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No. 201—Part II

House of Representatives

□ 1900

PROVIDING FOR FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 5376, BUILD BACK BETTER ACT—Continued

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

Madam Speaker, I get it. Republicans are never going to support this bill. Maybe they don't want to see healthcare coverage expanded, or maybe they don't want to see insulin costs capped, or maybe they don't want to see education costs lowered or families given a tax break or workers given paid family and medical leave.

Maybe they will just never support anything President Biden likes. I don't know. I have given up trying to get into the heads of Republicans long ago.

But I do know this. Tonight, we have a chance to advance a historic bill that would truly change people's lives for the better.

This is why I ran for Congress. This is why so many of my colleagues on the Democratic side ran for Congress, not to help people just a little bit, not to solve only a few of the problems that they face, but to truly take their challenges head-on. This bill does that.

I have a sneaking suspicion that despite all the doom and gloom from Republicans today, they will be proven just as wrong here as they were when they objected to the Affordable Care Act nearly a decade ago.

Build Back Better meets this moment. By passing this rule and advancing this legislation, this Congress will, too.

The text of the material previously referred to by Mr. RESCHENTHALER is as follows:

AMENDMENT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 803

At the end of the resolution, add the following:

SEC. 2. Notwithstanding any other provision of this resolution, the further amendment printed in section 3 shall be in order after debate pursuant to the first section of House Resolution 774 if offered by Represent-

ative Jordan of Ohio or a designee. That amendment shall be considered as read. All points of order against that amendment are waived. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on that amendment without intervening motion except 10 minutes of debate equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent.

SEC. 3. The further amendment referred to in section 2 is as follows:

Strike title VI (and redesignate succeeding titles accordingly).

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Roll No. 382]

YEAS—220

Adams	Butterfield	Crist
Aguilar	Carbajal	Crow
Allred	Cárdenas	Cuellar
Auchincloss	Carson	Davids (KS)
Axne	Carter (LA)	Davis, Danny K.
Barragán	Cartwright	Dean
Bass	Case	DeFazio
Beatty	Casten	DeGette
Bera	Castor (FL)	DeLauro
Beyer	Castro (TX)	DelBene
Bishop (GA)	Chu	Delgado
Blumenauer	Cielline	Demings
Blunt Rochester	Clark (MA)	DeSaulnier
Bonamici	Clarke (NY)	Deutch
Bourdeaux	Cleaver	Dingell
Bowman	Clyburn	Doggett
Boyle, Brendan	Cohen	Doyle, Michael
F.	Connolly	F.
Brown (MD)	Cooper	Escobar
Brown (OH)	Correa	Eshoo
Brownley	Costa	Espallat
Bush	Courtney	Evans
Bustos	Craig	Fletcher

Foster	Lofgren	Rush
Frankel, Lois	Lowenthal	Ryan
Gallego	Luria	Sánchez
Garamendi	Lynch	Sarbanes
Garcia (IL)	Malinowski	Scanlon
Garcia (TX)	Maloney,	Schakowsky
Golden	Carolyn B.	Schiff
Gomez	Maloney, Sean	Schneider
Gonzalez,	Manning	Schrader
Vicente	Matsui	Schrier
Gottheimer	McBath	Scott (VA)
Green, Al (TX)	McCollum	Scott, David
Grijalva	McEachin	Sewell
Harder (CA)	McGovern	Sherman
Hayes	McNerney	Sherrill
Higgins (NY)	Meeks	Sires
Himes	Meng	Slotkin
Horsford	Mfume	Smith (WA)
Houlahan	Moore (WI)	Soto
Hoyer	Morelle	Spanberger
Huffman	Moulton	Speier
Jackson Lee	Mrvan	Stansbury
Jacobs (CA)	Murphy (FL)	Stanton
Jayapal	Nadler	Stevens
Jeffries	Napolitano	Strickland
Johnson (GA)	Neal	Suozi
Johnson (TX)	Neguse	Swalwell
Jones	Newman	Takano
Kahele	Norcross	Thompson (CA)
Kaptur	O'Halleran	Thompson (MS)
Keating	Ocasio-Cortez	Titus
Kelly (IL)	Omar	Tlaib
Khanna	Pallone	Tonko
Kildee	Panetta	Torres (CA)
Kilmer	Pappas	Torres (NY)
Kim (NJ)	Pascrell	Trahan
Kind	Payne	Trone
Kirkpatrick	Perlmutter	Underwood
Krishnamoorthi	Peters	Vargas
Kuster	Phillips	Veasey
Lamb	Pingree	Vela
Langevin	Pocan	Velázquez
Larsen (WA)	Porter	Wasserman
Larson (CT)	Pressley	Schultz
Lawrence	Price (NC)	Waters
Lawson (FL)	Quigley	Watson Coleman
Lee (CA)	Raskin	Welch
Lee (NV)	Rice (NY)	Wexton
Leger Fernandez	Ross	Wild
Levin (CA)	Roybal-Allard	Williams (GA)
Levin (MI)	Ruiz	Wilson (FL)
Lieu	Ruppersberger	Yarmuth

NAYS—210

Aderholt	Bentz	Buck
Allen	Bergman	Bucshon
Amodei	Bice (OK)	Budd
Armstrong	Biggs	Burchett
Arrington	Bilirakis	Burgess
Babin	Bishop (NC)	Calvert
Bacon	Boebert	Cammack
Baird	Bost	Carey
Balderson	Brady	Carter (GA)
Banks	Brooks	Carter (TX)
Barr	Buchanan	Cawthorn

□ 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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H6613

Chabot	Higgins (LA)	Owens	Green (TN)	LaHood (Miller)	Roybal-Allard	McNerney	Price (NC)	Stanton
Cheney	Hill	Palazzo	(DesJarlais)	(WV)	(McCollum)	Meeks	Quigley	Stevens
Cline	Hinson	Palmer	Hagedorn	Lamborn	Rush (Quigley)	Meng	Strickland	Raskin
Cloud	Hollingsworth	Pence	(Moolenaar)	(McHenry)	Salazar (Waltz)	Mfume	Rice (NY)	Suozi
Clyde	Hudson	Pfluger	Harshbarger	Lawson (FL)	Swallow (Cicilline)	Moore (WI)	Ross	Ross
Cole	Huizenga	Posey	(Fleischmann)	(Evans)	Sires (Pallone)	Morelle	Roybal-Allard	Takano
Comer	Issa	Reed	Hartzler	Lesko (Miller)	Stauber	Moulton	Ruiz	Thompson (CA)
Crawford	Jackson	Reschenthaler	(Walberg)	(WV)	(Bergman)	Mrvan	Ruppersberger	Thompson (MS)
Crenshaw	Jacobs (NY)	Rice (SC)	Herrera Beutler	Letlow	Steube	Murphy (FL)	Rush	Titus
Curtis	Johnson (LA)	Rodgers (WA)	(Moore UT)	(Cammack)	(Timmons)	Nadler	Ryan	Tlaib
Davidson	Johnson (OH)	Rogers (AL)	Issa (Garcia)	Lieu (Raskin)	Stewart (Moore)	Napolitano	Sánchez	Tonko
Davis, Rodney	Johnson (SD)	Rogers (KY)	(CA)	Long	(UT)	Neal	Sarbanes	Torres (CA)
DesJarlais	Jordan	Rose	Jackson (Nehls)	(Fleischmann)	Strickland	Neguse	Scanlon	Torres (NY)
Diaz-Balart	Joyce (OH)	Rosendale	Johnson (OH)	Loudermilk	(Jeffries)	Newman	Schakowsky	Trahan
Donalds	Joyce (PA)	Rouzer	(Fulcher)	(Cammack)	Swalwell	Norcross	Schiff	Trone
Duncan	Katko	Roy	Johnson (TX)	Lowenthal	(Gomez)	O'Halleran	Schneider	Underwood
Dunn	Keller	Rutherford	(Jeffries)	(Beyer)	Thompson (MS)	Ocasio-Cortez	Schrader	Vargas
Ellzey	Kelly (MS)	Salazar	Joyce (OH)	Mast (Waltz)	(Butterfield)	Omar	Schrier	Veasey
Emmer	Kelly (PA)	Scalise	Joyce (PA)	McEachin	Thompson (PA)	Pallone	Scott (VA)	Vela
Estes	Kim (CA)	Schweikert	Joyce (PA)	(Wexton)	(Meuser)	Panetta	Scott, David	Velázquez
Fallon	Kinzinger	Scott, Austin	(Keller)	Meeks (Jeffries)	Tiffany	Pappas	Sewell	Wasserman
Feenstra	Kustoff	Sessions	Katko (Meijer)	Moulton (Kahale)	(Arrington)	Pascrell	Sherman	Schultz
Ferguson	LaHood	Simpson	Kelly (PA)	Napolitano	Tlaib (Bowman)	Payne	Sherrill	Waters
Fischbach	LaMalfa	Smith (MO)	(Keller)	(Correa)	Trahan (Lynch)	Perlmutter	Sires	Watson Coleman
Fitzgerald	Lamborn	Smith (NE)	Khanna (Gomez)	Nunes (Garcia)	Trone (Beyer)	Peters	Slotkin	Welch
Fitzpatrick	Latta	Smith (NJ)	(CA)	(CA)	Underwood	Phillips	Smith (WA)	Wexton
Fleischmann	LaTurner	Smucker	Kind (Connolly)	Payne (Pallone)	(Casten)	Pingree	Soto	Wild
Fortenberry	Lesko	Spartz	Kinzinger	Porter (Wexton)	Welch	Pocan	Spanberger	Williams (GA)
Fox	Letlow	Stauber	(Valadao)	Reed (Walorski)	(McGovern)	Porter	Wilson	Wilson (FL)
Franklin, C.	Long	Steel	Kirkpatrick	Rice (NY)	Wilson (FL)	Pressley	Stansbury	Yarmuth
Scott	Loudermilk	Stefanik	(Stanton)	(Murphy FL)	(Hayes)			
Fulcher	Lucas	Steil	Krishnamoorthi	Rodgers (WA)	Zeldin			
Gaetz	Luetkemeyer	Steub	(Levin CA)	(Moore UT)	(Timmons)			
Gallagher	Mace	Stewart						
Garbarino	Malliotakis	Taylor						
Garcia (CA)	Mann	Tenney						
Gibbs	Massie	Thompson (PA)						
Gimenez	Mast	Tiffany						
Gonzales, Tony	McCarthy	Timmons						
Gonzalez (OH)	McCaul	Turner						
Good (VA)	McClain	Upton						
Gooden (TX)	McClintock	Valadao						
Gosar	McHenry	Van Drew						
Granger	McKinley	Van Dуйne						
Graves (LA)	Meijer	Wagner						
Graves (MO)	Meuser	Walberg						
Green (TN)	Miller (IL)	Walorski						
Greene (GA)	Miller (WV)	Waltz						
Griffith	Miller-Meeks	Weber (TX)						
Grothman	Moolenaar	Webster (FL)						
Guest	Mooney	Wenstrup						
Guthrie	Moore (AL)	Westerman						
Hagedorn	Moore (UT)	Williams (TX)						
Harris	Mullin	Wilson (SC)						
Harshbarger	Murphy (NC)	Wittman						
Hartzler	Nehls	Womack						
Hern	Newhouse	Young						
Herrell	Norman	Zeldin						
Herrera Beutler	Nunes							
Hice (GA)	Obernolte							

NAYS—211

Carl	Gohmert	Perry	Adams	Craig	Jackson Lee	Aderholt	Gallagher	McClain
			Aguilar	Crist	Jacobs (CA)	Allen	Garbarino	McClintock
			Allred	Crow	Jayapal	Amodei	Garcia (CA)	McHenry
			Auchincloss	Cuellar	Jeffries	Armstrong	Gibbs	McKinley
			Axne	David (KS)	Johnson (GA)	Arrington	Gimenez	Meuser
			Barragán	Davis, Danny K.	Johnson (TX)	Babin	Gonzales, Tony	Miller (IL)
			Beatty	Dean	Jones	Bacon	Gonzalez (OH)	Miller (WV)
			Bera	DeFazio	Kahele	Baird	Good (VA)	Miller-Meeks
			Beyer	DeGette	Kaptur	Balderson	Gooden (TX)	Moolenaar
			Bishop (GA)	DeLauro	Keating	Banks	Gosar	Mooney
			Blumenauer	DelBene	Kelly (IL)	Barr	Granger	Moore (AL)
			Blunt Rochester	Delgado	Khanna	Bentz	Graves (LA)	Moore (AL)
			Bonamici	Demings	Kildee	Bergman	Graves (MO)	Moore (UT)
			Bourdeaux	DeSaunier	Kilmer	Bice (OK)	Green (TN)	Mullin
			Bowman	Deutch	Kim (NJ)	Biggs	Greene (GA)	Murphy (NC)
			Bowman	Dingell	Kind	Bilirakis	Griffith	Nehls
			Boyle, Brendan	Doggett	Kirkpatrick	Bishop (NC)	Grothman	Newhouse
			F.	Doyle, Michael	Krishnamoorthi	Boebert	Guest	Norman
			Brown (MD)	F.	Kuster	Bost	Guthrie	Nunes
			Brown (OH)	Escobar	Lamb	Brady	Hagedorn	Obernolte
			Brownley	Eshoo	Langevin	Brooks	Harris	Owens
			Bush	Españat	Larsen (WA)	Buchanan	Harshbarger	Palazzo
			Bustos	Evans	Larson (CT)	Buck	Hartzler	Palmer
			Butterfield	Fletcher	Lawrence	Bucshon	Hern	Pence
			Carbajal	Foster	Lawson (FL)	Budd	Herrell	Pfluger
			Cárdenas	Frankel, Lois	Lee (CA)	Burchett	Herrera Beutler	Posey
			Carson	Gallego	Lee (NV)	Burgess	Hice (GA)	Reed
			Carter (LA)	Garamendi	Leger Fernandez	Calvert	Higgins (LA)	Reschenthaler
			Carterwright	Garcia (IL)	Levin (CA)	Cammack	Hill	Rice (SC)
			Case	Garcia (TX)	Levin (MI)	Carey	Hinson	Rodgers (WA)
			Casten	Golden	Lieu	Carl	Hollingsworth	Rogers (AL)
			Castor (FL)	Gomez	Lofgren	Carter (GA)	Hudson	Rogers (KY)
			Castro (TX)	Gonzalez,	Lowenthal	Carter (TX)	Huizenga	Rose
			Chu	Vicente	Luria	Chabot	Issa	Rosendale
			Cicilline	Gottheimer	Lynch	Cheney	Jackson	Rouzer
			Clark (MA)	Green, Al (TX)	Lynch	Cheney	Jacobs (NY)	Roy
			Clarke (NY)	Grijalva	Malinowski	Cline	Johnson (LA)	Rutherford
			Cleaver	Harder (CA)	Maloney,	Cloud	Johnson (OH)	Salazar
			Clyburn	Hayes	Carolyn B.	Clyde	Johnson (SD)	Scalise
			Cohen	Higgins (NY)	Maloney, Sean	Cole	Jordan	Schweikert
			Connolly	Horsford	Manning	Comer	Joyce (OH)	Scott, Austin
			Cooper	Houlihan	Matsui	Crawford	Joyce (PA)	Sessions
			Correa	Hoyer	McBath	Crenshaw	Katko	Simpson
			Costa	Huffman	McCollum	Curtis	Keller	Smith (MO)
			Courtney		McCollum	Davidson	Kelly (MS)	Smith (NE)
					McEachin	Davis, Rodney	Kelly (PA)	Smith (NJ)
					McGovern	DesJarlais	Kim (CA)	Smucker
						Diaz-Balart	Kinzinger	Spartz
						Donalds	Kustoff	Stauber
						Duncan	LaHood	Steel
						Dunn	LaMalfa	Stefanik
						Ellzey	Lamborn	Steil
						Emmer	Latta	Steube
						Estes	LaTurner	Stewart
						Fallon	Lesko	Taylor
						Feenstra	Letlow	Tenney
						Ferguson	Long	Thompson (PA)
						Fischbach	Loudermilk	Tiffany
						Fitzgerald	Lucas	Timmons
						Fortenberry	Luetkemeyer	Turner
						Fulcher	Mace	Upton
						Gaetz	Malliotakis	Valadao
							Mann	Van Drew
							Massie	Van Dуйne
							Mast	Wagner
							McCarthy	Walberg
							McCaul	Walorski

NOT VOTING—3

Carl Gohmert Perry

□ 1941

Messrs. BACON and WILSON of South Carolina changed their vote from “yea” to “nay.”

Messrs. SEAN PATRICK MALONEY of New York and GOTTHEIMER changed their vote from “nay” to “yea.”

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

MEMBERS RECORDED PURSUANT TO HOUSE
RESOLUTION 8, 117TH CONGRESS

Amodei	Carey	Duncan	Carter (LA)	Garamendi	Leger Fernandez	Duncan	LaHood	Steel
(Balderson)	(Balderson)	(Timmons)	Carterwright	Garcia (IL)	Levin (CA)	Dunn	LaMalfa	Stefanik
Barragán	Cawthorn	Emmer	Case	Garcia (TX)	Levin (MI)	Ellzey	Lamborn	Steil
(Allred)	(McHenry)	(McHenry)	Casten	Golden	Lieu	Emmer	Latta	Steube
Blumenauer	Cleaver	Fallon (Nehls)	Castor (FL)	Gomez	Lofgren	Estes	LaTurner	Stewart
(Beyer)	(Butterfield)	Ferguson	Castro (TX)	Gonzalez,	Lowenthal	Fallon	Lesko	Taylor
Boyle, Brendan	Comer	(Kustoff)	Chu	Vicente	Luria	Feenstra	Letlow	Tenney
F. (Jeffries)	(LaTurner)	Fitzpatrick	Cicilline	Gottheimer	Lynch	Ferguson	Long	Thompson (PA)
Brooks (Moore)	Crenshaw	(Bacon)	Clark (MA)	Green, Al (TX)	Malinowski	Fischbach	Loudermilk	Tiffany
(AL)	(Mullin)	Garbarino	Clarke (NY)	Grijalva	Maloney,	Fitzgerald	Lucas	Timmons
Brown (MD)	Curtis (Moore)	(Jacobs NY)	Cleaver	Harder (CA)	Carolyn B.	Fitzpatrick	Luetkemeyer	Turner
(Blunt)	(UT)	Gibbs (Bucshon)	Clyburn	Hayes	Maloney, Sean	Fleischmann	Mace	Upton
Rochester)	David (KS) (Kim)	Gimenez (Waltz)	Cohen	Higgins (NY)	Manning	Fortenberry	Malliotakis	Valadao
Buchanan	(NJ)	Gonzales, Tony	Connolly	Horsford	Matsui	Fox	Mann	Van Drew
(Waltz)	DeFazio	(Ellzey)	Cooper	Houlihan	McBath	Franklin, C.	Massie	Van Dуйne
Burgess (Lucas)	(Carbajal)	Gonzalez (OH)	Correa	Hoyer	McCollum	Scott	Mast	Wagner
Calvert (Garcia)	Dingell (Clark)	(Armstrong)	Costa	Huffman	McEachin	Fulcher	McCarthy	Walberg
(CA)	(MA)		Courtney		McGovern	Gaetz	McCaul	Walorski

Waltz	Westerman	Womack
Weber (TX)	Williams (TX)	Young
Webster (FL)	Wilson (SC)	Zeldin
Wenstrup	Wittman	

NOT VOTING—2

Gohmert Perry

□ 2011

So the resolution was agreed to.
The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

MEMBERS RECORDED PURSUANT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 8, 117TH CONGRESS

Amodei	Gonzalez (OH)	Mast (Waltz)
(Balderson)	(Armstrong)	McEachin
Barragan	Green (TN)	(Wexton)
(Alfred)	(DesJarlais)	Meeks (Jeffries)
Blumenauer	Hagedorn	Moulton (Kahale)
(Beyer)	(Moolenaar)	Napolitano
Boyle, Brendan	Harshbarger	(Correa)
F. (Jeffries)	(Fleischmann)	Nunes (Garcia)
Brooks (Moore	Hartzler	(CA)
(AL)	(Walberg)	Payne (Pallone)
Brown (MD)	Herrera Beutler	Porter (Wexton)
(Blunt)	(Moore (UT))	Reed (Walorski)
Rochester)	Issa (Garcia	Rice (NY)
Buchanan	(CA)	(Murphy (FL))
(Waltz)	Jackson (Nehls)	Rodgers (WA)
Burgess (Lucas)	Johnson (OH)	(Moore (UT))
Calvert (Garcia	(Fulcher)	Royal-Allard
(CA)	Johnson (TX)	(McCollum)
Carey	(Jeffries)	Rush (Quigley)
(Balderson)	Joyce (OH)	Salazar (Waltz)
Carl (Rogers	(Valadao)	Sewell (Cicilline)
(AL)	Joyce (PA)	Sires (Pallone)
Cawthorn	(Keller)	Stauber
(McHenry)	Katko (Meijer)	(Bergman)
Cleaver	Kelly (PA)	Steube
(Butterfield)	(Keller)	(Timmons)
Comer	Khanna (Gomez)	Kind (Connolly)
(LaTurner)	Kind (Connolly)	Stewart (Moore
Crenshaw	Kinzinger	(UT)
(Mullin)	(Valadao)	Strickland
Curtis (Moore	Kirkpatrick	(Jeffries)
(UT)	(Stanton)	Swalwell
Davids (KS) (Kim	Krishnamoorthi	(Gomez)
(NJ)	(Levin (CA))	Thompson (MS)
DeFazio	LaHood (Miller	(Butterfield)
(Carbajal)	(WV))	Thompson (PA)
Duncan	Lamborn	(Meuser)
(Timmons)	(McHenry)	Tiffany
Emmer	Lawson (FL)	(Arrington)
(McHenry)	(Evans)	Trahan (Lynch)
Fallon (Nehls)	Lesko (Miller	Trone (Beyer)
Ferguson	(WV))	Underwood
(Kustoff)	Letlow	(Casten)
Fitzpatrick	(Cammack)	Welch
(Bacon)	Lieu (Raskin)	(McGovern)
Garbarino	Long	Wilson (FL)
(Jacobs (NY))	(Fleischmann)	(Hayes)
Gibbs (Bucshon)	Loudermilk	Zeldin
Gimenez (Waltz)	(Cammack)	(Timmons)
Gonzales, Tony	Lowenthal	
(Ellzey)	(Beyer)	

BUILD BACK BETTER ACT

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. AGUILAR). Pursuant to clause 1(c) of rule XIX, further consideration of the bill (H.R. 5376) to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of S.Con.Res 14, as amended, will now resume.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 803, the further amendment printed in House Report 117-175 is considered as adopted.

The text of the further amendment printed in House Report 117-175 is as follows:

Page 12, beginning line 18, strike “established under the Cooperative Forestry Assistance Act of 1978 (16 U.S.C. 2101 through 2114)” and insert “established pursuant to section 10(b) of the Cooperative Forestry Assistance Act of 1978 (16 U.S.C. 2106(b))”.

Page 50, beginning line 23, strike “under section 1473H of the National Agricultural

Research, Extension, and Teaching Policy Act of 1977 (7 U.S.C. 3319k),” and insert “to further the goals under section 1473H(b)(2) of the National Agricultural Research, Extension, and Teaching Policy Act of 1977 (7 U.S.C. 3319k(b)(2)).”.

Page 93, lines 25 and 26, strike “and other academic partners” and insert “institutions of higher education (as defined in section 101 or section 102(a)(1)(B) of the Higher Education Act of 1965), non-profit organizations”.

Page 96, strike “relating” on line 10 and all that follows through line 13, and insert a period.

Page 103, line 25, insert at the end of the sentence before the period “of the Division”.

Page 104, lines 18 and 19, strike “for carrying out the activities of the Board” and insert “for the National Labor Relations Board to carry out the functions vested in it by the National Labor Relations Act”.

Page 148, strike lines 12 through 15, and insert the following:

(2) EMPLOYEE.—The term “employee” means any individual employed by an employer.

(3) EMPLOYER.—The term “employer” means any person acting directly or indirectly in the interest of an employer in relation to an employee, but does not include any labor organization (other than when acting as an employer) or anyone acting in the capacity of officer or agent of such labor organization.

Page 148, line 16, strike “(3)” and insert “(4)”.

Page 150, line 4, strike “(4)” and insert “(5)”.

Page 150, line 8, strike “(5)” and insert “(6)”.

Page 158, strike lines 13 through 17.

Page 158, line 18, strike “(bb)” and insert “(aa)”.

Page 158, line 23, strike “(cc)” and insert “(bb)”.

Page 169, lines 9 through 11, strike “applicable to eligible child-care providers under the Child Care and Development Block Grant Act of 1990”.

Page 169, line 13, strike “such Act” and insert “the Child Care and Development Block Grant Act of 1990”.

Page 419, line 7, strike “; and” and insert a semicolon.

Page 419, line 9, strike the period and insert “; and”.

Page 419, after line 9, insert the following: “(C) that is not on a military base.”

Page 663, beginning on line 18, strike “community health center, or other facility that provides health care” and insert “or community health center”.

Page 674, line 4, strike “global and domestic”.

Page 676, beginning on line 22, strike “(as described in Healthy People 2030)”.

Page 681, beginning on line 16, strike “a health professional shortage area designated under section 332 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 254e)” and insert “an underserved area”.

Page 681, line 19, insert “, consistent with section 846 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 297n),” after “shall”.

Page 682, beginning on line 18, strike “a health professional shortage area designated under such section” and insert “an underserved area”.

Page 683, strike lines 3 through 5.

Page 697, beginning on line 13, strike “for carrying out section 301 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 241), with respect to child health and human development and” and insert “consistent with the child health and human development”.

Page 698, beginning on line 18, strike “health professional shortage areas des-

ignated under section 332 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 254e)” and insert “underserved areas”.

Page 700, lines 19 through 21, strike “health professional shortage areas designated under section 332 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 254e)” and replace with “underserved areas”.

Page 707, beginning on line 4, strike “under parts A, B, C, and D of title XXVI of the Public Health Service Act and section 2692(a) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 300ff-11(a))” and insert “under sections 2601, 2611, 2651, 2671, and 2692(a) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S. Code 300ff-11, 300ff-21, 300ff-51, 300ff-71, 300ff-111)”.

Page 707, line 25, strike “title XXIX of the Public Health Service Act” and insert “sections 2902, 2903, and 2904 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 300ii-1, 300ii-2, 300ii-3)”.

Page 887, beginning on line 14, strike “the restrictions described in”.

Page 918, line 22, strike “Amounts made available” and all that follows through page 919, line 3.

Page 935, line 23, after “change.” insert “Funding provided under this section shall only be executed through existing cooperative agreements with non-Federal partners or used internally for United States Geological Survey activities.”.

Page 948, line 4, insert “, established in section 25(b) of the National Institute of Standards and Technology Act (15 U.S.C. 278k(b)), including programs established under section 25A(a) of such Act (15 U.S.C. 278k-1(a)) and section 26(a) of such Act (15 U.S.C. 278l(a)),” after “Technology”.

Page 948, line 5, insert “, except that no funds shall be used for subsections (c)(2), (c)(5), (l), or (g) of such Act (15 U.S.C. 278k)” before the period.

Page 1091, strike lines 16-21.

Page 1091, line 22, strike “(d)” and insert “(c)”.

Page 1379, strike lines 4 through 21.

Page 1576, strike line 21 and all that follows through page 1577, line 13.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. NEAL) has 9 minutes remaining. The gentleman from Texas (Mr. BRADY) has 11 minutes remaining.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), the majority leader and a real champion of this institution.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, it is November 18, 2021. Those of us who serve in the Congress of the United States on this date will be able to tell our children and our children’s children that we were there when the United States Congress passed one of the most transformational bills in the history of the Congress for the people.

Tonight, House Democrats will vote on the Build Back Better Act as will House Republicans, legislation to transform our country by making opportunities available and equitable for all Americans.

Its name, of course, refers to the broad recognition that too many Americans are just barely getting by in our economy, and we simply cannot go back to the way things were before the pandemic.

We have to ensure our people can access the tools and resources they need, not just to survive, but to succeed.

This bill does so by making investments in four key areas.

First, it will invest in childcare, universal pre-K, and home care so that more Americans can get back to the workforce and grow our economy.

Secondly, it further expands the Affordable Care Act coverage, reduces out-of-pocket costs, caps insulin at \$35 for everyone, and finally gives Medicare the tools and authority to negotiate lower drug prices for seniors just as we do for veterans.

Thirdly, it will bring down the everyday costs for housing and higher education that make it harder for Americans to secure a place in our middle class.

And fourth, the Build Back Better Act makes the largest commitment toward addressing the climate crisis ever considered by any Nation in history.

Mr. Speaker, in all four of these critical areas, the Build Back Better Act will make transformational investments that will help more Americans access opportunities and achieve greater economic security.

This bill is truly for the people, not just those who have much, but those who have too little.

Many Americans are looking at the investments this bill would make in America's workers and families and asking: How are we going to afford it?

My friends on the other side of the aisle have raised that and I am sure will raise it again.

First and foremost, Mr. Speaker, this bill does not raise taxes from households or small businesses earning less than \$400,000 a year.

In fact, the Build Back Better Act would provide a tax cut—contrary to the rhetoric I have heard on the other side of the aisle—to 80 percent of American households next year.

Not only that, but it will raise revenue, according to the Treasury Department and outside analyses.

My Republican friends should be excited that we give a tax cut essentially to 80 percent of Americans, not just 1 percent. By most estimates, this bill reduces the deficit. This bill reduces the deficit. It also ensures that all of us will pay our fair share to support our democracy.

The impacts of this historic legislation will be reflected in the greater economic security of millions of families and in the growth and competitiveness of a robust American economy.

President Biden said, in fact, very truthfully, this will be transformational, and it will be measured in the deeper sense of hope that Americans will have when they see their economy working for them instead of holding them back.

