won the state semifinal game 52–14, defeating Dobbs Ferry. The Black Horses had a season high rushing total in the state semifinal. The undefeated Black Horses carried this momentum with them into the championship game but came up just short of clenching their first state championship title.

The Black Horses played hard throughout the entire game and put up a valiant effort in

the Syracuse Carrier Dome. This loss ended the Schuylerville Black Horse's impressive winning streak, but they displayed a physical and mental toughness beyond their years this season.

On behalf of New York's 21st Congressional District, I would like to congratulate the Schuylerville Black Horses on their tremendous 2021 football season, culminating in a formidable effort at the state championship. We are very proud of their hard work and dedication throughout this season.

HONORING THE LIFE OF JOSEPH
ALLEN BREAUX, JR.

HON. BRIAN BABIN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. BABIN. Madam Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to the life and legacy of Lumberton Police Department Officer, Lieutenant Joseph Allen "Joey" Breaux, Jr. Lieutenant Breaux passed away on Saturday, December 11, 2021, after a long journey with cancer.

The oldest of three children, Lieutenant Breaux was born to parents Joseph and Helen Breaux on August 8, 1968, in Silsbee, Texas. Like his brother, Steven, and sister, Julie, Lieutenant Breaux was a graduate of Lumberton High School. He was a kicker for their high school football team and held a record for his 51-yard field goal for many years.

Lieutenant Breaux began his law enforcement career in 1989 as a dispatcher in Silsbee, Texas. In 1990, he graduated from the Lamar University Regional Police Academy. Two years later, Lieutenant Breaux joined the Lumberton Police Department where, unknowingly at the time, he would serve the surrounding community with love and tireless devotion for the next 29 years as a patrolman, investigator, and criminal justice teacher. As a beloved member of the law enforcement community, he will be remembered for his friendship and mentorship to fellow officers, his kindness and compassion to those he encountered while on patrol, and his outstanding moral character.

Lieutenant Breaux met his wonderful wife, Molly, in 1988. Love flourished, and the couple were married in 1990. He and Molly share two daughters together, Harley and Kaylee. Over the years, he never missed an opportunity to cherish and spoil them.

Madam Speaker, it is my honor to acknowledge the life of Lieutenant Joseph Allen "Joey" Breaux, Jr. and his 32 years of law enforcement service. My heartfelt prayers remain with his family and friends during this difficult time.

HONORING ANTHONY WAYNE
HALBY

HON. DOUG LAMALFA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. LAMALFA. Madam Speaker, today I would like to recognize the life and service of my friend, Anthony Wayne Halby.

Anthony was a 40-year resident in Nevada County, a devout family-man with a heart of gold. His hard work and devotion to our community will be felt for generations. He will be missed by all of us.

In 1971, Anthony graduated from Woodbury Business College in Los Angeles; married Charlene his wife of 40-years and started his business, The Halby Group. During his career Anthony built a very successful business where he was known as an, 'excellent salesman with integrity.' His work ethic was to always help people and ensure that they received the very best value.

One of Anthony's many contributions to our area was his service to our first responders through his work on the Nevada County Law Enforcement and Fire Protection Council. Since the organizations beginning in 1999, they have raised and donated more than \$1 million worth of equipment, support, and training for local first responders. They also hold the Nevada County Red Light Ball celebrating the hard work and dedication of our first responders. Anthony was a massive part in organizing and ensuring this celebration occurred. Every year, we can look forward to the Red Light Ball and the recognition of our First Responders. I have many fond memories attending this event and seeing the outpouring of community support for our first responders.

Anthony was someone you could count on and turn to. In my many trips to Nevada County, I will always have fond memories of stopping by to see him and catching up on world events, or just to have a few minutes with a friend.

The only thing we never agreed about was baseball and muscle cars as he was a devoted Dodgers fan and a Corvette guy, as I drive Mustangs and root for the Giants, our rivalry was among friends.

Anthony enjoyed spending his weekends driving his Corvette around Northern California and was an active member of his local Corvette club.

Anthony was a patriot who loved our Country and a wonderful friend and will be greatly missed by all. Upon his passing, he leaves to cherish his memory and celebrate his legacy his wife Charlene, their five children: Gabriella, Matthew, Mark, Michael, and Joseph; eight grandchildren; and numerous other family members and friends. Today, I stand beside Charlene and their family in this time of sorrow and profound personal loss. May God bless my friend. He is not forgotten.

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

HONORING MR. SOHUM PAWAR

HON. ELISSA SLOTKIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Ms. SLOTKIN. Madam Speaker, I rise today to honor an essential member of our team that worked to evacuate vulnerable Afghans during the fall of Kabul, Mr. Sohum Pawar.

Originally from East Hanover, New Jersey, for many years, Mr. Pawar has worn many hats—scientist, engineer, and policy researcher. Since graduating with honors from little-known schools such as Harvard University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology, he's worked on cybersecurity, climate, and energy policy at the White House, assisted negotiators at the U.S. Department of State working on UN climate talks, and written speeches for the administrator of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency.

Beyond public service, he's also worked as a cyber threat intelligence analyst, assessed clean energy startups for a climate-focused venture capital fund, and developed policy and strategy for an advanced nuclear reactor startup. He also has experience in journalism, conducting research for David Sanger, the prominent national journalist for the New York Times and his bestselling book chronicling the rise of cyber warfare.

The knowledge and experience Mr. Pawar acquired in all of these ventures were heavily relied upon when he joined our cobbled-together effort working to evacuate vulnerable Afghans from Kabul. For several sleepless nights, he was part of our tiger team—responsible for gathering the required information for the group of Afghans, verifying the authenticity of documents, and supporting evacuees with letters of support of our own.

Our mission depended on a broad cross-section of skills and traits, from perseverance to grit. Very few people could have handled the flood of information that our office received during those frantic days, and even fewer as quickly and efficiently as Sohum did. We needed Pawar power to succeed, and it is thanks to him that we did.

Madam Speaker, I rise to honor Mr. Sohum Pawar for his willingness to go above and beyond the call of duty in our effort to evacuate Afghan allies from Kabul. For his meticulous record keeping, for his flexibility and perseverance, and for his dogged pursuit of any lead that would benefit the mission, I submit these words—may they stand as a tribute to his dedicated service when the moment called for it most.

RECOGNIZING THE MADISON CENTRAL JAGUARS AS MHSAA 6A STATE CHAMPIONS

HON. MICHAEL GUEST

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. GUEST. Madam Speaker, I'd like to congratulate the Madison Central Jaguars and Coach Toby Collums on their MHSAA 6A State Championship victory. In his first year, Coach Collums led the Jaguars to a 13–1 season and finished the season with a victory at

the state championship. I commend Coach Collums for his explosive start at the helm of the Jaguars football team and wish him and his team continued success in the future.

I would also like to extend my congratulations to the young men who worked tirelessly for the championship trophy. Every early morning, every extra rep, and every sacrifice they made to better themselves and their team has resulted in the top prize.

In the coming days, as the thrill of victory begins to fade, I would encourage those young men to reflect deeply on the investment they made to realize this championship. They will never forget the feeling of their great accomplishment; but in the future, as they reminisce on this victory, I would challenge them to remember the qualities that made them champions.

Those qualities of hard-work, commitment, and determination will continue to serve them well in the future as they transition from leaders on the field to leaders in their families, communities, state, and Nation.

Congratulations to the Madison Central Jaguars. They earned this victory.

RECOGNIZING KERRY BLACK ON THE OCCASION OF HER RETIREMENT

HON. CARLOS A. GIMENEZ

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. GIMENEZ. Madam Speaker, I rise today in recognition of Kerry Black of the South Dade Chamber of Commerce on the occasion of her retirement. Mrs. Black's career has touched the lives of many individuals in South Florida and throughout the world. She specializes in improving organizational culture and establishing healthy, thriving companies.

In August of 1991, Mrs. Black and her husband, Russell Black, founded Latin Impact Ministries in order to develop a network of national church leaders. Latin Impact Ministries has reached over tens of thousands of Latinos and has developed hundreds of individuals and teams focusing on serving their communities. Today, Latin Impact Ministries has extended outreach to build schools, provide members of the community with access to a higher education, and promotes the collaboration of strong leaders in the city to improve local and regional unity.

Not only did Mrs. Black serve the underprivileged, she empowered the South Dade entrepreneurial community by serving as the CEO of the South Dade Chamber of Commerce from October 2017 to May 2021. The South Dade Chamber of Commerce is the second oldest standing chamber in Miami Dade County and is a critical resource for many of the community's entrepreneurs. Under her leadership, she reinvigorated the chamber by creating a new mission statement and following through on that promise. Because of her leadership, the chamber experienced one of their best renewal seasons, leading to a restored reputation throughout the community. She increased community visibility by participating in weekly podcasts hosted by Miami Community News. Throughout the pandemic, Mrs. Black ensured business leaders were still connected to the chamber and provided them with resources and guidance.

It is an honor to join the South Florida community in celebrating Kerry Black's retirement. As she celebrates an extensive career of service, I am grateful for all the work she has done to serve the needs of South Florida businesses, entrepreneurs, and members of our community.

HONORING MATTHEW NICHOLAS SUTHERLAND

HON. SAM GRAVES

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. GRAVES of Missouri. Madam Speaker, I proudly pause to recognize Matthew Nicholas Sutherland. Matthew is a very special young man who has exemplified the finest qualities of citizenship and leadership by taking an active part in the Boy Scouts of America, Troop 376, and earning the most prestigious award of Eagle Scout.

Matthew has been very active with his troop, participating in many scout activities. Over the many years Matthew has been involved with scouting, he has not only earned 39 merit badges, but also the respect of his family, peers, and community. Most notably, Matthew has earned his Bronze Palm and Gold Palm Awards, served in the Tribe of Mic-O-Say, and has camped a total of 82 nights. Matthew has also contributed to his community through his Eagle Scout project. Matthew created an exhibit for the Clay County Historical Museum which took 144 hours of service to complete.

Madam Speaker, I proudly ask you to join me in commending Matthew Nicholas Sutherland for his accomplishments with the Boy Scouts of America and for his efforts put forth in achieving the highest distinction of Eagle Scout.

HONORING THE LIFE AND LEGACY OF ELDER LOVELL JEROME JENKINS

HON. TERRI A. SEWELL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Ms. SEWELL. Madam Speaker, I rise today to recognize the life and legacy of my cousin, Elder Lovell Jerome Jenkins, an eminent pastor and educator who passed away on December 1, 2021, at 66 years old.

Elder Lovell Jenkins was born first of four children on December 23, 1954, in Hope Hull, Alabama; to Dorothy Gardner Jenkins and the late Reverend Leroy Jenkins. After graduating with honors from Calhoun High School in 1971, Lovell received his Bachelor of Science in Mathematics from Alabama State University.

Accepting Christ into his life at a young age under the pastorate of his grandfather, the late Elder Tom Gardner, Jr., Lovell was a faithful member of Beulah Primitive Baptist Church in Hope Hull, Alabama. At Beulah, Lovell sang in the adult and male choruses until he received the divine call of God to preach the gospel.

Lovell began his career in education serving as a math teacher and coach at Jefferson

Davis High School in Montgomery, Alabama. During his 36 years of service at Jefferson Davis High School, Lovell taught multiple courses, including business, math, geometry, algebra, and calculus. While at Jefferson Davis High School, he also served as the Assistant Basketball Coach.

In addition to his career as an educator, Lovell was also the beloved pastor of the Canaan Hill Primitive Baptist Church in Lowndes County, Alabama, where he served for twenty years. He accepted the Call of ministry in 2000, and after being installed as pastor of Canaan Hill Primitive Baptist Church in 2001, Lovell dedicated his life to teaching the word of God. As pastor of Canaan Hill Primitive Baptist Church, Lovell worked to develop the church by forming various departments and working with organizations throughout the Montgomery community, including the formation of a mission and matron department, the young adult choir, and a partnership with the Montgomery Biscuits for a family and friends day fundraiser. Also, under his leadership, Deacon Emory McGhee Sr. and Deacon Bobby Bennett were ordained, the Board of Trustees was established, restrooms were made handicap accessible, a new air conditioning unit was purchased, along with the purchase and renovation of the property behind the church itself.

Elder Lovell Jenkins was preceded in death by his son Lovell Jermaine Jenkins, his father Reverend Leroy Jenkins, and his brother Jeffery Lydell Jenkins.

He is survived by his devoted and loving wife Marcia Royal Jenkins, mother Dorothy (Eddie) Sanders; three sons Cortez (Nicole) Jenkins, Jawuan (Queen) Jenkins, and Llewellyn (Tarrant) Royal; three daughters De' Andra (Derrick) Bolling, Tamika Wray Dixon, Ann Marie Upthegrove; two sisters, Vanessa (Mark) Pettway and Felicia (James) Kelley; three sisters-in-law Norma Lyons, Nair Gibbons, Doreen (Michael) Layne, one brother-in-law Alston Royal; thirteen grandchildren Cameron, Caden, Jaxen, and Jaden Jenkins, Deja (Jarred) Turner, Vallet Upthegrove, Beau Harvest, Asa Bolling, Llewellyn Royal, Jr., Juirien Royal and Akira Williams, Maliyah and Makari Dixon; six great-grandchildren Jarred, Jr., Joan, Jade, Jayla, Janya and Carter; four god-children, Consuelo (Kenneth) Bell, Kelvin Thomas, Jr., Delshaun and Faith Gatson; four aunts Negatha Holt, Gloria (Frank) Humphrey, Theresa (Charlie) Douglass, and Delphia Jenkins; four uncles, Elder Tom (Estella) Gardner, Reverend Mack (Ruby) Jenkins and Willis Jenkins, and John (Barbara) Gardner; six nieces Markia and Gabrielle Pettway, Karen Banks, Hazel Samuel, Sherilyn (Howard) Houston and Alexandria Johnson, devoted friends, Elder Dwight and Cheryl Johnson, and a host of cousins, friends and students.

On a personal note, Lovell was my amazingly thoughtful and loving first cousin who radiated goodness and kindness to all he met and to those he loved. A man of tremendous faith whose guidance and tutelage of his students, parishioners and family members was an inspiration to all. Lovell loved his family and showed it in his smile, his laughter, and his generous heart. He was tender with his loving wife Marcia, gentle in the care of his beloved mother Dorothy, supportive to his devoted siblings, and instructive to his dear children. May we find comfort in knowing that Lovell's legacy will live on in the many lives that he impacted. Rest in power, my sweet cousin.

On behalf of Alabama's 7th Congressional District, I ask my colleagues to join me in recognizing the life and legacy of my cousin, Elder Lovell Jerome Jenkins and his exemplary contributions in education and ministry to the Montgomery community.

HONORING UNDERSHERIFF
MICHAEL G. McCABE

HON. ELISSA SLOTKIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Ms. SLOTKIN. Madam Speaker, I rise today to honor Undersheriff Michael McCabe as he retires from the Oakland County Sheriff's Office after 44 years of service.

Born and raised in Bloomfield Township, Mike's lifelong dream was to become a police officer. When he was a young child, he had been riding in the car with his mother and brother when they were involved in a traffic accident. Although thankfully no one was seriously injured, Undersheriff McCabe still remembers the Bloomfield Township police officer that came to take a statement in the hospital.

That seminal memory stuck with him as he attended Brother Rice High School alongside future Sheriff Mike Bouchard, and later, when he graduated from Michigan State University in 1977. Just four months after earning his degree, Undersheriff McCabe joined the Oakland County Sheriff's Office—earning one of six spots out of 800 applicants. The rest, as they say, is history.

Over a career spanning more than four decades, he's risen through the ranks, working in every division along the way—from patrol deputy to detective to substation commander to chief of staff to now undersheriff and chief deputy, the position he's held for nearly 18 years. As the senior official responsible for day-to-day operations, his latest duties have included managing more than 1,400 employees and overseeing the \$165 million annual budget.

Undersheriff McCabe's commitment to his fellow officers is the stuff of legend. In 1982, while responding to an armed robbery, his partner was critically wounded with gunshots to the chest and left shoulder. Without a moment's hesitation, Undersheriff McCabe threw his fellow officer into the passenger's seat of their patrol car and drove him to Crittenton Hospital—undoubtedly saving his partner's life. Last year, when a routine doctor's visit discovered an issue that required him to go in for emergency surgery, he was reportedly answering emails and returning phone calls from his room in the hospital.

