

House. I am here to talk about America's responsibility as 330 million individual members of America's board of directors.

Does process matter or do the ends justify the means? Hold Republicans accountable for not standing up to President Bush. Hold Democrats accountable for not standing up to President Obama. Hold your friends and your neighbors and your coworkers accountable if you hear them say the ends justify the means.

We can only imagine how dangerous these times were. We can only imagine the summer of 1787 as the entire future of the Republic hung in the balance. We can only imagine 1776 when we were declaring our freedom from the world's largest superpower. We can only imagine what it meant to sign our name on a document pledging our lives, our fortunes, and our families' lives to the cause.

And as they grappled with those decisions in 1776, in 1787, they knew one thing with certainty: having all of the power accumulate anywhere, with anyone, was a threat to individual liberties and freedoms.

The President disagrees with me on a lot of public policy, and I welcome him to come down here to Congress and advocate for it; and if you get the votes in this body and you get the votes across the way and you beat me on public policy, fair and square. That is the way it is supposed to be. But when any one of us decides that our priorities, our policy preferences, are so important that the Constitution takes a backseat, we are not long for this form of government, this greatest experiment the world has ever known in self-governance.

It is easy to talk about health care, Mr. Speaker. It is easy to talk about environmental policy. It is easy to talk about water policy. The list goes on and on and on. What is hard is changing that policy, and it is deliberately so. It is deliberately so.

As the Courts have taken these challenges on, Mr. Speaker, 9-0, reining in the President from his overreach. And in that 9-0 case, Noel Canning, just 2 years ago, the Supreme Court said this:

The recess appointments clause—that was what they were arguing about at the time—is not designed to overcome serious institutional friction. It simply provides a subsidiary method for appointing officials when the Senate is away during a recess.

Here, as in other contexts, global warming, health care, water policy, on and on and on, here, as in other contexts, friction between the branches is an inevitable consequence of our constitutional structure.

Mr. Speaker, I challenge you to go home to your constituents, as townhall meeting after townhall meeting after townhall meeting talks about the gridlock in Washington, D.C. Friction between the branches is an inevitable consequence of our constitutional structure. We must celebrate that friction, Mr. Speaker.

We have two ways to change policy in this country: You can either change your neighbor's mind, or you can replace your delegate to office. Changing minds and changing people are the only two methods we have in this country. It is the consequence of our constitutional structure.

I do not fear gridlock. I am not concerned that we cannot find a pathway forward. I do fear one man, one group, one party having all of the control.

□ 1415

I do fear folks short-circuiting a process that our Founders put in place to keep us safe for generations to come.

Mr. Speaker, I hope you will join me, as Constitution Day has just passed, in celebrating the wisdom in that summer of 1787 and committing ourselves—Republicans and Democrats alike, House Members and Senate Members alike—to ensuring that policy does not trump process, to ensure that we get to where all of America wants us to be, but that we get there the right way, not just because it matters, but because that is what the Constitution and the law requires.

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

#### BORN-ALIVE ABORTION SURVIVORS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. RATCLIFFE). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 2015, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. FRANKS) for 30 minutes.

Mr. FRANKS of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, I have a special guest with me tonight, my son Joshua, who was allowed the privileges of the floor. He has given me a speech tonight, and I appreciate it very much.

Mr. Speaker, the United States of America is an exceptional Nation whose unique core premise is that declared conviction that we are all created equal and that each of us is endowed by our Creator with the unalienable right to live.

Abraham Lincoln called upon all of us in this Chamber and beyond to remember those words of the Founding Fathers and "their enlightened belief that nothing stamped with the divine image and likeness was sent into the world to be trodden on or degraded and imbruted by its fellows."

He reminded those he called posterity that "when in the distant future some man, some factions, some interests should set up a doctrine that some were not entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness that 'their posterity'—that is us, Mr. Speaker—"that their posterity might look up again to the Declaration of Independence and take courage to renew the battle which their fathers began."

Mr. Speaker, the sincerest purpose of the Born-Alive Abortion Survivors Protection Act that we voted on today is to renew that noble battle, to respect

and protect those little fellow human beings among us who are at this moment being trodden on and degraded and imbruted by their fellows.

Not long ago, in the land of the free and the home of the brave, authorities entered the clinic of Dr. Kermit Gosnell and found a torture chamber for little born-alive babies that defies description within the constraints of the English language.

The grand jury report at the time said, "Dr. Kermit Gosnell had a simple solution for unwanted babies: he killed them. He didn't call it that. He called it 'ensuring fetal demise.' The way he ensured fetal demise was by sticking scissors in the back of the baby's neck and cutting the spinal cord. He called it 'snipping.' Over the years, there were hundreds of 'snippings.'"

Ashley Baldwin, one of Dr. Gosnell's employees, said she saw babies breathing and that she described one as 2 feet long that no longer had eyes or a mouth, but, in her words, was making like this "screeching" noise and that it "sounded like a little alien."