I am hopeful that the Senate acts quickly to pass this bill under reconciliation even while Republicans all sit on the sidelines on this historic moment, just as all but 13 of them did when we passed a transformational infrastructure investment bill, which will make America competitive in the

21st century and make businesses in America grow and succeed.

Democrats will not rest until all Americans have the tools to build back better, to access opportunities to get ahead, to achieve real economic security, and to reach for the American Dream that has been this country's promise for generations.

This bill, Mr. Speaker, as I said at the beginning, is for the people, all the people, the little people, the big people, all the people.

I urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to be able to say on November 18, 2021, I voted for that legislation which made America, as John Kennedy said, a great country even greater.

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

So America, the results are in, and now we know it was all nonsense, just nonsense. The claim that this costs zero and reduces the national debt? Nonsense.

This bill, even counting the budget gimmicks, is several hundred billion dollars short today, and the independent Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget says over 10 years it is closer to \$3 trillion in national debt.

It won't tax the middle class? Nonsense.

The Joint Committee on Taxation and the liberal Tax Policy Center both confirm that up to one-third of middle-class Americans will see a tax increase starting next year.

This will make the wealthy pay their fair share? More nonsense.

Two out of three millionaires in America will see a huge tax cut in this bill.

And this will reduce inflation? Nonsense.

Even the President's own favorite analyst, Moody's, admits that Americans ought to brace for higher prices for the next decade because of this bill and the infrastructure bill and the COVID stimulus bill.

But there is more than just nonsense in this bill. There are dangerous provisions dealing with the IRS.

Mr. Speaker, at the appropriate time I will offer a motion to recommit the bill to the Budget Committee.

I will also ask to include the text of an amendment in the RECORD that I would have offered had the rules allowed me to offer instructions with my motion to recommit.

And my amendment is simple. It stops Democrats from unleashing 80,000 new IRS agents on American taxpayers. And more importantly, it blocks the House and the Senate from ever imposing a dangerous bank surveillance scheme targeting America's families, farmers, and small businesses.

The truth is the IRS doesn't need your private information. It has a record of targeting Americans based on their political beliefs. In fact, this year, they discriminated against a non-profit focused on biblical teachings and continues to fail to stop massive leaks of private taxpayer returns to the media.

Our Democratic colleagues claim bank surveillance is not in there. Yet. The Biden White House is still insisting.

So join with us, accept this motion, and stop it right now, once and for all.

Mr. Speaker, you know, Americans need to know what is in this bill. And under this \$4 trillion Biden-Pelosi scheme, let's look at a day in your life.

So you wake up in the morning and pay a "heat your home tax." You shower and get ready and pay a consumer products tax.

You drop your kids off at childcare and pay a "toddler tax."

You drive to work paying higher gas prices. You take a break and pay a bigger nicotine tax. At work your company pays a Made in America tax, a "small business surtax," or a tax on your retirement plan.

On the way home, you swing through your pharmacy and pay a "no generics" tax. Stop for groceries and pay the "Bidenflation" tax on everything you need. And then you get your mail on the way home, and you get a letter from the IRS; you are being audited.

And then you are getting the kids ready for bed, and you realize Democrats are forcing you to send \$12,500 of your taxes to the wealthy neighbor to subsidize their luxury Beemer electric vehicle.

Plus, they are getting a massive SALT tax windfall for the wealthy while you get nothing, except 80,000 new IRS agents to make sure "you pay your fair share."

So when your head finally hits the pillow, as you lie awake in bed too worried to sleep in a community less safe, in housing more expensive, in a country that lurches from crisis to crisis, ask yourself this question: Under Joe Biden is my life truly built back better?

Americans already know the answer, and that is why this President's polling is at the bottom of the heap and why Americans have lost any confidence in his competence to heal this economy.

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

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

Just before I recognize the distinguished majority whip, I want to take a moment to acknowledge the around-the-clock work of the staff who made this evening possible.

First, my team on the Ways and Means Committee that have helped bring about this evening. They have poured their hearts into developing these policies that will make America a better place. In their pursuit, they have sacrificed holidays, sleep, and time with loved ones, and their service to our country will not be forgotten.

Let me also acknowledge the CBO with a round of applause because of the great work that they have done this evening, as well as legislative counsel—who have not put down their pencils—to make sure that this extraordinary pressure that they have been under has helped to get us here.

Now, it is always a pleasure to yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. CLYBURN), the majority whip.

Mr. CLYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I thank Chairman NEAL for yielding.

This Build Back Better bill is the third leg of a three-legged stool that balances the American Rescue Plan signed by President Biden last March and the bipartisan infrastructure bill signed by President Biden last Monday.

These three bills provide the wherewithal to fix our roads and bridges, repair our rails, deepen our harbors, and provide long awaited broadband to households and neighborhoods.

Mr. Speaker, I have often remarked that America is not in need of being made great. It is great and has been for a long time.

□ 2030

I often quote Alexis De Tocqueville's observation that America's greatness is not that it is more enlightened than any other nation, but rather, that it has always been able to repair its faults.

The Build Back Better Act will repair some longstanding faults, many of which have been exacerbated by COVID-19 and our feckless early response to it.

This Build Back Better legislation will make healthcare accessible and affordable for 2.2 million low-income, uninsured Americans that exist in the Medicaid coverage gap. It makes benefits accessible and affordable to millions of children who will be able to continue receiving the child tax credit. It will make childcare and preschool accessible and affordable for children who have been struggling to get a fair start in life; and it will make housing accessible and affordable for their parents.

The Build Back Better Act will make clean air and plant life on this planet accessible and affordable for future generations by taking historic steps to combat the climate change.

The coronavirus pandemic didn't just cause great harm for some; it exposed great harm that has existed for far too long, denying far too many of our citizens access to America's greatness.

Build Back Better provides an opportunity to make more of our Nation's greatness accessible and affordable for all.

Mr. BRADY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. SCALISE), the chief minority whip of the Republican Conference.

Mr. SCALISE. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague from Texas for his leadership and for yielding time.

Mr. Speaker, we are facing in America crisis after crisis after crisis created by President Biden's policies. Just look at some of the crises we are facing:

There is an inflation crisis that has probably the worst effect on lower- and middle-income families. They are paying 50 percent more for gas. They are

paying more for everything they buy at the grocery store. This Thanksgiving is expected to be the most expensive ever because of President Biden's radical agenda and all the spending, the trillions in spending that has already been done.

So what is the answer of this majority? To raise more taxes, to spend trillions more dollars, jacking up inflation even higher.

And who is it to benefit? Let's look at the Joint Committee on Taxation who just came out with an assessment of this.

You know who benefits the most in this bill? The largest decreases go to those making a million dollars or more. That is right. The largest tax cuts go to the multimillionaires.

Do you know who gets the smallest tax cuts? The smallest goes to those making \$40,000 to \$50,000. They get the least amount. And where are they paying for it? They are paying for it in a natural gas tax. Everybody who uses natural gas to heat their home this winter is going to be paying about 30 percent more. For what? To give tax breaks to millionaires in five States.

And don't just take the Joint Committee on Taxation's word for it. Let's listen to BERNIE SANDERS, the chairman of the Committee on the Budget.

Do you know what he just said yesterday about this? "You can't be a political party that talks about demanding the wealthy pay their fair share of taxes, and then end up with a bill that gives large tax breaks to millionaires." That is what BERNIE SANDERS said.

He also said the hypocrisy of that is too strong, giving tax breaks to millionaires in this bill. And for what? So that low-income families who are paying it can then see their tax dollars go to give \$450,000 checks to people that come here illegally. That is right. You are going to be paying 30 percent on your household electricity bills for 87,000 more IRS agents, who President Biden says want to comb through your bank accounts.

If you make more than \$10,000—not the millionaires and billionaires—if your grandmother on a fixed income, makes \$10,000, 87,000 IRS agents will be unleashed on her bank account to then go and give \$450,000 checks to people who came here illegally.

Stop this madness. Did you not pay attention to the results of the Virginia election just two weeks ago? They said enough of the spending in Washington. Let's focus on helping those hardworking families who are being crippled by this inflation. This will only be made worse if you throw trillions more dollars in taxes and spending onto this dumpster fire.

Let's save America. Stop. Defeat this bill.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume. There are a lot of reasons tonight that this legislation has come forth. We can argue about why income inequality in America happened; globalization, tech-

nology, skill set, the decline of unions. But what we can't argue about is it happened. And we have a chance tonight to reverse that course.

We speak frequently in this institution, sometimes in terms of hyperbolic rhetoric about history. Tonight, the vote we cast is about history. And the Committee on Ways and Means, since spring of a year ago, wrote much of this legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I call attention to 33 years ago when I joined this institution, to just above the Speaker's rostrum. It is very hard to visualize; it was easier 33 years ago for me to read it than it is now when I walk in. But Daniel Webster said, here in this Chamber, "Let us develop the resources of our land, call forth its great powers, build up its institutions, promote all of its great interests and see whether we also in our day and generation may not perform something worthy to be remembered."

Mr. Speaker, tonight, that is what we intend to do. We are going to make transformational changes that are going to lift the people of America to a new sense, born of optimism, as that son of Massachusetts, Mr. Webster, acknowledged. We are going to change the lives and livelihoods of Americans for generations to come; and as he noted, we will do something tonight that truly will be worth remembering.

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

Mr. BRADY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. MCCARTHY), Republican leader of our Conference.

Mr. MCCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, I thank Mr. BRADY for his work.

Mr. Speaker, we are minutes away from voting on a \$5 trillion, more than 2,000-page, bill. A bill that the White House Chief of Staff recently bragged is twice as big in real dollars as the New Deal was.

Mr. Speaker, I just listened to Congressman NEAL, "to build up the institutions." I have heard that in a lot of different countries, countries that have a different philosophy than America. Let that sink in for 1 minute. Let that sink in: More than 2,000 pages, \$5 trillion; twice as big in real dollars as the New Deal was.

Let me be clear. Never in American history has so much been spent at one time. Never in American history will so many taxes be raised and so much borrowing be needed to pay for all this reckless spending.

I listened to my friend, STENY HOYER, earlier. He started his speech by stating this date, because this is the day he is going to tell his children's children where he spent all that money. Every page of all this new Washington spending will be paid for or borrowed from you, the American hardworking taxpayer.

Every page of this new Washington spending supports more waste, more

fraud, more abuse, and more corruption. And every page of this new Washington spending shows just how irresponsible and out of touch the Democrats are to the challenges that America faces today.

Nowhere in 2,000 pages and \$5 trillion in spending are measures for more efficiency, better results, or just genuine accountability. This is the single most reckless and irresponsible spending bill in our Nation's history. Some of its effects will be quickly felt, others not for a few years. But I guarantee you that no matter the time frame, all the new Washington spending in this bill is only the beginning of disaster being thrust upon us.

This year, Washington has reached the highest level of sustained Federal spending since World War II. That is this Congress' history. It took 4 years and \$4.1 trillion to end World War II, in dollar terms. It was the most expensive war in history.

By contrast, in the fiscal year we just finished, Washington, under a one-party rule, has spent \$6.8 trillion. And that is on top of the trillions of dollars Congress spent the year before in the heart of the pandemic to offer relief to struggling Americans.

Today, House Democrats want to pass more wasteful, unnecessary spending by Washington. The American people obviously know this bill won't cost zero dollars.

Mr. Speaker, I wonder why people waited for the CBO score. They said it costs more but still want to vote for it. The CBO score says in 5 years it is going to cost \$800 billion; in 10, only \$367 billion. That is what your children's children will have to pay. And they will mark this day that it happened.

We know it means more crushing debt for the 330 million Americans and generations to come. The Democrats are showing once again that they are not focused on the financial health and well-being of the citizens of our economy. Instead, Democrats are focused on themselves, their lobbyists, and their special interests group.

If I sound angry, I am. I don't think the generations will laugh at the spending and what you do tonight. I don't think they will laugh about the continuing inflation you will create. I don't think they will laugh about not one dollar going to support or defend the border. I do not think they will laugh at the benefit that China will get from this bill.

It is clear to us that this bill is wrong on the merits, and they have responded with a single word the American public have said; enough. Enough with Washington waste. Enough with fraud, Washington abuse, and Washington corruption; enough with higher taxes, higher prices, and higher borrowing. Simply enough.

□ 2045

Today, millions of Americans are struggling with higher energy costs,

higher grocery prices, and higher crime. This isn't politics, as the Democrats claim. This is real life in America today under one-party rule in 1 year.

When our country doesn't have the resources or won't commit them to fund the basic needs of our citizens, like basic human security, nothing else matters. Yet, at this very moment, the Democrats are preparing to go on yet another unnecessary spending binge. Then, in a couple of weeks, they will have the audacity to ask Congress to raise the debt limit to borrow more on the overspending. I look forward to that debate as well.

My colleagues on the other side often say that what Washington borrows and spends doesn't matter, that the lessons of history don't apply here. They also said the bill wouldn't cost money. Those Democrats are wrong, plain and simple.

Spending your money that we do not have on programs you do not want is not the solution. In fact, it is the problem with Washington. It is getting worse every single day one-party rule is in this city.

So many Democrats refuse to fund our police. So many Democrats refuse to fund genuine security at our borders. They only want to spend your tax dollars on programs that benefit them politically.

As the leader of the Republicans in the House, I say, on behalf of the tens of millions of citizens we proudly represent, enough already.

My principle is simple. Don't spend what you don't have and, certainly, on what you don't want and need.

My fellow Americans, we don't have trillions of dollars to spend on programs that will never go away.

The American people understand what this out-of-control spending will do because they felt it from your very first bill you passed. You created inflation.

The first thing that was said: It is just temporary. Our own President said he doesn't know of any economist that is worried about inflation.

Go to the grocery store. Stand in line at your gas station. Talk to one of your constituents. They will tell you because they feel it every single day.

The American people understand what will happen. They understand because they live it in their own lives responsibly, because they set priorities, and because they live within their means.

If they do it every day, why can't Washington? Why can't Washington ever say no?

Many of you said you were going to say, no, you couldn't vote for it until you got the CBO score because you wanted to hold them accountable that it couldn't cost money. You got the CBO score, and it cost \$800 billion in the first 5 years.

What are you going to say to your constituents when they ask you that question of why you held it up? Why did you want the paper? Why did you want to know? Math is hard, I guess.

Make no mistake, overspending is just the start of how this bill is so completely out of touch with the needs of our people. Its destructive policies should also alarm every single American. I think we should talk about that since we debated all during the day, but a new bill came tonight. You let us have 20 minutes, 10 minutes on each side, to further that debate. Much of that was to pat yourselves on the back.

In my remarks, I will go through each of these provisions in more detail.

First, let me tell you why I oppose this bill. It will crush American industries. It will destroy countless American jobs, more than have already been shut down while you destroyed energy independence and rely on OPEC. As the price of gas goes higher, I hear from the White House that that might be a good thing.

Mr. Speaker, you are from my home State. We are both from California. \$4.50 is the average. You and I drive past those gas stations. We see them even higher than \$5. Do you know who that hurts the most? The hardest working Americans. That was driven by many of the policies from this administration.

I heard my good friend, STENY HOYER—and he is my friend, and we disagree, but we disagree respectfully. There is something I disagree with that Mr. HOYER said earlier. He said we can't go back to where we were before the pandemic.

I want to go back to when we didn't have inflation. I want to go back to when the border was secure. I want to go back to when I didn't pay \$4.50 for gas. I want to go back to when people were employed. I want to go back to when we didn't have Americans held hostage in Afghanistan.

I want to go back to when we were respected around the world. I want to go back to when we didn't have North Korea testing nuclear weapons. I want to go back to when China wasn't flying over Taiwan every day and threatening and rattling, and when China would not offend us on our own soil. I want to go back to when Russia didn't have thousands of their troops along the Ukraine border.

Yes, I want to go back because if we go forward with this bill, we won't have the resources for the things we need.

I want to go back to when we caught those on the terrorist watch list coming across our border.

I think if you simply read the polls, America wants to go back. If you listen to the last two Tuesdays ago, I think they said they want to go forward but back to what they knew, the policies that worked.

History sometimes repeats itself. I wasn't here 33 years ago—I don't know if I was old enough 33 years ago to run—but I was here in 2010. I watched the wake-up call in Virginia and New Jersey, and I watched this exact same Speaker 4 days later walk the Democratic Members right down here and pass ObamaCare and lose 63 seats.

I wondered why she wouldn't wake up to what the American people said. She just got a bigger wake-up call in Virginia, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York. In Minneapolis, where this body of the majority championed defunding the police, they said no. In Seattle—yes, I say Seattle—they elected a Republican as the city attorney that believes in law and order.

In New Jersey, we got good news and bad news out of New Jersey. I hope you listen to the good news. Did you hear about a guy who has never run before, who was just a truck driver? He was a Republican. He spent less than \$200, and he defeated the second-most powerful politician who happened to be a Democrat in the Senate, the President of the Senate.

That is the good news. Do you want to know what the bad news is? In this new Biden administration, we just lost another truck driver. I thought that was pretty good.

Its destructive policies need to alarm you all. It would pave a glide path for China while placing a devastating weight on American companies. It will hammer American workers and American families in bruising inflation.

It wasn't just Republicans who warned you about the \$2 trillion you spent earlier in your one-party control. We warned you it would be inflation. It wasn't just us. Summers, who worked for Clinton and Obama, warned you, but you felt you had to go forward. You felt it was good for the American public to pay more. And it will infringe on our fundamental American rights and liberties.

Here are some of the worst provisions.

First, this bill massively raises prices on all products made and manufactured in the United States. It is placing a massive burden on American workers and consumers at the very moment we are under attack by the Chinese Communist Party and the companies they support.

My friend who is sitting in the Speaker's chair right now, his district is in California just like mine. We see those hundreds of tankers sitting off our coast. One-party rule created a supply chain problem. One-party rule is going to empower China to even have more of those tankers because you are benefiting China over American workers. You are pushing American companies away from America.

I guess you did that in energy as well. You just asked OPEC to produce more, and you will ask China to produce more. This Made in America tax will send our jobs overseas, send the rest of our supply chain to China, and make us dependent on foreign producers, foreign countries, and foreign dictators.

Every single American will pay for it every single day in every single purchase they make. The Americans don't want to be punished, American employers and American job creators. But that is exactly what will happen with

this vote. That alone is reason enough to defeat the bill.

Second, this bill provides amnesty for millions of illegal immigrants and visa overstays. It provides this massive grant of amnesty in the middle of the worst border crisis a country has ever seen; indeed, the worst border crisis in recorded history, period.

I know President Biden has been in office for more than 40 years, and I know he drove by El Paso one time in those years, but now is the moment he should go. He should see what the policies in a one-party rule in this Nation's Capital have created. He should see it is not just those coming across the border. They are not just coming from Central America. We catch people on the terrorist watch list from Yemen and others.

Ask yourself this: Why is somebody that is on the terrorist watch list from a faraway land, why would they want to come to America? Who are they talking to? What do they have planned?

It is not just people; it is fentanyl. Fentanyl is killing Americans, more so than any other place. Where does it come from? China through Mexico and across the border.

Many of these same Democrats who support amnesty also support giving illegal immigrant families nearly half a million dollars each. If they are successful, a billion dollars of hardworking taxpayer American money will be given to illegal immigrants. At the same time they have to pay more in taxes, they have to pay more for milk and more for gas.

The answer from the White House: Expect less for Christmas. I remember back in the late 1970s, in 1980, we had a President in office. I was in the sixth grade. He put a sweater on and told us to turn our heater down, and the best days of America were behind us. It is interesting; some of that same language and same ideas seem to be coming from this White House.

This is just outrageous. By comparison, if an American servicemember is killed defending this country, his or her family gets less than a \$400,000 insurance payment, those 13 Gold Star families. Those killed by a suicide bomber when Bagram was shut down before Americans were out. The prison was released. They killed 13 American men and women servicemembers. They didn't get \$450,000, but you are going to give more.

□ 2100

This alone is reason enough to defeat the bill.

How can you look at your constituents in the eye?

With one-party rule in 1 year you created inflation we haven't seen in 31 years. You made gas prices higher than it has been in 7.

You are passing a bill that gives amnesty to illegals. You are going to reward people who came here illegally with \$450,000 from hardworking, tax-

paying Americans. But for those who died, those 13 Gold Star families only get \$400.

You are charging more than \$5 trillion in this bill. It is more than 2,000 pages. Enough.

You are empowering China to be even stronger.

This bill spends billions of dollars to hire 87,000 IRS agents. You are hiring 87,000 IRS agents, but you are not hiring one new person to protect the border.

And what is the job of the IRS agents?

They are going after Americans.

And what Americans are they going after?

Anyone who spends \$28 in one single day. If you go to Starbucks, if you simply put 3 gallons of gas in your car and you go through a drive-through, maybe you get a dollar meal at McDonald's, the IRS is coming for you.

You are proud of that fact. That is what you held the CBO up for: How much money can we get from Americans by auditing them?

Do you know what you just provided, whom you are auditing?

You are auditing 1.2 million more Americans. You are bringing this bill on the premise that you don't trust Americans.

Do you know what Americans you are going after?

One half of those 1.2 million are people who earn \$75,000 or less. That is what you are trying to pay this bill from.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are reminded to direct their remarks to the Chair.

Mr. MCCARTHY. Yes, Mr. Speaker, do you know where 25 percent of those 1.2 million audits are going?

To Americans earning less than \$25,000.

Sometimes math is hard, Mr. Speaker.

It will double the size of the most intrusive bureaucracy.

So when you tell your children's children what you spent the money on or you talk and you listen to the speeches tonight, Mr. Speaker, and you listen to the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, where he was proud of the fact that he was going to build up these agencies, he is building up the IRS to go after every American who spends \$28 a day.

Mr. Speaker, that is not what America asked for. Make no mistake. Under this provision, every single American is a target. In the eyes of the IRS, you are guilty until proven innocent. That alone is enough to defeat this bill.

This bill imposes a tax to heat your home. It puts American gas prices in the hands of OPEC.

Mr. Speaker, I remember back when Jimmy Carter was President, I wanted to go visit my grandmother down in southern California. I asked my mom and dad if we could go—this is the same President, Mr. Speaker, who put a sweater on and told me to turn the

heater down and that as Americans we are supposed to expect less.

I can look anywhere I want, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker, I cannot believe the amount of control one-party rule wants. They now want to dictate to a Member of the floor where I can look?

Are you afraid of the basis of the information in the bill?

I am glad we can look at you, Mr. Speaker. There is a difference between addressing and looking. I know one-party rule wants to control every element of our lives.

Mr. Speaker, this President put into effect that you could only get gas on the even days when your license plate ended that way. So, no, I couldn't go see my grandmother that weekend.

I wonder how many people this winter may not make it through because they can't pay the price of their heating bill.

Mr. Speaker, I know you wouldn't want that to happen. But maybe we could ask OPEC to produce a little more.

Mr. Speaker, did you know that American natural gas is 42 percent cleaner than Russian natural gas?

Mr. Speaker, they are importing Russian natural gas into America.

Why?

Because, Mr. Speaker, our administration is allowing Putin to have a pipeline but not America.

Do you know who works on American pipelines?

American workers.

Do you know what they do with their money?

They buy a home, they send their kids to school, they buy trucks, they buy cars, they stay in hotels, and they eat out at night. But those more than 1 million people lost their job after President Biden was sworn in because he shut down a pipeline that would make America independent but allowed Putin to produce more.

That is going to make prices higher this winter. In other words, every moment you heat your home in the winter or cool it in the summer, you will pay more. And every time you start your car, you will pay more. That alone is reason enough to defeat the bill.

This bill will make the labor crisis worse by fundamentally transforming the child tax credit into welfare without any work requirement. It will place small business owners into direct competition with the Federal Government's unlimited printing press. This alone is reason enough to defeat the bill.

Mr. Speaker, did we not learn that if we pay people more to stay home and not go to work that is what would happen? We learned that this year, did we not?

Mr. Speaker, small businesses are hard. I started my first small business when I was 20 years old. There are three lessons I learned. I was the first to work, I was the last to leave, and I was last to be paid. I don't know if I could start that business again.

As prices rose on everything, Mr. Speaker, the White House told us that is probably a good thing.

Mr. Speaker, I even heard from MSNBC that it was good you had to pay more. People should.

They are going to have to pay more as they get audited.

This bill abandons the longstanding, bipartisan Hyde amendment.

Mr. Speaker, there are a lot of people who have been in this Chamber for quite some time. Mr. Speaker, I heard the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee say he has been here more than 30 years. How many times has he voted for that Hyde amendment?

I don't know what changed this year. Maybe it was one-party rule. They are now allowing taxpayer funded abortion on demand and violating the rights of the conscience of millions of Americans. This alone is enough reason to defeat this bill.

This bill dictates our children's education standards, giving Washington the final say in what our children learn. Parents should make that decision, not government bureaucrats.

I don't know if you dictate in this bill where children can look, like you tried to on this floor, but, Mr. Speaker, I don't think that would be right either.

Mr. Speaker, I listened to a prominent Democrat run for the office of Governor again in Virginia where he said that parents should not have a say in their children's education.

It doesn't matter whether you are Republican, Democrat, wealthy, poor, or the color of your skin. The moment you have that child, you will do anything. It is no longer what you become; it is what opportunities your children will have. It is not a place government should dictate.

This nationalized, Washington-centered education will take away parents' choice of local control of parents across the country, instead of supporting and empowering them.

□ 2110

Mr. Speaker, remember when I talked about Terry McAuliffe, what he said. This takes it a giant leap further by putting the Federal Government in full control of every education.

I am not sure if that is what the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee was meaning why we should build up more bureaucracy, but it seems to fit in this bill. That alone is reason enough to defeat the bill.

Mr. Speaker, from bank surveillance to bailouts, this bill takes the problems President Biden and Democrats have already created and makes them much, much worse.

It is no secret that this bill is too extreme, too costly, and too liberal for the United States. My colleagues here in the House and in the Senate know it, and staunch liberals in the press know it as well. Just a few weeks ago, Congresswoman ABIGAIL SPANBERGER said, nobody elected Joe Biden to be

FDR. This even spends more than FDR while he was fighting a world war.

Senator MANCHIN echoed that sentiment. This is not a center left or a left country. We are a center, if anything, a little center right. That is being shown, and we ought to be able to recognize that.

The New York Times editorial board, they even went further. I am not a big fan of the New York Times. I read a headline yesterday. Mr. Speaker, you know what it said? It was talking about your party. It said, after the election last Tuesday, Democrats should not panic. Don't panic. Because they think it is already over. This bill is going to seal the deal.

The New York Times, in a blistering editorial said, the Democratic Party "has become distracted from crucial issues like the economy, inflation, ending the coronavirus pandemic, and restoring normalcy in schools." That is a quote, Mr. Speaker. That is the New York Times.

The Times went on to describe this bill, not as a solution, but as part of a sharp leftward push in the party which, as they point out, most Americans don't want nor need.

But despite those overwhelming warnings from moderates in their party, from liberals in the press, and from the American people at the polls, House Democrats are plugging their ears.

Mr. Speaker, even if somebody looks at them and tells them what is in the bill, they want you to look away. Why? Why wouldn't they be proud of it?

The Democrats aren't just ignoring what is going on. It is worse. They aren't even pretending to listen.

Don't take my word for it. Listen to what a member of your own party, Congresswoman SPANBERGER, said recently. We are not willing to say, yeah, inflation is a problem, and supply chain is a problem, and we don't have enough workers in our workforce. We gloss over it.

Clearly, the challenges Americans are waking up to every day are not concerns, Mr. Speaker, of the Democrats. And that is the fundamental difference between Democrats and Republicans.

House Democrats are focused on securing the Speaker's legacy. House Republicans are focused on solving the labor crisis.

Mr. Speaker, House Democrats are focused on mandates. House Republicans are focused on more freedom.

House Democrats are focused on so-called equality. House Republicans are focused on quality education.

House Democrats are focused on pay-offs for illegal immigrants. House Republicans are focused on protecting the border.

And House Democrats are focused on the Green New Deal. House Republicans are focused on lowering gas prices.

When you look at those differences, it is no wonder the American people want new leadership.

Mr. Speaker, Democrats have no clue about the damage they have done to America with one party, with one rule, in 1 year. But if the Democrats won't listen to our fellow citizens, they will have to listen here.

Before I describe in greater detail the contents of this bill, let's take a step back and understand how we got into this mess.

Mr. Speaker, we want to explain it to our children's children. When President Biden walked into the Oval Office on January 20, 2021, he was handed every single ingredient he needed for unprecedented success.

Mr. Speaker, I am not sure, but I know Speaker PELOSI likes to remove people from committees if they don't reach the higher standards. I would be worried, with the much interruptions, that something may happen to somebody. Mr. Speaker, I am worried for them.

All President Biden had to do was nothing. Just think about where we would be today if he had done nothing. Our economy would be booming. Our supply chain would be intact. Our Nation would be energy independent. Our children would be free from burdensome mandates.

Our borders would be completely secure, without those on the terrorist watch list coming across. Our dollar would be sound, with no inflation. Our enemies would be on notice, not on advance.

But what happened instead? The last 10 months have been the most radical, the most extreme, and the most incompetent 10 months in American history.

Mr. Speaker, it is one-party rule in 1 year that created all this. From the first day in office, the Biden administration has waged war on American workers, American values, American borders, American energy, and worst of all, American families. We have never seen anything like this before.

Biden terminated every successful immigration policy put into place by President Trump, triggering the largest wave of illegal immigration in all of history. Mr. Speaker, I know he put the Vice President in charge.

Biden shut down the production of American energy and closed down American pipelines, surrendering the energy independence that was achieved during the Trump administration.

Mr. Speaker, I don't know if you can remember back 10 months ago what the price of gas was, but I know every American can. When we were energy independent, it was a time when price was low. Today, the new Biden administration is making us reliant on foreign producers once again. He is literally begging OPEC to produce the energy that we could easily produce right here on our own shores.

President Biden spent trillions of dollars on left-wing social engineering and printed money we did not have for projects we did not need, leading to massive runaway inflation.

