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No. 56

## House of Representatives

The House met at 10 a.m. and was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. MILLER of Florida).

### DESIGNATION OF THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Speaker:

WASHINGTON, DC,

April 28, 2004.

I hereby appoint the Honorable JEFF MILLER to act as Speaker pro tempore on this day.

J. DENNIS HASTERT,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

### PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Daniel P. Coughlin, offered the following prayer: Lord of life and designer of all seasons, spring has to be Your masterpiece. At first, early sketches are slow and tentative. Then suddenly, spring bursts into full color and fills the landscape of longing.

The most tender shoots, like all the young, must have life their own way. Ground spots that only a few weeks ago seemed as though they would never grow anything again now are softened with life.

During this time of threatening clouds of terrorism and violent winds of war, may the signs of spring bring us hope that peace will yet emerge.

In the current political atmosphere, when debate of issues can easily fall into personal attacks and partisan loyalty can become intolerance and defensive posturing, may the seeds of spring bear a gentleness of manner and a civility of heart that will make us all proud to be Americans, truly one Nation under Your loving providence now and forever. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair has examined the Journal of the

last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

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

### PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Will the gentlewoman from Michigan (Mrs. MILLER) come forward and lead the House in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Mrs. MILLER of Michigan 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.

### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Monahan, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate has passed a bill of the following title which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 2315. An act to amend the Communications Satellite Act of 1962 to extend the deadline for the INTELSAT initial public offering.

The message also announced that pursuant to section 128, of Public Law 108-132, the Chair, on behalf of the Majority Leader, appoints the following individual to the Commission on Review of Overseas Military Facility Structure of the United States—

Admiral Thomas Lopez of Virginia.

### RECOGNIZING COOPER COMMUNITIES ON THEIR 50TH ANNIVERSARY

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

Mr. BOOZMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize Cooper Communities, a northwest Arkansas-based business that will be celebrating its 50th anniversary tomorrow.

In 1954, John and Mildred Cooper began a small home-building business that has evolved into a successful corporation that builds homes, master communities and resorts in Arkansas, Tennessee, Missouri, Alabama, and West Virginia.

By building quality homes and unique master communities, Cooper Communities has helped lure people to the South. In fact, retirees from across the country are relocating to Bella Vista Village, helping to make the Third Congressional District of Arkansas one of the fastest growing regions in the country.

Cooper Communities has been acknowledged as one of the most fiscally responsible developers of planned communities in the Nation. They have also been praised in their environmental efforts, setting aside 20 to 30 percent of the land in each Cooper Community.

Mr. Speaker, I take this time and opportunity to recognize Cooper Communities for its exemplary business practices and contributions to the quality of life in the South.

### SEEKING CLARIFICATION

(Mrs. MALONEY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. MALONEY. Mr. Speaker, last Sunday, when asked about the March For Women's Lives, Karen Hughes said, and I quote, "The fundamental difference between us and the terror network we fight is that we value every life."

On behalf of the millions of Americans who are pro-choice, I am asking, along with nine Members of Congress, that the Bush administration clarify this statement. Surely they cannot be equating choice with terrorism, but it sounds like that to me. This is a dangerous and ugly pattern. If people do not agree, call them terrorists.

□ 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, I will be placing in the RECORD the letter from nine Members of Congress to President Bush and the article that appeared today in The Washington Post.

#### MARRIAGE PENALTY

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

Mr. RYUN of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, in 2001 and again in 2003, this body passed legislation that eliminated the marriage tax penalty, saving families an average of \$1,400. Unfortunately, unless we act to permanently eliminate the marriage penalty, married couples will face tax increases starting next year. We should not discourage marriages by making couples sign on to a higher tax bill with their marriage certificate.

There is no good reason to raise taxes on married couples. In the midst of a strong economic recovery, imposing higher taxes on married couples will only create financial hardship for millions of Americans and stifle a growing economy. If we examine the consequences of the marriage penalty on the American family, we will not have to think twice about permanently repealing this particular act.

If we do not act, we will send in my district nearly 62,000 families a higher bill on January 1. Instead, let us tell them that we have finally put an end to the marriage tax penalty. I urge my colleagues to vote for this bill.

#### JOBS

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

Mr. MEEK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I am here today to not only report to the American people an unfortunate event we are going through here in the United States, living under the highest deficit in the history of the Republic and losing 2.8 million jobs since the Bush administration has been in control of our government.

I think it is very, very important for the American people to understand that Democrats in this House are looking for sensible tax relief and also reducing the deficit along with creating manufacturing jobs. I am talking about those 2.8 million Americans that are out of work and who had jobs and were paying taxes and were also providing health care, or trying to pay for health care, for their families.

I think it is very, very important the American people pay very close attention to those that are trying to push forward reasonable tax relief, student loan opportunities for the middle class, and who want to make sure we can move forward in building America and manufacturing jobs and making sure that we close the gap on the 2.8 million jobs that have been lost under this administration.

#### TRIBUTE TO LIEUTENANT COMMANDER DANIEL PETTIGREW

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

Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to ask my colleagues to join me in paying respect to one of my constituents, Lieutenant Commander Daniel Pettigrew, U.S. Navy, retired, of Middletown, Maryland, who passed away on Wednesday, April 21. Dan Pettigrew was a 26-year Navy veteran, retiring in 1974. He served his country with distinction, and was awarded the Bronze Star Medal, the Vietnam Service Medal, the National Navy Achievement Medal, the Navy Commendation Medal, the Navy Unit Commendation, and the Navy Marine Corps Medal.

Dan was a member of Middletown United Methodist Church; VFW Post 3285 John R. Webb, Frederick; Masonic Lodge AF&AM in Massachusetts. He also served as a national legislative director for the Uniformed Services Disabled Retirees. In his role at the USDR, he worked tirelessly on the issues of concurrent receipt, veterans health care, and VA disability compensation.

Dan's last 6 years were spent walking the halls of Congress bringing the message about the needs of military retirees, veterans, and their families across the Nation. Please join me in remembering Dan and his valiant causes that he supported so diligently for our veterans, military retirees, and their families.

#### JOBS IN AMERICA

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

Mr. DEFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, congratulations to the Bush administration on yet another record: 354,000 people exhausted their unemployment benefits in March, the largest number since we started keeping statistics in 1971; and yet they cannot find work.

We have 1.5 million people since the program ended in December, and the President and the Republican leadership have refused to renew the program. There are 23,000 Oregonians, people who want and cannot find work. They are the long-term army of the unemployed in America due to outsourcing and misplaced budget priorities.

But the administration will not extend unemployment benefits to them because then they would have to admit that the rosy glow they want to paint upon the economy and job prospects actually is a sunset.

So are they worried about creating deficits? No. There are \$17 billion in the Unemployment Trust Fund. Why do they not care about this army of unemployed Americans? Why will they

not help them find work, and while they are still looking for work, help them keep their families together and keep their homes with extended unemployment benefits out of the trust fund balance that is sitting unspent?

#### VOLUNTEER MILITARY EXCEEDING RE-ENLISTMENT EXPECTATIONS

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

Mr. WILSON of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, today's all-volunteer military protects Americans every day by bravely fighting the war on terrorism in Afghanistan, Iraq, and wherever terrorists attack. Despite the sacrifice and commitment service in our armed service requires, and despite the enemies of freedom who are attacking America and its allies, troops are re-enlisting at rates exceeding our expectations.

September 11 changed America's psychology. Americans know there is a real and visible threat to our life and liberty. The troops who are signing back up for service know better than anyone how important this fight against terrorism is to the future of our Nation and to freedom throughout the world to protect American families.

Mr. Speaker, we have 1.4 million men and women who are on active duty, along with 1.2 million who serve in the Guard and Reserves. These volunteers and their families are dedicated individuals who have chosen a life of honor and duty to our country. I ask all my colleagues to join me in thanking servicemembers for their service.

In conclusion, may God bless our troops, and we will never forget September 11.

#### PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

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

Mr. EMANUEL. Mr. Speaker, 30 years ago President Bush and Senator KERRY received their reviews from their respective commanders.

Lieutenant Kerry, from Lieutenant Commander George Elliott: "Lt. Kerry frequently exhibited a high sense of imagination and judgment in planning operations against the enemy in the Mekong Delta. Involved in several enemy-initiated firefights, including an ambush during the Christmas truce, he effectively suppressed enemy fire and is unofficially credited with 20 enemy killed in action."

The evaluation from Lt. Bush's commander: "Lt. Bush has not been observed at this unit during the period of this report."

Now, we can debate what these two men did 30 years ago, or we can debate what this country is going to do on

June 30 in Iraq in finding a government to hand to the people of Iraq that they respect and that will give them a sense of where they are going.

It is worthy of having a debate of what happened 30 years ago, but I think it is very important to the people of this country that we debate what we are going to do on June 30.

#### SHADOWY CAMPAIGN

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

Mr. PITTS. Mr. Speaker, Congress Daily reported last week that liberal soft money groups, 527s they are called, have out-raised conservative groups five to one in 2004, and their goal is to raise \$500 million to defeat the President. These 527 groups raise unreported, unregulated soft money, unlimited donations by millionaire fat cats, with no reporting requirements, no public scrutiny, and unlimited access to candidates.

This is the kind of thing McCain-Feingold finance reform was supposed to deal with. It did not. The money just went underground. But it is not only the money that is the problem; it is that people do not know who is influencing our political process. These donations are not from small donors. The top 24 donors to these groups have given a total of \$40 million.

If we had done campaign reform right, we would not have this problem. Instead, we are stuck with this unending special interest shadow campaign, while true citizens' groups operate on limited budgets and cannot even run ads on issues that they care about.

□ 1015

#### KERRY'S RECORD

(Ms. LINDA T. SÁNCHEZ of California asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Ms. LINDA T. SÁNCHEZ of California. Mr. Speaker, today I rise in support of JOHN KERRY, the Democratic presidential nominee, the only candidate who has a real plan to build a stronger, more secure America. JOHN KERRY is committed to empowering our communities by creating good jobs, improving our public schools and increasing home ownership. JOHN KERRY has the best combination of character, policymaking experience and national security credentials to get our neighborhoods and our country back on track.

Back on track from what, one might ask? From a dismal GOP economic record. This administration's economic plan has created the worst job loss since President Hoover. A whopping 2.8 million jobs have disappeared since President Bush took office, including 1 million jobs that have been shipped overseas. Nevertheless, President Bush says our economy is strong. He should

see how his economic plan has devastated hardworking families like in my home State of California where over 1 million Californians are looking for work. Clearly we need new leadership in the White House that has a strategy to create jobs, revitalize our economy and help all working families realize their dreams. JOHN KERRY is the man to do this.

#### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE SET TO EXAMINE OIL FOR FOOD PROGRAM

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

Mr. PENCE. Mr. Speaker, a millennia ago the question was asked that rings through history and through governance, and that is, can a corrupt throne be allied with you? Today in just a few moments the Committee on International Relations will gather to examine the United Nations Oil for Food Program. We will begin to call for transparency and accountability in a program that the United Nations oversaw but that the evidence suggests allowed Saddam Hussein to amass and divert through kickbacks and various forms of graft in excess of \$4 billion.

As we consider moving forward as a partner in Iraq with the United Nations, now is the time and the Committee on International Relations is the place where we must begin to get to the bottom of the administration of the Oil for Food Program, find the truth, have transparency and accountability and go forward with the United Nations with our eyes open.

#### DEMOCRATS FIGHT TO PROTECT RETIREMENT BENEFITS OF MILITARY WIDOWS

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

Mr. RODRIGUEZ. Mr. Speaker, most Americans believe that our troops should be given the opportunity to provide the services that they are entitled to and as they battle we all recognize and we are extremely supportive of their efforts. But we also need to respect them when they come home. We know that the spouses also sacrifice. But this House has refused to keep the promise and provide the military retirees and their spouses with the retirement benefits that they earned in this country. Over 225,000 military spouses are currently paying the survivor benefit penalty and it eventually will be 1.2 million military retirees enrolled in this survivor benefit plan.

Today we ask you to sign and we launched a discharge petition to force this House in a bipartisan way to reach out to end the survivor benefit penalty and change it so that our military individuals and spouses will be able to get that service that is needed.

The survivors penalty hurts military widows. We need to do the right thing. Sign the discharge petition.

#### EU ENLARGEMENT

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

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, 53 years ago, acting on a vision conceived by French businessman Jean Monnet and proposed by Robert Schuman, six nations of Europe agreed to create what we now know as the European Union. On Saturday, May 1, there will be yet another historic milestone toward achieving the dreams of Monnet and Schuman. Ten nations, eight of which just a few years ago were trapped behind the Iron Curtain, will become members of the European Union.

Mr. Speaker, the commitment of those 10 nations to shared values, to the pursuit of political and economic reforms and to solidarity with each other have helped facilitate these changes. The historic enlargement of the EU along with that of the recent NATO enlargement has resulted in a giant step towards a Europe that is whole and free, democratic and dynamic, and at peace.

Mr. Speaker, the newest members of the EU have done a remarkable job preparing for this day. On the eve of this historic enlargement of the European Union it is appropriate, as we did recently with the newest members of NATO, to congratulate Estonia, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia.

#### HOUSE TO VOTE ON EXTENDING SURFACE TRANSPORTATION ACT

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

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Mr. Speaker, today in a couple of moments the House of Representatives will vote on extending the Surface Transportation Act. The hang-up? The President's threat to veto a bill that is not a 10 percent cut in transportation funding over the next 6 years, even though his own Department of Transportation says that we should be spending half again as much as he proposes.

Earlier the House of Representatives overwhelmingly passed a bipartisan bill that would move us in the right direction. The Senate overwhelmingly approved on a bipartisan basis even a larger bill. This is supported by the broadest coalition in the history of infrastructure in this country, from the Sierra Club to the Chamber of Commerce.

Now is the time for the House to reaffirm its strong support, resist calls for cuts that will set America back for the next 6 years, so we will not have to play catchup for a generation.

KERRY COMMENTS ON GREAT  
LAKES BASIN

(Mrs. MILLER of Michigan asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. MILLER of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, on issues important to our States it is reasonable to have an expectation that a leader will speak on the issues with clarity, so that people will know where that leader actually stands. On an issue which is vitally important to my home State of Michigan as well as every State in the Great Lakes Basin, Senator John Kerry has been less than clear. The issue is the potential for diversion of the Great Lakes.

Recently the Democratic presidential nominee was asked by the Detroit Free Press where he stood on this issue and he responded: "It is a delicate balancing act that needs to focus on national priorities." What does that mean? The next day his supporters said he really did not mean what he said. For the State of Michigan, the Great Lakes State, as well as States like New York and Pennsylvania, Ohio, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois and Indiana, those of us who recognize what a magnificent natural resource the Great Lakes are and what they mean to us, we need to look very closely at what Senator KERRY has in mind for us, even if this is another issue that he wants to flip-flop on. We cannot take the risk.

HONORING PRESIDENT JAMES  
MONROE

(Mrs. JO ANN DAVIS of Virginia asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. JO ANN DAVIS of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor an incredible American statesman and native of Virginia's First District, which I have the privilege of representing in this House. James Monroe was born this day in 1758 in Westmoreland County, Virginia, and spent much of his life in what is now Virginia's First Congressional District. He attended the College of William and Mary and practiced law in Fredericksburg before becoming a U.S. Senator, Minister to France, negotiator of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 and ultimately our Nation's fifth President.

James Monroe is perhaps best remembered for his December 2, 1823 message to Congress that is now known as the Monroe Doctrine. James Monroe forged an independent American foreign policy and signaled the end of Old World colonization of the Americas.

James Monroe will forever be remembered in the hearts and minds of all Americans, but he will always have a special place for citizens of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

CONCERNING YESTERDAY'S  
PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

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

Mr. KIRK. Mr. Speaker, yesterday a Member of Congress led the House in the Pledge of Allegiance using his own personal version. He left the phrase out "under God" from our Pledge. While he may not love "under God" in our country's pledge, God still loves him. God still loves him.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER  
PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MILLER of Florida). Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, the Chair will postpone further proceedings today on motions to suspend the rules on which a recorded vote or the yeas and nays are ordered, or on which the vote is objected to under clause 6 of rule XX.

Record votes on postponed questions will be taken later today.

SURFACE TRANSPORTATION  
EXTENSION ACT OF 2004, PART II

Mr. PETRI. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 4219) to provide an extension of highway, highway safety, motor carrier safety, transit, and other programs funded out of the Highway Trust Fund pending enactment of a law reauthorizing the Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.R. 4219

*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 "Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004, Part II".

**SEC. 2. ADVANCES.**

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 2(a) of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2003 (23 U.S.C. 104 note; 117 Stat. 1110; 118 Stat. 478) is amended by striking "and the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004" and inserting ", the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004, and the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004, Part II".

(b) PROGRAMMATIC DISTRIBUTIONS.—

(1) SPECIAL RULES FOR MINIMUM GUARANTEE.—Section 2(b)(4) of such Act is amended by striking "\$1,633,333,333" and inserting "\$2,100,000,000".

(2) EXTENSION OF OFF-SYSTEM BRIDGE SET-ASIDE.—Section 144(g)(3) of title 23, United States Code, is amended by striking "April 30" inserting "June 30".

(c) AUTHORIZATION OF CONTRACT AUTHORITY.—Section 1101(c)(1) of the Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century (117 Stat. 1111; 118 Stat. 478) is amended by striking "\$18,876,841,666 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$24,270,225,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

(d) LIMITATION ON OBLIGATIONS.—Section 2(e) of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2003 (117 Stat. 1111; 118 Stat. 478) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1)—

(A) in the matter preceding subparagraph (A) by striking "April 30" and inserting "June 30";

(B) in subparagraph (A) by inserting after "of 2004" the following: "and the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004, Part II"; and

(C) in subparagraph (B) by striking "7/12" and inserting "9/12";

(2) in paragraph (2)—

(A) by striking "April 30" and inserting "June 30";

(B) by striking "\$19,741,750,000" and inserting "\$25,382,250,000"; and

(C) by striking "\$372,750,000" and inserting "\$479,250,000"; and

(3) in paragraph (3) by striking "April 30" and inserting "June 30".

**SEC. 3. ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES.**

Section 4(a) of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2003 (117 Stat. 1113; 118 Stat. 479) is amended by striking "\$262,500,000" and inserting "\$337,500,000".

**SEC. 4. OTHER FEDERAL-AID HIGHWAY PROGRAMS.**

(a) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS UNDER TITLE I OF TEA-21.—

(1) FEDERAL LANDS HIGHWAYS.—

(A) INDIAN RESERVATION ROADS.—Section 1101(a)(8)(A) of the Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century (112 Stat. 112; 117 Stat. 1113; 118 Stat. 479) is amended—

(i) in the first sentence by striking "\$160,416,667 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$206,250,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004"; and

(ii) in the second sentence by striking "\$7,583,333" and inserting "\$9,750,000".

(B) PUBLIC LANDS HIGHWAYS.—Section 1101(a)(8)(B) of such Act (112 Stat. 112; 117 Stat. 1113; 118 Stat. 480) is amended by striking "\$143,500,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$184,500,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

(C) PARK ROADS AND PARKWAYS.—Section 1101(a)(8)(C) of such Act (112 Stat. 112; 117 Stat. 1113; 118 Stat. 480) is amended by striking "\$96,250,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$123,750,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

(D) REFUGE ROADS.—Section 1101(a)(8)(D) of such Act (112 Stat. 112; 117 Stat. 1113; 118 Stat. 480) is amended by striking "\$11,666,667 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$15,000,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

(2) NATIONAL CORRIDOR PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT AND COORDINATED BORDER INFRASTRUCTURE PROGRAMS.—Section 1101(a)(9) of such Act (112 Stat. 112; 117 Stat. 1114; 118 Stat. 480) is amended by striking "\$81,666,667 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$105,000,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

(3) CONSTRUCTION OF FERRY BOATS AND FERRY TERMINAL FACILITIES.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Section 1101(a)(10) of such Act (112 Stat. 113; 117 Stat. 1114; 118 Stat. 480) is amended by striking "\$22,166,667 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$28,500,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

(B) SET ASIDE FOR ALASKA, NEW JERSEY, AND WASHINGTON.—Section 5(a)(3)(B) of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2003 (117 Stat. 1114; 118 Stat. 480) is amended—

(i) in clause (i) by striking "\$5,833,333" and inserting "\$7,500,000";

(ii) in clause (ii) by striking "\$2,916,667" and inserting "\$3,750,000"; and

(iii) in clause (iii) by striking "\$2,916,667" and inserting "\$3,750,000".

(4) NATIONAL SCENIC BYWAYS PROGRAM.—Section 1101(a)(11) of the Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century (112 Stat. 113;

117 Stat. 1114; 118 Stat. 480) is amended by striking "\$16,041,666 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$20,625,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

(5) VALUE PRICING PILOT PROGRAM.—Section 1101(a)(12) of such Act (112 Stat. 113; 117 Stat. 1114; 118 Stat. 480) is amended by striking "\$6,416,667 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$8,250,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

(6) HIGHWAY USE TAX EVASION PROJECTS.—Section 1101(a)(14) of such Act (112 Stat. 113; 117 Stat. 1114; 118 Stat. 480) is amended by striking "\$2,916,667 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$3,750,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

(7) COMMONWEALTH OF PUERTO RICO HIGHWAY PROGRAM.—Section 1101(a)(15) of such Act (112 Stat. 113; 117 Stat. 1114; 118 Stat. 481) is amended by striking "\$64,166,667 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$82,500,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

(8) SAFETY GRANTS.—Section 1212(i)(1)(D) of such Act (23 U.S.C. 402 note; 112 Stat. 196; 112 Stat. 840; 117 Stat. 1114; 118 Stat. 481) is amended by striking "\$291,667 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$375,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

(9) TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNITY AND SYSTEM PRESERVATION PILOT PROGRAM.—Section 1221(e)(1) of such Act (23 U.S.C. 101 note; 112 Stat. 223; 117 Stat. 1114; 118 Stat. 481) is amended by striking "\$14,583,333 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$18,750,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

(10) TRANSPORTATION INFRASTRUCTURE FINANCE AND INNOVATION.—Section 188 of title 23, United States Code, is amended—

(A) by striking subsection (a)(1)(F) and inserting the following:

"(F) \$105,000,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004";

(B) in subsection (a)(2) by striking "\$1,166,667 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$1,500,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004"; and

(C) in the item relating to fiscal year 2004 in the table contained in subsection (c) by striking "\$1,516,666,667" and inserting "\$1,950,000,000".

(b) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS UNDER TITLE V OF TEA-21.—

(1) SURFACE TRANSPORTATION RESEARCH.—Section 5001(a)(1) of the Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century (112 Stat. 419; 117 Stat. 1115; 118 Stat. 481) is amended by striking "\$61,250,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$78,750,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

(2) TECHNOLOGY DEPLOYMENT PROGRAM.—Section 5001(a)(2) of such Act (112 Stat. 419; 117 Stat. 1115; 118 Stat. 481) is amended by striking "\$32,083,334 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$41,250,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

(3) TRAINING AND EDUCATION.—Section 5001(a)(3) of such Act (112 Stat. 420; 117 Stat. 1115; 118 Stat. 481) is amended by striking "\$12,250,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$15,750,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

(4) BUREAU OF TRANSPORTATION STATISTICS.—Section 5001(a)(4) of such Act (112 Stat. 420; 117 Stat. 1115; 118 Stat. 481) is amended by striking "\$18,083,333 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$23,250,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

(5) ITS STANDARDS, RESEARCH, OPERATIONAL TESTS, AND DEVELOPMENT.—Section 5001(a)(5) of such Act (112 Stat. 420; 117 Stat. 1115; 118 Stat. 481) is amended by striking "\$67,083,334 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$86,250,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

(6) ITS DEPLOYMENT.—Section 5001(a)(6) of such Act (112 Stat. 420; 117 Stat. 1116; 118 Stat. 482) is amended by striking "\$72,333,334 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$93,000,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

(7) UNIVERSITY TRANSPORTATION RESEARCH.—Section 5001(a)(7) of such Act (112 Stat. 420; 117 Stat. 1116; 118 Stat. 482) is amended by striking "\$15,750,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$20,250,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

(c) METROPOLITAN PLANNING.—Section 5(c)(1) of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2003 (117 Stat. 1116; 118 Stat. 482) is amended by striking "\$140,000,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$180,000,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

(d) TERRITORIES.—Section 1101(d)(1) of the Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century (117 Stat. 1116; 118 Stat. 482) is amended by striking "\$21,233,333 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$27,300,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

(e) ALASKA HIGHWAY.—Section 1101(e)(1) of such Act (117 Stat. 1116; 118 Stat. 482) is amended by striking "\$10,966,666 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$14,100,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

(f) OPERATION LIFESAVER.—Section 1101(f)(1) of such Act (117 Stat. 1117; 118 Stat. 482) is amended by striking "\$291,667 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$375,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

(g) BRIDGE DISCRETIONARY.—Section 1101(g)(1) of such Act (117 Stat. 1117; 118 Stat. 482) is amended—

(1) by striking "\$58,333,333" and inserting "\$75,000,000"; and

(2) by striking "April 30" and inserting "June 30".

(h) INTERSTATE MAINTENANCE.—Section 1101(h)(1) of such Act (117 Stat. 1117; 118 Stat. 482) is amended—

(1) by striking "\$58,333,333" and inserting "\$75,000,000"; and

(2) by striking "April 30" and inserting "June 30".

(i) RECREATIONAL TRAILS ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS.—Section 1101(i)(1) of such Act (117 Stat. 1117; 118 Stat. 482) is amended by striking "\$437,500 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$562,500 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

(j) RAILWAY-HIGHWAY CROSSING HAZARD ELIMINATION IN HIGH SPEED RAIL CORRIDORS.—Section 1101(j)(1) of such Act (117 Stat. 1118; 118 Stat. 482) is amended—

(1) by striking "\$3,062,500" and inserting "\$3,937,500";

(2) by striking "\$145,833" and inserting "\$187,500"; and

(3) by striking "April 30" each place it appears and inserting "June 30".

(k) NONDISCRIMINATION.—Section 1101(k) of such Act (117 Stat. 1118; 118 Stat. 482) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1) by striking "\$5,833,333 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$7,500,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004"; and

(2) in paragraph (2) by striking "\$5,833,333 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$7,500,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

(l) ADMINISTRATION OF FUNDS.—Section 5(l) of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2003 (117 Stat. 1118; 118 Stat. 483) is amended—

(1) by striking "and section 5 of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004" and inserting "section 5 of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004, and section 4 of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004, Part II"; and

(2) by striking "or the amendment made by section 4(a)(1) of such Act" and inserting "the amendment made by section 5(a)(1) of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004, or the amendment made by section 4(a)(1) of the Surface Transportation Extension Act, Part II".

(m) REDUCTION OF ALLOCATED PROGRAMS.—Section 5(m) of such Act (117 Stat. 1119; 118 Stat. 483) is amended—

(1) by striking "and section 5 of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004" and inserting "section 5 of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004, and section 4 of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004, Part II";

(2) by striking "and by section 5 of such Act" and inserting "by section 5 of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004, and by section 4 of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004, Part II"; and

(3) by striking "and by section 5 of such Act" and inserting "by section 5 of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004, and by section 4 of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004, Part II".

(n) PROGRAM CATEGORY RECONCILIATION.—Section 5(n) of such Act (117 Stat. 1119; 118 Stat. 483) is amended by striking "and section 5 of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004" and inserting "section 5 of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004, and section 4 of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004, Part II".

## SEC. 5. EXTENSION OF HIGHWAY SAFETY PROGRAMS.

(a) SEAT BELT SAFETY INCENTIVE GRANTS.—Section 157(g)(1) of title 23, United States Code, is amended by striking "\$65,333,333 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$84,000,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

(b) PREVENTION OF INTOXICATED DRIVER INCENTIVE GRANTS.—Section 163(e)(1) of such title is amended by striking "\$70,000,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$90,000,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

## SEC. 6. SPORT FISHING AND BOATING SAFETY.

(a) FUNDING FOR NATIONAL OUTREACH AND COMMUNICATIONS PROGRAM.—Section 4(c)(6) of the Dingell-Johnson Sport Fish Restoration Act (16 U.S.C. 777c(c)(6)) is amended to read as follows:

"(6) \$7,499,999 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004";

(b) CLEAN VESSEL ACT FUNDING.—Section 4(b)(4) of such Act (16 U.S.C. 777c(b)(4)) is amended—

(1) in the paragraph heading by striking "7 MONTHS" and inserting "9 MONTHS";

(2) in the matter preceding subparagraph (A) by striking "\$47,833,333" and inserting "\$61,499,999";

(3) in subparagraph (A) by striking "\$5,833,333" and inserting "\$7,499,999"; and

(4) in subparagraph (B) by striking "\$4,666,667" and inserting "\$6,000,001".

(c) BOAT SAFETY FUNDS.—Section 13106(c) of title 46, United States Code, is amended—

(1) by striking "\$2,916,667" and inserting "\$3,750,001"; and

(2) by striking "\$1,166,667" and inserting "\$1,500,001".

#### SEC. 7. EXTENSION OF FEDERAL TRANSIT PROGRAMS.

(a) ALLOCATING AMOUNTS.—Section 5309(m) of title 49, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1)—

(A) by striking "April 30, 2004" and inserting "June 30, 2004";

(B) in subparagraph (A) by striking ", except for the period beginning on October 1, 2003, and ending on April 30, 2004, during which \$699,642,775 will be available" and inserting ", except for the period beginning on October 1, 2003, and ending on June 30, 2004, during which \$899,540,711 will be available";

(C) in subparagraph (B) by striking ", except for the period beginning on October 1, 2003, and ending on April 30, 2004, during which \$767,657,109 will be available" and inserting ", except for the period beginning on October 1, 2003, and ending on June 30, 2004, during which \$986,987,712 will be available"; and

(D) in subparagraph (C) by striking ", except for the period beginning on October 1, 2003 and ending on April 30, 2004, during which \$352,110,220 will be available" and inserting ", except for the period beginning on October 1, 2003, and ending on June 30, 2004, during which \$452,713,140 will be available;

(2) by amending paragraph (2)(B)(iii) to read as follows:

"(iii) OCTOBER 1, 2003 THROUGH JUNE 30, 2004.—Of the amounts made available under paragraph (1)(B), \$7,753,980 shall be available for the period beginning on October 1, 2003, and ending on June 30, 2004, for capital projects described in clause (i).";

(3) in paragraph (3)(B)—

(A) by striking "\$1,750,000" and inserting "\$2,236,725"; and

(B) by striking "April 30, 2004" and inserting "June 30, 2004"; and

(4) in paragraph (3)(C)—

(A) by striking "\$28,994,583" and inserting "\$37,278,750"; and

(B) by striking "April 30, 2004" and inserting "June 30, 2004".

(b) APPORTIONMENT OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR FIXED GUIDEWAY MODERNIZATION.—Section 8(b)(1) of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2003 (49 U.S.C. 5337 note) is amended by striking "April 30, 2004" and inserting "June 30, 2004".

(c) FORMULA GRANTS AUTHORIZATIONS.—Section 5338(a) of title 49, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in the heading to paragraph (2) by striking "APRIL 30, 2004" and inserting "JUNE 30, 2004";

(2) in paragraph (2)(A)(vi)—

(A) by striking "\$1,780,963,287" and inserting "\$2,289,809,940"; and

(B) by striking "April 30, 2004" and inserting "June 30, 2004";

(3) in paragraph (2)(B)(vi)—

(A) by striking "\$445,240,822" and inserting "\$572,452,485"; and

(B) by striking "April 30, 2004" and inserting "June 30, 2004"; and

(4) in paragraph (2)(C) by striking "April 30, 2004" and inserting "June 30, 2004".

(d) FORMULA GRANT FUNDS.—Section 8(d) of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2003 (117 Stat. 1122) is amended to read as follows:

"(d) ALLOCATION OF FORMULA GRANT FUNDS FOR OCTOBER 1, 2003, THROUGH JUNE 30, 2004.—Of the aggregate of amounts made available by or appropriated under section 5338(a)(2) of title 49, United States Code, for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004—

"(1) \$3,616,001 shall be available to the Alaska Railroad for improvements to its pas-

senger operations under section 5307 of such title;

"(2) \$37,278,750 shall be available for bus and bus facilities grants under section 5309 of such title;

"(3) \$67,588,463 shall be available to provide transportation services to elderly individuals and individuals with disabilities under section 5310 of such title;

"(4) \$179,391,044 shall be available to provide financial assistance for other than urbanized areas under section 5311 of such title;

"(5) \$5,181,748 shall be available to provide financial assistance in accordance with section 3038(g) of the Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century; and

"(6) \$2,569,206,421 shall be available to provide financial assistance for urbanized areas under section 5307 of such title."

(e) CAPITAL PROGRAM AUTHORIZATIONS.—Section 5338(b)(2) of title 49, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in the heading by striking "APRIL 30, 2004" and inserting "JUNE 30, 2004";

(2) in subparagraph (A)(vi)—

(A) by striking "\$1,819,410,104" and inserting "\$1,871,393,250"; and

(B) by striking "April 30, 2004" and inserting "June 30, 2004"; and

(3) in subparagraph (B)(vi)—

(A) by striking "\$363,882,021" and inserting "\$467,848,313"; and

(B) by striking "April 30, 2004" and inserting "June 30, 2004".

(f) PLANNING AUTHORIZATIONS AND ALLOCATIONS.—Section 5338(c)(2) of title 49, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in the heading by striking "APRIL 30, 2004" and inserting "JUNE 30, 2004";

(2) in subparagraph (A)(vi)—

(A) by striking "\$33,981,652" and inserting "\$43,690,695"; and

(B) by striking "April 30, 2004" and inserting "June 30, 2004"; and

(3) in subparagraph (B)(vi)—

(A) by striking "\$8,350,440" and inserting "\$10,736,280"; and

(B) by striking "April 30, 2004" and inserting "June 30, 2004".

(g) RESEARCH AUTHORIZATIONS.—Section 5338(d)(2) of title 49, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in the heading by striking "APRIL 30, 2004" and inserting "JUNE 30, 2004";

(2) in subparagraph (A)(vi)—

(A) by striking "\$24,471,428" and inserting "\$31,463,265"; and

(B) by striking "April 30, 2004" and inserting "June 30, 2004";

(3) in subparagraph (B)(vi)—

(A) by striking "\$6,262,830" and inserting "\$8,052,210"; and

(B) by striking "April 30, 2004" and inserting "June 30, 2004"; and

(4) in subparagraph (C) by striking "April 30, 2004" and inserting "June 30, 2004".

(h) RESEARCH FUNDS.—Section 8(h) of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2003 (118 Stat. 486) is amended to read as follows:

"(h) ALLOCATION OF RESEARCH FUNDS FOR OCTOBER 1, 2003, THROUGH JUNE 30, 2004.—Of the funds made available by or appropriated under section 5338(d)(2) of title 49, United States Code, for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004—

"(1) not less than \$3,914,269 shall be available for providing rural transportation assistance under section 5311(b)(2) of such title;

"(2) not less than \$6,150,994 shall be available for carrying out transit cooperative research programs under section 5313(a) of such title;

"(3) not less than \$2,982,300 shall be available to carry out programs under the National Transit Institute under section 5315 of such title, including not more than \$745,575 to carry out section 5315(a)(16) of such title; and

"(4) any amounts not made available under paragraphs (1) through (3) shall be available for carrying out national planning and research programs under sections 5311(b)(2), 5312, 5313(a), 5314, and 5322 of such title."

(i) UNIVERSITY TRANSPORTATION RESEARCH AUTHORIZATIONS.—Section 5338(e)(2) of title 49, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in the heading by striking "APRIL 30, 2004" and inserting "JUNE 30, 2004";

(2) in subparagraph (A)—

(A) by striking "\$2,783,480" and inserting "\$3,578,760"; and

(B) by striking "April 30, 2004" and inserting "June 30, 2004";

(3) in subparagraph (B)—

(A) by striking "\$695,870" and inserting "\$894,690"; and

(B) by striking "April 30, 2004" and inserting "June 30, 2004"; and

(4) in subparagraph (C) by striking "April 30, 2004" each place it appears and inserting "June 30, 2004".

(j) UNIVERSITY TRANSPORTATION RESEARCH FUNDS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 8(j) of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2003 (118 Stat. 487) is amended to read as follows:

"(j) ALLOCATION OF UNIVERSITY TRANSPORTATION RESEARCH FUNDS.—

"(1) IN GENERAL.—Of the amounts made available under section 5338(e)(2)(A) of title 49, United States Code, for the period October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004—

"(A) \$1,491,150 shall be available for the center identified in section 5505(j)(4)(A) of such title; and

"(B) \$1,491,150 shall be available for the center identified in section 5505(j)(4)(F) of such title.

"(2) TRAINING AND CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT.—Notwithstanding section 5338(e)(2) of title 49, United States Code, any amounts made available under such section for the period October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004, that remain after distribution under paragraph (1), shall be available for the purposes specified in section 3015(d) of the Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century (112 Stat. 857)."

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 3015(d)(2) of the Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century (49 U.S.C. 5338 note; 112 Stat. 857; 118 Stat. 487) is amended by striking "April 30, 2004" and inserting "June 30, 2004".

(k) ADMINISTRATION AUTHORIZATIONS.—Section 5338(f)(2) of title 49, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in the heading by striking "APRIL 30, 2004" and inserting "JUNE 30, 2004";

(2) in subparagraph (A)(vi)—

(A) by striking "\$35,025,457" and inserting "\$45,032,730"; and

(B) by striking "April 30, 2004" and inserting "June 30, 2004"; and

(3) in subparagraph (B)(vi)—

(A) by striking "\$8,756,364" and inserting "\$11,258,183"; and

(B) by striking "April 30, 2004" and inserting "June 30, 2004".

(l) JOB ACCESS AND REVERSE COMMUTE PROGRAM.—Section 3037(l) of the Federal Transit Act of 1998 (49 U.S.C. 5309 note) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1)(A)(vi)—

(A) by striking "\$57,989,167" and inserting "\$74,557,500"; and

(B) by striking "April 30, 2004" and inserting "June 30, 2004";

(2) in paragraph (1)(B)(vi)—

(A) by striking "\$14,497,292" and inserting "\$18,639,375"; and

(B) by striking "April 30, 2004" and inserting "June 30, 2004";

(3) in paragraph (2) by striking "April 30, 2004, \$5,798,917" and inserting "June 30, 2004, \$7,455,750"; and

(4) in paragraph (4) by striking "\$11,597,833" and inserting "\$14,911,500".

(m) RURAL TRANSPORTATION ACCESSIBILITY INCENTIVE PROGRAM.—Section 3038(g) of the Federal Transit Act of 1998 (49 U.S.C. 5310 note; 118 Stat. 488) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1)(F)—

(A) by striking "\$3,044,431" and inserting "\$3,914,268"; and

(B) by striking "April 30, 2004" and inserting "June 30, 2004"; and

(2) in paragraph (2)—

(A) by striking "\$985,816" and inserting "\$1,267,478"; and

(B) by striking "April 30, 2004" and inserting "June 30, 2004".

(n) URBANIZED AREA FORMULA GRANTS.—Section 5307(b)(2) of title 49, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in the heading by striking "APRIL 30, 2004" and inserting "JUNE 30, 2004"; and

(2) in subparagraph (A) by striking "April 30, 2004" and inserting "June 30, 2004";

(o) OBLIGATION CEILING.—Section 3040(6) of the Federal Transit Act of 1998 (112 Stat. 394; 118 Stat. 488) is amended—

(1) by striking "\$4,238,428,192" and inserting "\$5,449,407,675"; and

(2) by striking "April 30, 2004" and inserting "June 30, 2004".

(p) FUEL CELL BUS AND BUS FACILITIES PROGRAM.—Section 3015(b) of the Federal Transit Act of 1998 (112 Stat. 361; 118 Stat. 489) is amended—

(1) by striking "April 30, 2004" and inserting "June 30, 2004"; and

(2) by striking "\$2,812,475" and inserting "\$3,616,039".

(q) ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY PILOT PROJECT.—Section 3015(c)(2) of the Federal Transit Act of 1998 (49 U.S.C. 322 note; 118 Stat. 489) is amended—

(1) by striking "April 30, 2004," and inserting "June 30, 2004"; and

(2) by striking "\$2,812,475" and inserting "\$3,727,876".

(r) PROJECTS FOR NEW FIXED GUIDEWAY SYSTEMS AND EXTENSIONS TO EXISTING SYSTEMS.—Section 3030 of the Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century (112 Stat. 373; 118 Stat. 489) is amended by striking "April 30, 2004" each place it appears and inserting "June 30, 2004".

(s) NEW JERSEY URBAN CORE PROJECT.—Section 3031(a)(3) of the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991 (105 Stat. 2122; 112 Stat. 379; 118 Stat. 489) is amended by striking "April 30, 2004" each place it appears and inserting "June 30, 2004".

(t) TREATMENT OF FUNDS.—Section 8(t) of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2003 (23 U.S.C. 101 note; 118 Stat. 489) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1) by striking "and by section 9 of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004" and inserting "by section 9 of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004, and by section 7 of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004, Part II"; and

(2) in paragraph (2) by striking "1/12" and inserting "1/12".

(u) LOCAL SHARE.—Section 3011(a) of the Federal Transit Act of 1998 (49 U.S.C. 5307 note; 118 Stat. 489) is amended by striking "April 30" and inserting "June 30".

#### SEC. 8. NATIONAL HIGHWAY TRAFFIC SAFETY ADMINISTRATION PROGRAMS.

(a) CHAPTER 4 HIGHWAY SAFETY PROGRAMS.—Section 2009(a)(1) of the Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century (112 Stat. 337; 117 Stat. 1119; 118 Stat. 489) is amended by striking "and \$96,250,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "and \$123,019,875 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

(b) HIGHWAY SAFETY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT.—Section 2009(a)(2) of such Act (112 Stat. 337; 117 Stat. 1119; 118 Stat. 489) is amended by striking "\$42,000,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$53,681,400 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

(c) OCCUPANT PROTECTION INCENTIVE GRANTS.—Section 2009(a)(3) of such Act (112 Stat. 337; 117 Stat. 1120; 118 Stat. 489) is amended by striking "\$11,666,700 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$14,911,500 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

(d) ALCOHOL-IMPAIRED DRIVING COUNTERMEASURES INCENTIVE GRANTS.—Section 2009(a)(4) of such Act (112 Stat. 337; 117 Stat. 1120; 118 Stat. 489) is amended by striking "\$23,333,300 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$29,823,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

(e) NATIONAL DRIVER REGISTER.—Section 2009(a)(6) of such Act (112 Stat. 338; 117 Stat. 1120; 118 Stat. 490) is amended by striking "\$2,100,000 for the period of October 1, 2003, through April 30, 2004" and inserting "\$2,684,070 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

#### SEC. 9. FEDERAL MOTOR CARRIER SAFETY ADMINISTRATION PROGRAM.

(a) ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES.—Section 7(a)(1) of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2003 (117 Stat. 1120; 118 Stat. 490) is amended by striking "\$102,467,000 for the period October 1, 2003 through April 30, 2004", and inserting "\$131,811,967 for the period October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004".

(b) MOTOR CARRIER SAFETY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM.—Section 31104(a)(7) of title 49, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

"(7) Not more than \$126,519,126 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004."

(c) INFORMATION SYSTEMS AND COMMERCIAL DRIVER'S LICENSE GRANTS.—

(1) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATION.—Section 31107(a)(5) of such title is amended to read as follows:

"(5) \$14,972,678 for the period of October 1, 2003, through June 30, 2004."

(2) EMERGENCY CDL GRANTS.—Section 7(c)(2) of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2003 (117 Stat. 1121) is amended—

(A) by striking "April 30," and inserting "June 30,"; and

(B) by striking "\$582,000" and inserting "\$748,634".

(d) CRASH CAUSATION STUDY.—Section 7(d) of such Act is amended—

(1) by striking "\$582,000" and inserting "\$748,634"; and

(2) by striking "April 30" and inserting "June 30".

#### SEC. 10. EXTENSION OF AUTHORIZATION FOR USE OF TRUST FUNDS FOR OBLIGATIONS UNDER TEA-21.

(a) HIGHWAY TRUST FUND.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Paragraph (1) of section 9503(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended—

(A) in the matter before subparagraph (A), by striking "May 1, 2004" and inserting "July 1, 2004",

(B) by striking "or" at the end of subparagraph (F),

(C) by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (G) and inserting "or",

(D) by inserting after subparagraph (G), the following new subparagraph:

"(H) authorized to be paid out of the Highway Trust Fund under the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004, Part II.", and

(E) in the matter after subparagraph (H), as added by this paragraph, by striking "Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004" and inserting "Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004, Part II".

(2) MASS TRANSIT ACCOUNT.—Paragraph (3) of section 9503(e) of such Code is amended—

(A) in the matter before subparagraph (A), by striking "May 1, 2004" and inserting "July 1, 2004",

(B) in subparagraph (D), by striking "or" at the end of such subparagraph,

(C) in subparagraph (E), by inserting "or" at the end of such subparagraph,

(D) by inserting after subparagraph (E) the following new subparagraph:

"(F) the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004, Part II", and

(E) in the matter after subparagraph (F), as added by this paragraph, by striking "Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004" and inserting "Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004, Part II".

(3) EXCEPTION TO LIMITATION ON TRANSFERS.—Subparagraph (B) of section 9503(b)(5) of such Code is amended by striking "May 1, 2004" and inserting "July 1, 2004".

(b) AQUATIC RESOURCES TRUST FUND.—

(1) SPORT FISH RESTORATION ACCOUNT.—Paragraph (2) of section 9504(b) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by striking "Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004" each place it appears and inserting "Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004, Part II".

(2) BOAT SAFETY ACCOUNT.—Subsection (c) of section 9504 of such Code is amended—

(A) by striking "May 1, 2004" and inserting "July 1, 2004", and

(B) by striking "Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004" and inserting "Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004, Part II".

(3) EXCEPTION TO LIMITATION ON TRANSFERS.—Paragraph (2) of section 9504(d) of such Code is amended by striking "May 1, 2004" and inserting "July 1, 2004".

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall take effect on the date of the enactment of this Act.

(d) TEMPORARY RULE REGARDING ADJUSTMENTS.—During the period beginning on the date of the enactment of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2003 and ending on June 30, 2004, for purposes of making any estimate under section 9503(d) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 of receipts of the Highway Trust Fund, the Secretary of the Treasury shall treat—

(1) each expiring provision of paragraphs (1) through (4) of section 9503(b) of such Code which is related to appropriations or transfers to such Fund to have been extended through the end of the 24-month period referred to in section 9503(d)(1)(B) of such Code, and

(2) with respect to each tax imposed under the sections referred to in section 9503(b)(1) of such Code, the rate of such tax during the 24-month period referred to in section 9503(d)(1)(B) of such Code to be the same as the rate of such tax as in effect on the date of the enactment of the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2003.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. PETRI) and the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. OBERSTAR) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. PETRI).

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

The legislation now before us will continue for an additional 2 months the highway construction, highway safety, transit, motor carrier and surface transportation research programs. These programs will be continued under current law program structures and conditions.

This bill is necessary in order to give the House Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure and our colleagues in the Senate time to conference our two versions of the multiyear surface transportation bill.

H.R. 4219 provides over \$31 billion in new funding authority, which reflects 9 months' worth, or nine-twelfths of the budget authority and associated outlays in the 2004 budget resolution that Congress passed earlier this year.

As the House knows, we recently passed by 357 votes H.R. 3550, the Transportation Equity Act: A Legacy For Users. This bill will help the country maintain and begin to improve our aging and deteriorating transportation infrastructure.

Although H.R. 3550 is funded at a much lower level than it was originally introduced, \$275 billion in guaranteed funding instead of the \$375 billion the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure supported, it is a balanced and good bill that will help stimulate and support the economy, decrease congestion and make our highways safer.

Until H.R. 3550 can be conferenced with the Senate-passed bill, this 2-month extension through June 30 is a must-pass bill. If we do not pass this bill and send it to the President before Friday of this week, four Department of Transportation agencies will close their doors and furlough their employees: the Federal Highway Administration, Federal Transit Administration, the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration and the Federal Motor Carrier Safety Administration.

If we do not pass this extension, new highway projects will be shelved, States will not be reimbursed the Federal share of projects, safety grants will not be provided to States, transit construction will be halted, and Federal enforcement of motor carrier safety regulations on the highways and at our borders will suffer.

It is crucial that H.R. 4219 be passed by both the House and Senate and delivered to the President by April 30, if not before. Our economy cannot withstand the shutdown of the national surface transportation programs.

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

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 10 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, once again time has run out on our effort to reauthorize the core mobility program of America, our Federal highway public transit and transportation safety programs. The Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century expired 7 months ago, on September 30, 2003. On September 24, in consideration of that bill, I said, "I'm afraid we'll be back here on this floor once again pleading for another extension of time to keep transportation programs from once again expiring. I do not want to be back on this floor saying again what I said 6 years ago in 1997, time is running out."

Well, here we are. In the words of an icon of the other party, here we go

again. We passed the 5-month extension bill last fall carrying programs through February 29, kind of a mystical date. It appears once every 4 years. So here we are mystically appearing once again, pleading for another short-term extension through the end of June. Who is going to give me odds we are going to be back here in June saying, please, another extension of time so we do not shut down our transportation programs.

□ 1030

Why? Because, for the first time in my nearly 30 years as a member of this committee, as a member, and another 11 years as a member of the staff of that committee, ideology, not good public bipartisan transportation policy, is driving this process.

Despite the fact that we overwhelmingly in both this body and the other body passed 6-year highway transit reauthorization bills weeks ago, there has been no motion to go to conference, no appointment of conferees, no meeting of staff, except for one. Why? Frankly, because the leadership of this body has allowed the Congress to be treated like a parliamentary institution, an extension of the executive; one that works at the direction of, in our government, the President, a President who strongly opposes increased investment at the level that his own Department of Transportation said we need to make. So we have become swept up, pawns in the political agenda, of some operatives over there at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

Now, step back from that for a moment. This committee, working in the bipartisan tradition, long-standing, and under the able and distinguished stewardship of the chairman of the full committee, the gentleman from Alaska (Chairman YOUNG); the chairman of the Subcommittee on Highways, Transit and Pipelines (Mr. PETRI); the ranking member, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. LIPINSKI); and myself left politics at the door.

Oh, we had differences on how these programs should be crafted, but we worked through them. We spent hours working shoulder to shoulder crafting appropriate language to meet what from different viewpoints we saw, and, in most cases, the same viewpoints, are necessary actions to take for the good of mobility and productivity in America.

Last November, 73 members of our committee introduced a bill to authorize \$375 billion for highway transit transportation safety programs over the next 6 years. We did not pull that number out of thin air. It was prepared by the Department of Transportation at the direction of the committee in TEA-21 to design the pathway to what we need to do in the 6 years following on TEA-21, that number, \$375 billion, to stem the tide of crippling congestion that chokes America's seaports, major transportation arteries, our center cities, our suburbs, and even our rural

areas. But that bill is still in committee.

We did have a voice vote reported out and put aside with common agreement because the leadership of this body made it clear to the leadership of our committee that a bill at \$375 billion would never see the light of day on the House floor.

Okay, let us go along with this. Let us get another number we can agree on. So we cut the bill \$100 billion. On April 2, we considered that bill. We passed it overwhelmingly, by 357 to 65. You pass constitutional amendments by votes like that. Now that vote, that bipartisan overwhelming vote is being cast aside, saying, sorry, we cannot do that.

The other body passed a bill at \$318 billion. Their vote was 76 to 21. Well, that is a vote that also could pass a constitutional amendment. These are not just squeaker votes, like some we have had in this body.

So you would think with such overwhelming bipartisan support that there would be a committee of conference at work to resolve the differences between the two bills. No motion has been made to go to conference; no appointment of conferees; Members have not met with each other. In fact, in 25 days since the House passed its bill, the respective staffs have met only once, and the Republican staff in the other body told our combined staff that their leadership would not allow them to meet on anything substantive. Well, that does not make any sense either.

Then we read in the papers about meetings of House and Senate Republicans and the White House to determine the most critical issue in this bill, the dollar amount. Now, that is a little strange. We have stood shoulder to shoulder, meeting to meeting, kneecap to kneecap, Members and staff, for months. Not just an occasional meeting. Our staff worked over weekends. Members met morning, afternoon and evening, Democrats and Republicans, to craft something we thought was in the best interests of the country. And we are not invited to 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, or wherever they meet, to fashion the key issue in this legislation?

I do not understand it. That does not make any sense. That is not the pathway to progress for America.

If we passed the \$375 billion bill, which we could do by the end of May, we would have 475,000 new jobs in the workplace by Labor Day. We would have \$80 billion of total economic activity in the workplace. We would have a surging national economy. George Bush would be on his way to reelection.

I say to people I have never worked so hard to elect a Republican President in my life. But they do not want it. So here we are.

Their bill, their idea of progress for America, is \$256 billion. That is flat-line budgeting over the next 6 years; not an additional dollar in real dollars, when you take into account inflation,

and not one additional job in the marketplace. And we know that. That is why we reported out a bill, or attempted to report out a bill, at \$375 billion. Both sides know this.

So here we are, caught in the swirl and swirling around of political ideology. Maybe we ought to have the Presidential election next Tuesday, get it over, out of our bloodstream, and then we can go on and pass real policy for America. I say that somewhat facetiously, but this election-year jitters that has its hand gripped around the throat of the most important policy initiative, transportation, that improves productivity, mobility of America, keeps us competitive in the world marketplace, is choking off our ability to compete and our ability to move ahead, to create jobs in America and do what is right for this country.

Mr. PETRI. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. LATOURETTE).

Mr. LATOURETTE. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend the distinguished ranking member of the full committee for his remarks and his observations. I would agree with most of them. I have had the pleasure of serving with the gentleman from Minnesota for 10 years now, and his institutional knowledge, not only about transportation issues but all issues that come before this body, is second to none; and I have nothing but the greatest respect for him.

I do have to tell him, however, that the distinguished subcommittee chair indicates that Ronald Reagan actually said "There you go again," not "Here we go again." But other than that, it was exactly right and on point.

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

Mr. LATOURETTE. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, I just wanted to depersonalize it. I did say "paraphrase."

Mr. LATOURETTE. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, this is an embarrassing time for members of the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure because a bill that is supposed to improve traffic is now stuck in traffic. In Ohio, where I am from, we always joke about the fact that our State flower is the orange barrel or the orange cone. We do not have that going on in Ohio now, but construction projects all across the country are stuck in traffic.

The gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. OBERSTAR) and the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. PETRI) have correctly stated all the statistics and figures about why this is an important bill to keep America moving, why it is important for jobs.

The last time we did this extension I talked about that AASHTO came up with an estimate that if we had done our work and if this bill signed into law before the last bill, TEA-21, expired on September 30, we would have

90,000 jobs in the economy already, we would have \$2 billion of investment, and every extension that we have to come to the floor and ask for continues that.

This committee did its job. This committee adopted the Department of Transportation numbers indicating that we need \$375 billion of highway investment over the next 6 years to keep America moving.

Now, I know that the leader of this House, the Speaker of the House, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HASTERT), is committed to getting this bill done; and I hope and pray, I read in the newspaper there is going to be a meeting tomorrow, I would hope that the wisdom descends upon all those participating in this meeting and we get this bill done, we get Americans to work, we build roads and that the orange cone State flower of Ohio blooms again in May.

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 5 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the distinguished gentleman from Ohio. Would there were more like him on both sides of the aisle, a fountain of reasonableness, a center of constructive thought, a Member who really cares about the direction of the Nation and about the programs under the jurisdiction of our committee.

Let me also concur with the gentleman from Ohio about the intentions of our Speaker. He has vigorously advocated with the executive branch for a robust bill and has told me, as well as others, that he was not making progress; that there was a determination to stay away from the 5 cent increase in the highway user fee, and that was going to affect the funding level of the successor transportation bill.

The gentleman from Alaska (Chairman YOUNG), to his everlasting credit, has proven to be a vigorous, forceful leader for the programs of our committee. He has taken the message of our \$375 billion bill to the House Republican Conference, to the White House, to the Office of Management and Budget, to the contractor community, and has vigorously advocated for a full, vigorous funding of our transportation programs. We are not there for no lack of effort by our committee leadership, goodness knows.

The gentleman from Wisconsin (Chairman PETRI), Mr. Speaker, has traveled the Nation to points of great congestion, of great transportation need, to advocate the case for a vigorous, robust transportation bill. I have done the same. We have worked side by side to try to advance this cause that we know is the right thing to do; and, regrettably, we are stymied by ideology.

When the Congress established the Highway Trust Fund in 1956 as the mechanism with which to launch the interstate highway program, it crafted out of extensive deliberation a funding mechanism, the highway user fee. It

was set at 4 cents in 1956. The next year, 1957, President Eisenhower, who was the stimulus for the interstate highway program, said move it ahead, get going. He signed the bill and agreed to that additional 1 cent increase, because he knew, as Congress knew and the Bureau of Public Roads, as it was called in those days, now the Federal Highway Administration, knew, that it would take more than the amount that the 4 cents was yielding to build the interstate.

They did the right thing. They saw. They had a vision of where America needed to go, because at the rate of fatalities on the Nation's highways in 1956, it was projected we would be killing 110,000 people a year on America's highways if we did not move ahead with a four-lane, divided access, controlled superhighway system that would link America coast to coast and border to border, theoretically traveling the Nation without hitting a stoplight, although that is not, in practice, possible any more.

But it was the right thing. And it was a Republican President who had the vision and the courage to stand up and say we need to invest in a pay-as-you-go system, although that was not called such at the time.

Subsequent increases in the highway user fee have been signed into law by President Nixon, President Reagan, and President Bush One.

□ 1045

Why not this one?

There is, I will not say no, there is minimal opposition to the highway user fee. And when we have an opportunity, as the gentleman from Wisconsin (Chairman PETRI) knows, as we have sat with editorial boards, we spell it out, we spell it out to the traveling public, they understand it, they get it. There is accountability in the Highway Trust Fund, in the highway user fee. People know they pay at the pump and they drive away on the road, and it improves their driving experience.

This is the most effective, sensible, sustainable mechanism in the Federal Government, apart from the Social Security Trust Fund, maybe it is even better than the Social Security Trust Fund, to invest in America. Why is there opposition to it? This has nothing to do with the budget deficit. We cannot spend more money than is available in the Highway Trust Fund because there is an anti-deficiency provision in the basic law that says you cannot run a deficit, and it never has and it never will. So get off it.

When we introduced this bill a year and a half ago, the price of gasoline was \$1.35. It is \$1.95 now, at least here in the Washington area; it is a little bit less in other parts of the country. Where has all that money gone from the price increase at the pump? It has gone overseas, nearly all of it. We are importing better than 50 percent of our fuel, and not a penny of that increase has gone to build new roads or new

bridges or buy new buses or light rail systems. That is all going to line the pockets of the oil billionaires and Sheikhs overseas.

But the 5-cent increase will be invested right here at home, right here in the good of America, right here in jobs. We have talked about the flights of jobs from America overseas. The job that cannot be built, that cannot be created in China, in Taiwan, in Korea, in Japan, in Thailand is the job of building a road in front of our homes. That job stays here in America.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. BLUMENAUER).

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman's courtesy in permitting me to speak on this bill. I appreciate his eloquence and the leadership that we have had from our committee.

The gentleman from Alaska (Chairman YOUNG), the gentleman from Minnesota (Ranking Member OBERSTAR), the gentleman from Wisconsin (Chairman PETRI), and the gentleman from Illinois (Ranking Member LIPINSKI) have worked hard to keep faith with this body, to deliver a transportation bill that is right sized for America's needs.

In that effort, they have kept faith with the broadest coalition we have seen in the history of infrastructure development. We have everybody from the Chamber of Commerce to the Sierra Club, the bicyclists, to the people who put down asphalt, to the women who are frankly the single most aggressive, articulate, and I think intimidating spokespeople, the Women's Garden Club of America, all are arrayed behind the principle that this country should invest in the infrastructure that we need for today and for tomorrow.

Our committee has responded under the leadership of the gentlemen I just mentioned. We have worked with the other body. It is not what America needs, but it is in keeping with the realities that we can get through this Congress. It is a concession to the administration, although what we will settle for is far less than what we know America needs. We have scaled down. The administration to this point is saying that unless there is a 10 percent cut in real transportation spending over the next 6 years, they will not let it pass.

That is unconscionable. We have an opportunity to draw upon money that Americans have invested in trust funds. We have an opportunity to generate more tax dollars by this strategic investment. We have an opportunity not just to keep faith with our colleagues and with this broad coalition; we have an opportunity to keep faith with the American public. We have bridges that are crumbling. We have economic opportunities in our cities. We have a chance to take this coalition that is alive and well in every State, every region, every city to bring it together with local and private resources

that will turn the economy around. It will make our communities more livable, it will make our families safer, healthier, and more economically secure.