Now, in recent days, Mr. Speaker, numerous video recordings have been released that demonstrate to the world that Kermit Gosnell is just the tip of the iceberg of the abortion industry's unspeakable cruelty to these little babies.

The veil has now been pulled back, Mr. Speaker, and all of us now see behind the walls of the abortion industry and the horrifying plight of its little human victims who, we must not forget, are also the least of these, our little brothers and sisters.

Our response, as a people and a nation, to these horrors shown in these videos is vital to everything those lying out in Arlington National Cemetery died to save.

Before any Senator, Mr. Speaker, decides to join a Democrat filibuster in the Senate against legislation that would protect little born-alive human babies, I hope they ask of themselves one question in the core of their own souls: Is filibustering against a bill to protect born-alive human babies from a torturous death at the hands of monsters like Kermit Gosnell who I truly am?

Now, I know that legislation like this has been attacked by President Obama and even others because of the many obvious similarities these born-alive children have with late-term, pain-capable, unborn children.

Mr. Speaker, this was an unborn child, but she was born alive and she survived. As hard as it is to consider that that could happen, she did.

President Obama explained his reasons for voting four times—Mr. Speaker, let me say that again. President Obama explained his reasons for voting four times against the Born-Alive Infants Protection Act, which would have protected children born alive.

He was afraid it might give born-alive babies personhood under the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment.

He said:

It would essentially bar abortions because the Equal Protection Clause does not allow somebody to kill a child. And if this is a child, then this would be an antiabortion statute.

It is impossible to deny that President Obama had a very sad and ironic, if also completely merciless, point.

Indeed, it does require enormous deliberate self-deception to say that those who deliberately kill a child who is born alive after 5 months of pregnancy are guilty of murder and deserve prison, but those who deliberately kill the same exact pain-capable child at the same exact age and development, but are not yet born—those individuals are merely furthering freedom of choice and should actually get paid for doing it.

But it still bears repeating, Mr. Speaker. The Born-Alive Abortion Survivors Protection Act that we voted on today and passed out of this Chamber protects little children who have been born alive.

No matter how blind opponents try to make themselves or convince others to be, no one can truly obscure the humanity and personhood of these little born-alive children of God, nor can they take refuge within the schizophrenic paradox *Roe v. Wade* to which this country has been subjected for now more than 40 years.

The abortion industry has labored for all these decades to convince the world that born children and unborn children should be completely separated in our minds, that while born children are persons worthy of protection, unborn children, on the other hand, are not persons and are not worthy of protection.

But, Mr. Speaker, those who oppose this bill today or those who might oppose it in the Senate that protects born-alive children now have the impossible task of trying to rejoin born children and unborn children back together again and then trying to convince us all that to condemn them both as inhuman and not worthy of protection after all is the thing to do.

Mr. Speaker, to anyone who has not invincibly hardened their heart and soul to this absurd inconsistency, there is an opportunity for a profoundly enlightening moment because, you see, Mr. Speaker, this country has faced such paradox and self-imposed blindness and heartlessness before.

There was a time that our own House rules banned any discussion or debate in this Chamber about the effort to end human slavery in America. But, Mr. Speaker, that debate did come.

And with it came a time when the humanity of the victims and the inhumanity of what was being done to them became so glaring that even the hardest of hearts began to see the truth, and it moved an entire generation of people to find the compassion and the courage within their own souls to change their position. And now to this generation, Mr. Speaker, that time has come again.

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

ADJOURNMENT FROM FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 2015, TO TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 2015; AND ADJOURNMENT FROM TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 2015, TO THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 2015

Mr. WOODALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today, it adjourns to meet at 4 p.m. on Tuesday, September 22, 2015; and further, when the House adjourns on that day, it adjourn to meet at 8:30 a.m. on Thursday, September 24, 2015.

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

There was no objection.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. FORTENBERRY (at the request of Mr. MCCARTHY) for today on account of attending a family funeral.

Mr. HASTINGS (at the request of Ms. PELOSI) for today for the second and third vote.

#### ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

Karen L. Haas, Clerk of the House, reported and found truly enrolled a bill of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker pro tempore, Mr. THORNBERRY, on Thursday, September 17, 2015:

H.R. 23. An act to reauthorize the National Windstorm Impact Reduction Program, and for other purposes.

#### SENATE ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The Speaker pro tempore, Mr. THORNBERRY, on Wednesday, September 16, 2015, announced his signature to enrolled bills of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 230. An act to provide for the conveyance of certain property to the Yukon Kuskokwim Health Corporation located in Bethel, Alaska.

S. 501. An act to make technical corrections to the Navajo water rights settlement in the State of New Mexico, and for other purposes.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. WOODALL. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 11 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Tuesday, September 22, 2015, at 4 p.m.