Mr. Speaker, Larry Summers warned the Nation about this in February.

Mr. Speaker, in June or July, on a CNN townhall meeting, the President said he wasn't worried about inflation.

Mr. Speaker, President Biden launched a campaign to dramatically raise taxes and regulations on our workers and manufacturers, destroying the amazing record of economic growth and job creation he inherited.

□ 2120

Mr. Speaker, President Biden paid workers not to work and fired workers who were working because they wouldn't comply with his COVID mandates. These were the same people who were heroes a year before when we didn't have one-party rule. These were the same people who showed up to care for us and risk their lives.

The supply chain crisis was dramatically worsened by the return to the failed tax, regulatory, trade, and foreign policies of the past.

Mr. Speaker, President Biden used the FBI to target parents as domestic terrorists. Can you imagine that? To use the FBI to go after parents, calling them domestic terrorists, without any evidence, simply aiming to silence their First Amendment rights. A whistleblower just confirmed it.

The President's rhetoric is dividing and inflaming us rather than uniting us, like he promised to do.

And when his administration missteps, and it does often, President Biden will blame the military, our allies, the Vice President, Congress, ordinary Americans, anyone but himself. That is not what leaders do. That is not what leaders do. Leaders take responsibility and then take action.

As elected leaders, it is our job to take action that makes life better for all Americans. That is badly needed today, Mr. Speaker. But President Joe Biden and Democrats in Congress have failed at that basic duty. Let's look at how.

President Biden has defaulted to a failed economic agenda of the past. This administration is plainly incompetent and is growing the government at the American people's expense.

Americans are paying more for things they need today than they can afford. The latest CPI report is stunning news. Mr. Speaker, the Consumer Price Index soared 6.2 percent in the last year under one-party rule in Washington and almost 1 percent in October alone. It is the fastest pace in 30 years. Do you know what the common denominator is? One-party rule for 1 year.

Last week's inflation results undercut the idea that inflation is temporary or transitory. If you look under the hood, the numbers suggest that higher prices are not only being passed on to consumers; they are becoming the new normal.

Even the politicians responsible for inflation now concede that Americans will continue to live with it for at least another year.

Make no mistake, inflation is becoming implanted in our economy. Too

much money is chasing too few goods. It all started with one-party rule for 1 year in Washington. It first started with \$2 trillion; now it is \$5 trillion.

Americans are also witnessing shortages and supply chain problems, too. Again, put politics aside and just look at the numbers. They are jaw-dropping.

Americans are paying \$20 to \$30 more for groceries per week. Thanksgiving is coming, a time when Americans gather together with family and friends. I will guarantee you what they will talk about around that table: This is the most expensive Thanksgiving they have ever had.

I know those in Virginia and New Jersey realize what one-party rule in 1 year can do. Americans are paying more for gasoline, the highest price in 7 years—Mr. Speaker, that was the last time President Biden was down in the White House—to get to and from work, to drive their kids to school, or to take their elderly parents to a doctor's appointment.

Americans are paying more for materials their businesses need to operate, which means higher prices for consumers and less opportunity for wage increases.

Inflation is a tax on all Americans. Inflation is robbing families of the future they deserve. Mr. Speaker, when Majority Leader STENY HOYER mentioned this date and what our children's children will learn, they will probably be the first generation in 30 years to learn about when inflation came back. It was one-party rule in 1 year.

Americans are bracing for higher costs to come. They realize our economic future is grim under President Biden. The Biden administration has proven themselves untrustworthy when it comes to handling the economy. He pursues counterproductive policies and does not keep the promises he makes.

As a candidate, President Biden pledged nobody making under 400,000 bucks would have their taxes raised, period, bingo. Mr. Speaker, then, on the eve of the election, he promised that those making less than \$400,000 wouldn't pay a penny more. Mr. Speaker, as President, he said: I give you my word. If you make under \$400,000 a year, I will never raise your taxes one cent.

Each of these statements claimed to have no exceptions, no qualifications, and no conditions. But here we are, just 40 weeks later, with one-party rule, and the President has already broken these promises to the American people. He has broken them because inflation is a tax on every American.

President Trump and congressional Republicans took a better path. We cut taxes and left Americans with more of their hard-earned money in their pockets. Mr. Speaker, it led to the best economy in 50 years.

When taxes go up through inflation or otherwise, Americans have less for utilities, prescriptions, and other things they need. As prices continue to

soar, the inflation tax is hitting hardworking, middle-class families the hardest.

What do you think is going to happen to inflation if this bill becomes law? It is only going to be greater than the first \$2 trillion this body wasted, Mr. Speaker.

But here is the dirty secret. Most Democrats who vote for these policies won't be affected by the inflation rate. But seniors, working families, and those living paycheck to paycheck have been and will continue to be, even in a greater sense.

Through no fault of their own, good, hardworking Americans are being hurt by their own government. And, Mr. Speaker, that is just wrong.

What is the White House and the liberal media's response? Telling Americans to just accept it, lecturing us to be more like Europe, to build our bureaucracies, saying we should lower our expectations.

Lowering expectations is what it means to be an American? I think not. No, this is a Nation that conquered the wilderness, sent a man to the Moon, and developed a lifesaving vaccine to COVID-19 in less than a year. Americans don't lower expectations; we rise to the occasion.

But under one-party rule, in 1 year, we have inflation we haven't seen in 31 years; we have gas prices higher than we have seen in the last 7 years; we have Americans stranded once again in the Middle East, being held hostage; we have a border unsecured, with fentanyl coming across, increasing by 300 percent. Every city in America is a border city now.

□ 2130

We have Putin with a pipeline, but a President who tells Americans no. We have a President who looks to OPEC to produce more, not American energy.

Mr. Speaker, another area where President Biden and Democrats in Congress are failing is in the energy crisis. The American people want to afford gasoline, afford to heat their homes, and enjoy the upcoming holidays together.

But what are they going to have?

The most expensive Thanksgiving in the history of America. God forbid you have to drive for Thanksgiving because you are going to pay more.

Americans don't need their government spending billions of dollars to subsidize car chargers or parks for the wealthiest people in the country.

Mr. Speaker, it is not just Republicans who warn you. Mr. Speaker, even JARED GOLDEN on November 17, a Member of the Democratic Party, said, "If you'd told me a year ago that the second-biggest piece of a signature bill of this Congress was \$280 billion in tax giveaways to millionaires, I'd have told you the Republicans were in charge.

"Proponents have been saying that the BBB taxes the rich. But the more we learn about the SALT provisions, the more it looks like another giant tax break for millionaires.

"The fact that more people and organizations on the Democratic side aren't up in arms about this is wild."

Mr. Speaker, maybe they are not up in arms because they just got the bill. And you allow 10 minutes on one side and 10 minutes on the other to debate it.

Mr. Speaker, I know at times it is hard to hear what is in the bill, but I think the American people have a right to know.

Over the last 9 months with one-party rule in this city, families have watched energy prices rise dramatically. West Texas intermediate has doubled since President Biden took office, and a gallon at the pump costs 60 percent more.

You know where that comes from?

The hardworking taxpayers who have to live in a lower standard because of one-party rule in Washington.

What does that mean in everyday life?

It means that when families fill up at the gas station, they are seeing the highest price of a gallon of gas in 7 years. That is the last time Joe Biden was in office, Mr. Speaker.

It means that from the factories making new products to the trucks that transport them to the retail stores that sell them, every part of the supply chain is paying more for energy.

In every State in America the average price of a gallon of gas is now over \$3 for the first time in years. In my home State of California, Mr. Speaker, the average price is over \$4.50, and in some parts it is as high as \$7.

Mr. Speaker, when I listened to the White House, I thought they would be concerned. They said it was good, people should pay more.

The pain is being felt beyond the pump, too, Mr. Speaker. When families turn on the lights or heat their home this winter, they are expecting the price of heat will be 54 percent higher.

Mr. Speaker, when we are back in these Chambers next year, I will wonder how somebody on a fixed income chooses to pay their heating bill or maybe go cold throughout the night.

The energy crisis we face today is devastating for working families. Every dollar spent on gasoline is a dollar that isn't spent on groceries or other essential goods.

And yet, the reaction from this administration, who kneecapped oil and natural gas production by canceling new pipelines and freezing new lessees altogether, when asked if the United States would increase energy production, the Secretary of Energy told CNBC, "That is hilarious."

Let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, that is not funny to the American public. That is not funny. They expect more from their leaders. They expect their leaders to look out for them, not Washington and one-party rule looking out for themselves.

Go watch the video for yourself. It is just a few seconds. It perfectly captures the Biden administration's in-

competent contempt for the American people.

Mr. Speaker, as I listened to the other side make their comments, not once did I say something. I disagreed with what they said, but I knew there was a moment in time when I could speak.

I know, Mr. Speaker, that people might disagree with what I say, but we are in America. We are in Congress. I respect their position, even though I believe it is wrong.

I respect that they may believe they want to build up these bureaucracies.

I respect that they think spending more with inflation, that somehow that won't cause more.

I respect the idea that you shut down an American pipeline and allow Putin to have one and the prices go up. I think you are wrong, but I respect the right for you to say it.

Mr. Speaker, not once did I look at Chairman NEAL and tell him he couldn't look at me. Not once did I say something to him as he made his point.

Mr. Speaker, just last week we set a record here twice by holding a vote open longer than this Congress ever has. We have changed more of the history in Congress than at any time of any Congress under one party and one rule.

Members get fined \$5,000 when somehow they walk through a magnetometer and they didn't hear. Do they get any recourse?

No, they get a letter.

Mr. Speaker, you may have set a record tonight for trying to control the House. Maybe they don't like hearing what is in the bill because they haven't read it, but I think, regardless, Mr. Speaker, the American public has a right to hear it.

Mr. Speaker, I will tell you this: I don't care how many times I am interrupted. I am not going to stop until the American people hear it.

Mr. Speaker, I know the Speaker says we have higher standards. I am just hoping to see them.

It also isn't funny for Californians like Scott Daniel, who runs Young's Commercial Transfer in Porterville, California. Scott told me that higher prices are making it hard to stay in business. Scott says, Mr. Speaker, "My company alone will burn around 3 million gallons of fuel this year. And with fuel as expensive as it is right now, that adds millions of dollars to our bottom line, which makes it really hard to stay in business and keep this going. More importantly . . . it's immediately going to hit all of your food at the grocery store."

Mr. Speaker, that is why your Thanksgiving in America is going to be the most expensive.

The President talks about a world where every nation plays by the same rules, but when it comes to global elites, he makes sure the rules he applies to us don't apply to them. That is how socialism works. You see, they build up the bureaucracies. They spend

more than they spent during World War II. It creates inflation, creates supply chain problems.

□ 2140

By the way, those who run society, get ahead; while those who make society run, are pushed back.

Republicans know there is a better path. Instead of wasting the energy potential in this country, we want to unleash it. We don't want to build up government, we want to build up American families.

Instead of killing good-paying jobs, we want to create them. Instead of canceling the Keystone Pipeline, we want to complete it. Republicans will make America energy independent again through innovation so working families have affordable, abundant energy.

So the answer won't come as you will have to pay more. What they will hear is they will pay less and have more for themselves.

You know, I just mentioned Scott Daniel, the owner of a commercial transportation company, who talked about how high prices are hurting his ability to do business and deliver goods. But that is not the only way Democrat policies are making it harder for businesses to survive.

Another is a labor shortage. Walk down any Main Street, if the crime is not too bad for you to do it, or a city avenue in America, and I guarantee there will be help wanted signs. Ask a waiter how many shifts she or he does in a week, and I bet they are covering for someone else because they are short-staffed. Ask if they had to take anything off the menu because the restaurant can't afford to find it anymore. I bet they have. This is what our small businesses are dealing with. As a former small business owner, I know these conditions aren't sustainable.

And, Mr. Speaker, if Democrats just cared to listen, they would know that, too. Instead, the Democrats' idea of an economic plan is to punish citizens who are producing for our country and working to support their families while rewarding themselves and others for staying home.

Americans don't deserve to bear the brunt of policies pushed by one-party rule in Washington who will never feel the effects of them and who will receive a solid paycheck every month even if they show up to vote or not.

Joe Biden's Presidency has often been compared to Jimmy Carter's Presidency. He has proven that comparison wrong every step of that way. That comparison now is unfair to Jimmy Carter.

Mr. Speaker, when you study the history of America in the late seventies and in 1980, Americans were held hostage in the Middle East. Today, we have hundreds of Americans being held hostage in Afghanistan.

Mr. Speaker, in 1979 we had inflation, taxing of every American. Today we have inflation we haven't seen in 31 years.

Mr. Speaker, in the late seventies, we were beholden to OPEC. Today, Mr. Speaker, we have a President who begs OPEC. Mr. Speaker, in the late seventies President Jimmy Carter told us the heater had to go down because the price is going up, and we needed to expect less as Americans. Mr. Speaker, today the White House laughs if you ask them what their plan is for America to become energy independent and lower gas prices.

Mr. Speaker, in the late seventies, we were concerned about the Soviet Union, of the buildup in Europe. Today, Mr. Speaker, Russia is building up along Ukraine. They have more money for more soldiers because they got a new pipeline while America was denied.

Mr. Speaker, after the 1980 election, those problems went away because you no longer had one-party rule in Washington, D.C. You had policies that didn't talk about building up the bureaucracy. You had policies that unshackled what held back the American worker. When those policies were enacted a decade later there was no longer a Soviet Union. There were no longer two Germanys. The Berlin Wall had collapsed. The shipyard workers of Poland understood. They knew that America was more than a country, that America is an idea.

Thirty-two years ago, one million students went to Tiananmen Square. They built the Goddess of Democracy, Mr. Speaker, that looked just like the Statue of Liberty. They put it directly across from the portrait of Mao. They understood the greatness of America. Who doesn't remember that man standing in front of the tank when China was rolling in? He stood in front of that tank. When the tank moved to the right, he moved to the right. When the tank moved to the left, he moved to the left. Then he climbed on top of that tank. I cannot tell you his name, Mr. Speaker, because I doubt he is alive. They respected America. They knew what America stood for.

Mr. Speaker, now we have a bill that will bring more ships from China to America because it will give them an incentive.

Mr. Speaker, I hear your party talk a lot about a Green New Deal. Ninety percent of all those are being built in China. So you are taking the hard-earned tax dollars of Americans, you are shutting down the policies you don't like, the energy you don't care for, and laying those off while making the gasoline prices higher and taking their tax dollars and shipping it to China. And you are creating a greater inflation, Mr. Speaker. One-party rule for 1 year.

Mr. Speaker, if there is good news for America, it is less than a year away. It is less than a year away. And I tell you, America, help is on the way. History repeats itself, and, oh, it is going to repeat itself big next November.

Mr. Speaker, while the Democrats' action on our economy such as antiwork welfare programs and mas-

sive unneeded stimulus has left Americans worse off, it is their inaction along the southern border that has left our country less safe.

You see, Mr. Speaker, it wasn't just Americans left behind in Afghanistan, it was billions of dollars of our military equipment.

Mr. Speaker, do you realize that the Taliban has more Black Hawk helicopters than two-thirds of the NATO countries? More than Australia? Mr. Speaker, do you realize when Bagram shut down and 5,000 of some of the worst human beings escaped, Mr. Speaker, do you realize by the Biden administration opening up our border, more than 160 countries of people have come across that border?

Mr. Speaker, they don't have to wear a mask or be fined. They don't have to be tested. The government actually pays them for a trip somewhere in America.

□ 2150

Inaction on the southern border.

Mr. Speaker, almost every single Republican on this side of the aisle has been to visit the border, almost more than once.

Mr. Speaker, I heard the President, who has been in office more than 40 years, say he drove by El Paso one time. But when we went to the border earlier this year, after one-party rule in Washington, that changed by executive order.

I can wait, Mr. Speaker. They can finish their conversation. You can finish.

Don't lower your mask, you will get fined.

Mr. Speaker, I know you hold the gavel, but I heard from your side of the aisle tell me when to speak, where to look, and what to do, and interrupted many times.

I heard your Speaker talk about a higher standard. Mr. Speaker, I am waiting to see it.

Are you going to laugh, too, Mr. Speaker?

Mr. Speaker, I know your side of the aisle has no problem removing people from committee. I wonder if people keep talking they should be removed from the floor.

Mr. Speaker, when we traveled to the border in February, we watched something we have never seen before. We sat and we interviewed a new facility that just was built, and it is built in the capacity that it would never be filled. It hit a record that day. And we interviewed the families and asked how long they had been on the road. They said ever since President Biden told us to come.

As we sat with those brave men and women of our border protection, we watched what they had to do, the job they were doing day in and day out, the conditions, when COVID was rampant and nobody being tested. And we went up along the line, against the wall.

Mr. Speaker, this is important. I think people should listen, and I will show you the point why.

As we talked to the border agents, they told us they are seeing something they have never seen before, where people would rush the wall. So everybody would go there, then they would come the other way, the cartel, bringing fentanyl across. They said they had never seen anything like it.

And I asked them—I listened to the Vice President. One-party rule; one year. And I sat and I talked to the border agents. They told me of the border cities that had to close their schools because of the cartels coming through and shooting; of the ranchers who are having their houses burned or their grandchildren kidnapped. Then they said something so shocking, I had to ask them twice.

You see, I heard the Vice President say, This is just a Central America problem. I said, Is that really what is happening? Oh, they told me people were coming from 160 countries. They said they just caught people on the terrorist watch list.

I came down and we did a press conference. In the press conference, I mentioned that we had caught people on the terrorist watch list from Yemen. Do you remember the USS Cole, the American Navy ship that was bombed? Or maybe you need to refresh your memory. It was recently.

You know the U.S. Embassy that was overtaken? No, I am not talking about back in Iran in 1979. I am talking about the comparison to today. And as I said that to the American public—I respect all of you, you come here because you want to legislate; I expect you would be shocked, too, that you would probably call me up. What can we do? You want to protect your constituents. I know you do.

Mr. Speaker, there was a Member of the Democratic Party on the Intel Committee, tweeted, said I was lying, said he gets the same intel as I do because I am on the Gang of 8. Interesting, when I put the facts out—I don't know, maybe the mail is slow—I never once heard him apologize. Or worse yet, I never once heard him say, How can we stop it? How can we stop it?

I didn't even see an amendment added to this bill—think about that for one moment, for the American public. You are spending more money than we spent to end World War II. You are hiring 87,000 IRS agents, not one Border Patrol agent, not one new dollar.

You are providing money for amnesty. You are providing money, \$450,000, for people who came here illegally, and you are taking it from American hardworking taxpayers. But you do nothing to stop those on the terrorist watch list from coming across this border. Nothing.

There has been nearly 1.7 illegal border encounters at the southern border since President Joe Biden became President. And our border czar, Vice President Kamala Harris, still has no plan to support our Border Patrol.

Now, let's put this in perspective. There has been more illegal border

crossings between the months of February and October under Joe Biden than in 2018, 2019, and 2020 combined. So when somebody asks me what does it mean if you have one-party rule for 1 year, you get more illegal crossings simply from February to October than you did in 2018, 2019, and 2020, all combined.

What do you think is going to happen after the billions of dollars you spend in this bill providing amnesty? That number will look small to you.

Mr. Speaker, but I am sure some people will say let's wait to see what the CBO says. So when the CBO comes back and tells you you got millions more, it is okay; we will still vote.

Let that sink in. What is the Biden administration's reaction? To now consider paying illegal immigrants \$450,000 per family, an action that President Biden admits would incentivize more people to come over illegally.

Mr. Speaker, when we tell our children's children about this night, we will tell them that is where their future went. When they ask us why did they pay such high taxes, we will remind them about this night, because we built up our bureaucracy.

Mr. Speaker, you are actually celebrating this bill.

□ 2200

That is more than some of the 9/11 victims received. Think about that. Mr. Speaker, my friend STENY HOYER said so proudly, he mentioned today "our children's children." How do we explain that those who were killed on that fateful day of 9/11 received less than those who came across illegally?

It is okay. I will be here a long time.

Mr. Speaker, I have to apologize to you. I think I am upsetting people on the other side of the aisle when I tell them what is in the bill. They just yelled at me that they are leaving. I apologize. Mr. Speaker, nobody on this side of the aisle wrote this bill.

I thought that was going to be different, Mr. Speaker, because I took President Biden at his word. I took him at his word when he said he was going to get COVID under control. Mr. Speaker, unfortunately, more Americans have died this year than last year under COVID.

Mr. Speaker, the \$450,000, that is more than some of the 9/11 victims received. It is more than the next of kin receives in insurance to those 13 Gold Star families of those killed by a suicide bomber, who was in the prison at Bagram.

Mr. Speaker, I watched in disbelief as President Biden said he would do nothing different. I watched in disbelief, Mr. Speaker, when he had a press conference and told Americans it was safe to come to the airport. In less than 30 minutes—you were on that conference call, too, Mr. Speaker. The Secretary of State and Joint Chiefs said, no, it wasn't safe to come to the airport.

Mr. Speaker, there are many people who have served this Nation, served in

the armed services on both sides of this aisle. I have never watched Members work so hard to get the American hostages out of Afghanistan to only be shut down by our own State Department.

Mr. Speaker, I want to tell you a personal story. Mr. Speaker, I picked up the phone one morning when this first started, and I called the regular number to the White House. I said I would like to talk to the President about what is happening in Afghanistan. The White House recently called and wanted to know if it was really me. To the President's credit, he called me back.

I said: Mr. President, I know you are trying to hold this deadline for the Taliban, but what about our allies? What about those from the U.K. and France who fought side by side, not because their country was attacked, but because we were attacked?

He told me he wasn't going to budge.

I said: Mr. President, there are thousands of Americans who are held there that can't get out.

He said: Kevin, no, no. The number is much smaller.

I said: Mr. President, what is the number?

Oh, it is just smaller.

I have watched the President look America in the eye and tell us he would not leave until every American is out. What do you say to those Americans who are still stuck there? The last time we felt like this, Jimmy Carter was President.

Mr. Speaker, what does it say to those Gold Star families? Mr. Speaker, I had one in my office, a father whose daughter wasn't even supposed to be there but volunteered. She was an electrician. Just days before, you see photos of her holding a young child. She told her sister: I am going out in front of the wall because you can't believe it. Someone needs to be there for them.

She wasn't supposed to be out in front of that wall.

That suicide bomber that was locked up in Bagram who never should have gotten out—and that we never should have shut down—killed 13 of the finest Americans we know. Do you know what this bill does? Nothing for them.

It gives more money to an illegal person who crossed this border. I am sorry, Americans expect more. Our priorities should be different. These people risk their lives every day for us. Just let that sink in, to your children's children.

One-party rule for 1 year has brought us inflation we haven't seen in 31 years; gas prices are the highest since the last time President Biden was down at the White House; a Thanksgiving that is going to cost you more than at any time in your life.

A border where there are 1.7 million encounters, a border between February and October that more people have crossed than 2018, 2019, and 2020 combined—Mr. Speaker, the closest the President has ever been to the border

in 42 years is to drive through El Paso. Mr. Speaker, the Vice President is the czar of the border.

This isn't a Republican or Democrat issue; this is the safety of this Nation. What do you think is going to happen to that border when you provide a billion dollars in amnesty? What do you think is going to happen when you reward people with \$450,000?

Where do you get the money? From the hardworking taxpayers of America who have less to give. Do you know what? They are going to have to give more because you are hiring 87,000 IRS agents to come after them—1.2 million more audits. And half of all those 1.2 million are going after Americans who make \$75,000 or less.

That is what you base this entire bill on. That is what you waited for the CBO to tell you, how much money can we get from them.

How is that possible? The payments for illegal immigrants are just the latest data point in a much larger trend of failures on this border, cheered on by leftwing activists. President Biden and Vice President HARRIS have presided over the greatest series of border security blunders in American history.

Mr. Speaker, if 160 different countries had people come across that border illegally, if we have caught people on the terrorist watch list, if a suicide bomber got out of Bagram in 1 week and killed 13 American soldiers, do you think they know how to get into America? Do you think they know where to go?

Maybe they have to go at night. They have a better chance now because they have night goggles that we had. They have Black Hawk helicopters. The Taliban has more Black Hawk than two-thirds of our NATO countries. They have more than Australia.

In that phone call with the President, do you know what he told me? Oh, Kevin, we are going to have a lot of leverage with the Taliban because they are going to need help running their country.

Why don't you tell that to the hundreds of Americans who are still there trying to get out?

Every time there is a Member on this side of the aisle—because they care about their constituents, they try to get that American out—the State Department attacks them. You try to criticize them. They risk their own life.

□ 2210

Mr. Speaker, even in our own hearings, I respect greatly anyone who served in uniform, and you have some tremendous Members on the other side of the aisle who have. I have watched them question the Secretary of State and still not get an answer.

Mr. Speaker, that Member on your side of the aisle who sits on the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence who said I wasn't telling the truth that we are catching people on the terrorist watch list and haven't done anything about it since. I wonder if he should

serve on the Permanent Select Committee next term. Because America needs to be protected.

For anyone who thinks they are not a border city, just look up how many deaths you have from fentanyl. Let me tell you where fentanyl comes from. It comes across that border, but it comes from China.

Mr. Speaker, let me tell you another story. I have a friend who serves in the Senate. Right before COVID he was on a codel with other Senators, and he was sitting and having a communication—maybe you have experienced this as well—with a military general in the Chinese Communist Army.

Do you know what that general said to him?

America, you are weak. You are weak, America. You are weak because you believe in God and you take fentanyl.

Fentanyl has increased 300 percent only because the border is not secure. There is no city in America that is safe. This is deadly. They have handed the border over to the cartels, unleashing these monsters onto our people. They compromised our national security.

Answer me this question, Mr. Speaker: If somebody is on the terrorist watch list—and Mr. Speaker, they entered our State of California. They weren't together. They came on different days. And do you know, right now, if you are a Member of Congress and you ask them: How many more you got?

They don't want to tell you, just as they don't want to give us the number of how many Americans are still stuck there. They are hoping if we don't pay attention anymore, we will forget. I promise you this: we will not forget, and we will not stop.

Here is what the National Border Patrol Council President Brandon Judd told us, "This administration says it is just Central American countries, but in just one week in the Yuma, Arizona, sector we have seen people illegally enter from countries like Egypt, Russia, Armenia, Georgia, Haiti, Niger, Portugal, and Uzbekistan. . . . There is no better time for them to come into our country than now."

I didn't think Egypt and Russia were in Central America.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to offer this invitation: We have Thanksgiving coming. We are both from California. Why don't we invite the Vice President to come down to the border with you and me both, and let's take a tour.

And while we are there, let's go to the Port of Los Angeles and Long Beach and talk about the supply chain. Let them see that these ships that are waiting and coming in when they unload, they go back empty to pick up more from China. They don't load American products.

Now, it may take a little while to get from the border of San Diego up to Long Beach, so we may have to stop to get gas. I will split it with you because

I know it is not cheap. But I am willing to make that offer.

These patrol members along the border bear the brunt of dangerous policies. While the Democrats act like there is nothing going on, Texas Mayor Don McLaughlin told us, Mr. Speaker, just a few months ago, that nearby cities are expected to see an inflow of migrants much larger than the size of the towns themselves.

He said, "We're not equipped in our area to handle this. Our resources are strapped as it is because of the pandemic."

The mayor said his own town will try to quarantine COVID-positive migrants in hotels. But when they come back to check on them or bring them food, some of the migrants are gone.

That is just not here, Mr. Speaker. When we departed Afghanistan, a lot of people got on that were never searched or had gone through any process. We put them on military bases in America. Some just depart. Some people have already been arrested for crimes they committed.

We heard from our constituents who were stuck in Afghanistan who said they went to the airport because they watched the President tell them. And the Taliban grabbed their papers, tore them up, and shot at them. Or they are hiding in the halfway houses, and the State Department denied just letting them get across the border so they can get out.

Aside from the health risks, these circumstances create physical risks for innocent bystanders. There are not enough officers or agents to handle the intake and regular patrol, so the issues are spilling onto the streets.

Now, I am sure in your committees, Mr. Speaker, as you went through this bill, as you knew you were going to spend more than at any time in American history because the Chief of Staff to the White House—and many times, Mr. Speaker, people refer to him as the prime minister—said, "It's twice as big, in real dollars, as the New Deal was." You must have thought somewhere when you saw these statistics, it is okay, we have so much money, let's give them some and help those border agents.

I am sure somebody raised that issue, did they not?

They must have been voted down because it is not in the bill. But whoever raised their hand and said: Let's spend \$1 billion to give people amnesty, that made it in.

The only thing I question, Mr. Speaker, is why did you stop there? Because there are going to be billions more coming.

You were able to do in one-party rule in 1 year just between February and October more than everybody has been able to do in 2018, 2019, and 2020 combined.

Mr. Speaker, I am not sure if that is what you talked about, building bigger bureaucracies, but this bill does it.

Mayor McLaughlin said that they had about two to three car chases a

week back in 2019, then none for a few weeks. Now it is every single day, roughly 10 to 12 high-speed car chases per week. He says, "It's escalating. We've had houses broken into, we've had to put our schools on lockdown because they're armed out in town near the schools. When that happens, then we have to pull all of our officers out on a manhunt."

Mr. Speaker, how would you like to represent a city where every single day there are roughly 10 to 12 high-speed car chases?

I remember on the news when there was one, the whole Nation would watch. They don't even put them on because they are every day.

But where are they running by? And it is not just a car chase, just a cop chasing them. It is a cartel with weaponry. They are going by schools in America.

In America they have to shut down American schools because you opened the border. You do nothing to protect it in this bill. You only incentivize more people to come.

Did you put any money in here for car chases?

Did you put any money in here for the schools?

I hope you put money in here for drug treatment because, Mr. Speaker, there is sure a lot of fentanyl coming across that border.

□ 2220

He told us recently that just last spring they had to put schools on lockdown 48 times. Think about that. Your child goes to a school—just in spring—48 times they are on lockdown. Do you think your child feels safe? Do you think your child is learning?

What do you think those parents are going to think when they hear about this bill?