We have reached the point, if we cannot, with this extension, reach agreement for this minimally-sized package that the House and the Senate is working on, then I think we ought to just admit the wheels have fallen off, extend it for another 8 months until we get past the election. Then, maybe, we can act like grownups and give Americans the transportation bill they deserve.

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

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

I wish I was standing here on the floor today urging passage of a conference report meeting our Nation's transportation needs. Instead, I urge my colleagues to support a further 2-month extension of the existing program so that conferees can be appointed and we can work with the Senate toward the end of meeting our Nation's transportation needs. This is what we need to do under the circumstances, and do it promptly.

Mr. BACA. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 4219. While I support this extension, I am very concerned that we are here to punt on our legislative duties, like we have done all too many times. The transportation reauthorization expired last fall, but Congress has refused to more past partisan wrangling and political rhetoric so that we can achieve true compromise.

The White House has already cost our Nation 1.8 million jobs by threatening to veto any bill that does not cut transportation spending below the amount Congress authorized nearly a decade ago. I support an extension, but it is critical that Congress get the full six-year surface transportation authorization bill enacted into law to bolster our economy and create good-paying jobs.

While people in Wall Street talk of recovery, working families everywhere are still seeing their jobs being sent overseas. While the White House economic policy advisors argue for shipping jobs overseas, working families everywhere are relying on charity, food stamps, and more than one part-time job just to keep a roof over their head and clothes on their back. Our economy is suffering from a huge jobs deficit. Since the beginning of the Bush Administration, 2.6 million private sector jobs have been lost. 8.4 million people are looking for work, and 4.7 million people are working part-time for economic reasons.

We need to create jobs, and every month that the transportation reauthorization is delayed is costing jobs for construction workers, truckers, steelworkers, electricians, and the millions of Americans that in one way or another benefit from the reauthorization. The average length of unemployment is the worst in 20 years, and two million people have been unemployed for at least six months. If Republicans and the White House indeed have no economic plan other than outsourcing our prosperity to China and India, they should pass a full six-year reauthorization.

We need a full reauthorization of transportation funding for the sake of California and the Nation. Jobs are at stake, and In-and-Out Burger cannot alone hire the hundreds of thousands of Californians out of work because of our Administration's misguided economic policies.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support H.R. 4219, but also encourage our Republican Congressional leaders and White House to come up with a job creation strategy that creates jobs in the United States, not Shanghai.

Mr. GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on February 11, 2004, I supported H.R. 3783, legislation to provide an extension of the transportation programs funded out of the Highway Trust Fund pending enactment of a reauthorization of the Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century (TEA-21). I will also support H.R. 4219 today, but I am extremely frustrated with this process.

Here Americans are again, more than two months later, still waiting to see how many crumbs this Administration is willing to throw to our Nation's transportation infrastructure. The fact that Congress must approve another temporary extension of the Highway Trust Fund programs shows the lack of concern in the White House for America's transportation.

I support H.R. 3550, the Transportation Equity Act, a Legacy for Users, the product of the hard and tireless work of two well respected members of the House, Transportation and Infrastructure Chairman DON YOUNG and Ranking Member JIM OBERSTAR. I supported H.R. 3550 at the full authorized level of \$375 billion through 2009. Chairman YOUNG did pull that out of the air. That number came from the non-partisan career staff at the U.S. Department of Transportation. \$375 billion requires indexing the gas tax for inflation, an idea I have supported since my days in the Texas State Legislature. I support that proposal only if every cent we pay at the pump to the Federal government goes to transportation. That is current law.

While the Administration refuses to accept non-partisan analysis, we are willing to accept the Senate's \$318 billion level, \$57 billion less than is necessary for a mobility improvement. Even this bi-partisan legislation is opposed by narrow ideological interests in the White House and House leadership who are blind to the number-one local issue in Houston, Texas—mobility.

To satisfy ultra-conservative groups that do not believe in Federal taxes of any kind, the Administration is willing to watch our highways and bridges crumble and rust. The Administration should be more concerned about putting Americans back to work. Each billion spent on infrastructure creates 47,500 American jobs, with 3.5 million jobs to be generated and sustained through 2009 under H.R. 3550, including over 200,000 jobs in Texas.

Since roads are not built for free, rational people support a level of Federal tax necessary to pay for national defense, Medicare, Medicaid, Social Security, and transportation infrastructure. The Administration does not grasp this, and here are some consequences for my constituents.

Residents in my community lose an average of 37 hours and 60 gallons of gas each year in congested traffic. That is \$2.1 billion, every year, in productivity and fuel, and congestion has been getting worse. These figures are

from Texas A&M's Texas Transportation Institute's 2003 Urban Mobility Report. Texas mobility is also impacted severely by the fact that 10 cents of every dollar we pay in gasoline taxes goes to other States. I strongly believe that Texas deserves at least 95 percent of Texas gas tax revenue for Texas transportation projects and have cosponsored legislation, H.R. 2208, to that effect.

But as we saw during the House vote on the Isakson amendment to H.R. 3550, it is hard to increase our slice of the pie to a fair level unless the pie is big enough to pay for the Nation's needs. Inadequate transportation investment means lost hours spent in traffic, lost job opportunities, and lost lives from unsafe road conditions. I call on the Administration to allow conferees to fully fund H.R. 3550 at the bipartisan level of \$375 billion.

Mr. McDERMOTT. Mr. Speaker, no one in Seattle doubts the city will be rocked by another earthquake one day. We've faced large magnitude quakes in the past and we fear a large magnitude quake in the future.

So, I rise to express my outrage that the Administration and Republican leadership refuse to pass a comprehensive highway bill that includes critical planning money for the Alaskan Way Viaduct. There is not a moment to lose in planning and replacing the roadway. A large magnitude quake could topple the double-decked highway, just as we saw with tragic consequences in Oakland, California.

Quit playing politics with peoples' lives. Safety must not be held hostage by the Administration and Republican leaders. Pass a real highway bill now, while there is time, while the Alaskan Way Viaduct is still standing.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MILLER of Florida). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. PETRI) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 4219.

The question was taken.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In the opinion of the Chair, two-thirds of those present have voted in the affirmative.

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

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX and the Chair's prior announcement, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. PETRI. Mr. 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 H.R. 4219.

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

There was no objection.

#### WILKIE D. FERGUSON, JR. UNITED STATES COURTHOUSE

Mr. LATOURETTE. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the

Senate bill (S. 1904) to designate the United States courthouse located at 400 North Miami Avenue in Miami, Florida, as the "Wilkie D. Ferguson, Jr. United States Courthouse."

The Clerk read as follows:

S. 1904

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

#### SECTION 1. DESIGNATION.

The United States courthouse located at 400 North Miami Avenue in Miami, Florida, shall be known and designated as the "Wilkie D. Ferguson, Jr. United States Courthouse".

#### SEC. 2. REFERENCES.

Any reference in a law, map, regulation, document, paper, or other record of the United States to the United States courthouse referred to in section 1 shall be deemed to be a reference to the "Wilkie D. Ferguson, Jr. United States Courthouse".

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. LATOURETTE) and the gentleman from California (Mr. THOMPSON) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. LATOURETTE).

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

Mr. Speaker, S. 1904, similar to H.R. 2538, which was introduced by our friend and colleague, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MEEK), designates the United States Courthouse located at 400 North Miami Avenue in Miami, Florida as the "Wilkie D. Ferguson, Jr. United States Courthouse."

Wilkie Ferguson was born in Miami, Florida in 1938 to Bahamian immigrants and raised in the Liberty Square public housing project. Despite being raised in an environment of discrimination and segregation, Wilkie Ferguson attended the then segregated Miami Public School System and, upon his graduation, attended Florida A&M.

After graduating from Florida A&M with a Bachelor's Degree in business administration, Wilkie Ferguson entered the United States Army, where he served as a First Lieutenant for 3 years, and then for another 2 years as a Captain in the Army Reserve.

When he left the Army, Mr. FERGUSON attended and graduated from Howard University Law School. His legal career began with Legal Services of Greater Miami. He also worked as a staff attorney for the Miami Dade School Board of Education before entering private practice.

In 1973, his judicial career began when he was appointed a Judge of Industrial Claims, and later as a Judge on the Circuit Court for the 11th Judicial Circuit Court of Florida, and then the Third District Court of Appeals for Florida.

In 1993, Judge Ferguson was appointed by President Clinton to serve on the United States District Court for the Southern District of Florida, a post which he held until his death.

This is a fitting tribute to a man who dedicated his life to helping the poor

and the disenfranchised. I support this measure and I encourage my colleagues to do the same.

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

Mr. THOMPSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, S. 1904 is a bill to designate the United States Courthouse located at 400 North Miami Avenue in Miami, Florida as the Wilkie D. Ferguson, Jr. United States Courthouse. The gentleman from Florida (Mr. MEEK) introduced the House companion bill, H.R. 2538, for himself, the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. ROSELEHTINEN), and the gentlemen from Florida (Mr. LINCOLN DIAZ-BALART), (Mr. MARIO DIAZ-BALART), (Mr. DEUTSCH), and (Mr. BROWN).

Judge Wilkie Ferguson, a native Floridian, was born to immigrant parents in 1938 and was raised in a public housing project in Miami. Through hard work, perseverance, and personal drive, he received degrees from Florida A&M University, Drexel University in Philadelphia, and a law degree from Howard University Law School in the District of Columbia.

Judge Ferguson served in the U.S. Army Reserves from 1960 until 1964 as a Lieutenant and as a Reserve Captain from 1964 to 1968. He was nominated to the Federal bench by President Clinton in 1993 and was confirmed by the U.S. Senate in November of 1993.

Despite his humble beginnings, Judge Ferguson achieved the highest levels of judicial service and was a dedicated public servant. He holds the distinction of being the first black jurist appointed to the Miami Dade Circuit Court and the Third District Court of Appeals. His judicial legacy includes a 1980 ruling that African Americans cannot be systematically excluded from a jury. His rulings also significantly affected the lives of many disabled individuals by prohibiting the State from reducing services to the disabled.

Judge Ferguson was a prolific writer and authored many articles on Federal drug laws, expert witnesses, and privacy in the computer age. He received numerous awards and honors, including the Courage and Scholarship in Legal Writing Award from the National Bar Association, the Champions of Higher Education in Florida Award, and the Thurgood Marshall Achievement Award For Exceptional Scholarly Performance.

He was a member of the American Bar Association, the National Bar Association, and the Florida Supreme Court Committee on Jury Instructions.

Judge Ferguson was highly regarded and was liked by not only his peers, but also by many young colleagues. He was experienced, knowledgeable, and dedicated to fairness and compassion. It is most fitting that the courthouse in Miami be named in his honor. I support S. 1904 and urge its passage.

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

Mr. LATOURETTE. Mr. Speaker, I would advise my friend, the gentleman from California, that we have no additional speakers and would reserve our time subject to closing.

Mr. THOMPSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MEEK).

Mr. MEEK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time. I want to also thank the chairman for his very kind comments about Judge Wilkie Ferguson.

I just want to share with the House and the American people that the local community in Miami Dade County and within the circuit there in south Florida, that it is just a high honor that this House would not find it robbery and also the other body to name this courthouse after Judge Wilkie Ferguson. Many of our viewers and also Members of the House had an opportunity to hear my colleagues speak so eloquently about his past contributions to our society. Unfortunately, but some may say fortunately, he moved on to a higher place on June 9 of 2003.

I think it is very, very fitting for the American people not only to hear of his contributions, but also for judges and those that are involved in our judicial system, from the Supreme Court all the way down to a hearing officer at the county court level, to hear the contributions of this great man. He stood on behalf of not only people financially challenged or people of color, but he stood on behalf of the law and what the Constitution spoke of as it relates to representing everyone and making sure that they have a fair share.

In south Florida, we have a very diverse community, Mr. Speaker, and I must say, as it relates to Judge Ferguson and as it relates to this courthouse being named after him, we had unanimous support as it relates to individuals coming forth and saying we want to name this courthouse, which is in downtown Miami, one of the most outstanding buildings that is being erected that will be ready to open its doors in the fall of 2005, for those workers who are working on that courthouse, for those individuals that walk by every day as they walk to the county courthouse and also to the courthouse that is existing now, they will know that the American people stand behind the Wilkie Ferguson philosophy in making sure that everyone is represented.

□ 1100

For every judge that walks into those doors, it will remind him and her and, even as it relates to the magistrates, it will remind them of the importance of standing on behalf of all Americans and standing on behalf of individuals until they are proven guilty.

It will remind those individuals, those court reporters that walk into that Federal courthouse of the importance of making sure that as they type

down the words of witnesses and defendants and prosecutors and individuals that are trying to seek justice, families that are looking to be made whole through our justice system and finding some sort of resolution, whether it be to a civil offense or to a criminal offense that may take place, that Judge Wilkie Ferguson once walked through that area in that vicinity and that his spirit will forever live in the hearts and minds of those individuals that work there every day of their lives.

I just want to also share with the House that it is very, very important that we remember the importance of the contributions of those individuals that came up on the rough side. Wilkie Ferguson did. His wife Betty Ferguson also did, who also offered her life and is still offering her service to our public there in the Miami-Dade Commission.

Wilkie Ferguson spoke to individuals, ordinary individuals at his level. Being a Federal judge, serving and being very respected in the community, he spoke to the individuals that were out there clipping the hedges. He spoke to the individuals as it relates to getting a cup of coffee for people such as himself. He is the kind, and was the kind, and I say he is the kind because in my heart and my mind he is still living with us, even though he has passed on his spirit is still alive and well, he spoke to those individuals. He made sure that people felt like people.

He represented in a way that he should. He wrote articles to our local paper about what should be happening in our judicial system. He was an advocate judge, but an advocate judge on behalf of every American.

And I am so honored; I am pleased that my community came together on this. I thank my colleagues on the other side of the aisle for their forward thinking in saying that this was appropriate to name this courthouse after him. I thank this House for coming together and making sure that we honor a man of great dignity and integrity on the bench and even before he got on the bench.

Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the American people for this opportunity to address the House.

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of S. 1904, a bill to designate the United States Courthouse located at 400 North Miami Avenue, Miami, FL, as the Wilkie D. Ferguson Jr. United States Courthouse.

Judge Wilkie Ferguson, a native Floridian, was born of Bahamian parents in Miami on May 1, 1938, and died on June 9, 2003. He was educated at Florida A&M University and Howard University Law School. Judge Ferguson served with distinction as a lieutenant in the U.S. Army Reserves from 1960 to 1964, and as a Reserve captain from 1964 until 1968. He was nominated to the Federal bench by President Clinton in 1993 and was confirmed by the U.S. Senate in November 1993.

Rising from humble beginnings, Judge Ferguson was highly educated, hard working, and a dedicated public servant. In addition to his undergraduate degree from Florida A&M Uni-

versity, he also received a master's degree from Drexel University in Philadelphia, as well as a law degree from Howard University in the District of Columbia.

Judge Ferguson holds the distinction of being the first black jurist appointed to the Miami-Dade Circuit Court and the Third District Court of Appeals.

Judge Ferguson was a prolific writer and authored many articles on Federal drug laws, expert witnesses, and privacy in the computer age. His professional work was acknowledged with many awards and honors, including the Williams Hastie Award, the United Way of Dade County Distinguished Service Award, and the South Florida Chapter of the American Society for Public Administration Award.

Judge Wilkie Ferguson was well respected by his colleagues and by all who entered his courtroom. He was dedicated to fairness and compassion and served as a mentor to many younger colleagues. It is most fitting that the courthouse in Miami be named in his honor. I support S. 1904 and urge its passage.

Mr. THOMPSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I have no further speakers, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. LATOURETTE. Mr. Speaker, I urge passage of the bill, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SIMMONS). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. LATOURETTE) that the House suspend the rules and pass the Senate bill, S. 1904.

The question was taken.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In the opinion of the Chair, two-thirds of those present have voted in the affirmative.

Mr. THOMPSON of California. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX and the Chair's prior announcement, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

#### AUTHORIZING THE USE OF THE CAPITOL GROUNDS FOR THE GREATER WASHINGTON SOAP BOX DERBY

Mr. LATOURETTE. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 376) authorizing the use of the Capitol Grounds for the Greater Washington Soap Box Derby.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. CON. RES. 376

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring).*

#### SECTION 1. AUTHORIZATION OF SOAP BOX DERBY RACES ON CAPITOL GROUNDS.

The Greater Washington Soap Box Derby Association (in this resolution referred to as the "Association") shall be permitted to sponsor a public event, soap box derby races, on the Capitol Grounds on June 19, 2004, or on such other date as the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate may jointly designate.

**SEC. 2. CONDITIONS.**

The event to be carried out under this resolution shall be free of admission charge to the public and arranged not to interfere with the needs of Congress, under conditions to be prescribed by the Architect of the Capitol and the Capitol Police Board; except that the Association shall assume full responsibility for all expenses and liabilities incident to all activities associated with the event.

**SEC. 3. STRUCTURES AND EQUIPMENT.**

For the purposes of this resolution, the Association is authorized to erect upon the Capitol Grounds, subject to the approval of the Architect of the Capitol, such stage, sound amplification devices, and other related structures and equipment as may be required for the event to be carried out under this resolution.

**SEC. 4. ADDITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS.**

The Architect of the Capitol and the Capitol Police Board are authorized to make any such additional arrangements that may be required to carry out the event under this resolution.

**SEC. 5. ENFORCEMENT OF RESTRICTIONS.**

The Capitol Police Board shall provide for enforcement of the restrictions contained in section 5104(c) of title 40, United States Code, concerning sales, advertisements, displays, and solicitations on the Capitol Grounds, as well as other restrictions applicable to the Capitol Grounds, with respect to the event to be carried out under this resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. LATOURETTE) and the gentleman from California (Mr. THOMPSON) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. LATOURETTE).

Mr. LATOURETTE. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I might consume.

Mr. Speaker, House Concurrent Resolution 376 introduced, once again, by the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER) authorizes the use of the Capitol Grounds for the Greater Washington Soapbox Derby on June 19, 2004.

In sort of a parenthetical, I would not only commend the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER) but last year when we had similar legislation introduced by the gentleman, he was detained by his other very important duties as the minority whip; and the gentleman from Maine (Mr. MICHAUD) and I spent about 20 minutes on the floor thinking about great things on the soapbox derby to breathlessly await his arrival. I am grateful that the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER) is with us today.

These races, which will be held on Constitution Avenue, allow young people from the Greater Washington Metropolitan area to compete with one another for the honor of representing their district at the National Soap Box Derby competition to be held this summer in the city of Akron in the great State of Ohio.

Participants, who range in age from 9 to 16, compete in three different divisions, based upon experience. In preparing for these competitions, participants must construct their vehicle, with limited assistance, from stock supplies. The Soap Box Derby teaches the value of hard work, dedication, and

ingenuity, and shows them the joy of a job well done.

This race has been held for over 50 years in the Washington area. I am pleased that once again we can offer our support for this worthwhile event.

The sponsors of this event have agreed to work with the Capitol Police to ensure the enforcement of all applicable regulations, and the event will be free of charge and open to the public.

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

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

Mr. THOMPSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield as much time as he may consume to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), my esteemed colleague and the esteemed whip for the minority side of the aisle.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend, the gentleman from California (Mr. THOMPSON), for yielding. I also want to thank my good friend from Ohio (Mr. LATOURETTE), the chairman of this subcommittee, for last year trying to give me the opportunity to speak on my bill. I remember that and recall that well. I thank him very much.

I want to thank my good friend, the gentleman from California (Mr. THOMPSON), the ranking Democrat, and the extraordinary staff assistant that he has on this subcommittee, Susan Brita.

Mr. Speaker, for the past 12 years I have sponsored a resolution on the Greater Washington Soap Box Derby to hold its race on the Capitol Grounds along Constitution Avenue. Once again, I am proud to have sponsored such a resolution to permit the 63rd running of the Soap Box Derby races scheduled to take place on Saturday, June 19.

The resolution authorizes the Architect of the Capitol, the Capitol Police Board, and the Greater Washington Soap Box Derby Association to negotiate the necessary arrangements for conducting the race in complete compliance with the rules and regulations governing the use of the Capitol Grounds.

Therefore, I request my colleagues to join with me and other co-sponsors, including the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF), the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia (Ms. NORTON), the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. WYNN), the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. MORAN), and the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. VAN HOLLEN), in supporting this resolution.

The Soap Box Derby has been held in the Washington D.C. area since 1991. It has attracted over 50 participants each of these years ranging in age from 9 to 16. The participants work very hard, as all of us know, to prepare their own race cars from the kit provided by the All American Soap Box Derby program.

The contestants are given an opportunity to learn basic skills of workmanship and to enhance their building expertise while creating their own style car. Winners of these levels of the

local race become eligible to compete in the National Soap Box Derby races held in the district of the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. LATOURETTE) in Akron.

Prior to the national races, they attend a week of camps in Derbytowntown where they make lasting friendships while participating in a variety of sporting activities. The national races are held in July and give the participants a chance to win scholarships and merchandise prizes.

Mr. Speaker, this event has been called, and I quote, "the greatest amateur racing event in the world." I am not sure that it is the greatest, but it is certainly one of the very best and certainly gives to young people the values of self-reliance, of enterprise, of innovation, and of competition.

This is a wonderful opportunity for our children from the District of Columbia, Maryland, and Virginia to venture into the world of science while experiencing the spirit of competition.

I again thank the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. LATOURETTE) and the gentleman from California (Mr. THOMPSON) for their leadership in bringing this to the floor.

Mr. THOMPSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I associate myself with the remarks made by the author of the bill, the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER).

Mr. Speaker, I ask for passage of this bill.

Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to support, along with Ms. NORTON, Mr. HOYER, Mr. WOLF, Mr. MORAN of Virginia, Mr. WYNN, and Mr. VAN HOLLEN, H. Con. Res. 376, and acknowledge the efforts of Mr. HOYER, who has been such a great and consistent champion for his constituents for this event.

H. Con. Res. 376 authorizes use of the Capitol Grounds for the Greater Washington Soap Box Derby. Youngsters age 9 through 16 construct and operate their own soap box vehicles. On June 19, 2004 youngsters from the greater Washington area will race down Constitution Avenue to test the principles of aerodynamics in hand-designed and -constructed soap box vehicles.

Mr. Speaker, many hundreds of volunteers donate considerable time supporting the event and providing families with a fun-filled day, which is quickly becoming a tradition in the Washington, D.C. area. The event has grown in popularity, and Washington is now known as one of the outstanding race cities.

Consistent with all events using the Capitol Grounds, this event is open to the public and free of charge. The organizers will work with the Capitol Hill Police and the Office of the Architect.

I support H. Con. Res. 376 and urge passage of this resolution.

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H. Con. Res. 376, which authorizes the use of the Capitol Grounds for the Greater Washington Soap Box Derby. I especially want to mention the diligence and dedication of Mr. HOYER, the resolution's annual sponsor.

This annual event encourages all boys and girls, ages 9 through 16, to construct and operate their own soap box vehicles. The principles of aerodynamics are combined with fun and excitement for all participants and their families in the Greater Washington area.

The Washington event has grown in size and has become one of the best-attended events in the country. In the past, the Washington event has produced winners who went on to the National Soap Box Derby finals.

The derby organizers will work with the Architect of the Capitol and the Capitol Police to ensure the appropriate rules and regulations are in place.

I support this resolution and urge my colleagues to support H. Con. Res. 376.

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

Mr. LATOURETTE. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of our time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. LATOURETTE) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution, H. Con. Res. 376.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the concurrent resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### RONALD REAGAN FEDERAL BUILDING

Mr. LATOURETTE. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the Senate bill (S. 2043) to designate a Federal building in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, as the "Ronald Reagan Federal Building".

The Clerk read as follows:

S. 2043

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

#### SECTION 1. RONALD REAGAN FEDERAL BUILDING.

(a) DESIGNATION.—The Federal building located at 228 Walnut Street, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, shall be known and designated as the "Ronald Reagan Federal Building".

(b) REFERENCES.—Any reference in a law, map, regulation, document, paper, or other record of the United States to the building referred to in subsection (a) shall be deemed to be a reference to the Ronald Reagan Federal Building.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. LATOURETTE) and the gentleman from California (Mr. THOMPSON) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. LATOURETTE).

Mr. LATOURETTE. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I might consume.

Mr. Speaker, S. 2043, introduced by Senator SPECTER of Pennsylvania, is similar to House bill H.R. 3923, which was introduced by the gentleman from the Ninth Congressional District of Pennsylvania (Mr. SHUSTER).

This bill designates the Federal building located at 228 Walnut Street in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, as the Ronald Reagan Federal Building.

Many times I have come to the floor to honor Americans, politicians, judges and other great leaders. Perhaps no other American, however, has been as

honored or as deserving of an honor as the 40th President of the United States, Ronald Wilson Reagan.

Ronald Reagan was born in Tampico, Illinois, in 1911. His early years are a model that we can all be proud of. The son of working-class parents, he attended the public schools in Dixon, Illinois, and then worked his way through Eureka College where he was on the football team and an actor.

One story that I think does not get told enough about Ronald Reagan is before President Reagan had an impact on the lives of billions, he had a more direct impact on the lives of people in his community of Dixon, Illinois. While growing up, Ronald Reagan earned extra money working as a lifeguard at Rock River. Over the course of 6 years, then-lifeguard Reagan pulled 77 swimmers out of the water who were struggling in the notorious swift current and were in need of assistance.

During his time in public life, Ronald Reagan always worked to improve the lives of everyday Americans, from his Economic Recovery Act, which he worked to pass even after an assassination attempt, to the 1986 tax bill which reduced the burdens of taxation on all Americans.

In foreign policy, he pursued a policy of "peace through strength," a policy that brought about the end of the Soviet empire, bringing freedoms to millions in Europe and Asia.

This legislation bestows an appropriate honor to one who has given so much to his country.

I support the legislation, and I urge our colleagues to do the same.

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

Mr. THOMPSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, this bill designates the Federal building located at 228 Walnut Street, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, as the Ronald Reagan Federal Building. The bill was introduced by Senator SPECTER for himself and Senator SANTORUM. The House companion bill, H.R. 3923, was introduced by the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. SHUSTER.)

Former President Reagan was our country's 40th President. He was a magnetic leader whose greatest legacy was perhaps his call to Mr. Gorbachev to "tear down this wall."

His talents and his personal touch enabled him to rally support for his programs, often convincing even his greatest critics to see things his way. His charisma along with his sense of humor have earned him a special place in our Nation's history.

I urge passage of this bill.

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

Mr. LATOURETTE. 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 Ohio (Mr. LATOURETTE) that the House suspend

the rules and pass the Senate bill, S. 2043.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the Senate bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### AUTHORIZING USE OF THE CAPITOL GROUNDS FOR NATIONAL PEACE OFFICERS' MEMORIAL SERVICE

Mr. LATOURETTE. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 388) authorizing the use of the Capitol Grounds for the National Peace Officers' Memorial Service, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. CON. RES. 388

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring),*

#### SECTION 1. USE OF CAPITOL GROUNDS FOR NATIONAL PEACE OFFICERS' MEMORIAL SERVICE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The National Fraternal Order of Police and its auxiliary (in this resolution referred to as the "sponsor") shall be permitted to sponsor a public event, the 23rd annual National Peace Officers' Memorial Service (in this resolution jointly referred to as the "event"), on the Capitol Grounds, in order to honor the law enforcement officers who died in the line of duty during 2003.

(b) DATE OF EVENT.—The event shall be held on May 15, 2004, or on such other date as the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate jointly designate.

#### SEC. 2. TERMS AND CONDITIONS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Under conditions to be prescribed by the Architect of the Capitol and the Capitol Police Board, the event shall be—

(1) free of admission charge and open to the public; and

(2) arranged not to interfere with the needs of Congress.

(b) EXPENSES AND LIABILITIES.—The sponsor shall assume full responsibility for all expenses and liabilities incident to all activities associated with the event.

#### SEC. 3. EVENT PREPARATIONS.

Subject to the approval of the Architect of the Capitol, the sponsor is authorized to erect upon the Capitol Grounds such stage, sound amplification devices, and other related structures and equipment, as may be required for the event.

#### SEC. 4. ENFORCEMENT OF RESTRICTIONS.

The Capitol Police Board shall provide for enforcement of the restrictions contained in section 5104(c) of title 40, United States Code, concerning sales, advertisements, displays, and solicitations on the Capitol Grounds, as well as other restrictions applicable to the Capitol Grounds, in connection with the event.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. LATOURETTE) and the gentleman from California (Mr. THOMPSON) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. LATOURETTE).

Mr. LATOURETTE. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I might consume.

It is my pleasure to bring to the floor a resolution authorizing the use of the

Capitol Grounds for the 23rd Annual National Peace Officers Memorial Service. This service will honor the memory of 148 law enforcement officers killed in the line of duty during 2003. This service will also honor a number of law enforcement officers killed during other years, who, for a variety of reasons, have not yet had their names inscribed on the wall of honor at the National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial located at the National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial here in Washington.

This service comes as part of Police Week, a week-long festival of events that remember those members of law enforcement who have made the ultimate sacrifice. Police Week includes events such as the annual Law Ride, a Police Unity Tour, Honor Guard competition, Blue Mass, and Candlelight Vigil.

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Since the first official memorial service was held in 1982, over 3,000 officers have been honored. Since that first service, the Grand Lodge of the Fraternal Order of Police and its Auxiliary have served as hosts and sponsors of the event.

This service, as are many of the events encompassing Police Week, is open to the public and free of charge.

I support this resolution, which will allow the use of the Capitol grounds for this important service in honor of the men and women who keep us, our families, our communities, and the Nation safe and secure. I urge my colleagues to do the same.

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

Mr. THOMPSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, H. Con. Res. 388 authorizes use of the Capitol grounds for the 23rd Annual National Peace Officers Memorial Service, a most solemn and respectful public event honoring our Nation's brave civil servants. The event, scheduled for May 15, will be coordinated with the Office of the Architect of the Capitol and the Capitol Hill Police.

This is a fitting tribute to Federal, State and local police officers who give their lives in the daily work of protecting our families, our homes, our places of work, and us. Three hundred sixty-two names will be added to the memorial wall this year, including the names of 145 brave men and women who were killed in the line of duty, as well as 217 historic cases that were uncovered by the Memorial Research Department.

On average, one officer is killed in this country every other day, approximately 23,000 are injured every year, and thousands are assaulted going about their daily routines.

During 2003, six of the fallen officers were women.

The ceremony to be held on May 15 is the 23rd anniversary of this memorial

service. Consistent with all Capitol Hill events, the memorial service will be free and open to the public.

I support the resolution and urge my colleagues to join me in supporting this tribute to our fallen Peace Officers.

This measure is particularly important to me, Mr. Speaker, because my youngest son, Jon, is Deputy Sheriff in Calaveras County in California, and I would like to recognize him for his great service and all of those brave men and women who serve us every day. I urge its passage.

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting H. Con. Res. 388, to authorize use of the Capitol Grounds for the National Peace Officers' Memorial Service on May 15, 2004.

In October 1962, President Kennedy proclaimed May 15 as National Peace Officers' Memorial Day. Each year on this date we, as a nation, have an opportunity to honor the devotion with which peace officers perform their daily task of protecting our families, coworkers, friends, and each of us. The 2004 event marks the 23rd anniversary of the Capitol Hill event. In the post-September 11 environment, the work of selfless police and firemen has become our model of courage and moral strength.

There are approximately 700,000 sworn law enforcement officers serving the American public today. Officers work for states, counties, U.S. territories, Federal enforcement, military police, and corrections departments. Ten percent of law enforcement officers are women.

During 2004, 145 peace officers were killed in the line of duty; of those killed, 6 were women. The average age of those killed in the line of duty was 37 years.

It is most fitting and proper to honor the lives, sacrifices, and public service of these brave men and women. I urge support for H. Con. Res. 388.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SIMMONS). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. LATOURETTE) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution, H. Con. Res. 388, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the concurrent resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. LATOURETTE. Mr. 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 S. 1904, H. Con. Res. 376, S. 2043, and H. Con. Res. 388, as amended.

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

There was no objection.

#### INCREASED CAPITAL ACCESS FOR GROWING BUSINESS ACT

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 3170) to amend the Investment Company Act of 1940 to provide incentives for small business investment, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.R. 3170

*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 "Increased Capital Access for Growing Business Act".

#### SEC. 2. AMENDMENTS TO THE INVESTMENT COMPANY ACT OF 1940.

(a) DEFINITION OF ELIGIBLE PORTFOLIO COMPANY.—Section 2(a)(46)(C) of the Investment Company Act of 1940 (15 U.S.C. 80a-2(a)(46)(C)) is amended—

(1) by striking clause (i) and inserting the following:

"(i) it does not have any class of equity securities listed for trading on a national securities exchange or traded through the facilities of a national securities association as described in Section 15A of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934;"

(2) by striking "or" at the end of clause (iii);

(3) by redesignating clause (iv) as clause (v); and

(4) by inserting after clause (iii) the following new clause:

"(iv) the aggregate value of its outstanding publicly traded equity securities is not more than \$250,000,000, except that the Commission may adjust such amounts by rule, regulation, or order to reflect changes in one or more generally accepted indices or other indicators for small business, consistent with the public interest, the protection of investors, and the purposes fairly intended by the policy and provisions of this title; or"

(b) ASSETS OF BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT COMPANIES.—Section 55(a)(1) of the Investment Company Act of 1940 (15 U.S.C. 80a-55(a)(1)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (B), by striking "securities with respect to which a member of a national securities exchange, broker, or dealer may extend or maintain credit to or for a customer pursuant to rules or regulations adopted by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System under Section 7 of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934" and inserting the following: "equity securities listed for trading on a national securities exchange or traded through the facilities of a national securities association as described in Section 15A of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934"; and

(2) by striking "or" at the end of subparagraph (A), by inserting "or" after the semicolon at the end of subparagraph (B), and by inserting after subparagraph (B) the following new subparagraph:

"(C) from the issuer of such securities, which issuer is described in section 2(a)(46)(A) and (B) but is not an eligible portfolio company because the aggregate value of its outstanding publicly traded equity securities is more than \$250,000,000 but not more than \$500,000,000, if such securities represent not more than 10 per centum of the total assets of the business development company invested in securities described in paragraphs (1) through (6) of this section;"

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. KELLY) and the gentlewoman from New York (Ms. VELÁZQUEZ) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. KELLY).

GENERAL LEAVE

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. 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 H.R. 3170.

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

There was no objection.

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

Mr. Speaker, I thank the Speaker very much for allowing me to bring this important legislation to the floor for consideration today. I also thank the gentlewoman from New York (Ms. VELÁZQUEZ) for working with me on this important issue that will help small businesses.

Small businesses are the backbone of our economy and Congress must ensure that they have every opportunity to succeed. It is crucial that small businesses have efficient access to capital in order to create jobs and ensure a strong and growing economy.

Today, the legislation before us, the Increased Capital Access For Growing Business Act, will ensure that small businesses have better access to capital by modernizing outdated security laws.

In 1980, Congress created Business Development Companies to encourage investments in small, developing and financially troubled businesses, known as "eligible portfolio companies."

BDCs are publicly traded investment companies that invest in both public and private companies and generate an injection of capital for businesses. BDCs have provided significant benefits to the economy, including the opportunity for the public to invest in small, developing companies while also supplying much needed financing.

The legislation we are considering today makes important changes to the securities laws that ensure the viability of BDCs and expands the businesses these entities are able to assist.

In 1980, BDCs were able to invest in approximately 66 percent of the 12,000 publicly held operating companies. Since that time, however, the Federal Reserve has amended its margin rules on several occasions, resulting in a clear decrease in the number of eligible portfolio companies.

In order to correct these unintended consequences, the legislation amends the definition of an eligible portfolio company to enable the BDCs to have a greater flexibility in selecting appropriate investments.

To accomplish this goal, the legislation permits BDCs to provide capital to a larger number of companies by increasing the size of companies that BDCs can invest in to reflect changes in the market since the creation of the act. The legislation also includes specific authority for the Securities and Exchange Commission to modify dollar thresholds in the future.

This would enable the SEC to review these thresholds on a regular basis and consider changes that are in the interest of the companies trying to access capital and shareholders of BDCs.

Small and developing businesses should be able to devote their energies towards their customers growing their business, not worrying about access to capital.

As BDCs are able to provide financing to additional small and medium sized businesses, the economy will experience greater growth and job creation.

I also would like to commend the chairman of the Committee on Financial Services, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. OXLEY), and the ranking member, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. FRANK), for recognizing the importance and urgency of this legislation and agreeing to move it quickly.

This is a no-cost, common sense piece of legislation that will help small businesses and increase capital formation; and that is good, healthy economic structure for all. I urge my colleagues to join me in support of this important legislation for investors and small businesses.

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

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

(Ms. VELÁZQUEZ asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. VELÁZQUEZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 3170, the Increased Capital Access For Growing Businesses Act; and I want to commend my good friend and colleague, the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. KELLY), for moving this matter so expeditiously. I also want to thank the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. OXLEY) and the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. FRANK), the ranking member, for their support in expediting the consideration of this measure.

With this legislation we have an opportunity to help more small companies access capital so that they can expand and grow their businesses. Business Development Companies are unique investment companies authorized by the 1980 Amendments to the Investment Company Act. They are publicly traded companies that invest primarily in small companies.

Since 1980, BDCs have proven to be a valuable source of funding for growing companies that do not have access to traditional sources of financing like bank lending or access to the public securities markets. At the same time, BDCs provide the investing public with an opportunity to invest in private equity, an opportunity traditionally limited to wealthy investors.

In 1980, when BDCs were first authorized by Congress, about two-thirds of all publicly held companies were eligible for BDC investment. While the securities and financial services industries evolved during the 1990s, Congress

did not act to keep the BDC statute current. As a result, the number of public companies in which BDCs could invest in has been reduced drastically, effectively eliminating the option of BDC investment for many companies.

It is important to understand that just because a firm has gone public does not mean that it can access the financing necessary for growing and expanding. In the late 1990s, for instance, many companies went public that may not have been able to do so under current market conditions. As a result, after the market bubble burst, many of these companies found themselves unable to access traditional financing sources. These smaller, illiquid company stocks could have greatly benefited from financing offered by BDCs. Instead, the current statute severely restricts such investments by BDCs.

The current standard for eligibility, whether or not a company has outstanding marginable securities, has proven unworkable, as it is tied to a standard that is no longer relevant.

H.R. 3170 attempts to provide more certainty and update the law concerning permissible investments by BDCs. It creates a more workable standard to enable BDCs to provide financing to companies as originally intended by the 1980 amendments. This legislation attempts to provide a more objective standard, based on a market capitalization test, to modernize the definition of eligible portfolio companies.

H.R. 3170 modernizes U.S. securities laws to reflect changes in the marketplace. Small and growing companies are often widely regarded as engines of economic growth and job creation. Allowing BDCs to invest in more companies in need of capital will provide more opportunities, more jobs, and contribute to the economic expansion.

I urge my colleagues to support this legislation critical for small businesses and the U.S. economy.

Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. KELLY) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 3170.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 4181, PERMANENTLY EXTENDING INCREASED STANDARD DEDUCTION, AND THE 15-PERCENT INDIVIDUAL INCOME TAX RATE BRACKET EXPANSION, FOR MARRIED TAXPAYERS FILING JOINT RETURNS

Mrs. MYRICK. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call

up House Resolution 607 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 607

*Resolved*, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to consider in the House the bill (H.R. 4181) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to permanently extend the increased standard deduction, and the 15-percent individual income tax rate bracket expansion, for married taxpayers filing joint returns. The bill shall be considered as read for amendment. The amendment printed in part A of the report of the Committee on Rules accompanying this resolution shall be considered as adopted. 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 on the bill, as amended, equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Ways and Means; (2) the further amendment printed in part B of the report of the Committee on Rules, if offered by Representative Rangel of New York or his designee, which shall be in order without intervention of any point of order, shall be considered as read, and shall be separately debatable for one hour equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent; and (3) one motion to recommit with or without instructions.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentlewoman from North Carolina (Mrs. MYRICK) is recognized for 1 hour.

□ 1130

Mrs. MYRICK. Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MCGOVERN), 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.

On Tuesday, the Committee on Rules met and granted a modified closed rule for the Marriage Penalty Relief Act.

H.R. 4181 amends the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to permanently extend the increased standard deduction and the 15 percent individual income tax rate bracket expansion for married taxpayers filing joint returns. It will also make permanent the increase in the phase-out of the earned income credit for joint filers.

Before 2001, the Tax Code penalized many married couples by forcing them to pay higher taxes just because they were married. The 2001 tax relief bill, enacted by President Bush, brought fairness to the Tax Code by phasing out these penalties. This law increased the standard deduction in the 15 percent tax bracket for married couples to twice as much for individuals. The relief was accelerated in the tax relief that was signed into law last year.

Thirty-five million couples currently benefit from the elimination of the marriage penalty. However, this relief will be reduced next year and will expire in 2010, and we cannot let that happen. Unless the relief is extended, 27 million married couples will face an average tax increase of \$300 in 2005, and over 35 million will see a tax increase of more than \$700 starting in 2011.

H.R. 4181 ensures that the marriage penalty relief is not reduced next year and that it stays in the law permanently.

We all know our economy is starting to rebound. Businesses are beginning to hire workers again, and Americans are starting to spend their money with more confidence. If we do not eliminate the marriage tax penalty and prevent other tax increases, our economy might slow down and prevent job creation.

Married working couples will be able to use this tax relief to benefit their families, which always helps the economy. They will be able to spend this money to improve their home or buy something they want, like a new washing machine or a new TV; and the more money they spend, the more jobs they will help create for their neighbors and friends.

This is what the bill is all about. The most important thing we can do today is revitalize our economy here at home, and we do this by eliminating the marriage penalty tax.

To that end, I urge my colleagues to support the rule and the underlying bill.

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

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself as much time as I may consume, and I thank the gentlewoman from North Carolina for yielding me the customary 30 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, marriage penalty tax relief is a good thing, not paying for it is a bad thing. All of us in this Chamber support tax fairness for married couples. But the question is, who supports tax fairness for future generations?

The deficit in this country continues to skyrocket, and what is disturbing to me is that there do not seem to be very many people on the other side of the aisle that care very much about that fact. We have to give President Clinton and his administration credit because, during the Clinton administration, this country experienced the first budget surpluses since the 1960s. Democrats and Republicans, working in a bipartisan way, delivered balanced budgets and extended the solvency of Social Security and Medicare well into the 21st century, but then the Bush administration moved into the White House, and fiscal responsibility went out of fashion.

Over the course of three major tax cuts, essentially handouts to the wealthiest Americans and corporations in this country, the \$5.6 trillion surplus became a \$2.9 trillion deficit, a stunning \$8.5 trillion reversal.

Mr. Speaker, the Republican leadership claimed they were providing middle-class tax relief, but the truth is that the vast majority of these tax cuts went to the wealthiest individuals and corporations in this country. They claimed that these tax cuts would stimulate the economy and create jobs, but the truth is that this country has

lost more than 2 million jobs since the President took office. They claim that this country could afford these tax cuts; but the truth is, they have squandered the Clinton surplus and actually hidden the long-term costs of these tax cuts by pretending that they will expire in 2010.

Mr. Speaker, the American people, I believe, can separate the rhetoric from reality. Over the next 4 weeks, starting today, this House will consider legislation to extend various provisions of the 2001 and 2003 tax cuts. Mind you, we will consider these bills without a budget resolution, the framework for all Federal spending for the upcoming fiscal year; and we will consider them years before many of them actually expire.

Today's offering is a bill to extend marriage penalty tax relief beyond 2010. I fully support extending tax relief for married couples, but this bill that the Republican leadership has drafted has the same problem as their previous bills. It is not paid for. Well, I should say actually it will be paid for some day, but not by this Congress. Just like in 2001 and 2003, the Republicans pass the cost of their tax cuts to our children and to our grandchildren. In essence, they are raising taxes on future generations. Mr. Speaker, that is not fair and that is not right.

Democrats, I think, have a better plan to extend marriage penalty relief. The Democratic substitute improves this legislation with three simple, commonsense provisions.

First, the Democrats extend the earned income tax credit for low- and middle-income married couples; and the Democratic bill speeds up the EITC marriage penalty relief included in the 2001 tax cut bill, ensuring that low- and middle-income married couples are not penalized by this unfair tax.

Second, Democrats exempt any marriage penalty relief from the alternative minimum tax. Unfortunately, over half of the marriage penalty relief is taken away from married couples by the Federal Government because of the alternative minimum tax. The Republican bill fails to fix this unfair taxation, and many married couples will find that the government is taxing the very relief promised them by the Republican leadership. We will not see that in the Republican press releases today.

Third, Mr. Speaker, the Democrats provide an offset. Unlike the Republican bill, Democrats actually pay for this tax relief. Democrats do not believe we should be passing the burden of paying for these tax cuts onto future generations.

Mr. Speaker, every day American families must make tough choices with their hard-earned money. They budget for groceries and housing, transportation, education and child care. They spend sensibly within their means.

Congress could learn a lot from the average American family. Congress should live within its means as well.

It is very simple. If you are going to spend, you should pay for it. For the life of me, I cannot understand why the other side of the aisle is ignoring that important lesson.

We have an opportunity here today to work together and provide meaningful marriage penalty relief to married couples, regardless of income; and we can do this in a way that we pay for it.

So I would urge my friends on the other side of the aisle to join us today. Support the Rangel-Matsui Democratic substitute. Show the American people that this Congress can actually act in a fiscally responsible manner, that it does indeed care about the deficit and the fiscal health of this Nation.

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

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

I would just say to the gentleman that we do have a bit of a philosophical difference here because, throughout history, every time we have done tax relief, the economy improves, and we put more money into the system, and it pays for itself over and over and over and over and over again. So this is just a philosophical difference we have.

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

(Mr. BOEHLERT asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BOEHLERT. Mr. Speaker, the examples of inequities and simply unfair and lacking-in-commonsense provisions of our existing Tax Code are just too numerous to mention. I wish I could wave a magic wand and eliminate them all overnight.

This President and this Congress are doing their best to bring about much-needed and long-overdue tax reform to the American people, but I am a realist. I know that a journey of 1,000 miles requires many steps forward. Today, we have an opportunity to take a joint step forward.

I stand before my colleagues as a proud cosponsor and strong advocate for eliminating permanently the marriage tax penalty. And what is the marriage tax penalty? I wish it were easy to explain to the American people, but think of it in these terms. When the only thing that changes in the lives of a man and a woman, not their job, not their income, nothing else, when the only thing that changes is that they fall in love and get married, only to discover that their tax obligation is dramatically increased, not double what they were paying as two single people but double plus, that just does not make sense.

The 2001 tax relief act, enacted by President Bush and proudly passed by this Congress, brought fairness to the Tax Code by phasing out this penalty; however, this relief will be reduced next year and will expire entirely by 2010 unless we take the action called for in this good legislation.

We want to provide tax relief for the American people. We want them to

keep more of their own money so that they can make the wise decisions on how to spend that money. We want to provide relief for the American business community to incentivize them to buy new equipment, to build new buildings, to expand and create more jobs. The President and this Congress are seeking to do just that.

It is mind-boggling to me to think that anyone would oppose it, but we get people who stand up on this floor and say I am for it, but I am for it but. There is always but, but, but. Let us do it, provide tax relief to the American families, tax relief that will get our economy moving again; and this is one very important step forward in that very important and long journey.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume to respond to my colleague, the gentlewoman from North Carolina, who I have great respect for.

We serve together on the Committee on Rules, and I did not think we had much of a philosophical difference because I have admired a lot of the comments that she has made over the last several months about the importance of this Congress being fiscally responsible. The gentlewoman actually heads the Republican's Study Group which represents a lot of the more conservative Members of this Chamber, but I read a quote that she had made that appeared in Congress Daily on January 22 that I actually agree with. She says, "I support making tax cuts permanent, but we have to pay for them."

I think the only kind of difference that we seem to have on this debate, which I did not think we did based on this quote, was that we want tax relief and we want it paid for.

My colleague from New York says that we always want to say but, but, but. Well, it is not that we want to say "but." I think most Americans want us to be fiscally responsible, and the fact of the matter is we are faced with the largest deficits in the history of our country. That used to be a concern on the other side of the aisle. It does not seem to be a concern anymore, and we are also faced with record job losses. I mean, 2.6 million jobs have been lost under this administration.

I am concerned by the fact that we cannot seem to get a highway bill to the President's desk. The gentleman from New York is on the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure. He knows full well that if we passed a transportation bill, we would create a lot of jobs by investing in our infrastructure and investing in our highways.

So if we want to get serious about controlling this deficit, I think we need to show a little fiscal responsibility here on the House floor.

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

Mrs. MYRICK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. BOEHLERT).

Mr. BOEHLERT. Mr. Speaker, to my distinguished colleague from Massa-

chusetts, I say this: if my colleagues provide tax relief to the American families, they are not going to hide the money under the mattress. They are going to use it to buy goods and services, manufactured right here in the United States, by his neighbors and mine.

My favorite four letter word, and we can use it in polite company, is "jobs."

□ 1145

And if you provide tax relief for the families, they will use their money wisely to create new jobs. If you incentivize business to buy new equipment, build new buildings, create new jobs, that is the best way to get more money flowing into the Treasury to reduce that deficit.

I, like you, want to do that; but we are moving in the right direction. We have got the right ticket to drive this economy forward if we provide much-needed tax relief for the families and for the businesses of America so that our economy, which is moving in the right direction, will do so at an accelerated pace.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume and say to the gentleman from New York that my favorite four letter word as well is "jobs," and I am, quite frankly, very worried about the fact that under this administration and under their economic policies we have lost 2.6 million jobs.

I want to make sure that our economy moves in a different direction. I guess I also believe that one of the ways to help continue to move us in a different direction is to get our fiscal house in order and to reverse this trend that we are now pursuing, which is one of record deficits.

Going deeper into debt, in the long run, is going to undercut our economy and undercut our ability to grow jobs. What we are simply saying here is that, yes, we believe in marriage penalty tax relief; but we think it should be paid for. I do not think that should be controversial. That seems consistent with a lot of statements made by the other side of the aisle over the many years I have heard speeches being given on this floor.

What we are doing today is not paid for. What we are doing today, in the end, is going to bring us further into debt; and I think that we can do this better. We should be able to come together in a bipartisan way and get this right. I think that is what the American people would expect.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 15 seconds to my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from New York (Mr. BOEHLERT).

Mr. BOEHLERT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time; and to quote someone a lot more famous than me, "There you go again." It is, we believe in this, but, but, but. Let us do it.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume and again thank the gentleman for his

remarks; but this is not an excuse. This is very serious.

We are now faced with the biggest deficit in the history of this country; and every single Member, Republican and Democrat, liberal and conservative, should be worried about it because we are passing this on to our kids and our grandkids. That is no joking matter. That is serious.

I believe if we do not reverse this trend, we will undercut our ability to grow jobs. So I want tax relief, but I also want us to be fiscally responsible and pay for it. That is consistent with the statement of my colleague from North Carolina, who I have great admiration for. I just wish when we say these things, we would actually fight to make them a reality on this House floor.

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

Mrs. MYRICK. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume and would just say that I am glad the gentleman agrees that we need tax relief and we need fiscal constraint, because the budget we are looking at bringing forward, of course, has a freeze on spending, which is a very important part of this to reduce the deficit.

And again I would just say that we have a difference in how we look at this and how we pay for the tax cuts, because we believe that there will be increased monies coming in to the Treasury through the economic generation that is done with the tax relief. It has happened throughout history. And because of that, we will see the tax cuts paid for and the deficit reduced.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LINDER), another distinguished member of the Committee on Rules.

Mr. LINDER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this rule, and I thank my friend and colleague from the Committee on Rules, the gentlewoman from North Carolina (Mrs. MYRICK), for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, this is a traditional rule for legislation that amends the Internal Revenue Code, and I am pleased the House will have the opportunity to consider the merits of the underlying legislation and also an amendment from the ranking minority member of the Committee on Ways and Means, the gentleman from New York (Mr. RANGEL).

Mr. Speaker, our Nation's Tax Code remains hopelessly complex. Just a few years ago, it was so convoluted from years of tax changes that it punished married taxpayers merely because they were married. Unfortunately, only under this current monstrosity of a Tax Code could the marriage penalty that this House eliminated reappear in the very near future. This rule before the House, H. Res. 607, will give Members of the House an opportunity to consider legislation that not only makes the Tax Code fairer but also ensures that we can halt a targeted tax increase on married Americans.

I want to commend the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. GERLACH) for introducing this important legislation, H.R. 4181, which extends indefinitely the tax relief that the Congress and President Bush enacted in 2001 and 2003 to help married couples.

Previously, our income tax code penalized couples who got married, frequently forcing them to pay higher taxes than if they had remained single. If we fail to enact H.R. 4181, tax rates will revert to their pre-2001 levels, and the marriage tax penalty will be reinstated at the end of this year.

As a Nation built on strong families, we should promote marriage, not penalize it. Our tax system should not discourage getting married and raising a family. Therefore, it is imperative we pass H.R. 4181 today.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting this rule so we may proceed to debating the underlying legislation.

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

Again, Mr. Speaker, I would urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to support the Democratic substitute that the gentleman from New York (Mr. RANGEL) and the gentleman from California (Mr. MATSUI) will offer. I think it is a responsible way to approach this issue because it supports marriage penalty tax relief, but it pays for it.

The gentlewoman from North Carolina mentioned that their budget resolution urges that we pay for additional spending programs. I am all for pay-as-you-go rules, but I think they should also apply to tax cuts. I think it is the responsible thing to do.

I think all of us here would like to go home to our districts and talk about all the tax relief that we can provide our American families; but I think without specifying how we are going to pay for it, it is really irresponsible. It is a nice press release. It is a nice kind of public relations item. But if we do not pay for it, what we are really doing is we are passing the burdens on to future generations, to our children, our grandchildren, and our great grandchildren.

My grandfather used to say to me that you cannot have dessert without first having your spinach, and I think that that is a good lesson for us to apply to how we do business on the House floor. It is nice to get up here and talk about tax cuts and tax cuts and tax cuts, but it would be better to do so in the context that we pay for them. I think that is what the American people expect. That is what American families have to do. They pay as they go. They have to live within their means, and I think that same lesson should apply here.

So having said that, Mr. Speaker, we have no objection to the rule, but I would urge my colleagues very strongly to do the responsible thing and to support the Rangel-Matsui Democratic substitute.

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

Mrs. MYRICK. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume, and I say to my friend from Massachusetts that tax cuts do not cost money, they make money.

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

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER  
PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. CULBERSON). Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, proceedings will now resume on motions to suspend the rules previously postponed. Votes will be taken in the following order:

H.R. 4219, by the yeas and nays; and S. 1904, by the yeas and nays.

The first electronic vote will be conducted as a 15-minute vote. The remaining electronic vote will be conducted as a 5-minute vote.