However, it is his actions in the last few weeks of his service that will serve as a lasting testament to Undersheriff McCabe's heroism. On November 30, 2021, when a 15-year-old student at Oxford High School opened fire on his classmates, Undersheriff McCabe was one of the first responders to arrive and he was on-site and in command as the senior officer in charge of the law enforcement mobilization. He and his fellow officers answered the call—more than 100 in total that were frantically placed to 911—and without waiting to set up a perimeter or assess the danger, they ran into the high school and ap-

prehended the shooter before more lives were lost. As he had done before in his career, Undersheriff's McCabe's quick thinking saved lives. There is 110 question that there are teachers and students who are still here because of what he did and that his seasoned, experienced leadership helped mitigate and manage an unimaginable situation. For that, our community will forever be in his debt.

Madam Speaker, even before the tragedy at Oxford High School, Undersheriff McCabe deserved recognition from this chamber for his decades of service. That the coda to his career is a moment in the national spotlight, as the face of a grieving community, only deepens it.

Simply put, Undersheriff McCabe is the best of what Oxford, Michigan and Oakland County represents. There is nothing in the world that I wouldn't give for his recognition to be under different circumstances, and yet, it is a small comfort to know that, in this moment of incredible pain as we seek to pick up the pieces, he has been there as a steady hand and a guiding force for his fellow neighbors.

I rise today in profound thanks to Undersheriff Michael McCabe for 44 years of service, and in honor of his actions throughout his career, and especially his final acts on the force. I ask that my colleagues join me in wishing him and his wife, Rebecca, a well-deserved retirement.

IN RECOGNITION OF THE CAREER
OF DR. JAMES HUNT

HON. JAMES P. MCGOVERN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Speaker, I rise today to honor Dr. James W. Hunt, Jr., a leader in community health and health care reform who has spent his 41-year career advocating for underserved communities and fighting for equitable and affordable healthcare for the people of Massachusetts.

As president and CEO of the Massachusetts League of Community Health Centers, Dr. Hunt helped build a network of over 50 community health centers across the state. Born out of the civil rights movement, community health centers have been instrumental in health care reform, and have served over 1 million underserved patients in Massachusetts.

During his career, Dr. Hunt has worked hard to expand access to medical care for low-income Massachusetts residents. He has helped secure hundreds of millions of dollars in federal funds to build up the state's primary care network and to support the growing health care workforce of the Commonwealth.

Madam Speaker, Dr. Hunt's commitment to reforming our broken health care system cannot be understated and is exemplified by his tireless efforts to expand quality medical care for those who often have the hardest time accessing it. Under his leadership, health centers have administered about 650,000 doses of the vaccines that protect against COVID-19 to residents of Massachusetts—about 65 percent of whom are people of color.

Dr. Hunt began his tenure in public health as a volunteer at the Neponset Health Center in Dorchester, MA. Leaving behind a career as a civil engineer, he joined the Massachusetts

League of Community Health Centers in 1980 and soon after became a leading force in community health and state health reform. Dr. Hunt's advocacy has pushed health centers to the forefront of the fight for universal health care coverage in Massachusetts.

Dr. Hunt stepped down as president and CEO of the Massachusetts League of Community Health Centers in December of 2020 and held an emeritus position through June of 2021. While he has stepped down from his role at the organization, this was not the end of Dr. Hunt's work. Dr. Hunt is forward-thinking, human-oriented, and has been and will continue to be an integral part of transforming health care in Massachusetts to positively impact the lives of the state's most marginalized communities.

Madam Speaker, on behalf of the United States Congress and all the people in whose lives Dr. Hunt has made a positive difference, it is my great privilege and honor to thank and recognize Dr. James W. Hunt, Jr. for his tireless efforts to create a more just and equitable world.

CITY OF JENNINGS 75TH YEAR
ANNIVERSARY

HON. CORI BUSH

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Ms. BUSH. Madam Speaker, St. Louis and I rise to congratulate the city of Jennings on their 75th anniversary.

I am grateful to join in celebration of such a remarkable milestone. Like so many of my neighbors in Missouri's First District, the city of Jennings holds a deep and special place in my heart. In addition to its vibrant community and resilient spirit, Jennings is also home to some of my fondest memories and experiences.

Jennings is responsible for the production of so many St. Louis staples that we all know and love. I am deeply honored to represent a place with such a rich history and even more grateful for what this community has contributed to our greater St. Louis region. I know there is so much more to come, and I am eager to be in continued partnership with our Jennings community leaders as we do the most for everyone, starting with those who have the very least.

Congratulations again on 75 fruitful years. I have no doubt that the next 75 will be even greater.

RETIREMENT OF DIANE RANDALL,
GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE
FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON NA-
TIONAL LEGISLATION

HON. BARBARA LEE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Ms. LEE of California. Madam Speaker, I rise to express my appreciation for the powerful, persistent, and prophetic service of Diane Randall, who is stepping down from her role as General Secretary of the Friends Committee on National Legislation (FCNL) at the end of this year.

FCNL is the 78-year-old Quaker lobby working to end war and the threat of war, advance social justice, and protect the Earth. In addition to its team of advocates in Washington, FCNL has built a network of thousands of people in all 50 states who advocate for those same values day-in and day-out.

I have deeply valued working with Diane and her team as allies in my own work to end the forever wars, fight poverty and ensure a better life for all people at home and abroad. As a Quaker leader and a person of faith, Diane has brought a strong moral voice and the power of her Quaker community to policy discussions here in Washington. Her deep faith and belief in the inherent value of all people have allowed her to work across partisan and ideological lines to achieve major, positive change.

During her decade-long tenure, Diane vastly expanded FCNL's advocacy staff in Washington and energized Quaker activists across the country. She built enduring coalitions with many different faith communities, joining with the heads of Washington offices of faith-based organizations, the Circle of Protection, and the Washington Interfaith Staff Community.

In fact, I recall a dinner with faith leaders that Diane hosted a few years ago at FCNL's Quaker Welcome Center. We discussed the intersection of poverty and racism, and from that dinner-discussion emerged a powerful statement: a Unity Declaration on Racism and Poverty signed by more than 80 prominent Christian leaders.

I have seen first-hand how Diane has nurtured and challenged all of us to work toward her vision of the world we seek. FCNL's wonderful mission statement is something that I believe we should all champion:

We seek a world free of war and the threat of war.

We seek a society with equity and justice for all.

We seek a community where every person's potential may be fulfilled.

We seek an earth restored.

FCNL has been and continues to be a principled, effective and steadfast partner in advancing that mission. They have been an integral part of our efforts to repeal the 2001 and 2002 Authorizations for Use of Military Force. FCNL is one of the few organizations that has been with me since September 2001, supporting my lone vote against the war authorization, and continuing to campaign against the endless wars that resulted from one 60-word sentence that was enacted into law over our objections.

Under Diane's leadership starting in 2011, FCNL staff have been steadfast allies, advocating to support my legislation to repeal these war authorizations. Their professional lobbyists as well as their citizen advocates tirelessly visited Hill offices, telling their own personal stories as well as making a logical case for why endless wars and endless Pentagon spending make all of us less secure.

We work together on so many issues, from promoting racial justice at home to ending the drone wars to supporting the United Nations. Whether it is protecting the right to vote, protecting refugees and migrants, or protecting

vulnerable people in developing countries, FCNL has been right there alongside me.

Although FCNL is a Quaker-led organization, its network includes many people of other faiths and non-religious people who are drawn to their priorities and their vision for a better future. Diane has particularly strengthened FCNL's work on poverty and economic justice issues, focusing a huge amount of energy and lobbying power on passing legislation to expand and extend the Child Tax Credit and the Earned Income Tax Credit. This November, FCNL organized more than 600 people in 45 states plus the District of Columbia to lobby Congress in support of these priorities.

Diane is truly one who speaks truth to power, and I am deeply grateful for that. She leaves a legacy not only of moral leadership, but also a vision for a more peaceful and equitable future, and an organization that is energized and equipped to pursue it.

HONORING 40 YEARS OF SERVICE
TO MEDICINE BY DR. BOYDE J.
HARRISON

HON. ROBERT B. ADERHOLT

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. ADERHOLT. Madam Speaker, I would like pay tribute to Boyde J. "Jerry" Harrison, MD of Haleyville, Alabama on his 40 years of practice in medicine and service to Haleyville, Alabama, rural communities and the state of Alabama.

Born to B.J. and Geneva Harrison, Dr. Harrison grew up in Tallassee, Alabama, and graduated from Tallassee High School in 1970. He then went on to complete his undergraduate degree at Birmingham Southern College in Birmingham, Alabama before attending Tulane University where he participated in biochemical research. Upon his return to Alabama, Dr. Harrison attended the University of Alabama School of Medicine to obtain his Doctor of Medicine and thereafter opened his private practice in Haleyville in November of 1981.

However, Dr. Harrison's service does not end with his private practice of medicine. Over the years he has served as the chair of the board for three statewide medical associations including the Alabama Medical Directors Association, the Alabama Academy of Family Physicians, and the Medical Association of the State of Alabama. He has also served as chairman of the Alabama State Board of Medical Scholarships and the Alabama State Board of Medical Examiners. Among other honors he has served as Censor for the Medical Association of the State of Alabama, represented the board on the Medicaid Transition Task Force, and served on the Opioid Task force for two governors.

In addition to his dedicated service through our medical organizations, Dr. Harrison also led the state of Alabama in treatment during at the dawn of the opioid crisis. As a long-time advocate for office-based treatment against opioid dependency, Dr. Harrison became one

of the first Alabama physicians to become certified to start an office-based opioid treatment center. In 2008 he helped develop an approved prescribing course sponsored by the Alabama Board of Medical Examiners. Since that time, he has presented the course to over 15,000 Alabama prescribers and was awarded the Administrators in Medicine National Award for Excellence for the course in 2015.

Along with his accomplishments in the medical field, Dr. Harrison in an instrument-rated pilot, a certified scuba diver, photographer, and has served his church as a talented pianist for over 25 years.

Dr. Boyde J. Harrison is a prime example of the steadfast, hardworking people that I am proud to represent in Alabama's Fourth Congressional District, I ask that you join me in congratulating him on completing 40 years of dedication and service not only to my hometown of Haleyville, but to Northwest Alabama and the great State of Alabama.

HONORING DR. KEITH WEAVER

HON. ERIC A. "RICK" CRAWFORD

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. CRAWFORD. Madam Speaker, I rise today to recognize Dr. Keith Weaver ahead of his retirement this month.

Dr. Weaver's 37 years of dedicated service to the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service and to the conservation and management of the National Wildlife Refuge System played a critical role in protecting important natural resources in Arkansas and throughout the nation. Wildlife refuges are an essential piece to both the economy and culture of the Natural State, and we owe many thanks to Dr. Weaver for his leadership in conservation.

His career officially began at Tensas River National Wildlife Refuge in northeast Louisiana as a forestry technician. There he oversaw logging contracts, participated in reforestation activities, dealt with nuisance beaver control, and later became the refuge's first Wildlife Biologist where he conducted important research on the area's black bears. He served outside of the Southeast in refuge leadership positions at Blackwater National Wildlife Refuge in Maryland's Eastern Shore and Nulhegan Basin Division of the Silvio O. Conte National Fish and Wildlife Refuge in northeastern Vermont. Dr. Weaver took his current position as the project leader at the Central Arkansas National Wildlife Refuge Complex in 2007. He is responsible for managing six refuges at Bald Knob, Big Lake, Cache River, Holla Bend, Logan Cave, and Wapanocca, Arkansas—five of which are primarily managed for wintering waterfowl.

Throughout his career, he invested in future conservation leaders and earned a reputation of the highest character, integrity, and honesty. He engaged with national, regional, and local stakeholders and was a dependable resource for my staff and I, always ready to help serve Arkansans.

Dr. Weaver's dedication and leadership has not gone unnoticed, and in September 2021, he was awarded the Department of the Interior's Distinguished Service Award, the highest honorary recognition an employee can receive within DOI. This award is reserved for out-

standing individuals who make significant contributions to science or to the public service.

Both the state of Arkansas and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service are losing an exceptional public servant. I thank Dr. Weaver for his decades of commitment to keeping the Natural State a vibrant, safe, and beautiful place to call home.

RECOGNIZING 30 YEARS OF KAZAKHSTAN'S INDEPENDENCE

HON. DINA TITUS

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Ms. TITUS. Madam Speaker, I am pleased today to recognize the 30th anniversary of the Independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan achieved its independence from the former Soviet Union and became a self-governing nation-state on December 16, 1991. Guided by its first President Nursultan Nazarbayev, Kazakhstan quickly renounced nuclear weapons, and worked with the United States to close the former Soviet nuclear test facility at Semipalatinsk and secure the nuclear materials stored there. These bold gestures by President Nazarbayev and his government at a time of significant instability in the region set a precedent on nuclear safety and nonproliferation efforts for Kazakhstan in the international community.

After independence, Kazakhstan quickly turned away from Soviet-inspired central economic planning and built a stable market economy. As early as 1992, Kazakhstan joined international arbitration bodies and actively invited foreign investment in the country. Today Kazakhstan's economic output is one of the most robust in Central Asia, and American companies are some of the largest investors in Kazakhstan. In 2015, after twenty years of negotiations, Kazakhstan acceded to membership in the World Trade Organization (WTO), further broadening its relationship with the global economic community.

In 2019, the Kazakh people elected President Kassym-Jomart Tokayev who has pledged more important economic and political reforms. He has called his vision of government, "the listening state," and has promised to hear and respond to Kazakh citizens, to act consistently with international social, labor, and human rights standards, and to encourage participation in the political life of the country. I applaud these calls for reforms and hope that the government of Kazakhstan will implement them which will ultimately benefit the country and cement its place as a reliable friend of the United States.

One of the requirements of the WTO is that members extend permanent normal trade relations to each other. Unfortunately, the U.S. has yet to grant permanent normal trade relations to Kazakhstan, citing the Jackson-Vanik amendment to the Trade Act of 1974 which restricts trade relations with non-market economies that limit the right of citizens to emigrate. This measure was aimed at the Soviet Union and its then-allies in response to their punitive restrictions on Jewish émigrés. Joined by my friends, Ms. WALORSKI, Ms. MURPHY, and Mr. CHABOT, I introduced H.R. 5544 in October to grant permanent normal trade relations to Kazakhstan. It is long past

time for the U.S. to take this step. The Soviet Union no longer exists, and its successor, the Russian Federation, was granted permanent normal trade relations in 2012. Meanwhile, since independence, Kazakhstan has granted all of its citizens the freedom to emigrate and adopted a stable market economy. The conditions that led to enactment of Jackson-Vanik no longer exist, and the reasons for its restrictions on trade relations have long since ceased to apply to Kazakhstan. Permanent normal trade relations will benefit Kazakhstan and will also benefit the many U.S. companies investing in and doing business in Kazakhstan.

Kazakhstan also has been a crucial leader and partner to the U.S. on counterterrorism efforts, providing support and assistance to the U.S. during its engagement in Afghanistan. The country has an abundance of natural resources, including rare earth and other critical minerals that will play a significant role in the global shift away from fossil fuels. Kazakhstan has a young and educated workforce and actively promotes universal education, including English language skills, so its citizens can fully participate in the global economy. For these reasons, I believe Kazakhstan deserves our sustained interest, friendship, and attention as it continues to evolve.

Madam Speaker, I recently assumed the role of co-chair of the U.S.-Kazakhstan Caucus because I believe our relationship with Kazakhstan is very important to the economic and national security of the United States. We clearly benefit from our friendship with this vibrant and growing nation located in such a strategic part of the world. I invite all my House colleagues to consider joining the Caucus and supporting the granting of permanent normal trade relations to Kazakhstan.

Congratulations to the Kazakh people on 30 years of independence, progress, and growth.

RECOGNIZING THE JEFFERSON DAVIS COUNTY JAGUARS AS MHSAA 3A STATE CHAMPIONS

HON. MICHAEL GUEST

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. GUEST. Madam Speaker, I'd like to congratulate the Jefferson Davis County Jaguars and Coach Lance Mancuso on their MHSAA 3A State Championship victory. This is Coach Mancuso's ninth straight state championship, an unprecedented accomplishment. I commend Coach Mancuso for his record-setting success at the helm of the Jaguars football team and wish him and his team continued success in the future.

I would also like to extend my congratulations to the young men who worked tirelessly for the championship trophy. Every early morning, every extra rep, and every sacrifice they made to better themselves and their team has resulted in the top prize.