I don't think they could just leave the Chamber. I think they will probably want to come to a school board meeting. Maybe the FBI will investigate them for terrorism because they care about their children's safety.

One-party rule in 1 year has brought America to this. Our children's education and lives are being interrupted nearly 50 times in just a few months. That is in America.

When personnel and resources are pulled from one area to another along our border communities, it leaves families like Russell Johnson's in danger. You see, Russell lives on a ranch with his family in New Mexico, just miles from the border.

I am proud of my family. My family emigrated from Ireland and Italy. They worked on the railroad, and they became a cattle rancher. It was a tough life. My grandfather got married, lived with his brother on the ranch, but the ranch didn't make enough to pay for both, so he went back to working on the railroad.

To make money as a rancher, they never had to worry about a cartel, they just had to worry if it rained enough, or if the cattle price was high enough.

Russell Johnson, it is remote, and he gets little service where he lives, making it a prime place to illegally enter the country.

This is what Russell told me, with the way things are right now, we don't let our kids play outside by themselves. They can't play outside by themselves.

This isn't Chicago. This is on a cattle ranch. There is no telling who they might encounter while they are out there.

Mr. Speaker, I am going to invite Russell Johnson to come to D.C., and I want to invite anybody on the other side of the aisle that votes for this bill, and I would ask you to take his questions. I would ask that you point out in this bill where does it protect his children as an American?

I don't think you will argue that you are going to cost him more. You see, the interesting thing is I am okay paying taxes if they go to something.

Richie Neal says it is going to build a bigger bureaucracy. Not along the border it is not. It is tearing down walls. Schools are closing.

You know, for the first time in the country, Mr. Speaker, this generation doesn't believe they will be better off than the generation before them, and this bill almost guarantees it. They are guaranteed they are going to have to pay more and get less.

I will be sure and let you all know of that date. You are celebrating the bill. Celebrate with Russell and tell him where he is better off.

Just think for a moment that, in America, children can't play outside on their own property for fear of their safety from cartels and traffickers. I am not talking about the city where you defunded the police. I am talking about remote cattle ranches in a place I think every American dreams they can retire one day, on a ranch.

Build back. We are going all the way back to the westerns, I guess. People have to fend for themselves.

I can't believe that is America. I don't accept it. I know we are better than that.

I know some of you are mad at me, think I spoke too long. But I have had enough. America has had enough.

Not only do communities at the border deserve protection, the selfless men and women of our Border Patrol deserve more support to do their job. I don't know if you have been down to tour with them. If any of you are going and you want to make it bipartisan, I will go. I know a lot of people on this side of the aisle will go with you, because we think it is an American problem. We want to solve it together.

But when someone comes across the border and you have children—it is interesting, Mr. Speaker, when it became one party with 1 year, you changed the definition, they are no longer cages. It is still the same place. But it is the border agents who have to go off the border and inside to care for them, so the border is less secure.

And now you are providing more money for them to come, less agents there, and it is just a spiraling effect.

You know, between inflation, gas prices, the border, crime, there is a common denominator; one-party rule in Washington for 1 year.

U.S. Border Patrol members from the southwest division of the border alone saved 4,920 lives in 2019; 5,071 lives in FY20; 12,833 lives in '21; and 836 in FY22 so far.

Why don't we pass a bill to honor our Border Patrol agents? Why don't we bring them here to Washington? Better yet, why don't we go to them?

It is our job to secure the border. You are spending trillions of dollars. You know what you are spending money on? Not to build the wall. You are taking taxpayer money or material they already have there and paying them not to build it.

So Russell Johnson's children can't play. That is what you are taking taxpayers money for.

That is why you are hiring more IRS agents to audit more Americans to get more out of them, because you don't trust that they are honest.

There is not a day that doesn't go by—just this week—of a 5-year old child all by himself. You know, on one of the trips down to the border, I was talking to this Border Patrol agent, and I was asking about her job. You could tell the stress that she has felt to work under these conditions, the threat of the cartel, the crime coming across, the families, the children.

And she told a story of three young children. She saw them in the distance. The oldest was five, the next was three, and the other was 11 months.

I said, where was the parent? There was no parent. What crowd were they with? No, they were all alone. If she had not found them, they would not have lived.

So let this sink in. You are encouraging more of them to come. People don't make it all the time. People are raped. Human trafficking happens because they don't have the money to pay the cartel. Then when they come to America, they have to work to keep paying them. You are incentivizing that. And while you incentivize that, you make Americans unsafe.

I don't know, Mr. Speaker, if it is something that the administration does in the Cabinet or everywhere when they are asked a question—I know what the Secretary of Energy did when she was asked about how to lower prices; she just laughed.

□ 2230

But I remember, Mr. Speaker, when Vice President KAMALA HARRIS was asked about the border. She has a very definite laugh. Do you know what her answer was? Well, I haven't been to Europe, either.

Well, she could go to Europe because people from Europe are coming across that border, too. She could go to Russia, Egypt, Yemen. She could go around the world.

Now, speaking of safety and security, as hardworking Americans are being ignored by Democrat politicians, let's talk about law enforcement. Because, Mr. Speaker, I remember on this floor, in the last Congress, the chant "defund the police." I remember what this city looked like. I remember one night looking out on the rioters. I remember the Speaker yelling about having the National Guard at the Lincoln Memorial.

That spread across America. I can't keep count of how many people die in Chicago in one weekend. In Minneapolis, where George Floyd was murdered—and he shouldn't have been—when they decided to defund the police, it was on the ballot 2 weeks ago on Tuesday. It failed.

Mr. Speaker, you and I have known each other a long time. We are competitive. I know you didn't get to Congress your first time out. We beat you that first time, but you came back. You are competitive. You work hard. It is not my job to give you political advice. I don't know if you have seen the numbers. It is nothing we are doing. You know, 110 polls have been taken since 1981. Never, never have they reflected what they reflect today.

But it is not just that. You see, we all have the pleasure and the honor—less than 13,000 people have ever had this honor to represent in this Chamber, the debates that have taken place here. And on the biggest of items, it is always bipartisan. The President promised he would bring that back. There hasn't been one time, not one time. Tonight is not bipartisan. He didn't work with anybody.

You are spending the most money ever spent in a single bill in the history of America, the greatest Nation ever on the face of the Earth, and your children's children will read it was one-party rule for 1 year.

Mr. Speaker, I watched the American voters in States that are blue States overwhelmingly, from Seattle to Minneapolis to New York to New Jersey to Virginia, reject exactly what is in this bill.

Look, it would be beneficial for me to cheer you on, but I care too much about this country. If you turn back now, you might be able to survive. But I know what will be more important. America could survive.

But I know you are down on this floor, just 10 minutes debate on each side, and the bill just came. I know my friends on the other side of the aisle are mad. I know some of them have to get to Puerto Rico for a fundraiser.

I am sorry. That may be one of them. It sounds like a couple of them.

This is too important to America. It is a moment in time.

At a time when violent crime is spiking nationally, cities under Democratic rule have or are seeking to defund their police departments. It is just another move lacking common sense, logic, or leadership.

In Los Angeles, I represent a little of it. I don't think you have any of it,

right? Just outside? You are to the east. The LAPD budget is set to be cut by \$150 million, a decision triggered by widespread protests.

My son just moved to San Francisco with his new wife. Do you know what he told me? He had to buy a car when he moved up there. He said: Dad, I am excited. I got car insurance. I didn't think that was a big deal. But my street is the safest street in San Francisco. I got a little savings.

Do you know what people put on their windows in San Francisco on their cars? "Please don't break the window again. Nothing is inside."

You know, if you want to walk to a Walgreens in San Francisco, it is closed. They can't make money because people just come in and take. That is how you build up bureaucracy. That is how you cut police.

In Austin, the city council voted to cut \$150 million from the police department. Mr. Speaker, you and I have seen a lot of businesses in California leave and go to the city of Austin.

A good friend of mine, Elon Musk, built a car company when others were already developed. They said he couldn't do it. He risked his wealth to do it. He is pretty dang successful.

A State rep from California—I can't use the language he used on the floor because it started with an f—tweeted at Elon because he wanted to expand his business, so he left.

Do you know what California does? They raise their price. They tax you more. They cut their police.

When Elon got to Austin, he said if you cut the police and make crime like the place he just left, he won't stay.

In Baltimore, the city council eliminated \$22 million from the police department. New York City wants to take \$1 billion from the police budget. And here is the kicker: Many Democrats don't think that goes far enough.

These efforts to defund the police send a dangerous message that public safety is not a priority in Democrat-run cities. Worse, these attacks on law enforcement demoralize officers and dismantle police departments. Retirements are surging. Recruitment is sinking.

My father was a first responder. He wasn't a police officer; he was a fireman. My uncle was a fireman, too. I did 3 years as a seasonal firefighter. I wanted to be a first responder, but there was a nepotism clause. I don't think my mom thought I was successful because I wasn't a firefighter.

These are people who 1 year ago we celebrated on this floor. We touted them. We touted the first responders, the medical community, the checkers. Why? Because they went to work in the middle of a pandemic. They looked after people. And after we got one-party rule in Washington, a lot of them are now fired; they are no longer heroes.

President Biden and Democratic leaders in Congress can send a message to local officers that this lawlessness is

unacceptable. Instead, you are enabling it.

The Biden Justice Department dropped nearly half of the cases against rioters in Portland. Can you imagine that? Half the cases.

We all watched it, burning buildings. I remember one of my constituents came to testify. Mr. NADLER and JIM JORDAN were there. Do you know why she had to testify? Because her brother was killed protecting a Federal courthouse. He was protecting a Federal courthouse in a riot.

□ 2240

You know what is worse?

There are people in the administration at the highest of offices that gave money to bail these people out. I wonder why Russell Johnson worries about his kids playing outside.

Biden also supports a bill passed by the House Democrats which would cost police departments hundreds of millions of dollars.

It is not a Democrat, Green Party, or Republican idea. American people want safe streets. I don't care if you live in the poorest neighborhood or the wealthiest. You want your kids to be able to walk down that street.

I can't forget that video of those two young kids in New York walking while one man is shooting another man.

They want law and order.

Is it any surprise they overwhelmingly rejected defunding the police when it was on the ballot?

The only place that passes defunding police is on this floor. But if you let the people vote, they say no.

Why? They want to be safe. That is not rocket science.

In the liberal enclave of Seattle—former home of the so-called Capitol Hill Autonomous Zone. Remember that, where they took over entire streets?

Why did they do it?

Because they were building a bigger bureaucracy. See, they didn't believe in private property. They celebrated it, just like you celebrate this bill—the voters elected a Republican as a city attorney over a self-described police apologist. Think about that. Seattle.

Look, we are in the only occupation where on a given day we learn how many people like and dislike us. Come next November we will know. That is 435 seats. We are all competitive. We will work in all sorts of districts trying to capture that majority.

I don't spend much money in Seattle. There are not a lot of Republicans there. But it doesn't matter when it comes to safety. Every American wants it except, Mr. Speaker, in this House.

In Minneapolis, where violent crime has surged over the past year, voters resoundingly rejected a ballot initiative to defund the police. In Minneapolis.

These results give me hope. I want the American people to know, one-party rule will not be in one year.

It is clear to most Americans that defunding the police is wrong. The

American public is getting this issue right despite the Democrats' best efforts.

While our inflation rises, chaos engulfs our southern border, and crime overruns our cities, Xi Jinping is watching us and laughing. China is being rewarded with the Olympics. I didn't get to get on the Zoom with President Biden and Xi Jinping. But did any of us hear?

Did he ask China why won't they be more open or let our scientists in to see where COVID started?

Did he ask Xi Jinping about his promise to stop producing fentanyl? Because it has increased by 300 percent.

Did he ask Xi Jinping why does he continue to fly his jets over Taiwan? And how much technology have you stolen from us today?

Just this August we were reminded of the seriousness of the China threat after Beijing launched an advanced hypersonic missile into orbit. I know you all don't serve on Armed Services. I don't. And you are not on Intel. But hypersonic is a first-strike weapon.

When President Biden was Vice President, they cut R&D for hypersonics for America. You see, China has tested more than 200 hypersonics, America about 9. We have a missile defense. But you see, hypersonics don't go high. They go five times the speed and low. You don't have 30 minutes to calculate where they are.

You know what China does, too? They build replicas of American aircraft carriers in the desert. I don't think it is to teach their sailors. I think it is to teach their Air Force how to bomb them.

I am not sure, President Biden, if you asked Xi Jinping, why did you lie to President Obama when you built those islands and said you wouldn't weaponize them?

I don't know if you watched the reports of the number of nuclear weapons in silos that China is building not far from Afghanistan. I am not sure we can keep track of it anymore because we don't have Bagram. We don't have Afghanistan. But we are going to look over the horizon. I don't know how. We don't even have light goggles anymore. We left them for the Taliban.

Hypersonics are unpredictable. They are fast, and they are nuclear capable. If deployed correctly, they can beat our missile defenses.

Now, earlier in this conversation I told you, Mr. Speaker, what the Chief of Staff of the White House said, This is bigger than a bill we spent on the New Deal.

So there must be some money in here for hypersonics. I know you don't want to protect the border, but you surely want to protect us for our defense, do you not? Because it is going to lose \$800 billion in 5 years.

But you can tell your children's children that the reason why you borrowed the money is so they can be alive in America and not in China.

But that is not in here.

So, Mr. Speaker, what are you going to tell the children's children?

You got a really big bill, and we can't protect you. But you have got a lot of good products you can buy made in China.

General Milley described the launch as a near-Sputnik moment. Mr. Speaker, I imagine you and I weren't alive in Sputnik. But you know what happened after that?

America acted as one. They knew the threat of the future. So when someone on the floor that night that focused, they said our children's children would remember this night. We thank them for that.

We won the Cold War, not because we rewarded people who came here illegally with \$450,000.

We won that war because we invested in the future.

We won that war not because we built up bureaucracy, but because we unshackled our private sector.

We won that war not because we kept having inflation. We ended one-party rule and had the biggest economy we have had since the last time Republicans were in power and passed the tax cuts.

□ 2250

The sad part, Mr. Speaker, is President Biden could have done nothing. Part of me feels sorry, Mr. Speaker, for all of you. Because had he done nothing, I don't know if we could win in a year. But because of his actions, America is weaker.

When Russia launched Sputnik, the United States responded with a sense of urgency and a show of industrial force. So when China did this hypersonic, what did we do? You are passing a bill that is incentivizing companies to leave America to be in China. The global minimal tax? You make more going to China. That is what your children's children will learn.

But don't worry, you can celebrate. You are going to have a big bureaucracy in America. Remember, that is what the Soviet Union had.

But, today, the Biden administration has responded with weakness, not strength. They actually said that stiff competition between China and America is welcome. I would like competition, but why don't we have it on a level playing field? Why is China given an advantage?

Now, I was in a classroom a little while back, and we were talking about California, the Golden State where everybody wanted to be. Why is Toyota, why is Tesla, why is everybody leaving California? Then they got into the aspect of America. How did China rise?

Well, a student asked me, and I asked her if she played a sport. She said she was a swimmer. I said, well, let me try to answer your question with an analogy of swimming. Picture America at a swim meet after World War II against every other country. We jump into the

water. Not only do we win; we dry off before second and third arrive.

So in the next year we think, you know, that is a little unfair. The other countries got destroyed a little more than America. Why don't we put a tax on ourselves to help the others? So we put a little weight belt on. We still win, but we don't swim as fast.

As the years progress, last time we had one-party rule in 2010, you made this stimulus bill, so you put a 50-pound weight on. So now, when we jump into the pool after this bill, we don't win.

Everybody says, why don't you swim like you used to? But the real question is, why don't you take off the weight belt and let us compete?

You are adding another 50 pounds of weight to America, and you are enhancing China. I promise you this: China is not adding 87,000 IRS agents to go after their people.

All you have to do as an American is spend \$28, and the IRS is going to knock on your door. Don't think it is only going to happen to those millionaires.

You are a family struggling, making \$75,000, and you used to take that vacation every year. But with inflation and gas prices and heating oil going up, you tell your kids you can't. But we built a bureaucracy, so they are going to knock on your door.

This bill, if you measure all the things it does in it, it rewards millionaires. It adds 1.2 million new audits by the IRS, and half of that goes after people making \$75,000 or less.

I know so many people like that. I worship with them, play sports. Our kids interact. I don't know how I tell them I work in a body that celebrated doing that to them. I know what their struggles are.

You know, it is interesting. These people work hard. They dream of the American Dream, and you just put hurdles in front of them. You put struggles. Families are going to have to move in together.

But I am going to tell them what you did. You helped everybody making \$800,000 to get that electric car, that Tesla.

I still live in the very first house I ever bought. I can't afford a Tesla. The people on my street where I live, if somebody's car breaks down, we work on it together. We help one another.

I remember driving home just the other day, and there was a young family. It was the grandmom, the mom, and the daughter. She pulled over at the side of the entrance to my neighborhood. Her hood was up. Her car was overheating.

I pulled up. I asked her if she needed help. She wasn't sure what was happening. I said: Wait, I am going to go right over to my house. It is a block away. I will get some antifreeze. I will get a towel. We will open this up, and we will fix this.

I come back, and as I go to work on that car, another neighbor comes by.

She is a grandmother. I have known her for years. She gets out with water bottles to give to the family. My daughter had made cookies. I brought cookies for the young child in the back.

My other neighbor works in the oil business. But do you know what? He won't be my neighbor long because, you see, you shut down his business. He told me he has to move. He doesn't live alone. His brother lives with him. He has roommates, and young kids, just to afford to live there.

He pulls up. He gets some antifreeze. And everybody works together to get her back on her way.

That is the American way. It is not building up big bureaucracies or raising gas prices because the White House will tell you that is a good thing because you can afford a Tesla. We are going to take taxes from you so somebody who makes \$800,000 can get a tax break to buy a Tesla. I can't even afford to test drive a Tesla, and Elon is one of my best friends.

How is the competition going? For the Chinese Communist Party, it is not much of a fight. You see, Xi Jinping is not going to abide by the term limits of his constitution. But we should trust him. We should just compete together because when he told President Biden he wouldn't weaponize those islands and he did, oh, Xi Jinping, you old friend, you.

When he builds those aircraft carriers in the desert that look just like the American aircraft carriers, that Xi Jinping, he just likes the Navy.

When he tells Australia, when Australia asks where did COVID come from, we are sending our nuclear weapons right down to you.

Lithuania opened a consulate for Taiwan this week. You see, Lithuania has a long history of big, controlling countries next to them that try to push them around. But they know what freedom is.

Do you know what Taiwan is? Taiwan is that young man who stood in front of that tank 32 years ago, who craved the freedom of speech, who understood America is more than a country.

When I look at this bill, it angers me. We are so better than this. You are spending so much money. Never before—think of our history books. Think of how we honor the Honor Flight. Think about the Greatest Generation that sacrificed so much.

We spent less to feed Hitler, Mussolini, and Japan than you are spending tonight. We spent less, but it cost us lives. And you are celebrating it. You are celebrating it when inflation is at a 31-year high.

□ 2300

Gas prices, Thanksgiving, a border that, in a few months, breaks every record of the last three years combined. And not one dollar is going to protect the border or make our children's children safer for the next generation.

You know, I admire everybody with a job. My first job was at the Quick and Handy Market, and people brought bottles back for deposit. And my job, in 110-degree temperature, was to sort those bottles. It gave me a sense of worth.

You may all admire Europe, you may admire building big bureaucracies. I know you even thought of a plan in here to tax people just on what you thought their world was worth. France did that, and it failed.

Mr. Speaker, we cannot become a socialist country. They have all failed. There is a reason America should lead, but we cannot lead if we are weakened.

A lot of you have been to my office. In my office, I keep portraits.

I don't know if you know this, but I wasn't born a Republican. My family were all Democrats. If anybody questions me about my beliefs, I left what I heard at home because I knew there was something better.

There are two leaders in this Nation that still inspire me to this day, and I am proud of who they are and what they did. And if you come to my office, you are welcome. We can disagree, but we should sit and talk. The problems in America are too big. We can find common ground. We would have found common ground here, if we were welcomed.

You see, I have this portrait of Abraham Lincoln. It is in black and white. A friend of mine painted it; his name is Penley. It is large, too. It is in black and white for a reason.

The greatest challenge ever to our Constitution was the Civil War. While you are celebrating this bill tonight, you are doing it on the exact same floor we debated the Thirteenth Amendment, or the day that would live in infamy, or the civil rights.

Mr. Speaker, the best thing you say is we are going to build a bureaucracy. You know, it is the anniversary just this week of the Gettysburg Address.

Could you imagine being President of the United States; you are not the keynote speaker. The keynote speaker speaks for 2 hours. I think I have already broken that record. I am sorry if you are missing Puerto Rico's fundraiser.

There weren't a lot of words, but this is what Lincoln said, believe in exceptionalism of America. Why? Because we are conceived in liberty and we are dedicated to the proposition that we are all equal. He goes on to say, but if we fail, "government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from Earth."

We were not the world power at that moment, but he knew that America was more than a country, that when we work for and by and of the people, we will always lead. There is no other nation in the world that is conceived in liberty and dedicated that everybody is equal.

So when you spend this new green deal money and you send it to China to buy the solar panels and the batteries, look at the slaves they make work

there. Look at the slaves they make work there.

I am proud Abraham Lincoln was the first Republican President. And I will tell you, at night I look at these two paintings, and I wonder in moments and time what if Abraham Lincoln was not assassinated.

Malice towards none. There would be no Jim Crow laws.

Mr. Speaker, I would love to debate Jim Crow one day, because another portrait just hanging down from Lincoln is Joseph Rainey, the first Black American to get elected to Congress. He was a Republican.

Mr. Speaker, 60 years later, the first Black Democrat was elected to Congress. You see, Joseph Rainey was a slave and broke free and came back after the Civil War and got elected in Charleston, South Carolina. We defeated that original sin. But Joseph Rainey wasn't the only Black Republican elected. More started getting elected. And in the South, we had a competitive Presidential election. But the Democrats said they would recognize the Republicans if they moved the Federal troops out of the South. And when they did, the Democrats won the States and they enacted Jim Crow laws—one of the darkest moments in our history. Had Abraham Lincoln not been assassinated, we would not have to wait until the 1950s for the civil rights.

Abraham Lincoln, if he was here today, he would tell you—and Mr. Speaker, I believe he would look to your side of the aisle, he would say, be fearless when it comes to votes; don't blame others.

You see, when Lincoln was elected in November 1860, he wasn't sworn in until March 1861. It is late, so I am not sure if my math is right, if it was seven or nine States that left the Union before he was sworn in. Never once did he blame Buchanan.

Mr. Speaker, today, I heard our border czar blame Trump for the border. I don't know, in the short months of one-party rule, they have broken all records. He would tell you this, though: Your children's children, do not put off tomorrow what you could do today.

The debate of slavery didn't start in the 1850s. That original sin started at the creation of our country. Our forefathers thought it was too divisive so they said, put it to the side. Hundreds of thousands of their grandchildren had to die. We don't have that same debate today, but you got a big debate on this floor.

Do not blame others when inflation is higher. Do not blame others when your children's children ask you, why did you make the bureaucracy so big, but keep the borders open, and empower China? Why did my father and mother lose their jobs? Why can we not go downtown? Because there is no police to protect us. Or that Russell Johnson's grandson or granddaughter, who can't carry on the legacy of a generation of a rancher. They will point to this night, this time, and this moment.

The other portrait that hangs behind my desk is Ronald Reagan. You see, Ronald Reagan was a Democrat, too, but taxes became so high, you know what he did? He stopped working. He took the incentive away.

Sound familiar? If you pay people more to stay home, they will stay home. If you take away the work requirement—this bill now creates 90 percent of all Americans qualify for the child tax credit. But what did you do? You took away the requirement to work; hurting the small business. Then you took away the Social Security. You might as well take more American taxpayer money, because you got all these IRS agents but you are giving it to people who are not Americans.

Reagan would tell us this—Reagan is in color and Reagan is smiling.

□ 2310

Mr. Speaker, I think at moments of the times Reagan would talk to my party. We are not perfect by any means. He would tell us: If you believe your principles bring people more freedom, be happy about it. People will wonder what you are drinking. I am a happy conservative, but not tonight.

Reagan would tell us this—and he would talk to this entire body. He would tell us, Mr. Speaker, peace without freedom is meaningless. Think about that for one moment: Peace without freedom is meaningless. It is human nature that we crave peace, but we only attain it with freedom.

Reagan came into office after Jimmy Carter made inflation high; Americans were held hostage; gas prices, you could only go to the station on odd and even days. He was happy and honored to be able to do it. People had written us off.

There were two Germanys. I remember, in my high school, they had one of those Hallmark shows about the Soviet Union invading us, "Red Dawn." People on my street built bomb shelters because there was a Sputnik moment, much like a moment we just had. That is what our top military agents tell us, Mr. Speaker.

Reagan had the same dilemma. He was in his second term, and I believe he was in Iceland, sitting directly across from Gorbachev. They didn't take staff into the room. Mr. Speaker, he started negotiating a nuclear reduction. He was getting most everything he wanted, then Gorbachev asked him one thing: Would Reagan end the SDI program?

Remember what the SDI program was at that moment? It was made fun of, Mr. Speaker, by the Democrats. It was called Star Wars. Today, it is part of the Iron Dome.

Mr. Speaker, you might remember the Iron Dome. Your party actually defunded that along with the police.

Reagan didn't hesitate. He didn't ask Congress; he didn't ask the Senate. He said, no, I will not end the SDI, but what I will do is I will share with you so the world could be safe. Gorbachev declined.

Reagan looked at everything in there, and he thought it was a pretty good agreement. He paused for a moment. It did nothing for those who were in the Gulags. It did nothing for Lech Walesa and the shipyards of Poland.

He did something that most politicians couldn't do. He got up and walked away. Had Reagan not at that moment walked away, the Berlin Wall would have never collapsed in the Soviet Union.

I tell you that story because I hope five of you listen. I hope five of you walk away from this bill. It doesn't bring more freedom. You cannot have peace without freedom.

Do you know what is interesting? In modern history, there have been two U.S. Presidents to win the Nobel Peace Prize, Jimmy Carter and Barack Obama, not Ronald Reagan and not Donald Trump after the Abraham Accords.

All elite press criticized Reagan, but he knew his principles. Reagan didn't have one-party rule. Speaker Tip O'Neill would spend time with him, would talk about the challenges. When they talked about the challenges, they invested not for more illegals coming across the border but to compete against Russia.

Mr. Speaker, inside my conference room, I have another portrait. It is a big one, 8 by 16. It is a portrait of Washington crossing the Delaware. You all know that painting, do you not? This is a replica.

Do you know who painted that painting? It happened Christmas 1776. The person who painted it wasn't there that day. He painted it from 1850 to 1851. He wasn't even an American. He was a German immigrant who lived in America, Emanuel Leutze. He lived here for about 10 years, I believe, and then he went back to Germany.

He knew the same thing that Lincoln knew about America, that America is more than a country, that we are an idea, an idea not of more bureaucracy but of more freedom.

His talent was art, so he thought: I will paint this painting to inspire my country to have a revolution based upon the freedoms of American democracy.

He gets it historically incorrect. If you look at the painting, it doesn't look like the Delaware. It looks like the Rhine. He is German, so we will give him a break, right?

He puts Washington in a rowboat. Historians will tell you he probably crossed in a Durham boat. He puts 13 people in the rowboat. Why? Thirteen Colonies. He only shows you 12 faces.

If you ever look at the painting—and please come to the office. You can bring your constituents. I don't have to be there.

He has Washington in a ceremonial uniform, standing up in a rowboat in the middle of winter with his hand on his chest. If you look at our Founding Father, you would say that man is big-

ger than life. He is so stoic, I bet he has never lost a battle.

Do you know what history tells us? At that moment in time, Washington had only been a loser. He had never won a fight. But google this painting to see if I am right. You have your phones, and you are welcome to do it. I don't want you to look at Washington. I want you to look at who is in the boat.

The second person is wearing a beret. He is Scottish. The person in the green directly across from him rowing in the exact same cadence is African American. You come down the boat and in the middle is this person in red. They look like they are the strongest. It is a woman. In the very back is a Native American.

Mr. Speaker, I cannot tell you if that diversity was in the boat that night, but to this young immigrant who had lived in America, that is who he believed would be in the boat.

The second to last person was a rancher, a farmer. I don't know if he was related to Russell Johnson or not, but the same occupation. He has his hand across his face. You see that it is the hand of the 13th person nobody sees.

This artist was saying: Here we are, not a country but an idea. Having lost every battle before us but willing to risk everything on our holiest of nights for the idea of freedom, here is a hand. Would you get in and join us?

I wish we hung that portrait in here. I wish we would look at that portrait, that when we brought bills to the floor, we were all rowing together.

I will tell you the challenge that Washington faced that night. Our two biggest challenges for the future are the debt and China. This bill makes us a loser on both. Mr. Speaker, it spends more money than we spent for the entire World War II. It sends our jobs to China. It does nothing to stand up to them.

I know this: It is not too late. It might be late into the night. Mr. Speaker, Members on your side of the aisle, they have staff. They can get a new plane to Puerto Rico. This is too important.

□ 2320

There are moments in time in history that change the course of this country, and they have happened on this floor—the 13th Amendment and the day that will live in infamy. We were bombed by Japan, and it almost wiped out our Navy. That Congress didn't turn around and say, Let's take away work requirements, let's give incentives to people who are coming illegally, and let's spend nothing on our defense; but let's make it bigger than any other bill we have ever had, and let's make sure nobody on the other side works with us. Now we are going into war, so we should send a letter to OPEC and to Putin because he can lower our gas prices and help us out.

This is that moment. We can have that courage. We can have that ability.

It is not too late. Aside from hypersonics, the Pentagon is estimating China could have 1,000 nuclear warheads by the end of the decade. Last year they built 38 gigawatts of coal-powered plants. That is one large coal plant every week.