SURFACE TRANSPORTATION  
EXTENSION ACT OF 2004, PART II

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The pending business is the question of suspending the rules and passing the bill, H.R. 4219.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. PETRI) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 4219, on which the yeas and nays are ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 410, nays 0, not voting 23, as follows:

[Roll No. 134]

YEAS—410

Abercrombie	Bono	Coble
Ackerman	Boozman	Cole
Aderholt	Boswell	Collins
Akin	Boucher	Conyers
Alexander	Boyd	Cooper
Allen	Bradley (NH)	Costello
Andrews	Brady (PA)	Cox
Baca	Brady (TX)	Cramer
Bachus	Brown (OH)	Crane
Baird	Brown (SC)	Crenshaw
Baker	Brown, Corrine	Crowley
Baldwin	Brown-Waite,	Cubin
Ballance	Ginny	Culberson
Ballenger	Burgess	Cummings
Barrett (SC)	Burns	Cunningham
Bartlett (MD)	Burr	Davis (AL)
Barton (TX)	Burton (IN)	Davis (CA)
Bass	Buyer	Davis (FL)
Beauprez	Calvert	Davis (TN)
Becerra	Camp	Davis, Jo Ann
Bell	Cannon	Davis, Tom
Bereuter	Cantor	Deal (GA)
Berkley	Capito	DeFazio
Berman	Capps	DeGette
Berry	Capuano	Delahunt
Biggert	Cardoza	DeLauro
Bilirakis	Carson (IN)	DeLay
Bishop (GA)	Carson (OK)	Deutsch
Bishop (NY)	Carter	Diaz-Balart, L.
Bishop (UT)	Case	Diaz-Balart, M.
Blackburn	Castle	Dicks
Blumenauer	Chabot	Dingell
Blunt	Chandler	Doggett
Boehrlert	Chocola	Dooley (CA)
Boehner	Clay	Doolittle
Bonilla	Clyburn	Doyle

Dreier	Knollenberg	Price (NC)	Wilson (NM)	Woolsey	Young (AK)	Brady (TX)	Goodlatte	McCotter
Duncan	Kolbe	Pryce (OH)	Wilson (SC)	Wu	Young (FL)	Brown (OH)	Goss	McCrary
Dunn	Kucinich	Putnam	Wolf	Wynn		Brown (SC)	Granger	McDermott
Edwards	LaHood	Quinn				Brown, Corrine	Graves	McGovern
Ehlers	Lampson	Radanovich				Brown-Waite,	Green (TX)	McHugh
Emanuel	Langevin	Rahall				Ginny	Green (WI)	McInnis
Emerson	Lantos	Ramstad	Bonner	Hastings (FL)	Rothman	Burgess	Grijalva	McIntyre
Engel	Larsen (WA)	Rangel	Cardin	Hoefel	Shuster	Burns	Gutierrez	McKeon
English	Larson (CT)	Regula	Davis (IL)	Kilpatrick	Smith (NJ)	Burr	Gutknecht	McNulty
Eshoo	Latham	Rehberg	DeMint	Kleccka	Tauzin	Buyer	Hall	Meehan
Etheridge	LaTourette	Renzi	Fattah	Millender-	Tiahrt	Calvert	Harman	Meek (FL)
Evans	Leach	Reyes	Gephardt	McDonald	Toomey	Camp	Harris	Meeks (NY)
Everett	Lee	Reynolds	Gordon	Pascrell	Waters	Cannon	Hart	Menendez
Farr	Levin	Rodriguez	Greenwood	Rohrabacher	Wexler	Cantor	Hastings (WA)	Mica
Feeney	Lewis (CA)	Rogers (AL)				Capito	Hayes	Michaud
Ferguson	Lewis (GA)	Rogers (KY)				Capps	Hayworth	Millender-
Filner	Lewis (KY)	Rogers (MI)				Capuano	Hefley	McDonald
Flake	Linder	Ros-Lehtinen				Cardoza	Hensarling	Miller (FL)
Foley	Lipinski	Ross				Carson (IN)	Herger	Miller (MI)
Forbes	LoBiondo	Roybal-Allard				Carson (OK)	Hill	Miller (NC)
Ford	Lofgren	Royce				Carter	Hinchev	Miller, Gary
Fossella	Lowey	Ruppersberger				Case	Hinojosa	Miller, George
Frank (MA)	Lucas (KY)	Rush				Castle	Hobson	Moore
Franks (AZ)	Lucas (OK)	Ryan (OH)				Chabot	Hoekstra	Moran (KS)
Frelinghuysen	Lynch	Ryan (WI)				Chandler	Holden	Moran (VA)
Frost	Majette	Ryun (KS)				Chocola	Holt	Murphy
Gallely	Maloney	Sabo				Clay	Honda	Murtha
Garrett (NJ)	Manzullo	Sánchez, Linda				Clyburn	Hoolley (OR)	Musgrave
Gerlach	Markey	T.				Coble	Hostettler	Myrick
Gibbons	Marshall	Sánchez, Loretta				Cole	Houghton	Nadler
Gilchrest	Matheson	Sanders				Collins	Hoyer	Napolitano
Gillmor	Matsui	Sandlin				Conyers	Hulshof	Neal (MA)
Gingrey	McCarthy (MO)	Saxton				Cooper	Hunter	Nethercutt
Gonzalez	McCarthy (NY)	Schakowsky				Costello	Hyde	Neugebauer
Goode	McCollum	Schiff				Cox	Inslee	Ney
Goodlatte	McCotter	Schrock				Cramer	Isakson	Northup
Goss	McCrary	Scott (GA)				Crane	Israel	Norwood
Granger	McDermott	Scott (VA)				Crenshaw	Issa	Nunes
Graves	McGovern	Sensenbrenner				Crowley	Istook	Nussle
Green (TX)	McHugh	Serrano				Cubin	Jackson (IL)	Oberstar
Green (WI)	McInnis	Sessions				Culberson	Jackson-Lee	Obey
Grijalva	McIntyre	Shadegg				Cummings	(TX)	Olver
Gutierrez	McKeon	Shaw				Cunningham	Jefferson	Ortiz
Gutknecht	McNulty	Shays				Davis (AL)	Jenkins	Osborne
Hall	Meehan	Sherman				Davis (CA)	John	Ose
Harman	Meek (FL)	Sherwood				Davis (FL)	Johnson (CT)	Otter
Harris	Meeks (NY)	Shimkus				Davis (TN)	Johnson (IL)	Owens
Hart	Menendez	Simmons				Davis, Jo Ann	Johnson, E. B.	Oxley
Hastings (WA)	Mica	Simpson				Davis, Tom	Johnson, Sam	Pallone
Hayes	Michaud	Skelton				Deal (GA)	Jones (NC)	Pascrell
Hayworth	Miller (FL)	Slaughter				DeFazio	Jones (OH)	Pastor
Hefley	Miller (MI)	Smith (MI)				DeGette	Kanjorski	Paul
Hensarling	Miller (NC)	Smith (TX)				Delahunt	Kaptur	Payne
Herger	Miller, Gary	Smith (WA)				DeLauro	Keller	Pearce
Hill	Miller, George	Snyder				DeLay	Kelly	Pelosi
Hinchev	Mollohan	Solis				Deutsch	Kennedy (MN)	Pence
Hinojosa	Moore	Souder				Diaz-Balart, L.	Kennedy (RI)	Peterson (MN)
Hobson	Moran (KS)	Spratt				Diaz-Balart, M.	Kildee	Peterson (PA)
Hoekstra	Moran (VA)	Stark				Dicks	Kind	Petri
Holden	Murphy	Stearns				Dingell	King (IA)	Pickering
Holt	Murtha	Stenholm				Doggett	King (NY)	Pitts
Honda	Musgrave	Strickland				Dooley (CA)	Kingston	Platts
Hoolley (OR)	Myrick	Stupak				Doolittle	Kirk	Pombo
Hostettler	Nadler	Sullivan				Doyle	Kline	Pomeroy
Houghton	Napolitano	Sweeney				Dreier	Knollenberg	Porter
Hoyer	Neal (MA)	Tancredo				Duncan	Kolbe	Portman
Hulshof	Nethercutt	Tanner				Dunn	Kucinich	Pryce (OH)
Hunter	Neugebauer	Tauscher				Edwards	LaHood	Putnam
Hyde	Ney	Taylor (MS)				Ehlers	Lampson	Quinn
Inslee	Northup	Taylor (NC)				Emanuel	Langevin	Radanovich
Isakson	Norwood	Terry				Emerson	Lantos	Rahall
Israel	Nunes	Thomas				Engel	Larsen (WA)	Ramstad
Issa	Nussle	Thompson (CA)				English	Larson (CT)	Rangel
Istook	Oberstar	Thompson (MS)				Eshoo	Latham	Regula
Jackson (IL)	Obey	Thornberry				Etheridge	LaTourette	Rehberg
Jackson-Lee	Olver	Tiberi				Evans	Leach	Rehberg
(TX)	Ortiz	Tierney				Everett	Lee	Reyes
Jefferson	Osborne	Towns				Farr	Levin	Reynolds
Jenkins	Ose	Turner (OH)				Feeney	Lewis (CA)	Rodriguez
John	Otter	Turner (TX)				Ferguson	Lewis (GA)	Rogers (AL)
Johnson (CT)	Owens	Udall (CO)				Filner	Lewis (KY)	Rogers (KY)
Johnson (IL)	Oxley	Udall (NM)				Flake	Linder	Rogers (MI)
Johnson, E. B.	Pallone	Upton				Foley	Lipinski	Ros-Lehtinen
Johnson, Sam	Pastor	Van Hollen				Forbes	LoBiondo	Ross
Jones (NC)	Paul	Velázquez				Ford	Lofgren	Roybal-Allard
Jones (OH)	Payne	Visclosky				Fossella	Lowey	Royce
Kanjorski	Pearce	Vitter	Abercrombie	Barrett (SC)	Bishop (NY)	Frank (MA)	Lucas (KY)	Ruppersberger
Kaptur	Pelosi	Walden (OR)	Ackerman	Bartlett (MD)	Bishop (UT)	Franks (AZ)	Lucas (OK)	Rush
Keller	Pence	Walsh	Aderholt	Barton (TX)	Blackburn	Frelinghuysen	Lynch	Ryan (OH)
Kelly	Peterson (MN)	Wamp	Akin	Bass	Blumenauer	Frost	Majette	Ryan (WI)
Kennedy (MN)	Peterson (PA)	Watson	Alexander	Beauprez	Boehner	Gallely	Maloney	Ryun (KS)
Kennedy (RI)	Petri	Watt	Allen	Becerra	Bonilla	Garrett (NJ)	Manzullo	Sabo
Kildee	Pickering	Waxman	Andrews	Bell	Bono	Gerlach	Markey	Sánchez, Linda
Kind	Pitts	Weiner	Baca	Bereuter	Boozman	Gibbons	Marshall	T.
King (IA)	Platts	Weldon (FL)	Bachus	Berkley	Boswell	Gilchrest	Matheson	Sánchez, Loretta
King (NY)	Pombo	Weldon (PA)	Baird	Berman	Boucher	Gillmor	Matsui	Sanders
Kingston	Pomeroy	Weller	Baker	Berry	Boyd	Gingrey	McCarthy (MO)	Sandlin
Kirk	Porter	Whitfield	Baldwin	Biggert	Bradley (NH)	Gonzalez	McCarthy (NY)	Saxton
Kline	Portman	Wicker	Ballance	Bilirakis	Brady (PA)	Goode	McCollum	

## NOT VOTING—23

## ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. CULBERSON) (during the vote). Members are advised they have 2 minutes within which to record their votes.

□ 1217

Ms. HART changed her vote from “nay” to “yea.”

So (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Stated for:

Mr. PASCHELL. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 134, had I been present, I would have voted “yea.”

Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 134, I was detained by constituents which is the reason for my not voting. Had I been present, I would have voted “yea.”

## ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8, rule XX, the remaining vote will be conducted as a 5-minute vote.

## WILKIE D. FERGUSON, JR., UNITED STATES COURTHOUSE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The pending business is the question of suspending the rules and passing the Senate bill, S. 1904.

The Clerk read the title of the Senate bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. LATOURETTE) that the House suspend the rules and pass the Senate bill, S. 1904, on which the yeas and nays are ordered.

This will be a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 408, nays 0, not voting 25, as follows:

[Roll No. 135]

YEAS—408

Abercrombie	Barrett (SC)	Bishop (NY)
Ackerman	Bartlett (MD)	Bishop (UT)
Aderholt	Barton (TX)	Blackburn
Akin	Bass	Blumenauer
Alexander	Beauprez	Boehler
Allen	Becerra	Boehner
Andrews	Bell	Bonilla
Baca	Bereuter	Bono
Bachus	Berkley	Boozman
Baird	Berman	Boswell
Baker	Berry	Boucher
Baldwin	Biggert	Boyd
Ballance	Bilirakis	Bradley (NH)
Ballenger	Bishop (GA)	Brady (PA)

Shakowsky	Stearns	Velázquez
Schrock	Stenholm	Visclosky
Scott (GA)	Strickland	Vitter
Scott (VA)	Stupak	Walden (OR)
Sensenbrenner	Sullivan	Walsh
Serrano	Sweeney	Wamp
Sessions	Tancredo	Watson
Shadegg	Tanner	Watt
Shaw	Tauscher	Waxman
Shays	Taylor (MS)	Weiner
Sherman	Taylor (NC)	Weldon (FL)
Sherwood	Terry	Weldon (PA)
Shimkus	Thomas	Weller
Simmons	Thompson (CA)	Whitfield
Simpson	Thompson (MS)	Wicker
Skelton	Thornberry	Wilson (NM)
Slaughter	Tiberi	Wilson (SC)
Smith (MI)	Tierney	Wolf
Smith (TX)	Towns	Woolsey
Smith (WA)	Turner (OH)	Wu
Snyder	Turner (TX)	Wynn
Solis	Udall (CO)	Young (AK)
Souder	Udall (NM)	Young (FL)
Spratt	Van Hollen	
Stark		

NOT VOTING—25

Blunt	Greenwood	Shuster
Bonner	Hastings (FL)	Smith (NJ)
Burton (IN)	Hoefel	Tauzin
Cardin	Kilpatrick	Tiahrt
Davis (IL)	Klecicka	Toomey
DeMint	Mollohan	Waters
Fattah	Rohrabacher	Wexler
Gephardt	Rothman	
Gordon	Schiff	

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (during the vote). Members are advised 2 minutes remain in this vote.

□ 1225

So (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the Senate bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Stated for:

Mr. SCHIFF. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 135, had I been present, I would have voted "yea."

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 135 on adoption of a motion to suspend the rules and pass S. 1904, the Wilkie D. Ferguson United States Courthouse Designation Act, I am not recorded. Had I been present, I would have voted "yea."

RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 12(a) of rule I, the Chair declares the House in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

Accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 23 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

□ 1350

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD) at 1 o'clock and 50 minutes p.m.

PERMANENTLY EXTENDING INCREASED STANDARD DEDUCTION, AND 15-PERCENT INDIVIDUAL INCOME TAX RATE BRACKET EXPANSION, FOR MARRIED TAXPAYERS FILING JOINT RETURNS

Mr. WELLER. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 607, I call up the bill (H.R. 4181) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to permanently extend the increased standard deduction, and the 15-percent individual income tax rate bracket expansion, for married taxpayers filing joint returns, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the bill. The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 607, the bill is considered read for amendment.

The text of H.R. 4181 is as follows:

H.R. 4181

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

**SECTION 1. EXTENSION OF INCREASED STANDARD DEDUCTION FOR MARRIED TAXPAYERS FILING JOINT RETURNS.**

(a) IN GENERAL.—Paragraph (2) of section 63(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (relating to basic standard deduction) is amended to read as follows:

"(2) BASIC STANDARD DEDUCTION.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the basic standard deduction is—

"(A) 200 percent of the dollar amount in effect under subparagraph (C) for the taxable year in the case of—

"(i) a joint return, or

"(ii) a surviving spouse (as defined in section 2(a)),

"(B) \$4,400 in the case of a head of household (as defined in section 2(b)), or

"(C) \$3,000 in any other case."

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) Section 63(c)(4) of such Code is amended by striking "(2)(D)" each place it occurs and inserting "(2)(C)".

(2) Section 63(c) of such Code is amended by striking paragraph (7).

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2004.

**SEC. 2. EXTENSION OF 15-PERCENT INDIVIDUAL INCOME TAX RATE BRACKET EXPANSION FOR MARRIED TAXPAYERS FILING JOINT RETURNS.**

(a) IN GENERAL.—Paragraph (8) of section 1(f) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (relating to phaseout of marriage penalty in 15-percent bracket) is amended to read as follows:

"(8) ELIMINATION OF MARRIAGE PENALTY IN 15-PERCENT BRACKET.—With respect to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2004, in prescribing the tables under paragraph (1)—

"(A) the maximum taxable income in the 15 percent rate bracket in the table contained in subsection (a) (and the minimum taxable income in the next higher taxable income bracket in such table) shall be 200 percent of the maximum taxable income in the 15-percent rate bracket in the table contained in subsection (c) (after any other adjustment under this subsection), and

"(B) the comparable taxable income amounts in the table contained in subsection (d) shall be 1/2 of the amounts determined under subparagraph (A)."

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—The heading for subsection (f) of section 1 of such Code is amended by striking "PHASEOUT" and inserting "ELIMINATION".

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2004.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2004.

**SEC. 3. REPEAL OF SUNSET.**

Title IX of the Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2001 shall not apply to the amendments made by sections 301 and 302 of such Act.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The amendment printed in part A of House Report 108-470 is adopted.

The text of H.R. 4181, as amended, is as follows:

H.R. 4181

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

**SECTION 1. EXTENSION OF INCREASED STANDARD DEDUCTION FOR MARRIED TAXPAYERS FILING JOINT RETURNS.**

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"(A) 200 percent of the dollar amount in effect under subparagraph (C) for the taxable year in the case of—

"(i) a joint return, or

"(ii) a surviving spouse (as defined in section 2(a)),

"(B) \$4,400 in the case of a head of household (as defined in section 2(b)), or

"(C) \$3,000 in any other case."

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) Section 63(c)(4) of such Code is amended by striking "(2)(D)" each place it occurs and inserting "(2)(C)".

(2) Section 63(c) of such Code is amended by striking paragraph (7).

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2004.

**SEC. 2. EXTENSION OF 15-PERCENT INDIVIDUAL INCOME TAX RATE BRACKET EXPANSION FOR MARRIED TAXPAYERS FILING JOINT RETURNS.**

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"(8) ELIMINATION OF MARRIAGE PENALTY IN 15-PERCENT BRACKET.—With respect to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2004, in prescribing the tables under paragraph (1)—

"(A) the maximum taxable income in the 15 percent rate bracket in the table contained in subsection (a) (and the minimum taxable income in the next higher taxable income bracket in such table) shall be 200 percent of the maximum taxable income in the 15-percent rate bracket in the table contained in subsection (c) (after any other adjustment under this subsection), and

"(B) the comparable taxable income amounts in the table contained in subsection (d) shall be 1/2 of the amounts determined under subparagraph (A)."

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—The heading for subsection (f) of section 1 of such Code is amended by striking "PHASEOUT" and inserting "ELIMINATION".

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2004.

**SEC. 3. REPEAL OF SUNSET.**

Title IX of the Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2001 shall not apply to the amendments made by title III of such Act.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. After 1 hour of debate on the bill, as amended,

it shall be in order to consider the further amendment printed in part B of the report, if offered by the gentleman from New York (Mr. RANGEL), or his designee, which shall be considered read, and shall be debatable for 1 hour, equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent.

The gentleman from Illinois (Mr. WELLER) and the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. NEAL) each will control 30 minutes of debate on the bill.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. WELLER).

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

Mr. Speaker, today we have before us an issue that we have debated in the past, an issue which has earned bipartisan support. I want to thank you for the opportunity to bring H.R. 4181 to the House floor today. This legislation makes the marriage tax relief provisions of the Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act permanent. Currently there are 36 million American working families that benefit from the elimination of the marriage tax penalty. However, without H.R. 4181, this relief will be reduced next year and expire in 2010. Frankly what that means in simple terms, if this legislation fails to become law, 36 million married working couples will suffer higher taxes and see much of their marriage tax penalty return in the coming calendar year.

To make sure this does not happen, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. GERLACH) and I introduced H.R. 4181 last week. Overall, our efforts to eliminate the marriage tax penalty have taken more than 6 years. We have made great strides but we are not done yet. We are determined to bring this effort across the finish line and today's legislation achieves that goal.

The Economic Growth and Tax Relief Act, which President Bush signed into law on June 6, 2001, eliminates the marriage tax penalty in three steps. First, we double the standard deduction to twice that of singles. This helps families who do not itemize their income taxes. Additionally, it eliminates the marriage tax penalty for homeowners and others who itemize their taxes by widening the 15 percent tax bracket. Finally, it phases out the marriage penalty suffered by low-income couples when they utilize the earned income tax credit as a married couple.

Much of the relief which became law in 2001 was accelerated last year when President Bush signed a second piece of legislation called the Jobs and Growth Tax Act into law. The accelerated relief included in what some call the Bush tax cut expires at the end of this year. Unless this marriage tax relief is extended, 27 million married couples will face an average tax increase of \$300 and over 30 million American working couples will face an average tax increase of more than \$700 starting in 2011. The Joint Committee on Taxation, a bipartisan agency of this Con-

gress, estimates that these same couples will pay nearly \$105 billion in higher taxes over the next decade in marriage tax penalty unless we pass H.R. 4181, making marriage tax penalty relief permanent today.

Over the last several years, I have introduced my colleagues to some young couples from the district that I represent. One couple, Shad and Michelle Hallihan, was the first couple I shared. They are from Manhattan, Illinois, a married working couple, two schoolteachers. I explained how they suffered from the unfair marriage tax penalty. They benefited from the legislation that was signed into law by President Bush in 2001; they benefited even more in 2003; and we will protect them from the marriage tax penalty in this legislation we hope to send to the President this year.

Two years ago I introduced to my colleagues another couple from my district, Jose and Magdelene Castillo, of Joliet, Illinois. In 2002, they earned combined salaries of \$82,000 a year. Jose made \$57,000 in 2002 and Magdelene earned \$25,000. They suffered the marriage tax penalty. They have two children, Eduardo and Carolina. As a result of the tax law changes that we passed and President Bush signed into law, their marriage tax penalty was reduced by \$1,125 a year. This represented a 12 percent overall reduction in taxes for the Castillo family.

Imagine what this means for families like the Castillos, the Hallihans and other middle-income working Americans. With that \$1,125, the Castillos could start saving for their children's college education. They could go back to school at Joliet Junior College and pay for a semester or two of college education. They could save for their retirement. They could put a small down payment on a car or a new home. The bottom line is \$1,125 is real money for families like the Castillos.

Overall in the State of Illinois, which I have the privilege of representing, 1,544,000 couples today benefit from the marriage tax relief passed by this Congress and signed into law by President Bush. What Congress must do now is to make sure that American families can be confident that this much-deserved tax relief will not be taken away. They want to be sure that we are committed to fairness in the Tax Code by ensuring the marriage tax penalty is gone and will stay away. We must make marriage tax relief permanent for the 36 million American couples that benefit from the tax law changes that we passed into law last year and were signed into law by President Bush.

As unfair as the marriage tax penalty is, it seems even more unfair to consider telling couples like Shad and Michelle Hallihan of Manhattan, Illinois, or Jose and Magdelene Castillo of Joliet, Illinois, that in just a few short years the marriage tax penalty may return because Congress failed to extend and make permanent the elimination of the marriage tax penalty. Let us re-

member, this bill makes permanent the marriage tax penalty relief included in the Bush tax cut. We make permanent the elimination of the marriage tax penalty for those who use the earned income tax credit. We double the standard deduction for those who do not itemize to help provide those with marriage tax relief. And for many middle-class families who itemize, we eliminate the marriage tax penalty by permanently widening the 15 percent tax bracket so you can earn as a married couple twice that of a single person and stay in the 15 percent bracket.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 4181 is a good bill. It encourages the values we hold most dear, marriage, family and hard work. My hope is this legislation will earn bipartisan support today. I think we can all agree that it is wrong to punish society's most basic institution, the center of every American family, and that is marriage. I encourage my colleagues to vote for H.R. 4181, making marriage tax relief a permanent part of our Tax Code, because it is the right thing to do, it is the fair thing to do for American families.

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

Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I think that this bill was summed up perfectly by my friend the gentleman from Illinois when he said that this bill was introduced last week. So the bill was introduced last week and now it is on the floor this week, a complicated tax bill? I think the oldest committee in the Congress, the Committee on Ways and Means, would have had an opportunity to digest the details of this legislation, but this must be some new mechanism that we have developed here whereby on a very important tax matter the legislation is introduced last week and it is on the floor today for discussion without incidentally having gone through the committee, which for people like myself happen to believe that this is the basis of the Congress, sending legislation through the committee so it might be vetted properly and there might be an opportunity for people to examine the details of the legislation before it is brought to the floor.

Let me speak specifically to the tax cut mania that we are hearing in this institution. What is striking about this proposal, Mr. Speaker, is that, I want to remind people, we have 130,000 troops in Iraq who are serving with honor and distinction every single day. We have 12,000 more troops in Afghanistan who likewise are serving this country admirably day in and day out. So here is the strategy in the modern Congress.

□ 1400

We are simultaneously fighting two wars with three tax cuts.

One of the things that I am most proud of during my time on the Committee on Ways and Means is that we

were able to put together the details that balanced the budget of the United States for the first time, I believe, in about 3½ decades, and then we projected surpluses where we may well have had the opportunity to repair Social Security, to repair Medicare, to spend some money on education and to have done the things that we all desire in terms of improving our environment. But the strategy afoot today in the modern Congress is you introduce the bill last week, and then you bring it to the floor for a debate without even going through the committee process. So two wars, three tax cuts, \$500 billion in deficit, and there is no vetting of this process in front of our committees?

Let me speak specifically, if I can, to the proposal of the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. WELLER). Let me tell the gentleman, I know people like the Hallihans. Here is the problem with this proposal: What we give to them with this hand, the alternative minimum tax takes away with the other hand. For a family who already has discovered a couple of weeks ago how ferocious the alternative minimum tax can be, they are going to discover that with the headlines of marriage penalty relief that there is a take-back provision.

So we are going to give them the benefit today of what we deem to be or call marriage penalty relief, and, guess what, Mr. Speaker? The Hallihans are about to discover that if they are a married couple with two children who make \$72,000 a year, they are not going to get any relief in this proposal because of the alternative minimum tax.

Now, I along with others have been talking about the problem of the alternative minimum tax for the last few years around here. I said recently seldom have I ever been part of any issue in the 16 years in which I have had the honor to serve here where people said to me, keep up the good work, we appreciate what you are doing on both sides of the aisle, and then we do not do anything about it.

So let me go back to the Hallihans for a second, because I expect that they are going to know about alternative minimum tax very quickly. If they have two children and they take the standard deduction with income of \$72,000 a year, let me repeat, they are not going to get any tax relief with this proposal. Part of the problem is AMT, and part of the problem happens to be the President's tax cut proposals.

I am going to go back to what I said at the beginning. How can we be fighting two wars with three tax cuts? That is what we ought to be discussing and deliberating here. We passed \$87 billion for the war in Iraq, that on top of \$60 billion, and everybody in this institution knows that after the election we are going to need more money for the Iraq war and the Afghanistan war.

Where are we going to go to get it? I do not know any businessman or businesswoman in America that could hope

to run their company the way that we are undertaking tax cut legislation in the modern Congress.

Then on top of that, we stand at the microphones and tell people, you are going to get relief under this proposal, and more relief under this provision. Then they get their tax bill; and they discover not only is there not any more relief, but, because of alternative minimum tax, they are going to pay more.

There are two issues that we should all be able to agree on in this Congress: tax simplification, there ought to be an appetite here for getting it done; and the second part of this issue, we should be fixing permanently the alternative minimum tax. That is what we should be doing.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I would note that this House will be considering in the next few weeks legislation for broad AMT relief. In fact, 11 million taxpaying families will benefit from the AMT relief that we will pass later on in the next few weeks.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. GERLACH), a distinguished leader in the effort to permanently eliminate the marriage tax penalty.

Mr. GERLACH. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to encourage my colleagues to support H.R. 4181, a straightforward piece of legislation that will provide permanent marriage penalty tax relief.

First, I would like to express my gratitude to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. WELLER) and his staff for the tireless work that they have done regarding marriage penalty relief over the past years. The dedication of the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. WELLER) to providing married couples with tax equality is admirable.

I would also like to convey my gratitude to the gentleman from California (Chairman THOMAS) and the Committee on Ways and Means staff and members for their expertise and knowledge in developing and moving forward with this legislation. Their actions over the past years to eliminate the marriage penalty and to increase the child care tax credit has greatly benefited American families and our economy.

Prior to 2001, the Tax Code penalized many married couples by forcing them to pay higher taxes after they married. Two unmarried people living in the same home frequently paid far less in taxes than a married couple with the same income. The 2001 Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act set out to rectify this situation. These penalties would be phased out beginning in 2005. By 2010, the standard deduction and the 15 percent tax bracket for joint filers would be increased to double those for single filers. However, the bill included a sunset provision that eliminated all of these benefits after 2010.

Last year, this Congress took even greater steps to provide tax relief for 35

million hard-working married couples by accelerating this relief. Married couples in 2003 and 2004 received twice the standard deduction for single filers, and the 15 percent tax bracket was doubled to twice that for single filers.

Unfortunately, the accelerated relief provided last year will expire after the 2004 tax year, and all penalty relief is due to expire after 2010 as a result of the 2001 act's sunset provision.

Let me illustrate the effect of our tax policy. In 2001, Mr. and Mrs. Smith each earn \$27,000 for a total household income of \$54,000. If they filed individually, they would each have a standard deduction of \$4,550, or a total of \$9,100, and both would fall into the 15 percent tax bracket under the marginal rates at that time. However, if they filed jointly in 2001, they would only receive a standard deduction of \$7,600, because the standard deduction for married couples in 2001 was just 167 percent of the individual standard deduction.

Further, the joint income of \$54,000 would put them in the 27.5 percent marginal tax bracket. So if they both filed as individuals, their total tax would be \$6,734. If they filed jointly, their tax would be \$7,110, a marriage penalty of \$376.

Under the 2003 act's tax cuts, Mr. and Mrs. Smith could file a joint return in 2003 and 2004 tax years and receive the standard deduction for a married couple of \$9,500. This is equal to twice the standard deduction for individuals. They would also fall into the 15 percent rate bracket. As joint filers, they are treated no differently from an unmarried couple.

What will happen to Mr. and Mrs. Smith in tax year 2005? If the standard deduction for the individual remains the same and the Smiths filed separately, they would each have a deduction of \$4,750. Their total deduction would be \$9,500. That would put them in the 15 percent rate bracket. As a married couple in that tax year, their deduction would be 174 percent of the individual standard deduction. This works out to \$8,265. If the 15 percent rate bracket income limit for single filers remained the same, they would return to the 27.5 bracket.

Over the next few years, Mr. and Mrs. Smith would make out better as the phase-in of the marriage penalty relief continued. In 2010 they would return to what they remember as the "good old days" of 2003 and 2004 when they were treated the same as unmarried couples. Unfortunately, in the following tax year, the rug would be pulled out from under them, and the Tax Code would treat the Smiths in the same inequitable and unfair manner as it did before 2003.

H.R. 4181 will ensure that the marriage penalty relief is not reduced next year and that the relief stays in the law permanently. As a result of this legislation, couples will no longer have to worry about incurring a tax penalty just by getting married.

If we fail to act, more than 35 million married couples will see an average tax

increase of \$300 in the 2005 tax year. In 2011, 35 million married couples would see a tax increase of more than \$700. In many of our districts, that is the equivalent of a month's rent.

As we all work to help our economy to continue to recover, the greatest error we could make would be to allow an increase on taxes on our families. At a time in our allocating of Federal funds to promote marriage for public assistance beneficiaries, how can we even consider allowing the return to a Tax Code that penalizes married couples?

In conclusion, this is the right bill, this is the right time, and I request all of our Members to support the legislation on final passage.

Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. TANNER), who was elected on the same day as I was. I would point out he is a member of the Committee on Ways and Means, which generally is in a position to take up these sorts of issues.

Mr. TANNER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me time.

I too am concerned about the total lack of process around here and what we are supposed to be doing. My concerns really do not go to the substance of the bill or the policies, but the total lack of process and the fact that we do not even have a budget by which we can gauge what our priorities ought to be.

I am going to talk about something here as a business person, that I am looking forward to this tax cut a week over the next several weeks, because I think it is going to give us a wonderful opportunity to explain to the American people what is going on in this town.

Generally speaking, when you are in business, you have a budget. You try to decide what you are going to spend money for and what you are going to do. We do not have that, so we come with these ad hoc tax bills, and the mantra seems to be that a tax cut generates money; it does not cost money. In fact, the majority party tries to apply PAYGO rules only on the spending side and not to the tax side. It is called a balance sheet. It is not a liability sheet; it is a balance sheet. You have to have both.

What I think they fail to understand is that a tax cut today with borrowed money is a tax increase tomorrow, and it is called interest. We are now paying over \$300 billion a year in interest on the national debt. If that was all that we had to worry about, maybe we could figure out a way to pay that back with inflated dollars or in some way do something to get us out of this hole, if that is all we had to worry about.

I remember when Secretary Snow came before the committee and I asked him about interest. He said, oh, yes, it is an obligation that must be paid. I said, yes, it must be paid off the top. Everyone who has borrowed money knows about interest, and this bill

today on the floor adds another \$100 billion of unpaid-for tax consequences that we will have to begin paying interest on as we borrow it. Again, if that was as far as it went, maybe we could somehow justify that, if we had a budget, which we do not.

But Secretary Snow, getting back to him, when I asked him about interest, he said, yes, it is, but this is nothing to worry about, because the United States economy is so large and this is such a small percentage of GDP that the borrowings we are incurring today, we can handle them.

What he did not say was that back when we did have a percentage of GDP of borrowings this big, it was the American people who were funding the deficit, who were buying the IOUs of the Treasury. That is not true today. I want to tell the American people that this is a national security issue, and I hope I can explain why to them.

Last year we had a budget deficit here in this town of over \$370 billion. Over 70 percent of that debt was purchased by foreign interests. Let me say that again: foreign interests are financing the deficit borrowing that this Congress is doing.

I just want to know, how far are we willing to go to mortgage our financial future to foreign interests? According to the Treasury Department, major foreign holdings of U.S. Treasury securities now total over \$1.6 trillion. Over 34 percent of the money, hard currency, that we owe, is held by foreign interests. China alone holds over \$200 billion. The Japanese hold over \$600 billion. Furthermore, the Central Bank in Beijing has increased their holdings of United States debt by over 100 percent since 2001.

You would be amazed at what is going on here. We are borrowing money to cut taxes, indicating that in tomorrow's day, our citizens will have a tax increase because they must pay interest on what we are unwilling to either cut or unwilling to raise money for our needs, particularly those soldiers, sailors and Marines in Iraq.

□ 1415

We cannot even extend to them \$100,000 worth of life insurance because they say they do not have the money, and here they are going to spend \$100 billion, borrowing 70 percent of it from people around the world. As I say, I do not have any problem with the substance, but this is the wrong way to do it.

Let me just give an example. The Caribbean Banking Centers, we owe them \$74 billion; Taiwan, over \$50 billion; OPEC, who is raising prices, cutting production of oil, while gasoline in this country is \$2 a gallon, OPEC owns over \$43 billion worth of our debt. Korea, \$37 billion; Singapore, \$22 billion; Italy, \$15 billion; Brazil, \$15 billion; Thailand, \$14 billion. We are putting our country in hock all over the world with this deficit spending that is going on, and sooner or later, let me

tell my colleagues this: sooner or later those countries are going to say to the American Treasury we do not want any more debt, we are not going to buy at a relatively low rate of interest your paper any longer.

Do my colleagues know what is going to happen then? Interest rates are going to go up, because we are going to have to hike the interest rates that we are willing to pay for borrowed money so somebody somewhere will buy it. Again, that will directly result in a tax increase on the American people and particularly these young people.

We all are witnessing a generational mugging, because my generation is sending young men and young women to Iraq to fight a war, we are borrowing the money, taking a tax cut, my generation is taking a tax cut to borrow the money from foreign interests and giving them the bill when they get home, some without an arm, some without a leg. What is there to be proud of about what we are doing here? That is exactly what is happening.

Thankfully, the Wall Street Journal finally picked up on this national security argument I have been making for 7 or 8 months, about how crazy it is, foolhardy it is, and how dangerous it is to continue to borrow money from foreign interests. They said, "Some would argue," in this Wall Street Journal article, "that foreign countries would never sell off U.S. debt. However, economic history shows a number of times when countries have subordinated their economic interests to political goals and clout."

Some day, I do not know when, in the future, China, Japan, any of these other countries that I read, the Caribbean Banking Centers, OPEC, you name it, some day they are going to say we do not see the world as the United States does, and we are going to either threaten to dump this debt or we are going to sell off, in which case it will have a direct effect on the markets of this country.

Thankfully, Wall Street is beginning to wake up to this national security issue of being held hostage and in hock financially to foreign interests who may or may not see the world as we do in the future.

I think again that there is no way to overemphasize how dangerous this course of action is. This bill is just one little symptom of a far greater problem that we have in this country and in this Congress, and that is the absolute unwillingness to ask the American people to sacrifice anything in the event of war. We are at war in Afghanistan, at war against terrorists, at war in Iraq, and nobody in this country is asked to do anything except the men and women in uniform, the Reservists and the Guardsmen who are fighting. Nobody else has been asked to do anything except take a tax cut, and when they see the terrorists flare up we are advised by the administration to go shopping.

This is really a sad day. This bill is a symptom of a far greater problem, and

I look forward to laying out how much we owe to foreign interests and what it means to this country if they ever decide to change their mind about whether or not they will buy our paper.

Mr. WELLER. Mr. Speaker, as I prepare to yield to the gentleman from Illinois I would note that later during this debate we are going to be debating a Democratic alternative which, according to the Joint Committee on Taxation, raises taxes on individuals and small business by \$207 billion. Think what that will mean to our economy.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. CRANE), the ranking member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

I rise today to voice my support for H.R. 4181, the permanent repeal of the marriage tax penalty.

On June 7, 2001, President Bush signed a repeal of the burdensome marriage penalty tax as part of the 2001 Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act. With this, President Bush lifted the unconscionable burden for millions of Americans taxed more than other citizens simply because they were married.

If H.R. 4181 is not passed this year, married couples will be required to pay 20 percent more in Federal taxes than unmarried Americans earning the same income. And in 2010, they once again will be paying the exorbitant marriage taxes in place before tax relief was enacted in 2001.

One of the many charges the Preamble of the United States Constitution requires of us who serve in government is to promote the general welfare of the people of this Nation. Before President Bush took office the economy was heading into a recession. The Nation was shocked and the recession made worse when the attacks of September 11 took place. The acceleration of the President's tax cuts returned money to the pockets of American citizens, the people best qualified to reinvest and spend their own money on their businesses and consumer goods. The increased spending which has resulted from these tax cuts has led to the steady improvement of the economy, a steady improvement which we as a nation continue to enjoy.

The repeal of the marriage penalty is also an important step in strengthening marriages and families in this country. The idea that couples were and could be again penalized by incurring taxes for getting married is unacceptable. It is wrong that a nation would lay a tax on marriage in any way, shape, or form.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to be a cosponsor of H.R. 4181, and I urge my colleagues to support and pass this legislation.

Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, there are 10 million people, married households who are going to

get no benefits from this proposal; 3 million more are only going to get part of the benefits. That means we are denying 13 million married households a benefit that is being promised to them today because of alternative minimum tax.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. HINCHEY).

Mr. HINCHEY. Mr. Speaker, I think we ought to look at the record. Under this monolithic Republican government that we have here in Washington, 2.6 million jobs have been lost, long-term unemployment is at a record high, we have gone from a \$5.6 trillion surplus in the Federal budget to a nearly \$3 trillion deficit. This year alone the budget deficit is expected to reach \$500 billion, primarily due to the President's and the congressional Republicans' economic program.

Mr. Speaker, 4 million people lost their health insurance, and 1.3 million people have gone into poverty. Median annual income for middle class families is down by \$1,400.

Yet, instead of extending the temporary unemployment benefit program that expired in December and addressing the litany of problems that I have mentioned, the Republican bill before us today continues the kind of reckless policy that has been pursued by the Bush administration and by the leaders in this House.

The bill will cost approximately \$100 billion over the next 10 years, all of which will need to be borrowed because Republicans provide no offset to pay for these tax cuts. This will further increase the debt tax that Americans must pay to ensure that our country does not go into bankruptcy. And, as is the case with most Republican tax bills, when you look at the fine print, you find even more reasons to worry.

Thirteen million middle income families, 26 percent of married couples earning between \$75,000 and \$100,000, and 60 percent of married couples earning between \$100,000 and \$200,000, receive no benefit or scanty benefits from this bill. Additionally, the Republican tax bill is shortchanging our most needy families.

While this bill makes the new \$3,000 earned income tax credit permanent, it forces low-income families to wait 4 years before receiving the full benefits of the bill. All other marriage penalty relief provisions are accelerated under this bill, except the one benefit that is aimed at those people who need it the most.

When it comes to the wealthiest Americans, the Republican bill makes sure that no multimillionaire is left behind. Families with incomes over \$1 million will be twice as likely as other families to collect the bill's full benefits.

The Democratic substitute, on the other hand, would make the marriage penalty relief permanent without borrowing a single dollar. The Democratic bill pays for its tax relief through a

rate adjustment for married couples earning over \$1 million a year. The Democratic substitute adjusts the alternative minimum tax to ensure that middle class families see all of the benefits we are promising them today. It also accelerates the phase-in of the highest earned income tax credit that is used by lower income families.

The Democrats' bill provides 13 million families with twice as much tax relief, and all married couples earning less than \$1 million each year will receive more benefits under the Democratic proposal.

So the Democratic bill deals in a much fairer way, a much more equitable way, and in a way that is going to provide benefits which will be beneficial to the families who will receive them, because they will receive them now, and beneficial to our economy because we will not have to borrow the money in order to pay for it.

So if you are a multimillionaire, you are probably going to like the bill that has been presented to us by the Republican Party and the White House. If you are a middle class American, you are not going to like it, because whatever scanty benefits you do get under their bill we are going to have to borrow the money to provide those benefits, and you will have to pay back that money with interest in the near future. And to the extent that you are not paying it back, middle class families, your children will have to pay it back. That is the enormous problem with this piece of tax legislation.

We need to return to the sound fiscal policies that we had during the decade of the 1990s when people were working and we had fairness and justice in our tax policies as well.

Mr. WELLER. Mr. Speaker, there are clear differences being outlined here today. Democrats are proposing a \$270 billion tax increase, the Republicans are proposing a simple extension of existing marriage tax relief.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. ENGLISH).

Mr. ENGLISH. Mr. Speaker, I am simply going to build on the introduction and comments of my friend, the gentleman from Illinois. We have already heard about what this underlying bill is about. H.R. 4181 is one of the fundamental tax equity issues that will come up in this Congress. We are talking about extending and making permanent the relief that we have extended to working couples and end permanently the marriage tax penalty.

Mr. Speaker, this is not a vote about mortgaging our future, about Iraq, about macroeconomic policy, or even about the budget deficit. This is a narrow, important issue that speaks to fundamental tax equity for working families, and I speak from experience on this.

Twelve years ago when my wife and I were married, she was a teacher, I was a staffer for the State legislature working for someone who is now a colleague

of mine. When we got married, we ended up paying several thousand more dollars in taxes. That was an absolute absurdity. When we ran the figures, we were astounded to find this marriage tax penalty, and I am proud to say since I have come to Congress, I have been fighting consistently on the Committee on Ways and Means to permanently correct this problem.

Now, our friends on the other side want the revenue. They do not want to provide the relief to the families. They want this important fix to our tax system to expire next year and effectively raise taxes on working families, not on multimillionaires. Give me a break. I was not a multimillionaire a few years ago when I was first contending with this.

This is not a reckless policy, as our friend from New York characterized it. This is about fundamental tax fairness. And if our friends on the other side of the aisle are in favor of that, if our friends on the other side of the aisle are against punishing families who happen to choose to get married, then I think they need to join us in supporting this fundamental, straightforward tax reform bill that I think draws a clear contrast between the two parties.

Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, it certainly is a contrast between the two parties. To suggest that this is not about paying for Iraq and Afghanistan is ridiculous. Of course it is. We are borrowing the money to pay for Iraq and Afghanistan: \$87 billion. Of course this is entirely relevant.

Also, I do not believe that the Committee on Ways and Means brought this issue up. Maybe I was not there that day.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 6 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN), a member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

(Mr. LEVIN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

□ 1430

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, we have two alternatives before us; that is not always true on this floor. Often Democrats are not allowed a substitute. This time we have been granted that. We should always have that, by the way. Always, always.

The alternatives are very different. The issue is not whether we want this to expire, I say to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. ENGLISH). We do not. And surely it is not a question of fundamental tax fairness. Indeed, the opposite is true when you look at your proposal.

First of all, it does discriminate between couples of certain income brackets and couples in lower income brackets. My colleagues on the other side of the aisle do that. They differentiate, indeed, they discriminate. Why discriminate against working people who have less income and help working people who have more? What is the reason? What is the reason?

Well, I remember when we argued over the child credit, and my colleagues thought it was defensible to differentiate between those with kids who have certain incomes and those who have kids with less and lower incomes. All right. That is one difference between the two alternatives.

Another relates to the alternative minimum tax. And here, to put it charitably, my colleague is not telling it like it is. Because essentially what my colleague is going to do is to give to millions of couples with one hand, and they are allowing it to be taken back with another. Indeed, the figures I think are pretty clear that about half of what would be given through this will be taken back by the alternative minimum tax. One-half.

Millions of couples who think, because of my colleagues' advertisement, that they are going to get some help on a permanent basis, are going to have that taken back when they face the alternative minimum tax.

My colleagues have not faced up to the impact of the alternative minimum tax, period. Millions and millions and millions of taxpayers are going to fall within it because of my colleagues' inaction. And it is always next year they say that they are going to do something about it.

So that is a second difference between the two bills. We do not discriminate between married couples according to their income and differentiate against those who have lesser income. And we do not give with one hand and take back with another. We address the alternative minimum tax issue.

And, thirdly, and my Democratic colleagues have talked about this, and it relates, really, to the AMT, is my Republican colleagues' fiscal irresponsibility. They do not pay for this at all. They say the more debt, I guess, the better. That is their philosophy. The more the national debt goes up, the better. The deeper the hole, their philosophy is, dig it deeper and my colleagues think over time growth as some magic wand will fill in a deepened hole. That is irresponsible. Indeed, it is worse than that: it is dangerous.

So there are three basic differences between those two alternatives and why I urge serious consideration, indeed, all of my colleagues to vote for the substitute. It does not discriminate according to income. It addresses the alternative minimum tax so we will not take back from millions those that we pretend, or my colleagues pretend, to help; and it is fiscally responsible.

And if my colleagues vote otherwise, essentially what they want is not tax equity; they want what they think is a political issue. They are dead wrong. Americans do not want discrimination against low-income families. They do not want them to say one thing and then another thing be done through operation of the AMT.

And I think they are increasingly sick and tired of the fiscal irrespon-

sibility of the majority in this House, the majority in the other House, and the chief executive of this country.

Mr. WELLER. Mr. Speaker, I have a note that this House will be considering broad AMT relief in the next few weeks.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. SHAW), a senior member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. WELLER) for yielding this time to me. I want to compliment him that he has been a complete hero with regard to doing away with the marriage penalty, and he has been fighting for this for many, many years.

The previous speaker, I can understand his sensitivity to alternative minimum tax because it was part of the Democrat Party that really made this worse in 1993 with the tax increase of President Clinton. If my memory is correct, not one Republican supported that particular piece of legislation.

We are in the process, as the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. WELLER) said, of working on a bill that will help clean that up. The alternative minimum tax is a very harmful tax, and it is one that should be put to rest forever.

The marriage penalty, however, which is under discussion today, one would not know it to listen to the other side, but this penalty for many Americans, it is wrong; it is wrong for the government to promote marriage and family and at the same time to financially penalize couples for getting married and having two incomes. Can you imagine that?

Approximately 1.8 million Florida couples, that is 3.6 million people, benefit from the repeal of this unfair tax. In particular, the penalty is especially harmful to younger couples starting out together. These are not millionaires, Mr. Speaker, by any stretch of the imagination. They are struggling young people who are trying to raise a family, pay their mortgage, put groceries on the table, and go on with their lives and at the same time to save for college education, which we are hearing a lot about in a lot of rhetoric in this Presidential campaign.

Without passage of H.R. 4181, these couples would see their taxes go up an average of \$300 a year. That is \$300 that could be used and be saved for college education or put simply for house payments.

I am proud to be an original cosponsor of this legislation. And I urge all my colleagues, and I am sure many Democrats will join with us, to support this important piece of legislation.

Mr. WELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. MURPHY).

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. WELLER). Today we will vote on permanently ending what is perhaps one of the most unfair taxes in the U.S. Tax Code: the tax on marriage.

The marriage penalty rose from a 1960s change in tax law to relieve what was perceived as an unfair burden on single taxpayers. At that time, a special deduction was also created to relieve the effects of the marriage penalty. However, during the 1986 Tax Act when Congress reduced all tax rates, a special allowance was repealed for single filers; but the marriage penalty has remained and has existed ever since, with only temporary respite.

Today we must end it, permanently. Paying more in income taxes because one is married makes as much sense as paying more for a loaf of bread simply because they chose to be someone's wife or husband.

The Tax Code should not discriminate between people who are single and people who are married. When couples say "I do," I do not think they were referring to the IRS. Half of all marriages in this Nation end in divorce, and less than half of all children spend their childhood years in a two-parent family. We need to be supportive of families in America, not punish them.

We must ensure the Tax Code treats single and dual earners equally. It is simply wrong for anyone to pay more in taxes simply because they exchange marriage vows.

I urge my colleagues to end this unfair taxation.

Mr. WELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. BROWN).

Mr. BROWN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I thank my good friend from Illinois (Mr. WELLER) for yielding time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of H.R. 4181 because I know how critical this tax relief is to so many American married couples and hard-working families. This Congress must permanently extend the increased standard deduction and the 15 percent individual income tax bracket expansion for married taxpayers.

As a Congressman representing both Charleston and Myrtle Beach, I recognize the great impact these types of tax cuts have upon our economy, especially in keeping the travel and tourist industry alive and well. By continuing to provide this tax relief to married couples filing jointly, more American families will be able to take vacations and spend time together at our golf courses and hotels and museums and beaches and historic places.

With so many perils and stresses facing parents in today's society, it is more important than ever for families to get away and enjoy life and strengthen family bonds. Tourism is the largest industry in my area and serves as the backbone of the local economy. It grows our economy, generates jobs, and provides for capital investments in South Carolina.

Last year alone, my district hosted more than 18 million visitors, nearly a 7 percent increase over the previous year. These visitors and the businesses that caters to them, spent \$5.1 billion in 2003 compared with \$4.7 in 2002.

Jobs, those directly and indirectly linked to the tourism industry, grew by 8.9 percent to \$93,702, while wages increased by 9.4 percent to an aggregate of \$1.28 billion. I believe that all of this would not be possible without limiting the marriage penalty and putting in place the President's tax cuts that have done so much to spur the economy.

The institution of marriage is under attack from so many angles including the courts and some segments of the media and popular culture. Our tax system should not serve to weaken the bonds of marriage; instead, it should serve to strengthen this great institution by ending the marriage penalty forever. How can we tell American families that they will have to pay nearly \$90 billion in new taxes over the next 10 years? Not on our watch.

Mr. WELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Michigan (Mrs. MILLER).

Mrs. MILLER of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of H.R. 4181, which will end the marriage penalty once and for all. It is time to put this debate to rest, and it is time to abolish this Nation's anti-family tax policies.

When we pass this legislation, this House is making a statement that we as lawmakers will not stand for a Tax Code that punishes married couples. To place an additional tax burden on married couples simply because they are married is crazy. The Federal Government cannot be passing tax laws which are designed to drive people apart rather than bringing families together. It is counterintuitive.

Unfortunately, many of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle say, well, who cares. After all, they say, the government needs more money, and we should be the ones to decide who to redistribute the wealth to based on our concept of what is good.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the Federal Government should have tax policy that has three fundamental caveats: it needs to be pro-growth; it needs to be pro-opportunity; and, most importantly, it needs to be pro-family.

Social engineering has been practiced by the other party, and it has had very negative results on our society.

Mr. Speaker, this House must pass H.R. 4181 to ensure that the marriage penalty relief is made permanent. The majority in this House has been an advocate for families by passing needed tax relief for hard-working families, expanding the child tax credit. Passage of this bill shows that this House is committed to this Nation's families. A fall-back to the old fashioned and anti-family tax policies that this Nation faced prior to President Bush taking office is unacceptable.

Mr. Speaker, I call on my colleagues to support our Nation's families and to support H.R. 4181. I am proud to be a cosponsor of this bill, and I will be very proud to go back home and tell my

constituents that this House is working for them and for their families. Vote "yes" on H.R. 4181.

Mr. WELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. BARRETT).

Mr. BARRETT of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in full support of H.R. 4181. There is no doubt that our society is overtaxed when we are talking about people simply because they decide to get married. The Federal Government has no business punishing people for making a choice. And that is essentially what this tax is, a punishment for choosing to get married.

□ 1445

Prior to 2001 the standard deduction married couples could take was less than that allowed for two single taxpayers. There is something wrong with that picture. Are we saying single people deserve more of their money back than married people? We need to do all we can to make the Tax Code fairer. Passing H.R. 4181 to extend full marriage penalty relief through 2010 and beyond so that marriage tax equity becomes a permanent law is a great first step.

Mr. Speaker, we are talking about people's money, not ours. Let us get it back in their pockets so they can save for a down payment on a house, buy a car, buy clothes for the kids or spend it in whichever way they see fit.

I urge my colleagues to vote in favor of H.R. 4181, to help ease the tax burden placed on hard working American families.

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

Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, the gentlewoman from Michigan (Mrs. MILLER) earlier spoke of the need for tax relief, and other speakers on the other side have offered different proposals suggesting that we should proceed down this road of tax cuts regardless of whether or not we are going to need this money for Iraq and for Afghanistan.

Now, let me go back to the point that I raised earlier in this debate, and I hope people are listening. Without batting an eye in this institution, we borrowed \$87.5 billion for the war in Iraq. Now, the only reason we did not hear the real cost of the war in Iraq is because people would have reacted very differently. Everybody in this institution today, the people that are watching, the people that are here as guests, they know you are going to need more money for Iraq and Afghanistan. Tens of billions of dollars more will be needed for Iraq and Afghanistan.

For years Democrats were accused of being the party of fiscal irresponsibility even though we set the Nation on the right course in the mid-nineties with record surpluses, record economic growth, unparalleled prosperity, and we demonstrated you could balance the

budget and still fix Social Security and Medicare.

Today we are, and I want people to listen to this carefully, we are borrowing the money for this tax proposal before us today, borrowing the money and sending the bill to our children. We are fighting two wars. For the first time in our history we are having tax cuts at the same time that we are fighting two wars. We watch the red ink everywhere, \$500 billion this year in deficit, and the answer here is let us add more to it.

The President comes forward with a proposal to finance the war in Iraq, which I voted for because I thought those soldiers needed the best equipment and best supplies we could provide them with, but we borrowed the money to do it. And the answer today is, let us borrow money for tax cuts to pay for these proposals. And then people like myself who have been talking about alternative minimum tax for years here were told, well, do not worry because we are just going to do this in a couple of weeks. We are going to fix the alternative minimum tax in a couple of weeks.

The alternative minimum tax problem is going to cost \$500 billion to \$600 billion to fix. We will not fix it in 2 or 3 weeks here. Everybody knows it. We will have the tax cut of the week in an effort to massage the numbers.

Let me give you another specific quick example of what we seek. The AMT problem reaches in to more families based upon the more kids you have. So the families who take the standard deduction and have four kids with incomes of \$64,000, they are not getting any benefit from this proposal today because what they are offering them on one hand, they are taking away on the other. So they suggest we will give you marriage penalty relief, and then the IRS is going to say, aha, take those deductions for those children, take the HOPE credit, and let us tell you what is going to come of it.

What is going to come of it is you are bumped into alternative minimum tax and you will be hit with a bigger bill than you originally would have had.

Now, let me offer some of my political DNA on this issue as a Democrat. I have proposed getting rid, outright, of alternative minimum tax. Just repealing it. That would force this institution and the other body to speak specifically to the issue of the tax cuts that we have seen here, reckless disregard for the future of this Nation's financial security. We are going to need that money for the international commitment that we have made in Iraq and Afghanistan and in the war on terror.

We will need to fix Social Security. We will need to fix Medicare for generations to come. That is not irresponsible to have used those surpluses during the Clinton-Rubin years to pay for the basic requests of the American people.

This is not an issue that is 20 years off. The baby boomers begin to retire

in 2011. We are going to need the resources for that. And to the question that was referenced earlier, the suggestion that we are proposing a \$206 billion tax increase, we are going to need \$300 billion for the war in Iraq.

I will remind this body, General Shinseki said, You need tens of thousands of more troops. He got fired for his wisdom. Lawrence Lindsey, by the way, the architect of the President's economic policies, said 200- to \$300 million. He got fired because he had the audacity to suggest the truth to our respective bodies.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, as we bring this debate to a close on this legislation, I really believe we need to bring it back into focus. We have had a lot of peripheral issues that have been thrown out there, and this is really what this legislation does. It is a simple extension of existing law, existing law that eliminates the marriage tax penalty for 36 million married working couples.

The example of a couple in the district that I represent who are those who face higher taxes if we fail to pass this legislation law is a couple by the name of Jose and Magdalena Castillo of Joliet, Illinois. They have a little boy and a little girl, Eduardo and Carolina. They are a hard working couple, and like 36 million married working couples, they could pay higher taxes unless this legislation becomes law.

In 2001 and 2003 we worked with President Bush and we succeeded in essentially wiping out the marriage tax penalty for 36 million low income and middle class married working couples. For the Castillo family of Joliet, Illinois, it meant \$1,125. Think about that. In Joliet, Illinois, that is a couple semesters worth of tuition at the community college. It pays several months of daycare. It is a down payment on a home. It is money they can put in their retirement account or their education savings account to help their children.

The Castillos, like millions of married working couples, could face higher taxes. Now, it is estimated that if we fail to pass this legislation into law that next year millions of couples will receive a tax increase of about \$300 million as a portion of that marriage tax penalty if reimposed. And then in 2010 if we fail to make permanent the elimination of the marriage tax penalty, they could see about a \$1,000 increase in their taxes. And over that 10-year time, 36 million married working couples could receive about \$100 billion in higher taxes, just because they are married, and that is what this is all about.

We hear a lot of rhetoric but this is pretty simple legislation. We are doing a simple extension of existing law that is due to sunset this year, and if we fail to extend it 36 million married working couples will suffer higher taxes just because they are married.

So I urge my colleagues to join with us. Let us work in a bipartisan fashion. Our efforts to eliminate the marriage tax penalty enjoyed bipartisan support. Let us focus on what this issue is, and that is bringing fairness to the Tax Code. So I ask my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to think of the Castillo family when they vote to make permanent today the elimination of the marriage tax penalty.

I urge a no vote on the substitute which contains a \$207 billion tax increase on individuals and small business. I urge a no vote to reject that and I ask for an aye vote to make permanent the elimination of the marriage tax penalty. Who benefits? Thirty-six million hard working married couples where both the husband and wife are in the workforce. And it is just a common sense question. Why should they have to pay higher taxes just because they are married? We have made a commitment to eliminate the marriage tax penalty. Let us make it permanently eliminated so it never comes back.

Ms. DELAURO. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this bill. No one in this body believes that the "marriage penalty" is fair. No one believes that if you are married, you should have to pay more taxes than if you were single or filing separately.

But that is not the debate we are having today, regardless of what the majority says. The trust is, we are debating whether Congress should continue to finance tax cuts out of Social Security and Medicare. The budget deficit this year is already more than half a trillion dollars. A 10-year budget outlook once projected to have a surplus of \$5.6 trillion is now a deficit of more than \$4 trillion. The passage of this bill will only make matters worse.

Americans believe in responsibility. Our values tell us that when you pass tax cuts, you have to pay for them. But this Republican marriage penalty bill will cost \$96 billion over the next 10 years—none of it paid for. These are not the Democrats' numbers—they are from the non-partisan Joint Committee on Taxation. And that is only the beginning, with the majority expecting to take up more tax bills in the coming weeks. All equally expensive—none of them paid for, threatening economic growth, ballooning interest rates, and costing us jobs. This is in addition to a Republican budget that rejects pay-as-you-go rules that Alan Greenspan says are essential if we are to continue our tentative economic recovery.

What became of the Republican Party that preached fiscal discipline and responsibility? By contrast, the Democratic plan would provide more than twice as much tax relief without threatening economic growth. It would help middle-class families and ensure that tax relief from marriage penalty is not reduced by the Alternative Minimum Tax, as it is under the Republican bill. And above all, it would be paid for. Reject this bill and support the Democratic substitute.

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of repealing the penalty on people who choose to marry. It seems strange that the tax code discriminates against married couples. It's even stranger that there are many in this body who are opposed to fixing this problem.

The President and the Congressional majority have worked hard to enact marriage penalty relief. Because of demands from the other side, this relief will end next year. That means an automatic tax increase in an economy that is coming out of a recession. Mr. Speaker, we must pass this legislation to permanently extend this relief.

As we attempt to eliminate this discrimination in the tax code, I will continue my work to repeal the marriage penalty that affects many couples on Social Security. Yes . . . there is also a "marriage penalty" that occurs when Social Security benefits are taxed. As a result, I have introduced legislation to increase the income threshold for couples to double that of individuals to end this unequal treatment in the tax code that discourages marriage among seniors.

Certainly our seniors should not have to worry about losing Social Security benefits because they are married or want to marry.

Mr. JEFF MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, today we will be voting on important legislation; legislation that will help roughly 21 million young Americans financially. I am speaking about marriage penalty relief. Thanks to the peculiarities of the tax code, when married couples earn roughly the same salaries, they tend to pay more in taxes than they would if both were single filers. Our previous action to extend this tax relief benefit has encouraged marriage and saved the average married couple \$1,400 a year, allowing them to spend on items that support their families.

This discrepancy financially penalizes couples for doing nothing more than choosing to get married, which creates a strong disincentive for people to build families. With a breakdown of the family and high divorce rates, we need to strengthen marriage—not weaken it. As every study shows, children fare best and have the most promising life prospects when they are raised in intact families. Promoting marriage has the potential to significantly decrease poverty and dependence, increase child well-being and adult happiness, and to provide the safest environment for women and children.

Mr. Speaker, letting the tax penalty relief expire would cost families \$1,400 a year. The federal government should not be picking pockets of people just because they are married. If we do not extend the marriage penalty tax relief today, Uncle Sam will not only once again be taking a gift at the wedding reception instead of giving one, but will also be contributing to the breakdown of our basic social institution, marriage.

Mr. CRENSHAW. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of H.R. 4181, an Act that will make the marriage penalty tax relief permanent. This unfair provision must be permanently stricken from the tax code so individuals who enter into the sanctity of marriage are no longer penalized when they file their taxes. Marriage is the highest form of commitment between a man and a woman, and we should be encouraging this union—not penalizing it.

Since the 1960's, this archaic standard has been penalizing married couples for simply filing their tax returns as husband and wife. Fortunately, in 2001 we successfully eliminated this unfair provision by passing the Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act. Because of this important legislation, over 42 million married couples are now treated equally when they file their taxes. This tax cut has

spurred our economy's recovery and created thousands of jobs. By putting taxpayer money back in the hands of the American people, we reduce their economic burden and empower them to spend their money in a manner they see fit.

We must pass this important legislation and continue to provide this much needed relief to American families. We should never underestimate the good that can be accomplished when families are able to keep more of their money and make spending decisions based on their needs. Congress needs to finish the job we started of promoting economic responsibility and long-term economic growth by making these cuts permanent. Let's do what is right for the American economy and America's families.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, today I rise in support of H.R. 4181, to making permanent the repeal of the Marriage Penalty Tax that has helped 30 million married Americans since 2001.

Married couples rely upon this tax relief for purchasing a new home, saving for their children's college education, and setting up retirement savings plans. Now, nor ever, do I see a reason why nearly 1.1 million married couples in New Jersey should be re-penalized and forced to pay higher taxes simply because they decided to get married and start a family. Allowing this tax benefit to expire would also be counterproductive to the strength our economy continues to show.

Americans scored a major victory in 2001 when Congress and President Bush addressed one of the most unjust provisions of the tax code by reducing the Marriage Penalty Tax. Congress furthered our commitment last year to reducing taxes under the Jobs and Growth Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2003, where Congress accelerated the seven year phase-in of the marriage penalty relief.

As a result, today, the standard deduction for married couples stands at \$9,500—twice the value that it is for a single individual, and the upper limit on the 15 percent tax bracket for married filers is twice the income limit for single filers. Under current law, each of these tax benefits for married couples will be reduced next year and fully expire in 2010, if we do not act to make the repeal permanent.

If Congress does not act, beginning in 2011, the standard deduction for married couples will be reduced, forcing 30 million more couples to pay more taxes.

The Marriage Penalty tax is inherently unfair. The Federal Government should not force working couples, through an archaic tax code, to pay higher taxes.

The Marriage Penalty Tax weakens the foundation of one of society's most sacred institutions: marriage. We cannot turn back the clock after making such great strides in providing this sensible, meaningful tax relief. And quite frankly Mr. Speaker, families are counting on this relief.

So today, I urge my colleagues to build on our ongoing efforts to provide tax relief for all hard working Americans. Let's pass Marriage Penalty Tax relief for the millions of working couples.