In the coming days, as the thrill of victory begins to fade, I would encourage those young men to reflect deeply on the investment they made to realize this championship. They will never forget the feeling of their great accomplishment; but in the future, as they reminisce on this victory, I would challenge them to remember the qualities that made them champions.

Those qualities of hard-work, commitment, and determination will continue to serve them well in the future as they transition from leaders on the field to leaders in their families, communities, state, and Nation.

Congratulations to the Jefferson Davis County Jaguars. They earned this victory.

COMMEMORATING JUDY
MCKIERNAN

HON. JENNIFER WEXTON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Ms. WEXTON. Madam Speaker, I rise today in remembrance of Judith Ann McKiernan, wife, mother, public servant, and community leader. Mrs. McKiernan passed away on November 30th.

Judy is survived by her husband of twenty-nine years, Michael and their two children, Hannah, and Adam. Lovingly known to Judy as, Team McKiernan.

A native of Shreveport, Louisiana, Judy grew up in Houston, Texas and made her way to Winchester in the late 1980s. Judy dedicated her life in Winchester to community service, as a social worker, public school counselor and administrator for over thirty years, and as a Member of Winchester City Council. She was currently serving as Director of Student Support Services for the Winchester Public Schools.

Judy was known for her spirited personality and fierce determination to advocate for those she loved. She enjoyed dancing, being out in nature, and welcoming all who came through her door. She loved serving her community and found great joy in supporting the development of making it a more equitable place to thrive and grow. Judy supported the many organizations whose missions aligned with her values, including Bright Futures, Winchester Area Thermal Shelter (WATTS) NAACP, and many others.

Judy McKiernan leaves behind a lasting legacy of dedicated public service and will be missed by family, her many friends and the community she served.

HONORING COMMISSIONER EMMIT
JIMMAR OF COLBERT COUNTY,
ALABAMA

HON. ROBERT B. ADERHOLT

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. ADERHOLT. Madam Speaker, I would like to recognize today the profound service and legacy of the late Emmit Jimmar of Colbert County, Alabama. Emmit Jimmar held the office of county commissioner for 28 years, serving as the first Black commissioner elected in Colbert County. We mourn his passing today and reflect on the influence his service brought to North Alabama.

Commissioner Jimmar was known by many as a bearer of wisdom. For nearly three decades he served as a mentor for so many, instilling in each of them the importance of passion in service and a love for the work they do.

He paved the way for others to follow, from being the first Black county commissioner to being the first Black teacher at Coffee High School in Florence, Alabama. Commissioner Jimmar also played a key role in fanning the Alabama Education Association by initially joining the preexisting white teacher's association. He would then spend 43 years with AEA advocating for educators and staff in the state.

Words used to describe Commissioner Jimmar have included "a pillar in the Shoals community," and "a mentor, advisor, supporter, and friend." I know that Commissioner Jimmar was all of such and more. The legacy of his avowed service in Alabama will thrive as the communities he has touched continue to grow and benefit from his work.

Commissioner Jimmar leaves to cherish his memory his wife of 59 years, Mrs. Elsa Jimmar, and his two children Kevin and La'Kiska Jimmar; special daughter-in-law Pammie Jimmar; grandsons KC Jimmar and Dallas Jimmar; sisters Martha (Puddin) Stewart and Carrie Jimmar; and brother, Reginald (Tiffany) Hughes and stepsister Debbie Winston. Devoted nephews and nieces, Renita (LaBron) Jimmar-Hall; Myron (Sherry) Hughes; Kimberly Stewart; Kharis Hughes; Nephew Carlton (Verda) Ross; brother-in-law Don Wells (Carol); sisters-in-law Annie Wells and Aurelia Wells, and a host of nieces, nephews, other relatives and friends.

I ask that you join me in honoring Emmit Jimmar and help commemorate his lifetime of service as an inspiration for others as they follow in his footsteps on the lasting path he paved.

RECOGNITION OF THE AWARD OF
THE GREENFIELD RECORDER'S
2021 CITIZEN OF THE YEAR TO
CAROLYN SHORES NESS

HON. JAMES P. MCGOVERN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Speaker, I rise today to honor Carolyn Shores Ness, the Greenfield Recorder's 2021 Citizen of the Year. Carolyn is a proud resident of the Second District of Massachusetts and has served her community of Deerfield, and beyond, for many years.

In her 18 years as a member of the Deerfield Selectboard, Carolyn has served on various committees through which she has made a great impact. She has worked to secure grant funding for Deerfield and to support the programs that most benefit the town. Since 2014, she has been leading the charge to revitalize downtown Deerfield and transform it into a booming destination. Carolyn wants to make her town a safe and walkable place where businesses can thrive.

Her aspirations are clear—Carolyn Shores Ness wants to create community. And Madam Speaker, Carolyn is unique in that she does the work to realize her vision.

In addition to her tenure on the Selectboard, Carolyn has served as the Chair of the Deerfield Board of Health and the Co-Chair of the Mohawk Area Public Health Coalition. Through her actions and advocacy, Carolyn has worked to keep the people in our community healthy and safe, especially as we continue to navigate the COVID-19 pandemic.

She has been a member of many councils and commissions, including the Western Massachusetts Homeland Security Council, the Regional Emergency Planning Council, and the Deerfield Green Infrastructure Committee. Carolyn has been a staunch advocate for sustainable and efficient improvements to local infrastructure. Her advocacy exemplifies her unwavering commitment to both service and community.

Madam Speaker, Carolyn has consistently worked to improve our community and bring people together. She is respectful and engaged and values hearing different points of view in order to best advocate for what our community truly needs. She has an incredible gift for collaborating with others to produce creative and effective solutions. Carolyn embodies what it means to be a public servant and Massachusetts is all the better for it.

Madam Speaker, on behalf of the United States Congress and the people of Massachusetts, I would like to thank Carolyn Shores Ness for her longstanding service and congratulate her on being named the Greenfield Recorder's 2021 Citizen of the Year.

HONORING BRODIE MICHAEL
FOSTER

HON. SAM GRAVES

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. GRAVES of Missouri. Madam Speaker, I proudly pause to recognize Brodie Michael Foster. Brodie is a very special young man who has exemplified the finest qualities of citizenship and leadership by taking an active part in the Boy Scouts of America, Troop 376, and earning the most prestigious award of Eagle Scout.

Brodie has been very active with his troop, participating in many scout activities. Over the many years Brodie has been involved with scouting, he has not only earned 27 merit badges, but also the respect of his family, peers, and community. Most notably, Brodie has completed Boy Scouts of America's National Youth Leadership Training, served in the Tribe of Mic-O-Say, and has camped a total of 59 nights. Brodie has also contributed to his community through his Eagle Scout project. Brodie checked Darns for Erosion Control at the City of Glenaire City Park which took 87.5 hours of service to complete.

Madam Speaker, I proudly ask you to join me in commending Brodie Michael Foster for his accomplishments with the Boy Scouts of America and for his efforts put forth in achieving the highest distinction of Eagle Scout.

HONORING DENNIS R. GROFF

HON. LLOYD SMUCKER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. SMUCKER. Madam Speaker, I rise today to honor Dennis R. Groff who is retiring after more than thirty years of service to Paradise Township, located in Lancaster County in Pennsylvania's Eleventh District. A lifelong resident of Paradise, Dennis has dedicated

much of his life to serving his community, holding a number of leadership roles over the years. Just to name a few, he has served as Paradise's Emergency Management Coordinator, Roadmaster, and Vice Chairman of the Board of Supervisors, all the while volunteering at a fire company in the community. He gives his phone number to anyone within Paradise who may need it, making sure that every resident of the township is looked after. Dennis represents the best of our country: people who are willing to give so much to their communities so that they can be better places to live, work, and raise a family.

I extend my sincere thanks to Dennis for his service and wish him an enjoyable retirement.

IN HONOR OF JEFF AZZOPARDI

HON. JACKIE SPEIER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Ms. SPEIER. Madam Speaker, I rise to honor South San Francisco Police Chief Jeff Azzopardi on the occasion of his retirement. After almost 30 years of service with the department, Chief Azzopardi has decided that it is time for a new chapter in his life that will allow him to spend more time with his family. That desire particularly resonates with me this year because I announced my own retirement from a job I love to spend more time with my family.

I had the great honor to work with Chief Azzopardi since he was appointed in 2014. One of the more memorable occasions was a press conference in 2017 in which we announced the first-ever conviction for human trafficking in San Mateo County. That success reflected the outstanding collaboration of law enforcement, elected officials, and nonprofit organizations on the local, state, and federal level. Chief Azzopardi played an essential role in that collaboration.

Jeff Azzopardi was hired as a police recruit for the South San Francisco Police Department and sworn in as an officer in 1993. From there he rose through the ranks of K-9 officer, S.W.A.T. officer, school community liaison officer, police corporal, criminal investigations bureau officer, police sergeant, community relations sergeant, police lieutenant, criminal investigations bureau commander, and police captain. After the retirement of former Chief Mike Massoni in 2014, the department conducted a nationwide search and selected Jeff Azzopardi as its new chief in September of that year. No matter the role, Jeff is dedicated to the safety and well-being of our community. He leads by example and always strives for excellence.

During his time with the department, he successfully completed the Inner Perspectives Leadership Program, LAPD Leadership Program, and POST Executive Development course. He holds a number of certifications from the California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training. He also is the former president of the San Mateo County Commanders Group, the president of the San Mateo County Police Chiefs and Sheriffs Association, and the Chief of the North Central Regional S.W.A.T. Team and Commissioner for the South San Francisco Commission on Racial and Social Equity. Chief Azzopardi un-

derstands the importance of community relations and has been a leader on several community oriented policing projects. He tirelessly emphasized the importance of building bridges between his department and our community.

His outstanding service did not go unnoticed. He received numerous awards and honors, including a certificate of commendation from the police department for his work as a sexual assault investigator, a certificate of commendation from the San Mateo County Board of Supervisors, a lifetime achievement award from the South San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, the Carl Valero Lifetime Achievement Award from Pacifica American Little League, and Police Officer of the Year from the San Mateo County Trial Lawyers Association.

Born in San Francisco, Jeff attended Terra Nova High School in Pacifica and then received his Bachelor's Degree in Public Administration from Chico State University and his Master's Degree in Public Administration from Notre Dame de Namur University.

As South San Francisco's Top Cop is leaving his post, he is looking forward to spending more time with his wife of 21 years, Nikole, and their sons Nat and Drew.

Madam Speaker, I ask my colleagues in the House of Representatives to rise with me to thank Chief Azzopardi for keeping South San Francisco one of the safest and most innovative cities in the Bay Area. His exemplary leadership has earned him the respect and adoration of his colleagues and South City residents. His contributions over the last three decades will outlast his service.

RECOGNIZING THE SERVICE OF
DR. JAMES L. LEE

HON. RALPH NORMAN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. NORMAN. Madam Speaker, I rise today to recognize the outstanding service of Dr. James L. Lee of Conway, South Carolina.

In June of 1922, Dr. Lee was appointed to a small country church of only a few people. Under his strong leadership, Catoe Chapel Church of God in Christ has grown to be one of the largest churches in Kershaw County, with over two hundred active members. Throughout the community, Dr. Lee is known as a dynamic preacher and prolific teacher of God's word, and he lives exactly by what he preaches.

Although he lived in Conway, Dr. Lee abided by his faith and took the helm of leading this small ministry, believing God would use him to take the church to insurmountable heights. God did exactly that and more. Dr. Lee even inspired church members to build a beautiful new edifice, seated off Highway 341.

Dr. Lee's guidance and wisdom has aided and encouraged countless families through difficult times. He has helped families find housing assistance, student scholarships, and numerous community enrichment and outreach programs. Despite dealing with his own health challenges, Dr. Lee has remained committed to his ministry and the church. His life as a servant of the Lord is so deeply evident in how he cares for those around him.

On behalf of the 5th District of South Carolina, I thank Dr. James L. Lee for his thirty

years of faithful service. He is a true example of a servant leader and has been a tremendous resource to our community. May God continue to bless Dr. Lee and his family.

COMMEMORATING DR. TERRY
SINCLAIR

HON. JENNIFER WEXTON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Ms. WEXTON. Madam Speaker, I rise today in remembrance of Dr. Terry Sinclair of Winchester, one of the most respected physicians in Virginia's 10th Congressional District. Dr. Sinclair passed away on November 26th.

Dr. Sinclair is survived by his loving wife of 55 years, Diane, two daughters, one son, and eight grandchildren. Diane tells us, "he loved his family passionately, we laughed, we had fabulous experiences. We were blessed." In any setting, whether as a physician, administrator, musician, or community leader, he was known for his compassionate and caring nature.

As a graduate of Johns Hopkins University and the University of Michigan Medical School, he then completed his surgical residency at the University of Missouri. He then went on to serve his country for two years with the U.S. Navy during the Vietnam War.

Moving to Winchester in 1974, he first practiced vascular and general surgery. However, his service in the Navy during Vietnam provided him with a significant amount of experience in trauma-related surgery, and he began to develop an expertise in the field. During that same time period, he joined the staff at Winchester Medical Center and eventually became vice president of medical affairs for the hospital's corporate parent, Valley Health. By 1976, he was at the forefront of bringing Emergency Medical Services to the area, serving as President of the Lord Fairfax EMS Council for twenty years, and as a member of the governor's EMS Advisory Board and Virginia Federation of EMS Councils.

Since the 1970s saw the creation and development of some of the original free health clinics, it meant that those who were unemployed, uninsured, or couldn't afford medical help could receive treatment. On October 23rd, 1986, Dr. Sinclair spearheaded the opening of the Free Medical Clinic, now known as the Sinclair Health Clinic. Today, the Sinclair Health Clinic is the second-oldest free medical clinic in Virginia.

The current director of the clinic notes that, "His legacy is woven into the memories of everyone he's touched in the clinic—all of the people who work here, the volunteers that make things happen and the thousands of patients who have passed through our doors."

As his loving wife Diane said to him gently in his final moments, "it was OK to go. Well done now, good, and faithful servant. You can rest."

Dr. Sinclair will be missed by the many lives he touched.

IN RECOGNITION OF MICHELLE
MARTINEZ

HON. RASHIDA TLAIB

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Ms. TLAIB. Madam Speaker, I rise today to recognize Michelle Martinez, Detroit resident and environmental justice warrior from Michigan's 13th District Strong as she departs as executive director from the Michigan Environmental Justice Coalition.

For many years, Michelle has been a pillar of our community, advocating for clean air and water, and fighting the environmental racism that hurts our neighbors' quality of life. Michelle has drawn inspiration to pursue this work from her travels, studies, and the community where she lives. She has worked tirelessly for various organizations over the past fifteen years and has never wavered in seeking justice for the people who live with the effects of pollution.

I worked closely with Michelle on a number of initiatives when I served in the Michigan State Legislature and have continued our relationship through my time in Congress, and it has been amazing to see her grow as an advocate and leader. Whether it's fighting to route truck traffic and diesel emissions away from residential neighborhoods or helping to bring national attention to adverse health effects in Michigan's most polluted neighborhood, Michelle has led the way in finding solutions. She always taken a bold approach to making transformative change for our communities and never shies away from a challenge. Michelle is a shining example of what it means to speak truth to power, and we are so fortunate to have her in our lives.

Please join me in recognizing Michelle Martinez's outstanding contributions to the communities of Michigan's 13th Congressional District as we wish her well on her next venture.

HONORING CHAIRMAN HARVEY
GODWIN, JR. OF THE LUMBEE
TRIBE OF NORTH CAROLINA FOR
HIS EXCEPTIONAL LEADERSHIP
AND SERVICE TO HIS COMMUNITY

HON. RICHARD HUDSON

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. HUDSON. Madam Speaker, I rise today to honor my friend, Harvey Godwin, Jr., for his exceptional leadership and service in his community and as Chairman of the Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina.

After graduating from the University of North Carolina at Pembroke, Chairman Godwin went on to become the owner and CEO of both Two Hawk Employment Services, LLC and Two Hawk Workforce Services. He has also held many leadership positions on state and local boards and committees, including the positions of Chairman for the Robeson Community College Foundation Board of Directors

and Secretary of the North Carolina Workforce Development Board Association. Chairman Godwin's impressive background in management was a real asset during his tenure as Tribal Chairman.