I know a lot of Members on both sides of the aisle went overseas. Mr. Speaker, I know Speaker PELOSI has been able to go to Europe three times in the last 3 months. I don't know if it is a farewell tour. But if it is, I want a T-shirt.

Mr. Speaker, we have been limited on what we can build nuclearly because of our agreement with Russia. China makes no qualms about what they want to do with Taiwan. If you wonder, look at Hong Kong. My first trip ever to China was back in 1995. Some of you have probably gone with the American Council of Young Political Leaders. They pick five Republicans and five Democrats under the age of 40 to go to China to interact to find their leader.

I remember sitting in a room with a former U.N. ambassador, and he told me they became Communist because they had always been conquered by somebody else. There used to be signs reading no children or dogs in Tiananmen Square. He said, We have no fear of being conquered now, so I don't know what binds us together.

When I went to Tiananmen Square it was moving for me because I remember that moment in time. There are two parts in history I wish I could have been a part of: I wish I could have been in Tiananmen Square and I wish I could have been there knocking down that Berlin Wall.

There was a sign there in Tiananmen Square, Mr. Speaker. It had two moments: the number of days and the number of minutes until Hong Kong came under their control. They said that for 50 years nothing would change. Mr. Speaker, after unleashing COVID on the world, it all changed.

But do you know what happened prior to that, Mr. Speaker?

I am not sure; I think Hong Kong had about 8 million people. Even on rainy Saturdays 3 million of them would show up and bring umbrellas.

Do you know what else they would bring?

American flags. They knew the exact same thing as Abraham Lincoln, Joseph Rainey, and Frederick Douglass: that America is more than a country, that it is an idea. They stood out in the rain knowing what China would do for freedom of speech but not for more bureaucracy.

The moment China came in, did we do anything?

We are going to buy more batteries from them. They use slave labor to create them.

If you question where COVID came from, they say they are going to send their nuclear weapons to you. Mr. Speaker, I don't know if we know how many nuclear weapons they have because we can't fly over them much anymore.

But, Mr. Speaker, do you ever wonder and start to think, you have these nuclear weapons, you have hypersonics, and then you invade Taiwan.

Do you think that may keep more people at bay?

I don't know. When Putin took Crimea, he said he took it because no one said he couldn't. He has built up, along the road, Ukraine.

Mr. Speaker, does it make you wonder after Afghanistan where Americans were left behind, that China flies more of their aircraft over Taiwan? That China did not show up at the global warming party?

There are so many things to be proud of about our country. I am worried about the environment. I wish every country was like America. We lowered our CO₂ emissions. We didn't mandate.

Do you know what we did while we lowered them?

We became energy independent.

But do you know what happens when you shut down an American pipeline and you allow a Russian pipeline to go?

You make the air dirtier. American natural gas is 42 percent cleaner.

Do you know what else comes with American natural gas?

American jobs. American kids can pay for college, they can buy a car, and they can buy a house. I don't know if in today's America they can afford to fill it up.

But you are going to restrict America. Mr. Speaker, I have heard a lot of people brag about this bill. They are really happy about the Green New Deal. I don't know if many read the Chinese paper, they are happier. Because that is where you are sending Americans' hard-earned taxpayer dollars. And if you don't get enough, the IRS agents are going to pound on their door.

Meanwhile, President Biden is acting like there is no competition at all. Today, on a few important issues Biden has folded on, he bailed out Huawei and refuses to investigate the origins of coronavirus or hold China accountable for its actions.

Mr. Speaker, I want to tell you another story. This is a personal story with your leadership and ours. Many of us had the pleasure and the honor of going to the 75th anniversary of D-day. I think every American should go and read the headstones with the ages of the thousands upon thousands of Americans who all died in a short timeframe. Look at the Stars of David and crosses.

I traveled with the Speaker, NANCY PELOSI. As we flew in on a helicopter and we went down the path with the doors open, we wondered about those brave men. You still saw the guns of the Germans. They had to land, and they were sitting ducks. They had to climb up, and they were just being shot one after the other. They were so young. But their children's children are proud of them.

When I looked at those headstones, I looked at the Speaker, and I wondered:

what could America have done before then so that they would not have lost their lives?

What could we have done before the rise of Hitler or Mussolini?

Where could we have made that investment?

Then I thought to the future of us as policymakers. History repeats itself. I watch China steal our technology. I watch them test hypersonics. I watch them build a new coal plant and shut ours down. This isn't like the Soviet Union. We are not going to outspend them.

When I asked the Speaker: Could we create a committee with an equal number of Republicans and an equal number of Democrats to just focus on China?

She thought it was an interesting idea. I called Steny, the majority leader. I presented the same idea to him. I spent 8 months on this.

And do you know what, Mr. Speaker? They agreed.

□ 2330

So we agreed. We picked the number of members, and then they came back to me and said, no, we had to shrink it. That is okay. That is okay. I just really want to have this happen. Because you know Xi Jinping isn't going to abide by the term limits; he tries to wait everybody out, Mr. Speaker.

We got so close; we invited the Washington Post reporter in to interview the members who were going to be on this committee. They pre-interviewed it so we would be able to introduce it. The night before that moment, like the time in the boat, I was proud of Congress. We were going to do this together in one of our greatest challenges.

I got a phone call. They said, we are not doing the committee. I said, what are you talking about? We spent 8 months at this.

You see, COVID had hit, and they thought it might give a political advantage if we focused on China. I went ahead anyway and started the China Task Force. And in that China Task Force, all the ideas that we came up with, two-thirds of them, were bipartisan.

Mr. Speaker, we talk a lot about the future. If this body changes power, we will have a committee that focuses on the future of America and China. We need to plan.

This is going to do a lot of damage to us. I hope five of you change your mind. And you know what? I am going to welcome you to serve on it, too.

I want one American policy. I don't want to look out in California and see all those ships anymore. I want to look at California and see all those ships leaving with American products going to other countries.

We need to hold them accountable. Why would the world stay silent after the millions upon millions who have died from COVID?

Would it not raise a question if China shut down their domestic flights but kept their international open?

Welcome, Madam Speaker. I am just getting geared up. It is good you sit.

Now, Republicans are offering a better approach; instead of cooperating with China from a position of weakness, we need to compete from a position of strength.

Madam Speaker, you are new, and I am not sure you have been listening. I hope you were.

I would think, Madam Speaker, why don't we have a full Congress briefing on China's hypersonics?

Why don't we do one thing? Why don't we pause this bill? If this bill is going to spend \$5 trillion, more than any other bill we have ever spent, more than what we spent to end World War II, why don't we pause this bill, have a briefing of all of us together about that Sputnik moment that our top military tells us?

And why don't we rise to the occasion? Why don't we do what America did at that moment, with our children's children? Witness one Germany?

Why don't we pause and let's see if we ought to spend the money there?

You see, with one-party rule, the last time you had it, you cut the funding for hypersonics. Now, I don't remember the debate, and I don't know, Madam Speaker, if somebody on the other side said, by this cut, our children's children will be excited about this tonight.

But I do know where we stand today, more than 12 years later; in a weaker position, more dependent, and more vulnerable.

You know what that means if we want to do something different? That means strengthening our military, rebuilding our economy, and regaining our position of leadership in the world.

I don't know how many of you are historians, but if you study the entire world, there have only been two nations that have had the largest economy, China and America. You know, in the last year, ours grew faster than them. But they are catching us. After this bill, they put a weight belt on it. You gave an advantage to them.

What if we did this, too? What if we paused, and what if we, together, inspired the rest of the nations in the world and said, let's not reward China with the Olympics. Do you want to reward them?

I will guarantee you their economy will be stronger after this bill.

We can't keep being nice. We can't let them continue to lie, to steal.

It also means delivering truth and accountability when it comes to the coronavirus.

There is not one in this Chamber that does not know somebody who died from COVID. I was talking to a friend last night. He is about my age, but he had these two mentors. They are older men. They are farmers. He is a farmer. And he had been calling them. He was down looking for them; couldn't find them. I never heard this friend of mine get emotional. He said he just got a call back. One of them died from COVID. His father is no longer alive,

but he felt he lost his father that night.

You know who he was most mad at? China. I never heard him cuss until that night. He just felt it was so unfair. Don't we all?

Don't we remember being in this Chamber, struggling in our own community, trying to find PPE just for our hospitals? You know, some of the brightest moments of America happened at that time. We watched people risk their lives. We watched what America does best, ingenuity, invest. We don't have one vaccine, we have three.

You ask anybody in the world, do they want a vaccine from Russia or China? They want America's. We did that. We did it faster than Fauci ever said we could.

You know what else we could do? We could do hypersonics, too. We are not going to gain on China if they tested it 200 times and we are at 9.

Madam Speaker, hypersonics is a first-strike weapon.

Look, I was a smart aleck growing up, and I got in a few fights. But the one thing I will tell you, in a schoolyard, I never won one that someone got to punch me five times before I could swing. But that is what your children's children are going to learn tonight. They could strike us before they could defend us.

Are we weaker based upon what happened in Afghanistan? Oh, yes, we are. If you don't read China's papers, you know what they told Taiwan the next day? See, America won't be there for you.

I was speaking soft, Madam Speaker, but I wasn't imitating President Biden.

I imagine the papers in China will read, soon after this bill passes, that America is going to ask them, the Chinese to buy our bonds so they have greater control over us; that America is going to be weaker; that they did nothing to stop the flow of fentanyl made in China coming to America.

□ 2340

We cannot lose sight of the ultimate goal. We will not allow America to fall further behind like the Biden administration has.

Madam Speaker, when they study history, our children's children, I am sure the chapter will read "One-party control for one term: The damage that was done."

There will be college courses. There will be people who are nominated to the Fed simply because they studied the inflation that came back today. I don't know about you, but if you study history, there is no easy way of getting out of inflation. There is only pain. Don't take my word for it. Just pick up *The Wall Street Journal* and read the story of Turkey today.

Madam Speaker, I know my friend, Mr. NEAL, has been here 33 years. He has to remember what inflation looked like in the 1970s, interest rates in double digits.

Madam Speaker, it is different today. For all of those Democrats, Madam Speaker, that would not vote for the bill unless they got the CBO report that told them it paid for itself—I watched some of them on TV—I feel sorry for them. I don't know how they will face their constituents again.

But what about those 21 Members, Madam Speaker, in your Caucus that sent a letter to the Speaker that said to take out the IRS agents. I guess if you send a letter, it is okay to vote the opposite. I don't know. Where I grew up, in my family, that is not what we were taught.

The CBO came back. In 5 years, it costs \$800 billion, and that is after you have played all the tricks with all the dials where you don't pay for everything.

The difference today is our debt is larger than our GDP. When that happened before, we weren't fighting for a Green New Deal; we were fighting to save America and the world. The minute World War II was over, it dropped.

Madam Speaker, I think you are fighting to make this country a socialist country.

Margaret Thatcher said it well: You are going to run out of everybody else's money. The difference now, though, is you have inflation. What is so sad is, you were warned that would happen. I know you don't want to listen to me. I know you don't like me. That is okay.

But Larry Summers worked in two Democrat administrations. He serves in one of the most prestigious universities in America. He is partisan, partisan, but he is an economist.

Before you passed that \$2 trillion—and remember what happened. It is similar to this bill. It was not bipartisan. What is so unusual, when COVID hit, all of those bills we did, we did it together. But when January 20 hit, when it was one-party rule, all changed. We were no longer welcome. So we warned you, but you thought it was politics.

But then Larry Summers warned you in February. You passed it anyway. Nine percent went to COVID. The school money, a lot of it didn't last but 2 or 3 months. Then we read all about these schools. They had too much money. They were giving bonuses to people who didn't even work.

You passed rules that said bills didn't have to go through committee. You made proxy voting. I remember the negotiation on proxy.

I remember, Madam Speaker, talking to the Speaker and the majority leader at the very beginning, saying: We will never do proxy. It will destroy the body of Congress.

Historians will tell you that. Even when the Confederacy wasn't that far away, we still met. August 24, 1814, when the British burned this building down, we still met. Through every pandemic, we still met.

But what we thought was that, and I disagreed, it was only those few people

who have respiratory problems. We are going to make it tough. Only a few people are going to do it for a short time, and they are going to sign a letter that says they just can't make it here.

Madam Speaker, I was shocked when I saw a Member on your side of the aisle. He must have been really fearful of COVID because he was on a boat. It looked like a vacation to me.

Madam Speaker, today, I got my booster shot, my third shot. I have had COVID. I have had three shots. I went down to see Dr. Monahan. I said, will I have any side effects? I got my second shot the morning of January 6, and I got the chills. I got the shakes that day for a lot of reasons. I wondered if it was the best idea to get that shot today. I took it anyway. I didn't know if I was going to be too tired. I might have a little headache now.

But this is too important. This is just too important. This is a turning point in our country. We are at a tipping point because let me tell you what happens: You cannot curb inflation without devaluing the dollar or raising the interest rate. We raised it high after the last time the Democrats had one-party control in the late 1970s. But do you know what? It will cut all the economy, but we won't be able to pay our bills. We have too big of a debt now.

The Wharton School is an amazing school. They would never accept me. They studied this bill. You didn't have to wait for the CBO. You know it costs \$4 trillion. It also tells you it is going to lower our growth.

Only two countries in the world have had the largest economy. If our currency is not the world currency, if our debt is too big, unfortunately, Madam Speaker, what the majority leader said to start this out, that our children's children will remember this night, oh, they will remember this night.

We are a great Nation. We are exceptional. This body has risen to so many occasions. But on the occasions they rose before, they didn't do it with one party.

If America asked me what went wrong: one-party rule for one term. Divided government makes you have to find compromise.

Madam Speaker, when I came to this body, I came at a time in 2006 when Republicans lost the majority for a lot of different reasons. There were only 13 Republicans, the smallest freshman class since 1914, and that is when they enlarged this body.

I have made friends on both sides of the aisle. I believe in competition. I believe in debate. But I believe in respect.

Four years later, it was a big night in Virginia and New Jersey. If you study history, Virginia and New Jersey are off-year elections.

□ 2350

Madam Speaker, your party had had power for a long time in Congress, for 40 years. Before 1994, there was an elec-

tion in 1993, and it was a shock in Virginia and New Jersey, and in 1994, something unheard of happened. Republicans won the majority.

I should have known in 2006 that was going to happen because in 2005 there was an election in Virginia and New Jersey. Democrats won, and it flipped.

In 2009, I was in my second term. I was a deputy whip. I remember certain moments. I didn't know STENY HOYER at that moment. I respected him. I respected his years of service. I respected the leadership in which he served.

I remember it like it was slow motion. It was back when you could speak in the well. President Obama had just become President. We invited him to our conference. He wanted to do a stimulus bill, and I was proud of our conference that day. President Obama treated us with respect. We even met in HT5, where you meet now.

We got up one by one. I remember KEVIN BRADY. The President said, "I want to hear your ideas." We didn't play political games. We gave him ideas. And with respect to President Obama, you know what he said: That is a good one. No, I am not going to do that one.

I liked that. He said we were going to work together. As he walked out, we thought we were going to work together that day. Henry Waxman was the chairman at the time. He dropped the stimulus bill, as the President left us saying he was going to work with us.

I used to spend my time down on the floor. I thank you for being here. I know it is late. But I would spend my time on the floor because most Democrats didn't know who I was, and sometimes I would sit over there, and I would listen, so I could learn.

It is like slow motion, what STENY HOYER was saying. When that stimulus came to the floor, it was a lot of money. It was a lot of money. He said, I don't know if this will work, but I do know, you are going to have to go home and tell your constituents why you voted no, why you wouldn't help them.

I didn't want to be the party of "no." So I remember sitting up in Eric Cantor's office, and we would bring people. Brady was there and Camp and Lott. He said, The President meant well, but his own party won't let him work with us. So let's make our own bill. Let's compete on the power of the idea.

So we produced our own bill. We had outside score it, created jobs with less money, and 30 seconds before that gavel went down, I remember talking to two Republicans right here. President Obama thought he was going to get 60 Republicans to vote for it. He was literally calling Members back in the Chamber.

That bill passed. It was popular. It is kind of like your COVID bill when it first passed. I don't know if you looked at the polling today. This was early on in that majority.

And I remembered the whole time what STENY HOYER said. And right be-

fore that election, after Virginia and New Jersey, do you realize more people in America thought Elvis was alive than the stimulus created a job?

If you look at your COVID bill, the \$2 trillion—there are other moments I have had in here. You know, I came in, and one of the most moving votes we have ever had—I wasn't here to vote on whether we went to Iraq or Afghanistan, but I was here to vote about the surge. And I came in when we lost the majority, and a lot of that had to do with the continuing war.

I wanted to do something different, so I invited anybody who had an opinion, that was opposed, that was for it, foreign ambassadors, and I remember the ambassadors telling us, "We did not agree with you coming, but you better not leave it this way."

And for anyone who serves in a body—and I served in the legislature before I came—nobody can prepare you for a vote like that. You know when you take a vote like that you are going to look a mother and a father or a husband or a wife in the eye, and you are going to have to explain why their loved one gave their life.

So I did not want the administration to tell me anything. I was going to come to this conclusion because I had to make the decision myself. I had to look people in the eye. I voted for the surge that night. It was packed. It was one of the first times I spoke on the floor. I remember calling home. I was nervous.

That April I went to Iraq, Afghanistan. A group of us, bipartisan, we spent Christmas morning with General Petraeus in one of the little amazing houses in there.

And I remember that was bipartisan. I remember respecting the other side. I remember America coming together. It was tough. You had just won the majority. The debate was about war. Men and women were losing their lives, but we didn't think America should lead that way. There were people on both sides of the aisle. You were in the majority. President Bush was still President, and we came to what was best for the future together.

Then I remember the financial collapse. I remember being on this floor with TARP. For any of you that were here, it was all packed. Do you remember the chant? 100, 200, 300, 400, the Dow Jones going down. The Dow Jones, I think, went past 1000.

Ever since my days as deputy whip, I have this philosophy, the first one to 200 wins on any big bill. Now that proxy is here, it doesn't work, but for those voting in here, if you get to 200 first, that is usually where it is going to go.

At that moment, more than 1000 down, the noes were at 200. Then it collapsed, and the market went up a little more, only down maybe 800.

Do you remember how big that was? The world's largest economy on a financial meltdown, and we both came together. Because it was a big vote,

right? Do you know how much we spent then? \$800 billion. \$800 billion.

You are spending \$5 trillion. While we have inflation. \$800 billion was enough to save the financial markets of America. We have got 10 million jobs out there for people to work on. You are doing nothing for the border, nothing for the children's future when it comes to China. No incentive to go to work. You are incentivizing people to come here illegally. You are incentivizing people to stay home and get a check.

I like to study history. Every great society that has overextended themselves has collapsed.

Madam Speaker, I don't mean to go back to what my friend STENY HOYER said, but tonight will be the night that our children's children—oh, I apologize, it is you back in the chair, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker, may I ask you a question? Did you get to take a bathroom break and I didn't? But I understand. It's okay.

□ 0000

Mr. Speaker, tonight will be the night of that tipping point. Tonight, will be the night. Have you looked at the market? Have you looked at the numbers that just came back this week on retail?

You know what happens—please talk to the economists—if you supply all this money in a tight economy, you are going to create more inflation.

Mr. Speaker, when I served at that time, 4 years later, we became the majority. I had the honor and privilege when my conference elected me majority whip and majority leader. And I know the frustration I had when you would do your motions to recommit, but I never once said I wanted so much control to take that away from you.

I respect that you run for this office. I respect that your constituents elect you. And what your constituents do is they lend you power. They lend you their voice, so their voice needs to be heard. When you shut out the minority, you are shutting out millions of Americans.

Now, I don't know what the case was, but I remember talking to my freshman class in 2011, and I put up the 63 names of every Democrat that lost, Mr. Speaker, and they had two things in common. They all voted for a motion to recommit, and they all lost.

In the 8 years that we were in the majority, we never lost one motion to recommit.

Why would you change the course of the history of this body to take away the voice of the minority?

You are not hurting me. You are hurting millions of Americans who participate in the electoral system. Is that about control?

I know our tempers flare, but I promise you this, Mr. Speaker, I will never tell one of you you can't look at me. Even if you are saying something bad about me. You have a right to do it. We

are in America. I don't want control over you. I want to participate with you. I want to work with you. I want to solve problems with you.

You know, people ask me what has gone wrong, and I will be honest with you, I have spent a lot of time thinking about the next Congress. How do we heal this place? Mr. Speaker, if you are all thinking of running again, for those who win, no more proxy voting. You are going to have to show up to work.

Mr. Speaker, America is more than a country. We are an idea. Every single one here, except a few that are Native American, came as immigrants. I have told you about the paintings in my office. I also have the papers from Ellis Island of my grandfather, 100 years ago this year, came at the age of 10 from Italy. Giuseppe Palladino. He dreamt of a new world. He knew America would be better with each generation. He came, like many of your ancestors.

One of the greatest strengths in this country is the rule of law. Even in the financial meltdown people still invested in America. So many times when I was in graduate school, I would do a SWOT analysis, strengths weaknesses, opportunities, threats. You start with your strengths to see if they are big enough to overcome your weaknesses. Are the opportunities big enough to overcome the future threats?

We are still the largest economy in this world. But it won't stay if this passes.

We have the greatest fighting force, volunteers.

If you are wealthy and you live in another country and you are sick, you still want to come here for your healthcare.

You still want to send your kids here to go to school.

They admire who we are and what we have been.

I talk about what made me a Republican. I was in the sixth grade. I turn on the TV. I watch Jimmy Carter with a sweater on telling me to turn the heater down, and that the best days were behind us, and that as an American I had to accept less. That wasn't how I was raised.

Then I watched this other man, Mr. Speaker, that came from my home State of California. He went to the podium. He said no pastels. Fly that bold color and go to that shining city on the hill. I knew what he meant when he talked about that shining city. That was America. That was more than a country. That was an idea, an idea of freedom. It went beyond Maine, beyond California. I know you all believe that is America. But under one-party rule, under 1 year, that light has been dimmed.

Our task should be to join together, climb that mountain, and reach toward that light. Five of you should rise up, put the country first, and say no. Twenty-one of you signed a letter that said take the 87,000 IRS agents out of the bill. It is still in it.

Does your name matter? Does the letter matter? You sent it to the Speaker. You told her she had to.

Or what about those Members that said they could not vote on this bill until the Congressional Budget Office proved to them what President Biden was saying, that it didn't cost anything.

Well, you know what, that letter is back, and, no, it costs. In 5 years it is going to cost you \$800 billion. It is going to cost us much more. It is going to cost us the rule of law.

You are incentivizing people to come across this border illegally. We believe in the rule of law, but if you start a generation that breaks the rule of law, you break down society.

You are taking this money. How you brag about how you pay for the bill.

You hire 87,000 IRS agents. You are saying to America: We don't trust you. You are adding 1.2 million more audits. One half of all of those audits are going after Americans who only make \$75,000 a year or less.

And you know what those Americans are doing right now?

They are wondering if they can pay for their gas this winter that goes up 50 something percent. They are traveling less because gasoline is the highest it has been.

And for our President to say he doesn't know anybody worried about inflation, Mr. President, come to the grocery store with me because I will show you the prices are rising every day. Just walk the streets.

Or what is even worse, you are spending more money than we spent to solve World War II, to win it. And you are proud of it. You are championing it.

You do nothing for Russell Johnson, the rancher on the border, whose kids can't even go outside to play. From February to October more people have come across that border illegally than 2018, 2019, and 2020 combined. Those are the numbers.

Americans are dying at unbelievable levels because of fentanyl. Where do you think that comes from? China through Mexico.

You heard from one of the mayors in these border cities. Just in the last year, 46 times the school had to be on a shutdown because of the cartels and the car chases. You do nothing in this bill for that.

You have the top military general tell you about the Sputnik moment with China when they did a hypersonic, something we don't have because the last time we had one-party rule with all of you in charge, you cut hypersonic funding.

□ 0010

Mr. Speaker, you have a Chief of Staff at the White House that many refer to as "the prime minister." He says this is twice as big in real dollars as the New Deal. You got Members of your own conference that said President Biden wasn't elected to be FDR.

We are better than this. How can you spend so much? When the financial markets were melting down, when thousands of people were losing their jobs and we didn't know if we could still be the world currency, this body came together and thought \$800 billion was enough to do the trick. We weren't in inflation.

Mr. Speaker, you already know from your past of passing trillions of dollars, you created inflation. Now you are doubling down. The American people have said it in so many ways. Enough. We don't need more waste.

Mr. Speaker, when you have inflation, you either devalue the currency or you raise interest rates. You are going to break America. We can't afford to pay our debt. We are going to have to cut.

Mr. Speaker, I will tell you this, and I will make this promise to you, if we are fortunate enough for the American public to trust us for a new direction, we will change the course. We will focus on small business. We will focus on the border. We won't let runaway spending create inflation.

Mr. Speaker, and we will trust you. We won't fine you to walk into your place of work, because there won't be a magnetometer out there. We believe we are going to work together. We believe bills will have to go through committee. One-party rule for 1 year has done so much damage. We will not let America fall further behind, like the Biden administration has. In a sense, falling farther behind has been the theme of Joe Biden's Presidency in the first 10 months. As leaders, it is our responsibility to understand the position and condition our country is in. When it is not providing Americans the opportunity to meet their daily needs, we must fix it.

Mr. Speaker, we trust parents. I don't know if you heard, we introduced a Parents' Bill of Rights. I never thought there would be a day that the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the FBI, would go after parents simply because they went to a school board meeting, and lied to Congress about it. It took a whistleblower to come forward.

Mr. Speaker, I never thought there would be a day with gas prices so high that the Secretary of Energy, when asked for a plan of how to bring the prices down, to laugh. The Vice President of the United States that was given the job by the President to be the border czar—I understand why he moved it to her, because in his 42 years of elected office, the closest he came to the border was driving by El Paso—but when she was asked, she laughed as well.

Mr. Speaker, these are serious issues, not one to laugh at. The American public is not laughing. When it is not providing Americans the opportunity to meet their daily needs, we must fix it. But that is not what President Biden has done for the last 10 months. That is not what Democrats have done with this bill.

Mr. Speaker, one-party rule in 1 year has given us the highest inflation in 31 years. And I know I said it before, yes, we warned you from the other side, but your own side warned you as well. Larry Summers, serving two Democrat administrations, begged you, told you not to do it in February, but here we are.

Mr. Speaker, the President, even in a town hall meeting on CNN, said he doesn't know anybody that is worried about inflation. I want to invite the President to so many meetings. I want him to go to the border with us. You know, I know we come from different parties, and I know we fight in campaigns. But when the election is over, America expects us to govern. There are many times—I know the President hasn't been to the border, but we sent him letters, we have been there. We will tell him what is happening. We will sit down. We will talk. He doesn't want to meet. I want to work with this President. These problems are too big. I took President Biden at his word when he said if he became President, he would work with the other side.

Mr. Speaker, the American people sent Washington, D.C., an unmistakable message on an election day earlier this month: Our country has drifted too far to the left.

Mr. Speaker, if you study history, there was a moment in time like this; it was back in 1994. Again, it was a one-party rule. You controlled it all. And when you controlled it all, your party wanted more control. They wanted ClintonCare. The country rose up. And at that moment in time, I remember watching President Clinton tell the American public the era of Big Government is over.

Mr. Speaker, where is that Democrat today? Because many of these Members, they serve 30, 40 years; they have been there with them. And they just championed, We got to make the bureaucracy bigger.

Mr. Clinton listened to the American public. You know, this last election was driven by intense disapproval of Democrat's radical policies, absolute chaos on the southern border, out-of-control crime, record-breaking gas prices, and inflation, a broken supply the chain.

Mr. Speaker, I know you care about the environment, and I know you are not far from Southern California. I know you have seen those ships. You see them sitting there for a month. You see the pollution. You know what they are doing? They are dropping off products from China and going back empty.

Mr. Speaker, we got a failing education system, where some of the strongest leaders in your party say parents have no right in their children's education. I just can't imagine that. And, of course, the surrender in Afghanistan. I know you cannot be proud of that moment either. There are still Americans there.

Mr. Speaker, I don't know—and I could be wrong—but I don't know of

one hearing we have had in the last month to help those Americans come home. I don't even know if someone would give us the number. But this is what I do know. Republicans are not sitting back. There are a number of Members who served in the military, who sacrificed in the military, who are still helping their constituents and others come home.

Mr. Speaker, and the saddest part about it is, we have to work with other countries. We have to go around our own State Department. This isn't an image of a thriving Nation. It is the image of a country that is clearly on the wrong track and on the wrong side of history.

□ 0020

Are we better off today than we were 10 months ago? No.

Mr. Speaker, I remember STENY HOYER. I listened to him. He started off, he said, we don't want to go back. He doesn't want to go back when we didn't have inflation, when gas prices were \$2, when we were energy independent, when in the last 16 months not one casualty in Afghanistan, when North Korea was not testing missiles, when China hadn't sent a hypersonic around the world, when we had the strongest economy in the last 50 years.

Mr. Speaker, I know there are people who got upset with President Trump's personality. As I travel the country today, Mr. Speaker, I hear of a lot of people who want to take that vote back who like his policies, who understand policy matters.

We are not better off than we were 10 months ago. Do you know the difference? Ten months ago, we didn't have one-party rule in this city.

That is why the voters who could vote earlier this month overwhelmingly voted to send Democrats a message. Mr. Speaker, that message was one word: Stop.

In 2010, you didn't listen—ObamaCare in 4 days. You are doing the exact same thing.

Mr. Speaker, I don't know if Speaker PELOSI finishes out this term. I know she made everybody vote on ObamaCare and 63 Democrats lost.

Mr. Speaker, I don't know if she will be here after people vote for it. It could be the last term for them. The problem will be that the damage will be done.

Stop overspending. Stop the war on working families. Work gives you a purpose; I don't care what job you have. Stop giving those who run our country more control over the lives of those who make our country run.

The election on November 2 this year in Virginia, New Jersey, and across the country, that should have been a wake-up call. Why did President Clinton hear it but not these Democrats? I don't know.