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Mr. Speaker, fixing the "marriage penalty" and increasing the earned income tax credit (EITC) for low-income families are important and long-overdue steps toward tax fairness. I support both measures but wish that Congress had made reducing the tax

burden for dual-income middle-class families and those most in need of tax relief its top priority 3 years ago, instead of focusing tax relief primarily on the wealthiest Americans.

Improving the fairness of our tax code is a laudable goal. The Bush tax policies passed by Congress have added significantly to our national deficit. Congress need not continue to exacerbate the budget while providing reasonable tax relief. As this legislation is written, over \$100 billion will be added to our national deficit. The Democratic Substitute, which I support, instead would pay for marriage penalty relief and an increase in the EITC by reducing tax cuts available to couples earning more than one million dollars a year. The Democratic proposal provides a more responsible manner of providing tax fairness that does not further burden future generations with more debt.

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to oppose the fiscally irresponsible and inadequate H.R. 4181, "Make Permanent Marriage Penalty Relief," and in support of the Democratic Substitute that helps more families and is fiscally responsible.

The Republicans have brought a bill to the floor that is not paid for. In fact, their plan would add \$105 billion over the next 10 years to the federal budget deficit.

In contrast, the Democratic substitute provides marriage penalty tax relief to more Americans than the Republicans bill, but pays for it in a fair manner by limiting tax cuts for the wealthiest Americans.

The Democratic substitute provides more marriage penalty relief to 13 million families than the GOP bill by ensuring that tax relief from the marriage penalty is not taken away or reduced by the alternative minimum tax. The Republican bill denies full marriage penalty tax relief to 13 million families next year, including more than 25 percent of the middle-class families making \$75,000 to \$100,000, by failing to fix the inequities caused by the current alternative minimum tax system.

The Democratic substitute also provides immediate marriage tax penalty relief to more Americans by increasing the value of the Earned Income Tax Credit for more lower-income working couples. The Republicans fail to give these families immediate relief in their bill.

Again, the Republican bill demonstrates the misguided priorities of the Republican Party. Rather than ensuring that all hard working families get marriage tax penalty relief, the Republicans have decided to bankrupt this country to ensure that their fat cat rich elite donors continue to get away with paying absurdly low taxes. The ultimate losers are our children who will be left to pay the bill for the large budget deficits that President Bush and our Republican colleagues in Congress are planning to leave them.

I urge my colleagues to support the Democratic substitute bill and vote against the insufficient and unaffordable Republican proposal.

Mr. KIND. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of making permanent the marriage penalty tax relief Congress passed in 2003. I believe that we should eliminate the tax penalty that some married couples incur because, simply, it is the right thing to do.

The marriage penalty stems from provisions in the Tax Code that impact married couples filing joint tax returns differently than if they filed separate tax returns. In 2001, the marriage penalty hit around 47 percent of married tax filers from all income brackets.

Without action, tax relief from the marriage penalty would lapse next year as required under the 2003 tax cut package. While the majority of the 2003 tax proposal that passed the House was fiscally irresponsible and designed to benefit only the wealthiest of Americans, its provision providing couples complete relief from the marriage penalty in 2003 and 2004 had bipartisan agreement. The legislation before us today and the substitute offered by Congressman RANGEL will permanently extend relief from the marriage penalty.

Every week I am back in Wisconsin talking to my constituents about the challenges they are facing in today's economy. With rising costs for college tuition, health care, and other necessities, we need to act today to ensure that working families are not going to be faced with a marriage penalty tax in 2005.

I also believe, however, that we must work to make sure these tax cuts are paid for so that we do not increase the budget deficit. It is unfair to Americans today, and especially the next generation, to delude ourselves by thinking the record budget deficits facing our Nation, estimated by the White House at over \$500 billion this year alone, will simply go away.

As a member of the House Budget Committee, I supported a budget resolution that allows for extending marriage penalty tax relief while still reducing the deficit. This approach requires tough choices, prioritization, and a bipartisan commitment to helping working families. With the House-Senate conference committee still negotiating the budget resolution for fiscal year 2005, I remain hopeful that we will be able to provide married couples continued tax relief today without raising the debt burden on our children's generation.

The substitute offered today by Representative RANGEL is a more responsible bill that will permanently repeal the marriage penalty tax for millions of Americans while not increasing the budget deficit. By providing a responsible offset to pay for this tax cut, we can benefit all married tax filers without burdening our children with added debt that they will have to pay off.

In addition, the Rangel substitute will benefit 13 million more Americans by accounting for the alternative minimum tax. The AMT will deny many married couples the tax relief intended under this bill because they fall under a complex set of AMT tax provisions.

Mr. Speaker, extending relief from the marriage penalty now will help millions of working families that otherwise would face a tax increase in 2005. I believe we can and must provide this relief in a fiscally responsible manner that will not burden future generations of Americans. Our work is far from over in helping working families face the challenges of today's economy, and we must come together in a bipartisan manner to craft a fiscally responsible budget resolution.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD). All time has expired.

AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE OFFERED BY MR. RANGEL

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will designate the amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The text of the amendment in the nature of a substitute is as follows:

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

**SECTION 1. EXTENSION OF INCREASED STANDARD DEDUCTION FOR MARRIED TAXPAYERS FILING JOINT RETURNS.**

(a) IN GENERAL.—Paragraph (2) of section 63(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (relating to basic standard deduction) is amended to read as follows:

“(2) BASIC STANDARD DEDUCTION.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the basic standard deduction is—

“(A) 200 percent of the dollar amount in effect under subparagraph (C) for the taxable year in the case of—

“(i) a joint return, or

“(ii) a surviving spouse (as defined in section 2(a)),

“(B) \$4,400 in the case of a head of household (as defined in section 2(b)), or

“(C) \$3,000 in any other case.”.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) Section 63(c)(4) of such Code is amended by striking “(2)(D)” each place it occurs and inserting “(2)(C)”.

(2) Section 63(c) of such Code is amended by striking paragraph (7).

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2004.

**SEC. 2. EXTENSION OF INCREASED EARNED INCOME CREDIT FOR MARRIED TAXPAYERS FILING JOINT RETURNS.**

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subparagraph (B) of section 32(b)(2) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended to read as follows:

“(B) JOINT RETURNS.—In the case of a joint return filed by an eligible individual and such individual's spouse, the phaseout amount determined under subparagraph (A) shall be increased by \$3,000.”

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2004.

**SEC. 3. EXTENSION OF 15-PERCENT INDIVIDUAL INCOME TAX RATE BRACKET EXPANSION FOR MARRIED TAXPAYERS FILING JOINT RETURNS.**

(a) IN GENERAL.—Paragraph (8) of section 1(f) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (relating to phaseout of marriage penalty in 15-percent bracket) is amended to read as follows:

“(8) ELIMINATION OF MARRIAGE PENALTY IN 15-PERCENT BRACKET.—With respect to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2004, in prescribing the tables under paragraph (1)—

“(A) the maximum taxable income in the 15 percent rate bracket in the table contained in subsection (a) (and the minimum taxable income in the next higher taxable income bracket in such table) shall be 200 percent of the maximum taxable income in the 15-percent rate bracket in the table contained in subsection (c) (after any other adjustment under this subsection), and

“(B) the comparable taxable income amounts in the table contained in subsection (d) shall be ½ of the amounts determined under subparagraph (A).”.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—The heading for subsection (f) of section 1 of such Code is amended by striking “PHASEOUT” and inserting “ELIMINATION”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2004.

**SEC. 4. BENEFITS EXTENSION NOT TO INCREASE FEDERAL BUDGET DEFICIT.**

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(j) ADDITIONAL TAX ON HIGH INCOME TAXPAYERS.—The amount determined under sub-

section (a), (b), (c), or (d), as the case may be, shall be increased by 3.6 percent of so much of adjusted gross income as exceeds \$1,000,000 in the case of individuals to whom subsection (a) applies (\$500,000 in any other case).”

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2004.

**SEC. 5. REPEAL OF SUNSET APPLICABLE TO BENEFITS EXTENDED BY THIS ACT.**

Title IX of the Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2001 shall not apply to the amendments made by sections 301, 302, and 303 of such Act.

**SEC. 6. BENEFITS OF ACT NOT DENIED BY REASON OF ALTERNATIVE MINIMUM TAX.**

(a) MINIMUM TAX.—The amount of the minimum tax imposed by section 55 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 shall be determined as if sections 1, 3, and 5 of this Act had not been enacted.

(b) CREDITS.—In applying section 26(a)(1) of such Code, the amount referred to in subparagraph (B) thereof shall be reduced (but not below zero) by the amount of the reduction in the taxpayer's regular tax liability by reason of sections 1, 3, and 5 of this Act.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 607, the gentleman from New York (Mr. RANGEL) and a Member opposed each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York (Mr. RANGEL).

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

Mr. Speaker, first let me thank the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. WELLER) for his persistence in trying to bring tax relief to working people and married people who need it. Again, I would like to thank him for the courtesy which he extended to me at the Committee on Rules which allowed this substitute to be in order.

I would like to say at the outset that I do hope that Members of this Congress would feel the ever growing jurisdiction of the Committee on Rules as we find very important and complex bills, especially tax bills, bypassing the Committee on Ways and Means and coming to this floor.

If the Committee on Ways and Means had allowed the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. WELLER) to have brought this amendment which he has championed over the years to the Committee on Ways and Means, perhaps he would see that Republicans do not have the only way in which to perfect a bill. Perhaps he would have seen that we would have followed his lead in providing for the standard deductions in and making certain that we would not have this so-called marriage penalties. But we would have perfected it so that the earned income tax credit, which is so important for low income people, would have gone into effect immediately so that they would have been able to enjoy the same benefits that their fellow taxpayers, albeit in the upper income tax brackets, would have enjoyed.

Since last seeing this bill, I will have to admit that they have improved it so that in 4 or 5 years these low income people would receive some benefits, but

if we had had a chance to work together in committee with amendments and, more importantly, with discussions, we would have been able to fix this so that the low income people and the middle income people would enjoy the benefits of the earned income tax credit.

Another thing which is far more serious is that they give with one hand under the Weller bill, but by doing this and providing the benefits, they kick the taxpayer up into another income category where the monster of the alternative minimum tax grabs them and takes back that money.

It would seem to me that if the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. WELLER) and I were working together, what he would want to do, at least for this bill, recognizing the close to \$1 trillion it would cost to eliminate the alternative minimum tax altogether, that we would have said, as we say in the substitute, that for purposes of this bill none of the benefits received under this bill will be denied because of the alternative minimum tax bill that would take it away.

Lastly, let me say this: Is this the time for us to be talking about going further in debt?

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The billions of dollars that the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. WELLER) says Democrats would ask us to pay is not billions of dollars in increase. It would just make certain that the benefits during time of war of those people who God has blessed with receiving incomes of over \$1 million will say, hold it, it is a time of war, it is a time of sacrifice; if anybody deserves a tax cut, let it be the people that the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. WELLER) has championed, let it be the married people who struggle every day, let it be not only the middle income people but the lower income people and not the people that receive over a million bucks.

So what I am suggesting is this. Let us take the theme that the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. WELLER) has championed, albeit his couple have changed dramatically since he first brought this up, but that just shows that we have to respond more speedily to decent legislation, and let us take the substitute that has been perfected and say this. If the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. WELLER) and the majority wants to make certain that we expand the 15 percent tax bracket and we increase the standard deduction, count us in. If the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. WELLER) really wants the earned income tax credit to lock into place for all people when this becomes effective and not wait 4 years, we support the substitute and we support the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. WELLER).

If the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. WELLER) wants to make certain that once the benefits are received by these married people, the monster of the AMT that we refuse to touch, not because we believe it is good legislation

but because we just do not want to go into debt another trillion dollars, let us say when we get the courage to deal with the deficit we will do it, but for purposes of this bill and the people who look like or suffer the pain of the portrait of the people we see on the floor every year, we will make certain that the benefits will not be harmed by the AMT.

I think this is the time for us and the generations to follow to be careful how further we go into deficit. We do not know how much the war is going to cost, but we do know how much this bill would cost, and this bill does not increase taxes. It rearranges the benefits so that the people making less than \$1 million would say, thank you, Mr. WELLER; thank you, Mr. RANGEL; thank you for bringing Democrats and Republicans together to do the right thing. We tried to do this in the substitute. We hope we can get my colleagues' support.

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

Mr. WELLER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to claim the time in opposition, and I yield myself as much time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, let me begin by, of course, thanking my good friend the gentleman from New York (Mr. RANGEL) for these thoughtful and friendly comments, and as we begin this debate on the substitute he is offering, and of course, my criticism that I will have of course is being made in friendly terms, as he knows.

Let me just explain why I urge my colleagues in the House to, in a bipartisan way, oppose the Rangel substitute to H.R. 4181.

As my good friend from New York noted, it includes a \$207 billion tax increase on individuals, on families and particularly on small business. To summarize the Rangel substitute, it reverses the tax relief that benefits many families that was included in the Bush tax cuts of 2001 and 2003. It creates a new tax on families and small business, and it even makes the existing alternative minimum tax, something that we all despise, even more complicated.

The Rangel proposal, the Rangel alternative, creates a new tax on families and small business. The Joint Committee on Taxation estimates that the substitute authored by my friend from New York raises taxes by \$207 billion by creating a new tax on a group that is defined as the rich, but if we look at the fine print of that definition, the vast majority of the so-called rich are people on Main Street, entrepreneurs and small business people, the people who employ a lot of workers in Morris, Illinois, where I live.

As I noted, it increases taxes on entrepreneurs and reverses the President's tax relief by raising the rate, and it makes the AMT even more complex. Although we share a bipartisan goal of fixing the AMT impacting the 2003 tax cut, we provided for AMT relief, and I expect in the next few weeks

the House is going to vote on an extension of that which provides broad AMT relief for millions of families who would otherwise suffer the AMT.

I would note under the Rangel substitute the Tax Code is made even more complicated by requiring families, believe this or not, to do three sets of tax calculations. People have got to figure out their taxes three times to determine whether or not they avoid the AMT under my good friend's proposal.

Republicans are working to address the AMT and I would note the AMT, the alternative minimum tax, was made much worse in 1993 with what has been called the Clinton tax increase. No Republican supported what was then the biggest tax hike in the history of our Nation but most Democrats did, but the AMT was made much more complicated and actually of greater burden, targeted at middle class families. We are working to solve that burden, and this House will be voting on AMT relief sometime in the near future. We are working closely with the Bush administration towards that goal, and we believe that proposal will protect 11 million families who otherwise would pay the alternative minimum tax.

So I ask bipartisan opposition to my good friend's proposal, which again is a \$207 billion tax increase on individuals and small business.

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

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

I hope that the constant question that would remain on the floor is that the substitute does not increase the deficit by one penny and that the Republican bill increases the deficit by \$104 billion. That is the difference.

Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from California (Mr. BECERRA), a distinguished member of the Committee on Ways and Means, for the purposes of control.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the gentleman from California will control the time.

There was no objection.

Mr. BECERRA. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time, and I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, the difficulty with this debate is that there is a big monster in the closet that people do not want to discuss, and that is the growing national deficit, which is going to make it impossible for us to ever do the type of investments in our education, in our housing, health care for seniors and others that we need to do. It certainly will stop us from doing things the right way in places like Afghanistan, Iraq, around the world where the United States must stand up to defend the rights of others and protect Americans, and certainly we are not doing the right thing for at least some 13 million Americans under this particular bill when it comes to the so-called marriage penalty relief because they will

get a benefit, because what is not being said, because of that big monster in the closet is that a lot of these folks, 10 million directly, outright, will lose any type of relief from this legislation because they will fall into another tax category.

So my colleagues take care of what is called the marriage penalty, but they dump them into what is called the alternative minimum tax, such that if a family makes about 72,000 in a year and has two kids and, in filling out the tax form does the standard deductions, that family thinks all of the sudden it may get some relief out of the marriage penalty legislation, like what we have today, will finally get nothing, and that is the reality for 10 million families in America.

For another 3 million families, they will get less than what this bill promises, and the big monster in that closet is going to come out because if we have a \$521 billion deficit for this current year and over a \$7 trillion national debt collectively, which amounts to more than 24,000 for each man, woman and child in this country that each and every one of us owes and sooner or later will pay, either through higher taxes or reduced services in education, health care, housing, national defense, then we are going to see the real consequences come.

So this debate should be about doing marriage penalty relief responsibly at a time of deficits. This should be about doing marriage penalty relief responsibly at a time when we are asking men and women to sacrifice their lives every single day in places like Afghanistan and Iraq, and this should be a debate about doing this responsibly and in a bipartisan fashion so that we could craft legislation that would take care of the 13 million American families that are going to be deceived and believe that they are going to get something from this and get either nothing or very little whatsoever, at a cost of over \$100 billion.

So, Mr. Speaker, there could be bipartisanship here. We should move forward in taking care of marriage penalty for any family under the Tax Code, and for that reason I would hope that Members would consider voting for this substitute because it goes in that direction.

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

Mr. WELLER. Mr. Speaker, as we continue to debate the Democrat proposal to raise taxes by \$207 billion, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. HENSARLING).

Mr. HENSARLING. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, today this body has one very important decision to make. Do we really want to raise taxes on married couples by bringing back the unfair marriage penalty to our Tax Code? Do we really want to tax the institution that represents the greatest social welfare program in the history of our

Nation; in other words, the American family? Do we really want to start rolling back the tax relief that was responsible for making the U.S. the fastest growing economy in the world last year, the tax relief that has helped bring about the highest rate of home ownership in the history of our Nation, the tax relief that has helped create over three-quarters of a million new jobs and the tax relief that has actually brought in more tax revenue to our U.S. Treasury? That is right, tax relief by promoting economic growth has brought more tax revenue into the U.S. Treasury.

Mr. Speaker, the answer should be a resounding no. If we choose to revive the marriage penalty, 30 million married couples will face an average tax increase of \$369 next year. The same number of couples will see a tax increase of more than \$700, starting in 2011. I mean, that is a rental payment or two for an apartment, a home computer for a son or a daughter. It is weeks of child care. At a time when tax relief is fueling our economic recovery, now is not the time to raise taxes on families or reinstitute unjust penalties on married couples who are working hard to realize the American dream.

I urge all of my colleagues to defeat the marriage penalty, defeat this substitute and support H.R. 4181.

Mr. BECERRA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), the Democratic whip.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

The previous speaker was very animated on the fact that we ought not to bring back the marriage penalty. Is it not wonderful that 435 people agree on that? That is not a dispute in this debate. All of us want to give relief. All of us want to make it permanent. Some of us believe, however, there is a free lunch and we want to pass it along to our children and grandchildren. To that extent, it will be a free lunch for us but not for them.

Mr. Speaker, the marriage penalty bill that the House Republicans put on the floor today is divorced from the fiscal reality that confronts this Nation. Just think, in 3½ years the Republican Party has turned a projected budget surplus of \$5.6 trillion over 10 years, according to President Bush that is what we had when he spoke to the joint session of Congress, and they have turned it into a deficit of \$4 trillion in less than 4 years. This year alone the Federal Government is expected to run a record deficit of half a trillion dollars. That figure does not even include the \$50- to \$75 billion that virtually everyone agrees will be needed for our war efforts.

So what do our Republican friends propose here today? A tax bill that will cost an estimated \$105 billion over the next decade. Now it is \$200 billion, and then guess what, they take \$100 billion back. That is called a shell game where

I come from. Not one nickel of that 105 net is paid for, not one nickel. That is right, with a fiscal crisis looming House Republicans would drive us deeper into debt because, as the chairman of the Committee on the Budget, the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. NUSSLE) said in March, "We don't believe that you should have to pay for tax cuts."

They are for free, supply-side, free lunch. Somebody will pay, and it will be our children and grandchildren. My Republican friends do not but our children and grandchildren will surely do so.

Make no mistake, Democrats strongly support marriage penalty relief because married couples should not have to pay more in taxes than they would if unmarried.

□ 1515

That is fair. We are for that principle. Everybody is for that principle on this floor.

As a result, Members have a choice today. They can vote for the fiscally irresponsible Republican bill, or they can vote for the superior Democratic substitute, every penny of which is paid for and will give marriage relief to all Americans. The Democratic substitute is fiscally responsible, and it ensures the benefits of the bill are not nullified by the alternative minimum tax, that shell game of which I talked.

I know the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. WELLER) is not playing a shell game, but we have this AMT. It is a fancy phrase, but it simply means if an individual is below a certain degree of obligation, they make a certain income, we are going to take more. So what they say is, we are going to give you \$200; but, guess what, we are taking \$100 back. We do not do that.

That is why they talk about 205. But it is paid for, and as the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. WELLER) must admit, it does not add a single nickel to the deficit or the debt. Perhaps when he rises to speak, he will deny that. I hope not, because it is the fact.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to vote for the Democratic substitute, vote for marriage penalty relief, and vote for fiscal responsibility. The failure to pay for tax cuts not only threatens our economic future but also is an immoral abdication of our responsibility to our children and future generations.

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

We are learning a new definition today, "pay for," which means "tax increase." Again, the Democrat substitute proposes a \$207 billion tax increase on individuals and small businesses, those who create jobs all across America.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. SMITH).

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague for yielding me this time, and I think there are things both sides of the aisle can agree to. Certainly this side agrees to fiscal

responsibility. I hope we can move ahead and have a balanced budget. But there are two ways to get to the balanced budget. We can increase taxes and continue on this splurge of increased spending from the Federal Government and the growth of Federal Government and making promises when we do not know where the money is coming from. We can either raise taxes to accomplish that, or we can slow down on this splurge of spending increases that this Chamber and the Senate and the White House for the last 20 years have proceeded on.

We are now facing that decision. Do we try to reduce spending to accommodate a balanced budget so that we do not pass on to future generations, or do we increase taxes? And let me just suggest to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), with his hand on the microphone, that our taxes on business today are 18 percent higher than our competitors in other nations. So to simply say we want to accommodate government's increased spending by taxing our citizens and our businesses more, like the Democrats did in their alternative budget proposals with increased taxes and increased spending, like the Democrats are doing in this substitute, adding another 200 to add to taxes that will go essentially to married families, we cannot continue to put our businesses at a competitive disadvantage by simply saying we want more money in Washington, therefore we are going to increase taxes.

Let us move ahead with the Republican proposal that has the marriage penalty relief. And I will make this commitment. If we do not stick to our guns on holding the line on spending, like we did in the House budget, then I will simply vote against those bills that increase spending.

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

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I think my time has run.

Mr. HOYER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER) if the Speaker will let me.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD). The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

Mr. HOYER. If my friend will yield, I was wondering who is in charge of this splurge of spending that the gentleman is concerned about?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair would ask the gentleman to abide by the rules.

The gentleman from California (Mr. BECERRA) is recognized.

Mr. BECERRA. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume to mention that the last time I looked the majority party is in control of both the House and the Senate and controls any spending bills that come out of this Congress. Of course, they first are sent over to us by the White House, meaning the President as well. So in terms of who controls the spending and who

is splurging, the minority party would love to have control of both the House and White House, but at this stage that is in the hands of the majority party, so the gentleman should take his concerns directly to his leadership of his party.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. ISRAEL).

Mr. ISRAEL. Mr. Speaker, I can tell the gentleman who I think is in charge of spending and taxing in this administration and in this Congress; it is Harry Houdini. Because if Harry Houdini was a Member of Congress, he could not have come up with a better "now you see it, now you don't" tax gimmick. That is what we are doing today.

My Republican colleagues want to pass what they claim is a \$96 billion tax cut for married couples today, but then the AMT denies \$99 billion in promised marriage penalty relief tomorrow. "Here today, gone tomorrow."

We have just heard the gentleman from Illinois state that 36 million families deserve this tax relief today, but the AMT is raising taxes on 41 million taxpayers by the year 2010. In 2001, we promised taxpayers real relief. At that time 1.8 million were paying the AMT. This year, 3 million of them pay the AMT. By the year 2010, 41 million of them will pay the AMT.

My colleagues on the other side of the aisle rush to give the deepest tax cuts to people making over \$1 million, then sit idly by while taxes are skyrocketing for 70 percent of people making between \$75,000 and \$100,000: our cops, our firefighters, our nurses, and our teachers.

The American people do not have to listen to this debate and take a side. They get it. All they have to do is listen to their accountants. I got a call from a constituent in Northport, New York, today. He told me this story. He is newly married. He now has two children. He and his wife both work as educators. They are exactly the kind of family we want to help, but here is the effect of the Houdini tax policy on him. He went to his accountant in April. They figured out his taxes. And just when he thought it was safe to mail in his tax form, presto, the AMT. His deductions for property taxes, disallowed; his deduction for business exemptions and child exemptions, disallowed.

Congratulations. Only in Washington do we turn a tax cut into a \$6,000 tax increase for that middle class teacher.

Mr. Speaker, we owe it to our constituents to be honest and accountable. We have to get away from these Houdini policies of making tax cuts appear and disappear. We have to get away from this stealth and secret tax on the middle class. We have to give meaningful tax relief to the American people. That is what the Rangel substitute does, and that is why I will support it today.

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

note that we continue to debate the Democrat proposal to raise taxes by \$207 billion on individuals and small businesses.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to my good friend, the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. KENNEDY).

Mr. KENNEDY of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time to debate this important issue because I really think ending the marriage penalty is one of the most important accomplishments that we have had in the last couple of Congresses.

We should be encouraging marriage, not discouraging marriage. Married couples should not receive an extra gift at their wedding from Uncle Sam with an extra tax bill. All we are trying to do is keep it neutral, neither discourage or encourage, but certainly not penalize them. If we do not pass this amendment, if we do not reject the Rangel amendment, we will be having a tax increase on married couples coming up next year of \$300 or more and even higher in outer years.

Yes, we heard the minority whip say that Democrats support marriage penalty relief. In fact, 72 Democrats did join nearly every Republican in voting for permanent extension. So it is fair to say that essentially all the Republican side and some Democrats do see this. But when it comes to actually coming to the point of saying we support families, we lose too many Members on this important issue.

Now is not the time to have a gigantic tax increase. Our families should not only not be penalized for being married but we should be doing what we can to grow this economy and grow jobs. At a time when we are just beginning to get the economy coming back and growing those jobs, we should not pass a tax increase bill, which this amendment would be, which would devastate small businesses and their job creation. It would be a back-door sneak attack on them. Now is not the time to abandon hard-working Americans and hard-working small businesses that are creating jobs for American families.

The debate really comes down to who should be looked to to come up with solutions for this country. Do we look for government, or do we look for families? We heard a lot of talk on the other side about the deficit of the Federal Government. We have not heard a lot of talk about the budgets of families, which their amendment would increase the cost to them.

We also hear how weak an argument they have against what we are trying to do here by bringing up the AMT. The gentleman from New York said that we needed to be honest and accountable. Well, let us be honest and accountable about the AMT and why increasing numbers of Americans are facing that burden. It is because under Clinton and a Democratic Congress, where we passed AMT without an index, each and every year we bring in more and more hard-working families

in the middle class to do this perverse tax. It comes, if we are to be honest and accountable, from the tax policy that they are now proposing in this Rangel substitute, and it must be rejected.

Look at how far they are searching for excuses to come out against eliminating the marriage penalty. The gentleman from California says that this would certainly stop us from doing the right thing in Afghanistan and Iraq. Now, I am not sure what marriage penalty relief has to do with preventing us from doing the right thing in Afghanistan and Iraq. I do not know if it is the confusion about what the right thing in Afghanistan or Iraq should be, but certainly I think our fighting men and women are doing a wonderful thing of extending freedom and keeping us safe here at home.

This bill will do nothing to prevent the full commitment we have and will give our troops for that. But those troops are hoping to come back to an America that values the families that bore them, that values the families that they are creating themselves, and America cannot at this point in time back away from helping American families, from helping the small businesses that create jobs for those families, and I encourage my colleagues to reject the Rangel amendment and vote to keep marriage penalty relief and not allow a tax increase on hard-working American families.

Mr. BECERRA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. RYAN).

Mr. RYAN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from California for yielding me this time.

Let us be straight about what is happening here. This is a \$207 billion tax cut for people who make less than \$1 million a year, the kind of people that need the tax cut. This is a tax increase, in order to pay for the bill, a tax increase of \$207 billion for those people who make more than \$1 million a year.

This is very simple math. We are not being irresponsible with this substitute. We all support getting rid of the marriage penalty. We all want to encourage marriage through the Tax Code. We do not want to penalize anybody for getting married. But to sit here and say that this is somehow a tax increase on middle America, on average Americans, is not telling the whole story.

This is a tax cut for people who are married and make less than \$1 million a year. These are the people who are paying increased property tax and who are experiencing tuitions that have gone up by 15 percent, increased sales taxes, and health care costs that have gone up by 15 to 20 percent a year. These are the people we are trying to help here, and the Democrats are in support of that.

But we do not want to go out and borrow money and put it on the next generation. You borrow money, you have to pay interest on it. This is rev-

enue neutral, so that when we have the challenges we need to face down the pike with Afghanistan, with Iraq, making sure our troops have the proper equipment, then we will be able to answer that call.

□ 1530

We are asking millionaires to give back only \$30,000 of their Bush tax cut. They are still going to get \$100,000. They are still going to get \$100,000 back from the Bush tax cut. When are we going to ask the top 1 percent in this country to start making sacrifices? When? Now is the time with this substitute bill to say that we are not going to push it onto the next generation and we are finally, since this country had the greatest tragedy it has ever had in its history, finally we are going to ask the top 1 percent to sacrifice a little bit to help move the whole society along.

Really the only problem that I see right now with this substitute is that you need a job to be able to qualify to get it, because there are no jobs in this country. The previous speaker said the economy is growing. Where? If you have stocks, you may be doing okay. In Ohio, we lost 200,000 jobs, most of them manufacturing, and 2 million jobs nationwide. This is Herbert Hoover's economy.

Let us be responsible. Let us ask the top 1 percent, people making over \$1 million a year, to pay their fair share. Only \$30,000 of the Bush tax cut do they need to give back and they are going to give it back to average families who have seen increases in a variety of other tax structures, with their cities, with their counties, with their school districts, with their mental health levies. Those are the people we want to help.

I urge passage of this substitute. It is the right way to go about it by not pushing it off on our kids.

Mr. WELLER. Mr. Speaker, as we debate the Democrat proposal to increase taxes on individuals, families and small business by \$207 billion, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Georgia (Mr. BURNS).

Mr. BURNS. Mr. Speaker, there are still Members in this body that do not understand what marriage penalty relief is about. They only understand tax and spending increases, for any reason regardless of whether any particular tax may be unfair or inefficient or damaging to our economy or destructive to our Nation's families and their moral fiber.

Let us take a quick look. Marriage penalty relief is not about how much is paid, but it is about how it is paid. There is absolutely no reason that any married man and woman in this country should pay more in taxes than similar individuals who are not married. A wife and a husband that make minimum wage should not pay a nickel more in tax than two unmarried people making minimum wage. A husband and wife making \$1 million a year should

not pay a nickel more in tax than two unmarried people making \$1 million a year.

Americans of both parties were united behind this concept. Leave it to our liberal opponents to seek a way to destroy national consensus and attempt to convince Americans that inequality is not only acceptable but it is justified as long as it is against someone else and, in this case, married couples. If those who oppose eliminating the marriage penalty want to raise taxes on families, be honest. Come forward with a bill to raise the tax rate on middle and upper income households. We will have that debate and vote. But any proposal must ensure that all taxes paid by Americans are paid equally, instead of once again penalizing good citizens for being married.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to defeat this substitute and support the underlying bill.

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

Mr. BISHOP of New York. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the Democratic substitute. I believe strongly that we must provide as much permanent marriage penalty relief as possible, which is why I will be voting today for H.R. 4181, the permanent extension of the marriage penalty bill. However, I believe that the Democratic substitute will do an even better job of providing real marriage penalty relief for middle class families.

For increasing numbers of families, April 15 is becoming April Fool's Day thanks to the alternative minimum tax. Unfortunately, more families are finding out that the joke is on them when they realize that they will not receive many of the promised tax cuts. The alternative minimum tax was originally designed to make sure that wealthy taxpayers did not completely avoid paying taxes. However, the AMT was not indexed for inflation nor does it allow many popular deductions, including marriage penalty relief. So it is increasingly impacting middle class families whose incomes have risen over the years, particularly two-parent working families with children.

I am from Long Island where the voice of our business community, the Long Island Association, has declared the AMT to be the number one threat to Long Island's taxpayers. The problem with the Republican bill is that it does not protect marriage penalty relief from the AMT. The AMT hits Long Islanders particularly hard, as State and local income taxes, property taxes and other personal deductions are added back in for the purpose of calculating the AMT. In a sense, Long Island is being double-crossed and double-taxed. In fact, more Long Islanders pay the AMT than taxpayers in any other region of the country.

I find it deeply disingenuous to promise marriage penalty relief to millions of Americans who we know will not reap the benefits of it. When many

families who think they are getting marriage penalty relief instead have to pay the AMT, I believe that they will be outraged that we had the opportunity to act, which we do, but we did not.

The Democratic substitute provides more marriage penalty relief to 13 million families than the Republican bill by ensuring that tax relief from the marriage penalty is not taken away or reduced by the AMT. The Republican bill denies the full marriage penalty tax relief to 13 million families next year, including more than 25 percent of the middle class families making between \$75,000 and \$100,000.

Mr. WELLER. Mr. Speaker, as we continue to debate the Democrat proposal to increase taxes by \$207 billion on individuals, families and small business, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. GERLACH), one of our leaders in the effort to permanently eliminate the marriage tax penalty.

Mr. GERLACH. I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to urge opposition to the Rangel substitute here today. It is unbelievable that just as the economy in our Nation is starting to turn around, seeing increasing jobs, lowering the unemployment rate, higher rates of home ownership, that we are going to be asked through this amendment, through this substitute, to raise taxes on our job creators. According to the Joint Committee on Taxation, this substitute will hit approximately 200,000 individual returns, 75 percent of those returns having small business income, income that can be used to plow back into those small businesses, plow back into increasing the number of jobs at that small business, plow back into that small business for better equipment, better technology, a larger physical facility to handle the operations of that small business. That would be cut. That would be adversely impacted by this substitute.

The substitute also reverses the effects of the President's 2001 and 2003 tax relief. At a minimum, affected families and small businesses will pay a marginal tax rate of 38.6 percent.

Mr. Speaker, now is not the time to stifle economic growth in this Nation through higher taxes. Now is the time to continue economic growth through lower taxes. I would urge my colleagues to vote "no" on the Rangel substitute.

Mr. BECERRA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Ohio (Mrs. JONES), a member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mrs. JONES of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from California for yielding me this time.

I say now is the time to get back the money we gave to all those rich folks when we gave them the tax cut because we really need it. We could use it to pay for some of the equipment that the folks in the armed services need right now.

But let me speak more specifically to the legislation that we are here to talk about. I rise in support of the Rangel substitute amendment, which not only makes permanent marriage penalty relief for millions of hardworking families eligible for the earned income tax credit but also provides that relief immediately, not 3 years from now like the Republican bill.

In 2001, the marriage penalty relief that was enacted was phased in over a long period of time. Last year, the economic stimulus legislation that was enacted accelerated the phase-in of the 2001 marriage penalty relief provisions except for the marriage penalty relief in the earned income tax credit. I ask, why not? Why was immediate relief for the most needy neglected and not accelerated like the other marriage penalty provisions?

The earned income tax credit assists lower and middle income earners. In Cleveland, Ohio, more than 80,000 individuals filed for the credit. In the State of Ohio, more than 700,000 individuals took advantage of the credit. Nationwide, about 18 million Americans utilized the credit. These hardworking Americans should not be penalized because they are married and they should be provided relief immediately, not 3 years from now. We should accelerate their relief just like the other marriage penalty provisions. Those eligible for the earned income tax credit are in the most need and we should make sure that they get relief as soon as possible.

An in-depth study on the earned income tax credit was conducted by an Ohio think tank and Ohioans were asked what they would do with the extra money they would receive through the earned income tax credit. They provided the following responses: "I would spend it on the kids and on visits to the doctor. I have health insurance but my youngest has to see a foot specialist and the shoes are not covered by insurance. They cost \$140." As I said, I rise in support of the Rangel substitute and would ask all of my colleagues to consider it the best thing for us to do.

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

Mr. BECERRA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. EMANUEL).

Mr. EMANUEL. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague from California for yielding me this time.

In 1993 and 1997, we both reduced the deficit and in 1997 balanced the budget by cutting taxes for working families and middle class families who were trying to meet their obligations to their children and their families. We did not make a choice between tax cuts and deficit reduction. We did both effectively, resulting in 22 million more Americans having jobs, half the poverty rate in this country cut, incomes at all levels going up and the ability of families to send their kids to college being achieved and realized.

Today we have two proposals but also two different visions, both providing

tax relief. One, I believe, the Democratic alternative, more equitably, more fairly and more progressively and being paid for, that does not literally in my view provide a head fake to future generations who will be left the obligation to pay for this tax cut.

I note in the Republican proposal that they do finally have in 2008 the earned income tax credit extension. My view is if it is good in 2008, let us do what the Democratic proposal does and bring that tax cut forward to 2005. Because if it is good in 2008 and if it is a good enough tax cut in 2008, let us extend to working families that tax cut in 2005. It always surprises me, they never use the opportunity to be progressive and to be fair.

Second, the notion that there will be 10 million families earning \$75,000 to \$200,000 who will get no tax cut under this proposal. In my view, we can cut taxes for middle class families and reduce the deficit, which will be good for the economy, producing jobs, and good for American families. There is a right way to do it and a wrong way. That is the wrong way. Our Democratic proposal and Democratic agenda has a right way without making choices; that is, to give a tax cut to working families while reducing the deficit.

Mr. BECERRA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE).

(Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, let me first of all thank the gentleman from New York (Mr. RANGEL) for his leadership and the gentleman from California (Mr. BECERRA) as well for his leadership and encourage my colleagues on the other side of the aisle to just simply be fair. The Rangel amendment and substitute is simply clear and simply fair. It makes this legislation effective for millions of lower and middle class Americans, families, the working poor, who can also have the benefit as married couples and families under this legislation and particularly as it relates to the earned income tax credit.

□ 1545

Allow me to just share with you a young lady by the name of Nicole Goodwin. Yes, Mr. Speaker, she is an American. She is an Iraq war combat veteran who is homeless with her daughter. Say, for example, that she would get a job, as she is looking from one homeless shelter to another. This legislation would not benefit this working mom, this family, this individual, who may ultimately marry and be part of the working community, but not part of the millionaire community.

It seems that it is important when we talk about tax relief, inasmuch as we have already given to the top 1 percent an enormous tax cut that puts us trillions of dollars in debt, that it is only fair that as we come to the floor of the House with this benefit that is

now being given and will be made permanent by the Rangel substitute, but as well that we be allowed to extend it to millions and millions of working families, to the working poor.

I cannot imagine that we would allow an Iraq war veteran, a combat veteran, to suffer under this legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to support the Rangel substitute.

Mr. Speaker, it is unfortunate today that this body must be consumed by debate on legislation that has no real hope of passing through the Senate, never mind the fact that it will not help real Americans. This Marriage Penalty bill is being used by Members of this body as distraction from the real issues at hand. Currently, our nation is engaged in a war that does not have an end in sight. In this body alone we still have massive transportation legislation that has not been resolved and we have yet to even approve a complete budget. Yet, we must be present here to debate legislation that is not realistic nor does it serve a true purpose in its current form. Members of this body who support the original legislation of H.R. 4181 seek to deflect attention away from the fact that to average Americans the economy is lagging, jobs are not abundant, and irresponsible tax cuts have hurt not helped them. However, the majority party continues to repeat the mantra that tax cuts for the rich will lead to a real economic recovery. The facts do not bear out their repeated statements. Average Americans are not the ones receiving massive tax cuts; instead they themselves and their children after them will be the ones paying off an ever increasing national debt. The original form of this legislation continues this skewed pattern of benefiting the rich over lower and middle class Americans. This legislation if passed in its original form will leave middle class couples in the cold when it comes to tax relief and furthermore it has no legitimate offsets to pay for its expense. This irresponsible legislation will only grow the deficit and make greater the burden on average Americans.

This is why I am in full support of the Rangel substitute which offers a responsible way to extend relief from the marriage penalty. Under the Rangel substitute, the marriage penalty provisions related to the standard deductions, Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) phase-out increase, and 15% bracket would be made permanent, just as in the original legislation of H.R. 4181. However, the Rangel substitute takes the next step towards fiscal responsibility that the original legislation ignores. First, the substitute accelerates the increase for those eligible for EITC, so that they will not have to wait until 2008 to get the full benefit of this legislation. Second, it makes this legislation effective for millions of lower and middle class Americans who are ignored in the original legislation. \$100 billion of promised relief is taken back in the form of the alternative minimum tax in H.R. 4181. Additionally, three million families will only receive a partial benefit from this legislation. Those who only receive a partial benefit will disproportionately be couples with children because the minimum tax does not allow a deduction for dependent deductions. Now I ask, does this sound like legislation that truly benefits American married couples?

Too many average Americans are not seeing a benefit; instead they are being fed a

steady diet of misinformation and irresponsible policies. The Rangel substitute addresses all these loopholes that allow so many Americans to fall through the cracks and not receive real tax relief.

The strongest argument for the Rangel substitute is fiscal responsibility. The Rangel substitute would ensure that this legislation does not increase the national deficit as it would in its original form. The cost of this tax relief will be offset by adjusting the tax rate for married couples making over a million dollars a year. No doubt, this provision will draw the ire of the majority party, no doubt that they will assail us for daring to make adjustments to their tax cuts. But, I ask what other responsible options are we left with? Should we pass this legislation in its original form and just accept soaring deficits? Should we deny this legislation and leave married couples to lose the tax relief that they have earned? These are the meager alternatives left to us if we do not take the fiscally responsible action of adjusting the tax rate for the richest Americans. I can not understand how some in this body can possibly compare America's millionaires to American working class families as if their situation was one in the same. Clearly, that is not true; America's working class families are the ones in need of tax relief. America's millionaires can stand to pass on more tax relief for the sake of fiscal responsibility.

The difference between the original legislation and the Rangel substitute is that the latter is actually effective and furthermore it's responsible. In these trying times for our nation we can not afford anymore misguided policies.

Extending tax relief for married couples is an admirable goal, but creating irresponsible legislation is not.

Mr. WELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. KINGSTON), a member of the House Republican leadership.

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Illinois for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, I wanted to speak in general of the marriage tax penalty relief bill which the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. WELLER) has worked so hard for so many years to pass in Congress.

The amendment offered here by the gentleman from New York (Mr. RANGEL) might have some merits, but I also am aware there are so many people who are opposed to this legislation on the other side of the aisle, that sometimes you wonder if these amendments are not being offered in the clever way to derail the legislation itself. It is probably not the case, with the sponsor and many of the people who are supporting it.

I am absolutely not yielding to my friend, but let me say, as I just said, it is probably not the case. That is what I just said. I said that often many times these amendments are offered in an attempt to derail the legislation. However, when the record is written, I will have a chance to show my friend from New York, whom I respect immensely, that I said that is probably not the intent there. And let me say this to my friend from New York, that I also have said that the gentleman has consistently worked for legislation like

this. So it certainly is very, I guess, expected that the gentleman would use this opportunity. I would use it too, if I were the gentleman in his position.

Having said that, let me say again, I will be happy to yield to the gentleman, and I do know it is not his intent to derail something.

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

Mr. KINGSTON. I would be happy to yield to my friend, the gentleman from New York.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding, because I misunderstood him. If his final argument is that my intent is just as honest as that of the underlying sponsor of this legislation, then I apologize to the gentleman for misunderstanding what he was saying.

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, let me say this: I think the gentleman has been a great champion of tax relief in many respects, and certainly I have a lot of admiration for him.

My support today is for the marriage tax penalty relief. But I would love to see us pass this legislation in its entirety one time and have our colleagues in the other body finish the work that this House so many times has passed and that we cannot get through.

So, Mr. Speaker, I wanted to go on record saying I do support the efforts of the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. WELLER) on marriage tax penalty. I think it is so very important for middle-class America, and I support it today.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD). The gentleman has 3½ minutes remaining.

Mr. BECERRA. Mr. Speaker, everyone who has spoken today on both sides of the aisle supports tax relief for married couples. In fact, I know of no one who is going to come here and say to you they are prepared to vote against marriage penalty relief for married couples in this country.

But at a time when we are facing as a result of policies in this government the largest deficit in the Nation's history, some \$521 billion, and at a time when there is a double whammy of having to fight a war in Iraq and Afghanistan with no sense of when we are going to have an opportunity to bring our troops home and at what cost, we have to move on legislation like this in a responsible fashion.

This legislation will cost over \$100 billion. We do not have \$100 billion to pull out of the Federal Treasury's pocket to pay for this bill. That means the deficit of the Nation will increase that much more.

As I mentioned at the inception of this debate, we have a \$7 trillion-plus national debt. I guess you could continue spending, the credit card looks good, but at some point we have to pay. And if we are not going to pay, that means our children will pay.

At a time when we are this year, as a result of the administration's request, underfunding the President's own No Child Left Behind Act for education some \$8 billion to \$10 billion, at a time when we are underfunding the IDEA legislation, which is for special education needs of our kids throughout this country, by more than \$2 billion this year, at a time when we are failing to help 44 million Americans have access to health insurance, at a time when we see men and women every day sacrificing their life in places like Afghanistan and Iraq for us, here we are talking about giving \$100 billion in tax cuts, when we are not willing to pay for them.

The Democrat substitute simply says, let us give that tax relief, but let us pay for it. We do so by taking the top one-fifth of 1 percent of the richest Americans in this country, one-fifth of 1 percent, and saying to them, you are going to get about \$136,000 in tax cuts from the 2001 and 2003 tax bills that were passed. Take \$100,000 instead of \$136,000. That will help us take care of the millions of families, tens of millions of families that will otherwise face this marriage tax penalty.

Sacrifice a little bit the way the young men or women in Afghanistan are doing today or Iraq are doing today, or the working family making \$40,000 or \$50,000 is doing today. You will still get \$100,000. That is more in relative terms and in absolute terms in the tax cut than any other income group in America.

One-fifth of 1 percent of the richest families in America would help cover the cost. That way we do not add another \$100 billion to the national debt. Cannot do that? I guess that is considered responsible.

Some of us believe we owe it to the people of this country to spend, but spend responsibly; to enact legislation, but do it responsibly. That is what I think the Democratic substitute does.

It simply says, let us not try to hoodwink you, let us not do tax policy in the back room with a big black monster back there you cannot see. Let us do it so people can understand transparently, clearly. Big print, not fine print, is what we are trying to say.

Let us give marriage tax relief to all families, but do it responsibly without adding to the debt that will have to be paid by the children of the people that will receive some of that relief. Do not take it from Peter to give it to Paul. Let us do it the right way.

I urge my colleagues to vote for the Democratic substitute.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman is recognized for 1¼ minutes.

Mr. WELLER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to my friend from New York's substitute proposal that he is offering, which, again, is a \$207 billion tax increase on individuals, on families, and on small business.

The issue of the AMT has been raised today, and that is another issue which

concerns all of us. But I would note that in 1993 when President Clinton called for a tax increase, the biggest tax increase in the history of our Nation, Democrats controlled the Congress, and at that time they increased taxes, increased the rates; but they failed to index it for inflation. That has created the problem that we are facing when it comes to the AMT.

In the next few weeks, this House will be taking up legislation, broad AMT reforms, which will help prevent 11 million of those families that my good friend from New York has identified as needing help. We will be voting on that sometime, very, very soon. But today we are talking about the marriage tax penalty.

Mr. Speaker, I would note in directing my attention directly to the Rangel substitute that it does several things. It reverses President Bush's tax relief, and that means higher taxes, as I said earlier; it creates new taxes on families, individuals, and small businesses; and it makes the alternative minimum tax even more complicated.

Again, under my good friend from New York's proposal, you would have to essentially figure out your taxes three times before you could determine what your tax would be under this proposal. The Tax Code would become much more complicated and taxes would go up \$207 billion.

So I urge my colleagues to vote in opposition to the Rangel substitute. The gentleman from New York (Mr. RANGEL) is a good friend of mine. We work together on a lot of things. But I disagree with him on the substitute that he has offered.

But let us talk about what the real issue is before the House today, and that is, do we want to eliminate the marriage tax penalty permanently? If we fail to do anything, the marriage tax penalty will come back for millions of American families.

I remember all the years we have talked about eliminating the marriage tax penalty. I have a couple that I used as an example, a young couple who I had met when they just got married, Shad and Michelle Hallihan.

When we were working early on to eliminate the marriage tax penalty, twice we passed legislation to eliminate and wipe out the marriage tax penalty, and unfortunately it fell victim to President Clinton's vetoes. He wanted to spend the money, rather than give it back to married couples; so he vetoed that bill.

In the case of Shad and Michelle, what really was the problem was they both work, they are both school teachers, so they have two incomes. Under the Tax Code in the old days, before President Bush's tax cut was put in place, they paid higher taxes. In fact, the average married couple at the time we introduced the original legislation to eliminate the marriage tax penalty paid about \$1,400.

Well, after our legislation to eliminate the marriage tax penalty was ve-

toed twice by President Clinton, time marched on and the Hallihans had a son. In fact, that little boy is about ready to start grade school now. Over that little boy's lifetime, we have been working to eliminate the marriage tax penalty.

If you think about it, Will County, Illinois, where the Hallihans live, \$1,400 for them is tuition at Joliet Junior Community College, several months of daycare at a local community college. So the Hallihans are a good example of a married couple with a young child who suffer the marriage tax penalty.

Well, this past year, with the help of President Bush, President Bush in 2001, President Bush in 2003, we were successful in enacting into law legislation that essentially wiped out the marriage tax penalty for 36 million married working couples.

Another example of a couple from the district I represent, Jose and Magdalena Castillo, Joliet, they are construction workers, they work in the construction field, they have two children, Carolina and Eduardo, and they work hard. But they suffered the marriage tax penalty too, and thanks to the legislation that the President signed into law, after it was twice vetoed by President Clinton, the Castillos have an extra \$1,125 when their marriage tax penalty was eliminated.

Of course, they have two children. That \$1,125 is money they could set aside in an education savings account, in a health savings account, to help with health care or college tuition needs. It is money they can use to put a down payment on a car. Or they could also put it in their individual retirement accounts for their later years some day when the kids are out of school, out of college, and they are empty-nesters and are ready to retire.

But the bottom line is that Shad and Michelle Hallihan and Jose and Magdalena Castillo represent the 36 million married working couples who will suffer higher taxes, unless we make permanent the elimination of the marriage tax penalty.

We do have two alternatives here. My good friend from New York has offered one in which the code word "pay for" is used. Just to explain congressional terms, pay for means tax increase. My friend's proposal has a \$207 billion tax increase on families and individuals and small businesses, those who create jobs in America.

The Republican proposal, which I hope has bipartisan support, does not include a tax increase on families or small business. What we do is provide a simple extension of the existing marriage tax penalty relief that if we fail to pass into law would result in a tax increase on married couples, like Jose and Magdalena Castillo and Shad and Michelle Hallihan.

If we fail to extend this marriage tax relief, couples such as the Castillos would see a \$300 marriage tax penalty reimposed, a portion of that previous penalty they had. If we fail to make it

permanent, 35 million couples like the Castillos would see a tax increase of more than \$700 starting in 2011.

□ 1600

Overall, over the next decade, if we fail to extend and make permanent the elimination of the marriage tax penalty, married couples will pay nearly \$105 billion in higher taxes.

This is what this is all about. It is a simple choice today. I urge my colleagues to do the right thing, and the right thing is to oppose a \$207 billion tax increase on families and individuals and small business by voting “no” on the substitute of my good friend from New York (Mr. RANGEL) and voting “yes” on H.R. 4181, legislation that makes permanent the elimination of the marriage tax penalty.

We do it in three ways. We extend the doubling of the standard deduction so that married couples can have a standard deduction twice that of singles that helps those who do not itemize. We also make permanent the widening of the 15 percent tax bracket so middle class married couples who are both in the work force make twice as much when they file jointly and stay in the 15 percent tax bracket as a single, and we also help the working poor, those who benefit from the earned income credit, a program that was created by Ronald Reagan to help the working poor make ends meet.

My good colleague from Texas said that somehow this proposal would not help this returning Iraqi war veteran and, with all due respect, she is wrong because under our legislation we make permanent the earned income credit which my friend says that she qualifies for. So she benefits as well.

The bottom line is low income and middle class married couples benefit in a significant way when we make permanent the elimination of the marriage tax penalty. Again, my good friend is offering a tax increase of \$207 billion. It is a bad idea at this time. We need to keep the economy moving forward. Let us help families by permanently eliminating the marriage tax penalty.

Mr. Speaker, I urge an aye vote, an aye vote on H.R. 4181, and a no vote on the Rangel substitute.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD). Pursuant to House Resolution 607, the previous question is ordered on the bill, as amended, and on the further amendment offered by the gentleman from New York (Mr. RANGEL).

The question is on the amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by the gentleman from New York (Mr. RANGEL).

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

Mr. BECERRA. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the

point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 189, nays 226, not voting 18, as follows:

[Roll No. 136]

YEAS—189

Abercrombie	Grijalva	Napolitano
Ackerman	Gutierrez	Neal (MA)
Allen	Harman	Oberstar
Andrews	Hill	Obey
Baca	Hinchev	Olver
Baird	Hinojosa	Ortiz
Baldwin	Hoefel	Owens
Ballance	Holden	Pallone
Becerra	Holt	Pascrell
Bell	Honda	Pastor
Berkley	Hooley (OR)	Payne
Berman	Hoyer	Pelosi
Berry	Inslee	Pomeroy
Bishop (GA)	Israel	Price (NC)
Bishop (NY)	Jackson (IL)	Rahall
Blumenauer	Jackson-Lee	Rangel
Boswell	(TX)	Reyes
Boucher	Jefferson	Rodriguez
Boyd	John	Ross
Brady (PA)	Johnson, E. B.	Roybal-Allard
Brown (OH)	Jones (OH)	Ruppersberger
Brown, Corrine	Kanjorski	Rush
Capps	Kaptur	Ryan (OH)
Capuano	Kennedy (RI)	Sabo
Cardoza	Kildee	Sánchez, Linda
Carson (IN)	Kind	T.
Case	Klecza	Sanchez, Loretta
Clay	Kucinich	Sanders
Clyburn	Lampson	Schakowsky
Conyers	Langevin	Schiff
Cooper	Lantos	Scott (GA)
Costello	Larsen (WA)	Scott (VA)
Crowley	Larson (CT)	Serrano
Cummings	Lee	Sherman
Davis (AL)	Levin	Skelton
Davis (CA)	Lewis (GA)	Slaughter
Davis (FL)	Lipinski	Smith (WA)
Davis (IL)	Lofgren	Snyder
Davis (TN)	Lowe	Solis
DeFazio	Lucas (KY)	Spratt
DeGette	Lynch	Stark
Delahunt	Majette	Stenholm
DeLauro	Maloney	Strickland
Deutsch	Markey	Stupak
Dicks	Matsui	Tanner
Dingell	McCarthy (MO)	Tauscher
Doggett	McCarthy (NY)	Taylor (MS)
Dooley (CA)	McCollum	Thompson (MS)
Doyle	McDermott	Tierney
Edwards	McGovern	Towns
Emanuel	McIntyre	Turner (TX)
Engel	McNulty	Udall (CO)
Eshoo	Meehan	Udall (NM)
Etheridge	Meek (FL)	Van Hollen
Evans	Meeks (NY)	Velázquez
Farr	Menendez	Visclosky
Fattah	Michaud	Watson
Filner	Millender-	Watt
Ford	McDonald	Waxman
Frank (MA)	Miller (NC)	Weiner
Frost	Miller, George	Wilson (NM)
Gonzalez	Moore	Woolsey
Gordon	Moran (VA)	Wu
Green (TX)	Nadler	Wynn

NAYS—226

Aderholt	Boehner	Carson (OK)
Akin	Bono	Carter
Alexander	Boozman	Castle
Bachus	Bradley (NH)	Chabot
Baker	Brady (TX)	Chandler
Ballenger	Brown (SC)	Chocola
Barrett (SC)	Brown-Waite,	Coble
Bartlett (MD)	Ginny	Cole
Barton (TX)	Burgess	Collins
Bass	Burns	Cox
Beauprez	Burr	Cramer
Bereuter	Burton (IN)	Crane
Biggart	Buyer	Crenshaw
Bilirakis	Calvert	Cubin
Bishop (UT)	Camp	Culberson
Blackburn	Cannon	Cunningham
Blunt	Cantor	Davis, Jo Ann
Boehlert	Capito	Davis, Tom

Deal (GA)	Keller	Portman
DeLay	Kelly	Pryce (OH)
Diaz-Balart, L.	Kennedy (MN)	Putnam
Diaz-Balart, M.	King (IA)	Quinn
Doolittle	King (NY)	Radanovich
Dreier	Kingston	Ramstad
Duncan	Kirk	Regula
Dunn	Kline	Rehberg
Ehlers	Knollenberg	Renzi
Emerson	Kolbe	Reynolds
English	LaHood	Rogers (AL)
Everett	Latham	Rogers (KY)
Feeney	LaTourette	Rogers (MI)
Ferguson	Leach	Ros-Lehtinen
Flake	Lewis (CA)	Royce
Foley	Lewis (KY)	Ryan (WI)
Forbes	Linder	Sandlin
Fossella	LoBiondo	Saxton
Franks (AZ)	Lucas (OK)	Schrock
Frelinghuysen	Manzullo	Sensenbrenner
Gallegly	Marshall	Sessions
Garrett (NJ)	Matheson	Shadegg
Gerlach	McCotter	Shaw
Gibbons	McCreary	Shays
Gilchrest	McHugh	Sherwood
Gillmor	McInnis	Shimkus
Gingrey	McKeon	Shuster
Goode	Mica	Simmons
Goodlatte	Miller (FL)	Simpson
Goss	Miller (MI)	Smith (MI)
Graves	Miller, Gary	Smith (TX)
Green (WI)	Mollohan	Souder
Greenwood	Moran (KS)	Stearns
Gutknecht	Murphy	Sullivan
Hall	Murtha	Sweeney
Harris	Musgrave	Tancredo
Hart	Myrick	Taylor (NC)
Hastings (WA)	Nethercutt	Terry
Hayes	Neugebauer	Thomas
Hayworth	Ney	Thornberry
Hefley	Northup	Tiahrt
Hensarling	Norwood	Tiberi
Herger	Nunes	Turner (OH)
Hobson	Osborne	Upton
Hoekstra	Ose	Vitter
Hostettler	Otter	Walden (OR)
Houghton	Oxley	Walsh
Hulshof	Paul	Wamp
Hunter	Pearce	Weldon (FL)
Hyde	Pence	Weldon (PA)
Isakson	Peterson (MN)	Weller
Issa	Peterson (PA)	Whitfield
Istook	Petri	Wicker
Jenkins	Pickering	Wilson (SC)
Johnson (CT)	Pitts	Wolf
Johnson (IL)	Platts	Young (AK)
Johnson, Sam	Pombo	Young (FL)
Jones (NC)	Porter	

NOT VOTING—18

Bonilla	Hastings (FL)	Smith (NJ)
Bonner	Kilpatrick	Tauzin
Cardin	Nussle	Thompson (CA)
DeMint	Rohrabacher	Toomey
Gephardt	Rothman	Waters
Granger	Ryun (KS)	Wexler

□ 1627

Messrs. GREENWOOD, RENZI, GRAVES and YOUNG of Alaska, changed their vote from “yea” to “nay.”

So the amendment in the nature of a substitute was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

Stated against:

Mr. RYUN of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, on roll-call No. 136 I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted “no.”

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD). 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.

(Mr. LEWIS of California asked and was given permission to speak out of order.)

RECOGNIZING THE PASSING OF FORMER COLLEAGUE ALPHONZO BELL, JR. AND CELEBRATING THE BIRTH OF THE ROHRBACHER TRIPLETS

Mr. LEWIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the attention of the House by way of the gentleman from California (Mr. COX) and I joining together to make an announcement regarding our colleagues.

I get the side of it that is less than totally positive, while my colleague will take the other side.

I am here to announce to the House, or bring to their attention, the passing of former colleague Alphonzo Bell, Jr., who this last Sunday passed away at the age of 89.

Congressman Bell was known while he was in the House by Members of the House as a guy who covered the whole gamut. Some called him a liberal, some called him a moderate, some called him a conservative. He reflects the mix that we have here today. A fabulous Member of the House who passed away at a wonderful, ripe age.

Mr. Speaker, let me yield to my colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr. COX).