Since the start of his tenure in 2016, Chairman Godwin's vision and leadership has served to strengthen, protect, and uplift the Lumbee Tribe. To further preserve Lumbee culture and history, he restored the Lumbee Tribe Cultural Center in a project that featured the construction of a new playground and community garden as well as renovations to the swimming pool and amphitheater. His leadership has also proved paramount for the physical and economic security of the tribe. Most notably, he administered essential hurricane relief efforts and secured over \$58 million in federal funding, including Title VI funding from U.S. Housing and Urban Development for the construction of many new homes across Lumbee territory. Furthermore, Chairman Godwin's consistent advocacy played a pivotal role in passage of the Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina Recognition Act in the U.S. House of Representatives. I was honored to play a small role. He has built and maintained bipartisan relationships in Washington that I believe will eventually result in the Lumbee Tribe finally being granted the federal recognition that is long overdue.

I would like to extend my most heartfelt appreciation to Chairman Godwin for his committed and impactful leadership. I speak for our entire community in wishing him and his family continued success and happiness.

Madam Speaker, please join me today in honoring Harvey Godwin, Jr. for his six years of service as Lumbee Tribe Chairman and lifelong commitment to supporting his community.

HONORING THE LIFE OF JOE
ZEPPIERI

HON. JOE COURTNEY

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. COURTNEY. Madam Speaker, I rise today to mourn and observe the passing of a passionate family man and faithful community servant, Dr. Joe Zeppieri of Groton, Connecticut. A dedicated member involved in local politics, Joe passed away on December 4, 2021 after 77 full and loving years. His loss is significant for the Town of Groton.

Born to Paul Zeppieri and Ella Buonanno Zeppieri in 1943, Joe was destined to live an accomplished life with a strong sense of duty. He was a lifelong learner who graduated from Groton's own Fitch High School and went on to attend several institutions of higher education including Providence College, Tufts University School of Medicine, and the University of Connecticut School of Medicine before immersing himself with a career in the medical field. Within those years of schooling, Joe was able to reconnect with his childhood sweetheart, Paula, who would shortly thereafter become Mrs. Zeppieri in 1967. Grounded by these roots, Joe went on to serve our country in the Navy as a Lieutenant Commander as both a doctor on the USS *John Marshall* and then chief medical officer on the USS *Fulton*.

Upon completing his stint in the Navy, Dr. Zeppieri settled back down in the Town of Groton. He used his penchant for knowledge to help other people with their own health and well-being, working in the field of orthopedic surgery all the way into the new millennium.

Of course, simply one field of expertise would never have been sufficient for someone such as Joe. Upon his retirement from the medical field, Dr. Zeppieri reinvigorated his passion for education. He completely shifted gears, working hard to obtain yet another degree from Western New England—this time, in the field of law. Paula and the family remained his rock during this period, and he was sure to gravitate back home every week while working to achieve his new merits. After obtaining a JD from Western New England, Joe worked at the local law firm of Stephen M. Reck and Scott D. Camassar before opening his own firm. He operated in the incredibly complicated field of medical malpractice, adding another notch to his belt of service by advocating on behalf of those who received improper healthcare in the courtroom. As a retired doctor himself, Zeppieri had a perspective that enabled him to become a natural success in this new line of work and hold his former industry to fair standards.

Outside of the courtroom, Joe Zeppieri's care for his fellow community members really began to shine through into his latest years. He always had his finger on the pulse of Groton, leading him to municipal service on the City of Groton's Board of Zoning Appeals. In 2017, he was elected town councilor—a form of service that he would keep up with until his final days. Fellow Groton residents and stakeholders that were lucky enough to have known or collaborated with Joe can attest to his loving character, his integrity, dependable expertise, fairness, and ability to keep the discussion level-headed. At the end of the day, Joe was someone who could be relied upon to advocate for and focus the discussion on the community services that held the greatest impact on the health and vibrance of the Groton community.

Madam Speaker, it is an honor to know of constituents as dedicated as Dr. Joe Zeppieri. Joe's service to his community has taken several forms—whether it was through the Navy, medical field, courtroom, or municipal government. His greatest contributions, however, originated from his honed expertise, which enabled him to change the lives of countless individuals forever. Though we mourn the void left in his wake, we ought to remember Joe's lifelong contributions and the value he placed in the things that truly have an impact on people's lives for the better. In that sense, we should also find gratitude in the strength of Joe's family ties and trust that his surviving family—his wife Paula, children Christopher, Michael, and Laura and their respective partners, and nine grandchildren—and his fellow community members will reverberate the memory and legacy of Joseph Zeppieri for generations to come. To assist in this endeavor, I ask that my colleagues and the House join me in setting Joseph Zeppieri's memory further into stone, and thank him for his life full of love and service.

HOUSE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE REPORT ACCOMPANYING H.R. 4350

HON. SAM GRAVES

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. GRAVES of Missouri. Madam Speaker, I rise as Congress considers the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2022 to highlight a concern with some language in the House Armed Services Committee Report accompanying H.R. 4350 that passed this chamber earlier this year, and which I voted to support. Included in the House bill's report is direction to the Secretary of Defense to study and issue a report on "DoD Logistics and Potential Benefits of Carsharing" for servicemembers. In carrying out the study, I believe the Department of Defense must objectively evaluate not only potential benefits, but also potential risks peer-to-peer car-sharing might pose to our servicemembers and families. For example, I am concerned about potential predatory lending practices to the extent that peer-to-peer car-sharing platforms encourage individual vehicle owners to go out and acquire vehicles for the sole purpose of renting a small "fleet" of vehicles on such platforms; the collection and remission of transactional sales and excise taxes on behalf of vehicle owners in states without laws expressly requiring the platform to do so, which could impact a servicemember's tax liability; and, cybersecurity for servicemembers or their families' personal and financial data. The bottom line is that I believe the Department of Defense, in carrying out the study described in the House Armed Services Committee Report accompanying H.R. 4350, must consider potential risks, in addition to the potential benefits, of peer-to-peer carsharing among our servicemembers.

HONORING THE RETIREMENT OF DR. ELOIS LEWIS EDGE

HON. SANFORD D. BISHOP, JR.

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. BISHOP of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I rise today to honor Dr. Elois Lewis Edge of Albany, Georgia, who will be retiring after a distinguished, 43-year career as a nurse, midwife, and instructor serving the families and communities of Southwest Georgia.

Dr. Edge has been a Certified Nurse Midwife at Albany Area Primary Health since 2009. Before that, she worked at Phoebe Putney Memorial Hospital for 30 years. In these positions, Dr. Edge earned the gratitude of thousands of expectant mothers for her skillful assistance, compassionate care, and warm personality.

Dr. Edge also attained distinction in academia as well. She earned her Associate Arts in Nursing at Darton State University in Albany, which was followed by a Bachelor of Science in Nursing at Georgia Southwestern University in Americus, Georgia; a Certificate of Midwifery from the Frontier School of Midwifery and Family Nursing in Hyden, Kentucky; a Master of Science in Nursing from Case

Western Reserve in Cleveland, Ohio; and a Doctorate in Nursing Practice from Frontier Nursing University in Hyden, Kentucky. While Dr. Edge was receiving her degrees, she was teaching future generations of medical professionals at Georgia Southwestern University and Frontier Nursing University.

Shirley Chisholm often said that: "Service is the rent that we pay for the space we occupy on this earth." Dr. Edge paid her rent and she paid it well. The world is a much brighter place due to the thousands of children Dr. Edge has helped usher into the world, either directly as a midwife, or by virtue of the instruction she provided to the scores of midwives and nurses who learned their trade from her.

Madam Speaker, I ask my colleagues here in the United States House of Representatives to join my wife, Vivian, and me, along with the over 730,000 residents of the Second Congressional District of Georgia in honoring Dr. Elois Lewis Edge on her outstanding career and upon the occasion of her retirement. We wish her well as she begins a new chapter in her life.

RECOGNITION OF THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF MEXICAN AMERICANS

HON. SYLVIA R. GARCIA

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Ms. GARCIA of Texas. Madam Speaker, I rise today to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Association for the Advancement of Mexican Americans.

For 50 years, AAMA has helped Latinos achieve their potential.

AAMA has motivated Latino youth to finish school and encouraged many to go on to college.

As a Mexican American, I know first-hand how important it is to have someone fighting for you on your path to success.

AAMA has always fought for every single one of our children, especially the most at risk and marginalized among us. Truly never has one been forgotten or left out.

For half a century, if you were working for the greater good in Houston's East End, then you have been a part of AAMA's work or been a fruit of AAMA's labor.

AAMA has helped unlock the American Dream for countless American Latinos. It has established itself as the heart of the Houston community.

So today, I want to thank everyone who has served at AAMA for their incredible passion and dedication.

Your service to the Latino community has been extraordinary.

I look forward to what the next 50 years will bring to the AAMA and to Latinos everywhere.

SALUTING FIT'S CYBERSECURITY TEAM FOR EXTRAORDINARY FIRST PLACE FINISH

HON. BILL POSEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. POSEY. Madam Speaker, today I rise to honor the Florida Institute of Technology's

Cyber League Team, FITSEC, for their extraordinary perfect score and first place finish in the Fall 2021 National Cyber League team tournament on November 7, 2021.

The National Cyber League team tournament is a biannual national competition in which 650 institutions around the country face off to solve simulations of real-life cybersecurity problems. The National Cyber League assesses a team's ability to address nine critical cybersecurity workforce categories outlined in the NIST NICE Cybersecurity Framework and the NSA Knowledge Units. This year more than 3,900 teams competed, with our hometown team clinching the victory.

The Florida Institute of Technology of Melbourne, FL, in my district, is leading the way in cybersecurity research and education and has been recognized as a National Security Agency (NSA) and the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) National Center of Academic Excellence (CAE-R) in Cyber Defense Research.

Their rigorous undergraduate Cyber Operations Concentration, modeled after the NSA Cyber Operations Knowledge Units, is developing bright young minds that will most certainly be among our nation's future leaders. It is good to know that students right here in Brevard County will soon help solve the problems of tomorrow, like countering unchecked foreign threats and filling the shortages in this growing field already identified by the federal government.

The 2021 Florida Institute of Technology's team was coached by Dr. TJ O'Connor and consisted of two graduate and five undergraduate students in Computer Science, including Blake Janes, Carl Mann, Dave Breeden, Isaiah Thomas, Logan Suarez, Stephanie Wood, and Tiffanie Petersen.

I urge my colleagues to join me in congratulating FIT and these student leaders on their outstanding accomplishments and wish them every success in the future.

RECOGNIZING THE BAY SPRINGS BULLDOGS AS MHSAA 1A STATE CHAMPIONS

HON. MICHAEL GUEST

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. GUEST. Madam Speaker, I'd like to congratulate the Bay Springs Bulldogs and Coach Dan Brady on their MHSAA 1A State Championship victory. Although the Bulldogs have reached the playoffs multiple times, Coach Brady led the talented team to a 32-12 victory over Simmons High School. I commend Coach Brady for his success at the helm of the Bulldogs football team and wish him and his team continued success in the future.

I would also like to extend my congratulations to the young men who worked tirelessly for the championship trophy. Every early morning, every extra rep, and every sacrifice they made to better themselves and their team has resulted in the top prize.

In the coming days, as the thrill of victory begins to fade, I would encourage those young men to reflect deeply on the investment they made to realize this championship. They will never forget the feeling of their great accomplishment; but in the future, as they reminisce on this victory, I would challenge them

to remember the qualities that made them champions.

Those qualities of hard-work, commitment, and determination will continue to serve them well in the future as they transition from leaders on the field to leaders in their families, communities, state, and nation.

Congratulations to the Bay Springs Bulldogs. They earned this victory.

HONORING LESLIE WILLIAMS

HON. DEBORAH K. ROSS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Ms. ROSS. Madam Speaker, I rise in honor of my constituent Leslie Williams. Leslie recently achieved a wonderful milestone in her career in real estate by being named the 2022 President of the Raleigh Association of Realtors.

Leslie has been a resident of North Carolina for 20 years, and has over 30 years of sales, marketing, customer service, and management experience. She also has a Masters degree in Business Administration and has attained several real estate certifications throughout her career.

In addition to her professional achievements, Leslie is dedicated to volunteering, mentorship, and ensuring homeownership for all. I am so proud to represent a constituent who is committed to supporting these important efforts in our community, and I look forward to hearing more about her work in the future and collaborate to improve our community.

CELEBRATING THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF PREPARE + PROSPER

HON. BETTY MCCOLLUM

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Ms. McCOLLUM. Madam Speaker, I rise today in recognition of the staff and volunteers of Prepare + Prosper as they celebrate their 50th year of service to Minnesota taxpayers. Prepare + Prosper is a nonprofit organization working to build financial health and expand access to quality tax and financial services for low- and moderate-income individuals and families. Through their efforts they have helped countless Minnesotans navigate the tax system, and in 2019 alone, they helped over 12,000 taxpayers file returns free of charge.

Prepare + Prosper was founded in 1971 by a small group of economic justice-oriented accountants who began to provide free accounting services to small business owners. Soon after, they also started to provide free individual tax preparation for low- to moderate-income taxpayers. Over the years they have grown into an organization with just over 20 year-round staff members and more than 600 volunteers, and have expanded the reach of their free tax filing services and broadened their offerings to include financial coaching and access to financial products.

Two of their current program offerings are Money Mentors and Financial Access in Reach (FAIR) Financial Solution. Money Mentors provides one-on-one mentoring with a financial coach and a network of peers to help participants create a plan for their financial future and ultimately reach their financial goals. Prepare + Prosper partnered with Sunrise Banks to reimagine banking with their FAIR Financial Solution program. This initiative gives low-income families access to checking and savings accounts as well as a small-loan program at low cost, while also providing an alternative to check-cashing operators and payday lenders.

In the Twin Cities, more than 194,000 households are excluded from the financial mainstream according to the FDIC, meaning that they may have unpredictable income, lack of access to checking and savings accounts or to affordable credit or loans. On top of this, many households experienced financial stress brought on by the COVID-19 pandemic or needed help to navigate the system and receive their Economic Impact Payments or Child Tax Credits.

The staff and volunteers at Prepare + Prosper are an extremely valuable asset to the community as they help Minnesotans overcome these barriers that still exist when seeking greater economic opportunity. And as part of their effort to bridge these gaps, Prepare + Prosper engages in advocacy work to advance policies and practices that will directly benefit people with low- to moderate-incomes when it comes to tax credits, consumer protection and asset-building. They also partner with other community organizations to spread the word about their services and to reach those who may be eligible for benefits like the Child Tax Credit which helps lift families out of poverty.

Prepare + Prosper is led today by Executive Director Suyapa Miranda who joined the organization in the spring of 2021 and will lead them into the next 50 years of service with a focus on closing the economic wealth gap in Minnesota by concentrating on developing and implementing programs that serve communities most impacted by systemic economic injustice.

Madam Speaker, please join me in recognizing Prepare + Prosper as they celebrate 50 years of upholding their mission of building financial well-being through offering free tax preparation and financial services, and by changing systems to create economic opportunity for all.

RECOGNIZING THE UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER'S EASTMAN SCHOOL OF MUSIC ON ITS 100TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. JOSEPH D. MORELLE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. MORELLE. Madam Speaker, I rise to recognize the University of Rochester's Eastman School of Music on the occasion of its centennial celebration.

In September 1921, the Eastman School of Music opened its doors with an inaugural

class of 104 students. Through the efforts of its founder, George Eastman of Eastman Kodak Company, longtime director Howard Hanson, and University of Rochester President Rush Rhees, the school became a leader in American music education dedicated to the highest levels of artistry and scholarship.

The following year, the school's largest performance venue, the iconic Eastman Theatre, was opened. Inscribed on its facade is Mr. Eastman's vision, "For the enrichment of community life." In the years since, the theatre has hosted some of the world's greatest musicians, including composers Aaron Copland, Igor Stravinsky and John Williams; jazz musicians Duke Ellington, Wynton Marsalis, and Eastman alumnus Ron Carter; and classical luminaries Itzhak Perlman, Yo-Yo Ma, and Eastman alumna, Renée Fleming. It is the main performing venue of the Rochester Philharmonic Orchestra and hosts many community concerts, lectures, and events. It is also the venue and location of choice for many national and international festivals including The CGI Rochester International Jazz Festival, KeyBank Rochester Fringe Festival, and more.