Mr. Speaker, I don't want to give political advice, but when President Clinton heard it, and he changed course and said the era of Big Government is over, he got reelected.

Washington Democrats obviously aren't listening to the American people. Instead, in a desperate attempt to save face and appease their extremist, leftwing base, Speaker PELOSI has crammed even more radical policies into a partisan bill that costs trillions of dollars we don't have for government-run programs that nobody wants, not even Democrat voters.

What the Democrats are proposing is out of touch in the extreme. What we have before us isn't a social spending bill; it is a pathway to socialism. If you don't believe me, Mr. Speaker, if you listen to the majority leader and you listen to the chair of the Ways and Means Committee—what a prestigious committee that is.

Mr. Speaker, Article I, Section 7 says all tax reform starts in the House. Our rules say it all starts with Ways and Means. It is interesting that your own Member, JARED GOLDEN, talks about what you do in this bill. You go after people who are just making ends meet to give it to people who are making \$800,000 and millionaires.

These are radical policies in a partisan bill that costs trillions of dollars that we don't have for government programs that nobody wants. It doesn't work now, and it won't work in the future. In fact, as I said earlier, it will make the problems we face as a Nation much, much worse. Here is how.

Mr. Speaker, I am not sure if your other side left to eat, but I will buy dinner if they want to stay. I think it is important. I don't know that any have had time to read the bill.

Consider the energy crisis that Americans are facing today: high gas prices and budget-breaking heating costs. Instead of relying on American energy to increase production and lower costs, the answer from Democrats seems to be to beg OPEC to produce more, gather wood for the fireplace, and put on a sweater.

Do you know what happens when OPEC produces more? American dollars go to the Middle East. Do you know what happens when you shut down American pipelines? American workers lose their jobs, but Putin gets more.

Mr. Speaker, winter is coming, and this bill would make our energy crisis worse. Consider the heat your home tax bill the Democrats have included in this bill. By imposing a fee on methane gas, this bill would penalize the very resource that helps produce the electricity that keeps the lights on and heat running.

Mr. Speaker, I think I owe you an apology because I understand the Democrats have left, and they want to recess when I am done. I don't know if they can get to the airlines at this time to change their flights to Puerto Rico for later tomorrow for the fundraiser. I am sorry for that, but this is just too important.

Mr. Speaker, I don't know if they think, because they left, I am going to stop. I am not. It is too important. Mr. Speaker, I am really not talking to

them. I am talking to the American people.

I have so much here, but I have a couple of other binders. I think it is important for the American people to know how this bill works. When I got done with the speech, I was able to collect all the amendments that Republicans offered that were denied. The American public should see what could have been in the bill, what could have helped them.

It is probably healthy, Mr. Speaker, for all the constituents to know who voted how. I think that would be important.

The effect of this heat your home tax would increase family heating bills by as much as \$242 per year. I don't know if you think that sounds like a lot, but put it in perspective. How much more does it cost to fill up their tank of gas? How much more does it cost them at the grocery store? How much less is their paycheck worth because of inflation? It is not just this. As many as 90,000 jobs could be lost as a result.

Do you know what it won't do? Reduce global temperatures by 1 degree. Mr. Speaker, \$242 doesn't seem like a lot of money for the elite liberals. For all those who make \$800,000, you will love this bill because you will get a tax break for buying a Tesla, but only if it is built at a union shop and if your kids go to the most expensive colleges.

I don't know about you, Mr. Speaker, but I went to junior college. I was fortunate enough to start a small business, and I sold it to pay my way through college.

You see, Mr. Speaker, I don't know if you know my story. I grew up in Bakersfield, California. I was the youngest of three kids. My father was a firefighter, and he moved furniture on his days off. My mom worked in a dental office. And they made an unbelievable life for us.

□ 0030

You see, Mr. Speaker, when I got out of high school, I didn't have the athletic ability or grades to get a scholarship, so I went to community college, and I am proud of it.

Mr. Speaker, I met this guy. He had a car dealer's license, but he owned a liquor store. I will let you figure out how I met him. But I asked him if he would take me to Los Angeles because it is not far from Bakersfield. It is where all the car dealers were bringing their trade-ins. When I went there you had to be a dealer to get in. I started buying and selling cars and flipping them to pay my way through college. I found out later it was illegal, but I didn't know it when I was doing it.

When I went to community college, I had a lot of good friends who were away at college. One of my best friends was up at Stanford. I had some friends at USC, and I had a lot of friends down at San Diego State. So on the weekends I would go visit them.

So this one weekend I went to San Diego State to visit my buddies. So I

stopped off at the Food Town Market, my neighborhood grocery store that is no longer there. At one time I worked at the meat counter. I went there to cash a check.

As I stood in line, something interesting had happened in California the day before. The Lotto started. In the last election, so the schools could win, too, we passed the lottery. It wasn't the big lottery; it was just the scratch-off. So as I cashed this check, I bought two lottery tickets.

Do you know what, Mr. Speaker? I was a lucky Irishman that day. I won the lottery—\$5,000, the most you can win. Think about that for one moment. In 1985 I am 19 or 20. On a Friday night, I just won \$5,000 back when we didn't have inflation, and I ended up in San Diego 10 minutes from Tijuana.

I came home, and I took my whole family to dinner. We went to the new hotel, the Red Lion. I was so proud of myself, I bought dinner. I could still tell you what people ordered: Steak Diane. My brother ordered dessert just to make the price higher. I gave my brother and my sister each \$100 bucks.

Do you know what I did with the majority of the rest of the money?

I put it all into one stock because I believe in risk. But I also believe if I failed, government shouldn't bail me out. But if I was successful, they shouldn't tax all my money. It wasn't because I was bright, but I made 30 percent on my money in 6 weeks—not bad for the market back then.

We were coming to the end of the semester, so I decided I was going to take a break from school. So I refinanced the current cars I was selling, I took my money out of the market, I went to the bank, but they weren't going to loan me anything. I wanted to buy a franchise, but no one would sell one to a 20-year-old.

Another thing you will learn about me—maybe you will learn about me because of this speech—I never give up. So I opened Kevin O's Deli. I even built the counter in my dad's garage. There were good days and there were bad days, but by the end of the year and a half I was pretty successful, if you rate success based upon my family.

I now had enough money saved that I could pay my way through college just as long as I went to California State-Bakersfield. I wanted to finish my degree. At that moment in time, I don't believe any of my family had finished a 4-year degree. So I sold my business. I was a much better student this time. My local paper, The Bakersfield Californian, had an article about being a summer intern in Washington, D.C., with my local Congressman. I had never met this man but, boy, I thought he would be lucky to have me. So I applied.

But do you know what, Mr. Speaker? He turned me down.

Do you want to know the end of the story, Mr. Speaker?

I am now elected to the seat I couldn't get an internship for to work in. Only in America could that happen.

But I am fearful, Mr. Speaker, that if this bill passes then there will be fewer entrepreneurs in America but more in China. The hurdles will be too high.

How do you get somebody to work if government is paying you more to stay home?

How do you get somebody to work on the child tax credit if you take away the work requirement?

Mr. Speaker, an interesting thing, if we go back to 1994 again, another reason why I believe President Clinton got reelected was because he listened to America after they gave him that shock in 1994.

But do you know what he signed?

Welfare reform. Welfare reform had a work requirement.

Do you know what happened?

More Americans had jobs. They had a higher income. It gave people an incentive.

You are doing the opposite, Mr. Speaker. You are giving an incentive not to work.

And do you know what?

It especially hurts our seniors. Listen to what Claudette Duff, President and CEO of Integrity Senior Services, told us about the implications:

I am concerned that vulnerable seniors are not being considered. While I believe we must battle climate change, I am also painfully aware that most seniors have little financial wiggle room. Any possibility of an added cost to seniors must be seriously considered.

How many of us have a senior person, a family member—and I have been privileged to meet a lot of your mothers, fathers, uncles, and aunts. We care for them, but we know they live on a fixed income. Those are the people who get hurt the most. Those are the people we are going to have to answer to.

So when the Speaker talks about eldercare, we now know it is nothing but empty words, Mr. Speaker.

Throughout this process, the Democrats made it clear they wanted to freeze the American people out from knowing what their Government has in store for them. Now it seems they also want to freeze them out of their own homes this winter. In addition to higher home heating costs, consider higher gas prices in our near future—even higher than they are today.

Mr. Speaker, I like to take risk. I don't know if you want to make a wager. Let's wager dinner. Let's wager dinner. After this bill, if gas prices are lower, I will buy you dinner. If they are not, you buy me dinner.

You believe in the bill. You believe in the economics.

I know what President Biden recently did. I know our State is not far from New Mexico. New Mexico is an amazing State. Congresswoman HERRELL represents New Mexico and fights hard. New Mexico schools get almost half of their money from the royalties of the energy they produce there on Federal land. So there it is not just the workers in the field who got laid off. I don't know how the schools are going to survive.

□ 0040

Maybe OPEC will send them some money. They are making a lot more. We should ask them.

Americans need relief at the pump. As I said, in this past year the price of gasoline has reached its highest point in over a decade. The good news is that we know what it takes to lower our gasoline prices. Let's embrace innovation and American resources.

We lowered our CO₂ and became energy independent. We lowered coal when we offered more natural gas. We are the Saudi Arabia of natural gas, but the President looks to OPEC.

Do we really think Putin wants a second pipeline because he loves Europe so much? It couldn't be that he wants more control. That couldn't be the case, would it? I don't know. Ask the people in Crimea.

That is what America has been doing for nearly a decade; and at least that is what we were doing, and the results completely shifted the energy landscape in our favor.

But it wasn't just energy. I don't believe we would ever get the Abraham Accords if we weren't able to do that. The world became safer. The world is a safer place and America is stronger.

The only thing you have to look to in history is why does Putin have all those troops along the border? Why does China say they could take Taiwan?

One-party rule in 1 year. That is what it has accomplished.

Just a few years ago the United States, while it was lowering CO₂, produced more oil and gas than any other country in the world. And guess what? Our gasoline prices reflected it. So not only did it help business produce more and hire more, the energy industry was hiring more people at a high wage, more people working.

You watched that every day in your district. But you also watched what happened.

Mr. Speaker, I am referring to KEVIN BRADY—what happened to Houston after that pipeline was closed. You had to look them in their eye.

The sad part about all of this, I remember speaking to this man who worked on the pipeline. He wasn't of the Republican Party. He was in the union, and he voted for Biden. It was like a punch to his gut. He was told not just to vote for him, but work for him, because he believed in good American jobs, union jobs. Then they just cut it.

Then he goes in to stand up next to Putin; and he gives him his pipeline. I don't know if Putin did anything to help elect him. I guess we should ask Schiff. It doesn't have to be the truth. You just have to say it.

There were no lines at the gas stations like we saw earlier this year, and no anxiety that you would blow out your budget just by filling up your car.

And by the way, when America is producing the energy that powers our lives, we do it safer and cleaner than any other country in the world. I am proud of that.

You know, I come from an energy producing district. I don't know if my children's children can do it, because the same policy that Biden has, Gavin Newsom has.

See, there was a moment in time in my county, we produced the second most amount of oil in the entire country. We are top in wind; we are top in solar; all of the above.

But China, China's economy is growing, as they shut down. You know, a lot of those wells are owned by people just like Russell Johnson. They are called stripper wells; a lot of regulation on them, but they produce, for more than 100 years.

They were there when America needed us when we were in World War II. And it wasn't government who invested in them, but they are the people you are going to take the tax from, so people who make \$800,000 a year can buy an electric car, but only if it is built in a union shop. I guess that is what the President meant when he said fair.

I don't know if Abraham Lincoln, when he said, we are conceived in liberty, that everybody is equal, really thought that a union worker and a nonunion worker were different. I think he looked at them just as Americans.

And by the way, when America is producing the energy that powers our lives, it is safer. If the Biden administration was truly interested in reducing emissions they would be looking toward American oil and gas, not away from it.

Instead, their methane tax, the methane tax will make it harder for those companies to invest in technology, like carbon capture, that reduces emissions. Technology will help us in the environment. There are so many Members behind me that have championed this.

We should be building pipelines here in America. It is safer than a tanker.

Instead, Joe Biden blocked the Keystone pipeline.

Just listen, Mr. Speaker. Biden's press secretary said they are looking at another pipeline, too. I don't know, they had better get to a gas station.

Mr. Speaker, I don't know. You know what you and I should do? Why don't we go on a codel, fact finding. You invite any Democrat you want, I will invite Republicans.

Let's first go to the Keystone pipeline, and then let's go to Nord Stream 2, and let's see why Americas should allow Nord Stream but not Keystone. It would probably help our constituents if we could explain it. I don't know if Putin would let us near it. We will have to wear a mask because the natural gas from Russia is much dirtier than the American natural gas.

And this makes it clear. Democrats in Congress want to double down on its costly extreme agenda. This bill bans drilling for oil and gas development on Federal land.

What does it mean when you drill on Federal land? You pay taxes. Who do

you pay them to? The government and the schools. The kids win, too.

You know, in my community, there is a place called Taft. At Taft Junior College, they have a whole program for people who want to go into the energy business. There are more women in that program than there are men. They are the brightest people I have seen.

I was just out there. They have this old logger base. Taft has been through boom busts. When they first discovered oil back in the day, not far from Elk Hills, the Teapot Dome scandal, oil flowed freely and made a lake.

I don't know if America understands, oil doesn't just go into your cars, your phone, almost everything you buy.

You know, California, under the esteemed leadership of Gavin Newsom, has more homeless. He is shutting down the oil. He has pledged we won't have any combustion motors.

□ 0050

We pay 40 percent higher than other States. But I guess it makes you feel good. But what happens when you pay 40 percent higher for your electricity? You move.

Mr. Speaker, you and I are both from California. I am sure we both look at the commission to see where the lines are. They will be different this year.

For people here who aren't from California, 12 percent of the Nation's population lives in California. For the entire history of California, they always gained seats. Last time, they broke even. We have 53 seats. This year, we are losing.

When they asked Governor Newsom why did the population go down, you know what his answer was? President Trump secured the border. That is exactly what he said. I was shocked.

I worry about if my children can stay in California.

Why is it that Texas and Florida are gaining seats? Why is it in this body you refer to them as red States? Does it have anything to do with freedom? Why is the tax policy in Florida that it has no State tax, and California has the highest? Florida has great roads. They have an old population. They provide for them. I guess they believe in accountability. They don't spend money on things people don't want. They don't tax you or try to control you.

When you ban oil and gas—think about that, Mr. Speaker. One-party rule, 1 year. What has happened to make the gasoline prices so high? One-party rule, 1 year. They banned drilling for oil and gas.

Mr. Speaker, I know I didn't go to Stanford. I didn't go to Yale. I didn't go to Princeton. I went to Bakersfield College. I got my undergrad at Cal State Bakersfield. I got my MBA at Cal State Bakersfield. I am proud of where I am from. But the one thing I do know is you have to have a bridge between fuel and a solar panel.

I watched President Biden up in Michigan with the other Democrat

Members driving that electric truck so fast and so excited. Do you know how much that truck costs? \$125,000. Who do you think is going to get the tax break for that? I guess it is the people Jared was talking about, the millionaires. Maybe we could have debated that if we had time on the floor.

There is a direct correlation to the price of gas and to January 20, and it is just getting worse. We heard earlier from Scott Daniel what these dangerous policies will do to customers.

I want you to think for one moment. What if you are a truck driver? There are many up in my district in agriculture. They take a risk and buy their own truck. They have to fill it up. I imagine it probably takes 300 gallons, don't you think?

The price of gas has increased by more than 60 percent. Do you know how much more it takes that small business man or woman to fill up that tank? Almost \$500. Where do they pass that on to?

So when you wonder, do we have more truckers? They have to park the truck. Could you pay \$500 more every single day? Inflation is rising so fast, you are not passing that on.

I have this dear friend. He is the mayor of Taft. His name is Dave Noerr. He is like John Wayne. This guy worked in the oil business, and he created his own business. When he runs a meeting, he will listen to anybody in there. He will respect them. He won't tell them they can't look at him. I didn't know I was that scary.

But this is what he told us. Only as recently as 1988, the State of California only imported 4.5 percent of all the oil we consumed in our State. Think about that—1988, 4.5 percent. California, the biggest economy—do you know California's economy is bigger than Russia?

But after the esteemed leadership of Gavin Newsom, last year, because of shutting it all down, because they are going to end oil production, because they are going to save the environment, we import over 70 percent. We import over 70 percent.

Mr. Speaker, I believe you agree with me, because all the stats say it. Name me one country that produces oil and gas more environmentally safe than America.

Have any of you ever been up to Alaska? I went to the North Slope as a freshman. A group of us all went. JIM JORDAN was with me. We all went up there. If you park your truck, you have to put like a diaper underneath it. It is not oil from the ground. You can't even let a drop of oil out of your car.

Do you think they do that in Ecuador or Venezuela? I am sure they probably do.

It is interesting. I like to study history, and beyond America. It wasn't that long ago that Venezuela was the jewel of Latin America. It had oil. It had wealth. It had a strong economy. They had a democracy. Hugo Chavez ran for President and won. How did he win? He stood up and said: We are

going to build our bureaucracies. We are going to give you free healthcare, free education.

They had a lot of oil. He could do it, right?

So he got in office. Do you know what he found out? You run out of other people's money. So he decided to capture businesses, but the supreme court said he couldn't do that. So what was his answer? I don't know if he started with a commission, but he tried to pack the supreme court. Sound familiar? When that didn't happen, he changed the Constitution.

You know, I went on a codel down there. We were in Colombia, and we went to the border of Venezuela. Twenty thousand people came across that day. I would interview them, husband, wife, and young child. They thought all these people just didn't work hard enough. One was a doctor.

Do you know what he showed me a picture of? That free healthcare in a hospital. There is no electricity, and when a baby is born, they put him in the shoebox. They use the iPhone for a light. They were coming to get milk, and they went an hour-and-a-half to do it.

I pulled out my pocket and had a \$50 bill. I handed it to the kid. I didn't realize that could be how much his father made for 6 months.

They got hyperinflation. He tried to change the courts. They promised you everything is free. I am sure Hugo Chavez said somewhere, on the day of his inauguration, that this is the day the children's children will remember.

□ 0100

I am sure somewhere in a speech he said he needed to build the bureaucracies. I am sure he probably wrote a bill like this. But to be honest, I don't even think Hugo Chavez would spend this much.

Or what about Robinson Oil Corporation? Erin is the president. She is in California. She says: "We have already seen refineries move out of the State or reduce production, and that increases costs and causes a fair amount of supply issues . . . pushing oil extraction or field production outside the U.S. will only exacerbate that problem."

But what is worse is, our money is going to another country to get stronger.

I hate to tell you this, Madam Speaker, most of these countries don't have the same policies that we do. They are not democracies.

Madam Speaker, it was only a few years ago that women in Saudi Arabia got the right to drive. That is where our President asked to produce more oil, but he looks in the face of Americans and says no.

Emmons Yates, vice president of the New Mexico oil and gas company, Jalapeno Corp., "A lot of what I am seeing in these bills is that these are things that will raise costs, we all know that. But the real effects of them aren't going to be seen until the next 2

to 3 years.” Maybe that is when our children’s children will realize.

Our colleague STEPHANIE BICE, she noted that many Western States greatly rely on oil and gas for their State budgets. STEPHANIE is an amazing Congresswoman. She is from Oklahoma. What is interesting, Madam Speaker, that great Chamber of Commerce endorsed the Democrat. I wonder what they think now. I wonder why.

But I remember watching the commercials of STEPHANIE BICE, and they caught my eye. There was this guy who worked in the oil fields, and he was on a couple different commercials. He was concerned about what would happen if there was one-party rule. His name wasn’t Nostradamus, but he was close. In 10 months. I don’t know if he has lost his job yet from Joe Biden, but STEPHANIE BICE says: “Approximately 25 percent of our State’s revenue comes from the oil and gas industry. The fees, taxes, and regulations that this administration is looking to levy will impact every single piece of Oklahoma.”

If you vote for this bill, I want you to go back to your districts. I want you to look families in the eye and tell them why you voted to make it more expensive to heat their homes, turn on their lights, and fill up their cars. If you are doing a townhall and you want me to come, I will come with you. You know, that would be healthy.

The Speaker is from California, right? Madam Speaker, we are from the same State. I don’t mean to interrupt. I will wait.

Madam Speaker, I know we are from the same State. You know what would be healthy? I made a lot of promises to the last Speaker. I want to make them for you, too. We are both from California. Why don’t we travel—I will come to your district, you come to mine, okay? And we will do a townhall. You can explain why you are going to vote for this bill, and I will explain why I did not want to. Will that be healthy? You know what, you can look at me when you talk. I won’t interrupt you, and we will have a very cordial debate. I think that would be healthy.

The power of the idea should win.

Now, let’s talk about Americans spending their hard-earned money. The one thing you ought to know, I tell Americans, it is your money. What you do with your money is for you to decide, not Washington bureaucrats. But get this, Washington Democrats not only want you to pay more in taxes, they also want to spy on what you spend your money on.

Madam Speaker, I am not sure if you are the one, but there were 21 Democrats who signed a letter to Speaker PELOSI asking for the 87 new IRS agents not to be in the bill. I am not sure if you were one of them. But I wonder why we need those IRS agents. I always thought the IRS was supposed to be there to help me, right?

What is interesting, too, a number of Democrats, why we are here late tonight—now, why we are here tonight

and not tomorrow, I know some people have got to get to Puerto Rico for a fundraiser, and I screwed that all up, and I apologize. I apologize. I apologize.

But they asked the CBO, because there was an argument with the White House and with the Members, how much money could those 87 IRS agents get?

And it got you to thinking, right?

Well, these IRS agents, are they going to pay more taxes or something? No, they are going to go after Americans. Oh.

So you have to start with the premise for this whole bill, that you don’t trust Americans. So the premise is, you are guilty until we audit you.

Now, what is interesting, they have done some statistics on this because there are a lot of things that have been said, and at times it doesn’t pan out. So there is a new analysis of this that just came out. You know what you get when you get 87,000 new agents? You get to have 1.2 million more audits.

Now I don’t know, Bernie is probably excited about that. But you know, Bernie wants to tax you whether you spend your money or not because he doesn’t want you to invest it. But I would think it is probably just going to go after really wealthy people, wouldn’t you think? Do you know where half, 600,000, of those new 1.2 are going to go? After people who make \$75,000 or less.

Madam Speaker, I know your district is in San Diego. It is probably much wealthier than mine. But this would probably encompass my entire district. You know, a quarter of those 1.2 million new audits are going after people who make \$25,000 or less.

You know what we should do? In this townhall, let’s do it by segments. Let’s do an IRS townhall first. And if you want, I will do it right before the election. Whenever you want.

Madam Speaker, I met your family before. Your family is pretty remarkable. They made America proud, innovated. And they did that because they made investments. When I met some of your older family, they are not afraid to pay taxes. They want to see it go to something. But if they have less to give, they have less to invest, and your business is a pretty competitive business now. It is not that America dominates it. China is on the rise.

□ 0110

Democrats told us what they want to do is to spy on every American bank account spending as little as \$28 a day.

Now, I know if I ask my colleagues on the other side of the aisle, Madam Speaker, if I asked you, you would say, no, we don’t want to do that. You know what is interesting, Madam Speaker? That is the exact same answer the Attorney General gave us when we said, Are you spying on the parents? No, we are not doing that. But if it wasn’t for an American whistleblower, we would never know that.

Why would we empower the Attorney General to make parents terrorists, and let terrorists on the watch list come into America? That is backwards.

Now, how tough is it to spend \$28 a day? You go to Starbucks. What can you do? Can you get three gallons of gas? Does McDonald’s still have the dollar meal? Yes. Yes. You are still going to hit it. That is less than \$200 a week. But you know what, I was fearful when I heard about that. But I remember reading, 21 really tough Democrats, Madam Speaker, they signed a letter, and they told the Speaker, you get that out of there.

You know what would be nice? Now, I don’t know if it is in the rules, I don’t know if you will kick me off committees, but good thing I am not on any committee. It is only me, GOSAR, and MARJORIE TAYLOR GREENE. That is right. But don’t worry, there will be many more next time. I never liked this new policy, but it has kind of grown on me.

But just \$200 a week. We should get a poster, because there is a lot going on in your life when you are a Member of Congress. Maybe those 21 don’t remember if they signed the letter or maybe they haven’t read the bill? Or maybe that is why they left? I am not sure. But you know what I can do, too? Maybe we should send that letter to their constituents and just put up how they vote, because if they vote “no” I want to tell all their constituents they kept their word, they are fighting for them. Would that be helpful, Madam Speaker? I think it might.

And that is what they do throughout its regulation and all the power that comes from doubling the size of the most intrusive bureaucracy in the Federal Government.

Madam Speaker, the one thing I wonder with one-party rule, is that absolute power corrupts absolutely? I mean, I wonder, General Keane, what an amazing patriot he is, right? He served his Nation time and again, Republican and Democrat Presidents. The last President appointed him to one of the academies. Advisory board. We would be so fortunate to have him on an advisory board, would we not? But one party, one rule doesn’t only give us inflation, doesn’t give us higher taxes, doesn’t give us higher gas prices, do you know what else it does? It picks and chooses.

There is a reason, Madam Speaker, that somebody on your side of the aisle said I couldn’t look at them. They thought they had the power. Can’t we respect someone that risked their life for the freedom of America, that led men and women into battle, did it brilliantly, and could train the next generation, the children of children? Oh, no. Oh, no. We have the power now.

You are not allowed to serve. You are not allowed to serve because President Trump appointed you. He is an American. Been in battle his whole life. Did it when many millions of Americans never would. Risked his life for people

he didn't know. Did he really want to spend more time? But he was going to do it because he cared about what he spent his life on.

Is that what Joe Biden said when he was going to work with the other side of the aisle? When did the military become political? What do you think China said about that? All right. I don't think the Taliban cared about the pronouns in the military.

I don't understand. One party, one rule, 1 year. It is just like Jared said, Madam Speaker, he never thought, if somebody asked him, they were going to produce their biggest bill that just goes to millionaires that it would be a Democrat bill.

Oh, my God. We are so much better than this.

If you or your family spends \$28 a day, prepare to be under constant audit of the IRS. I don't know. We walk into these Chambers—the public can't come into these Chambers—and, Madam Speaker, we start by not trusting each other. We start by saying you can't come in unless you come through a magnetometer, because we don't trust you.

I remember when we were in the majority, John Lewis and others took down the floor. John Lewis I respect greatly. John Lewis was a dear friend. He took me across that bridge a couple times. You know what John Lewis did? For any of you who haven't made that trek, you should do it. I wish you could have done it through John Lewis' eyes.

I was so excited about the opportunity. I took my entire family, my son's girlfriend, who now is his wife. We were excited. And it was in a Presidential year, and it gets so big as you walk out of that church the first time, and the crowd comes around and everybody else. And John Lewis grabbed me at the very beginning, and he said: "I want you to walk next to me." And I am walking, but I am getting crowded out by everybody else, and I fall behind. There are thousands of people.

Do you know what John Lewis did? He stopped. He stopped and said: "Where is Kevin?" And there was Hillary Clinton, there was every big name you could imagine there. We didn't agree on certain things, but we had respect for one another.

I will tell you this, TIM SCOTT and I were down there on the 50th anniversary, and I have told the story earlier about how proud I am, you walk in, the portraits, the first one you will see is Frederick Douglass. Frederick Douglass had every reason to hate this Nation, but he did not. He did not. He knew it could be a more perfect Union, not perfect, but could strive. He didn't even vote for Lincoln, but he was Lincoln's friend, because he wanted Lincoln to move faster. He pushed. When Lincoln died and down at this park when they put the statue that they wanted to remove, Mary Todd was there. She had a cane of Abraham Lincoln. Do you know what she did? She gave it to Frederick Douglass. She gave it to Frederick Douglass. Respect.

You go down, you see Joseph Rainey, the first Black American ever elected to Congress in 1870 from Charleston, South Carolina. If you know your history, that is where the Civil War started. You know, today there is only one Republican Black American elected to Congress in the Senate, TIM SCOTT from Charleston, South Carolina.

And TIM would tell me the story, you know, his mother and father got divorced early, and he lived with his grandparents, and just recently he took people on a tour. The little house they lived in—I think is only 700 square feet—has been torn down.

TIM gets his faith from his grandmother and his mother. If you ever met his mother, what an amazing lady.

But every morning TIM's grandfather made TIM and his brother sit at that table and have breakfast. And his grandfather had that newspaper in front of him. He wanted those boys to see that. Do you know TIM didn't find out until after high school his grandfather couldn't read? But he wanted more for his boys. He wanted them to participate in current events.

□ 0120

TIM and I went down there on the 50th anniversary. President Obama was President, and John Lewis introduced him. I was emotional that day. Because when you think for one moment, 50 years before, John Lewis was beaten, almost to his death, where when he tells you the story, he will say, That Woolworth counter over there, I got arrested because I tried to eat. I got this far on the bridge—inside that coat he had. He says, I can't remember anymore. But they carried me back to this church. And 50 years later, he was nominating and introducing Barack Obama as President of the United States.

I am proud of the fact that Abraham Lincoln was President in the most dire time of our Constitution, the Civil War, and brought the Nation together. I am fearful of the division that is being created in this House.

Madam Speaker, it almost feels like the Speaker is burning it down on her way out the door. I made the promise to the last Speaker, and I will make it to you too, ma'am. We will run it different. But there are some things we will keep. I may not agree with you, but I respect you. You have a right to your opinion, but you also have a responsibility to show up to work. You also should bring a bill through a committee. You also shouldn't debate a bill all day long and leave 20 minutes before you do the manager's amendment. And I know you want to get to Puerto Rico. I know your donors are down there. But the American people are out there.

Warren Hudak runs a small business accounting firm in Pennsylvania. Like many small business owners, he knows how tough it is to succeed. Even in the best of times, this new proposal will make it much worse. He recently told

me, small businesses in Pennsylvania and throughout the country are struggling with labor shortage, rising inflation, and supply chain disruptions.