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, at the same time, our congressional family is renewed. I am pleased to announce that we have new family members to bring to your attention. The gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRBACHER) is thrilled to announce and, of course, his wife, Rhonda, is pleased to announce, the arrival last night of a baby girl, Annika Brigit Rohrabacher; and a baby boy, Christian August Rohrabacher; and a baby girl, Tristen Francis Rohrabacher. All three of the babies are doing well. They have a healthy birth weight and they are expected to go home soon.

I am told that after they had their Apgar tests they were instantly communicating with each other, these three, signaling each other trying to figure a way out of the nursery to head to the beach because they understand the Rohrabacher family motto is fighting for freedom and having fun, and they are already into it.

The Rohrabacher family is very much proud of this, as we should be. Congratulations to this newest congressional family of five.

□ 1630

MOTION TO RECOMMIT OFFERED BY MR. STENHOLM

Mr. STENHOLM. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD). Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. STENHOLM. I am, Mr. Speaker, in its present form.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. STENHOLM moves to recommit the bill H.R. 4181 to the Committee on Ways and Means with instructions to report the same back to the House forthwith with the following amendment:

At the end of the bill, add the following new section:

**SEC. 4 TAX REDUCTIONS CONTINGENT ON AVAILABLE DEBT LIMIT.**

No provision of this Act shall take effect unless the Secretary of the Treasury certifies that, upon enactment, the public debt limit set forth in subsection (b) of section 3101 of title 31, United States Code, is sufficient to allow for the increased borrowing required as a result of this Act over the next 10 years.

Mr. STENHOLM (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the motion to recommit be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

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

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas (Mr. STENHOLM) is recognized for 5 minutes on his motion to recommit.

Mr. STENHOLM. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 2½ minutes.

Mr. Speaker, it is rather ironic but this is a very straightforward motion. It simply says to this body that if Members want to take credit for cutting taxes we need to take the responsibility for the increased debt as well. Or I would put it in light of the last announcement, the three new little Rohrabachers I am concerned about today and I do not want us to add \$95 billion additional debt to the three new little Rohrabachers that we just applauded.

This debate is not about whether or not we should end the marriage tax penalty. Every Member of this body supports marriage penalty relief. The debate is whether we should do so with borrowed money, adding more debt on top of our \$7.1 trillion national debt, or paying as we go.

PAYGO worked in the nineties, 1990 and 1997. I believe it will work today if we can just start enforcing it. I do not believe we should pay for tax cuts by borrowing money against our children's future. That is why I supported the Rangel substitute, which would provide for a full and permanent elimination of the marriage penalty without increasing the deficit. Congress should be required to sit down and figure out how to make things fit within a budget just like families across the country do every day. Unfortunately, the leadership of this House seems to have forgotten that common sense principle.

Since the Republican leadership refuses to pay for tax cuts by cutting spending or replacing the revenues, every dime of this bill will be added to the debt we leave for our children and grandchildren. I believe that at a time when our national debt is approaching \$8 trillion and our Nation faces tremendous expenses for our troops overseas it is irresponsible to pass legislation that would put our Nation even deeper in debt. But if my Republican colleagues believe that deficits do not matter, they should have no problem borrowing the money openly and honestly to pay for it.

I hope that all of the Members who have come to the floor today to brag about this bill will come to the floor with the same enthusiasm when it comes time to increase the national debt limit. But instead of taking the responsibility for the consequences of their economic policies, the Republican leadership is going to great lengths to avoid even having a discussion of the debt limit.

The budget resolution that this body may consider next week would increase the national debt to over \$8 trillion. All this motion does is ask the House to acknowledge that every dime of tax cuts would be added to our national debt. Perhaps if we take responsibility for the impact that our votes have on the national debt we will think twice before we vote to place more debt on our children and grandchildren.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. TANNER).

Mr. TANNER. Mr. Speaker, as bad as the gentleman from Texas (Mr. STENHOLM) talked about the gigantic size of the debt, that is not the worst part of it. A tax cut today with borrowed money is a tax increase tomorrow in the form of interest on the debt. One cannot have it both ways.

If that is not bad enough, that is still not the worst of it. The worst of it is this: This country ran up a \$370-plus billion deficit last year. You know who financed it? Seventy percent of it was financed by foreign interests. Beijing, the Central Bank of China, has increased their holdings of American paper 105 percent since 2001. Now the Asians own almost \$1 trillion worth of our paper. Every dime you borrow, 70 percent of it is being bought by Saudi Arabia, OPEC, Caribbean nations. I have got the list of people we are in hock to all around the world.

Sooner or later, I am telling you, sooner or later, you keep on doing this and this bill, nobody disagrees with the substance of it, you just will not pay for it. Sooner or later when they do not see the world as we see it, we are going to be in deep trouble. They will have control of the financial markets. They will have control of Wall Street because all they will have to do is call the amount of paper that they hold and we are in trouble.

I would say this bill is just a symptom of a far greater, more serious problem that is every bit as important to this country as any national security matter that I know of.

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

Mr. Speaker, just in conclusion, I am a strong believer in pay-as-you-go legislation. It worked in 1990 when, in a bipartisan way, we passed it in this House. It worked in 1997 when, in a bipartisan way, you could not have done it without Democratic votes. I wished we were doing that. But since we are not going to even allow us to pay for the tax cut that is on the table today, we are going to brag about all the

things about it, it seems the least we can do is step up and acknowledge we are going to borrow it and say to the American people we are going to borrow \$95 billion on our children's and grandchildren's future. That is all this amendment does.

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

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from California (Mr. THOMAS) is recognized for 5 minutes.

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

Mr. Speaker, if this were a debate on the budget and the decision before the House was to bind every spending measure and every tax measure to a PAYGO rule, the debate might be more appropriate. But to assign to one particular tax cut, and only one, a rule that is not applied to any other decision in this House, whether spending or tax cuts, seems to me to point out that somebody does not like making sure that married people pay no more tax than any other two taxpayers.

It took us a long time to reach this point. It seems to me the gentleman's points will be well taken during a debate on the budget. There are a lot of people anxious to find out whether or not they are going to be able to continue the current marriage tax structure that we have.

The gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRBACHER) and Rhonda Rohrabacher have diapers to change. Let us not leave them in suspense.

Vote no on the motion to recommit and yes on the underlying bill.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the previous question is ordered on the motion to recommit.

There was no objection.

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

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

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

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 9 of rule XX, the Chair will reduce to 5 minutes the minimum time for an electronic vote on the question of passage.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 199, nays 220, not voting 14, as follows:

[Roll No. 137]

YEAS—199

Abercrombie	Berman	Capuano
Ackerman	Berry	Cardoza
Alexander	Bishop (GA)	Carson (IN)
Allen	Bishop (NY)	Carson (OK)
Andrews	Blumenauer	Case
Baca	Boswell	Chandler
Baird	Boucher	Clay
Baldwin	Boyd	Clyburn
Ballance	Brady (PA)	Conyers
Becerra	Brown (OH)	Cooper
Bell	Brown, Corrine	Costello
Berkley	Capps	Cramer

Crowley	Kennedy (RI)
Cummings	Kildee
Davis (AL)	Kind
Davis (CA)	Kleccka
Davis (FL)	Kucinich
Davis (IL)	Lampson
Davis (TN)	Langevin
DeFazio	Lantos
DeGette	Larsen (WA)
Delahunt	Larson (CT)
DeLauro	Lee
Deutsch	Levin
Dicks	Lewis (GA)
Dingell	Lipinski
Doggett	Lofgren
Dooley (CA)	Lowey
Doyle	Lucas (KY)
Edwards	Lynch
Emanuel	Majette
Engel	Maloney
Eshoo	Markey
Etheridge	Marshall
Evans	Matheson
Farr	Matsui
Fattah	McCarthy (MO)
Filner	McCarthy (NY)
Ford	McCollum
Frank (MA)	McDermott
Frost	McGovern
Gephardt	McIntyre
Gonzalez	McNulty
Gordon	Meehan
Green (TX)	MEEK (FL)
Grijalva	Meeks (NY)
Gutierrez	Menendez
Harman	Michaud
Hill	Millender-
Hinchee	McDonald
Hinojosa	Miller (NC)
Hoeffel	Miller, George
Holden	Mollohan
Holt	Moore
Honda	Moran (VA)
Hooley (OR)	Murtha
Hoyer	Nadler
Inslee	Napolitano
Israel	Neal (MA)
Jackson (IL)	Oberstar
Jackson-Lee	Obey
(TX)	Olver
Jefferson	Ortiz
John	Owens
Johnson, E. B.	Pallone
Jones (OH)	Pascrell
Kanjorski	Pastor
Kaptur	Payne

Aderholt	Cole
Akin	Collins
Bachus	Cox
Baker	Crane
Ballenger	Crenshaw
Barrett (SC)	Cubin
Bartlett (MD)	Culberson
Barton (TX)	Cunningham
Bass	Davis, Jo Ann
Beauprez	Davis, Tom
Bereuter	Deal (GA)
Biggart	DeLay
Bilirakis	Diaz-Balart, L.
Bishop (UT)	Diaz-Balart, M.
Blackburn	Doolittle
Blunt	Dreier
Boehlert	Duncan
Boehner	Dunn
Bonilla	Ehlers
Bono	Emerson
Boozman	English
Bradley (NH)	Everett
Brady (TX)	Feeney
Brown (SC)	Ferguson
Brown-Waite,	Flake
Ginny	Foley
Burgess	Forbes
Burns	Fossella
Burr	Franks (AZ)
Burton (IN)	Frelinghuysen
	Gallely
	Garrett (NJ)
	Gerlach
	Gibbons
	Gilchrest
	Gillmor
	Gingrey
	Goode
	Goodlatte
	Goss
	Granger

Pelosi	Peterson (MN)
Pomeroy	Price (NC)
Rahall	Rangel
Reyes	Rodriguez
Ross	Roybal-Allard
Ruppersberger	Rush
Ryan (OH)	Sabo
Sánchez, Linda	T.
Sanchez, Loretta	Sanders
Sandlin	Schakowsky
Scott (GA)	Schiff
Scott (VA)	Serrano
Sherman	Skelton
Smith (WA)	Slaughter
Snyder	Smith (WA)
Solis	Spratt
Stark	Stenholm
Strickland	Stupak
Tanner	Tauscher
Taylor (MS)	Thompson (MS)
Tierney	Towns
Turner (TX)	Udall (CO)
Udall (NM)	Van Hollen
Velázquez	Visclosky
Watson	Watt
Waxman	Weiner
Woolsey	Wu
Wynn	

NAYS—220

Graves
Green (WI)
Greenwood
Gutknecht
Hall
Harris
Hart
Hastings (WA)
Hayes
Hayworth
Hefley
Hensarling
Henger
Hobson
Hoekstra
Hostettler
Houghton
Hulshof
Hunter
Hyde
Isakson
Issa
Istook
Jenkins
Johnson (CT)
Johnson (IL)
Johnson, Sam
Jones (NC)
Keller
Kelly
Kennedy (MN)
King (IA)
King (NY)
Kingston
Kirk
Kline
Knollenberg
Kolbe
LaHood
Latham
LaTourette

Leach	Lewis (CA)
Lewis (KY)	Linder
LoBiondo	Lucas (OK)
Manzullo	McCotter
McCrery	McHugh
McInnis	McKeon
Mica	Miller (FL)
Miller (MI)	Miller, Gary
Moran (KS)	Murphy
Musgrave	Myrick
Nethercutt	Neugebauer
Ney	Northup
Norwood	Nunes
Nussle	Osborne
Oxley	Paul
Pearce	

Pence	Peterson (PA)
Petri	Pickering
Pitts	Platts
Porter	Portman
Portman	Pryce (OH)
Putnam	Quinn
Radanovich	Ramstad
Regula	Rehberg
Reynolds	Rogers (AL)
Rogers (KY)	Rogers (MI)
Ros-Lehtinen	Royce
Ryan (WI)	Ryun (KS)
Saxton	Schrock
Sensenbrenner	Sessions
Shaw	Shays
Sherwood	

Shimkus
Shuster
Simmons
Simpson
Smith (MI)
Smith (TX)
Souder
Stearns
Sullivan
Sweeney
Taylor (NC)
Terry
Thomas
Thornberry
Tiahrt
Tiberi
Turner (OH)
Upton
Vitter
Walden (OR)
Walsh
Wamp
Weldon (FL)
Weldon (PA)
Weller
Whitfield
Wicker
Wilson (NM)
Wilson (SC)
Wolf
Young (AK)
Young (FL)

NOT VOTING—14

Bonner	Rohrabacher	Thompson (CA)
Cardin	Rothman	Toomey
DeMint	Smith (NJ)	Waters
Hastings (FL)	Tancredo	Wexler
Kilpatrick	Tauzin	

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD) (during the vote). Members are advised there are 2 minutes to vote.

□ 1659

Mr. QUINN changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

So the motion to recommit was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on passage of the bill.

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

RECORDED VOTE

Mr. WELLER. Mr. Speaker, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. This will be a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 323, noes 95, not voting 15, as follows:

[Roll No. 138]

AYES—323

Ackerman	Bishop (GA)	Burr
Aderholt	Bishop (NY)	Burton (IN)
Akin	Bishop (UT)	Buyer
Alexander	Blackburn	Calvert
Allen	Blunt	Camp
Baca	Boehlert	Cannon
Bachus	Boehner	Cantor
Baird	Bonilla	Capito
Baker	Bono	Cardoza
Baldwin	Boozman	Carson (OK)
Ballance	Boswell	Carter
Ballenger	Boucher	Case
Barrett (SC)	Boyd	Castle
Bartlett (MD)	Bradley (NH)	Chabot
Barton (TX)	Brady (TX)	Chandler
Bass	Brown (OH)	Chocola
Beauprez	Brown (SC)	Clay
Bell	Brown, Corrine	Clyburn
Bereuter	Brown-Waite,	Coble
Berkley	Ginny	Cole
Biggart	Burgess	Collins
Bilirakis	Burns	Costello

Cox	Jenkins	Pombo
Cramer	John	Pomeroy
Crane	Johnson (CT)	Porter
Crenshaw	Johnson (IL)	Portman
Cubin	Johnson, E. B.	Price (NC)
Culberson	Johnson, Sam	Pryce (OH)
Cunningham	Jones (NC)	Putnam
Davis (AL)	Kaptur	Quinn
Davis (CA)	Keller	Radanovich
Davis (FL)	Kelly	Rahall
Davis (TN)	Kennedy (MN)	Ramstad
Davis, Jo Ann	Kennedy (RI)	Regula
Davis, Tom	Kildee	Rehberg
Deal (GA)	Kind	Renzi
DeFazio	King (IA)	Reyes
DeLay	King (NY)	Reynolds
Deutsch	Kingston	Rodriguez
Diaz-Balart, L.	Kirk	Rogers (AL)
Diaz-Balart, M.	Kleczka	Rogers (KY)
Dooley (CA)	Kline	Rogers (MI)
Doolittle	Knollenberg	Ros-Lehtinen
Dreier	Kolbe	Ross
Duncan	LaHood	Royce
Dunn	Lampson	Ruppersberger
Edwards	Langevin	Ryan (OH)
Ehlers	Larson (CT)	Ryan (WI)
Emerson	Latham	Ryan (KS)
Engel	LaTourette	Sanchez, Loretta
English	Leach	Sanders
Eshoo	Lewis (CA)	Sandlin
Etheridge	Lewis (KY)	Saxton
Everett	Linder	Schiff
Feeney	Lipinski	Schrock
Ferguson	LoBiondo	Scott (GA)
Filner	Lofgren	Sensenbrenner
Flake	Lowe	Sessions
Foley	Lucas (KY)	Shadegg
Forbes	Lucas (OK)	Shaw
Ford	Lynch	Shays
Fossella	Maloney	Sherman
Franks (AZ)	Manzullo	Sherwood
Frelinghuysen	Marshall	Shimkus
Frost	Matheson	Shuster
Gallegly	Matsui	Simmons
Garrett (NJ)	McCarthy (NY)	Simpson
Gephardt	McCotter	Skelton
Gerlach	McCrery	Smith (MI)
Gibbons	McHugh	Smith (TX)
Gilchrest	McInnis	Snyder
Gillmor	McIntyre	Souder
Gingrey	McKeon	Spratt
Gonzalez	Meek (FL)	Stearns
Goode	Meeks (NY)	Strickland
Goodlatte	Mica	Stupak
Gordon	Michaud	Sullivan
Goss	Millender-	Sweeney
Granger	McDonald	Tancredo
Graves	Miller (FL)	Tauscher
Green (WI)	Miller (MI)	Taylor (NC)
Greenwood	Miller (NC)	Terry
Gutknecht	Miller, Gary	Thomas
Hall	Moore	Thompson (MS)
Harman	Moran (KS)	Thornberry
Harris	Moran (VA)	Tiahrt
Hart	Murphy	Tiberi
Hastings (WA)	Musgrave	Turner (OH)
Hayes	Myrick	Udall (CO)
Hayworth	Nethercutt	Upton
Hefley	Neugebauer	Ney
Hensarling	Ney	Van Hollen
Herger	Northup	Vitter
Hinojosa	Norwood	Walder
Hobson	Nunes	Walsh
Hoefel	Nussle	Wamp
Hoekstra	Osborne	Weiner
Holden	Ose	Weldon (PA)
Holt	Otter	Weller
Hooley (OR)	Oxley	Whitfield
Hostettler	Paul	Wicker
Houghton	Pearce	Wilson (NM)
Hulshof	Pence	Wilson (SC)
Hunter	Peterson (MN)	Wolf
Hyde	Peterson (PA)	Wu
Isakson	Pickering	Wynn
Israel	Pitts	Young (AK)
Issa	Platts	Young (FL)
Istook		

NOES—95

Abercrombie	Conyers	Doggett
Andrews	Cooper	Doyle
Becerra	Crowley	Emanuel
Berman	Cummings	Evans
Berry	Davis (IL)	Farr
Blumenauer	DeGette	Fattah
Brady (PA)	Delahunt	Frank (MA)
Capps	DeLauro	Green (TX)
Capuano	Dicks	Grijalva
Carson (IN)	Dingell	Hill

Hinchey	Meehan	Sánchez, Linda
Honda	Menendez	T.
Hoyer	Miller, George	Schakowsky
Inslee	Mollohan	Scott (VA)
Jackson (IL)	Murtha	Serrano
Jackson-Lee	Nadler	Slaughter
(TX)	Napolitano	Smith (WA)
Jefferson	Neal (MA)	Solis
Jonas (OH)	Oberstar	Stark
Kanjorski	Obey	Stenholm
Kucinich	Olver	Tanner
Lantos	Ortiz	Taylor (MS)
Larsen (WA)	Owens	Tierney
Lee	Pallone	Towns
Levin	Pascrell	Turner (TX)
Lewis (GA)	Pastor	Udall (NM)
Majette	Payne	Velázquez
Markey	Pelosi	Visclosky
McCarthy (MO)	Rangel	Watson
McCollum	Roybal-Allard	Watt
McDermott	Rush	Waxman
McGovern	Sabo	Woolsey
McNulty		

NOT VOTING—15

Bonner	Kilpatrick	Thompson (CA)
Cardin	Rohrabacher	Toomey
DeMint	Rothman	Waters
Gotierrez	Smith (NJ)	Weldon (FL)
Hastings (FL)	Tauzin	Wexler

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

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

□ 1708

So the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The title of the bill was amended so as to read: "A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to permanently extend the marriage penalty relief provided under the Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2001."

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. THOMPSON of California. Mr. Speaker, due to a family emergency I was not present to vote on rollcall votes 136, 137, and 138, which were held today on H.R. 4181.

Had I been present, I would have voted: "Yes" on the Rangel Substitute (rollcall vote 136); "yes" on the Motion to Recommit (rollcall vote 137); "no" on Final Passage (rollcall vote 138).

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Ms. KILPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, personal business prevents me from being present for legislative business scheduled for today, Wednesday, April 28, 2004. Had I been present, I would have voted "aye" on H.R. 4219, legislation extending authorization of the surface transportation bill (rollcall No. 134); "aye" on S. 1904, to redesignate a courthouse located in Miami, FL, as the Wilkie D. Ferguson, Jr. U.S. Courthouse (rollcall No. 135); "aye" on the Rangel Amendment to H.R. 4181 (rollcall No. 136); "aye" on the motion to recommit the bill, H.R. 4181 (rollcall No. 137); and "no" on the question of final passage of H.R. 4181 (rollcall No. 138).

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. DEMINT. Mr. Speaker, I was absent during rollcall votes 134, 135, 136, 137, and 138. Had I been present, I would have voted

"yea" on rollcall votes 134, 135, and 138. I would have voted "nay" on rollcall votes 136 and 137.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. WELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and to include extraneous material on the subject of the bill just passed, H.R. 4181.

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

There was no objection.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

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

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I take this time for the purposes of inquiring of the majority leader the schedule for the following week.

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

Mr. HOYER. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished whip from Maryland for yielding to me.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to make all the Members aware that the House has completed voting for the day and the week.

Regarding next week's schedule, the House will convene on Tuesday at 12:30 p.m. for morning hour and 2 p.m. for legislative business. We will consider several measures under suspension of the rules. A final list of those bills will be sent to the Members' offices by the end of the week. Any votes called on these measures will be rolled until 6:30 p.m. on Tuesday.

On Wednesday and Thursday the House will convene at 10 a.m. We plan to consider H.R. 4227, the Middle Class Alternative Minimum Tax Relief Act, which would increase the amount of income exempt from the individual AMT, thereby ensuring that hundreds of thousands of middle class taxpayers are not hit with a hidden tax increase next year.

Finally, I would like to remind all Members that we do not plan to have any votes next Friday, May 7.

I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I will be happy to answer any questions he may have.

Mr. HOYER. Reclaiming my time, Mr. Speaker, I thank the majority leader.

Mr. Leader, the transportation reauthorization, on a bipartisan basis today, as you know, we extended for 2 months. The surface transportation bill that would have been reauthorized last September was the final phase-out date, but we have extended that a number of times since then.

It is my understanding that a meeting at the White House is scheduled tomorrow, to which no Democrat Member has been invited, to decide the

overall size of the new transportation bill.

First of all, Mr. Leader, can I ask why are House and Senate Democrats not being included in the discussion about this job-creating legislation that is critical to our Nation, particularly in light of the fact that, as you well know, because you and I have been here for some period of time, historically, Mr. SHUSTER and his counterpart, in the latter years the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. OBERSTAR), worked hand in hand on this legislation; the gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG) and the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. OBERSTAR) have worked hand in hand on this legislation, as you know. We voted for it on an overwhelmingly bipartisan basis. But now we, apparently, are not continuing to have discussions with reference to the level of funding on this bill on a bipartisan basis.

Can the majority leader inform me, and the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. OBERSTAR) who was just on the floor, as to whether or not we might expect to be included in such meetings in the future, so that we could again go forward, as we have in the past on this particular bill, on a bipartisan basis?

Mr. Speaker, I again yield to my friend, the majority leader.

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman for yielding, and I really cannot speak to any discussions the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. OBERSTAR) or the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG) have had, either amongst themselves or with their Senate counterparts.

What I can tell the gentleman is that the Speaker, being Speaker of the House, is defending his prerogative to appoint conferees to represent the House. And before he takes that formal step, he would like to establish some general parameters, or understandings, with the President, getting some sense from the President of what kind of bill he will sign.

The Speaker is not negotiating with the President. The Speaker is holding a meeting of high-level, not committee-level people, putting together and trying to understand, because there has been some confusion as to what the President will or will not accept, before the Speaker appoints conferees.

Mr. HOYER. Reclaiming my time once again, Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for that information.

As the gentleman knows, I would hope the Speaker would go into these discussions with the President armed with the fact that well over two-thirds of the House voted for this bill and, therefore, a very strong sentiment that this bill is the appropriate level of funding. And, in fact, I think the Senate level probably would have passed with a pretty healthy majority as well on this floor.

In any event, I am hopeful that when the Speaker determines how he wants to proceed and appoints conferees, I

would certainly hope that all of the conferees will be included in the meetings of the conference to discuss the resolution of the differences between the bodies and the shape and levels of the conference report that would be reported back to the House.

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will continue to yield.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I yield to my friend, hopefully for assurances that that will happen.

Mr. DELAY. I thank the gentleman for yielding, Mr. Speaker, and I would just point out to the gentleman that the transportation bill has always been a very bipartisan bill. I would not expect anything different in the process of going through the conference committee and meetings of the conferees than has been in the past. Both sides of the aisle here and both sides of the rotunda are very interested in keeping that bipartisanship, so I would be very surprised and would oppose having meetings that did not include everybody that was appointed to the conference committee.

Mr. HOYER. Reclaiming my time, Mr. Speaker, I thank the majority leader for that representation.

As the majority leader knows, we have been very concerned about that in the past on some of the legislation, the Medicare prescription drug bill in particular. I believe the majority leader and I had a number of conversations on that, and I am pleased at the assurances the leader is giving us on this particular bill.

Mr. Leader, tomorrow we had scheduled, as I understand it, the consideration of the budget resolution conference report. That, obviously, is not coming to the floor tomorrow if we are not going to be here tomorrow. Can the gentleman tell me where the negotiations stand on the proposal that some of us feel very strongly about, and obviously a majority of the Senate feels very strongly about, and that is the pay-as-you-go provision which affects both expenditures and revenues? Where are the negotiations on that issue at this point in time?

□ 1715

Mr. DELAY. If the gentleman will yield, all I can inform the gentleman of as far as negotiations, of which I am not privy, they are fluid and ongoing and constant. There has been a lot of discussion, as the gentleman knows, particularly over the last few weeks and more specifically over the last few days. No resolution has been decided. No conclusion has been reached. Those negotiations will continue.

This will likely sound redundant to the gentleman, but my answer is basically the same as I gave him last week. Our Budget Committee chairman advises me that there is a very good chance that we could have a conference report on the floor next week. I am hoping that will be the case.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman has listed the alternative min-

imum tax as a schedule for the floor. I want to ask him the question I asked him about today's bill. Will that go through the Committee on Ways and Means process or is it the expectation that it will come directly to the floor without consideration by the Committee on Ways and Means?

Mr. DELAY. I think we will probably proceed the same as we did on the bill today that just passed. The AMT bill has passed this House before. It has been marked up by the Committee on Ways and Means before. I do not know how many times. The Committee on Ways and Means feels that there is nothing new here and that the House should consider it as soon as possible, and that is why they want to bring it here, straight to the floor through the Committee on Rules. I would assume that is what the process will be.

Mr. HOYER. Does the gentleman know whether or not this will be a 1-year extension or 1-year effect on the AMT or will it be longer than that or permanent?

Mr. DELAY. I want to be very careful here because I have not seen the bill as introduced. In fact, I am not sure the bill has been introduced as of yet. I am very careful as to what I can say is in it because I have not seen it. All I know is that discussions that I have been privy to, the last I was advised is that the AMT bill is for 1 year.

Mr. HOYER. The last question with reference to the particular bill that is scheduled for next week, is it the intention as far as the gentleman knows to treat the handling of that bill the same way the marriage penalty bill was treated with respect to us having a substitute obviously that is germane and in order under the rule?

Mr. DELAY. Of course I would defer any final decision to the Committee on Rules. I imagine as they did this week with the marriage penalty bill that they would be inclined to make in order a substitute amendment as a substitute.

Mr. HOYER. In addition to the AMT, does the gentleman expect the 10 percent bracket extension to be included as part of the agenda next week as well?

Mr. DELAY. I do not expect the 10 percent bill, the marginal rate bill, to be on the floor next week. We anticipate that bill being on the floor the following week, and then the \$1,000 child tax credit on the floor the week after that.

Mr. HOYER. I think I asked this last week, but let me ask him again because he will be disappointed if I did not ask this. Will the folks, \$26,000 and under, that were included in the Senate bill but did not come out of the House here be included as far as he knows in the child tax credit?

Mr. DELAY. That is so far down the road, as the gentleman knows. It is 2 weeks away. I would wait to see what the final bill looks like as it is introduced.

Mr. HOYER. I realize 14 days is a long time away, particularly when we

are working, people over here, we are working at least a day and a half a week. It is a pretty onerous schedule that the gentleman has got us on.

Might I ask the leader, is he sure we are going to meet next Thursday?

Mr. DELAY. I am not sure of tomorrow.

Mr. HOYER. That is going to make a lot of our Members nervous, I might say.

Mr. DELAY. I would just say to the gentleman that we have a full week of work lined up. Hopefully if things go the way that we anticipate them going, we would be here on Thursday, but not on Friday.

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ADJOURNMENT FROM FRIDAY,  
APRIL 30, 2004, TO TUESDAY,  
MAY 4, 2004

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns on Friday, April 30, 2004, it adjourn to meet at 12:30 p.m. on Tuesday, May 4, for morning hour debates.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

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DISPENSING WITH CALENDAR  
WEDNESDAY BUSINESS ON  
WEDNESDAY NEXT

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the business in order under the Calendar Wednesday rule be dispensed with on Wednesday next.

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

There was no objection.

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APPOINTMENT OF MEMBER TO  
COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND  
COOPERATION IN EUROPE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 3003 note, and the order of the House of December 8, 2003, the Chair announces the Speaker's appointment of the following Member of the House to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe:

Mr. MCINTYRE, North Carolina.

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WE THE PEOPLE—THE CITIZEN  
AND CONSTITUTION

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BISHOP of Utah). Without objection, the gentleman is recognized for 1 minute.

There was no objection.

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Mr. Speaker, the future of our country is rooted in respect for, and understanding of, the United States Constitution. On May 1, more than 1,200 students from across the United States will gather in Washington, D.C. to compete in the national finals of the We the People, the Citizen

and the Constitution competition. This outstanding program is the most extensive educational program in the country developed specifically to educate young people about the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

I am pleased that 40 students from Grant High School in Portland, Oregon, will be representing our State. These scholars have worked diligently to reach the national finals, gaining a deep knowledge and understanding of the fundamental principles and values of our constitutional democracy. Grant High School, my neighborhood school, has won twice in the last 4 years.

As we celebrate these young scholars, we should keep in mind that it would not be possible without the dedicated teachers led by Diane Thelen-Sager and their advisers led by Jim Westwood. I wish these young constitutional experts the best of luck at the We the People national finals. They truly represent the future leaders of our Nation.

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ADMINISTRATION'S ECONOMIC  
POLICIES NOT WORKING IN OHIO

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

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, President Bush was in Cincinnati this week to sell his program of tax cuts and trickle-down economics, tax cuts for the most privileged Americans, hoping that it would trickle down and create jobs and more trade agreements that unfortunately have shipped jobs overseas. The problem with his economic program in Ohio and elsewhere obviously is it is not working. We have lost almost 150 jobs every single day during the Bush administration. In Ohio alone one out of six manufacturing jobs in our State has disappeared. Yet the President's solution is always the same.

Instead, this Congress should extend unemployment benefits to the 50,000 Ohioans and 1 million Americans who have seen their benefits run out. This Congress also should pass the bipartisan Crane-Rangel bill which will give incentives to manufacturers that manufacture in the United States, not outsource and ship jobs overseas.

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SPECIAL ORDERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 2003, and under a previous order of the House, the following Members will be recognized for 5 minutes each.

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

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

NOW IS THE TIME—WE MUST RECOGNIZE THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

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

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, tonight I rise to remind the world that the 24th of April marked the 89th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, a systematic and deliberate campaign of genocide of the Ottoman Empire. Also, it marked yet another year with the U.S. formally recognizing the atrocities that occurred. Considering how well documented the genocide is in the U.S. archives and through an overwhelming body of first-hand, governmental, and diplomatic evidence this is nothing less than a disgrace. I also rise to reaffirm my support for the adoption of the Genocide Resolution H. Res. 193. The purpose of this legislation is prevent future genocides by stressing the importance of remembering and learning the lessons of past crimes against humanity, including the Armenian Genocide, Holocaust, and the Cambodian and Rwandan genocides in hopes of preventing future atrocities. In addition, this resolution strengthen America's commitment to the universal values of the Genocide Convention and asks the United States to commemorate the 15th anniversary of the Genocide Convention. Support for this legislation is widespread with a diverse coalition of over 100 ethnic, religious, civil, and human rights organizations calling for its passage.

As Ranking Member of the House Judiciary Committee, it was an honor to be instrumental in preparing the report which gained unanimous approval at the committee level. The report described the Armenian Genocide in the following terms: "Beginning in 1915, the Islamic Turkish state of the Ottoman Empire sought to end the collective existence of the Christian Armenian population. From 1915 through 1918, during World War I, the Ottoman Empire subjected the Armenian people to deportation, expropriation, abduction, torture, massacre, and starvation. The atrocities were renewed between 1920 and 1923. It is estimated that one and a half million Armenians were killed out of over two million Armenians who had lived in the Ottoman Empire. It should be noted that these activities ceased with the institution of the new Republic of Turkey in October, 1923." This past March, I signed onto a bipartisan letter to Speaker HASTERT asking to bring H. Res. 193 to vote but we have not yet been given the opportunity to vote on this important legislation. Today, also marks the day of the Armenian Genocide Observance on Capital Hill and I join over 110 House and Senate Members who have agreed to co-host this observance.

The Armenian Genocide is fully documented in U.S. history. In a July 24, 1915 cable, American Consul Davis noted that, "I do not believe there has ever been a massacre in the history of the world so general and thorough as that which is now being perpetrated in this region or that a more fiendish, diabolical scheme has ever been conceived by the mind of man. What the order is officially and nominally to exile the Armenians from these Vilayets may mislead the outside world for a time, but the measure is nothing but a massacre of the most atrocious nature. It would be that even if all the people had allowed to perish on the road. As a greater part of them,

however, have been actually murdered and as there is no doubt that this was done by order of the Government, there can be no pretense that the measure is anything else but a general massacre."

Now more than ever as the world is gripped by unrest and terrorism, the memory of the Genocide underscores our responsibility to help convey our cherished tradition of respect for fundamental human rights and opposition to mass slaughter. We owe it to the victims of the Genocide to acknowledge what happened and to teach our students and children about their suffering, so that we can fulfill our obligation to ensure that genocide will never happen again. Our future generation should be able to say, "I learned, I acknowledge, and I will work to prevent it from happening again."

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

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

#### EXCHANGE OF SPECIAL ORDER

Mr. BRADLEY of New Hampshire. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to claim the time of the gentleman from Texas (Mr. BURGESS).

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

There was no objection.

#### HONORING RON RIOUX

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

Mr. BRADLEY of New Hampshire. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to Mr. Ron Rioux for his outstanding work in helping low income New Hampshire residents achieve the goal of home ownership. Ron is the President and CEO of St. Mary's Bank, a not-for-profit, member-owned association and home of the Nation's first credit union. St. Mary's Bank, under Ron's careful guidance, is a company that faithfully upholds the ideals of corporate responsibility, good citizenship and core values. The bank's commitment to giving back to the greater community is evident in its many partnerships with local nonprofit organizations and its sponsorship of a scholarship program for local high school seniors.

Ron's leadership has extended to other organizations as well, including the New Hampshire Credit Union League, which is comprised of 31 consumer-owned credit unions across the State. The Credit Union League has undertaken a new venture providing financial and loan assistance to deserving families.

In 2003, the New Hampshire Credit Union League announced a 5-year, \$35 million commitment to reach out to financially disadvantaged New Hampshire residents. Credit unions across

the State recognized the need to improve the availability of affordable housing in New Hampshire and established a community loan program, in conjunction with Neighborhood Housing Services of Manchester, in order to provide affordable housing, financial counseling and loan programs to this underserved population. Ron serves as chairman of the committee that secured the participation of New Hampshire credit unions in this program and was the driving force for creating the financial assistance fund in the first place. This new program is an excellent example of the working partnerships that help make the dream of home ownership a reality for many financially disadvantaged families.

Ron Rioux believes strongly in the adage that each credit union is an integral part of the community it serves. The formation of this new community loan program exemplifies just that. The program will not only allow many first-time home buyers the ability to lay a foundation to build wealth that they can pass on to future generations, it will rebuild the community and grow livable and safe neighborhoods.

Ron and the New Hampshire Credit Union League saw an imperative need to make home ownership an affordable reality for many New Hampshire families and worked tirelessly behind the scenes to put this plan into action. Always humble, Ron refuses to take credit for the formation of this community loan program, instead pointing the spotlight on the efforts of the entire league and its members. His tireless commitment to assisting first-time home buyers is a wonderful example of his perseverance and his dedication to improving the community and State in which he lives. Ron's hard work, determination and ability to motivate those around him to reach greater heights is truly commendable. I am honored to represent concerned and conscientious citizens such as Ron Rioux in the United States House of Representatives.

□ 1730

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BISHOP of Utah). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. RUSH) is recognized for 5 minutes.

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

#### SUPPORTING AND PROPERLY EQUIPPING OUR BRAVE TROOPS OVERSEAS

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

Mr. LAMPSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to salute Staff Sergeant Eugene Simon of Beaumont, Texas. It has come to my attention through a number of e-mails and other contacts from

families in my district about the concerns that many of them are having about our fighting men and women in Iraq. But Staff Sergeant Eugene Simon of Beaumont wrote to me recently, and I want to bring to our colleagues' attention his e-mail that he sent me from his station there in Iraq.

Staff Sergeant Simon and his fellow troops are having a hard time protecting themselves from hostile action, especially in the Humvees they are traveling around in in Iraq. He said that he and the other brave, committed and dedicated troops, and this is his quote, "cut some metals to put a little something on each door" of their Humvees. And that is because they do not have the proper armor on their transportation.

I inspected an armored Humvee today on Capitol Hill, and it disgusts me that our troops have to weld scrap metal on to their Humvees. Troops need properly armored vehicles. They need to withstand small arms attacks and roadside bombs. Can we really afford to sell our troops short when it comes to providing them what they need to protect their lives?

That is why I have sent a letter to the Department of Defense calling for immediate action at whatever the cost might be to provide the equipment and the materials to protect our brave young fighting men and women, and I ask every Member of Congress to join me in demanding more protection for our troops. It is an absolute outrage to me that rock stars on the streets of Los Angeles have safer limousines and safer transportation than our brave men and women do in Iraq. This situation cannot continue.

Let us keep supporting our brave troops for all their valiant efforts overseas. We want them to know that, and we do indeed. But let us also let them know that their country stands behind them with our actions, not just our talk.

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

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

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

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

#### DOING BETTER FOR AMERICA

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

Mr. EMANUEL. Mr. Speaker, Congress is now working on a final budget, a \$2.3 trillion budget with a \$521 billion

deficit. That deficit shows that it is impossible to finance three wars with three tax cuts and expect a different result. Never before has anybody waged a war with a tax cut. What the result is, we have three wars going on, and we have three tax cuts, and we have \$521 billion in deficit.

The budget proposed by the President and the Republican majority repeats the same mistakes that resulted in a jobless economy and a wage and benefit recession for Americans with the lowest growth in wages in the last 30 years.

This budget, the \$2.3 trillion budget, continues the same failed economic policies that have given us 43 million Americans without health insurance, 2 million more Americans who have moved into poverty out of the middle class, only a growth of 1 percent in wages in the last 3 years, 2.5 million Americans have lost their jobs, and nearly \$1 trillion worth of corporate and individual assets have been foreclosed on.

During the 2000 Presidential campaign, President Bush declared he was against nation-building. Well, who knew that he was talking about America when he said he was opposed to nation building.

This budget and the President's vision are really the tale of two budgets: one for America and one for Iraq. We have spent nearly \$150 billion in Iraq on the occupation and war, but without promising America the same future we are now committing to Iraq. I am not against rebuilding Iraq, we need to do that, but I am against taking dollars away and not investing in the education, health care, and environment here at home that we need to do for Americans.

Take the area of health care. We have opened 150 clinics in Iraq and have provided 3 million Iraqis 100 percent prenatal and infant coverage. In America, 44 million Americans go without health care, 33 million Americans work without health care, and 10 million children do not have health care.

In the area of jobs, in Iraq there is universal job training. In America, in the President's budget job training programs have been either capped with no increase or zeroed out.

In the area of veterans, in Iraq, \$60 million was spent to train Iraqi veterans of former wars. In America, we are cutting veterans medical care by \$257 million.

In the field of education, in Iraq we have built 2,300 new schools, or rehabbed 2,300 schools. In America, Leave No Child Behind is underfinanced by \$8 billion. In Iraq, the universities are receiving \$99 million for higher education partnerships. In America, Perkins loans have been cut by \$99 million and Pell grants have been frozen for 4 years in a row while college costs have gone up 10 percent a year.

In the area of law enforcement, \$500 million is being spent in Iraq for a new

police force. In the United States under the President's budget, the police program, the COPS Program, is being cut by \$659 million.

In the area of housing, in Iraq we are spending \$470 million for public housing. In America, we have cut \$791 from public housing homeownership.

In the area of the environment, we are paying \$3.6 billion for new water treatment facilities in Iraq. In America, \$500 million has been cut for water treatment and our drinking water here in the United States.

As President Bush seeks reelection, think of this: after his vision for Iraq and what is happening here at home and our own economy, he can say he kept his commitments against nation-building. The problem is, it is in America that he is opposed to nation-building.

We need to invest here at home. We cannot have the tale of two budgets; the tale of two values; the tale of two sets of books, one for Iraq and one for America. Yet those are the wrong values for here at home.

The American people are the most generous people in the world. They have committed to doing something in Iraq. They have done it over the years in Germany and Japan after World War II. We did it by welcoming other Eastern European nations into NATO and into the EU, leading that effort.

We will continue to be the most generous people in the world, but we will not do it at the expense of the future of our children. We can do better. We do not need to make this an either/or choice. But we have an economic vision and balance that is put in place in the budget of this President and economic priorities and values that have literally left Americans today with less opportunities in education, less opportunities for health care.

Think of this: today, health care costs cost \$9,000 for a family of four, compared to \$6,500 just 3 years ago. It has gone up 30 percent. College costs have gone up 10 percent, and yet we have not increased our benefits.

We can do better for the American people. We need to do better.

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

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

#### MISTAKES ACCOMPLISHED

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

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, 2 weeks ago the President held only his third public news conference in the evening when Americans could watch it. He was asked a question by one reporter: After 9/11, what would your big-

gest mistake be, what would you say, and what lessons have you learned from it?

Mr. Bush was surprised. He stopped, he paused, he hesitated. He said, I am sure something will pop into my head here in the midst of this press conference with all of the pressure of trying to come up with an answer, but it has not yet.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I am joined tonight by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. EMANUEL), who also spoke of this, and the gentlewoman from Illinois (Ms. SCHAKOWSKY). We are not here particularly to criticize the President about this. We want to help the President learn from his mistakes; and we want to outline, each of us, a couple of mistakes tonight that I think the President could learn from, if he thought about them and if he tried to act on them.

Saturday marks the 1-year anniversary of the President's flying on to the aircraft carrier with the sign that his staff put up that said "Mission Accomplished." Karl Rove, the President's political guru, strategist, said recently he regrets using the "Mission Accomplished" sign; but nonetheless, it sort of galvanized the public to think about all of what this Iraq war has been about and what the Iraq occupation is about.

But I want to concentrate tonight, as we look at some of the mistakes that have been made by the White House, mistakes that, unfortunately, he has not thought about and talked about publicly to learn from, whether it is what he has done with Medicare, or veterans, shortchanging veterans, or the tax cuts only for the wealthy, the loss of jobs, the weakening manufacturing base, trade agreements and all of that.

But I want to talk tonight about how the soldiers have been equipped in Iraq. Only recently, I got a letter from a mother in Avon, Ohio, my district, informing me that her son serving in Iraq receives only one meal a day.

Now, much of the last year I have met with families of young men and women serving in Iraq, and those families have talked about not enough safe drinking water. That is why so many of our servicemen and -women have come down with dysentery. Many have talked about having to send food to their sons or husbands or sisters who are serving in Iraq, because the military has not equipped them and Halliburton and those private contractors have not fed them well enough.

Most seriously, and the gentlewoman from Illinois (Ms. SCHAKOWSKY) is going to talk about this, as she has other nights, and the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. STRICKLAND) also, how we simply have not equipped our soldiers with the right kind of body armor.

I met a young man on a plane one day who did reconnaissance for the military, just left, just had gotten home from Iraq. He was given one plate of body armor, everybody in his patrol

was given one plate of body armor; and he said, we decided to put them on our fronts rather than our backs, because we were not going to be running from anybody. But he had to make that choice.

Our government, our military, the Bush administration, would spend \$1.5 billion in Iraq every week, but did not have the foresight and the interest to outfit our soldiers and our servicemen overseas with the right kind of equipment to keep them safe.

As the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. EMANUEL) said, we have not put the armor on the Humvees nearly to the degree necessary on the doors and on the underbelly. We have not provided the kind of body armor.

Month after month after month after month, Members of Congress have stood on this floor, parents wrote the Pentagon, people called the White House demanding, asking, pleading that body armor be provided for our soldiers. Some people died, some young men and women in Iraq were killed because the government, the Pentagon, the White House, simply did not provide the most basic body armor for our soldiers.

Then you go to the President's budget; you go to what is really the measure of ourselves as a Nation, to provide for those men and women after serving their country when they come home. I just would like to read you four quotes that I think will help us see how we can fix the President's mistake, the mistake of not caring for the Nation's veterans.

The Paralyzed Veterans of America said, "The lack of consistent funding for the VA and the uncertainty attached to the process fuels efforts to deny more veterans health care and charge more veterans for the care they receive." That is the Paralyzed Veterans who gave so much to their country. We are not taking care of them.

The President of Veterans of Foreign Wars said, "The President ignored veterans in the State of the Union address and in the 2005 budget. It is further evident that veterans are no longer a priority with the Bush administration." The Veterans of Foreign Wars.

The Vietnam Veterans of America, "The budget proposed by President Bush for veterans health care is not only inadequate, it is an insult to veterans." That is the Vietnam Veterans of America.

The Disabled American Veterans said, "It is clear that vets are not a national priority to the Bush administration. The President's budget plan attempts to shift the burden for funding veterans health care," shift the burden for funding veterans health care, "to those brave men and women who have served and sacrificed for our country."

Mr. Speaker, we can fix one of these mistakes. The President could fix them by adequately funding veterans benefits and taking care of our troops.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gen-

tleman from Indiana (Mr. BURTON) is recognized for 5 minutes.

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

#### HOUSE BUDGET RESOLUTION TO WEED OUT WASTE, FRAUD, AND ABUSE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. GINNY BROWN-WAITE) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. GINNY BROWN-WAITE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I want to speak briefly this evening on the House budget and the House budget resolution. It is a responsible budget that has a proper balancing of national priorities. However, Congress cannot get a control on government spending and reduce the deficit unless we find a way to combat waste.

We right now are spending \$69,000 per second. The 2005 House budget seeks to weed out waste, fraud and abuse, and builds on our successes of 2004.

Last year the Committee on the Budget, which I am very proud to serve on, began an effort to identify the most blatant examples of waste, fraud and abuse in the Federal mandatory programs. One year later, we know with certainty that we have not even scratched the surface.

For example, the Inspector General of the Department of Education found that States are not complying with the Federal regulations for distributing IDEA funds to local agencies. In a review of six States, half were not complying. Many local education agencies were receiving an incorrect allocation. Some were underfunded by as much as \$600,000 and some overfunded by more than \$800,000.

□ 1745

The budget that we passed also provides for the permanent extension of the President's tax cuts, the marriage penalty on which we voted earlier, the death tax, and also the child tax credit. Included in the House budget which we passed was language that I had suggested, suggesting the importance of regulatory inform.

Let me briefly quote from the budget resolution: "It is the sense of the House that Congress should establish a mechanism for reviewing Federal agencies and their regulations with the express purpose of making recommendations to Congress when agencies prove to be inefficient, duplicative, outdated, irrelevant, or fail to accomplish their intended purpose."

Some would think that we could do away with half of the Federal bureaucracy with that description.

To continue with the language that is in the budget: "It is an economic reality that unnecessary and ineffective regulations discourage investment and run counter to a holistic vision of growth. They increase prices for con-

sumers, and they suppress job creation. Making agencies more accountable to Congress and the American taxpayer will lead to more efficient practices and less waste."

Based on these findings, I have introduced legislation to reduce wasteful government bureaucracy. It is actually called the JAPC bill, or the Joint Administrative Procedures bill, and it is House Resolution 3356.

I introduced it because during my term as a State Senator I had the privilege of serving on the Florida JAPC commission. It is a bipartisan commission made up of House and Senate members who were charged with the responsibility and the authority of reviewing agency rulemaking. Our State knew that excessive paperwork and burdensome regulations thwarted economic growth and global competitiveness. The accountability will lead to far more efficient practices and much less waste.

The JAPC Act that I introduced is very similar because it establishes a bicameral committee modeled after the Florida system to review agency rules. It also builds on the success of the Congressional Review Act, which was implemented in 1996 as part of the Contract With America.

Mr. Speaker, it has been estimated that Americans pay more than \$700 billion a year to comply with regulatory burdens, and that is more than \$8,000 per household. I believe that it is time to put the brakes on this unnecessary and ineffective runaway system of regulations that we have. I hope that Democrats, like the gentleman running for President, will embrace regulatory reform and eliminate this burden from the American economy and the taxpayer before they seek out new ways to raise our taxes.

#### THE PRESIDENT MUST KEEP HIS PROMISE AND PROVIDE OUR TROOPS WITH WHAT THEY NEED

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BISHOP of Utah). Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Illinois (Ms. SCHAKOWSKY) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. SCHAKOWSKY. Mr. Speaker, as the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. BROWN) said earlier, he referred back to the prime time press conference that the President had some weeks ago where he could not think of any mistakes he had made in response to a question. So some of us have been offering ideas so at the next, if he has one, prime time press conference he would not have to fumble for an answer.

I have to say that with the year anniversary of "mission accomplished," that speech on the deck of the aircraft carrier, that he might want to think about some mistakes that have been made regarding the war in Iraq. Whether one is for or against the war in Iraq, here is something to consider. I wanted to use not my own words, but I wanted to refer to the Newsweek of May 3 and just read a couple of sections here.

"For the Bush administration," this is all a quote, "it has been a mantra, one the President intones repeatedly: America's troops will get whatever they need to do the job. But as Iraq's liberation has turned into a daily grind of low intensity combat and Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld grudgingly raises troop levels, many soldiers who are there say the Pentagon is failing to protect them with the best technology America has to offer. Especially tanks, Bradleys, and other heavy vehicles, even in some cases body armor. That has been the tragic lesson of April, a month in which a record 115 U.S. soldiers have died so far, and 879 others have been wounded, 560 of them fairly seriously.

"Soldiers in Iraq complain that Washington has been too slow to acknowledge that the Iraqi insurgency consists of more than 'dead-enders.' And even at the Pentagon many officers say Rumsfeld and his brass have been too reluctant to modify their long-term plans for a lighter military. On the battlefield, that has translated into a lack of armor. Perhaps the most telling example: a year ago the Pentagon had more than 400 main battle tanks in Iraq; as of recently, a senior defense official told Newsweek, there was barely a brigade's worth of operational tanks still there. (A brigade usually has about 70 tanks.)"

How about this: "According to an unofficial study by a defense consultant that is now circulating through the Army, of a total of 789 Coalition deaths as of April 15, (686 of them Americans), 142 were killed by land mines or improvised explosive devices, while 48 others died in rocket-propelled grenade attacks. Almost all of those soldiers were killed while in unprotected vehicles, which means that perhaps one in four of those killed in combat in Iraq might be alive if they had had stronger armor around them, the study suggested."

I want to repeat that: "One in four of those killed in combat might be alive if they had had stronger armor around them, the study suggested. Thousands more who were unprotected have suffered grievous wounds such as the loss of limbs."

I guess it was a week ago Sunday I attended a meeting in my district of 500 people organized by Military Families Speak Out, who have a website that has actually provided a lot of comfort to some of the families who feel quite alone in this situation, Military Families Speak Out. There was an aunt of a soldier who went down in an Illinois National Guard Chinook helicopter on November 2, 2003. This helicopter was not equipped with the latest automatic antimissile blocking system. That is partly because the National Guard is lower down the list on who gets the really good equipment.

Finally, let me quote from a letter from a soldier that was in the Peoria Journal Star, actually. He said, "Our unit's tour of duty in Iraq has been extended past our one-year mark. This is

not in line with what our supposed leaders have proposed.

"Let your readers know as well that this unit does not have the extra armor that is now required for vehicle convoys." This is April 24, 2004. "Even though we have been here for over a year, we still do not have the right protection from roadside bombs or small-arms fire. Our doors are basically just two sides of sheet metal."

He says, "I would like to get home and continue my life, as our Congressmen are doing with theirs. Members of," and he mentions his company, "have done our time here in Iraq with honor, and now we are ready to go home."

So, Mr. President, it seems to me that the mistake was made and is still being made, and cries out for a remedy. The least we ought to do is what you promised, and that is that our troops will have everything they need. They still do not. They must. And that is the least that we can do for our soldiers. For those of us who were against the war from the beginning or those who supported the war, all of us support our troops. It is a mistake not to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MARIO DIAZ-BALART) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. MARIO DIAZ-BALART addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

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

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

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

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

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

(Ms. NORTON addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

#### EXCHANGE OF SPECIAL ORDER TIME

Mr. HONDA. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take the time of the gentleman from the District of Columbia (Ms. NORTON).

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

There was no objection.

#### HONORING THE MEMORY OF PAT TILLMAN

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

Mr. HONDA. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor the memory of Pat Tillman, a San Jose native who was killed in action last week in Afghanistan.

At a time when many of us in this country talk about sacrifice, about devotion, about courage, we can look to Pat Tillman as a man who lived those ideals. The consummate student athlete, Pat excelled in the classroom and on the gridiron at Leland High School in San Jose. He graduated summa cum laude from Arizona State University while earning the honor of Pac-10 defensive Player of the Year of 1997. He was a loyal friend, a dutiful son, and a devoted brother.

By now, many of my colleagues have heard about Pat's selfless decision to join the Army Rangers, a decision that required him to turn his back on a multi-million dollar contract offer to continue playing professional football for the Arizona Cardinals.

Pat wanted to serve his country. He wanted to be a direct part of our national response to the terrorist attacks of 9/11.

In a society that reveres athletes as heroes, that hypes sporting events as mythic battles between warring foes, Pat Tillman wanted to serve his country as a soldier.

His enlistment in May of 2002 drew media attention, but Pat very deliberately avoided the publicity that followed his decision. For him, joining the Rangers was a matter of duty and honor, not an opportunity to generate fanfare for himself.

Instead of seeking special recognition for his own actions, Pat shifted attention to the men and women serving in the armed forces. Alongside his brother Kevin, Pat served in Afghanistan where Coalition forces continue to search for Osama bin Laden.

Last Thursday, near a village approximately 25 miles southwest of a U.S. military base, Pat was killed in a firefight when his unit came under attack.

Pat Tillman has made the ultimate sacrifice. The selflessness and patriotism he displayed in his short life will serve as a model to all Americans. For the people of San Jose, he is a native son lost in the field of battle. For Americans across the country, he represents the ideals of duty, honor, and courage.

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

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

EXCHANGE OF SPECIAL ORDER  
TIME

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take the time of the gentleman from California (Mr. FILNER).

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

There was no objection.

## TRIBUTE TO MR. WILLIE VAUGHN

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

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, growing up in a small rural town in extreme southeastern Arkansas presented for me and many of my peers many challenges, memorable moments, and interesting personalities. On April 20 of this year, one of those personalities, Mr. Willie Vaughn, reached a milestone in his life.

Mr. Vaughn became 100 years old. He is still alive, still active, still sharp-minded, goes to church, participates in activities. So I take this opportunity to congratulate him for not only living this long, but for the many things he was able to provide leadership to and that he accomplished during his lifetime.

Mr. Willie Vaughn was actually my uncle. We always called him Uncle Dude. He is technically my mother's stepbrother. However, they never acted as though they were anything except brothers and sisters who were integral parts of a large family group. In addition, he and my father had always been close friends and church associates. Therefore, our families were always very close and exhibited great feelings of kinship, friendship, and fellowship.

Uncle Dude was always a leader, at work, at church, in community activities, in family matters, in life. Like practically all of the other blacks in our town, he had very little formal education, but has always been one of the smartest men that I have ever known. He was a farmer, a sharecropper, but he was also a tailor and could make you a suit of clothes. He could cut your hair, make molasses and syrup, buy and rent real estate, and drove the school bus once we got one.

Uncle Dude was probably best known as a church leader, negotiator, and mentor. He kept the Penny's Chapel CMA church on the map, and was a constant visitor to other churches throughout the region. He was the epitome of excellence and no job was too small or too large. He had a motto that if a task was once begun, never leave until it was done. Be the job great or small, do it well or not at all.

He did everything at church there was to do. He could sing. He was chairman of the trustee board, Sunday school superintendent and teacher, fund-raiser, program planner, and

would clean up, cut the grass, and do everything else that was required.

□ 1800

Uncle Dude was, and still is, a tremendous family man, a patriarch. My Aunt L.C. and all of my cousins always knew that Uncle Dude was a man who they could depend upon and count on and be proud of his leadership, personal support, and well-being for his family.

He was a strong proponent of formal education and created many opportunities for me and others like me to learn. Uncle Dude, Brother Willie, Mr. Vaughn, he was called many things by many different people, but always with respect. He has been a giant, a legend, a mentor, a man among men. He learned to walk with kings and queens but never lost the common touch. All people matter with him; but none too much. I am proud to be in this man's family and proud to wish him a happy birthday as he reached the ripe age of 100.

## PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, earlier today I was unable to cast votes due to being out of town on important business. And if I had been present for roll call votes for the following bills, 134, on motion to suspend the rules and pass to designate the United States courthouse located at 400 North Miami Avenue in Miami, Florida, as the Wilkie D. Ferguson, Jr., United States Courthouse; 135, on motion to suspend the rules and pass Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2004, Part II, I would have voted "yes" to all of these bills.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

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

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

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

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

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

(Ms. LOFGREN addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

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

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

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

(Ms. WOOLSEY addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

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

(Mr. RYAN of Ohio addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

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

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

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

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

## THE IRAQ THEATER OF WAR

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 2003, the gentleman from California (Mr. HUNTER) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I wanted to take this opportunity with a number of colleagues on the Committee on Armed Services to discuss the subject on which America is most closely focused right now because we have troops in combat and that is the Iraq theater of war and the progress that has been made and the portent for the future.

We all recall when our great servicemen, the 1st Marine Division, the 101st Airborne, the 3rd Army Division, and the many other supporting elements in the Navy and the Marine Corps and the Army and the Air Force and the U.S. Coast Guard made that lightning drive for Baghdad and doing something that most of the critics felt they could not do, drove past choke points, bridges, oil fields, and other places that we thought the enemy would blow or disrupt; but the movement was so quick and so well coordinated that, in fact, we seized most of those difficult areas before the enemy could take advantage of their capability to blow them or to make them impassable for our soldiers.

So we drove up right through the center of Iraq, up through the heart of

Iraq; and we took Baghdad and we started the second chapter of this centerpiece of the war on terrorism and that is to turn Iraq into a nation that has a benign intent with respect to the United States, that is not an enemy of the United States, and, in fact, can be counted on to be a friend and in that very, very difficult part of the world lying between Syria and Iran, can be a force for good and an ally of the United States. It is a very important aspect of our war against terrorism.

Now we have started the second chapter, and it is a tough chapter. We have troops engaged in combat right now in areas like Fallujah. We have the United States Marines in firefights, as we speak, trying to knock out the resistance to those who do not want to see democracy.

And I think for those who looked at this June 30 hand-over of initial sovereignty, taking it away from the United States and handing it over, starting that turn-over of political power, most of us anticipated that there would be an up-swell in violence. There has been an up-swell in violence.

And the Marines right now are fighting tenaciously. And we see with our embedded reporters and our real time television in the city of Fallujah and other areas, difficult areas, we see clerics like al Sadr taking advantage of the occupation in an attempt to foment anti-Americanism and strikes against our troops. We see still the remnants of Saddam Hussein's regime, those people who had it so good in the days of the palaces who want to get back into power.

And we have a message for the United States that, I think, is derived against that background. That message is hold firm. Stay steady, because we are making steady progress.

And there are people in Iraq who want to be part of this new government. We have hundreds of little community governments that have been started up, interestingly, by our military leaders, by these great wonderful military leaders who are skilled in leadership, who know how to bring people together, who know how to engineer teamwork. And they stood up city councils and what I would call county governments across Iraq.

And those people are working on getting those sewage systems hooked up, getting that electricity hooked up, getting that water supply to the neighborhood that does not have it.

And we are also doing great things for the children of Iraq. We are now at a record level of school attendance. We are doing everything we can to make sure that Iraqi children are able to go to school, get an education. We have stood up hospitals. We have allowed a religious freedom that is unprecedented in modern times where people can go to the areas that were forbidden by Saddam Hussein. We are hooking up electrical capability and turning on that great resource for the Iraqi people, and that is the oil fields.