The Eastman Community Music School, also founded in 1921, is continuing to honor Mr. Eastman's dream, offering music lessons, ensembles, classes, and workshops to students of all ages and financial means each year. Eastman also provides tuition-free lessons and music instruction to Rochester City School District students, many of whom go on to study at Eastman as well as at other top music schools.

Eastman has distinguished itself as an innovator in music and culture, developing the Doctor of Musical Arts degree in the 1950s and becoming the first music school to formally offer courses in entrepreneurial thinking and leadership studies through its Institute for Music Leadership. Eastman's Sibley Music Library is the largest collegiate music library in North America with nearly 750,000 items, including many manuscripts, first-editions, and vast resources for performance and research. Eastman Performing Arts Medicine is a recent pioneering partnership between Eastman and the University of Rochester Medical Center to connect world-class performing arts with medicine.

Today, the Eastman School of Music enrolls nearly 900 undergraduate and graduate students from almost every state and many countries around the world, led by 95 faculty members. Its alumni include many Pulitzer, Tony, Grammy, and Emmy Award winners.

Over the last one hundred years, the Eastman School of Music's premier programs and magnificent facilities have become a powerful cultural force not only in Rochester, New York, but across the United States and around the world. It is an honor to represent this fine institution and to support efforts over the years to strengthen this extraordinary school for many generations to come.

Madam Speaker, I ask my colleagues to join me in honoring the University of Rochester's Eastman School of Music on its centennial. Its service and contributions to Rochester, New York State, and arts and culture around the world will always be celebrated.

IN RECOGNITION OF THE HARLAN
BIBLE DONATION TO CONGRESS**HON. MIKE JOHNSON**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. JOHNSON of Louisiana. Madam Speaker, I rise today to recognize the good work and friendship of the American Judicial Alliance. AJA and its founder, Judge Darrell White, have been working tirelessly to introduce the tradition of the Harlan Bible by donating these Bibles to our nation's courtrooms and institutions, including to this chamber. Justice John Marshall Harlan set this precedent by donating his very own Bible to the Supreme Court back in 1906, and since then, every justice has signed this Bible after taking the oath of office.

Justice Harlan is probably best known for being the "Great Dissenter" and specifically for his role as the lone dissenter in *Plessy v. Ferguson's* unjust 'separate but equal' precedent. His personal transformation made him an impassioned supporter for civil rights during his 34 years on the Court.

It was Justice Harlan who stated: "Our constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law."

By donating these Harlan Bibles, AJA is honoring the legacy of Justice Harlan's fight for justice, recognizing that our inalienable rights come directly from our Creator, and restoring faith in our Nation's courtrooms. May God continue to bless the American Judicial Alliance as it endeavors to share the Harlan Bible and its important message of justice, mercy, and faith to the American people.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

HON. JEFF FORTENBERRY

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. FORTENBERRY. Madam Speaker, on Thursday, December 9, 2021, I missed roll call votes No. 439 and 440 due to the effects of the ongoing public health emergency. Had I been present, I would have voted "aye" on 439 and "nay" on 440.

HONORING THE RETIREMENT OF
DR. ANDREW HUGINE, JR. AS
PRESIDENT OF ALABAMA AGRICULTURAL
AND MECHANICAL
UNIVERSITY**HON. TERRI A. SEWELL**

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Ms. SEWELL. Madam Speaker, I rise today to recognize the leadership of Dr. Andrew Hugine, Jr., the 11th President of Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical University (Alabama A&M University), who is retiring on December 31, 2021, after 12 wonderful years of service to the University and the surrounding community. Dr. Hugine obtained his bachelor's

and master's degrees in mathematics from South Carolina State University. He went on to earn his doctorate in Higher Education and Institutional Research from Michigan State University.

Prior to his tenure at Alabama A&M University, Dr. Hugine served as the President of South Carolina State University and held numerous positions in education including Interim Executive Vice President and Chief Operating Officer; Assistant Vice President for Academic Affairs; Director of Special Services Program; Director of University Year for Action Program—a service-learning program; Research Fellow; Assistant and Director of Institutional Self-Study; Professor of Mathematics and high school mathematics teacher. Dr. Hugine has been recognized both nationally and internationally for his leadership in education and adept administrative skills.

Under the exceptional guidance of Dr. Hugine, Alabama A&M University has made many advancements. By making bold financial decisions, increasing academic programs, and fostering tenacious alumni and student connections, Dr. Hugine dedicated himself to ensuring that the university is more competitive in the 21st century.

Partnering with various organizations including, those of the National Pan-Hellenic Council along with the support of public and private entities, helped the university gain additional streams of external funding to increase financial opportunities for prospective students. As a result of Dr. Hugine's efforts, the university increased its total endowment by almost 50 million dollars, completing its first-ever capital campaign raising over 27 million dollars, and establishing the Normal Legacy Society, which has contributed over 5 million dollars to the university.

Along with financial improvements, academic programs have shown tremendously growth under Dr. Hugine's tenure. Nine new academic programs were formed, including Animal Bio-Health Technology, Communication Specialist, Construction Management, and many more to give the students versatility while pursuing the careers they desire. As a result of these academic developments, there have been record-breaking highs in Alabama A&M University's recent fall enrollment with 1,690 students enrolling into the freshman class.

Increasing pride in this historic institution remained a focal point of Dr. Hugine's presidency. With the vision of First Lady Abbiegail Hugine and the help of the Bulldog Pride Committee, several initiatives were implemented to beautify the campus, enhance customer service, promote character development, and increase the wearing of Alabama A&M University paraphernalia as a display of pride. Other incredible programs and scholarships were established such as the "Quad," a program focused on student activities, the First Lady's Endowed Scholarship Program, and the Normalite Walkway Pavers' Scholarship.

Under the direction of Dr. Hugine Alabama A&M University has strengthened its nurturing environment for students to thrive and become remarkable contributors to society. Although I know he will continue to serve his community through volunteering, I sincerely hope that his retirement is filled with the joy of becoming a new grandparent and spending time with family and friends.

On a personal note, I was privileged to get to know Dr. Hugine and to witness first-hand his remarkable leadership as President of Alabama A&M University. Dr. Hugine is a visionary leader, dynamic educator, effective administrator, solid steward of the University's finance, and true champion of the students, faculty, alumni, and trustees of Alabama A&M University. Under his twelve-year tenure as the 11th President of Alabama A&M University, Dr. Hugine made a lasting contribution to the education and administration of AAMU. Upon his retirement, his legacy will continue to live on in the numerous lives that he impacted and the outstanding contributions that AAMU students will make to this Nation. I wish him and his lovely wife Abbiegail, of over 40 years, much success in their future endeavors. They have truly been a blessing and left an indelible mark on the State of Alabama. For all he has done, we thank him for his exemplary service.

On behalf of Alabama's 7th Congressional District, I ask my colleagues to join me in recognizing the extraordinary leadership and service of Dr. Andrew Hugine, Jr., and his contributions as President of Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical University.

HONORING 175 YEARS OF THE
FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
OF LANSING**HON. ELISSA SLOTKIN**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Ms. SLOTKIN. Madam Speaker, I rise today to honor the First Presbyterian Church of Lansing as they gather to celebrate 175 years of continuous faith and service.

Founded on December 17, 1847, First Presbyterian Church is the oldest, formally-constituted church in the city. At the time of its founding, Lansing's residents were unified against slavery and the city served as a secondary stop on the Underground Railroad. The First Presbyterian faith community were among these early advocates for abolition and when the Civil War broke out, strongly supported Michigan troops who joined to defend the Union. The women of First Presbyterian Church cooked, washed clothes, and wrote letters home for those who could not write. Meanwhile, from the church pulpit, Rev. Chester S. Armstrong, urged local farmers to do their part and increase their harvests to feed the Union Army.

After the war, the congregation continued to lead the way for social justice. They were the principal sponsor and supporter of the first African-American Sabbath School in Lansing, which later became the African Methodist Episcopal Church which was founded in 1879. At the turn of the century, when outbreaks of cholera, typhoid, and malaria ravaged the most vulnerable residents in Lansing, First Presbyterian was a key proponent of improving sanitary living conditions. In addition to partnering with the YMCA to support the city's youth, church members were invested in the common welfare of the needy, caring for neighbors who could not work or those whose wages weren't enough to feed their families.

As the city of Lansing grew, so did the First Presbyterian Church congregation. From its new home beside the state Capitol, pastors

and elders occupied prominent positions in the community. During the Great Depression, when charity was so desperately needed, the church distributed food and clothing to the poor and provided care for indigent children. It's essential work that continues to this day—feeding thousands of people through its food pantry.

Madam Speaker, Lansing's First Presbyterian Church is a key player in interfaith and inter-racial fellowship. It serves as a refuge and a sanctuary for several community based-service organizations who truly do God's work in our state capital. They host weekly forums for residents to come together and enrich their understanding of the church's history and tradition while also providing a venue for civic and academic leaders to meet with the community and answer questions on topics relevant to their lives. First Presbyterian supports artists, musicians, charities, and more—truly living up to its commitment as a strong community of faith and a positive agent for social justice and human welfare.

The theme for their 175th anniversary celebration is: "a diverse Christian community inspired by its heritage, renewed in faith and outreach, and dedicated to peace and justice." It is a noble cause for a noble faith community and it is my privilege to recognize First Presbyterian Church of Lansing with these words in the People's House. May they last as a fitting tribute to its 175 years of service and guide the way for the next 175 years to come.

HONORING THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE HAMPTON-NEWPORT NEWS COMMUNITY SERVICES BOARD

HON. ROBERT C. "BOBBY" SCOTT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. Madam Speaker, I rise today to recognize and honor the Hampton-Newport News Community Services Board on its 50th anniversary.

The Hampton-Newport News Community Services Board was established in 1971 by the Virginia General Assembly and by resolutions passed by the city councils of Hampton and Newport News. The organization's mission was to provide services to families and communities affected by mental illness, developmental disabilities and substance use disorders. I want to congratulate and thank Natale Ward Christian, the current Executive Director, as well as her predecessors: Joe Allen, Steven Capo, Howard Cullum, and Charles Hall for their years of service and dedication to our community.

The Hampton-Newport News Community Services Board is a source of support for the Hampton-Newport News community. The tireless work of the organization has improved the quality of life for countless people on the Virginia Peninsula. For fifty years, the Hampton-Newport News Community Services Board has achieved results because of continued partnership with individuals, family members, advocates and local service agencies. Since the board's creation, it has grown to become an agency with over 80 programs and now serves thousands of individuals every year.

Madam Speaker, I congratulate the leadership and staff of the Hampton-Newport News

Community Services Board for fifty years of continued service to the citizens of Hampton and Newport News. It is through the hard work and dedication of the board and its leadership, as well as the involvement of members of our community, that make Hampton Roads such a great place to live, work and raise a family. I wish for many more years of continued success, so the board can keep up the important work of providing its critical services for those who need it most.

ROB GREEN RETIREMENT

HON. VIRGINIA FOXX

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Ms. FOXX. Madam Speaker, today I rise to salute a dedicated public servant and friend. After working for a series of Members of the House, including Rep. Bill Goodling, Rob Green first served the Education and Workforce Committee from 1995 to 2001. Rob rejoined the Committee four years ago and has been an invaluable leader of the GOP workforce team ever since.

As Director of Workforce Policy, Rob has worked tirelessly to protect the rights of workers and employers alike. He has dedicated years of his life to fighting for free market principles and to seeing that our country stays a self-governed Republic. Whether we have been in the majority or in the minority, Rob has made addressing federal overreach a top priority and has never been afraid to hold federal agencies accountable.

Rob's consummate professionalism when working with Members of Congress as well as with Democrat staff has allowed us to pass bipartisan bills such as the Retirement Improvement and Savings Enhancement Act (RISE), which will help many Americans prepare for a more secure future.

Rob's work was also pivotal in helping us pass a ban on surprise billing. This fight for transparency in our medical system has been a passion of Rob's and will help millions of struggling Americans.

Rob's influence has also extended beyond the Committee. GOP leadership has relied on Rob to shape policy in the labor arena, ensuring that the American worker's voice gets heard. His relationship with lawmakers and staff throughout the House has allowed the Committee to flourish and accomplish a tremendous amount.

Too often populist lobbies have an out-sized influence over politics in Washington. Rob's work on this Committee ensured that the voices of job creators and small business owners were heard.

I, myself, have relied on Rob's expertise and keen eye for strategy to further this Committee's mission, and I will miss his support. Thankfully, his expertise will live on in the team that he has led and mentored for four years.

I commend Rob for his many accomplishments and for his selfless service to this country. It is because of dedicated public servants like Rob, standing in the gap and defending our Republic, that we have a chance at reclaiming the vision our Founding Fathers had for this Nation.

I truly congratulate Rob on his retirement, he has earned it.

HONORING VETERANS OF THE KOREAN WAR

HON. RAJA KRISHNAMOORTHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. KRISHNAMOORTHY. Madam Speaker, I rise today to honor the service of our Korean War veterans, who fought so bravely to repel an invasion intended to overthrow the government of the Republic of Korea and subjugate its people to authoritarian rule.

On June 25, 1950, the armed forces of North Korea attacked South Korea with the goal of imposing a totalitarian regime on the men, women and children living south of the 38th parallel at the demarcation line of the two countries. That same day, the Security Council of the United Nations unanimously condemned this violation of South Korean sovereignty, and two days later published Resolution 83, which authorized the use of force by member states to repel the invasion. President Truman immediately sent United States troops to assist in responding to this aggression, but the conflict rapidly expanded to include armed forces from the People's Republic of China. After three years of bloody struggle, and the deaths of nearly 37,000 members of the Armed Forces of United States and millions of Korean civilians, an armistice was signed by the governments of North Korea, the People's Republic of China and the United States ending hostilities and establishing a demilitarized zone at the 38th parallel to formalize the existence of North and South Korea.

The Korean War is often referred to as the "Forgotten War," as contemporaneous news coverage was censored, and its three years of conflict were overshadowed by the Second World War and the war in Vietnam. Former Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, however, liked to display in his Pentagon office a night-time satellite image of the Korean peninsula. This image, which revealed a thriving, brightly lit South Korea and a pitch-black North Korea emblematic of the painful suffering of its citizens, was kept on display by Mr. Rumsfeld to remind himself and his visitors that the sacrifices of our veterans were not forgotten by, and had a transformative impact on, the people of South Korea.

Madam Speaker, I want to recognize the brave veterans of the Korean War as we approach the seventh decade since the 1953 armistice ending the conflict. On behalf of a grateful Nation, we honor our veterans' courage and their sacrifices to preserve peace and the blessings of liberty for an important ally and for the men, women and children who live in the Republic of South Korea.

CONGRATULATING THE MORIAH VIKINGS ON A VALIANT EFFORT IN THE NEW YORK STATE CHAMPIONSHIP GAME

HON. ELISE M. STEFANIK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Ms. STEFANIK. Madam Speaker, I rise today to congratulate the Moriah High School football team on an extraordinary season culminating in a great effort at the state championship game.

For the third season in a row, the Moriah Vikings earned a spot in the state championship game at the Syracuse Carrier Dome. Led by Coach Don Tesar, the Vikings rose to the challenge of the semifinal game and overcame adversity after trailing at halftime. Their efficient offense converted three possessions into three touchdowns in the third quarter. The Vikings carried this energy and the record of an undefeated season into the state championship.

The Moriah Vikings put up a valiant effort against the Tioga Tigers during the Class D New York State Championship, where they came just short of winning their first state title. Thanks to a tremendous effort put forward by the defense, the Vikings only gave up seven points in the first half. Their perseverance and determination are truly inspirational and worthy of celebration.

On behalf of New York's 21st Congressional District, I would like to congratulate the Moriah Vikings on their incredible 2021 season. We are very proud of their hard work and dedication throughout this year.

IN RECOGNITION OF MAYOR TOM
BERNARD

HON. RICHARD E. NEAL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. NEAL. Madam Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to extend my warmest congratulations to Tom Bernard, a devoted public servant, for all that he has accomplished during his tenure as Mayor of the City of North Adams, Massachusetts.

Mayor Bernard has invigorated the City of North Adams by expanding economic opportunities and fostering modern, future-oriented growth. His administration has focused on increasing green initiatives, with the integration of electric vehicles in the city's fleet, strategic action to decrease North Adams' carbon footprint, and launching the North Adams Tree Initiative. In addition, Mayor Bernard has been a staunch advocate for the marginalized in his community, working actively to increase diversity and inclusion initiatives within the city's government. Recognition of Indigenous Peoples Day in North Adams came largely as a product of Mayor Bernard's advocacy on these matters.