Given these challenges, the Biden administration's proposal to require annual IRS reporting of inflows, outflows from small businesses and individuals' accounts would just add insult to injury.

Democrats say the IRS needs to spy on every American bank account because, otherwise, billionaires will cheat on their taxes. That is just nonsense.

Where did the Speaker go? Did you fall?

I will wait.

Can I be Speaker? I can finish my speech up there.

Eric Bruen, another friend of mine, he runs a small credit union in Ridgecrest, California. He also happens to be the mayor. He said this: Look at what it is going to do in the long run. Individuals are already beginning to withdraw savings from our credit unions. We don't want to go back to the cash-under-the-mattress approach. We obviously will see liquidity issues and our ability to lend to the community. This is going to hit the middle class and America's families the hardest, especially those two-income families.

I know a lot of Members here did a lot of things before they were Members of Congress. I remember when I first started out; we were both working. We had to live on a budget. We had to cut. When we bought that first house we still live in today, we were living in an apartment. I remember a lady who was coming by and she was collecting cans out of our trash can at the apartment complex. And I asked her if she needed some furniture. Because what I wanted to do when I bought the new house, I wanted to buy all new furniture.

So I loaded it all up, load it on the car—the couches and everything else. When we got in the new house, we had to paint; we had to get carpet; we had to get new shades. I ran out of money. So we had a TV on a box, and Connor had a little couch. And we would lay our heads on both sides of the couch.

But you know what we didn't have? We didn't have gasoline this high. We didn't have inflation. We didn't have an insecure border.

I worry about those two-income families. It is not just what you are taking from them at the gas pump, now they have to be fearful that they are going to get audited.

Madam Speaker, why can't you trust Americans? I firmly believe Americans are good people. They love this country. But when you start an entire bill to pay for it—and Madam Speaker, you promised the American public this would be paid for, and it is not. I didn't believe you when you said it.

Do you realize you debated the majority of this bill before it was out here? You left 20 minutes of 10 minutes on each side for debate on a bill that is

the largest in our history. You are breaking so many records. Just last week, you left two votes open longer than in the history of this Congress.

I never thought I would serve in a body that absolute power would corrupt absolutely. I have said it. I don't know if Speaker PELOSI stays around. Well, the damage that she is doing is a lot. Personally, I hope she stays. I want her to hand that gavel to me. I want her to be here.

Now, the Democrats have had three chances to remove intrusiveness, abusive, and indefensible policy in response to the public outrage and opposition. When pressed, they just adjust their rhetoric. They thought they would fool the American public. I don't know if this happened, but you could envision it, right, because they are listening to what the Democrats are saying. So you have got Congresswoman SPANBERGER saying, Biden was not elected to be FDR.

So what they are probably saying in the White House, let's tell the American public it doesn't cost anything. Just tell them; they will believe it. Just say it a couple times. It is kind of like, "if you like your doctor, you can keep him," right? Or "you got to pass the bill to know what is in it."

Then when the public found out about this IRS, it was \$600, everybody got mad. They said, oh, no, it is not \$600. It is \$10,000. They didn't think the public would figure out \$28 a day hits it.

And then they wouldn't allow the ability at the end of the day to find out how many the audits it was until the last day.

Remember when the President was asked whether they were going to give \$450,000 to illegal immigrants that came over the border? He got so mad at that FOX reporter.

No way. No way.

The next day, it was a whole other story.

But telling, they have never abandoned the policy. Even after we learned about it, it would not pay for their new social programs. They said this is how they are going to pay for it. The White House told everybody, Oh, it's 400, 400. They tried to press so many times.

Madam Speaker, I felt so sorry for Josh. All those times he was promised they were going to have a vote.

□ 0130

They wanted to press you before you could read it, before the CBO score would come back. I don't even know why people waited for it or asked for it. It didn't change the outcome.

I don't know, maybe I am wrong. I thought when I listened to them on TV they said: We cannot vote for this until we get the CBO score to prove that it pays for itself. I guess that last part was kind of like the 21 people who wrote and said the IRS has to be out of it.

You just need a CBO. It doesn't matter what it says. You just want the paper.

Think of the fabric of this country that it is going to tear. Everyone in the country knows what the COVID-19 pandemic did to families and local businesses. Almost immediately, the Trump administration and the last Congress took action to provide immediate relief.

As we pulled ourselves out of the pandemic, the wind should have been at our backs, especially for small businesses. Americans were eager to go back to restaurants with their families and friends. We are eager to shop at local stores after being forced to live by delivery services and online shopping. Those people were heroes, but not this year, even people in the medical community.

Do you remember how there were proposals that you even had to pay more to grocery workers or to nurses? But once you got that one-party rule, you determine if you can look at somebody, what they have to put in their body. They don't even care if they had COVID. We don't care that you were a hero a year ago.

We don't care if the response rates for firefighters and police officers are going to be longer. Why? Because we have power. We have power, and we are going to use it. But we only use it on people we want to.

Madam Speaker, I watched, in the last Congress, Speaker PELOSI on the floor here. She was giving a speech. We all live under the same rules. She said something she shouldn't. She broke the rule. Somebody challenged her on it. You have to take down your words. All she could do is yield back; she didn't want to.

So the Parliamentarian makes the determination. I don't know if you were here. It was one of those other times we set a record.

Nobody would read what the Parliamentarian said. Speaker PELOSI left the floor—left the floor. We were going around and around.

So I come to the floor, and I am talking to STENY HOYER. What are we going to do? Oh, my God, Speaker PELOSI might have to live under the same rules. Can't be. Can't be.

They took a couple of hours. Every Member that was supposed to stand up there backed out. They walked up there, and the Parliamentarian gave them—"Oh, I am not saying that," and they walked. They were all afraid. STENY HOYER had to do it.

Do you know what the rules say? If you won't take it back and you push it and you are wrong, you can't speak anymore that day. Madam Speaker, that wasn't for Speaker PELOSI. That wasn't going to happen. So the Parliamentarian made a decision.

Madam Speaker, I don't know if you were here at that time, but do you know what your party did? Rules for thee, not for me. They changed it.

I don't know. She is from my State. We have about the same amount of constituents. She said they have a higher standard. Everybody on that

side said: We can't do it to her. She is different. She is special. She is special. See, yes, she is.

So when you put magnetometers up here and she walked around them, you know what the answer was, Madam Speaker, why she didn't get a letter and why she didn't have to pay? The Capitol Police determined that. They didn't send her one. Oh, I guess she is different. I guess she is special.

When JIM CLYBURN, with his detail, walked around, he was shocked he got a letter: I am JIM CLYBURN. I have a detail. I am not like all of you.

The only way you can get out of it is if somebody on the other side in Ethics will say it is okay. Do you know what Republicans said? Yeah.

But that didn't happen to you. It didn't happen to Louie.

I wonder why you would do that? When I read this bill, that you don't even trust Americans, why would you trust us? Why would you trust us?

We are eager to be there for the businesses that are usually there for us. But instead of businesses experiencing new opportunities, they are again facing the threat of closure, and it is not because of the pandemic. The threat comes primarily from a historic labor shortage, which, as I described, is driven by Democratic policies passed earlier this year.

You see, I have been in the room many times—not since you had one-party rule. When Republicans were in power, they invited the Democrat leadership in. We worked together. One thing the Democrats would always say: We need to give people \$15 an hour more than what the unemployment pays. Now you know where the labor shortage comes from, and inflation. I don't think America is cheering that.

The economists told you. We told you. I remember being in the Oval Office, and I asked the President about that. They were encouraging small business after small business. I invited him to go to businesses with me. He said that is not happening. That is not happening.

I said, Mr. President, with all due respect, you have to get out of the White House. I talked about the border. He said: Oh, no, no, no. We are making it better.

I wondered, what is his definition of better?

If you take away the work requirement and child credit, do you know who that is going to hurt? Small businesses, not large. It gives the incentive. The majority of Americans are going to get a paycheck for doing nothing.

I wondered, when I first came in and I listened to Congressman NEAL and STENY HOYER, I don't know who wrote their speeches, but, man, it sounded like it was from Europe. They celebrated it. The sad part about this is we have confronted this before.

Objection to this proposal isn't about being antifamily. Republicans believe the family is the foundation of a strong

society, which is why we have supported expanding the child tax credit in the past. But we also know work establishes purpose, and there is no government substitute for a job and an earned income. We have proven that time and again.

I remember back when President Clinton and Democrats believed in work, when we did welfare reform and there was a work requirement. It gave people purpose. It gave them training.

□ 0140

We all know people who when you fall, we want to build you up. That should be a trampoline, not a La-Z-Boy.

Do you know what happens, Madam Speaker?

Families get proud. You get proud.

By removing the work requirement, the government is putting itself in competition with small businesses.

Larry Allison, the owner of Allison Crane & Rigging, told us, "We are concerned about where we are going to get the employees.

"What are the costs of the employees going to be?"

"I am trying to get more and more diversified today, getting ready for the next time the Governor tries to shut us down here in Pennsylvania."

Andy Ray, owner of BrightStar Care in Mesa, Arizona, echoed a similar concern, "I find myself emerging from the pandemic, heading right into another one that is very clear. This legislation is very clear. I am extremely worried that if this legislation goes through and the disincentives to work continue, where am I going to get the team to do this? And what are my options?"

"This bill raises taxes right when I am going out of the pandemic.

"And for a government that has proven so incompetent this year, do we honestly expect an expansion of welfare programs not to be overwhelmed with fraud?"

Madam Speaker, I have some facts about our State. I don't know if you are taking notes. I can send them to you if you are not. Madam Speaker, last month, it was reported that unemployment fraud in California—that is where we represent—reached \$20 billion.

Do you know how many audits of people earning \$75,000 you have to do to get \$20 billion?

Now, that is 10 percent of the State's entire budget—10 percent of the State's entire budget—fraud.

Do you think there will be any fraud in this \$5 trillion?

Oh, no. No. No. No. They are going to have a lot of accountability in there.

Andrew Gruel is the founder and executive chef of Slapfish Restaurants. Nobody had it harder than the restaurants. He is down in Long Beach. He is an entrepreneur. He illustrated how this isn't just a line-item issue on a ledger. When they shut down outdoor dining, 90 percent of the restaurants in southern California closed.

I had people come to me and say that they lost their job and now the government is telling them that there are no government benefits available because they misappropriated upwards of \$50 billion in unemployment funds.

So the government misappropriated.

Do you know what Andrew did?

He started a GoFundMe. He had just opened another restaurant for pizza, and he let everybody come in and eat for free. He struggled, but he kept people on.

Madam Speaker, I cannot believe this body which was so quick to provide local businesses with what they needed to survive in the pandemic. If there is something our children's children should learn, when we had divided government and the pandemic hit us, I think PPP was one of the most amazing things we did. We kept people working instead of off.

Do you know how we did it, Madam Speaker?

We didn't build the bureaucracy; we actually tore it down. We loaned more money in 14 days than the SBA had loaned in 14 years.

Why?

First, we trusted Americans. We said: You can go to your bank, your credit union, or your Fintech. They know you. We gave them a little money for their effort. They already weren't qualified yet, but they worked overnight. We had problems at the beginning.

We said: You can take this money as a loan, but if you pay rent, if you pay your employees, you pay your electricity, it is a grant.

We had to modify it along the way because it was so successful.

But, Madam Speaker, do you know what was one of the saddest moments?

Because we really worked together on that. And this was so successful. But not all of the businesses got in at the beginning. Most of them were small. They were having problems. So it ran out of money. So we wanted to put more money in something we all voted for.

I remember seeing Speaker PELOSI on late night TV. I don't know the name of the refrigerator. I can't afford one. I like ice cream, but I don't buy that kind. That is expensive. I wonder how much it costs now with inflation. It is probably much more. But she picked up that ice cream. She smiled into the camera to America and said "no."

How could you do that?

How could you do that?

We are in a pandemic. It was working. It was bipartisan. That is the power of the Speaker.

But let's talk about another idea in this bill that is so unbelievably out of touch with reality and flat-out dangerous to our citizens: amnesty for illegal immigrants.

Madam Speaker, you are a little closer to the border than I am. I know this is an issue for you, too. I am not sure how many times you have been to the border. I am not sure if you were down

there when they caught those different people on a different day. They came into California. They were on the terrorist watch list from Yemen.

Your counterpart who serves on the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence said that I wasn't telling the truth. He says he gets all the intelligence.

I don't know how much intelligence he gets, but, Madam Speaker, I remember seeing him and SWALWELL in the Middle East with their shirts off on a camel. So maybe that was the time the paper came through and they didn't have a chance to read it. I am not sure. I thought he would apologize, or at the very least call and say: How can we work together?

I don't know what advice I would give him. Maybe just keep your shirt on.

During the worst border crisis in our Nation's history, Democrats want to make it even more attractive to cross the border illegally to break our laws. According to its supporters, this bill grants amnesty for millions of illegal immigrants.

Now, Madam Speaker, there are a lot on your side who weren't able to stay. They need to get their rest. They have got a long weekend in Puerto Rico after this. And I understand that. But there are a lot of Members behind me, and if I was to guess, if you asked every single one of these Members if they had been to the border this year, they would tell you "yes." Some would tell you more than once. And to anybody on your side of the aisle, Madam Speaker, who has not been, we will take you. We will take you.

When you sit and interview people and you ask them why they come, many of them have Joe Biden's shirts on. They said: He told us to. He told us to.

I remember early on, I was down in AUGUST PFLUGER's district. It was one of the first big rushes. He is an amazing Member. I don't know if you met him, Madam Speaker, but he served our country proudly. He flew F-22s in battle.

Do you know what he did?

At 20 years you get a retirement. He left right before that. He gave that up to serve in this body not knowing that he would win. That is how much he respects this body.

I remember I was with him that day and we were in this event and the mayor came. August looked fraught because, do you know what the Biden administration did?

He had moved 1,000 illegals that they had caught into his city without even calling him.

□ 0150

You know why they went to his city? Because Joe Biden became President, shut down oil production, and they had little oil cities there. So all those people who lost their jobs, that had to leave, moved them in. And not one of them were tested for COVID; not one.

It was going rampant. And when you would talk to the doctors there on the border, they said more than 10 percent have COVID.

And when you would walk—and this is interesting to me, Madam Speaker. I know when President Trump was President, the other side of the aisle called where people were stored, cages. I don't know if Webster took that away, but I don't hear that anymore. But it is the exact same place where they are, and it is overcrowded.

But you know what is even worse? They have expanded the cages. It now hangs under freeways. They just walk right on across.

But you know what happened? A news agency went down and started filming it; 10,000 people, just there. So what did the Biden administration do? They used that Machiavellian approach, right? They banned the news agency from using a drone so America couldn't see it. That is how they will fix the problem.

Well, that didn't work. But you know, with one-party rule in 1 year, you can try anything. So then the Secretary came out and said, We hear you. We are moving them all back. They are all going back to their country. And lo and behold, everybody was moved out.

And what did we find just a few days, weeks later?

I don't know what training it is for the Cabinet, but first the Attorney General comes to Congress and says he is not spying on parents, and the whistleblower says he is.

Then we got a Homeland Security Cabinet member, says he is sending them all back. And then a whistleblower shows us late at night, they are not sending them back. They are sending them all around, all around, all-expense-paid trip.

I won the lottery, but I didn't win \$450,000.

Where is the trust and respect for the American public?

And here is the kicker. According to supporters, this bill grants amnesty for millions of illegal immigrants who will be able to obtain a government-issued ID. But it doesn't have a single cent for more border security.

Madam Speaker, I made a little wager to the last Speaker, and think it will be a fun wager. We have really never spent much time together. We should. We come from the same State.

So let's make a wager on dinner, okay? Let's say, if this bill passes, I believe more people will be attracted to come here illegally. And I assume, if I listen to the talking points, you think it will be different. So let's look at this in a year. If you are right, I will buy you dinner. If I am right, you buy my dinner. Sound good? We can talk all about it.

But this is the unbelievable kicker. Many Democrats think this doesn't go far enough. You know, it is interesting—and, Madam Speaker, you should find these Democrats, because some of them are from California—

they signed a letter to the Speaker and said they would not vote for it unless this was in the bill. They got it in the bill.

So I think Josh and those 21 and everybody that signed that CBO, they should talk to these people. Their letters work. I don't know about the other ones.

The winners of this mass amnesty are going to be the smugglers and the criminal cartels who get a government-provided advertisement for new customers. They don't even have to advertise anymore.

I seriously would request, let's all go to the border together. Let's fan it all the way through. Let's do Republican and Democrat together.

I don't care how you feel about immigration, but I know in your heart you are opposed to human trafficking. And I want to sit with the children and let's talk to them. Let's hear what has happened to them on their journey because they are going to need more help than you can imagine.

Let's talk to the ones who do make it; that are now going to be trafficked in our country because they didn't have enough to pay; of what they are going to have to do for the cartel.

Can you imagine who is getting across we don't know? I fear greatly that someone from that prison in Bagram finds their way. They found their way in a suicide vest that took 13 American lives, while 16 months prior, not one casualty.

Why should America, Madam Speaker, trust the Biden administration with \$5 trillion after how he handled Afghanistan?

Why should we trust him if he looked in the eyes of the American public and said he would not leave until every American is out?

Why should we trust him if he said we could do nothing better?

Why should we trust him if he treated our allies the way he did? He treated the Taliban better than the U.K. or France.

Madam Speaker, it is reported that Boris Johnson learned that America was going to pull out. He calls the President, who we all watched in that lonely photo in Camp David. He didn't return his call for 36 hours. This is an ally we have fought side by side with from World War I to World War II, who has sacrificed lives in Afghanistan, not because their country got attacked, but because America got attacked.

But the President of the United States accepted a deadline from the Taliban when our allies asked for a little longer. That same President promised America no one would be left behind.

Madam Speaker, never in my life did I believe a man, woman, Republican, Democrat, whoever, had the honor to serve as President of the United States, would knowingly make that decision.

I know, Madam Speaker, people thought the issue would leave. Unfortunately, it is here for decades. I am

sure it put in the calculation of why Putin has thousands of his military next to Ukraine, or China pushes on Taiwan every day.

We have seen it time and time again, allowing illegal immigration fuels more illegal immigration. Talking about amnesty is a public relations coup for the coyotes. We have seen this before.

The losers, however, would be the rule of law, legal immigration, and, most importantly, American citizens.

Madam Speaker, I know your district, like mine, has a lot of first-generation Americans.

□ 0200

I go to naturalization services—the look on these young Americans. They raise their hand. Do you know what I tell them? It is a struggle.

When my grandfather came here, Giuseppe, his father was already here. He and his mother had to stay back in Italy. If you walk into my office, right there, you get the Ellis Island. They had to say: Where are you going to live? Who are your sponsors? His father, my grandfather, was working in an ammunition factory in Connecticut.

When I look at the faces when they take that oath, do you know what I tell them? Valley Forge is now their struggle. George Washington is their Founding Father. Abraham Lincoln is their emancipator. Martin Luther King spoke of their dreams. And the flag that flies on the Moon is their flag.

They have as many rights as I do, who was born here, but they also have a responsibility.

Madam Speaker, when I hear from my constituents who are here and waiting for their family, for 10 years, to be reunited, and they watch what is happening, they get the most upset. They left what they knew. They risked everything because they believed in the rule of law. They believed in America.

I saw Victoria back here earlier. She knows what it is like to immigrate here. She knows what it is like to take a risk. She knows what it is like to live up to the rule of law.

As this crisis gets worse, it will creep further into American cities. We know now that the Biden administration isn't sending illegal immigrants back. They are flying them into cities across the country in the dead of night.

Madam Speaker, I don't get to see the President much. When I asked him about the border, he was telling me he is making it so much better.

Can you ask him why they fly them in the dead of night? Do they get a discount, or is that so people don't see it?

It is interesting to me, the word "respect." I know many times I travel the country—I see my friend across the aisle here. The flood in Houston, I remember us all going down to the facility, the families there. We worked together. You were there; the mayor was there; everybody else was there. Why? Because we told each other we were coming. We serve together. We work together.

Why would we fly people into a city and not talk to the mayors? We hold them responsible for public security and safety in COVID. Why do they have to find out? Is it because you are not telling the American public the truth? Every American city is set to become a border city and a sanctuary city.

Madam Speaker, you live toward San Diego, and I think San Diego is a beautiful place.

I loved San Francisco. I thought San Francisco was the only East Coast city California had. But I still remember, I was in sixth grade and saved up \$400. That year was tough. My family didn't have money for a vacation. So I told my mom and dad I would give them the \$400 if we could go to San Francisco and could go tour Alcatraz.

Some of my fondest memories, my dad driving the van, my sister, my brother, my mom. My dad was a fire chief. He was straight-laced. We were yelling at him because we were hungry. We wanted McDonald's. We told him to get off. He cuts across all of these lanes, and he gets pulled over. He has never had a ticket in his life. Do you know how your father can punish you just with the look of his eye? Oh, I have never forgotten that moment.

We went to San Francisco. We down to the Wharf. We went to Lombard Street, drove all the way as it curves down. My mom went and got tickets for Alcatraz, but she bought the wrong tickets. She bought a boat that just went around Alcatraz, didn't get to go into Alcatraz. Then we went to Lake Tahoe, and we went back home.

It wasn't until my children were born, until they were in elementary school, that I did get to go to Alcatraz.

My son just moved to San Francisco with his new wife. He had to buy a car. He was living in D.C. I had an uncle pass away last week, and they were home for the funeral.

I am worried about him living in San Francisco. I read about the Walgreens. I was worried about him getting a car because the last time I was there, the signs on every door said: "Please don't break in. I have nothing inside."

He says: Dad, I just got insurance.

I didn't know that was a big deal. But he said: I found out I live on the safest street in the whole place.

But it still costs him three times what mine does.

I watched the policies of San Francisco change that city. I watched people like Chuck Schwab, who seconded his house to start a business that allows Americans to invest at the lowest cost possible. He has changed so many lives.

Do you know what his greatest love was? San Francisco. There is not a museum or a homeless center that Chuck Schwab hasn't funded. He doesn't live there anymore.

Do you know what my son told me? I was kind of excited when he said he lived in a safe place. He has a little dog, Otis. He said: But I can't wear my AirPods when I take him for a walk because you have to be looking

I remember another family a few years back was strolling out on the pier, a beautiful place to go. His family watched their daughter die, get shot. The person who shot her was somebody who came across the border illegally and took her life.

The defunding of police has destroyed our cities. It is interesting that the first time I ever heard that phrase was in this Chamber. Madam Speaker, it was from your side of the aisle. The first time, Madam Speaker, was this year.

I watched your party defund the Iron Dome for Israel. I never thought that would happen. I never thought that would happen.

The first time I watched \$5 trillion, bigger than the New Deal, and not one dollar to protect Americans—Russell Johnson. I don't care how you feel about immigration. The drugs that are coming across the border are coming to your district.

I don't care if you live in New York or Maine. Call your coroner. Call your sheriff. Ask them. It comes across from Mexico, but it is made in China.

□ 0210

We heard from Mayor Don McLaughlin about the effects this dangerous policy will have on American cities, especially those that are near the border.

I don't know if I will get this right. You may want to tell me, August, Cochise County? Yeah? You don't know.

Sheriff Mark Dannels told us: "The rule of law is being destroyed here. The violent behavior we are seeing from the cartels"—listen to this—the cartels call my office, saying they're gonna kill my deputies—they're gonna kill my deputies."

"And the things we've seen, our quality of life, not just on our borders, but in America is being diminished." Maybe you haven't heard that before, but now you have.

So, Madam Speaker, could five Democrats pause this bill and put some money in there to protect these deputies from being killed or protect the children in schools? It just takes five, that is all. Just five. You have got \$5 trillion. \$5 trillion. No one has ever seen this type of money.

I can't believe it. Who gave you the right to sacrifice those lives, those dreams, those futures?

You know what gets to me? I have told you my father was a firefighter. It is interesting, if you have a first responder job, it is not a job, it is a family. The firefighters, the police officers, you are together on Christmas, you are together all the time. If one of them needs work at the house, we are over there pouring concrete, we are fixing the roof. It is a way of life.

I cannot imagine a deputy coming home, a mom, a deputy being threatened with their own life and looking at their children—because I know they don't sit back and say it won't happen

to me because they see it every day. They see it every day. I can't walk by one without saying thank you.

But you know what is happening? They are retiring. They are not appreciated. It is only making it worse. Just five, just five is all it takes. Pause the bill.

Look, I promise, I promise if five would pause this bill, I will pay for your plane to Puerto Rico later, if you just help those along the border. I will pay for your ticket. I promise, you will get there.

Now, let me be clear. Objections to mass amnesty are not anti-immigrant. Republicans recognize the value that immigrants bring to American society, American culture, and America's economy.

You know what is so sad? The public doesn't realize a lot of us talk together. When I was majority leader, I would bring Members in, and we would talk a lot about this broken immigration system.

I understand, we have a government that you have got to find compromise. If you don't find compromise, you are going to end up just like we are today, one-party rule in one year.

We brought two immigration bills to the floor, and not one Democrat would vote for it. You know the sad thing, Madam Speaker, I am not sure you were here yet. I went to a number of the Members of the Democratic Party who said they wanted it; it was so important, they wanted to vote for it. But the minority leader at the time, now the Speaker, told them no, they needed an issue for the campaign. They needed an issue for the campaign.

So when STENY HOYER talked about the children's children learning about it, I hope they read about that, too.

We know that America is a nation of immigrants. We honor this tradition in history. As I often say at naturalization ceremonies—as I told you earlier, we are the only nation in the world, and we have Members on both sides of the aisle that were born in other countries—Lady Liberty does what she does best, she opened up her arms, she brought you in to America, and you became a citizen.

George Washington, right there, even if you weren't born in this country, he is your Founding Father. Abraham Lincoln is your liberator. When Martin Luther King spoke down at the Lincoln Memorial, he spoke of your dreams. Right, JUAN? And now you have the opportunity, that less than 13,000 Americans have had, to serve in this body.

But, Madam Speaker, why at times do I feel the rhetoric that I hear from some, they almost dislike this country? They want to tear down the Founding Fathers, they want to rename the schools. No one ever said we were perfect, but we strive to be a more perfect Union.

I would hope those Members would come to my office, see the paintings, see how far we have come. Frederick Douglass had every reason to hate this

Nation. Born into slavery, sold from his parents, taught to read but was beaten for it. Gave Bible studies to the other slaves. Was beaten, escaped, became a free man, and became an adviser and one of the best friends to Abraham Lincoln. He had as much to do about America bonding together, of healing and driving where everybody would be equal.

So, yes, we are a nation of immigrants, but we are also a nation of laws.

Amnesty is unfair to everyone who plays by the rules, whether they are American citizens or legal immigrants. The depressed wages, rewarding lawbreaking, and straining public resources. That is why Republicans reject the growing calls by Democrats to defund ICE and open our borders to everyone.

Madam Speaker, I said, the first time I ever heard the phrase “defund the police” was on this floor. The first time I ever heard the phrase “defund ICE,” I thought they just wanted to drink water without ice at first, I wasn’t sure what they were talking about. How could that possibly be?

JUAN, you would not want to defund ICE?

Just for the American public to know, Madam Speaker, I have the utmost respect for JUAN VARGAS. He and I have served together in the State legislature; we serve here. We vote differently. I respect his character. I respect your faith. You know what I respect as well? Your respect of other people who have a difference of opinion. You weren’t here earlier, I don’t think.

Madam Speaker, I couldn’t believe there was a person in this body that told me I couldn’t look at them when I talked. I have never heard that before. I am sure people on that side of the aisle might look at me as being unworthy, not equal. That is unfortunate. We are all Americans. I didn’t disrupt one word they said. I didn’t agree with it. I thought this place was a place of debate, a place of ideas, Madam Speaker, where the best idea could win.

□ 0220

Without the rule of law we could not have a fair, functioning, or secure immigration system. Without the rule of law, we could not have a free society.

Finally, Madam Speaker, I want to discuss an issue that has sparked a parents’ movement across this country: Education. Every parent in every community and every corner of this country has a right to know what their children are being taught and what they are actually learning. And no politician or government bureaucrat should have the power to deny you that right.

I got a lot of hope 2 weeks ago. There are so many times in American society you get down. But we are the best form of government. At any moment, our power is not driven from here, but from people. And they spoke loudly.

Republicans respect the right of parents. After all, these are your children,

it is their future. And, Madam Speaker, these are the children that Majority Leader STENY HOYER talked about, the children’s children learning about today. I hope they are not denied to hear what went on on the floor tonight. That would be a travesty.

Over the last year, everyone has listened to passionate parents speak out when out-of-touch politicians and ineffective school boards keep their children’s school closed for months on end.

Madam Speaker, I know you must have had your heart torn when we watched that father, the father that went to a school board—and I didn’t quite grasp it at first. I just watched—he was being wrestled down. He was trying to talk. And it depends on which station you listen to; on one station they said he was like a terrorist. You know what we found out? He was handcuffed and removed. Why would he do that? Why would he fight so hard? The same reason all of us would: His child.

You see, he went to that school board meeting. His daughter was raped. She was raped by an individual that was not of the same gender that went into that bathroom. That father notified the school board. The school board didn’t know about it. Lo and behold, we found out later, oh, they knew about it, and the emails were there.

Why? Why would they arrest that father? I am shocked he didn’t do more.

But you know what happened? That is not the end of the story. They just transferred that student to another school to do the exact same thing. I think every parent in that school should have known what took place on that campus; and every student, every parent should have known in the next school that that student was there. They have a right to know it.

Madam Speaker, we introduced a bill to do just that, the Parents’ Bill of Rights. I tell the American public if it gets denied by this Democratic majority, it will be passed 1 year from now. It will be one of the first bills we take up.

We have seen and heard parents and children speaking out at school board meetings frustrated by the government-knows-best approach to education.