Now we have had a major, major re-deployment of American troops, one of the biggest in history. And in that re-deployment we moved the 1st Infantry Division up to that very difficult area of operations, up to the area of Baghdad where the 4th Infantry Division was in place. The 4th Infantry Division is now rotated out. We have moved many elements from the 1st Marine Division into the area of operations to Fallujah and points west where the 82nd Airborne was in place and where the 1st Armored Division was in place. In Baghdad we have moved now the 1st Cavalry Division. And we have kept most of the 1st Armored Division in place which, I think, in light of this up-swell in violence, is a very, very prudent decision by Secretary of Defense Don Rumsfeld and the President of the United States.

So stay steady should be the order of the day. And we are doing that. And our troops are doing a wonderful job for us. We know we have got a ton of National Guard and Reservists in place. And they are doing a wonderful job for us. And when we finish in Iraq, we cannot guarantee that the Iraqi people will have freedom forever, we cannot expect them to turn into Republicans and Democrats. But what we can expect is to have a nation that has a benign intent toward the United States, that is has a good relationship toward the United States and refuses to be a jumping off point for terrorism and a point for unrest and disruption in that part of the world.

And I still in my mind's eye, I know it was a long time ago and images move off that TV screen quickly, but I remember the pictures of the dead Kurdish mothers holding their babies, killed in mid-stride where that poison gas hit them. I remember those images.

I remember the images of the mass graves that they have uncovered, many more to be uncovered where people are just now discovering what happened to their father or their brother.

I remember the story from the farmer who said that every day bus loads of people would be brought up to his farm and that backhoes that had dug the trenches the day before would be standing by with new trenches dug, and the firing squad that worked bankers hours, 9 to 5, would appear; and they would move people out of the buses from grandmothers right down to little children, move them up to the edge of the trenches, and they would each receive one bullet in the back of the head, and then they would be bulldozed into the trenches.

He recounted one day where the firing squad ran out of ammunition so they just bulldozed them into the trenches alive. That is the story of what happened before in Iraq.

And so for people who ask their mothers and fathers when they look through history and see terrible things in that land, they say why did we not as Americans do anything about it, they can, with respect to Iraq, say America did something about it.

Right now we are in a difficult time. Our troops are in battle. Now we should stay firm. We should stay steady.

Mr. Speaker, I would be happy to yield to my colleague, the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. KLINE), who had a great career in the United States Marines, who does a great service on the Committee on Armed Services.

Mr. KLINE. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague for yielding. I thank him for his leadership on the Committee on Armed Services and everything he is doing to take care of our men and women who are leading in this war on terrorism.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today to talk about the heroes, not in the large sense, but in the individual sense, the heroes that we have in this war, fighting in this war in Afghanistan and in Iraq. And, specifically, I would like to share the story today of just one of the many committed Marines. And I know that the gentleman's son is in the Marines, and we share some common bond here; but one of the Marines that is serving today in Iraq has an incredible story.

I was talking to the commandant of the Marines this week. He was in an airplane, I think he said at 48,000 feet. It is amazing how we fly these airplanes these days. He was telling me the story of Sergeant Christopher Chandler. I wanted to share that today because it is a story of resolve, determination, love of country, and love of the American people. It is an example that we see in other men and women in uniform, but this one is particularly special.

I have got some notes here to make sure I get the dates and times right. In November of 2001, Sergeant Christopher Chandler answered the call to service in Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan. Less than one month into this assignment, Sergeant Chandler stepped on a land mine while providing security for an explosive ordnance disposal unit in Kandahar, Afghanistan; and he lost a leg.

Sergeant Chandler was one of the first service members injured in the global war on terrorism after the attacks on 9/11 and the first American to be awarded the Purple Heart in Operation Enduring Freedom. Despite the severity of his injury, he refused to let the incident diminish his resolve.

Following the incident, Sergeant Chandler was evacuated to Walter Reed Army Medical Center where he received treatment and was outfitted with a prosthetic leg.

Neither his injury nor the immediate danger he experienced were able to stifle the determined spirit of Sergeant Chandler. Upon completion of physical therapy, he re-enlisted in the Marine Corps and requested a seat in the U.S. Army jump school.

His request was met, as I am sure you can imagine, with some resistance. He was informed that no exceptions could be made for any physical limitations. He would be required to complete every

task and fulfill each training requirement at the same level of excellence as everyone else attending that jump school.

He accepted the challenge. He excelled. He was able to demonstrate to the physical evaluation review board that he was fit to return to full active duty without limitations. He became the first amputee to complete Army jump school.

The story is not over. In December of 2003, Sergeant Chandler graduated, exceeding all expectations by being selected the noncommissioned officer honor graduate of his class.

Today Sergeant Chandler is serving our Nation bravely as a member of the 1st Light Armored Reconnaissance in Iraq.

It has been said that the truest test of a man's character is not what he does with success, but what he makes of defeat. For generations, the Marine Corps has trained recruits with this type of determination and instilled the courage in its men and women to move forward when those around them have faltered. Sergeant Chandler is a leader, but he is not the only one.

Thousands of terrific men and women have answered the call to serve because they know how important this service is to the security of America and to a stable world. And these brave men and women deserve to know that they have our unconditional love and support.

□ 1815

In those discussions with the Commandant of the Marine Corps, as I mentioned earlier, and he has just returned from Iraq only just a couple of weeks ago, he shared with me the single most asked question about the families of the American and women serving at every level and by the men and women themselves in the Marine Corps. And the question is, Do we still have the backing of the American people?

He answers unequivocally yes. We need to make certain that stays so. These men and women who face danger each day on our behalf see and hear the same newscasts that we do. We cannot allow the morale of our troops to be diminished by these negative reports.

Mr. Chairman, you are absolutely right. We have to stay the course. We have a responsibility to make our support known, our emotional, financial, all levels of support to every man and woman who serves this Nation. We owe them no less. We cannot show any weakening of resolve.

It is a commitment that we have to Sergeant Chandler and to all the Marines and soldiers serving over there.

I know, Mr. Chairman, you are giving them your unqualified support and I pledge mine, and I ask my colleagues and the American people to do the same.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his very eloquent remarks. I am reminded that we have a lot of folks fighting the war against terrorism in Afghanistan and in other

parts of the world. We are equally grateful to them. I thank him for the experience he brings to the committee and his good judgment.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to my great colleague, the gentleman from New Hampshire (Mr. BRADLEY) for any remarks he would like to make.

Mr. BRADLEY of New Hampshire. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman very much for his leadership of the Committee on Armed Services. It has certainly been a pleasure to serve with him.

Mr. Chairman, I was in Iraq in November, and there is no question what I saw. Iraq is a war zone in some places. We saw that when we were on the ground. We saw the fact that there are challenges and obstacles that face us. The gut wrenching scenes that we have seen on our TV are without doubt something that all Americans find very difficult to endure. But we have also, Mr. Chairman, seen what we are fighting.

I was in the Abu Ghraib prison. I stood in the execution chamber where 80,000 Iraqis were hung. It is a life altering experience to have been in a place where so many people were so barbarically killed.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman would yield on that one point, I remember one story in the Post and I believe it was fairly well-documented about a high school class in Baghdad where the high schoolers, several of them wrote anti-Saddam Hussein remarks on the blackboard. They disappeared, and their families discovered after some years they had been hung. So high schoolers were taken out and hung for making anti-Saddam remarks.

Mr. BRADLEY of New Hampshire. Mr. Speaker, that story was in the Washington Post just after I returned from Iraq. It was about 40 or 45 young high school students. We all do crazy things when we are young, but graffiti should not be a reason that one gets executed. But we saw that when we were in Iraq.

What most Americans are not seeing, which you so correctly note, is the reconstruction that is taking place, the fact that electricity is now at pre-war levels and is evenly distributed through the country, the fact that water systems are coming back online, the fact that there is adequate food in the country, that there is gasoline, that there is traffic on the streets, that the major oil refineries are working, that oil is at pre-war export level.

Mr. Chairman, this is significant success in a short period of time. And yes, we need to get the security situation under control. Our soldiers are doing a terrific job in some of the most trying and difficult circumstances. Over 700 of them have paid the ultimate sacrifice, and we must be forever thankful and supportive of their efforts. And I would like to, if I could just have another couple of moments, read from an e-mail of one of those soldiers because I

think it is certainly far more telling in his words than any of our words.

This is a soldier who is in the U.S. Army serving in the 16th Combat Engineer Battalion in Baghdad. I will not read the entire e-mail. I will read excerpts from it but it is very telling. "The news you are hearing stateside is awfully depressing and negative. The reality is we are accomplishing a tremendous amount here, and the Iraqi people are not only benefiting greatly but are enthusiastically supportive." He goes on to say, "I am not out of touch with the negative side of things. In fact, I think my unit has it harder than many other Army units in this whole operation. That said, despite some attacks, the overall picture is one of extreme success and much thanks. The various terrorist enemies we are facing in Iraq are really aiming at you back in the United States. This is a test of will for our country. We soldiers of yours are doing great and scoring victories in confronting the evil terrorists."

He concludes by saying, "Yes, there are terrorists who wish to strike these things down, but this is a test of will. We must win. We can do this as long as Americans at home keep faith with the soldiers in this war. We are Americans after all. We can and must win this test. That is all it is."

So, Mr. Chairman, let me conclude by saying that based on my experience of having been in Iraq and what we knew absolutely about Saddam Hussein, that he had started two wars, that he had territorial aspirations, that he had used weapons of mass destruction not only against the Iranians but against the Kurds, as you so aptly noted, that he was funding suicide bombers, and that over 300,000 people were killed and laid in mass graves. That is what we know.

Mr. Chairman, our world is a much safer world with Saddam Hussein in prison, not in power.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I might just ask the gentleman what his basic take was on the GIs that he met with while in Iraq?

Mr. BRADLEY of New Hampshire. Mr. Speaker, there were six of us in this congressional delegation and all of us had the chance to meet with various members of the military from our own State. So I met with 12 or 13 New Hampshire soldiers. At that time their morale was extremely high. We knew that we were asking them to do a very tough and a very dangerous job and they knew it too. They missed their loved ones. There is no question about that. They would obviously prefer to be home and not in a far away land as they are. But they also said to a man that the reaction that they were getting from the Iraqi people was extremely positive.

They do not all love us there. That is clear. But the vast majority of Iraqi people are glad that we have liberated their country and they are glad for the

fact that these soldiers are helping rebuild schools, get hospitals on line, improve the water systems, all of the reconstruction projects that we are asking them to do, and the vast majority of the Iraqi people are glad that there is now an interim constitution and there is going to be a successful handover of power on June 30.

Certainly in talking to the New Hampshire soldiers, this is precisely what they told us and felt that if we stand behind their mission they will finish the job and they will finish it and have done a great job.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his trip, and I want to thank all the Members who have gone, Republican and Democrat. We have had a great majority of the members of the committee go to Iraq and spend a lot of time with the troops. We really appreciate that.

Incidentally, I would ask my colleagues, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. FORBES) and the gentlewoman from Virginia (Mrs. JO ANN DAVIS), the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. SCHROCK), and the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. TURNER), I will ask the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. TURNER) to talk to us a little bit next. But if anybody needs to leave early, we will make sure that they get a chance to speak before we go on.

I want to thank the gentleman for his great work on the Committee on Armed Services. It is a big commitment to go to Iraq and take that big block of time, and it is not easy, not convenient and under the rules and the tough aspects of flying into some of those areas now it is a little bit of an ordeal. I want to thank the gentleman for taking the effort and really caring about our troops.

Mr. Speaker, I recognize the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. TURNER) for any remarks he would like to make.

Mr. TURNER of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I first want to congratulate you on your comments that you have made about the importance of our troops having the necessary equipment and protective gear. You have been a leader, as has our President, in making certain that they have the resources necessary in order to protect themselves, and that of course was not without opposition.

There has been significant opposition in supporting our troops and our funding, and our President has stood fast and so have you in making sure that they have had the correct armor, the Humvees had the correct armor, and that we work diligently to bring those supplies and equipment to our troops.

Mr. Speaker, I had the opportunity to travel to Iraq with the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SAXTON) of the Subcommittee on Terrorism, Unconventional Threats and Capabilities under the gentleman's committee. We had the opportunity to go to Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Turkey, and Kuwait.

Throughout our trip there was not anyone that we met with in any one of

those countries who did not identify Iraq as part of the war on terror. They all reported that Saddam Hussein was a threat to the safety in the Middle East, safety to the United States and safety of the Western civilized world, and understood how important it was that the United States win this effort and stick to this effort of stabilizing Iraq and of the removal of Saddam Hussein.

Now, everyone has their stories of when they were in Iraq as to what they saw. One that touched me the most, I served as the former mayor for the City of Dayton and I had the opportunity to talk with some of the mayors that were emerging for some of the towns and cities in Iraq, and they were able to talk to us about the path to liberty. These were men who were absolutely committed to serving their communities, who had the challenges that every community does, in dealing with the areas of infrastructure and sanitary issues, sewer issues, their police, the safety of their people, but had a glint in their eye of the commitment, of the understanding of what was more important of what they were doing.

They were not mayors who were just concerned about the public services that a city provides, but they were concerned about the path to liberty, the support the United States was providing to them and their ability to stabilize their country.

Each of them was serving at a tremendous risk to themselves and their family, knowing that the idea that they were standing for, the beliefs that they were standing for, of liberty, was jeopardizing their life and the lives and the safety of their family.

Now, recently, I had someone ask me why did I think the conflict in Iraq was increasing currently. I think we all know that as we take a look at Iraq and its path to liberty that there are those that benefited from the brutal regime of Saddam Hussein. There are those who benefited from this brutal dictatorship and they do not want to see this path to liberty this country is taking. They would prefer to have a brutal dictatorship that delivers out power and benefits to the few instead of the country benefiting from the freedom of all.

I think the President's efforts in Iraq are best shown in the efforts that we have recently seen in Libya. We know that as a result of Iraq and the removal of Saddam Hussein, that Moammar Khadafi has come forward and offered up his nuclear weapons program to the United States and other countries, indicating that he is abandoning his efforts of pursuing the weapons of mass destruction, particularly in the area of nuclear weapons and that he was much more advanced than what we had thought.

What we know is by pulling Saddam Hussein out of a spider hole, in Libya we have seen that Moammar Khadafi and the Libyans have coughed up their nuclear weapons program again to the

greater safety of the world and to the United States.

Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the chairman's leadership on this issue and for continuing to focus on the issue of protecting our troops.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I wanted to thank the gentleman for his great service in the Committee on Armed Services and his expertise to the mark-ups we have had; also to his commitment to our people in uniform.

Let me ask the gentleman his ideas on the morale of our troops. I understand this is a tough and difficult time. What is your take?

Mr. TURNER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, when I am asked this back at home about the issue of morale of our troops, I always tell everyone there are two components of morale. One is are you sure of your purpose? Two, do you want to come home?

Everyone I met with, of course, wanted to come home and had very compelling stories of the sacrifice they were making in being away from their families. But everyone was absolutely sure of their purpose, not just for the liberation of Iraq but for the absolute nexus of their work for their safety of the United States. They know they are on the front lines of the war on terror and the war on terrorism. They know the efforts they are doing is making America safer.

Every one of them when I asked about their commitment to being in Iraq, their desire to stay and finish the job, were absolutely committed to this, and from that I would say their morale was very high because they were doing what they love, which is defending our country and advancing the freedom and the safety of our country.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman.

Let me ask the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. FORBES), who actually arrived first for this special order. I want to thank him for his special efforts and all the great service on the committee, and all the work he does for the people who wear the uniform for the United States. Please tell us about your experience in Iraq.

Mr. FORBES. Mr. Chairman, first of all, we want to thank you for your diligent efforts on behalf of our men and women in uniform.

Mr. HUNTER. We are all working together.

Mr. FORBES. It is an important thing and we appreciate your leadership on this. I appreciate your conducting this special order tonight, because as you know so oftentimes the men and women fighting in Iraq never get their voices heard here. We hear a lot of negative voices and a lot of other things in the media, but they do not get to speak out unless we bring that message here.

□ 1830

Just a few nights ago I had an opportunity to speak to a large group of students, and they were in high school,

and they had all been high achievers and had great academic excellence, and as I walked in that big auditorium, I was looking at all the students. I could not help but think that we had men and women over in Iraq who were just a couple of years older than they were, and because of their courage and what they were doing, that those students were able to meet there that night in freedom and in safety because these men and women in uniform from this country have gone there and taken the fight to the terrorists so that we are fighting in Iraq instead of fighting over here in our streets and in our hallways over here.

Mr. Speaker, it just makes you proud to be a part of those young men and women.

Mr. HUNTER. On that point, too, I would say to my good friend from Virginia, one thing that I think Americans understand is that we now live in an age where we have to preempt, we have to go abroad, we have to go after the bad guys. That is what this President has done aggressively. He has gone after the bad guys. Up to that point we had had attacks on the Cole, we had attacks on embassies, we had terrorist acts around the world and we threw a few cruise missiles. We got a pharmacy knocked out, a pharmaceutical plant, and a relatively empty training ground in Afghanistan and two Chihuahuas and I do not think we hit the Chihuahuas under a previous administration, and I am being facetious. Actually, they were not effective enough to get Chihuahuas. So we had a very limited response to terrorist acts against our people. It killed our people.

This President has gone after the bad guys in a furious way, and we have taken out terrorists in places where they never thought we would show up.

We had the 10th Mountain Division guys come up over the top of those mountains at 10,000 feet elevation and, they killed these guys at close range in their foxholes and their fighting positions.

We had people who went to meeting places where they thought they were totally meeting in secret, except for a team of Navy SEALs who had shown up before they did by great exertion and got there ahead of them.

We have got American Marines right now locked in firefights at close range in Fallujah, where literally one mud wall may separate our forces and automatic weapons fire coming from the other side.

So we have gone after the bad guys aggressively and there have been some rewards, and I think Americans reflect on those rewards.

Mr. Khadaffi, who caused us enormous problems and caused us to have to take military action after he killed American servicemen through terrorist activities in Germany, and I remember the strike on the Gulf of Sidra that was made under Ronald Reagan. He decided, and I think one reason he decided was because of what he saw on

his television set, he decided to start turning his nuclear program over to the United States and turning over tens of millions of dollars worth of equipment, and I think that is because he looked at his television set and he saw Saddam Hussein being led out of his spider hole and decided that he did not want to be in that position some day, and so we are now disarming Libya of its nuclear program without firing a shot. That is one result, one reward of having a President who has gone aggressively after the bad guys, and I think Americans understand.

I thought what a great thing as I drove up from the gentleman from Virginia's (Mr. SCHROCK) district the other day, through the gentleman's district and through the gentlewoman from Virginia's (Mrs. JO ANN DAVIS) district, what a wonderful thing that we, millions of Americans, live this great life, springtime in America, and you can drive up that highway, you can see the new rose buds coming out and the dogwoods blossoming, and we live this wonderful life with our families in security because we have great people in uniform who are aggressively going after the bad guys.

We found out in 9/11 what happens when we do not aggressively go after the bad guys, when we bomb an empty pharmaceutical plant in response to killings of Americans.

So I think the American people kind of understand that, and I think that has been reflected in every poll, and these things never come wrapped, I have discovered, in neat packages. Nothing ever flows smoothly. Lots of mistakes are made in wars. You have lots of problems with your logistics lines.

I would like to see our armored situations coming along faster than they are. Even though we now have some 7,000 out of our 12,000 Humvees in theater, are now totally remanufactured Humvees or they are up-armored, I would like to see all 12,000 that the Army has up-armored. I would like to see more gun trucks, more armored five tons, seven tons.

This President has aggressively gone after the bad guys, and in those actions and the actions of our great people in uniform we have put the United States in a much better position than we were just a few years ago, and I thank the gentleman for talking about this.

Mr. FORBES. Mr. Speaker, I think one thing that September 11 shows very clearly is that we are going to fight this fight. The question that is left is just where are we going to fight the fight, whether we are going to fight it on our soil, we are going to fight it where the terrorists are.

It is interesting if you took a microphone and interviewed each one of our men and women in uniform, as I know you do when you are in Iraq and you try to talk to them and we talk to them here, to the person, they will tell us this is a fight that we have to win, we need to be there.

One of the things that, as I was just looking at that large group of high school students, I kind of threw away my speech and I was trying to think what could I tell them. The one thing that I told them was whatever you do, do not quit, and I remembered a story of a group of airplanes that had been lost over the Atlantic. They were trying to come into Florida. They had lost communications and it was dark. They were running out of fuel, and they did not know if they were heading in the right direction, and about 15 minutes before the lights would have opened up, they would have seen the base in Florida, they turned around, headed back out to the Atlantic, and they were never heard of again because they quit.

Mr. Speaker, I want to just close with one statement that I heard from a sergeant that was over there in Iraq. When we were in Iraq, we stopped by Ramstein Air Force Base. As you know, that is where we take all of our wounded soldier, and there was this young sergeant who was 25 years old, Puerto Rican soldier, who was in there. I went in and I talked to him, and literally in broken English he was telling me his story, how these terrorists had got him in Iraq and he had sent his platoon back. For 2½ hours he would not quit. He continued to fight the terrorists and to fire his gun. They finally came in, took him off on a stretcher. He continued firing.

Mr. Speaker, he was shot in his arm. He was shot in his hip. The bottom bone in his leg was blown out, and when they took him into surgery in Ramstein, the doctors told me that as he was literally heading into surgery he looked at them and said I just have two things to ask you. He said, one, try to save my leg, which they were able to do; and the second thing he told them, which was a refrain we are hearing over and over and over again from our men and women over there, he said get me back to my troops.

I went in and I put my arm on his shoulder, Mr. Speaker, and it was all I could do to hold back the tears, and I said I just do not know, Sergeant, how to thank you for what you have done. Without even thinking about it or batting an eye, he looked at me, and he said, Congressman, it was a privilege for me to be shot for my country and for freedom.

Mr. Speaker, he did not quit on us, and this country is not going to quit on him, and thank you for holding this special order tonight.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for a very, very eloquent statement and for his great service to our country and as a great member of the Committee on Armed Services and his caring for our people in uniform. Thank you very much.

It is a pleasure to call on the gentlewoman from Virginia (Mrs. JO ANN DAVIS), who also is a great supporter of the U.S. military and a great member of the committee. Thanks for being with us.

(Mrs. JO ANN DAVIS of Virginia asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks, and include extraneous material.)

Mrs. JO ANN DAVIS of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I want today to express in the strongest possible way my support for our Nation's ongoing missions to sow the seeds of liberty, security and prosperity in Iraq, and as you know and as you said, you have been through my district and you know that I represent an area in Virginia where thousands upon thousands of service members live and train, and those service members I represent and their families and all of our men and women in the military and their families. I want to say right now how much I thank them for everything that they are doing and that they are sacrificing for our country.

It is one of the most honorable things that anybody could do, and most Americans have absolutely no idea how much dedication and commitment it truly takes to do what they do, and for that I and so many of our Members of Congress are truly grateful, as I know all the members on our Committee on Armed Services are.

Mr. Speaker, I feel very strongly that Congress and the administration cannot afford to lose sight of how important it is that our mission succeeds in Iraq. Failure is not an option, and the gravity of the implications for the broader war on terror and the security of so many things is so enormous, and I would like to talk a little bit now about our Marines operating in Fallujah and the nobility and the goodness of their brave devotion to duty under fire from a largely faceless enemy. Their courage, their competence and commitment are the hallmark of everything that is and ever will be great about America.

Our duty under Article I, section 8 of the Constitution, not to mention our own constitutional oath, absolutely compels us to make difficult choices in staying the course, regardless of the prevailing political winds at home and overseas. Anything else would dishonor the service of our Marines, our soldiers, sailors and airmen and all others who are supporting our effort, as well as the legacy and the memory of brave generations of all who have gone before them.

Mr. Speaker, I will insert the full text of an April 25, 2004, article from the Los Angeles Times, which I am going to make reference to, with my statement in the record, and I would like to call my colleagues' attention to that article entitled: "Keeping Spirits Up While They Hunker Down; Humor and a Lid on Emotions Help Echo Company's Marines Stay Focused in Fallouja."

Mr. Speaker, I am grateful to say that I know a friend and Naval Academy classmate of the commander of Echo Company, 2nd Battalion, 1st Marine Regiment, the unit profiled in this story. The enthusiasm of the Echo Company commander that is ref-

erenced in this story is, as I can tell you firsthand, an absolutely contagious thing.

It is vivid in friends of the company commander halfway around the world, and I trust and pray that it is also in the young Marines under his charge in Echo Company. We should consider ourselves blessed that we have this quality of leadership so abundantly present in our young officers who are on the tip of the spear in Fallujah and places like it.

Captain Doug Zembiec, the leader of Echo Company, embodies everything that we envision in the young American officers with whom we entrust the lives of our young men and women.

I would like to read an excerpt from the article that I referenced before. It reads:

"Just as the chaplain Saturday started to lead a group of Marines in song, a Marine sniper on the roof let loose several thunderous rifle blasts at armed insurgents moving into position for a possible attack. If the Marines in the room below took any notice, they didn't show it. Instead, they launched into 'Lord, we lift Your name on high.'

"For the young men of Echo Company of the 2nd Battalion, 1st Regiment of the 1st Marine Division, the sound of sniper fire, or mortar rounds, rockets or bursts from automatic weapons is hardly noticeable anymore.

"Other companies and other battalions have done their share of fighting in Fallujah, but none have done more than Echo Company of the 2nd Battalion, 1st Regiment, 1st Marine Division," and I am still quoting from the article.

"All military groups take on the personality of their commander. For Echo Company, that's Captain Douglas Zembiec, 31, of Albuquerque, a balding, gregarious man who, in glasses, looks like a high school science teacher but was a former wrestler at the Naval Academy.

"Zembiec believes in leading from the front. He led the charge into hostile fire that started the Marine assault April 6 on the neighborhood and has been known to disregard his own safety to get a clear radio transmission during combat.

"His admiration for his troops is hard to contain.

"They're fired up, they're motivated,' he said while filling out forms requesting medals for bravery for several of his men. 'These are young men who grew up wanting to be defenders. What other kind of job has this kind of honor and danger?'

"Gunnery Sergeant Daniel Jonas, 35, of San Diego, who served in Operation Desert Storm and Kosovo, said Zembiec's enthusiasm and his policy of giving authority to enlisted Marines have helped sustain morale.

"This is a very close company,' he said.

"There are, inevitably, strong bonds formed from facing danger and from their mutual dependence.

"We're out here for each other,' said Private First Class Bernard Boykin, 21, of Eugene, Oregon. 'I wouldn't want to be anywhere else.'

"And what will the men of Echo Company remember when it is over?"

"I'll always remember the good times, the jokes, the stories,' said Lance Corporal Chris Hankins, 19, of Kansas City, Missouri. 'But the bad things, the dead bodies, seeing my friends bleeding and being carried away, I hope to forget that.'"

Mr. Speaker, it is beyond me how any American could read this article's capsule of a leader's laser-like vision of his mission, the resolve of those under his charge, and the mutual esteem and faith that they are driven by and not be deeply moved and humbled. It should remind us to the depths of our being how fortunate we are to be Americans.

It is the service of Echo Company and their contemporaries that we cannot dishonor by failing to stabilize Iraq. Regardless of one's view on what led us there, our vision of the need to stay the course there absolutely must be a common one. As you have said, Mr. Speaker, we have got to remain steady, and that is the one thing that is the message that we have got to send to the American people, we have got to send to our troops who are over there fighting for us.

Before closing, Mr. Speaker, I would like to recognize Colonel Michael Shupp, our former Marine House liaison director who will shortly be assuming command of the 1st Marine Regiment in Iraq.

Colonel Shupp took me on my first CODEL to Afghanistan, and I have watched him as he has been readying to change and to go over to Iraq to command the 1st Marine Regiment in Iraq.

□ 1845

And I have seen the excitement and the grin on his face that you cannot keep him from showing when he is ready to leave to go over and do his duty. That is what our Marines are like. That is what every one of our men and women in uniform are like. That is why we have to stay steady on this course.

Colonel Shupp, who is a proud graduate of VMI, has been a treasured friend to all of us, and I know I speak for all 434 of my colleagues. We will sorely miss him, but I know that our country needs people like Captain Zembiec, that I referenced, and Michael Shupp if we are to succeed in filling our oath to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution.

With that, Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank the gentleman from California and all the members of the House Committee on Armed Services who have fought so diligently to fight and protect and give our men and women in the military what they need so that we can stay the course and stay steady.

Mr. Speaker, I submit for the RECORD the Los Angeles Times article I referred to earlier.

[From the Los Angeles Times, Apr. 25, 2004]

THE WORLD; KEEPING SPIRITS UP WHILE THEY HUNKER DOWN; HUMOR AND A LID ON EMOTIONS HELP ECHO COMPANY'S MARINES STAY FOCUSED IN FALLOUJA

(By Tony Perry)

FALLOUJA, IRAQ.—Just as the chaplain Saturday started to lead a group of Marines in song, a Marine sniper on the roof let loose several thunderous rifle blasts at armed insurgents moving into position for a possible attack.

If the Marines in the room below took any notice, they didn't show it. Instead, they launched into "Lord, we lift your name on high."

For the young men of Echo Company of the 2nd Battalion, 1st Regiment of the 1st Marine Division, the sound of sniper fire—or mortar rounds, rockets or bursts from automatic weapons—is hardly noticeable anymore.

Other companies and other battalions have done their share of fighting in Fallouja, but none have done more than Echo company of the 2/1.

Hunkered down in several adjoining two-story homes in an abandoned, bullet-ridden neighborhood in the northwestern corner of the city, the Marines of Echo Company have engaged in skirmishes with insurgents nearly every day for three weeks.

And if the order comes for a full-out assault on the city center, there is no doubt that Echo Company will be a major part of the operation.

"This is what Marines do," said Sgt. Casey Olson, 26, of Fargo, N.D. "They fight."

They also laugh, grieve and bottle up their emotions to stay focused on the heavily armed insurgents who lie only a few hundred yards away.

Despite a cease-fire agreement and a call for the people of Fallouja to relinquish their heavy weapons, arranged with the help of Iraqi mediators, the troops of Echo Company, and the battalion's other companies, Fox and Golf, have been attacked daily.

Last week, Echo Company fought a five-hour battle with insurgents, leaving three Marines wounded and scores of insurgents dead or injured.

The notion of a cease-fire has brought a kind of sarcastic battlefield humor.

The insurgents aren't really firing mortar rounds at the Marines, they're only trying to turn in their mortars one shell at a time, the troops joke. And those insurgents running between houses with AK-47s and rocket-propelled grenades? They are actually running to a Marine checkpoint to give up their weaponry.

The floors of the homes occupied by Echo Company are a jumble of weapons, sleeping bags, magazines, DVDs, MRE rations, cartridge belts, letters from home.

Concrete walls have been knocked down between rooms and between houses to keep the Marines from having to venture into alleys.

The Marines cordoned off the city five days after four U.S. civilian security contractors were slain and their bodies mutilated.

Marines sleep 10 or more to a room. Snipers are on the roofs, streets are blocked with concertina wire, and houses are barricaded with sandbags. The formerly vibrant, middle-class neighborhood has become a ghost town after residents fled the fighting.

There is no water or electricity; the sewer system has stopped functioning. Resupply convoys arrive under heavy protection. The wind carries dust storms down the streets

and the sound and sight of mortar rounds and rockets fill the evening darkness.

The insurgents, several hundred yards away, have been using mosques as rallying spots. The minaret of one mosque offers a direct view of the alley between the homes occupied by the Marines, a perfect vantage point for insurgent snipers.

Two weeks ago, two members of Echo Company were killed and seven wounded during an attack by insurgents. The painful memory lingers.

"It was the worst night of my life," said Navy medical corpsman Jason Duty, 20, of New London, Conn. "You take classes, symposiums, training on mass casualties, but it slaps you in the face when you see nine guys bleeding, screaming."

A small memorial with a tiny American flag has been erected for the two Marines killed: Lance Cpl. Robert Zurheide of Tucson and Lance Cpl. Brad Shuder of El Dorado Hills, Calif.

"You just can't think about it, you can't," said Lance Cpl. Christopher Rodriguez, 19, of Des Moines. "You just keep pushing forward."

Rodriguez says he notices things that lift his spirits when he is on patrol and entering other abandoned houses looking for insurgents.

"You see things—like baby pictures and a Barbie doll, maybe some toys," Rodriguez said. "You realize these are people who want a good life. And we can help them have it."

Lt. Ben Wagner, 27, of San Diego said the Marines of Echo Company have had to build "an emotional wall" to block out things that could distract them.

"It's not easy or fun. But as platoon commander, if I'm sad or upset, it affects other people," Wagner said. "The same is true of the other Marines. You have to stay focused on the job, even if it's hard."

"Two-thirds of the company served in the invasion of Iraq in March 2003 that toppled Saddam Hussein's regime. Now, its members say, it's more difficult, more confusing, more tragic.

"It's worse this time," said Cpl. Joshua Hill, 22, of Huntsville, Texas. "Last time, we fought the Iraqi army and they surrendered. This time, it's like we're fighting the Iraqi people and they don't understand we're trying to help them."

Olson agreed that "they seem more determined this time. We're going to be beat them, but they seem more determined."

All military groups take on the personality of their commander. For Echo Company, that's Capt. Douglas Zembiec, 31, of Albuquerque, a balding, gregarious man who, in glasses, looks like a high school science teacher but was a former wrestler at the Naval Academy.

Zembiec believes in leading from the front. He led the charge into hostile fire that started the Marine assault April 6 on the neighborhood and has been known to disregard his own safety to get a clear radio transmission during combat.

His admiration for his troops is hard to contain.

"They're fired up, they're motivated," he said while filling out forms requesting medals for bravery for several of his men. "These are young men who grew up wanting to be defenders. . . . What other kind of job has this kind of honor and danger?"

Asked what kind of day his Marines are having, Zembiec said, "A terrific day. We just whacked two [insurgents] running down an alley with AK-47s."

Gunnery Sgt. Daniel Jonas, 35, of San Diego, who served in Operation Desert Storm and Kosovo, said Zembiec's enthusiasm and his policy of giving authority to enlisted Marines have helped sustain morale.

"This is a very close company," Jonas said.

There are, inevitably, strong bonds formed from facing danger and from their mutual dependence.

"We're out here for each other," said Pfc. Bernard Boykin, 21, of Eugene, Ore. "I wouldn't want to be anywhere else."

And what will the men of Echo Company remember when it is over?

"I'll always remember the good times, the jokes, the stories," said Lance Cpl. Chris Hankins, 19, of Kansas City, Mo. "But the bad things, the dead bodies, seeing my friends bleeding and being carried away, I hope to forget that."

"I never want to think about that again."

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for her great service on the Committee on Armed Services and her dedication to our people in uniform. What a wonderful, wonderful statement she has made, and especially relating it to the people that wear the uniform, because they are literally America's heart and soul over in that military theater.

So I thank the gentlewoman from Virginia very much, and now I would like to yield to the gentlewoman's colleague, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. SCHROCK), who has done a great job on our committee and works very hard and has served our people in uniform, so he has a little background there himself.

Let me ask the gentleman what his take is on the situation in Iraq right now. How does my colleague see it?

Mr. SCHROCK. Well, Mr. Speaker, I am totally convinced that our men and women know exactly what they are doing. They are proud to be there and doing exactly what we task them to do. It looks like we have made some major headway today in Fallujah. I think it was long past time when we did do that. This constant drip, drip, drip of our folks getting injured and killed could only go on so long, and I think we gave those people far and enough time to get out of there so we could go in there. Now they have done that; and, hopefully, we are going to bring a little peace to that area and will settle things down.

The interesting thing is I think Americans believe when they see actions like Fallujah, that the whole country is on fire and the whole country is being bombed. It is not. Most of the country is stable and being brought back to life. Schools are open, courts are open, the water systems are up and running, sewer systems are up and running. But when we have one little area like that that is being attacked, the perception is that the whole country is like that, and it is not.

It is interesting, our men and women know what they are doing and they do a great job. And even those who have been injured and brought to field hospitals want to get well and get back again. They want to go back to join the folks they were fighting with so they can bring this thing to a conclusion because they know it is the right thing to do.

I think that is the story that, unfortunately, does not get out very often.

Good news is no news in so many cases, and there are so many good stories over there that are going on. It is a shame the American people are not allowed to share in those. And I think the news media, unfortunately, has not done a good enough job of showing the good-news stories in Iraq. That is said not only for our men and women but for their families back home.

Mr. HUNTER. I think the gentleman understands, too, that there is no substitute in terms of a dramatic picture on the television screen for a burning truck or for an explosion or bullet-riddled vehicle. That, unfortunately, tends to sell more Coca Cola

Mr. SCHROCK. It does.

Mr. HUNTER. I would compare it to some of the TV stations who say we are going to make our 5 o'clock news wall to wall wrecks. We are not going to have a lot of content, but we are going to have wall to wall wrecks, and we will get a certain viewership just from doing that. I think nationally you see the same thing. So they do not see the good things. An electric line being hooked up will put you to sleep, and it is nothing like a burning vehicle. I think that is one of the things that we are fighting against. I am glad the gentleman is here to talk about the accomplishments.

Mr. SCHROCK. Mr. Speaker, I think it is kind of a sad commentary, too, because our folks are doing such a great job. When they see all the bad stuff and when they know they are doing the good stuff, it demoralizes them.

The two times I have been privileged to be in Iraq, these men and women are so supercharged about what they are doing and know they are doing the right thing. Whether they are active duty, Reserve, or Guard, they all work together as one big unit, and I think we should be very, very proud of every single one of them.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for those great statements because he has worn the uniform for a long time himself. The gentleman's feeling is that our people have good morale?

Mr. SCHROCK. I think the morale is very, very good; and I think I have something to compare it with. I was privileged to serve my country in Vietnam for a couple of years, so I know what good morale is and what it is not. I think the morale of these young men is far better than it ever was when I was in Vietnam. Because, frankly, this President made it very clear what the mission was and what the end game was. When we send people in there knowing that is what they need to do and they need to get it done fairly quickly, people will serve and serve very well; and they will be enthusiastic about it.

We did not do that in Vietnam. We played a limited war game in Vietnam, and we were never in there to win.

This President is in there to win the war on terror. Because if we do not, it will be spread not only to the countries

of the Middle East but everywhere and right here on our soil. And, frankly, I would rather fight it on their soil than have to fight it here at some point.

Mr. HUNTER. What is interesting, too, Mr. Speaker, is that those who have stepped back from the fray, some of the Arab nations, like Saudi Arabia, have now discovered that they are targets; that you cannot, by staying away from this fight that the Americans have taken on, because we face our threats head on and take them on, they thought somehow they could stay out of the battle and they could stay away from the brutality of the terrorist groups. But they have discovered now they cannot do that. Jordan is discovering it cannot avoid this conflict.

And I think there is another thing, too, that the world understands, and perhaps more leaders in the world need to be educated on this. We won World War II. We could have enslaved Germany and Japan. And certainly after what Japan did to us with the surprise attack at Pearl Harbor, the Japanese people were told by their military leaders to expect us to be as brutal to them as they had been to other people. They decapitated our POWs. They killed about a third of them. They killed 100,000 people when they took Nan-King, China. They spared live people on their bayonet courses. They captured Chinese civilians.

They did all these brutal, horrible things, and they warned their people, they are now going to do to us what we have done to them. But American GIs walked down the streets of Tokyo and handed out Hershey bars. That character has not changed.

When we look at the guys walking down the streets of Baghdad with a bunch of kids standing around them, we see the same character. In fact, many of those guys are the grandchildren of people who served in World War II and the children of people who served in Vietnam.

That takes me to one thing, too, that I thought was very relevant, and that is the fight over the Presidency and Senator KERRY's participation in the Vietnam War, for which he should be credited, but also the accountability that he should take for what he said about his fellow GIs.

If we were to take three of the statements Senator KERRY has said, the one where he said 80 percent of us were stoned on dope 24 hours a day; the one where he said that we murdered 200,000 people, that was two of those statements; and the one where he said that we ravaged the countryside, cutting off limbs and murdering people in a manner, quote, reminiscent of Ghengis Khan, if Senator KERRY had said that our GIs in Iraq, as they were driving up that country, if he had come on television and said the American soldiers in Iraq are stoned 24 hours a day, 80 percent of them; that they have murdered 200,000 Iraqis, and they are ravaging Iraq in a manner reminiscent of Ghengis Khan, the American people

would be picketing his office by the tens of thousands, and he would be on his way out immediately.

So if we just juxtapose and take off that word Vietnam from the statement he made in 1971, where he said American GIs were ravaging Vietnam like Ghengis Khan and had murdered 200,000 people, if we took out Vietnam and put Iraq on it, I think Americans today can understand why a lot of Vietnam veterans feel no close kinship to Senator KERRY. Because those guys that were driving up there through the heart of Iraq taking that shot and shell and heading for Baghdad, those kids were the same guys we had in Vietnam. Many of them were the sons and grandsons. Same character, same characteristics, same sense of honor, and doing the same great thing for the people.

Lastly, I remember the pictures of the people, of all the hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese who tried to swim after the Americans after we left Vietnam. I remember also the pictures of the people being held in the Hong Kong camps who were now going to be forcibly repatriated back to what I guess Mr. KERRY's cohorts would call the people's working paradise in Vietnam. They were holding on to the guards and they were shrieking and they were beside themselves. They would do anything and had to be sedated to be finally put on the planes to be carried back to Communist Vietnam.

That showed, to a large degree, the character of the Americans that had been in Vietnam. If we had been bad to the people, they would not have tried to swim after us after we left. And they are today in our populations by the hundreds of thousands.

So I thought about that when I watched that embedded news following our kids in the 1st Marine Division in Iraq and following the 101st Airborne and the 3rd Army and the 4th Infantry Division. Same people, same GIs, same good people.

Mr. SCHROCK. And, Mr. Speaker, the chairman of our House Committee on Armed Services is absolutely right. And if, in fact, he witnessed those sorts of events and did not try to do anything about that, then shame on him. He should have. Where I was in Vietnam, I never experienced people who acted like that, and I do not think we have men and women in Iraq doing that now. They are there to do their duty. They are not engaged in all those other activities he accused others of doing in Vietnam, and I think that is a sad commentary.

Mr. HUNTER. Well, I think American Vietnam veterans should simply look at his statements, and if they agree with those statements, if they did those things, and they think that is accurate, then they should vote for Mr. KERRY.

Mr. SCHROCK. That is right. And I was part of Operation New Life when I was stationed on Guam. We had 130,000 refugees come on packed boats so they

could get out of there and come to a better life. So, believe me, they wanted to get out of there just as the Iraqis want the freedom we are giving them.

One thing many Iraqis told me when I was there was, please do not cut and run, because we had had such a habit of doing that. They were afraid they would start supporting our efforts to free them and we would back away and they would have to pay the penalty.

But this President is determined to get this thing done and get it done right, and he is not going to cut and run. We have to stay the course as long as it takes.

Mr. HUNTER. Stay steady.

Mr. SCHROCK. Stay steady.

Mr. HUNTER. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. SCHROCK. Mr. Speaker, I really thank the gentleman from California for his leadership. I hope the people in California's 52nd District realize how fortunate they are to have a man of his caliber representing them back here at this particular time in our history. The gentleman understands it better than most because he is the parent of one of these men that is involved in this battle. And there is nothing like that to make one realize exactly what is important. So to the gentleman and his wife, Lynn, we thank them; and we are sure Duncan will come home very safely and very soon.

Mr. HUNTER. Well, Mr. Speaker, I would suggest the gentleman not praise me too much, because this Special Order has to stay credible.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his great remarks, and I now want to welcome the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. WILSON), who is carrying on the great tradition of Floyd Spence, my great buddy and friend and former chairman of the Committee on Armed Services. I thank him for the sacrifices his family has made and he has made in being in the service, and for his dedication to our people in uniform.

Mr. WILSON of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from California, and we appreciate greatly our colleague's past military service, we appreciate his service now as chairman of the Committee on Armed Services, and we are very grateful for the service of his son, who is currently in Iraq. We are just so pleased that the gentleman is leading the effort to explain to the American people the significance of the war on terrorism.

Mr. Speaker, I will be providing for the RECORD a prepared statement, but I would like to give a brief synopsis, and it really relates to earlier this month my having had the opportunity to serve on a bipartisan delegation led by the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. ROGERS) and the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. ETHERIDGE).

The intent of our trip was to visit Iraq. On the way, though, we had several stops. First, it was to Qatar, then Iraq, then Jordan, and then Hungary. What I found out at every place that we stopped is that the war on terror is coming into place, and we have thou-

sands of allies, professionals, working together to provide in the war on terror protection for the American people.

When we first arrived in Qatar itself, we visited with the Iraqi Survey Group, and we found that there are hundreds of linguists putting together 32 million pieces of evidence, paper, video tape, computer disks, and computers themselves to put together the whole story and history of the Saddam Hussein dictatorship. This can be used for the later situation of a war crimes trial. Additionally, it can be used for putting together identification of criminals who are in the country of Iraq, in order to protect American soldiers.

Then we visited Iraq itself, and I was very pleased at the airport to visit with the FBI command post and found the very dedicated FBI agents who are working to uncover the different bombings that have occurred in Iraq in order to protect the American citizens who are in Iraq.

□ 1900

We also helicoptered to Kirkush to visit with the North Carolina Army National Guard. While we were there, we of course met with troops from our home State, from my situation in South Carolina. It was a 2-day visit. At each stop we would visit with enlisted personnel, junior officers, and in meeting with them, it was so encouraging. When I was there in September, the young service members told me that 70 to 90 percent of the people that they met on the streets, and that is how they patrol. It is not by speeding Humvees. They walk the streets. Seventy to 90 percent are supportive of the liberation of their country and the ability to develop a democratic Iraq. Now when I was there just this month, the number is 90 percent. I kept stretching and asking them, are you sure? They told me that indeed the people are supportive of the efforts made by all of our allies. We have got 32 countries with 25,000 troops in Iraq working to build a democratic country.

We also had the opportunity to visit with personnel who had helped reestablish the Ministry of Health in Iraq. Currently there are 240 hospitals in Iraq which are open and 1,200 primary health care clinics. This is extraordinary because traditionally that has not been available for the average citizens. Health care was for the elite of the Baath Socialist Party.

Additionally, we visited Jordan. In visiting Jordan, I found visiting the International Police Training Center that there are professional police from 20 countries who are training in classes of 500 Iraqi police. Ultimately by the end of next year, 32,000 police officers will be trained to serve in Iraq. That night I visited with the chairman of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the AmCham, in Jordan, who told me that there have been two business conferences where there are in place contracts to establish hopefully over a million new jobs in the country of Iraq.

This is extraordinary, the progress being made.

Finally, we came back through Hungary. We visited the International Law Enforcement Academy in Budapest, where since 1995 law enforcement officers have been trained to fight organized crime and they are preparing for police officers from Iraq to fight organized crime which works with terrorism. I am so encouraged by the visit to Hungary. It was symbolic. Fifteen years ago, Hungary was a totalitarian police state. Today it is a democratic member of NATO. Nobody would have ever dreamed this could occur in 15 years. That is the vision that our President has for the Middle East, that it be democratic, that it be peaceful and that it protect the people of the United States from terrorist activities.

I thank the gentleman again for his efforts.

Thank you Mr. Chairman, we appreciate your past military service and now chairmanship of Armed Services Committee, we are grateful for your son serving in Iraq.

Mr. Speaker, during the first week of April, I served on a bipartisan delegation led by Congressmen MIKE ROGERS and BOB ETHERIDGE to visit Iraq, but I found every stop in Qatar, Iraq, Jordan, and Hungary to be a crucial part of the Global War on Terror.

I saw first hand courageous coalition forces of dozens of nations working with determination to stop terrorism from destroying modern civilization. Without fanfare or attention, American families are being protected by professionals who are making every reasonable effort to keep the terrorists on the defensive overseas and deter further attacks on civilians in North America.

As the media correctly reported the violence of the week in Iraq, the global interrelation with terrorism was evidenced by another bombing in Madrid while terrorist cells with truck loads of explosives were arrested in England and Jordan. The worldwide conflict is not solely war in Iraq. The Jordanian explosives yesterday were revealed to include chemicals which could kill up to 80,000 civilians.

In Qatar, we were immediately taken to Camp As Sayliyah for a briefing by the Iraqi Survey Group. Hundreds of linguists and analysts are cataloging 32 million documents retrieved from Iraqi Government ministries, terrorist sites, Saddam Hussein's many palaces, and dual-use laboratories to recreate a paper, computer disk, and videotape history of the Hussein dictatorship.

The evidence of war crimes will be presented at upcoming trials and the recovered individual criminal records can now be used to protect American troops from violent criminals released by Hussein prior to Iraq's liberation.

Visiting troops from South Carolina was a highlight of my trip, and I enjoyed seeing personnel of all ranks enthusiastic with high morale. It was especially meaningful to meet with Columbian Major David G. Ellison who still has a will I prepared for him when I was a mobilization JAG officer with the S.C. Army National Guard.

With 2 days in Iraq at the height of renewed violence we found morale high, and the South Carolina troops who patrol by walking the streets said 90 percent of the Iraqis were

grateful for liberation, which is higher than the estimates I learned in a September visit. My appreciation for the troops and their families is profound. My oldest son is now deployed in Iraq, and I was able to speak by phone with him as he begins his year of active duty.

In Baghdad, we visited the FBI Command Post where experienced agents from across America lead investigations of identifying terrorists, uncovering terrorist financing, and analyzing bombings and murders of Americans. This came to life with Congressman ROGERS, a former FBI agent, and by the accompaniment of Indianapolis Special Agent in Charge Tom Fuentes who has an extensive career of professional investigation.

We helicoptered to Kirkush to visit with the newly arrived troops of the North Carolina Army National Guard. Their morale was high as it was explained that the local Iraqi security forces were making a real impact establishing order. Proof of the local forces' effectiveness is that Hussein loyalists are brutally attacking them with the Iraqis fighting back with a new resolve to build democracy.

In concluding our briefings we met with Jim Haveman, formerly Community Health Director of Michigan, who explained the upgrading of Iraqi healthcare. The previous system, which was totally focused for the Baath Socialist Party members, has been expanded for all citizens and the Ministry of Health was among the first to be transferred to Iraqi control. All 240 Iraqi hospitals and more than 1,200 primary care clinics are open.

Visiting Jordan was an unexpectedly pleasant surprise. Jordanians are enthusiastic in helping the coalition rebuild Iraq because a stable Iraq protects Jordan's growing economy.

At the Jordan International Police Training Center, professional police from 20 nations are training classes of 500 Iraqi police trainees with a goal of producing 32,000 graduates by December 2005. Without notice or preselection our delegation interviewed four Iraqi students who told of their heartfelt desire to play a role in building a democratic Iraq.

That evening I met with the Chairman of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce (AmCham) in Jordan. The AmCham had recently hosted in Jordan a second business conference on Iraq, together with Amman World Trade Centers. The conference was attended by many Iraqi business people during which it was suggested that contracts that are either in place or soon to be awarded to hopefully create more than 1 million new jobs in Iraq. The AmCham is promoting Jordan for the value it offers as a launching pad for doing business in Iraq.

Hungary is home of the International Law Enforcement Academy at Budapest where since 1995 police officers from formerly communist nations have been trained to detect and fight financial and organized crime. Iraqis will soon join the classes to learn of the relationships between organized crime and terrorism, which work to acquire financing and provide munitions.

In the former totalitarian police state of Hungary, which is now a dynamic member of NATO, it is a dream come true to see freedom flourish in just 15 short years of democracy. President Bush has this same vision of democracy for the Middle East, which he knows will benefit the people of the region and is the best way to protect American families from fu-

ture terrorist attacks. Just as in Hungary, the road is bumpy, but the benefits are crucial for peace and freedom. After World War II we rebuilt Germany to deter it from being a breeding ground for communists and now in Iraq we can stop it from being a breeding ground for terrorists.

September 11 confirmed we are in a global war we did not seek, but we clearly now have a choice of fighting terrorists overseas at their homes or we will fight them in America at our homes. From Qatar to Iraq to Jordan to Hungary competent and dedicated patriots are making a difference.

In conclusion God Bless our Troops, we will not forget the attacks of September 11.

Mr. HUNTER. I thank the gentleman for his remarks.

#### COMPARISON OF VOTING RECORDS IN REGARD TO NATIONAL DE- FENSE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BARRETT of South Carolina). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. WILSON) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. WILSON of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman for yielding. I have been watching the national debate and, of course, all of the talk shows and all of the discussion about Senator KERRY's service to the country, the President's service to the country, who is patriotic, who is not patriotic. I think that it is important to lay out in lines of demarcation across what is fair political comment and what is not. I think that, first, service to our country gives any Member who has served, especially in a war like Vietnam, the platform, the right, to certainly have a position, a credible position on what we should do with respect to national defense. On the other hand, service in the military does not by and of itself mean that you are not accountable for, if you are elected to Congress, your voting record.

What I would like to do is to simply say that I have no quarrel with Senator KERRY's having served in Vietnam. I think that is a good thing and I think that being a veteran is something people should be commended for. On the other hand, I think it is very important to say that that is not a substitute for a strong defense voting record. I heard several people attacking the President the other day and Vice President CHENEY in particular, saying that Vice President CHENEY had a poor voting record on defense and that Senator KERRY had a good voting record on defense. So what I did was go to the Almanac of American Politics, which puts together a series of ratings on Congressmen and Senators. It is done by the National Journal. It is considered to be nonpartisan. It is considered to have a great deal of credibility. They give people ratings by groups that they think are good, honest brokers of where you stand in particular areas.

For example, I have, I think, a fairly low AFL-CIO rating. Other Members of Congress have a high rating. That rating is in the National Journal, where people can open it up and see my rating. Senator KERRY also has a rating from the American Security Council. He has a rating that was given at the same time that he was in the Senate that the Vice President, RICHARD CHENEY, was in the House of Representatives, and in which a real barometer for being a good, strong defense Democrat, Sam Nunn of Georgia, was in the Senate. I looked at this rating. The rating at the time when they were all three in Congress, Vice President CHENEY, at that time Congressman CHENEY, had a 100 percent American Security Council rating for being strong on national defense as reported by the Almanac of American Politics. Sam Nunn, Democrat from Georgia, had a 100 percent rating for being strong on national defense under the American Security Council rating system as reported in the Almanac of American Politics put out by National Journal. Senator KERRY had a zero for a national defense voting record as rated by the American Security Council, as reported by the National Journal's Almanac of American Politics. Once again Vice President CHENEY, 100 percent in votes in support of a strong national defense. Sam Nunn, Democrat from Georgia, 100 percent for a strong national defense. Senator JOHN KERRY, zero.

I do not think we should continue to debate ad nauseam Senator KERRY's record with respect to Vietnam. I think his words when he testified to the Senate and said that American servicemen had murdered 200,000 people, I think he should be accountable for that. I think he should be accountable for the statement when he said that 80 percent of them were stoned on pot 24 hours a day and that they ravaged the country like Genghis Khan. But I do not think that we should ad nauseam debate his service. We should, though, debate his voting record and whether that voting record portends well for the United States of America in terms of a strong national security should he become President of the United States. I think that we ought to go to the record, we ought to get off this who shot JOHN and who is bad and who is good and who served and who did not, but go to the voting record and analyze who would be best in terms of making a strong national security apparatus for our country. In my estimation, that is not Senator KERRY.

I again thank the gentleman for yielding.

#### JOBS AND THE ECONOMY

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mrs. BLACKBURN). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 2003, the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. CUMMINGS) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Madam Speaker, it certainly is my honor and my pleasure

to join with the Congressional Black Caucus in this special order. Before I get started, I could not help but hear the comments of my colleagues from the other side. I just find it so interesting that the chairman said just a moment ago, we should not get caught up in who shot John. But over the last hour or so, that is exactly what has been done. The fact still remains that John Kerry went to war, that John Kerry earned medals, that John Kerry gave his blood, sweat and tears for this country, and it is interesting that while John Kerry and others fought in Vietnam where, sadly, 58,000 young men and women died and he fought alongside of them for what this country is supposed to be all about and upholding our Constitution, and the fact is that when he came back and he provided his observations, by the way, exercising his first amendment rights of freedom of speech, now some many years later he is being criticized for what he said.

Madam Speaker, I think that in this country we have to be very careful that if on the one hand we are going to salute the flag, shed tears at baseball games when the Star Spangled Banner is played, stand up over and over again for our men and women who are in harm's way, I think one of the greatest things that we can do to honor them is not be about the business of tearing up anyone for doing exactly what those men and women in Iraq and in Vietnam and in Korea and in other wars have done. What they are there about is uplifting our Constitution. John Kerry had the right to come back and express his observations.

I, too, like the last speaker on the other side, am getting tired of this back and forth of who did this and who did that. But the fact still remains that when all of the dust clears and when we look at what in fact did happen, there was a man named John Kerry that got on a plane and went to a foreign land called Vietnam, that he obeyed the orders of his Commander in Chief, that he stood up in a war over and over and over again. I am not even going to get into what the President may have been doing or not been doing. But I do know that another thing we should not do, and I think it is as denigrating to our soldiers when we go after one of them who has already served and when he comes back and expresses his views, is to say to him that there is something wrong with you. We must be about the business of upholding this wonderful document called the Constitution of the United States of America.

And so, Madam Speaker, before I begin, I just want to take a moment to salute our troops. I salute the young men and women who I see at Walter Reed Army Hospital with amputated legs and arms and hands. I salute our young men and women, and the Congressional Black Caucus, we salute the young men and women who are standing up for us over and over and over

again and obeying the commands of their Commander in Chief. I salute the families of those who have lost men and women, husbands, wives, friends, relatives, fathers, daughters, aunts, uncles in this war in Iraq.

□ 1915

So let it not be said that while members of the Congressional Black Caucus before this war started stood up and said to the President, please, do not go to war, now that we are there, we salute our troops and we pray for them.

Madam Speaker, tonight we come as the Congressional Black Caucus to the well of this House to talk about some very interesting situations in our country that are domestic as opposed to foreign.

There are many people in our country who are watching us tonight who at the end of the week will have no paycheck. When their daughter or son comes and says, mommy, can I go to the movie with my friends, they will not have the money to give to them. The reason for that, Madam Speaker, is because they have no jobs. So we rise as the Congressional Black Caucus this evening to discuss the state of our Nation's economy.

As you well know, Madam Speaker, we are now approaching graduation season. I am sure that you and many other Members of this great Congress will be fanning out across the country delivering commencement addresses at local colleges and universities. In fact, next Saturday I will be traveling to North Carolina to speak to the 2004 graduating class of Shaw University.

Madam Speaker, I have to be honest with you, I really have been wrestling with exactly what I am going to tell these optimistic, intelligent young people about their prospects of finding a job once they have earned their degrees.

At this very moment, Madam Speaker, there are over 8 million people without a job in America. The members of the Congress Black Caucus and I have come to the House floor time and time again to remind this Congress and the president of this fact.

Over 8 million people, some of whom are probably watching this special order right now on C-SPAN, some of them unable to watch it because they cannot afford cable, but those people woke up this morning without a job. There are people in small-town America, in rural America, in urban America, in black America and in white America that have not yet realized the recovery of the economy because they are still without a job.

The truth is, Madam Speaker, our Nation's unemployment situation is not just reserved to the service industry or the manufacturing industry. All segments of our economy have been affected, and, as a result, all segments of our population are feeling the awful sting of joblessness.

So, Madam Speaker, what do I tell these young people at Shaw Univer-

sity? Should I tell them to hold on to their degree until President Bush's trickle-down economic policies take hold? Should I tell them that this President has yet to create one net job, but if they just hold on for one, two, maybe three years longer, that will change? What do I tell them, Madam Speaker?

Madam Speaker, it is indeed time for change in this country. It is up to us, the stewards of government, to turn this cycle of fiscal and economic mismanagement around.

Next Friday, the Department of Labor will release its monthly report on this Nation's unemployment situation. Unlike last month, I hope this month's report will reveal a decrease in the African American unemployment rate, which is consistently almost double that of the national rate.

So that we will be clear on what those numbers are, African American unemployment in this country is 10.2 percent. The national rate is 5.7 percent. It is interesting that just a few weeks ago the New York Times published an article where it said that in New York, 50 percent of African American males are unemployed. They did not say the unemployment rate is 50 percent. The reason why they did not use the words "unemployment rate" is because those are people they can measure. They concluded there were 50 percent of the African American males who did not have a job.

Madam Speaker, while Wall Street is celebrating a rebounding economy, people on Main Street, America, are agonizing over how to simply pay their bills.