Mayor Bernard has put significant effort in updating critical infrastructure in the city of North Adams despite the many challenges resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic. Mayor Bernard successfully replaced all the non-functioning and malfunctioning hydrants, while simultaneously overseeing a full reevaluation of the city's 60-year-old zoning laws, creating an avenue for much needed commerce in the city.

Madam Speaker, in light of Mayor Tom Bernard's many achievements and remarkable contributions to the City of North Adams and the western Massachusetts community, I wish to congratulate him once again on his successful tenure as Mayor of North Adams. He has undoubtedly played a pivotal role in shaping the development of North Adams for years to come, and I am delighted to join with his family, friends, and the entire North Adams

community in thanking him for his dedicated service.

CELEBRATING TECH SGT. JAMES
FRANK BOUCHER ON HIS 100TH
BIRTHDAY

HON. MIKE BOST

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. BOST. Madam Speaker, I rise today to celebrate James Frank Boucher, of Murphysboro, Illinois, who celebrates his 100th birthday on January 4, 2022. Known as Frank to his friends and family, Mr. Boucher was born on January 4, 1922, in Grimsby, Illinois, to James and Lillie Boucher and grew up with his three siblings: Dorothy, Fred, and Bernie. After graduating high school, Frank entered World War II as a reconnaissance pilot in the Army Air Corps, flying a single engine Stinson L-5 in the Pacific Theater and rising to the rank of Technical Sergeant. His family's favorite story to tell regards when Tech Sergeant Boucher was MIA for 14 days. Frank landed on a sandbar and traveled by night from village to village along the river. Using his pointy-talk book, he was able to communicate with the locals, which allowed him to work his way back to Yunan to be transported to Kuming Air Base. He was back flying missions the next day. In 1946, Frank returned home and married his wife, Zidania Francis Ogden. They were blessed with three boys. After working for the United States Postal Service for over 30 years, Frank retired and spent his newfound free time teaching his sons how to hunt and fish, and the importance of church and family. Over the years, his family grew to six grandchildren, 22 great grandchildren, and two great-great grandchildren. Frank's wife of 73 years passed away 2 years ago, but he's still certain to cherish every moment shared with his family. Madam Speaker, please join me in honoring Tech Sergeant James Frank Boucher on his milestone 100th birthday. On behalf of Southern Illinois, thank you for your service to our Nation and happy birthday.

HONORING THE CAREER OF MR.
KEVIN RYAN

HON. JIM BANKS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. BANKS. Madam Speaker, I rise today to honor Mr. Kevin Ryan of Fishers for his dedicated service to Indiana's financial sector as he prepares to retire as CEO of Financial Center First Credit Union.

Kevin's credit union career spans decades dating back to the 1980s. Most notably, he has led Financial Center First CU as its CEO since 2009. During his years leading the Financial Center, the credit union has doubled in asset size to \$828 million, with membership growth also doubling to more than 80,000. To this end, Financial Center is one of the nation's leading credit unions in financial literacy

outreach, receiving national awards every year from 2014 to 2021 for those efforts.

Kevin's success with Financial Center made a tremendous impact on the lives of countless others in other ways, as well. Over the years, Financial Center raised hundreds of thousands of dollars through its annual golf outings to donate to organizations feeding the hungry, including the Mozel Sanders Foundation, the Salvation Army Food Pantry, and Gleaners Food Bank.

In addition to this work, Kevin sought a way to pay tribute to Hoosier veterans. So, he traveled to credit unions around the state to raise funds to construct the Indiana Military Veterans Hall of Fame, which honors veterans with ties to Indiana. Now, generations of Hoosiers will have the opportunity to honor Indiana's heroes who fought to keep our country free.

I am proud to honor Kevin as a testament to his work and legacy. I thank Kevin for all that he has done for our state, and we wish him the best as he begins the next chapter of his life.

IN GRATITUDE OF SIGRID GRACE

HON. HALEY M. STEVENS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Ms. STEVENS. Madam Speaker, I rise today to recognize an exceptional constituent and community leader in Michigan, Ms. Sigrid Grace.

Ms. Grace is a lifelong Michigander who graduated from Central Michigan University where she met her late husband John Grace during her freshman year.

As the Rochester Area Democratic Club Chair for over twenty-five years, Ms. Grace fostered and grew the club's membership, supporting many causes and candidates. Our community is deeply grateful for her many years of leadership at RADAC, and we congratulate her on her recent retirement.

Ms. Grace's passion for education has no limits. She taught for forty years, most notably as a second-grade teacher in the Almont Community School District.

Furthermore, Ms. Grace served as the local bargaining president on behalf of local educators and as a delegate for the Democratic National Convention from 2000 to 2004. She later became the National Chair of the early childhood education caucus at the National Education Association, where she advocated for the importance of pre-kindergarten education.

Ms. Grace currently resides in Rochester Hills, Michigan, where she volunteers at various community events and teaches school children how to read with her Shetland sheepdog, Baron.

Fighting for Michigan teachers, Ms. Grace exemplifies what it means to be an educator and a community leader. Her work is inspiring and a positive example to many in Michigan and across the country.

Madam Speaker, I ask my colleagues to join me in celebrating the outstanding contributions Ms. Grace has made to Michigan, our teachers, students, and our country at large.

CONGRATULATING DEPUTY SECRETARY DOUG HOUSE ON HIS RETIREMENT FROM THE ILLINOIS DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

HON. CHERI BUSTOS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mrs. BUSTOS. Madam Speaker, I rise today to recognize Doug House, who is retiring as Deputy Secretary of the Illinois Department of Transportation after two and a half years of service.

Throughout his life, in every action he has undertaken, Mr. House has selflessly served the public in pursuit of delivering a better Illinois. He has always been a fighter for meaningful change and produced real results for Illinoisans. His journey began in the Quad Cities region, when he graduated from Rockridge High School in Taylor Ridge, Illinois. Mr. House became a Staff Sergeant in the 182nd Airlift Wing of the Illinois Air National Guard in Peoria in 1980. He joined the 682nd Engineer Battalion of the U.S. Army Reserve in 1983, where he helped train heavy construction equipment operators to build roads until his honorable discharge in 1986. Mr. House's commitment to revitalize our state's infrastructure was only beginning and would stay with him over the next four decades. He oversaw the progress of many public works projects while presiding over the Illinois Chapter of the American Public Works Association. Mr. House, an advocate for workers' rights, was named to The Indiana, Illinois, Iowa Foundation for Fair Contracting as a construction analyst in 2016. In April 2019, he was hired as Deputy Secretary of the Illinois Department of Transportation. One of his proudest moments was being in Moline, Illinois on December 1, 2021 for the opening of the I-74 Bridge, which will symbolize the hard-working spirit of our region for generations to come.

It is because of diligent and noble leaders such as Doug House that I am especially proud to serve Illinois' 17th Congressional District. Madam Speaker, I would like to again formally congratulate Doug House on his two and a half years of service as Deputy Secretary of the Illinois Department of Transportation.

RECOGNIZING THE LIFE AND SERVICE OF JOHN AND PHYLLIS HILL

HON. RALPH NORMAN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. NORMAN. Madam Speaker, I rise today to recognize the life and service of John Leroy Hill and Phyllis Lynn Stringfield Hill.

John Leroy Hill was born on December 7, 1953 in Cowpens, South Carolina. A true American hero, John joined the U.S. Army in 1970 and bravely served our country for two decades. During this time, John served two tours in Korea, two tours in Germany, and

tours in Fort Bragg, Fort Hood, and Fort Ord. He retired as a First Sergeant on January 1, 1991.

John met his wife Phyllis while he was on recruiting duty in Warsaw, Indiana. The two were married on January 23, 1991. Known as hometown heroes, both John and Phyllis are deeply involved and engaged members in their community. John has been the Commander of the Clover Veterans of Foreign Wars Post 6732 since 2008. He was also the Commander of the Clover American Legion Post 38 until he was relieved by John Mattingly earlier this year. Phyllis worked with Crystalen Mattingly to form a Ladies Auxiliary for the American Legion Post 38.

In February of 2019, Phyllis retired and wanted to spend time traveling. While on an Alaskan cruise, Phyllis learned that she had a malignant mass. After further testing at the Levine Cancer Institute in Charlotte, North Carolina, the mass was shown to be cancerous. After being diagnosed with an aggressive Stage 4 cancer, Phyllis was informed in June of 2020 that she had only three to nine months to live. She courageously underwent radiation and chemotherapy treatments every day for six weeks. Throughout this entire ordeal, Phyllis has remained a positive and faithful believer of God's healing powers.

Despite her devastating prognosis, Phyllis recently received remarkable news. On December 2nd, while at a monthly follow-up appointment, her doctor informed her that he could no longer see any cancer in her CT scans. Her team of doctors were baffled as to how the cancer had disappeared. Phyllis told them it was her deep and honest belief in God that led her through this.

On behalf of the 5th District of South Carolina, I thank John and Phyllis for their incredible service, and I commend them for their unwavering faith in the Lord. These two are an inspiration to us all. May God continue to bless them and their family.

RECOGNIZING THE RETIREMENT OF WESTFIELD FIRE CHIEF MARCUS REED

HON. VICTORIA SPARTZ

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mrs. SPARTZ. Madam Speaker, I rise today to congratulate Fire Chief Marcus Reed of Westfield, Indiana, on the occasion of his retirement after a long tenure of public service.

Chief Reed has spent the last five years as the Chief of the Westfield Fire Department following over two decades of fire department leadership around the country before that. His retirement will be a big loss for the community of Westfield and Hamilton County but a well-deserved reward for his tireless service to keep his neighbors safe through emergency response, training, and prevention.

I thank Chief Marcus Reed for his dedicated public service. Our community is grateful for his leadership and his long career in public safety.

RECOGNIZING THE SCOTT CENTRAL REBELS AS MHSAA 2A STATE CHAMPIONS

HON. MICHAEL GUEST

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. GUEST. Madam Speaker, I'd like to congratulate the Scott Central Rebels and Coach Eric House on their MHSAA 2A State Championship victory. Coach House led the Rebels to an almost unchallenged 15-0 season with huge margins of victory over their opponents, ending the season with a MHSAA record-breaking 72 points in the championship game. I commend Coach House for his success at the helm of the Rebels football team and wish him and his team continued success in the future.

I would also like to extend my congratulations to the young men who worked tirelessly for the championship trophy. Every early morning, every extra rep, and every sacrifice they made to better themselves and their team has resulted in the top prize.

In the coming days, as the thrill of victory begins to fade, I would encourage those young men to reflect deeply on the investment they made to realize this championship. They will never forget the feeling of their great accomplishment; but in the future, as they reminisce on this victory, I would challenge them to remember the qualities that made them champions.

Those qualities of hard-work, commitment, and determination will continue to serve them well in the future as they transition from leaders on the field to leaders in their families, communities, state, and Nation.

Congratulations to the Scott Central Rebels. They earned this victory.

CONGRATULATIONS COACH LOU HOLTZ

HON. JOE WILSON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. WILSON of South Carolina. Madam Speaker, congratulations Coach Lou Holtz for being awarded the Contributions to College Football Award from the National College Football Awards Association (NCFAA).

The purpose of the NCFAA is to enhance the integrity, influence, and prestige of college football's various awards.

Coach Holtz is the only college football coach to lead six different football programs to bowl games and the only one to lead four programs to the final top 20 rankings. The University of South Carolina cherish his dedicated service and success in Columbia. He defined college football and will forever be invoked in this era. Coach Holtz was elected to the College Football Hall of Fame on May 1, 2008.

CHAPEL OAKS V.F.D. 75TH ANNIVERSARY & GORHAM FAMILY TRIBUTE

HON. ANTHONY G. BROWN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. BROWN of Maryland. Madam Speaker, I rise today to recognize the 75th Anniversary of The Chapel Oaks Volunteer Fire Department and pay tribute to Leroy and Lillian Gorham's first born children; Jean, Ruth and Leroy, Jr. On Saturday August 23, 1946 these children perished in a house fire at 1302 51st Street in the Prince George's County Community of Deanwood Park. The tragic loss of these three young lives was the cause for the establishment of The Chapel Oaks Volunteer Fire Department; Maryland's First All-African American Fire Company. Jean had just celebrated her 5th birthday and was slated to attend kindergarten in the fall, Ruth was a typical 2-year-old toddler and Leroy, Jr. was 11-months old and had taken his first unassisted steps that day. The Gorham family lived in the middle unit of a 3-unit house, where the fire engulfed all 3 units of the house. Neighbor and good friend Roy Lee Jordan attempted to save the children, but was unsuccessful.

The first fire department on the scene that day was from the District of Columbia. With the fire hydrant connections not being compatible, Engine Company 27 had to run their hoses across the busy thoroughfare of Eastern Ave. from the District of Columbia side to the Maryland side. According to those in the community, the nearby white fire stations in Maryland, which were minutes away from the Gorham's home, often responded slowly or not at all to emergencies in the surrounding African American communities.

The loss of his three children in a house fire was the motivation behind Mr. Gorham and his friend Roy Lee Jordan's personal mission to form a fire department and spare others the pain he suffered firsthand. Mobilized by this tragedy and determined not to let another person perish because of the racial discord, before the end of the year without any formal knowledge, experience or equipment; Mr. Gorham and Mr. Jordan along with members of the Deanwood Park and Chapel Oaks Communities founded the Chapel Oaks Volunteer Fire Department.

They started out in the 5700 Block of Sheriff Road in a barn rented to them by Ms. Eleanor Dodson, where they operated a small used fire engine. By August of 1947 the next year, they had a fire engine and a fire truck on Sheriff Road. Just as they were starting to make headway, in September a fire started in their makeshift firehouse; causing major damage to the building and damaging their second fire engine that was under repair. Not to be discouraged, the men of this community worked evenings and weekends mixing mortar and laying bricks to build a cinder block building with their own hands to replace the old barn that was destroyed.

This experience showed the men of this community that delivery of emergency services was not only a need, but a calling to fulfill. It was this innate spirit that they often had to lean on for strength to overcome the challenges and roadblocks they were faced with. They had to put up with blatant racial discrimi-

nation. They were called racial slurs and spat on. And orders given by Black fire officers being ignored by white fire fighters.

Other fire companies supported Chapel Oaks privately, secretly leaving their old equipment at the firehouse when no one was around or selling their used fire engines.

Chapel Oaks also had to deal with the fact that the county fire association only accepted white males and Chapel Oaks VFD did not receive official calls. Yet they responded to alerts by their neighbors and often arrived before the officially dispatched units. It was routine for these fire fighters to respond to calls in their area without being dispatched. This level of dedication was a commendable, but it came at a cost. There were attempts to run their engines off the road while responding to a call and other fire companies taking credit for rescues made by Chapel Oaks was commonplace.

To meet the requirements to have two Class A fire service vehicles, this resilient group of men and grateful community put on bake sales, sold dinners, had carnival and held various fundraisers to raise money to buy a new fire engine. One volunteer was a businessman who put up his gas station as collateral, nine others took out second mortgages on their homes to support the effort to buy their first piece of new fire apparatus, a 1957 FWD.

Property at 5312 Sheriff Rd. was purchased for the organization by Mr. Charles Lancaster and the members once again set out to build their new firehouse. Eleven years after being formed in December 1957 Chapel Oaks VFD had a brand-new engine, to move into their newly constructed firehouse that they owned and still own to this day.

A decade and a half after being inspired to train and equip themselves, raising fund to buy their own vehicles, and building two firehouses. You would think that Chapel Oaks Volunteer Fire Department would have done enough to have proven their commitment to the fire service and their value to the county. This was not the case as they entered the 1960's and they were still not members of the Prince Georges' County Fireman's Association. Membership in this organization was important not only because of the network of fire fighters to glean information from and the official training opportunities; but most important was the eligibility to share in the county fire tax that would pay for operating expenses. Chapel Oaks had to petition the state legislature for a share of the fire tax-receiving 7 percent to other stations 31 percent-and residents complained that their local company was not automatically dispatched.