#### OATH FOR ACCESS TO CLASSIFIED INFORMATION

Under clause 13 of rule XXIII, the following Members executed the oath for access to classified information:

Ralph Lee Abraham, Alma S. Adams, Robert B. Aderholt, Pete Aguilar, Rick W. Allen, Justin Amash, Mark E. Amodei, Brad Ashford, Brian Babin, Lou Barletta, Andy Barr, Joe Barton, Karen Bass, Joyce Beatty, Xavier Becerra, Dan Benishek, Ami Bera, Donald S. Beyer, Jr., Gus M. Bilirakis, Mike Bishop, Rob Bishop, Sanford D. Bishop, Jr., Diane Black, Marsha Blackburn, Rod Blum, Earl Blumenauer, John A. Boehner, Suzanne Bonamici, Madeleine Z. Bordallo, Mike Bost, Charles W. Boustany, Jr., Brendan F. Boyle, Kevin Brady, Robert A. Brady, Dave Brat, Jim Bridenstine, Mo Brooks, Susan W. Brooks, Corrine Brown, Julia Brownley, Vern Buchanan, Ken Buck, Larry Bucshon, Michael C. Burgess, Cheri Bustos, G. K. Butterfield, Bradley Byrne, Ken Calvert, Lois Capps, Michael E. Capuano, Tony Cardenas, John C. Carney, Jr., André Carson, Earl L. "Buddy" Carter, John R. Carter, Matt Cartwright, Kathy Castor, Joaquin Castro, Steve Chabot, Jason Chaffetz, Judy Chu, David N. Cicilline, Katherine M. Clark, Yvette D. Clarke, Curt Clawson, Wm. Lacy Clay, Emanuel Cleaver, James E. Clyburn, Mike Coffman, Steve Cohen, Tom Cole, Chris Collins, Doug Collins, Barbara Comstock, K. Michael Conaway, Gerald E. Connolly, John Conyers, Jr., Paul Cook, Jim Cooper, Jim Costa, Ryan A. Costello, Joe Courtney, Kevin Cramer, Eric A. "Rick" Crawford, Ander Crenshaw, Joseph Crowley, Henry Cuellar, John Abney Culberson, Elijah E. Cummings, Carlos Curbelo, Danny K. Davis, Rodney Davis, Susan A. Davis, Peter A. DeFazio, Diana DeGette, John K. Delaney, Rosa L. DeLauro, Suzan K. DelBene, Jeff Denham, Charles W. Dent, Ron DeSantis, Mark DeSaulnier, Scott DesJarlais, Theodore E. Deutch, Mario Diaz-Balart, Debbie Dingell, Lloyd Doggett, Robert J. Dold, Daniel M. Donovan, Jr., Michael F. Doyle, Tammy Duckworth, Sean P. Duffy, Jeff Duncan, John J. Duncan, Jr., Donna F. Edwards, Keith Ellison, Renee L. Ellmers, Tom Emmer, Eliot L. Engel, Anna G. Eshoo, Elizabeth H. Esty, Blake Farenthold, Sam Farr, Chaka Fattah, Stephen Lee Fincher, Michael G. Fitzpatrick, Charles J. "Chuck" Fleischmann, John Fleming, Bill Flores, J. Randy Forbes, Jeff Fortenberry, Bill Foster, Virginia Foxx, Lois Frankel, Trent Franks, Rodney P. Frelinghuysen, Marcia L. Fudge, Tulsi Gabbard, Ruben Gallego, John Garamendi, Scott Garrett, Bob Gibbs, Christopher P. Gibson, Louie Gohmert, Bob Goodlatte, Paul A. Gosar, Trey Gowdy, Gwen Graham, Kay Granger, Garret Graves, Sam Graves, Tom Graves, Alan Grayson, Al Green, Gene Green, H. Morgan Griffith, Raúl M. Grijalva, Glenn Grothman, Frank C. Guinta, Brett Guthrie, Luis V. Gutiérrez, Janice Hahn, Richard L. Hanna, Cresent Hardy, Gregg Harper, Andy Harris, Vicky Hartzler, Alcee L. Hastings, Denny Heck, Joseph J. Heck, Jeb Hensarling, Jaime Herrera Beutler, Jody B. Hice, Brian Higgins, J. French Hill, James A. Himes, Rubén Hinojosa, George Holding, Michael M. Honda, Steny H. Hoyer, Richard Hudson, Tim Huelskamp, Jared Huffman, Bill Huelskamp, Randy Hultgren, Duncan Hunter, Will Hurd, Robert Hurt, Steve Israel, Darrell E. Issa, Sheila Jackson Lee, Hakeem S. Jeffries, Evan H. Jenkins, Lynn Jenkins, Bill Johnson, Eddie Bernice Johnson, Henry C. "Hank" Johnson, Jr., Sam Johnson, David W. Jolly, Walter B. Jones, Jim Jordan, David P. Joyce, Marcy Kaptur, John Katko, William R. Keating, Mike Kelly, Robin L. Kelly, Trent Kelly, Joseph P. Kennedy III, Daniel T. Kildee, Derek Kilmer, Ron Kind, Peter T. King, Steve King, Adam Kinzinger, Ann Kirkpatrick, John Kline, Stephen Knight, Ann M. Kuster, Raúl R. Labrador, Darin LaHood, Doug LaMalfa, Doug Lamborn, Leonard Lance, James R. Langevin, Rick