In March, more people exhausted their Federal unemployment benefits than in any other month in the last 30 years. These educated, hard-working Americans are now unable to find a job and unable to receive the Federal help that was allowing them to feed and clothe their families in the interim.

As I travel throughout my district, the number one request that I get from my constituents is, Mr. CUMMINGS, can you help me find a job? There are almost 120,000 people in my home State of Maryland that were unemployed in March. To be honest, I have trouble explaining to them why it is that, despite their skills, despite their education and their desire, they are unable to find gainful employment in this great land of opportunity.

When I think of my constituents who just want to provide for their families, I cannot help but be bothered when I hear the President and my colleagues on the other side of the aisle blame all of the country's economic woes on September 11, corporate scandals and the drumbeat to the Iraq war.

I realize that my colleagues are probably facing the same questions from their constituents regarding unemployment as the folks in Baltimore and Howard County are asking me. But let me remind my Republican colleagues

that every President and every administration has had to overcome significant challenges. How about World War II, the Cuban missile crisis, the Vietnam War, the Watergate scandal, the Iran hostage situation, the Cold War and the first Persian Gulf War?

I could continue on, but my point is that every President has faced these types of challenges, and still, and still, managed to create jobs, except one since the Great Depression, and that is George W. Bush and this Republican House and Senate.

So, Madam Speaker, we either need to change the policies or change the leadership of this country. I would submit that we should do both.

With that, Madam Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentlewoman from the great State of California (Ms. LEE).

Ms. LEE. Madam Speaker, let me thank the gentleman from Maryland (Chairman CUMMINGS) for holding these weekly special orders, which provide us a forum to speak out on the most pressing issues facing our constituents, the African American community, and, indeed, our country.

I would like to take this opportunity to commend the chairman for the outstanding address that he delivered yesterday at the National Press Club. In his eloquent and very thoughtful message, he outlined the Congressional Black Caucus' agenda and our priorities on both the domestic and foreign policy arenas. Part of his address was dedicated to the topic that is on the minds of millions of Americans today, and that is jobs and the economy.

Madam Speaker, I rise tonight to discuss the same vital issue. We know that people are suffering under the Bush economy and we know that we must reverse the damage done and move forward to grow our economy and create real, good-paying jobs. We must also protect existing jobs here at home.

Economic security should really be part of a major national security strategy. It should be a key component. How do we ensure domestic tranquility when so many Americans are jobless?

I think most of us are familiar with Bush's less-than-rosy record on the economy, but I want to just start with some statistics about Bush's poor record on job creation in minority communities.

As the gentleman from Maryland (Chairman CUMMINGS) mentioned, the African American unemployment rate in March increased to an astounding 10.2 percent, while Hispanic unemployment rates remained persistent at 7.4 percent. These harsh and telling numbers came during the very same month, mind you, that the Bush administration was really bragging and boasting about an economic recovery.

Excuse me? But I just have to ask, just who really is benefiting from our Nation's long overdue job creation efforts? I cannot tell you how many of my constituents have asked me that very same question.

Another question I often hear is, what is President Bush's plan for cre-

ating the millions of jobs that he has lost, mind you, that he has lost on his watch? What is he doing to address the suffering which jobless individuals have endured during his 3 years in office?

I hear former, and, yes, they are former manufacturing workers, talk about the decimation of their sector over the past 3 years. It is really hard to fathom the reality that since taking office, President Bush has lost about 3 million good-paying jobs. Under this administration our country has simply hemorrhaged manufacturing jobs, and given this administration's support for outsourcing jobs and shipping them overseas, the pain and the suffering from job loss will likely only worsen.

We all know that manufacturing is extremely critical for the financial security of millions of families. Every manufacturing job creates at least four other jobs. It is also critical to our national security. Today, manufacturing is at a 53-year low. What a lost opportunity and what a sad record this administration has created.

Does this President and this administration care about the decimation of an entire industry? Does this administration have a plan to really remedy this mess? And that is what it is, it is a mess, and it is creating havoc in the lives of millions of American families. And what about the Republican leadership in Congress? Can they explain the 2.8 million manufacturing jobs lost over the last 3 years?

Yesterday the Republicans unveiled a proposal entitled "Jobs for the 21st Century." Like many of their proposals, we know better than to be fooled by that name. The plan is really another classic Republican example of how rhetoric, rhetoric, mind you, trumps substance, and how the monied interest's agenda reigns supreme.

We should be providing incentives to companies that create real jobs here at home, rather than sending them overseas. That is why we have launched a discharge petition to bring the bipartisan Crane-Rangel manufacturing bill to the floor.

Our efforts to keep jobs here at home must also extend beyond our manufacturing sector, because not only are companies exporting our manufacturing jobs overseas, they are also exporting high-paying white-collar jobs overseas as well.

According to a recent study by the Haas School of Business, 14 million white-collar service jobs representing 11 percent of the total United States workforce are in danger of being outsourced overseas.

We should also consider legislation like the Defending American Jobs Act introduced by my colleague the gentleman from Vermont (Mr. SANDERS). This legislation would prohibit companies that lay off a greater percentage of U.S. workers than they do overseas from receiving grants, loans or loan guarantees from the Federal Government. That just makes common sense.

The Republican House leadership really should allow us to consider these types of proposals.

Instead of short-term extensions to the transportation bill, we should really be voting on a strong highway bill that would create over 1.8 million jobs. The Republicans' reliance on these short-term extensions have cost America thousands of jobs already. And what about the Republican leadership's failure to extend Federal unemployment benefits for out-of-work Americans? That, to me, is just mean, it is unconscionable and it is wrong.

In March, a record 354,000 Americans exhausted their State unemployment benefits, and the number of long-term unemployed Americans is rising, with nearly one in four jobless workers out of a job for 27 weeks or more. That is a long time. By the end of this month, 1.5 million Americans will have exhausted all of their benefits.

So I think that the Republicans really should be ashamed of their "compassion." This compassion is a compassion that I, quite frankly, do not understand.

□ 1930

It does not extend to helping jobless workers feed their families or pay their utility bills until they can find a job. Even Federal Reserve Chairman Greenspan has expressed his support for extending unemployment benefits to long-term unemployed workers, saying that it would be, I think he said it would be a good idea because of the exceptionally high number of exhaustions.

Chairman Greenspan has also admitted that he does not have all the answers when it comes to the economy. As a member of the House Committee on Financial Services, I have the opportunity to question the chairman on a regular basis, and in March I asked him, I said what do we tell our young people? And the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. CUMMINGS) I think said this very eloquently tonight as he reflected upon what he is going to talk about at these graduation speeches.

I asked Chairman Greenspan, what do we tell our young people after they have gone to school, after they have played by the rules, after they have done everything we have told them to do to realize the American dream, what do we tell them when they cannot find a job? What do we tell them in terms of where are the jobs of the future? We have lost manufacturing jobs, the service industry is decimated, and now the high-tech industry will soon be gone. So what in the world do we tell our young people? Where are the jobs? Where are the jobs? We are trying to get our young people focused on how to stay off the streets, how to be productive citizens, how to engage in productive work, and yet there are no jobs out there for them.

Chairman Greenspan's response was he just simply did not know. He did not have the answer. That is in essence

what he said. And I must say that the answers, quite frankly, are not to be found in the policies of this Bush administration or this Republican-controlled House. We must answer these questions and take action to reverse the loss of jobs that we have seen under this Bush administration.

Democrats have a plan to do exactly that. We have a plan to create jobs, to keep jobs on our shores, and to prevent the shipping of jobs overseas, a policy that the Bush administration has totally, mind you, totally embraced.

So it is up to the American people now to wake up. November really cannot come fast enough. We must ensure that the tide is turned as we move together to create economic growth and good-paying jobs for all.

So I thank the chairman again for the opportunity for the Congressional Black Caucus to talk to America to try to raise these issues with regard to how we see the deal going down, as it relates to the American people and the jobless rates and the job loss and the shambles that many people find their lives in.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Madam Speaker, I want to thank the gentlewoman for her statement. Sometimes people ask the question, why is it that members of the Congressional Black Caucus continue to stand up on these issues. Somebody asked, they said, well, you may stand up on these issues, but you may not win. And one of the things that former Congressman Gray of Pennsylvania said, and I will never forget it, it is embedded in the DNA of every cell of my brain. He said, "You may not win every battle, but you set the trend."

If we do not speak up on these issues, the fact is it seems like a train is going down the track and it seems like we are just kind of going along with it, but what we do week after week and day after day is stand up and say, we have a greater vision for America and we want to do everything in our power to bring that vision into reality. So I really appreciate what the gentlewoman has said.

Ms. LEE. Mr. Chairman, it would be morally irresponsible of us if we did not fight these battles and, hopefully, one day we will win the war.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Madam Speaker, it is my pleasure to yield to the gentlewoman from the State of Ohio (Mrs. JONES).

Mrs. JONES of Ohio. Madam Speaker, at this point I would like to commend my good friend, the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. CUMMINGS), for his leadership, his tenacity, and his great performance as the chairperson of the Congressional Black Caucus. I call him my brother, and he is doing such a fantastic job, and I am so pleased to be part of his team.

Earlier, before we began our hour, I came in at the end of the Republican Special Order, and I was just stunned. I could not believe what I heard my colleagues saying about Senator JOHN KERRY.

I spent yesterday, all day, with Senator KERRY. He visited the State of Ohio, and we talked about jobs, jobs, jobs. We started in the City of Youngstown, where a little company that used to make wire hangers went out of business because wire hangers were being made cheaper in China and in Youngstown these poor folks were out of jobs. I have spent quite a bit of time over the past 2 years in Youngstown because of the steel companies that were going out of business and the steel workers in Youngstown who are losing their jobs. They all were out at this rally looking for an opportunity to talk to someone who understood what it meant to be out of work and without a job.

We moved from the City of Youngstown on to the City of Cleveland, where mayors from all across the State of Ohio were talking about the issue of loss of jobs. We had the mayor of the City of Columbus, Michael Coleman, we had the mayor of the City of Cleveland, Jane Campbell, we had the mayor of the City of Parma, Dean DePiero, we had the mayor of the City of Toledo, Jack Ford, and we had the mayor of Chillicothe and other suburban mayors seated out in the audience, and all of them talked about the impact of the policies of this Bush administration on their ability to administer their own cities: the tax cuts, the lack of jobs, which meant lack of income to their budgets.

In the City of Cleveland alone, since George Bush took office, we have lost 70,000 jobs. In the State of Ohio since he took office, we have lost 160,000 jobs. As we talk about that, we talk about the impact that it has on a school system. In the City of Cleveland, our public school system has a \$100 million deficit as a result of loss of income from people out of work in the City of Cleveland, as a result of loss of income of businesses who are losing their tax dollars, or losing income and, therefore, not able to pay the tax dollars.

We talked about the fight that cities across this country, because their budgets are low, are having to lay off firefighters, are having to lay off police officers, and at a time when we are fighting the war on terrorism one would think that this administration would have an economic policy that would allow the frontline defenders, the first responders to be able to handle the jobs that they have to handle. It is a terrible situation. We are talking about laying off teachers as well.

Well, the thing that I will say is that JOHN KERRY has an economic plan to deal with job loss in this country. He is unveiling a comprehensive economic agenda that will unleash the productive potential of America's economy to help create jobs, 10 million jobs in his first term. He believes that Americans should not subsidize moving jobs overseas. He will eliminate tax breaks for companies that create jobs overseas and use the approximately \$12 billion in annual savings to cut the corporate tax rate. Under his plan more than 99

percent of tax-paying companies will see their taxes go down. He would jump-start manufacturing job creation with a new jobs tax credit that would pay the employers' share of the payroll taxes for any net new jobs created by the manufacturers and other businesses affected by outsourcing and small businesses in 2005 and 2006. As President, he will take our country into a different direction on trade enforcement. Rather than turn a blind eye to clear trade violations when American jobs are on the line, he will make clear through his actions that when the U.S. enters into a trade agreement we will expect our partners to live up to their side of the deal, unlike what we are dealing with right now where, for example, with steel, we are having steel dumped into our country and there are no policies through the World Trade Organization that will support our country.

I was just stunned, as I came in this room earlier today, and the speaker on the Republican side was talking about JOHN KERRY. He could not be talking about the JOHN KERRY I traveled with yesterday. He could not be talking about the JOHN KERRY that fought in Vietnam, that was in a boat, and he got ready to leave and he heard that one of his crew was back there and harmed and he went back to pick up the crew member that he had lost and got shot in the process. He could not be talking about the JOHN KERRY I know that received bronze medals, that received Purple Hearts, and came back to this country to speak up on behalf of all of those fighting over in Vietnam.

He has been supportive of a strong and responsible military his entire career. I would challenge, when we are going to compare records, Vice President CHENEY or President Bush to compare the type of record that JOHN KERRY has of serving in the military.

Madam Speaker, I could go on and on and on, but what I want to say here is I am so pleased to be here this evening with my colleagues from the Congressional Black Caucus. We are the voice of the people who are left out and locked out of this process. We are the voice of those who need an extended unemployment tax benefit. We are the voice of those who have been perhaps in trouble with the law and need an opportunity to get gainful employment and have an opportunity to make their lives right. We are the voice of the people who are not heard, who need the support of Members of Congress like the Congressional Black Caucus to make a difference.

I am proud to stand shoulder to shoulder with the chairman, and I will be here every time he needs me. But I want the people who are listening to us to understand that it is about jobs. It is about jobs. It is about jobs.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Madam Speaker, if the gentlewoman will yield just for a moment, as I listened to the gentlewoman I could not help but think about the fact that so often when people hear the words "Congressional

Black Caucus" they automatically assume that this is a caucus that just speaks for African American people. When the gentlewoman talked about the rally and all of the people who had been laid off up there in Ohio, I could not help but think, and the gentlewoman can tell us, were we talking about a rainbow of different colors? It is not just, I am sure it was not just African Americans.

Mrs. JONES of Ohio. Absolutely not. And that is one of the things that as a Congressional Black Caucus, we represent the Congressional Black Caucus but we also represent constituencies that are not totally African American. My congressional district in the City of Cleveland is probably 50 percent African American, but I represent Latinos, I represent Caucasians. There are 84 different ethnic groups in my congressional district that come from all over. I represent a district that is very, very poor and some of it is very, very rich.

But at that rally in Youngstown yesterday there was a rainbow of folks, all kinds of people, all out of a job. And when you are out of a job, your color, when you start talking about the issues of being unemployed and locked out, the color, there is a rainbow of colors. It is not just black folks, it is not just white folks, it is not just brown or yellow folks. All people, a lot of people of all races are out of jobs and they were there at that rally yesterday saying jobs, we need jobs, we need jobs.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Madam Speaker, the gentlewoman said something else that was really quite telling. When the gentlewoman talked about the deficit in the school system, we in Baltimore, we have a deficit too of about \$58 million, if I remember correctly. When we are talking about educating children, one of the things that we have consistently said in the Congressional Black Caucus is that while we want to make sure, we do not want people to be confused, that we do not want to ever see another 9/11 happen again. So we believe in fighting terrorism, but we also want to make sure that we take care of the people here at home.

One of the things, and I have said it many, many times, I think the greatest threat to our national security is our failure to properly educate our children. And if the money is not there for teachers, not there for the janitors so they can have clean schools and clean buildings, I say that it is their turn. In other words, it is our children's turn. We had our opportunity to get our education and we got it or we would not be here. But now it is their turn. And then they have to go through this deficit. Why? And they are suffering because of it, because I know in Baltimore we just had a proposal where we are going to increase class sizes. Why? Because we have to lay off teachers.

Mrs. JONES of Ohio. Madam Speaker, the same issue is being raised by Barbara Byrd-Bennett, the CAO of the Cleveland Municipal School District,

the need to have to raise class sizes. It is so very important that we educate our children.

One of the things that we have learned since 9/11 is that one of the reasons that terrorism happens or flourishes in many countries is because people are uneducated or they have been brainwashed into one direction, that they feel like they are left out and locked out of the process that they have no control over, so they figure out who are they going to point the finger at, and if they start pointing the finger they start pointing it at the United States.

But as important or more important is that we must educate our own. I want to see the people in Iraq, I want to see them get better. I want to see them have a school system and health care and roads, but not as much as I want the people of the United States to have a health care system, to have education, and to have roads.

□ 1945

And we need to be directed towards an agenda or a policy that will allow our people to back to work, that will allow our people to rebuild our own country, the roads, the sewer systems, the bridges. That is a back-to-work agenda. That is what we need for the United States.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Madam Speaker, finally, let me just say this: I cannot help but be moved by your words with regard to Senator KERRY. And I understand you were with him yesterday. It pains me tremendously, as I said a little earlier, that our military can go and fight for this Constitution and can fight for America to maintain its strength, can fight for our freedoms, can fight for the conventions and opportunities that we have, but then to hear people slam him because he comes back after doing all the things my colleague said, and I am glad he made it clear, all the things he said, he could come back and express his views, and thank God we have a country that says you have freedom of speech; but then he gets slammed for the very freedoms that he placed his life on the line for. Something is wrong with the picture.

Mrs. JONES of Ohio. Madam Speaker, time will show and time will tell that the John Kerry that I know and the John Kerry that I have worked with and that I traveled with is a man of substance, a man of strength, a man who wants to see this Nation back on its feet and wants to see this Nation be a leader in the international arena that will lead other countries back to greatness and not be misled by other countries as well. In that strength, I am sure he will do well.

Madam Speaker, I thank my colleague for this exchange of words.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Madam Speaker, I will yield to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. DAVIS), my good friend, such time as he may consume.

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois. Madam Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman for

yielding. I also want to take this opportunity to commend the gentleman for his outstanding leadership as chairman of the caucus. And especially was I pleased to be at the National Press Club as he laid out in sharp relief for the national press what it really takes to get people involved in our country where African Americans stand, what we believe in, and what it is going to take to convince us that we need to be supporting different individuals who run for office.

And I was very pleased with the eloquence with which he displayed that information and conveyed it, and I want to thank him.

I am also pleased to join with him tonight and my colleagues to discuss the state of our economy and look at the job loss in America. I will not focus on the nearly 3 million jobs that have been lost since the President took office; but I will take a look in a micro-fashion just at my city, the City of the Big Shoulders, the city of Chicago, the city that sits by the lake.

In February, the Chicago Tribune reported that Chicago finished first as the job-loss Capital of America. The nine-county region lost nearly 58,000 jobs last year, outpacing every other major metropolitan area in this country. New York, the runner-up, lost 45,000 jobs, according to the U.S. Department of Labor.

The job loss in Chicago and throughout the State are troubling because Illinois represents mainstream, middle-of-the-road America. Major employers in Illinois have cut jobs. The hardest hit industry has been the manufacturing sector. Manufacturing jobs statewide are at their lowest levels since World War II, falling from 936,000 in 2000 to 870,000 today.

A number of job losses in Illinois and throughout the country can be attributed directly to this administration's policy of outsourcing. I could not believe it when a senior administration official suggested that that was a good and appropriate thing to do, NAFTA and cheaper wages overseas. Obviously, Chicago can never compete with the lower wages paid in China. However, our workers are the very best when it comes to productivity.

It is a shame that we do not manufacture dress shirts for men in America. Think of all the people who used to work in the garment industry, people who could go to work, knowing that they were helping to dress America. Now every time you look in the label, the back of whatever garment that you wear, you will find that it is produced somewhere other than in our country.

Therefore, we must utilize every effort to persuade companies to keep their manufacturing operations in America.

Even more troubling is the devastating job loss and high unemployment rate among African American males. We have a way of saying that if other parts of the community sneeze, then the African American community catches pneumonia.

When it comes to work opportunities, black men are seriously disproportionately unemployed. The Department of Labor statistics suggest that nationwide unemployment for African American males is 32 percent. In the city of Chicago more than 50 percent of young African American males between the ages of 16 and 22 are out of work and do not go to school, do not have a job.

The New York Times recently cited a study by the Community Service Society, a non-profit group that serves the poor. The study showed that in 2003 one of every two African American men between 16 and 64 was not working. Mark Levitan, the report's author, found that just 51.8 percent of black men, and I am not talking about Chicago, I am talking about the Nation, 51.8 percent of black men ages 16 to 64 held jobs in New York City in 2003. The rate for white men was 75.7 percent, for Hispanic men 65.7 percent, and for black women 57.1 percent.

The employment population ratio for black men was the lowest for the period Mr. Levitan has studied, which goes back to 1979. The tragedy is it is not just New York. It is Chicago, Los Angeles, Detroit, and other major cities in America.

I grew up in rural America where folks were hard-working, Bible-reading Christians. And my mother used to tell us that the Bible said that idle hands and an idle mind were the devil's workshop. And so we have to ask the question, if young African American men are not working, how are they surviving? Are they being driven to participation in the negative underground economy selling drugs and joining gangs?

It is for this reason that I, along with other members of the Congressional Black Caucus, the 100 Black Men of America, the NAACP, The Urban League, National Association of Black Psychologists, and others have begun to focus attention on the state of African American males. We have selected barriers to employment as an area of focus. And we hope over the next year to examine these issues in detail and provide some recommendations for needed changes.

Clearly, every segment of our society must be able to enjoy the American dream. I appreciate my colleagues for taking the time out to shed light on this subject this evening. And as I listen to different people talk about jobs that you cannot find, it reminds me of the song that we used to listen to some years ago that talked about a man who would get up in the morning and the writer wrote that every morning about this time she brings my breakfast to the bed crying, get a job. He says, "When I read the paper, I read it through and through, trying to see if there is any work for me to do."

The reality is that in too many instances the answer is absolutely, no. And if you cannot find a job, then you lose hope. You feel like a failure. You feel like you do not have a place.

Well, I believe that this administration is failing. This administration is failing because it has produced a feeling of hopelessness and helplessness among too many people. And when you fail, you ought to get a failing grade. And when you get a failing grade, sometimes you get put out.

Well, I believe the remedy, Madam Speaker, is to put this administration out and let us get in another group who can bring hope, who can bring to the American people a feeling that yesterday is dead and gone but tomorrow is something that we can look forward to. And what we want to look forward to is the ability to get up in the morning, go to work, have a job, produce for our families and children, and move America on to becoming even greater than what we have known it to be.

So I thank my colleague for taking out this Special Order and have welcomed the opportunity to participate in it.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Madam Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman for his statement and for his eloquence. He said something when he was talking about African American males and the unemployment rate. One of the things that I talked about in my district was coping skills. But when we talk about, as my colleague just said, in the Chicago area 50 percent unemployed black males, we have to find a way to create hoping skills.

And as he said, when people lose hope, that is a major problem. And when they do not have any money and have children to feed, and have to take care of themselves, that is a rough situation to have hope around.

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois. Madam Speaker, I certainly agree with my colleague. I thank him for that observation. I think in many instances what has happened, many of the jobs that traditionally were held by African American males no longer exist in this country.

For example, African American males worked in production. First it was in farm production. Then with the industrial revolution, they went into the factories and worked in production again. Now that we are becoming more and more of a high-tech service economy, we have not provided a thinking process where young African American boys have recognized in many instances that the jobs their grandfathers had and fathers had that they could expect to get no longer exist, so they have fallen behind in many instances in school because their father did not have to get an education, they did not get an education.

My father did not have much education, my uncle who I celebrate right now, he just became 100 years old, neither one of them had any education; but they were two of the smartest men I have ever known in my life. And they had these coping skills. They developed these coping skills to deal with the environment of which they were a part.

So we have to find ways to help bring all of our society into the 21st century

so that everybody can have an opportunity to play on an even playing field. And that is what the gentleman has been doing as he has led this caucus. That is what the Congressional Black Caucus is trying to do is bring hope to all of America.

□ 2000

I thank the gentleman for your leadership and I welcome the opportunity to participate this evening.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I thank the gentleman very much.

Madam Speaker, I yield to my good friend, the gentlewoman from the great State of Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE).

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Madam Speaker, I appreciate the time we have on the floor to be able to make an important statement.

I have some very dear and respected constituents who have had the opportunity to join us today, experiencing the legislative process, meeting with their Senators, meeting with their Members of Congress. They wanted to know what this process was. And I said the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. CUMMINGS) called this special order in order to make the RECORD, because if we do not make the RECORD for those who cannot speak for themselves, if we do not make the RECORD so that all might read in the largest story of the United States, as long as this Congress's doors have been open there has been a CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, if we do not enunciate the RECORD and let people know on this night, April 28, 2004, we stood on the floor to claim a clarion call for those who cannot speak for themselves and to be able to insist that this Congress address the question of loss of jobs.

The numbers are 3 million. Each of our respective States have experienced the pain of manufacturing jobs being gone. Some of us have had on occasion businesses moving from one State to the next so there have been broad headlines. A new company opens up in Texas, and those jobs are there, but those jobs are lost from the State they moved from. The economy may be percolating but it is not boiling.

I think it is shameful that in the midst of the terrible turmoil in Fallujah, Marines now in bunkers under siege, fighting for their lives, in a war that was declared over over a year ago, that these brave Marines and these brave military personnel, these civilians who are there as contractors, are in a turmoil fighting for their life.

Yet, they may return home and not have a place to live and not have food to eat and not have a job. And so I ask the question to the President, I ask the question to this Congress, why cannot we rally around in a leadership of this Nation or proposing leadership issues that would answer the loss of jobs.

Let me cite for you an example that I would think bring shame and certainly pain to this body. I pay tribute tonight to Nicole Goodwin. Nicole Goodwin is a former member of the

United States military. Not one of 10 years ago or 6 years ago or 8 years ago or 3 years ago but a recent returnee from the combat zone of Iraq. I wanted everybody to get a chance to meet Miss Goodwin.

She has a new and wonderful baby. She was dishonorably discharged. But let me tell you her story because she is, in fact, not just a former war veteran, someone who spent nights with missiles and explosives around her surroundings, someone who was serving as other were fallen or wounded. This is how Nicole Goodwin travels these days, with a one-year-old daughter pressed to her chest in a snuggly, a heavy backpack strapped across her shoulders and a baby stroller crammed with as many bags of clothes and diapers as she can hold.

When and you are a homeless young mother these are the things that you carry. The story goes on to say, as it is called "Home From Iraq and Homeless," that now every day she soldiers on to find a residence where the rent is not covered by payment in kind of late bus rides and early morning rising to move from one shelter to the next. All the while she keeps in mind the acronym she earned or learned in the Army. Leadership. L is for loyalty. D is for duty. R is for respect. S is for selfless service. H is for honor. P is for personal coverage. And I is her favorite and that is for integrity.

A homeless veteran. A young woman with a child. A combat veteran is homeless and without a job. What can America say to its best and brightest who have come home from a war and they cannot find a job.

Let me just finish her story by saying a war veteran wearing a backpack, pushing a stroller and carrying a baby, stayed in another strange hotel room last night, mostly because the city of her birth does not know how to welcome her home.

Mr. Chairman, I would ask you tonight as we know that Miss Goodwin probably still walks the street and is homeless and is without a job. I would like to see the Congressional Black Caucus rally around her with certainly the members from her constituency to be able to ask the State why they cannot help an Iraqi war veteran, a young woman who now walks the street as we speak homeless with a daughter, without a job.

I yield to the gentleman for the opportunity to respond.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Madam Speaker, I wanted to make it clear that we will do that. We will rally around Miss Goodwin, but the sad part about it is Miss Goodwin is only one, and I am sure that there are many, many others and then the question becomes how do we make sure we rally around all of them. Because as you just said, with our men and women in bunkers in Fallujah and with them fighting and giving up their blood, sweat, tears and lives, and then for those who are able to come back and end up in situations like this or somewhat similar is a shame.

So, yes, we will rally around here but we must find ways to rally around the many others who are voiceless, who the New York Times never interviewed, the ones that will never appear on the front page of the Washington Post, the ones that you will never hear about on ABC News, those who we have to find and help.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman. As we discussed, you were absolutely right. She is symbolic of millions, and what I would like us to be reminded of is we have a job, and that is why we need to have a leadership change in this country because in the State of Texas we are talking about 500 jobs lost in the month of March, but we are talking about 175,200 jobs lost since January of 2001.

We are talking about a Congress that is struggling to pass a transportation bill that will create jobs. We are talking about those who are incarcerated, African American males who come out having paid their time and not able to find jobs.

We are speaking as well about programs that have been cut, the Small Business Administration funding which creates jobs, and yet the budget from the Bush administration refuses to refund or add monies back to create those jobs that would come about. We need a common sense plan to recognize, one, that the budget and the economy is failing, but as well that we need a change in government, one that allows a President to promote jobs and to claim that he is concerned about people like Miss Goodwin and other homeless persons and others who are educated, without cause.

As I close, let me say that I thank the Chair for allowing me to speak and I thank the gentleman for having this special order to talk about the importance of jobs in America.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman very much.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. CUMMINGS. Madam Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on this special order.

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

There was no objection.

#### BALANCE THE BUDGET

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 2003, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. SMITH) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Madam Speaker, I would like to address certainly different issues that I think are possibly more serious than a lot of challenges this Congress has faced, this Nation has faced in fact.

This is the 195th birthday of Abraham Lincoln, and in my district Republicans are celebrating Abraham Lincoln's birthday with their annual dinners. And I think of what Abraham Lincoln said in his Gettysburg Address when he indicated that, Can a country of the people, by the people and for the people long endure?

And now I am concerned about the system that we have in the United States where we have so many lobbying groups pushing for more money and a political system where Members of the House and the Senate often are better off and increase their probabilities of getting reelected if they start promising more programs, if they take home pork barrel projects that might allow them to be on the front page of the newspaper or on television and it ends up that they have more publicity if they spend more money down here.

And that has led us into a dilemma of overspending and overpromising. And I have put this pie chart up simply to review how the Federal Government now spends approximately \$2.4 trillion in the year that we are budgeting for right now.

We see the largest portion of our total spending pie that represents 21 percent of the total spending of the Federal Government is Social Security. But Medicare, which is now 12 percent, is going to overtake Social Security in terms of the percentage of total spending, total Federal Government spending that it consumes, and that is going to happen within the next 25 years.

Part of it is because we have dramatically expanded the Medicare program to now cover more benefits, including prescription drugs. And there is a problem with prescription drugs because if you are on Medicare and you do not have the proper drugs and you go into the hospital, then Medicare pays for all those prescription drugs while you are in the hospital. So to the extent that some of the new prescription drugs can keep you out of the hospital, it is reasonable to have some help from Medicare to furnish those drugs to keep you out of the hospitals.

But what we have done now is we have expanded the entitlement program in Medicare for prescription drugs without making strong changes to the programs that are going to keep the program solvent. So the actuaries in Medicare are estimating that the unfunded liabilities for Medicare now is approaching almost over \$60 trillion. In other words, over \$60 trillion would have to be put in a savings account today with returning the amount of interest that would represent inflation plus the time value of money to come up with enough money to continue to pay benefits and to have enough money over and above the FICA tax, the payroll tax that is contributing to the Medicare fund.

As we go around this pie chart, we see that defense is 20 percent, 2 years

ago it was about 18.5 percent. Going into Afghanistan and going into Iraq has increased about 1.5 percent of the budget now dedicated to defense. But still Social Security compared to defense, you see Social Security is much larger. Domestic discretionary is 16 percent. Other entitlements are 10 percent. Medicaid is now 6 percent. We were growing very quickly, and part of that is long-term health care.

So even if you are fairly diligent in saving during your working life and your early retirement years, if you have to go into a nursing home that is now costing between 40 and \$70,000 a year, it very quickly uses up those savings, and you have gone from a self-payer to a system of Medicaid.

□ 2015

Medicaid is the health care system for the low income, and Medicare is the health care system once you reach 65 for seniors, and I want to make a point over here at about four o'clock.

You see about 14 percent of that pie in that purple section; that is interest on the debt. Today's debt that is subject to the debt limit in the United States, the 14 percent, is now over \$7 trillion. In a few months, we are going to have to again vote in this Chamber and in the Senate, and the President is going to have to sign it, a bill that increases the debt limit of this country.

What does that mean? It means that somehow, we are pretending that our problems today are so great that it justifies us borrowing money from the earnings that our kids and our grandkids have not even received yet. We are borrowing money and passing this increased debt on to them to let them worry about servicing the debt; and right now, interest rates are at record lows.

When interest rates go up, and Alan Greenspan chairman of the Fed has suggested that is going to happen, we know it is going to happen. The 14 percent of the total Federal spending that is now used to pay the servicing of that debt, paying interest, could dramatically increase from two fronts. One is the increased rate that government is going to have to pay to entice people to loan money and buy Treasury bills; and of course, the second is that we are dramatically increasing the debt.

This country from 1776 till now, what, that adds up to about 228 years, it took the first 200 years of this country to amass a debt of \$500 billion, and now we are increasing our debt every year by an additional \$500 billion. So we are mounting the debt load that we are passing on to the next generation for the next several generations, and it is going to be intolerable if we do not control how much we are overspending, and even more significant is unfunded liabilities.

Unfunded liabilities, Madam Speaker, is what politicians promise that they are going to do in the future, for example, Social Security. We are promising to pay Social Security benefits,

and I would like everyone to know that there is no entitlement to Social Security. There is no account with your name on it. So you can work all of your 40, 50 years, you can pay into Social Security, but you are not automatically deserving of Social Security benefits based on the fact that you paid into it. It has gone to the Supreme Court twice, and twice the Supreme Court has ruled that Social Security taxes are simply another tax that is charged by legislation passed by the House and the Senate and signed by the President; and Social Security benefits are a benefit program that is not directly related to the fact that you have made payments in all of your life.

So that is one reason we should consider private savings accounts that are owned by the worker, that government cannot mess around with, for lack of a better description, and this is the messing around. Government has been taking all of the surplus from the Social Security trust fund and spending it for other purposes; and so we have continued over the years to expand the benefits of Social Security to the extent that today we have a \$12 trillion unfunded liability; and, again, that means that we are going to have to put \$12 trillion in a bank account today that is going to, over the next 75 years, earn about \$120 trillion, and this is what we are going to need for the next 75 years in future years' dollars, \$120 trillion in addition to the payroll tax that is coming in from existing workers to accommodate and to meet promised benefits that we have promised in the current Social Security legislation.

Medicare part A. Medicare part A is mostly hospitals, and the unfunded liability for Medicare part A is \$21.8 trillion. Medicare part B, mostly doctors, is \$23.2 trillion, and Medicare part D, the drug program that we passed last November, is \$16.6 trillion. This is the unfunded liability, what is going to be needed in addition to the money coming in for those programs; and on the Medicare drug program, it is interesting that Tom Savings, an actuary in Medicare, estimated last November that the unfunded liability for Medicare would be about \$7.5 trillion. The new estimate that came out last month is \$16.6 trillion, a huge liability to leave to our kids and our grandkids.

The unfunded liabilities, the generosity of this body, saying we are going to make all these kinds of promises and let our kids and our grandkids pay for it and we are going to continue to increase overspending in addition to these promises on Medicare and Medicaid and Social Security, in addition to that we are going to overspend. Last year, it was \$530 billion overexpenditure. This year it could very well get up to \$620 billion overexpenditure. Next year, another 520 to \$530 billion overexpenditure.

Overexpenditure means deficit spending; and the deficit spending every year you add that up, and it comes to the total debt, and somebody's going to

deal with if not paying back the debt, at least paying the interest on that increased debt, a huge challenge that is going to make life much tougher for our kids and our grandkids.

I am going to talk about Social Security and the Social Security bill that I have introduced. I was chairman of the bipartisan Social Security Task Force; and when Democrats and Republicans met and had witnesses, we brought in witnesses every week for close to a year, it was unanimous: Republicans and Democrats, everybody agreed, we have got to do something with Social Security; and the longer we wait to solve this program, the more drastic the solution is going to have to be.

And yet we do not do anything. We do not mention it, we do not mention the huge entitlement programs in our budget. We simply pass a budget every year, and now what is called the Gephardt amendment in our rules says that when we pass a budget, this is sort of a footnote, when we pass a budget, instead of bringing it up for a separate bill and debate, we will automatically consider a separate bill that increases the debt limit. It will be assumed to be passed when we pass a budget, so sort of hidden in that budget bill. So we really do not talk about the significance of increasing the debt on our kids and our grandkids and the tremendous challenge it is going to be to pay the interest on that debt, as well as trying to sometime, somehow, somewhere trying to pay some of that debt down.

This is sort of a quick tutorial on how Social Security works, and then I will go into what I have done in my Social Security bill to keep it solvent forever as scored by the Social Security Administration.

Benefits are highly progressive and based on earnings. That means the lower income you are through your working lifetime, as you pay in your Social Security tax a higher percentage, you will get back a lot more relative to what you earn than if you are higher income; and this is how this is going to work down here. At retirement, all of a worker's wages up to the tax ceiling are indexed to present value using wage inflation.

What we do is for your 35 best years, so if you are working 40 years you take your best 35 years of earnings, if you work 30 years, that means 5 years are scored as zero, as you add those 35 best years together and divide by 35, but in terms of indexing to present value, on wage inflation, wages double about every 11 years, and so that means if 11 years ago you were making \$20,000 and you score it 11 or 12 years later, you are scored as making \$20,000. So it is the kind of job that you had in earlier years and what the wages would be for that job today is what is credited, adding up your 35 best years on Social Security. Here is the progressivity.

The annual benefit for those retiring in 2004 equals 90 percent of earnings up to \$7,344. So if you are making \$7,344 or

less a year, you would get 90 percent of that back in Social Security payments if that was your average for the 35 years. For that amount over the \$7,000 up to the \$44,000, it is 32 percent of the earnings between the \$7,300 and the \$44,200, and then 15 percent of the earnings above \$44,268.

It might be good to just mention here that one of the ways that I keep Social Security solvent is slowing down the increased benefits for high-income retirees, and what I do, these are called ben points. What I do is add an additional ben point of 5 percent and say that higher-income earners over \$38,000 would get a return of 5 percent of those higher wages. So a low income would get 90 percent, and then it would go to 32 percent, 15 percent. Then I add another ben point of 5 percent.

I put this blip in because I think that a lot of people do not understand or have not figured out, should they retire at 62 and start earning benefits or should they wait till age 65. Based on average life expectancy, early retirees would get less. So at the average age of death, which is now 86 years old for a male and 88 years old for a female, the average earnings for those years, whether you retire at 62 or 65, would still amount to the same amount of payments back to you. In fact, if you wait 2 years to retire after 65, you can have an additional 4 percent added to your benefits for each one of those years. In terms of waiting until you are 66 or 67, you can have additional benefits if you wait an extra 2 years.

When I give speeches around Michigan and around the country, a lot of people say, well, I know people that are getting SSI, supplemental security income, payments on welfare, and they really do not deserve it; and I should not have to have that come out of my Social Security. Actually, the Social Security Administration runs the program, but it comes out of the general fund. It does not come out of the FICA tax. It does not come out of the Social Security trust fund.

This picture sort of represents the demographic problems. The birth rate is going down, and the age of death is going up, and since Social Security is a pay-as-you-go program, with existing workers paying in their tax, and within days that withholding from your paycheck is sent out to current retirees; and the problem is there are fewer workers working per retiree.

In 1940 we had about 36 workers working, paying in their Social Security tax to accommodate the needs of every one retiree. By 2000, the taxes had to go up, of course, because there were only three workers working to pay in their taxes to accommodate every retiree; and by 2025, there will be just two workers in the United States working to pay the benefits of every retiree.

□ 2030

The United States is heading towards a ratio of workers to senior citizens

that is going to continue to result in a pay-as-you-go program, like our Social Security System, to have it continue to be insolvent. So now we can play around the edges a little bit and say, well, let us increase taxes or let us reduce benefits. But even those kinds of decisions are going to eventually again keep the Social Security System from, in the long range, being solvent.

The birthrate. Well, of course, we have 78 million baby boomers, those born right after World War II, from about 1946 to 1965. We have 78 million of them that are going to start retiring in 5 years, and these are the people that are high-income now. So the 12.4 percent of their payroll brings a lot of money into the Social Security System. Again, as they retire, we lose those high-paying individuals, and they go out as recipients collecting the high payments as retirees, since there is a direct relationship, even though it is progressive, between what you pay in and what you take out.

I think it is important to sort of reflect historically on what we have done. Some people suggest, well, maybe the economy can help us. If the economy can come back stronger, we are going to have money. But that is not true, of course, because of the direct relationship of benefits to earnings. So if the economy increases even more rapidly than it is now and jobs expand, then we have more people paying into the system now, which means that there will be more money in the short run; but when they retire, because they are paying in more money now, they are going to take more benefits out when they retire to leave a deeper hole then. So it is going to take some structural changes to the program.

What this body in the House and what the Senate and what the President have done over the years when they needed a little more money for Social Security, they said, well, let us just increase taxes again. There is sort of a historical picture of taxes going from 1 percent to, in 1940, increasing it to 2 percent of the first 3,000, which meant a maximum tax of \$60 a year. In 1960, when we needed money, we increased the rate threefold to 6 percent, upped the base to \$4,800, for a total of \$288 a year. In 1980, we increased it again to 10.16 percent of the first \$26,000, roughly; and that amounted to \$2,631. In 2000, we increased it again to 12.4 percent, and that was of the first \$76,200 then. But since that is indexed, we have now upped that. By 2004, it has gotten up to 12.4 percent of the first \$87,900. Next year it is going to be 12.4 percent of \$89,000. And that will continue to be indexed to increase.

The point I am trying to make is that by delaying, by not paying attention to some of these very serious problems that are going to confront this country, I think, is in effect passing on a legacy to our kids and our grandkids that is going to mean that their lifestyle is going to be much less than the

opportunities that we have had in this country. We are saying to them, look, you are going to have to pay off our debts that we are borrowing today. So it is important to have a program that does not increase taxes, the FICA taxes, on payroll.

Madam Speaker, I would ask everybody that is listening to guess what the payroll taxes are right now in France. The payroll taxes in France, to accommodate their retired population, their senior population, is over 50 percent. That is one of the reasons why France is having such a problem competing. Because if a company has to pay a 50 percent payroll tax, that means they have two choices. To stay in business they either reduce wages to their workers, or they increase the price of their product to accommodate the extra taxes that they are paying. If they are increasing the price of their product, then of course they are less competitive to trade with other countries of the world. Germany just surpassed 40 percent.

I just think it is so important that we act on this huge challenge of correcting Social Security and that we not end up having another tax increase that is going to make our businesses at even a greater disadvantage.

Let me just put a footnote on that. We are concerned about losing jobs. A lot of it is because of our increased productivity to try to stay competitive. But our taxes on our businesses in the United States are about 18 percent higher than the taxes of our competitors in the G-7, in the other industrialized countries. So when we hear from this Chamber, quite often from this side of the aisle over here, let us increase taxes to accommodate some of the great needs that we have in our districts back home, and there are needs, there are unlimited problems, the question is how many of those problems should be the responsibility of the Federal Government and how many of those problems should be accommodated by borrowing more money or increasing taxes to put our businesses at a greater competitive disadvantage, and, of course, taking the money out of the pockets of the people that have earned, telling all the American citizens that they have to give more to the government to make the government stronger, making them less able to do the things that they want to do with their money.

We have had a system, and maybe I am philosophizing here a little bit, but our forefathers came up with a system in our Constitution in this country that in effect said that those that work hard and save and that try and invest and that go to school and use that education are going to be better off than those that do not.

But now we have sort of come with a philosophy for the last 25 years in this country where we are sort of dividing the wealth up. So we have got a tax system that is very progressive, where we take from the people that are successful and give to the people that are

not successful. So we are ending up with a situation where roughly 50 percent of the adult population in the United States pays less than 1 percent of the income tax. Fifty percent of the adult population in the United States, the lower-income earning 50 percent of the adult population in the United States, pays less than 1 percent of the Federal income tax.

So with a lot of people, they say, well, let us have a few more government services, because when there is more government services, we gain, because we are not paying in tax in the first place. So it is maybe a whole new discussion on Special Orders, but how do we change our tax system so that everybody has a stake in how big this government gets?

There are a lot of Members in the Chamber that react to that kind of pressure and say, well, I am going to take home more pork barrel projects, I am going to start more social programs, I am going to make more promises, even though we do not know where the money is going to come from to keep those promises.

Let me conclude by going over the provisions of the Social Security bill that I have introduced, and this is a bipartisan bill. I have both Republicans and Democrats on the bill. These are the six principles that I went by in designing my bill:

Number one. Protect current and future beneficiaries.

Number two. Allow freedom of choice, so that if you do not want to go in the program and want to stay with what we have now, you have that option.

Three. It preserves the safety net, and so the Social Security TRUST FUND, where now we have IOUs of \$1.4 trillion, that is the \$1.4 trillion where the Congress, the House and the Senate, and the President have taken the surpluses coming in from Social Security and spent it for other government programs. So I do not spend all of that trust fund money. I save half of it and only use half, obviously, to make the transition to start getting some real returns on some of the money that is paid into Social Security.

Four. Make Americans better off and not worse off.

Five. Create a fully funded system.

And Six. No tax increases.

Madam Speaker, it is interesting that in looking in the archives, that in 1934, Franklin Delano Roosevelt thought it was very important to stop the number of hardship seniors that were, if you will, as Will Carlton says, going over the hill to the poor house. So instead of having so many people depending on going over to a poor house and having very meager, very difficult retirement years, he said, well, let us have a program, a system where we require savings of some of your earnings while you are working and set that aside so that you cannot use it until you retire so you have a little more social security when you retire.

So the House passed a bill following FDR's recommendation; and it said government will keep all the money and then pay the benefits when the time comes, when the individuals turn 65 years old. The Senate passed a bill, however, that said, well, we are going to do the same thing, but instead of government keeping all the money, we are going to have the accounts in individuals' names, where the individuals own that account. But if they die before age 65, it is still money that will be passed on to their heirs. But there will be a rule that they cannot take that money out of that special account until they turn 65 years old.

What is interesting is that the average age of death, up until about 1940, the average age of death was 62 years old. But the program says you cannot have Social Security benefits until you are 65. When the House and the Senate went to conference committee, we went with the House version that said government is going to handle all the money. And it worked very well for many years. We only had to start increasing the tax in 1940, because the average age of death was 62. So most people died before they became eligible for Social Security. So the pay-as-you-go program worked very well.

Here is my bill. It has been scored by the Social Security Administration actuaries to restore the long-term solvency of Social Security.

There is no increase in the retirement age. No changes in the COLA, the annual cost of living index that we increase payments to COLA. And there is no change in the benefits for seniors or near-term seniors.

Solvency is achieved through higher returns from worker accounts and slowing the increase in benefits for the highest-earning retirees.

Right now, Social Security is not a good investment. The average return for retirees in Social Security is 1.7 percent. And what we do in our legislation is we guarantee that if you decide on a personal retirement account that you own, and that is going to be optional, but we will guarantee that you will get as much payments in your retirement years from having an account as you will if you did not have an account, but the option is still up to the individual.

The Social Security trust fund continues. Voluntary accounts would start at 2.5 percent of your income and would reach 8 percent of income by the year 2075. A long time.

My first bill that I introduced, and this is the fifth Social Security bill I have introduced that has been scored by the actuaries to keep Social Security solvent, but in 1993 and 1994, the legislation did not have to borrow any extra money from the general fund of government. It did not have to wait until 2075, until we upped the amount that you are going to be allowed in your own savings account.

□ 2045

But now it is a little more drastic. If we wait another 4 years, it is going to

even be more drastic. If we wait more than 4 years to solve Social Security, then plan on a higher Social Security tax. Increased taxes will be on somebody someplace because there is no other way to accommodate it. Investments would be safe, widely diversified and investment providers would be subject to government oversight. It is sort of a copy of what Federal Government employees have now in their thrift savings account. They have several options, indexed bonds, indexed stocks, indexed cap funds. So very low risk, but it starts growing up in your account and the magic of compound interest means that you can be a modest earning worker but you can retire as a millionaire.

Part of my persuasion I hope today, Mr. Speaker, is to encourage everybody to start saving, to let these savings grow and not live sort of the satisfying our needs of today and hoping that somebody else will take care of us in the future. You are going to need something probably in your retirement years in addition to Social Security if you are under 45 years old now.

The next blip is the government would supplement the accounts of workers earning less than \$35,000 to ensure they build up significant savings. Actually I sort of copied this from our former President, President Clinton, from his U.S. savings accounts. So that even low-income workers can have a little more in their savings account to result in the magic of compounding to give them more money in these accounts. These accounts belong to the workers.

All worker accounts would be owned by the worker and invested through pools supervised by the government. Regulations would be instituted to prevent people from taking undue risks, so you would have limited investment opportunity. Workers have a choice of three safe indexed funds with more options after their balance reaches \$2,500. So it is very limited until you have at least a balance of \$2,500, then in my legislation additional safe investments as determined by the Secretary of Treasury would be allowed for individuals once they hit the plateau of having \$2,500 in their own retirement savings account. This, of course, is what you get from the savings account. Right now as I mentioned, Social Security has a return of 1.7 percent. So in effect anything you can earn from that savings account in excess of that 1.7 percent would add over and above what you would otherwise get from Social Security.

Worker accounts. Accounts are voluntary and participants would receive benefits directly from the government along with their account balance. There is a provision that I do not have on the board but at such time over age 55 that you buy an annuity to, in effect, guarantee that your retirement income is going to be at least what Social Security would pay you and that you are not going to ask other taxpayers to help you later on, then you

would have the option of investing your personal retirement savings account in anything you want to invest it in, or if you want to start using it. The government benefit would be offset based on the money deposited in their accounts, not on the money earned. And workers could expect to earn more from their accounts than from traditional Social Security. That is why we can guarantee that the 1.7 percent that you get from Social Security, that is why we can guarantee that you will get at least as much earnings as you would have from Social Security.

Here is a provision that I put in. My politically astute colleagues tell me that it is not politically correct to say fairness for women. I should say fairness for lower earning spouses that might be staying home with children. But these three changes for married couples, account contributions would be pooled and then divided equally between the husband and wife. So for your personal savings account, if one spouse is earning twice as much as the other spouse and so, therefore, is eligible to put more money into the personal savings account, you add what each spouse can put into the personal savings account, you divide by two, and so each spouse owns an identical amount that goes into their personal savings account every pay period, every month, every year. It would increase surviving spouse benefits to 110 percent of the higher earning spouse's benefit. Right now the surviving spouse is entitled to 100 percent of the higher benefit. But even that amount often requires that these individuals move out of their home into more expensive nursing home care as they shift from Medicare to Medicaid. And so what kind of provisions can we have to encourage people to stay in their own homes, which is so much lower cost than if they go to a nursing home?

Stay-at-home mothers with kids under 5. Maybe this is just a personal opinion of mine, but I put it in the legislation that stay-at-home moms, staying home with kids under 5, would receive a credit as if they were working years at the higher earning salary when their Social Security benefits are calculated.

These are some other areas, simply to try to increase and stimulate more people to think about their retirement. Number one, increase contribution limits for IRAs and 401(k)s and pension plans; two, a 33 percent tax credit for the purchase of long-term care insurance, up to \$1,000, \$2,000 for a couple per year; and low-income seniors would be eligible for a \$1,000 tax credit for expenses related to living in their own homes, or if they are living with their kids or somebody else, whoever they are living with could receive that \$1,000 tax credit, reimbursable tax credit on their income tax.

Let me conclude, Mr. Speaker, by just urging my colleagues to face up to this challenge. More than that, this is an election year for both Members of

the House and roughly a third of the Members of the Senate. So every time you have an opportunity to go and hear a candidate or talk to a candidate, ask them what they are going to do about the problem of Social Security running out of money. Ask them what they are going to do about the huge unfunded liabilities of Medicare and Medicaid. Ask them what they intend to do about increasing the debt of this country to the extent that we are asking foreign countries now to help pay for our debt.

We have about a \$500 billion trade deficit. What that means is that we send out \$500 billion to other countries more than they send to us when they are buying our goods. What happens to that \$500 billion? It is American dollars. They are not good anyplace unless they end up in America. What other countries are doing now with that \$500 billion is buying our Treasury bills, they are buying our companies through stocks and equities, and that additionally leaves us in a very precarious situation to be that vulnerable to some of these countries.

China, for example. I just returned from China. I am concerned about some of their what I perceive to be violations of the WTO agreements, their trade agreements. We have a deficit with China of about \$100 billion. China right now sometimes puts some of that money, in effect, under the mattress to hold it out there. Sometimes it buys Treasury bills. This country has accumulated enough that if they pulled their money out of Treasury bills or out of our stock market, it could dramatically affect the economy of the United States.

So as we cavalierly overspend, as we increase promises to increase the unfunded liabilities, we are not only making our children more vulnerable in the kind of taxes they are going to pay but we make the future of America more vulnerable to what other countries might do. If, for example, other countries decide that there is a better place to invest their money than the United States because the United States is less dependable and starts paying a lower return and they decide to invest it someplace else or they decide for political purposes that they want to negotiate trade deals by saying, Look, we're going to pull our trillions of dollars out, that is going to disrupt your economy because we just don't want to do business with you unless you agree to our trade deal or to our other political deal or to our whatever deal. Let us not allow ourselves to continue down this road of leaving our kids and our grandkids a bigger debt.

I am a farmer from southern Michigan. Traditionally what we have always figured on the farm, what my grandfather taught my dad, what my dad taught me is you try to pay off some of the mortgage on the farm to let your kids have a little better life than you have had. But in this Chamber and over in the Senate and in the White House, we are doing just the op-

posite. We are mounting up that mortgage. We are mounting up that debt and making the future of our kids and our grandkids more vulnerable.

#### IRAQ WATCH

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. CARTER). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 2003, the gentleman from Washington (Mr. INSLEE) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. INSLEE. Mr. Speaker, I have come tonight to discuss the challenge for America in the Iraq war. Some may know that a group of my colleagues and myself have been discussing this challenge now for several months on the floor of the House, once a week. We style this the Iraq Watch. The reason we come to the floor, sometimes as late as midnight, is that this really is a challenge and it demands that Congress be involved and not sit on the sidelines of this issue. This issue is too important, it is too deadly, it is too contentious for Members of Congress to simply take a pass and have responsibility only rest in the executive branch, the President's branch of the United States Government. So we have come once a week to talk about how to pursue a meaningful, commonsense, successful policy in Iraq. Hopefully I will be joined by some colleagues a little later in the evening.

I would like to start by just giving a background about why this is so important and why it is so important for Members of Congress to address the Iraq issue and not walk away from it. The answer is simply an example many Members of Congress have had, that I have had, of visiting a few weeks ago with a family in Bremerton, Washington, who the father and the husband was serving in Iraq proudly as a sergeant in the United States Army a few months ago. He was involved in a sweep mission near the Tigris River. A boat overturned, he went to aid, to try to save an Iraqi who was serving in forces with the U.S. Army. Unfortunately, he drowned while doing his duty. Like so many others in Iraq, a hero.

We now have lost since the war began 725 Americans, since the capture of Saddam Hussein 264 Americans, since May 31, 2003, and the President declared that the mission was accomplished, 585 Americans. We have had, total wounded, 4,151 Americans, many with very, very severe injuries, many which I have visited in Walter Reed and Bethesda.

Our losses demand that the U.S. Government pursue a policy that is not based on half truths but all the truth, not on partial planning but full planning, not on a policy based just on wishes and dreams and hopes and even faith but based on meaningful plans, strategic decisions that are based on the hard realities in Iraq.

Unfortunately, the truth is, and it is hard to say, that our policy in Iraq has not fit the extent of the heroism put

forth by our proud men and women in Iraq who have served with great valor and distinction in extremely trying circumstances.

□ 2100

Their valor, their professionalism, their integrity has not been matched by the Federal Government's decision-making. We are going to discuss tonight in several ways why that professionalism in Iraq has not been matched by professionalism and wisdom here in Washington, D.C.

I want to talk about several of those mistakes which have cost us grievously. By the way, I want to say one thing up front: these people say, well, this is not the 50,000 people we lost in Vietnam. Try telling that to the family that I visited and the two kids whose dad will never come home. One American life lost due to incompetence, neglect, exaggeration, deceit, failure to plan is too many; and that is what has happened in Iraq.

So, if I may, let me address some of the mistakes that our country has suffered in Iraq due to failures of this nature.

Number one, this administration sent into combat, into mortal combat, into the lion's den our soldiers and sailors with inadequate security protection for themselves. Today as we speak, almost 1 year after the President of the United States declared that the mission was accomplished, we still do not have armored Humvees in an adequate number in Iraq to protect our sons and daughters and husbands and wives. That is inexcusable.

It is inexcusable, because we obviously were going to be involved in urban combat going into Iraq. We obviously were going to take RPG, rocket-propelled grenades, AK-47s, which can penetrate this tiny little thin skin of sheet metal on a Humvee; and we did not, the people who were vested in the executive power of the United States Government, did not do adequate planning to protect our soldiers and sailors from an obvious threat in the dens and warrens of Baghdad, Fallujah, Basra. Today they are still not on.

Why did that happen? You know of the travail and travesty, that we sent our soldiers over there without flak vests either. We are now told that finally after a year that has been remedied. By why would the executive branch of this government send our soldiers and Marines into dangerous urban combat without armor to protect them? Why would they do that?

Well, it is because of mistake number two. Mistake number two was the one where the executive over and over and over again told us in the Congress, told Americans, and apparently believed, for reasons that stretch my powers of imagination, that we would be met with nothing but rose petals and champagne and the welcome mat from grateful Iraqis for occupying their country, and that this country, if you can call it that, which is a collection of

tribes thrown together after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, would come together in this joyous reunion of brotherhood and sisterhood and welcome us with nothing but open arms, an occupying army from a Western nation, the greatest Western nation and the greatest democracy that has ever lived, but one that is totally foreign to Iraq.

This was wishful thinking at its highest. It was the arrogance at its highest of those that did not have a clue what was going on in the culture and sent our boys and daughters into this combat without this protection; and, as a result, we have lost now hundreds of our finest people in this country.

Now, thankfully, finally, the executive has admitted its mistake and they are trying to remedy this issue, and they have now issued these contracts trying to put these retrofitted armor plates on our Humvees. But it is an example of what happens when an executive makes a war-power decision based on arrogance. People die. And that is what has happened in Iraq, and it is what happens when you make a decision based on not understanding the nature of the threat.

So let me go to mistake number three that still exists today. Now, today we had the pleasure of talking to Dr. Condoleezza Rice, who finally came and briefed the Democratic Caucus. We think the briefings should be bipartisan, because this is a bipartisan challenge and there are no Democrats or Republicans in Iraq. There are only Americans.

Mr. DELAHUNT. If I can interrupt my friend, how many briefings has Dr. Rice volunteered up to this point in time to come in and to consult and to engage in a discourse and a dialogue with Members of Congress?

Mr. INSLEE. I could be mistaken, but I do not recall any. The way this one happened is she agreed to brief the Republican colleagues, and only later as an afterthought, at our request, apparently, offered to brief the Democratic colleagues. We have suggested that we have bipartisan briefings, because we are in this pickle together, and we have suggested this.

Mr. DELAHUNT. What you are saying is that the President's National Security Adviser, who is responsible for coordinating American foreign policy, particularly in times of crisis like obviously we find ourselves currently in, has not on a single occasion briefed Democratic Members of the House of Representatives, at least to your knowledge?

Mr. INSLEE. That is correct. It is a failure, because we need to be a team in this regard.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I think what is particularly interesting, when we talk about consultation, and those that are listening to us this evening, members of our group that we call the Iraq Watch, ought to be aware that this is a complaint that not only comes from

the Democratic side of the aisle, but also from Republicans.

I remember noting a particular quote by Senator HAGEL who serves on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in describing his perception of the consultative process during the course of the debate leading up to the war as one which he felt that the White House considered Congress as a nuisance.

Hopefully, hopefully, that attitude will not occur, and conceivably we could have some discourse and dialogue with key members of the administration such as Dr. Rice on a regular basis.

I think in all fairness, however, I should note, and those who are listening to us this evening, that on a regular basis, the Secretary of Defense, Mr. Rumsfeld, has volunteered to come before Members of Congress and provide briefings. But I have been particularly disappointed with Dr. Rice, who, up until this point in time, has not in any way engaged in a conversation with Members of Congress.

Mr. INSLEE. And we would hope in the future when we do have these consultations that we do this in a bipartisan manner, because we have to all have the information, Democrat and Republican alike, so we can try to fashion the proper response.

Let me go to the third mistake, if I can, we were talking about. I must say after briefings today by Dr. Rice and listening to the administration and listening to the press information, this is an error that I will next address that still exists in this administration, and that is the error that they have a strategic initiative that is based on the wishful hopes that there is just a few finite number of individuals in Iraq, and that if they are eliminated, this problem is going to be solved.