Almost 25 years since the tragic Deanwood Park fire, in March of 1971, Chapel Oaks was fed up with the obvious discrimination and filed suit against Prince George's County. The suit alleged noncompliance with the call system and the need for a new firehouse. At the time, equipment had broken down that impaired response times to its constituents and the station sought emergency funding from the county. Willie Rodney, Fire Station 38's chief at the time, summed up the frustration with the need for the lawsuit. "We do the same job and come to the same standards as the other companies. But all we've been getting are promises, promises, promises."

County Executive William W. Gallett threatened to withhold the request for emergency funding because of the pending lawsuit. The

county council granted the funding. By 1980 a new station was built and Chapel Oaks Prince George's County Fire Department included them in their system by designating the Engine No. 38. They also became members of the volunteer association attending annual convention, winning many parade trophies and garnering much deserved respect for their accomplishments.

Chapel Oaks has been a great asset to the community not only for delivery of emergency services, but the numerous lives that have been enhanced by their experience after serving with Chapel Oaks. Among them are Mr. Luther Cruchfeild who was the First African American to be hired by Prince George's County Fire Department and Retired Fire Inspector Lenard Lewis was hired later and became the first African American to be promoted. There also was a young teen named Johnathan Bolden who just hung around the firehouse giving him something productive to do. Now a local businessman he has served in many positions at Chapel Oaks, VFD including Chief. As one of the few African American instructors he has filled a vital role at the University of Maryland College Park Fire Rescue Institute, and is a Prince Georges' County Fire Commissioner. He credits Chapel Oaks and the fire fighters there for nurturing his interest in the fire service and setting the foundation for his work ethic. There are generations of fire fighters serving in Maryland, Virginia and the District of Columbia fire departments that have been motivated, trained and mentored by The Chapel Oaks Fire VFD. They can always use good people and are excited about the opportunity to find new recruits, welcome them in the Chapel Oaks Family and train another generation of fire fighters.

The tragic death of Jean, Ruth and Leroy, Jr. was the driving force for their parents to create a legacy for them. They were determined that their children's death would not be in vain. Mr. Gorham held numerous offices during his 54-year career at the Chapel Oaks Volunteer Fire Department, including Chief, President and Chairman of the Board. He was a very active life member. His wife Lillian was also a member of the Chapel Oaks Volunteer Fire Department Ladies Auxiliary in the early years of its formation. With this year being the 75th Anniversary of the tragic fire which took these three young lives. I would like to pay tribute to Jean Gorham, Ruth Gorham and Leroy Gorham, Jr. They have done more in their death than many get to do in their lives. I would like to acknowledge the strength of their parents Leroy and Lillian Gorham. I would also like to recognize Mr. Roy Lee Jordan for his heroism and bravery, along with his determination to assist in the legacy of the three children that he was unable to save. I would be remiss not to commend the aforementioned communities and the countless numbers of people who have helped build, grow and maintain Chapel Oaks Volunteer Fire Department. In addition, I want to thank the current leadership of Engine 38 "The Oaks" as they continue to provide services to Prince George's County. On this 75th Anniversary I wish all the best to future members of Engine 38 and their contributions to the fire service and Prince George's County.

RECOGNIZING THE PROMOTION OF
R. DALE LYLES

HON. VICTORIA SPARTZ

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mrs. SPARTZ. Madam Speaker, I rise today to congratulate Brigadier General Roger Dale Lyles on the confirmation of his nomination and promotion by the United States Senate to Major General. Since October 2019, Major General Lyles has served as the Adjutant General of Indiana.

For more than three decades, Major General Lyles has been a leader in the Indiana National Guard—from his service as platoon leader through his current posting. His numerous decorations and badges—including a Bronze Star and the Legion of Merit—speak from themselves.

Indiana volunteer servicemembers have a long and storied history of answering the call in the nation's Armed Services, from being the first to fulfill President Lincoln's quota for the Union Army to meritorious service in the War on Terror.

I congratulate Major General Lyles on this high and well-deserved honor, thank him for his decades of service to Indiana and the nation, and I look forward to his pinning in the coming weeks.

HONORING JAMES FREEMAN

HON. DAN BISHOP

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. BISHOP of North Carolina. Madam Speaker, today, I rise to honor James H. Freeman, Founder and President of the Emerging Technology Institute. On December 10th, Mr. Freeman was awarded a Native American 40 Under 40 award by the National Center for American Indian Enterprise Development. These award winners truly represent the best and brightest minds in Indian Country, Mr. Freeman is a member of the Lumbee Tribe and it is a great honor for him to be included in this distinguished category. The Emerging Technology Institute is an integration hub for the Department of Defense, located in the town of Red Springs. I recently had the chance to visit ETI, where I got to fly one of

the many drones on site. I congratulate James once again on this honor. The Lumbee Tribe and Robeson County are very proud of him.

REMEMBERING HENRY CLYDE
HARRISON, JR.

HON. JOE WILSON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 2021

Mr. WILSON of South Carolina. Madam Speaker, I would like to take the time to remember a friend and great South Carolinian, Henry Clyde Harrison, Jr. Henry was someone that dedicated himself to the safety of his community as a Highway Patrol officer and worked to bring people together. He was instrumental in the development of American services and creating over 5,000 jobs. Our family is especially grateful for his counsel and support of Attorney General Alan Wilson.

HENRY CLYDE HARRISON, JR.

(February 21, 1932–December 12, 2021)

Henry Clyde Harrison Jr., 89, passed away on Sunday December 12, 2021 at his home in Greenville South Carolina.

Henry was blessed with a large and loving family. He is survived by his love and life partner Tracy Lamb, his children; son Randy Harrison (Beth), his daughters Carole Ann Owens (Kent), Pauline Joy Green (Tim), Austin Harrison, his grandchildren Heidi Boyce, Henry T. Harrison, Will Owens, Anna Ornelas, Carly Owens, Chase Green, Aiden Green, Honor Neely, Willa Green and Wynnie Green his great grandchildren Harrison, Caroline, Bailey, Ava, Lily, Lauren, and Alivia. He is also survived by his second wife Glenda Harrison and her children Kim Alexander (Donnie), Kellie O'Donald (Roger), and Al Harrison (Kim) and grandchildren Cody O'Donald, Carson Lollis, Kolby Mccuen, and Brady Harrison, and great grandchildren Hadlee and Fallon all who he loved dearly. He was the last surviving child of the late Clyde and Pauline (Womble) Harrison. Henry was predeceased by his 10 siblings, Dot Floyd, Frances Ray, Elizabeth Baker, Lee Ellis, Mildred Lollis, Margaret Shenk, and Bill, John, Heyward, and Charlie Harrison as well as his first wife Carole Harrison.

Henry was born on February 21st, 1932 in the Union Bleachery community in Greenville, South Carolina before moving to Sans Souci where he grew up. From a young age, Henry exhibited 2 qualities that would come to be known as characteristics to all those who knew him; hard work and the ability to

make friends. When he was 6 years old, he had his first paper route, times were tough and he used the money he earned to help his family. He was known as the small boy; the one being followed by all the neighborhood dogs. He carried scraps and treats to feed them following the motto "better for them to be happy to see you coming!". Henry grew up in Greenville and graduated from Parker High School before joining the Highway Patrol and taking his first post in Cherokee County. On the patrol, he quickly distinguished himself as an officer who was truly there to serve. He believed that every single person he came across, on the job or in life, deserved to be treated with dignity and respect. He made sure everyone knew he worked for the people and it was his job to keep the roads safe for them and most importantly, their children. Through the course of his career on the patrol, Henry was able to move back to Greenville in 1962. While he never ran for office, Henry had a servant's heart and a love for politics. He was extremely active not only in the local Upstate community but in the entire state of South Carolina. He had no interest in partisanship, in divisive times he was known for working with everyone with the goal of bringing people together for the good of all. In 1975 he decided to retire from the Highway Patrol as a Sergeant and start his own company. Henry started American Security from his living room and quickly expanded it into a corporation that at various times served clients in seven states and employed over 5,500 people, known today as American Services. Henry believed in hard work. He classically stated, "The good Lord gives everyone 168 hours a week, how we use them is up to us." Henry proudly served as the Chairman of the Board and CEO of American Services until the day he went to be with his lord.

Henry, Chief, Big Henry, The Chairman, Slick, Dad, Daddy, Papa, Papa Slick, loved people for the entirety of his life and will be remembered for his love by his many friends and family while they wait to join him in the Kingdom of God.

Visitation will be held on Thursday December 16, 2021 at Mackey Mortuary at Century Drive from 4pm–7pm. A memorial service will be held at Sans Souci Church located at 3100 Old Buncombe Road, Greenville South Carolina, 29609 on Friday December 17 at 11:00 am. Entombment will follow the service at Woodlawn Memorial Park, 1901 Wade Hampton Blvd Greenville, SC 29609. In lieu of flowers, the family asks for memorials to be sent to Sans Souci Church, St. Jude's Children Hospital, Tri-County Vet Tech Program or Dr. William Schmidt and Dr. Susan Shi Legacy Fund and Institute for Child Success.

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

Senate passed S.J. Res. 33, Debt Limit Increase.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages S9127–S9166

Measures Introduced: Seventeen bills and three resolutions were introduced, as follows: S. 3379–3395, S.J. Res. 33, and S. Res. 478–479. **Pages S9161–62**

Measures Passed:

Debt Limit Increase: By 50 yeas to 49 nays (Vote No. 498), Senate passed S.J. Res. 33, joint resolution relating to increasing the debt limit. **Pages S9134–53**

During consideration of this measure today, Senate also took the following action:

By 50 yeas to 49 nays (Vote No. 497), Senate agreed to the motion to proceed to consideration of the joint resolution. **Pages S9133–34**

NASA Enhanced Use Leasing Extension Act: Senate passed H.R. 5746, to amend title 51, United States Code, to extend the authority of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to enter into leases of non-excess property of the Administration, after agreeing to the following amendment proposed thereto: **Page S9155**

Cantwell Amendment No. 4893, in the nature of a substitute. **Page S9155**

STANDUP Act: Senate passed S. 1543, to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide best practices on student suicide awareness and prevention training and condition State educational agencies, local educational agencies, and tribal educational agencies receiving funds under section 520A of such Act to establish and implement a school-based student suicide awareness and prevention training policy, after agreeing to the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute. **Pages S9155–56**

Federal Rotational Cyber Workforce Program Act: Senate passed S. 1097, to establish a Federal rotational cyber workforce program for the Federal cyber workforce. **Pages S9156–57**

American Diabetes Month: Senate agreed to S. Res. 479, supporting the goals and ideals of American Diabetes Month. **Page S9157**

House Messages:

National Defense Authorization Act—Agreement: Senate resumed consideration of the amendment of the House of Representatives to S. 1605, to designate the National Pulse Memorial located at 1912 South Orange Avenue in Orlando, Florida, taking action on the following motions and amendments proposed thereto: **Page S9134**

Pending:

Schumer motion to concur in the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill. **Page S9134**

Schumer motion to concur in the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill, with Schumer Amendment No. 4880 (to the House amendment), to add an effective date. **Page S9134**

Schumer Amendment No. 4881 (to Amendment No. 4880), to modify the effective date. **Page S9134**

During consideration of this measure today, Senate also took the following action:

By 86 yeas to 13 nays (Vote No. 496), three-fifths of those Senators duly chosen and sworn, having voted in the affirmative, Senate agreed to the motion to close further debate on Schumer motion to concur in the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill. **Pages S9133–34**

Schumer motion to refer the message of the House on the bill to the Committee on Armed Services, with instructions, Schumer Amendment No. 4882, to add an effective date, fell when cloture was invoked on Schumer motion to concur in the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill. **Page S9134**

Schumer Amendment No. 4883 (to the instructions (Amendment No. 4882) of the motion to refer), to modify the effective date, fell when Schumer motion to refer the message of the House on the

bill to the Committee on Armed Services, with instructions, Schumer Amendment No. 4882 (listed above) fell. **Page S9134**

Schumer Amendment No. 4884 (to Amendment No. 4883), to modify the effective date, fell when Schumer Amendment No. 4883 (to the instructions (Amendment No. 4882) of the motion to refer) (listed above) fell. **Page S9134**

A unanimous-consent agreement was reached providing for further consideration of the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill at approximately 10 a.m., on Wednesday, December 15, 2021; that at 11:30 a.m., Schumer motion to concur in the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill, with Schumer Amendment No. 4880 (to the House amendment) (listed above) be withdrawn, and Senate vote on Schumer motion to concur in the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill; that following disposition of the House message to accompany the bill, Senate vote on confirmation of the nomination of Jennifer Sung, of Oregon, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Ninth Circuit; and that at 2:15 p.m., Senate vote on confirmation of the nomination of Samantha D. Elliott, of New Hampshire, to be United States District Judge for the District of New Hampshire. **Page S9165**

Elliott Nomination: Senate continued consideration of the nomination of Samantha D. Elliott, of New Hampshire, to be United States District Judge for the District of New Hampshire. **Pages S9127–33**

During consideration of this nomination today, Senate also took the following action:

By 50 yeas to 49 nays (Vote No. EX. 495), Senate agreed to the motion to close further debate on the nomination. **Pages S9127–33**

Nominations Confirmed: Senate confirmed the following nominations:

Thea D. Rozman Kendler, of Maryland, to be an Assistant Secretary of Commerce.

Alanna McCargo, of Virginia, to be President, Government National Mortgage Association.

Dawn N. Ison, of Michigan, to be United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Michigan for the term of four years.

Nickolas Guertin, of Virginia, to be Director of Operational Test and Evaluation, Department of Defense.

John Bradley Sherman, of Texas, to be Chief Information Officer of the Department of Defense.

Carrie Frances Ricci, of Virginia, to be General Counsel of the Department of the Army.

3 Army nominations in the rank of general.

10 Marine Corps nominations in the rank of general.

1 Space Force nomination in the rank of general.

Routine lists in the Air Force, Army, Marine Corps, Navy, and Space Force. **Pages S9153–55**

Measures Placed on the Calendar: **Page S9160**

Executive Communications: **Pages S9160–61**

Executive Reports of Committees: **Page S9161**

Additional Cosponsors: **Page S9162**

Statements on Introduced Bills/Resolutions: **Pages S9162–64**

Additional Statements: **Pages S9159–60**

Amendments Submitted: **Page S9165**

Authorities for Committees to Meet: **Page S9165**

Record Votes: Four record votes were taken today. (Total—498) **Pages S9133–34, S9142**

Adjournment: Senate convened at 10 a.m. and adjourned at 7:21 p.m., until 10 a.m. on Wednesday, December 15, 2021. (For Senate's program, see the remarks of the Acting Majority Leader in today's Record on page S9165.)

Committee Meetings

(Committees not listed did not meet)

BUSINESS MEETING

Committee on Armed Services: Committee ordered favorably reported 11 nominations in the Army, Navy, and Space Force.

STABLECOINS

Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs: Committee concluded a hearing to examine stablecoins, focusing on how they work, how they are used, and their risks, after receiving testimony from Alexis Goldstein, Open Markets Institute, New York, New York; and Dante Alighieri Disparte, Circle, Jai Massari, Davis Polk and Wardwell, LLP, and Hilary J. Allen, American University Washington College of Law, all of Washington, D.C.

NOMINATIONS

Committee on Foreign Relations: Committee concluded a hearing to examine the nominations of Donald Armin Blome, of Illinois, to be Ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Eric M. Garcetti, of California, to be Ambassador to the Republic of India, who was introduced by Senator Padilla, and Amy Gutmann, of Pennsylvania, to be Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany, who was introduced by Senators Toomey and Casey, all of the Department of State, after the nominees testified and answered questions in their own behalf.

NOMINATIONS

Committee on Foreign Relations: Committee concluded a hearing to examine the nominations of Christopher R. Hill, of Rhode Island, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Serbia, Michele Taylor, of Georgia, for the rank of Ambassador during her tenure of service as United States Representative to the UN Human Rights Council, who was introduced by Senator Kaine, and Joseph Donnelly, of Indiana, to be Ambassador to the Holy See, who was introduced by Senator Coons, all of the Department of State, Alice P. Albright, of the District of Columbia, to be Chief Executive Officer, Millennium Challenge Corporation, Oren E. Whyche-Shaw, of Maryland, to be United States Director of the African Development Bank, Enoch T. Ebong, of the District of Columbia, to be Director of the Trade and Development Agen-

cy, Leopoldo Martinez Nucete, of Virginia, to be United States Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank, who was introduced by Senator Kaine, and Maria Fabiana Jorge, of the District of Columbia, to be United States Alternate Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank, who was introduced by Senators Warner and Blunt, after the nominees testified and answered questions in their own behalf.