This administration still looks at Iraq as sort of this virginal, potential flower Garden of Eden of democracy that just happens to have the Corleone family in it, and if they can just get rid of the Corleone family, everything is going to be hunky-dory.

Listening to Dr. Rice's briefing today, I was astounded to hear that things were going so swimmingly in Iraq, that if we just eliminate a few more people in Fallujah and maybe a couple in Basra and three in Baghdad, things were going to be okay.

That is the most wildly out-of-touch viewpoint about the challenge that we have in Iraq and dooms our policy in Iraq to failure.

If you think about the administration's theory, their plan, if you can call it that, their view is, well, when we get Uday, things are going to be okay. We got Uday, and things were not okay. If we get Saddam, things are going to be okay. Well, we got Saddam, and we have lost 264 Americans since then. Now, if we just get a few people in Fallujah, things are going to be okay.

Well, unfortunately, that is not the situation, because one of the most prescient things said was stated by Mr.

Paul Bremer when he said on January 1, and, I am sorry my quote does not have which year, but it holds for any year, he said, "As long as we are here, we are the occupying power." It is a very ugly word, but it is true: "As long as we are here."

Unfortunately, Mr. Bremer was correct, and that is why this administration is wrong not to equip our Army in a way that will make it prepared for that type of conflict as long as we are there and to develop a strategic effort to recognize that we will be seen as an occupying power by a significant portion of that population as long as we are there.

This administration's theory is if we just eliminate a few more people, we will no longer be seen as an occupying power, but rather as the liberators that we wish to be. It is a policy based on a falsehood which is based on mistake number four.

Mistake number four is that there is one principal rule of warfare, that you should not start a war based on falsehood. Unfortunately, that is what this executive branch of the United States Government did. If I can spend just a few minutes, and then I will yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. DELAHUNT) in that regard. That is a significant thing to say, but it is, unfortunately, the sad truth.

On March 17, 2003, the President of the United States, George Bush, said, "Intelligence gathered by this and other governments leaves no doubt that the Iraq regime continues to possess and conceal some of the most lethal weapons ever devised."

That statement was false, and that statement formed the entire foundation of the war that this President initiated, and it was false. But, unfortunately, it was not the only falsehood that we heard.

On March 16, 2003, the day before, the Vice President of the United States, DICK CHENEY said, "And we believe he has in fact reconstituted nuclear weapons." That statement was false, and it was an underlying principle of this executive starting this war.

On March 23, a week later, 2003, Kenneth Adelman, the Defense Policy Board member of the executive branch of the government said, "I have no doubt we are going to find big stores of weapons of mass destruction." That statement was false.

Now, this administration I think somewhere in the year 2050 will still be saying, "It is out there in the turkey fields somewhere. We know it is there."

It is now over a year after we have had control of Iraq and have not found a single weapon system that this administration started a war that cost hundreds of Americans' lives over. Not one. Not an ounce. Not a gear. Not a paper. Nothing. This is while our soldiers and sailors have paid the ultimate tribute at the behest of the Federal Government.

On March 30, 2003, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld said, "We know

where they are," referring to weapons of mass destruction. "They are in the area around Tikrit and Baghdad, and east, west, south and north somewhat."

That statement was false. Unfortunately, these statements were false even given the intelligence we had then. We have subsequent to the initiation of this war had access, and obviously we will not disclose any secure information tonight, but in the public realm, it is clear that our intelligence indicated there was lots of doubt, at a minimum, what the situation was in Iraq.

These airplanes that the President told us had been built by Saddam to fly over the Atlantic and spray germ warfare over Baltimore and Washington, D.C., which is a terrifying prospect, and one if it was true we ought to be concerned about, there was only one problem: the United States Air Force before the war started, according to published accounts, stated that that is not the reason these balsa wood, duct tape affairs were put together.

□ 2115

They were put together, they tried to come up with something they could take Polaroid pictures of the enemy. They were not meant for spraying germ warfare, and our own intelligence indicated that. But that is not what the President told us. It was something else.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Mr. Speaker, what I find particularly disturbing, and I think that the American people have reached, by a vast majority, the conclusion that many of us reached during the course of the debate on whether Congress should authorize the executive to attack Iraq militarily, and that is the case was never made, never made in terms of the existence of weapons of mass destruction. Neither was the case ever made in terms of a relationship or linkage between al Qaeda and Saddam Hussein, particularly as focused on September 11. There was no involvement by the Iraqi regime on September 11, and there never had been a significant relationship between al Qaeda and the Saddam Hussein regime in Baghdad.

But what I find even more disturbing is that reluctance of the administration to let go of this myth. It is as if they so intensely embrace this belief that they are incapable from detaching themselves from that belief and accept reality.

What I thought was particularly striking is that after the so-called major combat phase of the Iraq war, as it was announced by the President, and the inability of the existing forces to discover weapons of mass destruction, he created the so-called Survey Group, the Iraq Survey Group headed by a former U.N. inspector who was described as hawkish in his views in terms of whether there should have been or whether the United States was correct in invading Iraq. His name was David Kay. I am sure many of us re-

member the name, many of those watching here tonight remember David Kay. He appeared on a number of television programs, wrote opinion pieces in major media outlets, and he was selected by the President to head the effort.

Well, last October he returned to Washington, consulted with Congress, consulted with Secretary Rumsfeld and reported that he was wrong. In fact, he testified before a Senate committee and made that statement which ended up in Newsweek that I believed was refreshing, because it reflected a candor and an honesty that has been lacking. And he stated passionately that we were all wrong. We were all wrong. Yet, as the gentleman from Washington indicated, the President, and particularly the Vice President will not let go, wants to create a reality that is simply inaccurate, that is false.

Recently, David Kay stated that the U.S. is in grave danger of destroying its credibility at home and abroad if we do not own up to the mistakes that we made. We are a proud people. We are a democracy, and in a democracy, to move forward we have an opportunity to speak the truth, to acknowledge mistakes, and to learn from those mistakes. As I said earlier, the Vice President on more than one occasion has been, I do not want to say overruled, that is not the right word, but after making a statement the President himself has indicated that the statement was not accurate.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DELAHUNT. I yield to my friend, the gentleman from Hawaii (Mr. ABERCROMBIE).

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Will the gentleman be interested to know that the Wall Street Journal on the 23rd of this month made a report, and I quote: "Before the war, United States companies used French units or French go-betweens to sell goods to Iraq. Since the war, French firms are using U.S. operations to bid for contracts in Iraq, though it is unclear whether they will succeed."

The Journal added, "Between 1998 and 2002, United Nations documents show \$397 million in sales to Iraq by French units of U.S. companies. The sales coincided with the period when the Clinton and Bush administrations were increasing pressure on Mr. Hussein, and the practice extended well beyond early 2002, when Mr. Bush included Iraq in his so-called Axis of Evil."

Halliburton did tens of millions of dollars of business with Iraq in the late 1990s when it was still led by Vice President CHENEY. Much of that business was done through French units. Mr. CHENEY said during the 2000 election campaign that Halliburton had a policy against trading with Iraq. The Halliburton contracts mentioned in the United Nations documents involved units and joint ventures that came with the purchase of Dresser, Incorporated in 1998.

Will the gentleman recall that during the Watergate investigation, that Woodward and Bernstein, when they were following through on various contacts and leads, that they had reported that it was not always that people were lying to them, it was that they were not telling the truth. Unless you knew the exact question to ask ahead of time, that is to say unless you knew the information and the answers to your questions ahead of time, you might actually ask a question in which the other party could avoid telling you the truth while not absolutely lying to you.

It may well have been, as Mr. CHENEY said, that Halliburton had a policy against trading with Iraq, but apparently it did not mean that units or subunits of Halliburton located in other nations could do the trading for them, thus benefiting and profiting the Halliburton company while Mr. CHENEY was in charge of it. This is the caliber of the Vice President's ability to have any kind of veracity when it comes to statements about weapons of mass destruction or anything else having to do with whether or not he or his company profited from trading with Iraq.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Well, we do know this: we do know that Halliburton, according to a CBS report, established a subsidiary with an office in the Cayman Islands, and when an investigative team from CBS went to the office in the Cayman Islands, do my colleagues know what they found? They found a small office without a single person in the office. That obviously caused more interest.

Further investigation revealed that this particular subsidiary of Halliburton in fact had an office in Dubai in the United Arab Emirates. That particular subsidiary was dealing with another member of the so-called Axis of Evil club: Iran. They were supplying the services and the products necessary for Iran to upgrade its oil industry.

So the conflict, if you will, at least as I see it, and some would suggest that it is illegal, that it is a subterfuge that there are on the books of the United States Criminal Code laws that would prohibit American corporations such as Halliburton from dealing with rogue nations. My memory is that the title of the particular legislative provisions is called Trading With the Enemy Act. We had sanctions, and yet we have Halliburton, a subsidiary of Halliburton trading with Iran; Iran who, clearly, if we examine the reports of our own Department of State, to a far greater magnitude than anything that Saddam Hussein had done in Iraq as far as encouraging terrorists, terrorist organizations, that if there was a nation on the planet that sponsored terrorism and terrorist organizations, it was in Iran and, at the same time, Halliburton was supporting them in terms of the key component of their economy.

Mr. INSLEE. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, the gentleman has brought up a point with Iran which, un-

like Iraq, is developing a nuclear program and is a potential threat on a nuclear basis. When I was in Israel a couple of years ago talking to the Israeli defense force, they were concerned, and rightfully so, I think, about the nuclear capabilities of Iran, not Iraq. But the pickle we are now in, we are in a situation now where we have difficulty dealing with Iran because they have the potential to inflame the Shiite allies they have in Iraq to get them whipped up, if you will, and foment violence. Now we are in a more difficult position in Iran.

But I would like to return if I can for just a minute to another economic issue, since the gentleman brought up economics.

There is a fourth mistake this administration has made which has severely hampered our effort, and that is this administration has not leveled with the American people about what the Iraq war costs, and this costs us a giant deficit because the President will not come forth and tell the truth about what this is costing the American taxpayer. How do I know that? It is real simple.

The President of the United States sent us a budget, and in the budget it is hundreds of pages thick, thousands of numbers, thousands of numbers, all kinds of numbers. But there is one number that he did not have the willingness to put in his budget so Americans could see what it was going to be. That was the cost of the Iraq war.

Can my colleagues believe it? The President of the United States purports to have us adopt a budget, but he leaves out the cost of the Iraq war. How could one possibly, with a straight face, leave out something that this year is going to cost us at least \$100 billion and next year probably half to three-quarters of that at least, if not more. How with a straight face could he do that, unless he really did not want the American people to know how costly this endeavor is?

This President needs to shoot straight with the American people and tell them what it is going to cost, which is hundreds of millions of dollars coming out of their April 15 taxes. And if it is worth doing, he needs to say so. But this duplicitous thing of trying to fight a war on the cheap is wrong.

Winston Churchill said, "All I have to offer you is blood, sweat, toil, and tears." This President said, don't worry, be happy. That is not the situation we are in today, and the President needs to belly up to the bar and show us how he intends to pay for this instead of ballooning the deficit, which is what he is doing, and putting the cost of the Iraq war, which is going to go on for years and years on the backs of our children, with a \$500 billion deficit that he thinks Americans are not smart enough to figure out. Well, I think he is wrong.

□ 2130

Mr. INSLEE. I think they know, especially with the deficit, the cost of

this war; and he is not willing to talk about his tax cuts to pay for it because he doesn't want anybody to make a sacrifice in this war except the soldiers, sailors, Marines, and Air Force who put their lives on the line. They put their lives on the line, George Bush ought to put his tax cuts on the line. They know what sacrifice is. And, yet, this President won't shoot straight with the American people to show how to pay for this war.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield for a moment. I do not want the audience or whoever may be watching us have this conversation tonight to perceive this simply to be a one-sided partisan attack on the White House because that would be a distorted view of our purpose and our intent.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Would the gentleman yield on that point? I just read something from the Wall Street Journal, an investigative report of the Wall Street Journal. I hardly think that the Wall Street Journal can be called a tool of the Democratic Party.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I concur with that, but let me read something from The Washington Post of last week.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Would the gentleman yield again? The Washington Post, which has editorially supported the war in Iraq.

Mr. DELAHUNT. That is accurate.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Let us just keep right on with what we are doing here. We are analyzing the situation in which American troops are in harm's way and any accusation that this has anything to do with Republicans or Democrats is not only entirely beside the point, but undermines the dialogue and discussion that has to take place when we are in a situation of war.

As the gentleman well knows, this Member has disagreed publicly and privately with the President of the United States when it was Bill Clinton and it was a Democrat. This gentleman, I can tell you, has never taken a position on the basis of who was President of the United States, but rather what the position of the United States should be in the consul of world powers in terms of the peace and welfare of the planet and the United States' role in it. Whether it is a Democratic President or a Republican President, we have to be accountable.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I think we have to acknowledge that there are Republican Members of this House and the other body that say it like it is, that speak the truth, that are not hesitant to take on a President of their own party.

Let me just read to you a statement that was attributed to the vice chair of the House Committee on Armed Services on which you serve, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON), a Republican, from Pennsylvania. He charged that "the President is playing political games by postponing further funding requests until after the election to try to avoid reopening debate on the war's cost and future. WELDON

described the administration's current defense budget request as outrageous and immoral and said that at least \$10 billion is needed for Iraqi operations over the next 5 months." There needs to be a supplemental whether it is a Presidential election year or not.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Would the gentleman yield? I serve as the ranking member on the subcommittee of the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON). And I can tell my colleague that back in the time of President Clinton's administration when the Kosovo and Bosnia issues were there, I was privileged to go with the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON) and other Members in a joint Democratic and Republican congressional delegation to the area because of disagreements we had in the way we were conducting both our foreign policy and military operations there.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON), I believe, is also a supporter of the fact that we went to war with Iraq. So his admonitions here are based on his perceptions, I am certain, serving as his ranking member and counting myself as among his good and personal friends in this body. I have deep affection and respect for him both personally and as a colleague in this body.

If he is making these statements, he is making them because he believes as a supporter of this war effort that this is, in fact, in the interest of the troops and the interest of the Nation.

So this is something that is not partisan in nature. This is something that has to be addressed by all of us as our responsibility of one of 435 people in this body representing the interests of this Nation.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Let me note that the Senate chair of the foreign relations committee, who we all know and respect, Senator LUGAR, along with the ranking member, Senator BIDEN, urged the administration to be more forthcoming about its strategy for returning Iraq to the control of its people. And, again, this is from an article last Wednesday from *The Washington Post*: "The Bush administration has sometimes failed in the past to communicate its Iraq plans and cost estimates to Congress and the American people, LUGAR said, and must recognize that its domestic credibility on Iraq will have a great impact on its efforts to succeed."

Mr. INSLEE. Would the gentleman yield? He said something that really triggered a thought, and it is disappointing. He said, "The administration needs to be more forthright to tell us its plan." Well, I have some really bad news for the American people tonight: there was not a plan for the security of Iraq the week before the invasion, there was not a plan for the security of Iraq the week after the invasion, there was not a plan for the security of Iraq when the President declared the mission accomplished in May, 2003, and there is not a plan for

the security of Iraq tonight that has a good chance of success.

Now, why do I say that? And this is very, very frustrating to me. Because 7 days before the invasion of Iraq, we, on a bipartisan basis in several meetings, begged the administration to show us the plan for the security of Iraq after the Iraqi Army folded, which we knew was going to happen at some point. And the administration officials essentially said a week before the invasion, we are giving serious thought to that.

Well, I just do not think that is good enough. And that is one of the reasons Iraq exploded into looting because the President did not listen to General Shinseki when he told him, and this is the fifth mistake, that we need hundreds of thousands of boots on the ground to prevent Iraq from going up in flames after the Iraqi Army collapses.

And our soldiers today, tonight in Fallujah are paying the price for that mistake, that we did not have enough boots on the ground the day after the Iraqi Army collapsed. And we continue to suffer as a result of that.

Now, why did that happen? Again, the deadliest kind of plans in warfare are those based on wishful thinking. And this plan, if you could call it that, from day one has been based on fallacious, false, wishful thinking. It is wishful thinking about the amount of troops we are going to have to have, it was wishful thinking about what type of armor we are going to have to have, it was wishful thinking about how much it was going to cost, it was wishful thinking about whether we would find the weapons of mass destruction, it was wishful thinking that once we got rid of Saddam Hussein there would no longer be an ally of al Qaeda.

Al Qaeda is in Iraq. They are in there now, al Qaeda is in Iraq big time now. They may not have been there before the war; but, by gum, we made it a great place for them to do business today, and they are there.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Can I use another word? My colleague said "wishful thinking." Let me be very clear. What we are talking about here is competence or incompetence, and we are not talking about the military who, clearly, have performed professionally, heroically, and deserve our praise and deserve our support. But what we are talking about is the civilian leadership at the Pentagon and this administration and this Presidency.

Let me just for one minute, if I can, here we are now talking about whether there should be a supplemental budget. And recently a colleague of ours, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. EDWARDS), visited Iraq and returned in the latter part of March and had private conversations with the generals in charge of the post-combat phase, if you will, according to the President. And they informed him that if there was not a supplemental, there would be serious problems confronting the American military.

Again, in a recent story, a recent report, dated April 21, so that is last Wednesday, this is what is happening. Let us be very clear, we have heard again and again colleagues stand up and talk about the inadequate protection being provided to American troops, whether it be vests, whether it be unarmored Humvees. So to make it up, here is what is happening. According to this report, the military is scrambling to fill its needs. The Pentagon last week diverted 120 armored Humvees purchased by the Israeli defense forces to Iraq. Yesterday, the Army announced a \$110 million contract for still more armored Humvees. This is incompetence. That is what this is about. It is not just about credibility; it is about incompetence.

An unreal expectation that the numbers of troops that would be necessary in May of 2003 and 3 months thereafter would be 30,000. And, yet, the Under Secretary of Defense, Mr. Wolfowitz, in a very derisive way when asked about the estimate that was given to the Senate by General Shinseki of 200,000 troops, said it was wildly off the mark. Well, Mr. Wolfowitz, now you are scrambling, and now we have American military personnel at risk.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. If the gentleman would yield, both he and the gentleman from Washington (Mr. INSLEE) have made the point over the last several minutes that a lack of planning, a lack of clear-sighted planning has brought us to the present path.

I would like to cite an article in *The Washington Post* for summary purposes made just yesterday. At the confirmation hearing before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, where Mr. John Negroponte, Mr. Bush's nominee to be ambassador to Iraq, was being questioned, the summary in the story by Walter Pincus and Colum Lynch is as follows: "Panel members expressed confidence in Negroponte while voicing skepticism that the United States had a clear enough strategy in place for Iraq."

Let me be a little more specific, specific in the words of Mr. Negroponte with respect to his assuming the ambassadorship in Iraq and planning for what is going to happen to our troops and what is going to happen to Iraq in terms of its sovereignty: Under questioning by Senator HAGEL, Republican of Nebraska, when asked what would happen if there was disagreement between Iraqi authorities and the United States military over how to handle a situation similar to the unrest in Fallujah, that would require, "a real dialogue between our military commanders, the new Iraqi government, and, I think, the United States mission as well," Negroponte said. Think about that. Can you imagine a combat situation such as is faced right now in Fallujah. It has nothing to do with the competence or incompetence of the United States military; it has everything to do with the competence or incompetence of the political policies that put the military in that situation.

We are now faced with circumstances in which military action becomes the political policy, that in order to support the political policy, you have to support military action, whatever it might be.

Going on, in the end, however, Negroponte said, "The U.S. military is going to have the freedom to act in their self-defense, and they are going to be free to operate in Iraq as they best see fit." Operate in their self-defense.

Mr. Negroponte, perhaps unconsciously, recognizes we are not on the offense.

□ 2145

We are not accomplishing any mission. What we are saying is, what I have said on this floor, that on June 30, the United States military is going to set adrift in a desert sea of political anarchy where our military action will be self-defense. Is that what we are sentencing the United States military to? A daily round of defending itself? For what? Under what circumstances can we justify the continued presence of the United States military if their sole military purpose according to the ambassador nominee to Iraq is to defend themselves?

Continuing, what is more, he said, Iraqi military forces "will come under the unified command of a U.S.-led multinational force. Negroponte emphasized the interim government will not need law-making authority because it will just have two prime functions: running 25 government ministries and preparing for next year's election of a transitional national assembly. Among the most sensitive aspect of the U.S. transition plan has been what has been called the transitional administration law devised by the United States and its appointed Iraq governing council."

At the White House yesterday, Mr. Scott McClellan, the press secretary, told reporters, and I am quoting from the article "that an annex to the transitional law is being written that will limit the interim government's power."

Mr. DELAHUNT. I am sure the Iraqi people will welcome that.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. "Iraqis have made it clear they want limits on the authority of the interim government," Mr. McClellan said.

We are in a situation where presumably authority is being transferred the 30th of June to an interim Iraqi government when we are writing an annex, which is a fancy word for saying we are writing an addendum, we are adding another codicil, another provision of this transitional law.

Mr. DELAHUNT. A secret agreement.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. They are still writing it. Because, as Mr. Negroponte said in responding to a question about the annex by Senator DODD, a Democrat of Connecticut, Mr. Negroponte said he had not been briefed on it. "I am just not at the moment clued in as to the discussion about the annex."

This is the gentleman who by June 30 is supposed to take over in Iraq. It cannot be more clear the stumbling and the bumbling that has taken place to this point.

Mr. DELAHUNT. And the incompetence.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. And the incompetence that has taken place up to this point is to continue.

How is it possible that the ambassador designee says, I am not clued in, even on the most fundamental addition to the transitional authority law that will set the circumstances and boundaries for how the United States military, let alone its diplomatic function, is to take place in a presumably sovereign Iraq?

Mr. INSLEE. I do not think the Iraqi new "sovereign," whatever they are, should feel badly because our Secretary of State did not find out about the war until the ambassador of Saudi Arabia did first.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Prince Bandar.

Mr. INSLEE. Prince Bandar, who learned about it before our Secretary of State. So the fact that we told the Saudis, the President of the United States shared with the Saudi Government, a foreign government, our war plan, that the war was going to start before he told the Secretary of State, the Iraqis should not feel too bad if we do not clue them to who the next government will be that we choose.

Let us be honest about this. This is what we are asking and suggesting to the President in a very, very difficult situation. And I do not envy that position of dealing with Iraq as President of the United States. But the first order of business ought to be truth. And this operation from day one has been built on the shifting sands of deception, exaggeration, failure, and simply not shooting straight.

Now he needs to be straight with the world and the Iraqis. What happens on June 30 is not going to be a sovereign government. And the reason it is not going to be a sovereign government is because the only force capable of doing anything in Iraq is the United States military. And he is fooling himself if he thinks that is going to fool the American people or the Iraqi people or the world. And we need to be straight about this that this is a multi-year situation the mess we are about.

Mr. DELAHUNT. We have already had the evidence of that. It has been demonstrated very, very clearly.

I remember the Secretary of Defense speaking to the fact that there was some 70,000 Iraqi security forces. Well, the truth is that there were about 3,000 of them that had actually received some 2 weeks of training. That is not being honest and forthcoming with the Congress of the United States and the American people. And then we learn during their first encounter about one in every 10 of Iraq security forces actually work against U.S. troops during the recent militia violence in Iraq, and an additional 40 percent walked off the

job because of intimidation, the commander of the first armored division said Wednesday, and that is Major General Martin Dempsey.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. I want to point out that that story is in the Washington Times. Again, if someone wants to think that this is a partisan situation, everyone knows the Washington Times is in favor of this war, that the Washington Times represents itself to be a conservative voice. This is a report from the Washington Times.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Well, speaking about where conservatives are, and again I think it is extremely important for us because we acknowledge that we are Democrats, but there is a growing opinion on the part of all Americans from whatever political perspective that they hold that the credibility that we see is dissipating now, as well as the competence in the planning has been a failure.

Let me read something from a highly regarded national conservative leader by the name of Clyde Prestowitz. This was a column that appeared in my hometown paper, the Boston Globe. And more and more traditional conservative voices in this country are echoing these sentiments. And this White House and this administration should listen very carefully to the traditional Republican conservatives in this country who will voice similar concerns and doubts as we do here on a once-a-week basis.

"For a moment during the spring, neoconservatives associated with the Bush administration thought they had died and gone to heaven. The quicker than expected fall of Saddam Hussein seemed to justify their vision of a new America that would reshape world politics. The United States would use its overwhelming military power to crush tyrannical regimes, they declared, and establish American-style capitalist democracies in their place. Domestically, the neocons only question was whether the tax cuts aimed at reshaping American society would be merely big or gigantic. As time passes, however, it has become increasingly clear that this course is neither neo nor conservative and that it may lead more quickly to hell than to heaven.

"This is not the foreign policy agenda traditional conservatives like myself voted for in 2000. Concerned about growing anti-American feeling around the world, we were pleased when candidate Bush spoke of adopting a humbler attitude in foreign policy and of reducing U.S. overstretch abroad. We also anticipated that a new Bush administration would embrace long-standing conservative values such as smaller government, fiscal responsibility, tax cuts carved with a goal of balancing budgets, strong protection of individual rights, and support of healthy State and local governments."

I dare say that that is an opinion that is being echoed among conservatives of both parties. Recently, there was a similar piece, I will not take the

time because I know we are getting towards the end, that appeared in the New York Times. But I would commend those that are watching us this evening to go to the April 9 edition of the New York Times and read a piece by David Kirkpatrick entitled "Lack of Resolutions in Iraq Find Conservatives Divided."

Mr. INSLEE. We have only got a minute or two and if the gentleman from Hawaii (Mr. ABERCROMBIE) would like to finish just briefly? Let me wrap up if I can.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. I am delighted to have the gentleman wrap up.

Mr. INSLEE. I am sure the country will appreciate that.

First off, I want to make sure people understand what we have been talking about tonight has been very well documented. The Web site that is indicated before the podium here indicates where you can check out, anybody that is listening this evening can check out the factual statements that we have talked about. You will find 247 misstatements of fact by this administration about Iraq that are documented in this government Web site by the House Committee on Government Reform due to the good efforts of the gentleman from California (Mr. WAXMAN). Anyone can check that out.

In conclusion, let me wrap up. What we were saying tonight is a theme. We believe this is an extremely challenging situation for America in Iraq. We believe our soldiers and sailors, Air Force personnel, men and women, are doing an exemplary job in Iraq under extremely trying circumstances; and anyone who has talked to them will agree with that. But we believe it is high time for the administration, for the President of the United States, for the Vice President of the United States, for the Secretary of Defense to stop basing an Iraq policy on wishful thinking and exaggeration.

They need to adopt the policy to the number of troops based on realism rather than rose-tinted glasses. They need to adopt a policy on how much it will cost based on hard-headed fiscal reality, rather than hiding the ball from the American people. They need to adopt a policy on the armor that recognizes how severe this problem is with security in Iraq, and starting to tell the truth to the American people is a good way to start to figure out a way out of Iraq.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Mr. Speaker, it remains for us to thank you for your patience and forbearance tonight. I believe at this opportunity we can indicate to our colleagues and to those watching us and participating with us tonight on C-SPAN broadcasts, these very valuable Special Orders that the House prepares to enable Members to speak to the broader American audience and elsewhere across the country. Thank you and thank them.

At this time, pending our next session of Iraq Watch, we would move to adjourn the House.

#### ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. CARTER). Before entertaining the motion to adjourn, the Chair must remind Members that remarks in debate are properly addressed to the Chair and not to a viewing audience.

#### CORRECTION TO THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF TUESDAY, APRIL 27, 2004 AT PAGE H2395

#### RESIGNATION AS MEMBER AND APPOINTMENT OF MEMBER TO SELECT COMMITTEE ON HOME- LAND SECURITY

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following resignation as member of the Select Committee on Homeland Security:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, DC, April 23, 2004.

Hon. J. DENNIS HASTERT,  
Speaker, House of Representatives,  
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Please accept this letter as my resignation as a member of the Select Committee on Homeland Security, effective immediately. I realize that I served on the Select Committee due to my role as Chairman of the Energy and Commerce Committee. I no longer hold the position of Chairman, thus I resign from the other.

Thank you for your assistance in this matter.

Sincerely,

W.J. "BILLY" TAUZIN,  
Member of Congress.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BURGESS). Without objection, the resignation is accepted.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to section 4 of House Resolution 5, 108th Congress, and the order of the House of December 8, 2003, the Chair announces the Speaker's appointment of the following Member of the House to the Select Committee on Homeland Security to fill the existing vacancy thereon:

The gentleman from Texas (Mr. BARTON) to rank immediately after the gentleman from New York (Mr. BOEHLER).

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. ROHRBACHER (at the request of Mr. DELAY) for the week of April 27 on account of the birth of his triplets, Annika, Christian, And Tristen.

Mr. TAUZIN (at the request of Mr. DELAY) for the week of April 27 on account of medical reasons.

#### SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. MCINTYRE) to revise and

extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. CONYERS, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. RUSH, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. DEFAZIO, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. EMANUEL, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. PALLONE, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. NORTON, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. FILNER, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. MCDERMOTT, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. HONDA, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. LOFGREN, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. WYNN, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. WOOLSEY, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. RYAN of Ohio, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. MATHESON, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. LAMPSON, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. BLUMENAUER, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. BRADLEY of New Hampshire) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. BRADLEY of New Hampshire, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. PEARCE, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. MURPHY, for 5 minutes, April 29.

Mr. PENCE, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Member (at his own request) to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. WILSON of South Carolina, for 5 minutes, today.

#### SENATE BILL REFERRED

A bill of the Senate of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 2315. An act to amend the Communications Satellite Act of 1962 to extend the deadline for the INTELSAT initial public offering; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 9 o'clock and 58 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, April 29, 2004, at 10 a.m.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 8 of rule XII, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

7858. A letter from the Asst. General Counsel, Regulatory Services Division, Department of Education, transmitting the Department's final rule — Impact Aid Programs

(RIN: 1810-AA96) received April 14, 2004, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

7859. A letter from the Asst. General Counsel, Regulatory Services Division, Department of Education, transmitting the Department's final rule — Smaller Learning Communities Program (RIN: 1830-ZA04) received April 14, 2004, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

7860. A letter from the Assistant Secretary, Office of Elementary and Secondary Education, Department of Education, transmitting the Department's final rule — Impact Aid Programs (RIN: 1810-AA96) received April 6, 2004, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

7861. A letter from the Director, Office of Standards, Regulations, and Variances, Mine Safety and Health Administration, Department of Labor, transmitting the Department's final rule — Underground Coal Mine Ventilation—Safety Standards for the Use of a Belt Entry as an Intake Air Course To Ventilate Working Sections and Areas Where Mechanized Mining Equipment Is Being Installed or Removed (RIN: 1219-AA76) received April 15, 2004, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

7862. A letter from the Director, Corporate Policy and Research Dept., Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation, transmitting the Corporation's final rule — Benefits Payable in Terminated Single-Employer Plans; Allocation of Assets in Single-Employer Plans; Interest Assumptions for Valuing and Paying Benefits — received March 25, 2004, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

7863. A letter from the Director, Corporate Policy and Research Dept., Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation, transmitting the Corporation's final rule — Benefits Payable in Terminated Single-Employer Plans; Allocation of Assets in Single-Employer Plans; Interest Assumptions for Valuing and Paying Benefits — received April 6, 2004, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

7864. A letter from the Chief Justice, Supreme Court of the United States, transmitting amendments to the Federal Rules of Bankruptcy Procedure that have been adopted by the Court, pursuant to 28 U.S.C. 2075; (H. Doc. No. 108-181); to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed.

7865. A letter from the Chief Justice, Supreme Court of the United States, transmitting amendments to the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure that have been adopted by the Court, pursuant to 28 U.S.C. 2072; (H. Doc. No. 108-182); to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed.

7866. A letter from the Regulations Coordinator, ACF, Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting the Department's final rule — Tribal Child Support Enforcement Programs (RIN: 0970-AB73) received March 31, 2004, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

7867. A letter from the Administrator, Office of Workforce Security, Department of Labor, transmitting the Department's final rule — Unemployment Insurance Program Letter (UIPL) 14-01 — Treatment of Indian Tribes Under Federal Unemployment Compensation Law — Amendments made by the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2001 — received April 13, 2004, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

7868. A letter from the Acting Chief, Publications and Regulations Branch, Internal Revenue Service, transmitting the Service's

final rule — Health Savings Accounts (Rev. Proc. 2004-22) received April 15, 2004, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

7869. A letter from the Acting Chief, Publications and Regulations Branch, Internal Revenue Service, transmitting the Service's final rule — Health Savings Accounts (Rev. Rul. 2004-38) received April 15, 2004, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); 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. BARTON: Committee on Energy and Commerce. H.R. 2771. A bill to amend the Safe Drinking Water Act to reauthorize the New York City Watershed Protection Program (Rept. 108-476). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

#### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred, as follows:

By Mr. SMITH of Texas (for himself, Mr. WEXLER, Mr. KELLER, Mr. CRANE, Mr. CRENSHAW, Mr. HYDE, Mr. FEENEY, Mr. SHAW, Mr. FOLEY, Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN, Mr. DEUTSCH, Mr. BURTON of Indiana, Ms. GINNY BROWN-WAITE of Florida, Mr. MEEK of Florida, Mr. CUNNINGHAM, Mr. PAYNE, Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin, Mr. BONILLA, Ms. HART, Mr. KING of Iowa, Mr. CARTER, Mrs. BLACKBURN, Ms. HARRIS, Mr. BOYD, Mr. HASTINGS of Florida, Mr. LINCOLN DIAZ-BALART of Florida, Mr. PENCE, Ms. BERKLEY, Mr. ROTHMAN, Mr. ENGEL, Mr. CANNON, Mr. FORBES, Mr. MARIO DIAZ-BALART of Florida, and Mr. HOSTETTLER):

H.R. 4225. A bill to modify the prohibition on recognition by United States courts of certain rights relating to certain marks, trade names, or commercial names; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. YOUNG of Alaska (for himself, Mr. OBERSTAR, Mr. MICA, and Mr. DEFazio):

H.R. 4226. A bill to amend title 49, United States Code, to make certain conforming changes to provisions governing the registration of aircraft and the recordation of instruments in order to implement the Convention on International Interests in Mobile Equipment and the Protocol to the Convention on International Interests in Mobile Equipment on Matters Specific to Aircraft Equipment, known as the "Cape Town Treaty"; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

By Mr. SIMMONS (for himself, Mrs. JOHNSON of Connecticut, Mr. SHAYS, Mr. PICKERING, Mr. AKIN, Mr. HAYWORTH, and Mr. BROWN of South Carolina):

H.R. 4227. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to extend to 2005 the alternative minimum tax relief available in 2003 and 2004 and to index such relief for inflation; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. TOM DAVIS of Virginia (for himself and Mr. HUNTER):

H.R. 4228. A bill to provide for an improved acquisition system; to the Committee on Government Reform, and in addition to the

Committee on Armed 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. FILNER:

H.R. 4229. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to make improvements to certain life insurance programs, administered by the Secretary of Veterans Affairs for veterans with service-connected disabilities, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. LANTOS (for himself, Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN, Mr. WAXMAN, Mr. KIRK, and Mr. LEWIS of Georgia):

H.R. 4230. A bill to authorize the establishment within the Department of State of an Office to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism, to require inclusion in annual Department of State reports of information concerning acts of anti-Semitism around the world, and for other purposes; to the Committee on International Relations.

By Mr. SIMMONS:

H.R. 4231. A bill to provide for a pilot program in the Department of Veterans Affairs to improve recruitment and retention of nurses, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. BRADY of Texas:

H.R. 4232. A bill to redesignate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 4025 Feather Lakes Way in Kingwood, Texas, as the "Congressman Jack Fields Post Office"; to the Committee on Government Reform.

By Mrs. CAPITO:

H.R. 4233. A bill to provide for comprehensive fire safety standards for upholstered furniture, mattresses, bedclothing, and candles; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

By Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts (for himself and Mr. MATSUI):

H.R. 4234. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to restrict the application of the windfall elimination provision to individuals whose combined monthly income from benefits under such title and other monthly periodic payments exceeds \$2,500 and to provide for a graduated implementation of such provision on amounts above such \$2,500 amount; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FROST (for himself, Mr. ACKERMAN, Mr. WAXMAN, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, and Mr. LANTOS):

H.R. 4235. A bill to allow the export or other provision of oil to Israel; to the Committee on International Relations.

By Mr. GUTIERREZ (for himself, Mr. PAUL, Mr. SHERMAN, Mr. OTTER, Mr. TOWNS, Mr. BACA, Ms. LEE, Mrs. MALONEY, Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania, Ms. CARSON of Indiana, Mr. PRICE of North Carolina, Mr. LIPINSKI, Mr. ACEVEDO-VILA, Ms. WATERS, Mr. RANGEL, Mr. NADLER, Mr. SANDERS, Mr. HINCHEY, Ms. SLAUGHTER, Mr. OWENS, Mr. RUSH, Mr. WEINER, Mr. DAVIS of Illinois, Mr. CLAY, Mr. SERRANO, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Mr. GRIJALVA, Mr. MORAN of Virginia, Ms. BALDWIN, and Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland):

H.R. 4236. A bill to provide for congressional disapproval of certain regulations issued by the Comptroller of the Currency, in accordance with section 802 of title 5, United States Code; to the Committee on Financial Services.

By Mr. GUTIERREZ (for himself, Mr. PAUL, Mr. SHERMAN, Mr. OTTER, Mr. TOWNS, Mr. BACA, Ms. LEE, Mrs. MALONEY, Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania, Ms. CARSON of Indiana, Mr. PRICE of North Carolina, Mr. LIPINSKI, Mr. ACEVEDO-VILA, Ms. WATERS,

Mr. RANGEL, Mr. NADLER, Mr. SANDERS, Mr. HINCHEY, Ms. SLAUGHTER, Mr. OWENS, Mr. RUSH, Mr. WEINER, Mr. DAVIS of Illinois, Mr. CLAY, Mr. SERRANO, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Mr. GRIJALVA, Mr. MORAN of Virginia, Ms. BALDWIN, and Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland);

H.R. 4237. A bill to provide for congressional disapproval of certain regulations issued by the Comptroller of the Currency, in accordance with section 802 of title 5, United States Code; to the Committee on Financial Services.

By Mr. HINCHEY:

H.R. 4238. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to allow a \$1,000 refundable credit for individuals who are active members of volunteer firefighting and emergency medical service organizations; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HUNTER:

H.R. 4239. A bill to provide a civil action for a minor injured by exposure to an entertainment product containing material that is harmful to minors, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KOLBE (for himself, Mr. RENZI, Mr. GRIJALVA, Mr. PASTOR, Mr. HAYWORTH, Mr. FRANKS of Arizona, Mr. SHADEGG, and Mr. FLAKE):

H.R. 4240. A bill to amend the National Trails System Act to direct the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture to jointly conduct a study on the feasibility of designating the Arizona Trail as a national scenic trail or a national historic trail; to the Committee on Resources.

By Mr. LYNCH:

H.R. 4241. A bill to amend chapter 89 of title 5, United States Code, and the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 and the Public Health Service Act to require coverage of hearing aids under the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program and private group and individual insurance; to the Committee on Government Reform, and in addition to the Committees on Education and the Workforce, and Energy and Commerce, 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. PEARCE (for himself and Mr. LEWIS of California):

H.R. 4242. A bill to transfer jurisdiction over certain public lands from the Bureau of Land Management to the Department of Defense; to the Committee on Resources.

By Mr. RYAN of Ohio:

H.R. 4243. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide a tax credit for the costs of college textbooks; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. STUPAK:

H.R. 4244. A bill to designate the visitor center at the U.S.S. Arizona Memorial in Hawaii as the "Pearl Harbor Memorial Site Visitor Center"; to the Committee on Resources.

By Mr. WALSH:

H.R. 4245. A bill to amend title 36, United States Code, to grant a Federal charter to the Irish American Cultural Institute; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. WILSON of New Mexico:

H.R. 4246. A bill to amend the Defense Base Closure and Realignment Act of 1990 to specify the criteria to be used by the Secretary of Defense in making recommendations in 2005 for the closure or realignment of military installations inside the United States under such Act; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. MORAN of Kansas (for himself, Ms. KAPTUR, Mr. BALLENGER, Mr. DINGELL, Mr. HALL, Mr. HOUGHTON, Mr. HYDE, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, and Mr. REGULA):

H. Con. Res. 409. Concurrent resolution recognizing with humble gratitude the more than 16,000,000 veterans who served in the United States Armed Forces during World War II and the Americans who supported the war effort on the home front and celebrating the completion of the National World War II Memorial on the National Mall in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, and in addition to the Committee on Resources, 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. FORBES:

H. Res. 608. A resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the Department of Defense should rectify deficiencies in the military postal system to ensure that members of the Armed Forces stationed overseas are able to receive and send mail in a timely manner as well as receive and send election ballots in time to be counted in the 2004 elections; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin (for himself, Mr. ENGLISH, and Mr. BALLENGER):

H. Res. 609. A resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the importation into the United States of products and services of foreign nationals who violate the intellectual property rights of persons under United States laws should be prohibited; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. LYNCH (for himself and Mr. TIAHRT):

H. Res. 610. A resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives with respect to the level of funding provided to the National Institutes of Health for carrying out the Autoimmune Diseases Research Plan; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

By Mr. BISHOP of New York (for himself, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, and Mr. BROWN of Ohio):

H. Res. 611. A resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the President should immediately communicate to the members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) cartel and non-OPEC countries that participate in the cartel of crude oil producing countries the position of the United States that urgent action must be taken to increase world crude oil supplies so as to achieve stable crude oil prices, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce, and in addition to the Committee on International Relations, 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.

#### ADDITIONAL SPONSORS

Under clause 7 of rule XII, sponsors were added to public bills and resolutions as follows:

H.R. 109: Ms. WOOLSEY.  
H.R. 121: Ms. DELAURO.  
H.R. 284: Mr. GALLEGLY.  
H.R. 348: Mr. UDALL of New Mexico.  
H.R. 356: Mr. LANTOS.  
H.R. 391: Mr. LEWIS of Kentucky.  
H.R. 434: Mr. BISHOP of New York and Mr. SHAYS.  
H.R. 446: Mr. OLVER.  
H.R. 548: Mr. CONYERS, Mr. GEPHARDT, Mr. PASCARELL, Mr. DINGELL, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. BECERRA, and Mr. PAYNE.  
H.R. 577: Mr. LIPINSKI.

H.R. 714: Mr. DUNCAN.  
H.R. 716: Mr. LAMPSON, Mr. ROTHMAN, and Mr. SCOTT of Georgia.  
H.R. 728: Mr. LEWIS of California.  
H.R. 775: Mr. BACHUS.  
H.R. 806: Mr. KOLBE.  
H.R. 847: Mr. ISRAEL.  
H.R. 869: Mr. FROST.  
H.R. 890: Mr. PITTS.  
H.R. 970: Mr. DICKS and Mr. LARSEN of Washington.  
H.R. 979: Ms. BERKLEY.  
H.R. 996: Mr. AKIN.  
H.R. 1057: Ms. LEE, Mr. HOEFFEL, Mr. GUTIERREZ, Ms. KAPTUR, Mr. BURNS, Ms. BALDWIN, and Mr. GINGREY.  
H.R. 1084: Mrs. WILSON of New Mexico.  
H.R. 1117: Mr. BASS.  
H.R. 1173: Mr. PUTNAM.  
H.R. 1306: Ms. KILPATRICK.  
H.R. 1336: Mr. RYUN of Kansas and Mr. RUPPERSBERGER.  
H.R. 1355: Mr. BROWN of Ohio.  
H.R. 1523: Mr. MANZULLO, Mr. MEEKS of New York, Mr. JEFFERSON, Mr. LEACH, and Mr. RUSH.  
H.R. 1563: Mr. HASTINGS of Florida.  
H.R. 1653: Mr. WOLF.  
H.R. 1655: Mr. ALLEN and Mr. JEFFERSON.  
H.R. 1673: Mr. SABO and Ms. MCCOLLUM.  
H.R. 1700: Mr. SENSENBRENNER.  
H.R. 1726: Mr. OWENS.  
H.R. 1735: Mr. PORTER, Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania, Mr. HINOJOSA, Mr. PAYNE, and Ms. HOOLEY of Oregon.  
H.R. 1796: Mr. FERGUSON.  
H.R. 1812: Mr. VAN HOLLEN.  
H.R. 1930: Mr. JACKSON of Illinois, Ms. NORTON, and Mr. RUSH.  
H.R. 1931: Mr. MCCOTTER.  
H.R. 1989: Mr. GOODE.  
H.R. 2151: Ms. NORTON, Mr. TOWNS, and Mr. FOSSELLA.  
H.R. 2198: Ms. LOFGREN and Mr. PASTOR.  
H.R. 2237: Ms. NORTON and Mr. MARKEY.  
H.R. 2238: Mr. CASE.  
H.R. 2318: Ms. WATERS, Mr. CLYBURN, and Mr. CUMMINGS.  
H.R. 2358: Mr. CARSON of Oklahoma.  
H.R. 2387: Mr. SCOTT of Virginia, Mr. CRAMER, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. LANGEVIN, Ms. ESHOO, and Mr. HOLDEN.  
H.R. 2612: Mr. TIERNEY and Mr. UDALL of New Mexico.  
H.R. 2797: Mr. SAM JOHNSON of Texas.  
H.R. 2824: Mr. SOUDER and Mr. HOLT.  
H.R. 2900: Mr. NEY, Mr. KENNEDY of Minnesota, Mr. TOM DAVIS of Virginia, and Mr. GORDON.  
H.R. 2932: Mr. ANDREWS.  
H.R. 2959: Mr. GONZALEZ, Mr. HASTINGS of Florida, Mr. POMEROY, Mr. LEACH, Mr. ROGERS of Alabama, Mr. ANDREWS, Mr. SHAYS, Mr. BISHOP of Georgia, Mrs. MILLER of Michigan, Mr. PETERSON of Minnesota, Mr. RUPPERSBERGER, Mr. MCCOTTER, Mr. McDERMOTT, Mr. BELL, Mr. DAVIS of Illinois, Mrs. EMERSON, Mr. KING of Iowa, Mr. SPRATT, Mr. JONES of North Carolina, Mr. GREEN of Texas, and Ms. BERKLEY.  
H.R. 2966: Mr. LARSEN of Washington.  
H.R. 2967: Mr. ENGLISH.  
H.R. 3069: Mrs. MYRICK.  
H.R. 3085: Mr. ACKERMAN, Mrs. MCCARTHY of New York, Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD, Ms. VELAZQUEZ, and Mr. PASTOR.  
H.R. 3193: Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania, Mr. RADANOVICH, Mr. BOEHLERT, Mr. TAYLOR of North Carolina, Mr. WELDON of Florida, Mr. MOLLOHAN, Mrs. EMERSON, Mr. WALDEN of Oregon, and Mr. HAYWORTH.  
H.R. 3194: Ms. MCCARTHY of Missouri and Mr. BOUCHER.  
H.R. 3243: Mr. WEXLER, Mr. FERGUSON, Mr. BOOZMAN, and Mr. COOPER.  
H.R. 3246: Mr. JOHN, Mr. ROGERS of Alabama, and Mr. BOEHLERT.  
H.R. 3296: Ms. HART.  
H.R. 3441: Mr. GUTIERREZ, Mr. CHANDLER, and Ms. SCHAKOWSKY.

H.R. 3446: Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi, Mr. CLYBURN, and Ms. MAJETTE.

H.R. 3458: Mr. NETHERCUTT, Mr. McNULTY, Mr. ACEVEDO-VILA, Mr. MEEKS of New York, Mr. GRIJALVA, and Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas.

H.R. 3459: Mrs. MCCARTHY of New York.

H.R. 3476: Mr. BARRETT of South Carolina, Mr. MILLER of Florida, Mr. LATHAM, Mrs. MUSGRAVE, Mr. LINCOLN DIAZ-BALART of Florida, Mr. PAYNE, Mr. CARDIN, and Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin.

H.R. 3524: Mr. ROTHMAN.

H.R. 3558: Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania and Mrs. CAPPS.

H.R. 3574: Mr. GREEN of Texas.

H.R. 3602: Mr. EHLERS, Mr. SANDLIN, Mr. BOEHLERT, Mr. GOODE, Mr. LAMPSON, and Mr. HINOJOSA.

H.R. 3615: Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Mr. EVANS, Mr. ABERCROMBIE, Ms. MCCOLLUM, Mr. GRIJALVA, Mrs. MALONEY, Mr. MEEKS of New York, Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island, and Mr. ACKERMAN.

H.R. 3755: Mr. ROSS, Mrs. EMERSON, Ms. BERKLEY, and Mr. BRADLEY of New Hampshire.

H.R. 3763: Mr. CANTOR, Mr. BOEHLERT, and Mr. ROGERS of Kentucky.

H.R. 3777: Mr. SMITH of Michigan, Mr. MOORE, Mr. LUCAS of Kentucky, Mr. SHIMKUS, Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas, and Mr. CAMP.

H.R. 3800: Mrs. JO ANN DAVIS of Virginia.

H.R. 3816: Mr. BOSWELL, Mr. McNULTY, Ms. DELAURO, and Ms. MCCOLLUM.

H.R. 3829: Mr. HOUGHTON.

H.R. 3831: Ms. LEE.

H.R. 3857: Mr. PORTMAN.

H.R. 3858: Mr. PORTMAN and Mr. STARK.

H.R. 3880: Ms. LOFGREN, Mr. ENGLISH, and Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD.

H.R. 3896: Mr. FLAKE.

H.R. 3918: Mr. CLAY, Mr. CUMMINGS, Ms. KILPATRICK, Mr. MEEK of Florida, Mr. RUSH, Mr. TOWNS, Mr. OWENS, and Mr. LEWIS of Georgia.

H.R. 3920: Mr. SCHROCK, Mr. CARTER, and Mr. SOUDER.

H.R. 3941: Mr. GARRETT of New Jersey.

H.R. 3965: Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin and Ms. KAPTUR.

H.R. 3968: Mr. RUPPERSBERGER.

H.R. 4023: Mr. ABERCROMBIE.

H.R. 4033: Mr. SPRATT.

H.R. 4048: Mr. COLLINS.

H.R. 4052: Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Mr. ENGLISH, and Mr. MCHUGH.

H.R. 4060: Mr. BLUMENAUER.

H.R. 4061: Mr. BEREUTER, Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin, Mr. MORAN of Virginia, Mr. SIMMONS, Mr. TANCREDO, Mr. SANDERS, Mr. KUCINICH, Mr. PUTNAM, and Ms. CARSON of Indiana.

H.R. 4065: Mr. OWENS and Mr. RENZI.

H.R. 4076: Mr. NADLER, Mr. MARKEY, and Ms. NORTON.

H.R. 4077: Mr. OTTER.

H.R. 4078: Mr. BURTON of Indiana and Mr. HOSTETTLER.

H.R. 4101: Mrs. TAUSCHER.

H.R. 4116: Mr. WICKER.

H.R. 4126: Mr. OTTER and Mr. LATOURETTE.

H.R. 4130: Mr. PICKERING and Mrs. MALONEY.

H.R. 4131: Mr. SIMMONS.

H.R. 4142: Mr. FRANKS of Arizona.

H.R. 4156: Mr. TERRY and Ms. BALDWIN.

H.R. 4176: Mr. BALLANCE, Mr. PRICE of North Carolina, Mr. COBLE, Mrs. MYRICK, Mr. BALLENGER, Mr. TAYLOR of North Carolina, Mr. WATT, Mr. JONES of North Carolina, Mr. MILLER of North Carolina, Mr. MCINTYRE, Mr. ETHERIDGE, and Mr. BURR.

H.R. 4180: Ms. BORDALLO, Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland, and Mr. ACEVEDO-VILA.

H.R. 4181: Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN, Mr. COLLINS, Mr. KLINE, and Mr. BRADLEY of New Hampshire.

H.R. 4187: Mr. KLINE.

H.R. 4188: Mr. WILSON of South Carolina, Mr. TAYLOR of Mississippi, Mr. EVANS, Mr. ETHERIDGE, and Mr. MILLER of Florida.

H.R. 4192: Mr. ABERCROMBIE, Mr. OWENS, Mr. UDALL of New Mexico, Mr. HINOJOSA, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. TOWNS, Mr. KIND, and Mr. KLECZKA.

H.R. 4203: Mr. BURR, Mr. BOUCHER, and Mr. BALLENGER.

H.R. 4207: Mr. GRIJALVA and Mr. SPRATT.

H.R. 4217: Mr. LAHOOD, Mr. KIND, Mr. WHITFIELD, Mr. EVANS, Mr. STEARNS, Mr. SIMMONS, Mr. SCHROCK, Ms. HOOLEY of Oregon, Mr. ETHERIDGE, Mr. SAXTON, Mr. HOLT, Mr. VITTER, Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania, Mr. OWENS, and Mr. RAHALL.

H.J. Res. 28: Mr. BISHOP of Georgia, Ms. CORRINE BROWN of Florida, Ms. LEE, Mrs. JONES of Ohio, Mr. LEWIS of Georgia, Mr. DAVIS of Alabama, Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, Mr. OWENS, Mr. JEFFERSON, Mr. CLYBURN, Mrs. CHRISTENSEN, Ms. CARSON of Indiana, Mr. PAYNE, Mr. DAVIS of Illinois, Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas, and Mr. TOWNS.

H.J. Res. 29: Mr. JEFFERSON, Mr. CLYBURN, and Ms. CARSON of Indiana.

H.J. Res. 30: Mr. CLYBURN, Ms. CARSON of Indiana, Mr. PAYNE, Mr. DAVIS of Illinois, Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas, and Mr. TOWNS.

H.J. Res. 31: Mr. CONYERS.

H.J. Res. 32: Mr. CONYERS.

H.J. Res. 33: Mr. CONYERS.

H.J. Res. 34: Mr. CONYERS.

H.J. Res. 35: Mr. CONYERS.

H. Con. Res. 30: Mr. DAVIS of Florida, Mr. GRIJALVA, Mr. EMANUEL, Mr. BISHOP of Georgia, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Mr. RAMSTAD, Mr. MCDERMOTT, Mr. PITTS, Mr. CARDIN, Mr. LINCOLN DIAZ-BALART of Florida, Mr. SABO, and Mr. MCGOVERN.

H. Con. Res. 247: Mr. LARSEN of Washington.

H. Con. Res. 276: Mr. PALLONE and Mr. GRIJALVA.

H. Con. Res. 325: Mr. RUPPERSBERGER.

H. Con. Res. 332: Ms. LORETTA SANCHEZ of California and Mr. STUPAK.

H. Con. Res. 366: Mr. UDALL of Colorado, Mr. MOLLOHAN, Mr. CRAMER, and Mr. SNYDER.

H. Con. Res. 375: Mr. McCOTTER, Ms. SOLIS, and Mr. WEXLER.

H. Con. Res. 385: Mr. ANDREWS, Mr. ACKERMAN, Mr. SCHIFF, Mr. FROST, Mr. SPRATT, Mr. MEEHAN, and Mr. WEXLER.

H. Con. Res. 396: Mr. ROTHMAN.

H. Con. Res. 403: Mr. BELL, Mr. GALLEGLY, Mr. CLAY, and Mr. TIERNEY.

H. Con. Res. 406: Mr. WEXLER, Mr. EVANS, and Mr. SHIMKUS.

H. Res. 466: Mr. RANDALL and Mr. WATT.

H. Res. 575: Ms. KAPTUR.

H. Res. 576: Mr. GOODLATTE.

H. Res. 594: Ms. MAJETTE, Mr. GINGREY, Mr. BURNS, Mr. NORWOOD, Mr. KINGSTON, Mr. SCOTT of Georgia, and Mr. BISHOP of Georgia.

H. Res. 596: Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania.

H. Res. 598: Mr. KLINE, Mr. SCOTT of Virginia, Mr. MCHUGH, Mr. FORBES, Mr. CARSON of Oklahoma, and Mr. COLLINS.

H. Res. 605: Mr. GRIJALVA, Mr. GREENWOOD, Mr. ALLEN, and Mr. ROTHMAN.

#### DISCHARGE PETITIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XV, the following discharge petition was filed:

Petition 8, April 27, 2004, by Mr. EDWARDS on House Resolution 584, was signed by the following Members: Chet Edwards, Bob Filner, Sanford D. Bishop, Jr., Max Sandlin, Leonard L. Boswell, Ruben Hinojosa, Bill Pascrell, Jr., John D. Dingell, John W. Olver, Tom Lantos, James R. Langevin, Jim Turn-

er, Jim Cooper, Bart Gordon, Steve Israel, Dennis Moore, Baron P. Hill, Dale E. Kildee, Lois Capps, Bob Etheridge, Mike Thompson, Anna G. Eshoo, Rush D. Holt, Jim McDermott, Janice D. Schakowsky, Gene Taylor, Robert C. Scott, Zoe Lofgren, Danny K. Davis, Jane Harman, Ben Chandler, Lynn C. Woolsey, John B. Larson, Rick Larsen, Shelley Berkley, Karen McCarthy, Michael M. Honda, Darlene Hooley, Tammy Baldwin, Susan A. Davis, Henry A. Waxman, Sheila Jackson-Lee, Wm. Lacy Clay, David Scott, Thomas H. Allen, Michael H. Michaud, Carolyn B. Maloney, Joe Baca, Timothy H. Bishop, C. A. Dutch Ruppersberger, Betty McCollum, Steny H. Hoyer, Michael R. McNulty, Tim Ryan, Allen Boyd, John F. Tierney, Ron Kind, Mike McIntyre, Hilda L. Solis, Eddie Bernice Johnson, Lane Evans, Jay Inslee, Carolyn McCarthy, Sam Farr, Nick Lampson, Martin T. Meehan, James L. Oberstar, Mike Ross, Frank W. Ballance, Jr., Rosa L. DeLauro, Robert T. Matsui, Robert Menendez, Rahm Emanuel, Frank Pallone, Jr., Adam B. Schiff, James E. Clyburn, John Lewis, David E. Price, Jim Davis, Chris Bell, Linda T. Sanchez, Brad Miller, Lincoln Davis, James P. McGovern, Major R. Owens, Raul M. Grijalva, Ed Case, Charles A. Gonzalez, Ciro D. Rodriguez, Marcy Kaptur, Marion Berry, Brad Sherman, Solomon P. Ortiz, Ellen O. Tauscher, James P. Moran, Lucille Roybal-Allard, Donald M. Payne, Silvestre Reyes, Chris Van Hollen, Sander M. Levin, Grace F. Napolitano, David R. Obey, Jose E. Serrano, Robert E. Andrews, Lloyd Doggett, Melvin L. Watt, William J. Jefferson, Earl Pomeroy, Christopher John, Bart Stupak, Michael F. Doyle, Gregory W. Meeks, Dennis A. Cardoza, Albert Russell Wynn, Charles W. Stenholm, Martin Frost, Gene Green, Juanita Millender-McDonald, Julia Carson, Peter A. DeFazio, Tom Udall, Brian Baird, Michael E. Capuano, Robert A. Brady, Tim Holden, Ed Pastor, Bernard Sanders, Nancy Pelosi, Kendrick B. Meek, Jim Matheson, William D. Delahunt, Edolphus Towns, Denise L. Majette, Elijah E. Cummings, Howard L. Berman, Gary L. Ackerman, Artur Davis, Ken Lucas, Earl Blumenauer, Jim Marshall, Ike Skelton, Maurice D. Hinchey, Fortney Pete Stark, Patrick J. Kennedy, Chaka Fattah, Stephen F. Lynch, Jerry F. Costello, William O. Lipinski, Joseph M. Hoeffel, Eliot L. Engel, John Conyers, Jr., Collin C. Peterson, Jesse L. Jackson, Jr., Bennie G. Thompson, Gerald D. Kleczka, David Wu, Bobby L. Rush, Louise McIntosh Slaughter, George Miller, Nydia M. Velazquez, Adam Smith, Ted Strickland, Sherrod Brown, Anthony D. Weiner, Vic Snyder, Joseph Crowley, Barney Frank, Brad Carson, Rodney Alexander, Corrine Brown, Diane E. Watson, Dennis J. Kucinich, Diana DeGette, Jerrold Nadler, Mark Udall, Richard A. Gephardt, and Barbara Lee.

#### DISCHARGE PETITIONS— ADDITIONS OR DELETIONS

The following Members added their names to the following discharge petitions:

Petition 7 by Mr. BAIRD on House Resolution 572: Steny H. Hoyer, James E. Clyburn, David E. Price, and Chris Bell.

Petition 6 by Mr. TURNER of Texas on House Resolution 523: Steve Israel, Shelley Berkley, Frank Pallone, Jr., Lucille Roybal-Allard, Sanford D. Bishop, Jr., and Vic Snyder.