NOMINATION

Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions: Committee concluded a hearing to examine the nomination of Robert McKinnon Califf, of North Carolina, to be Commissioner of Food and Drugs, Department of Health and Human Services, after the nominee testified and answered questions in his own behalf.

House of Representatives

Chamber Action

Public Bills and Resolutions Introduced: 39 public bills, H.R. 6256–6294; 1 private bill, H.R. 6295; and 6 resolutions, H. Res. 850–851 and 853–856, were introduced. **Pages H7821–23**

Additional Cosponsors: **Pages H7825–27**

Reports Filed: Reports were filed today as follows:

H. Res. 848, relating to the consideration of House Report 117–216 and an accompanying resolution (H. Rept. 117–217);

H. Res. 849, providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 5665) to establish in the Department of State the Office to Monitor and Combat Islamophobia, and for other purposes (H. Rept. 117–218); and

H. Res. 852, providing for consideration of the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 33) joint resolution relating to increasing the debt limit (H. Rept. 117–219). **Page H7821**

Moment of Silence: The House observed a moment of silence in remembrance of the over 800,000 Americans who have passed away from the COVID–19 virus. **Page H7665**

Capitol Police Emergency Assistance Act of 2021: The House agreed to take from the Speaker's table and pass S. 3377, to empower the Chief of the United States Capitol Police to unilaterally request the assistance of the DC National Guard or Federal

law enforcement agencies in emergencies without prior approval of the Capitol Police Board. **Pages H7803–04**

Suspension: The House agreed to suspend the rules and pass the following measure:

Five-Stars for Safe Cars Act: H.R. 6256, to require the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration to update the motor vehicle information required to be submitted to the Administration to assist a consumer in buying a passenger motor vehicle. **Pages H7804–08**

Moment of Silence: The House observed a moment of silence in remembrance of the victims of the recent outbreak of tornadoes in the Midwest. **Page H7814**

Recommending that the House of Representatives find Mark Randall Meadows in contempt of Congress for refusal to comply with a subpoena duly issued by the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol: The House agreed to H. Res. 851, recommending that the House of Representatives find Mark Randall Meadows in contempt of Congress for refusal to comply with a subpoena duly issued by the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, by a yea-and-nay vote of 222 yeas to 208 nays, Roll No. 447. **Pages H7667–H7797, H7814–15**

During debate, exception was taken to certain words used and a demand was made to have the

words taken down. After review, the Chair ruled that the words were not in violation of the spirit of debate.

H. Res. 848, the rule relating to the consideration of House Report 117–216 and an accompanying resolution, was agreed to by a yea-and-nay vote of 220 yeas to 210 nays, Roll No. 442, after the previous question was ordered by a yea-and-nay vote of 218 yeas to 209 nays, Roll No. 441.

Pages H7645–53, H7663–65

Combating International Islamophobia Act: The House passed H.R. 5665, to establish in the Department of State the Office to Monitor and Combat Islamophobia, by a yea-and-nay vote of 219 yeas to 212 nays, Roll No. 448.

Pages H7653–63, H7665–67, H7794–H7803, H7815–16

During debate, exception was taken to certain words used and a demand was made to have the words taken down. After review, the Chair ruled that the words were in violation of the spirit of debate.

H. Res. 849, the rule providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 5665) was agreed to by a yea-and-nay vote of 219 yeas to 213 nays, Roll No. 444, after the previous question was ordered by a yea-and-nay vote of 220 yeas to 210 nays, Roll No. 443.

Pages H7653–63, H7665–67

Relating to increasing the debt limit: The House passed S.J. Res. 33, relating to increasing the debt limit, by a yea-and-nay vote of 221 yeas to 209 nays, Roll No. 449.

Pages H7808–14, H7816–20

H. Res. 852, the rule providing for consideration of the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 33) was agreed to by a yea-and-nay vote of 220 yeas to 212 nays, Roll No. 446, after the previous question was ordered by a yea-and-nay vote of 220 yeas to 212 nays, Roll No. 445.

Pages H7808–13

Senate Referrals: S. 854 was held at the desk. S. 2959 was held at the desk. S. 3377 was held at the desk.

Page H7653

Senate Messages: Messages received from the Senate today appear on pages H7653, H7794, and H7803.

Quorum Calls—Votes: Nine yea-and-nay votes developed during the proceedings of today and appear on pages H7663–64, H7664–65, H7665–66, H7666–67, H7812, H7813, H7814–15, H7815–16, H7819–20.

Adjournment: The House met at 12 noon and adjourned at 12:23 a.m.

Committee Meetings

A GLOBAL CRISIS NEEDS A GLOBAL SOLUTION: THE URGENT NEED TO ACCELERATE VACCINATIONS AROUND THE WORLD

Committee on Oversight and Reform: Select Subcommittee on the Coronavirus Crisis held a hearing entitled “A Global Crisis Needs a Global Solution: The Urgent Need to Accelerate Vaccinations Around the World”. Testimony was heard from public witnesses.

COMBATING INTERNATIONAL ISLAMOPHOBIA ACT; A RESOLUTION RECOMMENDING THAT THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES FIND MARK RANDALL MEADOWS IN CONTEMPT OF CONGRESS

Committee on Rules: Full Committee held a hearing on H.R. 5665, the “Combating International Islamophobia Act”; and a Resolution Recommending that the House of Representatives Find Mark Randall Meadows in Contempt of Congress for Refusal to Comply with a Subpoena Duly Issued by the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol. The Committee granted, by record vote of 8–4, a closed rule providing for consideration of the resolution accompanying House Report 117–216. The rule provides that if House Report 117–216 is called up by direction of the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, all points of order against the report shall be waived and it shall be considered as read. The rule provides one hour of debate equally divided among and controlled by Representative Thompson of Mississippi, Representative Cheney of Wyoming, and an opponent, or their respective designees. The rule waives all points of order against consideration of the resolution accompanying the report. The rule provides that the resolution accompanying the report shall be considered as read. The Committee granted, by record vote of 8–4, a closed rule providing for consideration of H.R. 5665, the “Combating International Islamophobia Act”. The rule provides one hour of debate equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs or their designees. The rule waives all points of order against consideration of the bill. The rule provides that an amendment in the nature of a substitute consisting of the text of Rules Committee Print 117–23, modified by the amendment printed in the Rules Committee report, shall be considered as adopted and the bill, as amended, shall be considered as read. The rule waives all points of order against provisions in the

bill, as amended. The rule provides one motion to recommit. Testimony was heard from Chairman Meeks, Chairman Thompson of Mississippi, and Representatives McCaul, Cheney, and Armstrong.

JOINT RESOLUTION RELATING TO INCREASING THE DEBT LIMIT

Committee on Rules: Full Committee held a hearing on S.J. Res. 33, joint resolution relating to increasing the debt limit. The Committee granted, by record vote of 9–4, a closed rule providing for consideration of S.J. Res. 33, the Joint resolution relating to increasing the debt limit. The rule provides one hour of general debate equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Ways and Means or their designees. The rule waives all points of order against consideration of the joint resolution. The rule provides that the joint resolution shall be considered as read. The rule waives all points of order against provisions in the joint resolution. The rule provides one motion to commit. Testimony was heard from Representatives Beyer and Arrington.

Joint Meetings

No joint committee meetings were held.

NEW PUBLIC LAWS

(For last listing of Public Laws, see DAILY DIGEST, p. D1337)

S. 610, to address behavioral health and well-being among health care professionals. Signed on December 10, 2021. (Public Law 117–71)

COMMITTEE MEETINGS FOR WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 15, 2021

(Committee meetings are open unless otherwise indicated)

Senate

Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs: to hold hearings to examine disaster recovery assistance, focusing on authorization of the Community Development Block Grant—Disaster Recovery Program, 10 a.m., SD–538.

Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation: business meeting to consider S. 46, to reauthorize the Coral Reef Conservation Act of 2000 and to establish the United States Coral Reef Task Force, S. 3196, to enhance the policies, procedures, and training for midshipmen at the United States Merchant Marine Academy, an original bill entitled, “Omnibus Tourism Act”, S. 3309, to require SelectUSA to coordinate with State-level economic development organizations to increase foreign direct investment in semiconductor-related manufacturing and production, the nominations of Alan Davidson, of Maryland, to be Assistant Secretary for Communications and

Information, Jed David Kolko, of California, to be Under Secretary for Economic Affairs, and Viqar Ahmad, of Texas, to be an Assistant Secretary, and to be Chief Financial Officer, all of the Department of Commerce, and Mary T. Boyle, of Maryland, to be a Commissioner of the Consumer Product Safety Commission, 10 a.m., SR–253.

Full Committee, to hold an oversight hearing to examine the U.S. airline industry, 2:30 p.m., SR–253.

Committee on Foreign Relations: business meeting to consider the nominations of Marc R. Stanley, of Texas, to be Ambassador to the Argentine Republic, Rashad Hussain, of Virginia, to be Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom, Ramin Toloui, of Iowa, to be an Assistant Secretary (Economic and Business Affairs), Thomas Barrett, of Wisconsin, to be Ambassador to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, Erik D. Ramanathan, of Massachusetts, to be Ambassador to the Kingdom of Sweden, Scott Miller, of Colorado, to be Ambassador to the Swiss Confederation, and to serve concurrently and without additional compensation as Ambassador to the Principality of Liechtenstein, Jamie L. Harpootlian, of South Carolina, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Slovenia, John R. Bass, of New York, to be an Under Secretary (Management), Mark Brzezinski, of Virginia, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Poland, and Michael M. Adler, of Florida, to be Ambassador to the Kingdom of Belgium, all of the Department of State, Adriana Debora Kugler, of Maryland, to be United States Executive Director of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Scott A. Nathan, of Massachusetts, to be Chief Executive Officer of the United States International Development Finance Corporation, Chantale Yokmin Wong, of the District of Columbia, to be United States Director of the Asian Development Bank, with the rank of Ambassador, and other pending calendar business, 10:45 a.m., SD–106.

Full Committee, business meeting to consider pending calendar business, 3:30 p.m., SD–106.

Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs: business meeting to consider S. 3099, to amend title 44, United States Code, to establish the Federal Risk and Authorization Management Program within the General Services Administration, S. 2932, to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 430 South Knowles Avenue in New Richmond, Wisconsin, as the “Captain Robert C. Harmon and Private John R. Peirson Post Office Building”, H.R. 767, to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 40 Fulton Street in Middletown, New York, as the “Benjamin A. Gilman Post Office Building”, H.R. 1170, to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 1 League in Irvine, California, as the “Tuskegee Airman Lieutenant Colonel Robert J. Friend Memorial Post Office Building”, H.R. 1444, to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 132 North Loudoun Street, Suite 1 in Winchester, Virginia, as the “Patsy Cline Post Office”, H.R. 3210, to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 1905 15th Street in Boulder, Colorado, as the “Officer Eric H. Talley Post Office Building”, and the nominations of Loren L. AliKhan, and John P. Howard III, both

to be an Associate Judge of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals, and Adrienne Jennings Noti, to be an Associate Judge of the Superior Court of the District of Columbia, 11:30 a.m., SD-342.

Committee on the Judiciary: to hold hearings to examine the nominations of Alison J. Nathan, of New York, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Second Circuit, Georgette Castner, to be United States District Judge for the District of New Jersey, Ruth Bermudez Montenegro, to be United States District Judge for the Southern District of California, Julie Rebecca Rubin, to be United States District Judge for the District of Maryland, and Cristina D. Silva, and Anne Rachel Traum, both to be a United States District Judge for the District of Nevada, 10 a.m., SD-226.

Subcommittee on Competition Policy, Antitrust, and Consumer Rights, to hold hearings to examine the impact of consolidation and monopoly power on American innovation, 2:30 p.m., SD-226.

Committee on Veterans' Affairs: business meeting to consider S. 731, to amend title 38, United States Code, to improve the management of information technology projects and investments of the Department of Veterans Affairs, S. 1607, to require the Secretary of Veterans Affairs to improve how the Department of Veterans Affairs discloses to individuals entitled to educational assistance from the Department risks associated with using such assistance at particular educational institutions and to restore entitlement of students to such assistance who are pursuing programs of education at educational institutions that are subject to Federal or State civil enforcement action, S. 1664, to require the Secretary of Veterans Affairs to take certain actions to improve the processing by the Department of Veterans Affairs of claims for disability compensation for post-traumatic stress disorder, S. 1850, to preserve the memorials to chaplains at Arlington National Cemetery, S. 1936, to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide for extensions of the time limitations for use of entitlement under Department of Veterans Affairs educational assistance programs by reason of school closures due to emergency and other situations, S. 1944, to improve Vet Centers of the Department of Veterans Affairs, S. 2089, to amend title 38, United States Code, to ensure that grants provided by the Secretary of Veterans Affairs for State veterans' cemeteries do not restrict States from authorizing the interment of certain deceased members of the reserve components of the Armed Forces in such cemeteries, S. 2431, to require the Secretary of Veterans Affairs to require the employees of the Department of Veterans Affairs to receive training developed by the Inspector General of the Department on reporting wrongdoing to, responding to requests from, and cooperating with the Office of Inspector General, S. 2513, to amend title 38, United States Code, to improve the application and review process of the Department of

Veterans Affairs for clothing allowance claims submitted by veterans, S. 2514, to rename the Provo Veterans Center in Orem, Utah, as the "Col. Gail S. Halvorsen 'Candy Bomber' Veterans Center", S. 2533, to improve mammography services furnished by the Department of Veterans Affairs, S. 2624, to authorize major medical facility projects for the Department of Veterans Affairs for fiscal year 2022, S. 2627, to amend title 38, United States Code, to improve assistance for veterans with travel necessary for counseling, mental health services, health care, and others services furnished by the Department of Veterans Affairs, S. 2644, to amend title 38, United States Code, to expand eligibility for Post-9/11 Educational Assistance to members of the National Guard who perform certain full-time duty, S. 2687, to provide the Inspector General of the Department of Veterans Affairs testimonial subpoena authority, S. 2720, to direct the Secretary of Veterans Affairs to establish a national clinical pathway for prostate cancer, S. 2761, to amend title 38, United States Code, to direct the Secretary of Veterans Affairs to maintain demographic information regarding veterans and publish such information on a website of the Department of Veterans Affairs, S. 2787, to amend title 38, United States Code, to clarify the role of doctors of podiatric medicine in the Department of Veterans Affairs, S. 2794, to amend title 38, United States Code, to increase automatic maximum coverage under the Servicemembers' Group Life Insurance program and the Veterans' Group Life Insurance program, S. 2852, to amend title 38, United States Code, to authorize the Secretary of Veterans Affairs to enter into contracts and agreements for the payment of care in non-Department of Veterans Affairs medical foster homes for certain veterans who are unable to live independently, S. 3025, to amend title 38, United States Code, to expand health care and benefits from the Department of Veterans Affairs for military sexual trauma, S. 3094, to amend title 38, United States Code, to improve homeless veterans reintegration programs, S. 3163, to improve access to medical examinations required by veterans to obtain disability compensation or pension under laws administered by the Secretary of Veterans Affairs, S. 3293, to expand access of veterans to mental health care from the Department of Veterans Affairs, an original bill entitled, "Veterans Benefits Improvement Act", and the nomination of Kurt D. DelBene, of Washington, to be an Assistant Secretary of Veterans Affairs (Information and Technology), 3 p.m., SR-418.

Select Committee on Intelligence: closed business meeting to consider pending intelligence matters; to be immediately followed by a closed briefing on certain intelligence matters, 2 p.m., SVC-217.

House

No hearings are scheduled.

Next Meeting of the SENATE

10 a.m., Wednesday, December 15

Senate Chamber

Program for Wednesday: Senate will continue consideration of the amendment of the House of Representatives to S. 1605, National Defense Authorization Act, and vote on the motion to concur in the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill at 11:30 a.m.

Following disposition of the amendment of the House of Representatives to S. 1605, Senate will vote on confirmation of the nomination of Jennifer Sung, of Oregon, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Ninth Circuit.

Senate will vote on confirmation of the nomination of Samantha D. Elliott, of New Hampshire, to be United States District Judge for the District of New Hampshire at 2:15 p.m.

Next Meeting of the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

11 a.m., Thursday, December 16

House Chamber

Program for Thursday: House will meet in Pro Forma session at 11 a.m.

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