You know what is interesting, there was an election in Virginia, and it was pretty big in Virginia, this issue. You had a Democrat running for Governor that is a former Governor, and he made a statement: “Parents don’t have a right to know what happens in their children’s school.” I think he lost the election over it. But parents rose up.

What did the Biden administration do? Well, the Attorney General stopped looking at those who were killing people in Chicago on the weekend or why Walgreens was shutting down in San Francisco. You start looking at the parents. They were terrorists. But when he came before this body, you have got to understand who this person is. He is the top law enforcement officer of this country.

We are not far from the Supreme Court. I am not sure—a lawyer can correct me—what is the name of the statue out there, is that Lady Justice? She is blindfolded with a scale in her hands that is supposed to weigh equally. The same Attorney General came this close to being on the Supreme Court. He looked at the Members on both sides of the aisle and said he wasn’t investigating them. Could you imagine what it took for somebody working in that body to risk their job as a whistleblower to put forth the information that he lied?

Madam Speaker, I heard the Speaker just yesterday tell me they are at a higher standard. Madam Speaker, I know your body knows how to impeach. You have done it twice. You even have now Special Investigator Durham tell you the first time you did it was all lies.

If you believe in the rule of law, if you believe in these parents, where is ADAM SCHIFF when you need him, Madam Speaker?

We write law. The Attorney General is the highest law enforcement officer in this administration. He is supposed to be fair on both sides. He promised us he wasn’t going to play politics. But now we have found that he lied there. Now they even go further. They use it for intimidation.

Do you know, no subpoena in Congress since 1983 have the Attorneys General done anything with. For those who are held in contempt here, nothing ever happened. It was interesting, Madam Speaker, I don’t know if you caught this, but ADAM SCHIFF said, but now it is different, we have an Attorney General who will do what we want. Madam Speaker, ADAM SCHIFF was right. He has become the most political Attorney General in the history of this Nation.

Now, I worry, I worry greatly. If he lies about spying on parents, what else does he lie about? If he picks who he is going to go after based upon your political affiliation, he is not wearing a blindfold, he has got binoculars looking right at you.

Madam Speaker, if we are going to hold this body to a higher level, I would think we could work together on this. Wouldn’t you at least want to have a hearing on it now that you have got the facts? Wouldn’t you want to call them back? Not for me, but for the parents. What about that father? I wonder if he was investigated.

You know what is interesting, the Attorney General said he bashed this all on an organization that sent him one letter. One letter. That was put out publicly. Do you know what that organization did? Oh, I’m sorry, I will take it back. But the Attorney General never took it back. I wonder if we had to question, did anybody in the Attorney General’s Office call that organization and ask for that letter so they could take that action? I don’t know. I don’t know this. I would feel better if that didn’t happen.

□ 0230

But it is interesting to me, if they acted so fast on that letter, is he opening all his mail that quick? Because we have sent a lot of things to him. It is almost like he was already prepared.

And it was interesting, he had like a deadline, had to get done before two weeks ago last Tuesday. Yeah, I don't know what happened back then or what the deadline would be. But why wouldn't he back away?

You know, what is interesting with those who sent the letter, once it was made public, they didn't want any part of it.

I would hope that organization would change their leadership. They should change their leadership, rightfully so. Over the last year, parents have become the teacher, the coach, the music teacher, science teacher, had to do almost all. But you never would have thought they would have become the terrorist. You never would have thought they would become the terrorist.

You wonder why all of a sudden are more parents coming out to the school board? Could it be because of the pandemic and the Zoom meetings where the parents are having to teach, they are beginning to hear what is being taught. And it is interesting, one party, one control, 1 year, and the Federal Government can come after you in a school board meeting.

Now, in this bill, they could dictate what your children can do. But nowhere in this bill does it say that parents have a right to know. Nowhere. Nowhere in this bill does it deny the Attorney General to spy on a parent.

Madam Speaker, now that you know this information, with five Democrats, hold this bill up. Don't do it for me, but do it for the parents. Simply say, we don't need credit for this; a Parents' Bill of Rights. They have the right to know of the curriculum. They have a right to know what is being taught. They have a right to know what is being spent; and they have a right to know if there is a violent incident on the campus.

Just five. Just five; that is all it takes. I promise you this, you will be the most popular five Democrats in the Nation. You will. I could tell you which five are in the toughest races.

Listen, far be it from me, but it would be smart of you, because I will tell you this: Two of them are in Virginia. Madam Speaker, Governor-elect Youngkin won one by 11 points and another by 8. Biden had won that State by 10; he won New Jersey by 16.

Listen, President Clinton realized after losing all those seats in 1994 that he needed to listen to America. That the era of Big Government is over. In 2010, this exact same thing happened: 2009, Virginia and New Jersey, Republicans won. And four days later, Speaker PELOSI said you have to pass the bill to find out what is in it.

So if you ask me, why am I still speaking? Because I want America to

know what is in the bill before it gets passed. Because I trust you enough if you stayed and heard what is in the bill, you wouldn't vote for it. I don't know, my political team would probably get mad at me for saving some of you, but I don't care. I want to save America.

But let me tell you what I never hear from families, hopelessness. As any parent can relate, our children are the most important people in our lives, and we will do anything to protect them and make sure they have the best opportunities available. That is why despite being targeted by President Biden's Department of Justice, parents are speaking out louder than ever.

Madam Speaker, maybe you and I can go down to the White House and see the President. You see, he picked the Attorney General, so I don't want to judge the President based upon the actions of the Attorney General. But now that the President knows what the Attorney General did, I would hope the President didn't know he did this before the whistleblower came forward, because I know ADAM SCHIFF will hold that for impeachment.

But, Madam Speaker, now that the President knows the Attorney General of the United States of America lied to Congress and spied on parents saying they were terrorists, you know what we could do? Just five Democrats vote with us and we will hold the Attorney General in contempt. I am sure the Attorney General now will base his policy like no other attorney general has done since 1983 and go after himself. Because I am sure he is very fair. It is the rule of law.

Parents nationwide refuse to accept lower expectation for their kids. And this month, we heard Virginia parents say enough.

Madam Speaker, I hope your side of the aisle heard it. I know many had to go home. It is okay. They still get paid whether they are here or not. You can vote proxy.

You know, Madam Speaker, I am worried about some on your side of the aisle. You know some of them haven't been back since they voted for Speaker, but they will probably still vote for this bill. I am sure they read it; maybe they are watching.

Madam Speaker, I believe Puerto Rico is on the same time zone. It is not a long flight; it is just past Florida. You know, after the hurricane in Puerto Rico, I went to the minority whip at the time, STENY HOYER. We were on a codel together down there. We went all through their struggles. We came up to Florida, toured there as well.

You see, I was in the majority. I could have had one-party rule in this House. I could have gone myself and said no Democrat can go with me, but I don't think that is good for the House, so I reached out to STENY. You know, STENY will lead a group of freshman Democrats to Israel, and I lead a group of Republicans. We have done it for a number of years.

Madam Speaker, on my first trip I went to my friend, STENY HOYER. I said, let's don't go on separate weeks. Let's spend a couple times where we overlap, because I don't think our greatest ally should be a partisan issue.

And you know when we did this—I may get the number wrong, it is late into the morning—but I think we had 25 percent of the Congress there. We did a press conference together with STENY and I talking, showing the entire world of our commitment to Israel. We broke up in groups of Republicans and Democrats alike, and we went and toured different parts of Israel. But you know the one place we went all together? The Iron Dome.

You see, the Iron Dome is not hypersonics. It is not a first-strike weapon. It is a defensive weapon. You see, what the Iron Dome will do, it will look when a missile is shot from Gaza and it is coming, it will take it and it is going to calculate. If it is going to hit in a populated area, it shoots up and blows it up, but if the calculation means it goes in an unpopulated area, let it go.

□ 0240

It is technology worked on by both countries. We were so proud of this, 25 percent of this body. We took a picture in front of the Iron Dome. If you looked at each other's faces, we were with pride. We fist-bumped each other. We went back to the King David and did our press conference. We were united.

Madam Speaker, when thousands of rockets were shot at Israel just this year, never before have we seen these numbers. When it was time for our greatest ally in the Middle East—and not to provide them a weapon to attack anybody, but to say that exact same weapon that we all stood beside each other on, Madam Speaker, your party took it out. Your party took it out. Even today, with one-party rule in 1 year, Israel is now political.

The Hyde amendment, the millions of lives that it has saved—I know the debate of abortion is controversial, but what has been around for 20 to 30 years, we both agreed, whether you support abortion or not, don't take American taxpayer money and make them spend on it. That was fair. That was where we found compromise.

That is what America looks at when they look at this body, year after year. It wouldn't matter if you were in power or we were in power; we all kept our word. If you have been here longer than one term, you have voted for the Hyde amendment. Your leadership—Speaker PELOSI, STENY HOYER, CLYBURN—years upon years, they have been here and supported it. One-party rule, 1 year, and it is wiped away. It is wiped away.

Madam Speaker, when STENY HOYER said our children's children will learn about today, there are going to be a lot of children who don't learn anything because they won't be here. They won't

be here. There are so many reasons why this bill is wrong.

Madam Speaker, just five Democrats put a hold on this bill. I know there are more than five over there who think it is wrong because you told me so.

I will never question anyone's faith. I have witnessed the faithfulness of people on both sides of the aisle. I prayed with them. We have wept together. We prayed for other Members. We break bread.

I have seen your heart. I know what you believe. Of all the politics, don't do this. Don't do this. Don't do this.

For decades, this body has upheld. From people who are the biggest pro-choice people I know to those who are the biggest pro-life, they would look each other in the eye when doing appropriation bills and keep their word. I know it was difficult.

I know it was very difficult on the other side of the aisle, Madam Speaker. They would get attacked from some people in their own party, but we knew this is where we came together.

That is the history that is being made. That is the history that is taking place. That is the history we can't afford. You cannot put a price on the life of a child. You can't.

What is worse, Madam Speaker—I don't mean to highlight JUAN VARGAS, but for those in America who don't know him, he is a faithful man. If I am correct, you were going to be a priest at one time. When we were in Sacramento, we would pray together. I have watched your servant's heart.

I just wish, of all the things—and I want to tell our Members, if the American public will trust us with the majority, we will bring it back. Madam Speaker, I know people laugh at that, but, Madam Speaker, I am pretty sure it is going to happen.

I tell America, don't get down. It may be your religious belief, but now Big Government is going to take your taxpayer money and spend on it. We all know people—there are people we serve with—who their own lives a doctor told their mother to abort, but she didn't and then put them up for adoption. This is so personal to them.

With technology today and medicine, a child can live so early. In America, the land of opportunity, the opportunity just to live—but how can we? Why is it—one-party, one rule—that you are going to go after people? You are going to go after people who work in the faith community, who have dedicated their life, who just fundamentally disagree with this.

Now you hired 87,000 agents. You are going to grab it out of their hands. Why would you do that to them?

Can't we disagree? Do you know how tough it was to come to that agreement? I don't know why it has changed so greatly. I don't know why there is one set of rules for you and a different one for us. I don't know why there is a whole other set for the Speaker and nobody else. That is not a proud moment for this floor. It is not a proud moment for the country.

Madam Speaker, it is almost with fear when you say it. I don't know. Next week, there may be a \$5,000 fine if I raise her name. Never, when we were in the majority, did I ever think to take away the minority right for amendment, never in the majority. When my own Conference was as mad as can be because the Democrats overtook this body, I let you express yourselves.

They wanted to come back. They wanted to fine you. They broke every rule around. They put it online. They did all that. I took arrows for not doing something. Do you want to know why I didn't? Because I believe in this institution. I did not want to destroy it. I did not want to burn it down. It kills me to watch what is happening in this Congress.

Just because you are leaving, don't burn it down because you are not going to be here to pick up the pieces. That is wrong. That is wrong.

□ 0250

Enough of elected officials who pay more attention to the head of the National Teachers Union, Randi Weingarten, than to the needs of the Nation's children.

Madam Speaker, I watched that Virginia race. I watched Governor-elect Youngkin who was never elected to anything before. We all know what it is like to run. It is difficult. You are scared. They say things about you that aren't true. He was running in a State where people said he didn't have a chance, learning as he went.

I am sure his political team said: Oh, you should bring in all these elected officials.

He knew where he stood. He said: No. No. No. No. The people of Virginia are my heroes. They are my stars. That is who I want.

He watched and challenged where everybody made fun.

I remember reading on Twitter right after the primary, David Wasserman, who works for the Cook Political Report, tweeted. He got this one right; he got the last election wrong. He said we would lose 15 seats. He got the number right but the party wrong. He said that there is a chance Youngkin could win.

Madam Speaker, you have watched Twitter. Oh, my God, they attacked this poor man, and it looked like he would be wrong throughout this primary because here you are, Madam Speaker, with Terry McAuliffe, a former Governor and the right hand to the Clintons.

Terry McAuliffe is the guy who loaned the money to Bill Clinton when he left the White House to buy his house. He has won it before, he knows what to do. Biden just won by 10 points less than 1 year ago.

I watched all the people they brought in: President Obama and KAMALA HARRIS. I believe what KAMALA HARRIS said. She said: This is a bellwether. What happens in Virginia is an indicator of what is going to happen in the future.

She is right.

But do you know what, Madam Speaker?

I love to study history. I watched the closing days of the campaign because people asked me: Could Youngkin win? Man, that is so difficult, but it is going to be close. Boy, he put up a good fight in there, right?

I know Terry McAuliffe. I have watched him.

How was he going to close after everything that was going on?

Madam Speaker, at the Washington Post they are so smart in politics.

Do you know what they wrote, Madam Speaker, after the last debate?

This is the debate where Terry McAuliffe said that parents don't have a right to have a say in their children's education.

They said: Terry McAuliffe put this race away. He turned the campaign around. This is it. It is over.

So every time they write an editorial about me—they have never written a good one—I know I am on the right path. But Terry McAuliffe, with all that was going on in the schools, brings in Randi to tell the parents: You don't have a say, she does.

What did Governor-elect Youngkin do?

He held a rally. He didn't take his talking points from the White House that says that nobody cares about inflation and that it is good for you.

Do you know what he said?

I am going to lower the tax because I am going to help you.

Then do you know what he said?

He didn't say: This bill is so great. If I get in, I am going to build up the bureaucracy so our children's children can learn about it.

He said that he is going to make the DMV answer the phone and say: How can I help you?

He was going to break the barriers, make it smaller, hold them accountable, and make them more efficient.

Do you know how many people I know in Virginia who would never vote for me and never vote for a Republican?

Not only did they vote for Glenn, they walked for him, and they called for him. The point is, Madam Speaker, you are doing the exact same thing Terry McAuliffe did in this bill.

Madam Speaker, 1 year from now, if you lose your majority, don't blame me. I have warned you. America has warned you. They sent you every sign possible. A truck driver spending less than \$400, spending \$60 of it in Dunkin' Donuts, beat the president of the senate of New Jersey.

Enough of politicians who tell them they don't deserve to have a say in their own kids' education. Enough of local school boards who listen to divisive activists who want children to judge each other on the color of their skin, but who ignore the parents who try to explain the devastating and long-term effects of a year of lost learning.

The message sent by Virginia parents on November 2 was loud, clear, and inspirational. You see, Madam Speaker, they didn't have some political organization giving money and training. All they had was love for their children—much more powerful. These are our kids, and we will have a say in what they learn in the classrooms.

A few of these parents joined me earlier this month for a discussion on the harmful policies in this bill.

Jenny, a northern Virginia mom and school choice advocate said it perfectly: Many parents are frustrated with the K–12 public schools. We experienced over 1 year of closed schools, disastrous remote learning, misspent emergency Federal money, refusal to meet the needs of children with disabilities, lowered academic standards, and classrooms focused on woke agendas rather than addressing learning loss and essential academic instructions. We are fed up.

One parent told me that the school board said the kids aren't doing well in testing, so we are going to lower the standards. We are going to lower the standards.

Do you think they say that in China? No. This is America. We want to raise our standards, and if the kids aren't learning it is not their fault. Fix it.

Republicans hear their concerns, but, unfortunately, Madam Speaker, Democrats in Congress are choosing to ignore them. They would rather appease teachers' unions than listen to parents and students.

Madam Speaker, I wonder what would have happened in that campaign if Terry McAuliffe could have said "no" to the union and "yes" to the parents, he had on stage parents and teachers. But I guess they didn't write a big enough check.

Here is how in this bill Democrats want the Federal Government to dictate education standards. Make no mistake. Nationalized education means less control for parents and more control for Washington politicians who want to spend hundreds of billions of dollars on unionized universal pre-K.

I listened to the President, Madam Speaker, money could only go if it is a union. There are a lot of States that are right to work. If you look at the data, right-to-work States grow faster in their economy. It means that Secretaries of HHS and Education have the final say in what our children will learn.

I wonder if these Cabinet members will be different from the other Cabinet members?

I wonder, Madam Speaker, if we ask them what will be the curriculum, will they laugh at us?

Democrats describe their policies as investments. But the truth is these are not the kind of investments that pay dividends. In fact, it is the opposite.

Will they improve education performance for children?

No.

□ 0300

Will they keep childcare costs down and give parents better choices? No.

I am not sure in the new provision, but you know what you do to childcare? If you want to be in childcare, you have got to have a college degree. Do you know how many people you are going to knock out? You are going to make it more difficult, more expensive.

Some of the greatest childcare providers are your neighbors down the street that open up their house; that probably lost their job, if they are from Bakersfield in the energy industry and tried to do something else and cared for the children. But in your bill, it won't let them do it.

Will they create new opportunities? No. Instead, it will invariably result in lower standards, limited choice, and more indoctrination. That is the path that would quickly transform society; the great equalizer into its greatest failure.

I don't believe anybody in this body doesn't believe education is the great equalizer.

I was visited the other day by Condi Rice. What an amazing woman; such talent, such a heart. She grew up in a country that judged her, wouldn't give her equal; a concert pianist; fluent in Russian; to the highest office advising our Presidents.

I watched her on a show, *The View*. She has reasons to be mad at the country. I have never seen Condi mad. She loves this country.

You know, the interesting thing she told me? Here she is, growing up in the sixties, fifties—and she is not the first Ph.D. woman in her family, her aunt was, because they knew what it meant for education.

She grew up in the South. And when she watched and she got this question, critical race theory, with all that she went through, she could not understand why, in today's education, they will judge these innocent children based upon the color of their skin; to move some to the other side, to the other, because she witnessed that. She knew what happened to her.

We are better. I know we are better.

Education gives everybody an opportunity. Now, what you do with it, there is no guarantee.

I am fearful that in this bill, you guarantee an income. You take away the incentive.

Education is not the same. I know you go to your schools in your district. Just in your district, the schools are different.

My district is unique; kids from every walk of life. I am a product of public school. When I go back to my elementary, it is more than 90 percent Hispanic, a lot of first generation, a lot of school lunches.

I give out certificates for those who reach the criteria of a GPA. I watch the grandparents, the parents gleam. Why? Because their greatest investment is their grandchild or that child

and how well they are doing. Because they know that that generation can do better than their generation. And this bill tells them they don't get to have a say in it.

I will tell you this, a school on one side of my district and the other, needs are different. But it doesn't matter if you come from the wealthy.

Just outside my district, in DAVID VALADAO's, is a charter school, Barbara Grimm. The Grimm family are major entrepreneurs.

You see, in my district, there are two families that grow 50 percent of all the carrots in the country. Have you ever eaten one of these baby carrots? I will let you in on a little secret. There is no such thing. They are just big carrots they chop and they charge you more and you buy them.

They have a workforce of like 7,000, immigrants from all different parts. They love education. They put together a fund to pay for the college of the children of their workers; that is how much they care.

You know what? They just don't put it together and leave it. They started to wonder, because their projections were they would be spending more and they are not. They could have easily said, oh, we saved money.

But then they went and listened. Why aren't the kids going to college? You know what they found out? The local school wasn't preparing them.

They say, you know, what about the money? We will put a charter school in. You know who fought them the hardest? The teachers' union. But that didn't stop Barbara Grimm.

The school has uniforms; does another period of school. And the parents have the biggest say in it. You know that school, on the outskirts of this farming community, in less than a couple of years has better scores than the wealthiest schools in my district.

It doesn't matter where you come from. They just need opportunity. This takes it away.

We have a better vision, and I don't want it just to be ours. I welcome you to join us. We believe that parents matter. Madam Speaker, anybody on your side of the aisle that believes that parents matter, join us. We put the parents' bill in writing. You could co-sponsor.

The parents know best; and the parents belong at the center of their child's education. They have not only the responsibility but the right to know what their kids learn in the classroom.

Madam Speaker, I was shocked. Do you realize, in Virginia, if a parent went to a certain school and wanted to know what was being taught, they said you can, but you first have to sign an NDA. What? An NDA? You can't talk about it?

You know, that kind of goes back to the 87,000 IRS agents. If you start with the premise that you don't trust somebody and you know best, and you want control, that is the policy you write.

That is why Republicans have unveiled the Parents' Bill of Rights. It doesn't matter your wealth or the color of your skin. You have the right to know what is being taught in schools. You have a right to have a seat at the table. Our children have a right to have a seat at the table, too.

Education is the great equalizer. We are all created equal in God's eyes. And we are going to make sure we make that happen across this country so all students have a bright future.

Madam Speaker, over 10 years ago this body rushed to pass the government takeover of our healthcare system now known as ObamaCare. You know, it is interesting, Madam Speaker, when they passed it there was a Member in the Senate that offered an amendment. It said Members in Congress have to be in ObamaCare. My healthcare is ObamaCare. But they wrote it in a way that the staff of leadership doesn't have to be in ObamaCare.

Rules for thee, but not for me.

I remember talking to a leader on your side of the aisle. Boy, was he mad. He was not putting his staff in ObamaCare, and he wasn't going to be in ObamaCare. But he was going to control it and put it on everybody else.

□ 0310

I got fact-checked by The Washington Post on whether I won the lottery and whether I had a deli. They actually said it wasn't true.

I was on a trip overseas. It just so happened, Nick Bikakis, who is a friend of mine, was traveling with me to San Diego that day. He was in line with me when I bought the ticket. I literally said to Nick: Hey, Nick, you know what? If I win the lottery, I will give you a hundred bucks.

You know what? I kept my word.

This fact checker at The Washington Post called Nick 25 years later: Did he really win it?

He called the food critic for Bakersfield, California, that wrote an editorial about my deli. But he said it really wasn't. He wanted to know which door opened first.

I can't believe how far people will go to try to have control or take somebody down. I think he called a few of my employees. I don't know who was paying them.

It is interesting. One of my top-selling sandwiches still sells in some of the delis back home. They really call it the McCarthy sandwich. But that fact checker says it is not true.

I wonder if that fact checker—he is still there. Remember what he did to poor TIM SCOTT? TIM SCOTT got up and gave a tremendous speech. I may get it wrong; we are late into the morning. I believe his grandfather picked cotton. So he said he went from cotton to Congress. This fact checker said it wasn't true.

Does he despise Republicans that much? Interesting.

But did that fact checker ever check President Obama on, if you like your

doctor, you can keep it? Because I would like him to talk to a few of my constituents. There is a family, husband and wife, who have a beautiful family. One of their sons has little movement. He is confined to a wheelchair and needs a lot of help. They lost their doctor; they lost their healthcare; and they had to pay more. That is what happens.

I wonder if he checked NANCY PELOSI, Madam Speaker, when she said you had to pass it to know what is in it.

I have said this before. It came just 3 days after Americans in Virginia and New Jersey elected Republican Governors, sending a loud and clear message to Democrats in Washington to stop what they were doing. When the Speaker was talking about the bill before it passed, that is when she famously said: We have to pass it to know what is in it.

I remember that day. There were crowds out in front. I remember walking out to the balcony over here, watching the people concerned. They remind me of those parents who went to school board meetings just a couple of weeks ago.

The majority in here just wanted to rush through the bill. It was thousands of pages, too. I didn't have a magic minute, so I couldn't talk this long. I wish I could have.

I don't know if this speech is going to make a difference. But in my heart, I know America will know more about it.

I hope, Madam Speaker, your Members know this isn't the last time you are voting on this bill. Because, Madam Speaker, I know when that poor Josh made that incredible dealmaking, that he was not going to vote to start reconciliation until he got the BIF, and he was going to have to get an agreement that it has to be conferenced before you vote on it, in less than 24 hours—it was true he didn't vote on it. He deemed it. He was promised a BIF vote, only to feel like he was Charlie Brown with the football being pulled out from him every couple of weeks.

This bill was supposed to be conferenced with the Senate. But you couldn't pass it off this floor because a group of Members said they wouldn't vote for it unless it had amnesty, so you are all going to vote for that.

It is interesting. Madam Speaker, I don't know. You need to correct me. But it seems to me, from this side of the aisle, that Members in the Democratic Party are not equal. You see, those who ask for amnesty get it. Those who ask for the IRS—and they are a larger number—say it has to be kicked out of the bill, they don't get it, and they still vote for it.

Then there is this whole group that says stay tough; they are not voting on this until the CBO score, the Congressional Budget Office, the independent, affirms what President Biden has told us, that this pays for itself.

Madam Speaker, did you listen to some of their quotes before the CBO

came back? Well, it really doesn't have to pay for itself anymore.

I don't know how you go home to your constituents because if you tell them one thing and you vote for another, what are they going to believe you on?

I don't know. Maybe they are home. I don't know. There could be Members here who didn't want to change their airline tickets, Madam Speaker, and are already in Puerto Rico because they can vote proxy. Maybe they are down there. I don't know. I mean, you don't want to make the lobbyists wait, do you?

I wish we had a debate longer than 10 minutes on each side for the final bill. How long do you think they debated the New Deal? Do you think it came in at the end of the night? Do you think they gave 10 minutes to each side? You know, that was one-party rule with a much bigger majority.

We have to pass it to know what is in it. Sound familiar? It should. It is almost what is happening on the floor today, only much worse.

It is the Green New Deal, historic tax hikes, historic borrowing and spending, a government takeover of our education system, open borders for illegal immigration, and incentives to make products anywhere in the world but here in America.

Do you know what is interesting? When we passed the tax cut bill, I remember watching television. I remember people coming up and shaking my hand and saying: I got a raise. The company saved money, so they gave me more money. Now that they have to pay more, I wonder if they will take it back?

Do you know what is interesting, too? Since that passed, there has not been an inversion. Just so you understand what that is, it is an American company domiciling in another country to get the tax benefit. Why? Because they no longer got a benefit to be somewhere else. It was beneficial to be in America.

□ 0320

A lot of people made big decisions to move back to America. I have had a few of them call me and say if this passes they are staying in the other country. They say they have a responsibility to the shareholders. They could be sued because it is beneficial for tax.

I guess JARED GOLDEN is right when he says the second biggest item in here is to millionaires. But you did not leave out those who make between \$25,000 and \$75,000. They won't get SALT, but they will still get a knock on the door of their house from the IRS. I don't know, with that many agents, they probably come to your home.

If I need to, I must remind my colleagues on the other side of the aisle what was awaiting the Democratic Party nearly a year after that vote. Americans across the country stood and sent a historic message to Washington. Sixty-three new Republicans were elected that next year.

Madam Speaker, I study history, but I haven't counted the numbers yet. Speaker PELOSI lost 63 there. She said, though, I remember, during a press interview with the DCCC chair, they were going to win and keep the majority.

Remember when we invaded Iraq and they had that Iraqi spokesperson as we are landing on the runway saying, oh, nothing is happening here. It kind of felt like that.

So she lost 63 there. I don't know how many she is going to lose after this vote. But I need to get that data. Could she be the Speaker in modern history, one of the few to lose the majority twice and lose the most seats? I don't know. Maybe I have got some time tomorrow, I will look that up.

You know what is interesting? I remember, I don't know—some people in the press stay—but I remember all these press people coming to interview me before the last election. You know what they asked me every time, Madam Speaker? Can you still be leader after losing 20 seats? I was dumbfounded. I said, did the election already happen? Well, no, PELOSI and STENY HOYER, everybody, The Cook Political Report, oh, man, you are going to lose.

You know what was interesting that night? That was the first night since 1994, not one Republican incumbent lost. Not one. Since 1994.

Madam Speaker, you know what else happened? That number they put out there about 15 Republicans losing, they were right on the number. They were just wrong on the party.

You know what was interesting, too? Every single Democrat incumbent who lost, lost to a Republican woman or a Republican minority. I remember after that, it was a sad day, and in Statuary Hall there, STENY HOYER, he is a good man, he felt bad for everybody. So he got them all a resolution, and he took a photo of all of them, and he put it up on Twitter. Well, he was the majority leader, and I am the minority leader. I thought that is rude to all my Members who lost. So I went out there and took a picture of myself because nobody lost.

Madam Speaker, you probably know the answer to this one. Do you know which State was the best for the Republicans in Congress? Our State. Wasn't that great? Do you know, we didn't win the majority, but we elected more Republican women to Congress than any time in history. Isn't that amazing? In California.

Now, there was a Presidential election going on. President Trump lost California by 5 million votes, but I bet you are probably thinking, he probably picked up these seats. Oh, no, no. The four seats, he lost all four, three of them by 10 points.

You know what is interesting? When you think about that in California, and you think about what happened in Virginia, and you think about what happened in New Jersey, where Biden won by 10 and Biden won by 16, it almost

seems like there is no seat that is safe. After the vote on this bill, I imagine it is going to be much higher.

You know, there are going to be some people who still get reelected on the other side. Madam Speaker, those people went along with all the rule changes. They voted for the rule package that took away the MTR. They voted in Ethics to fine Members on the other side. They voted to remove a freshman Congresswoman from her committees based upon something she said before she ever got here. Just voted and spoke on this floor of higher standards.

What was interesting, Madam Speaker, be it a California Member with a Chinese spy, another California Member that uses a dossier to take the country through something very difficult, Madam Speaker, that the world has learned was not true; created the Intel Committee, Madam Speaker, to be an impeachment committee.

So when we were shocked that China had hypersonics or that Afghanistan would collapse so quickly, did anybody ask the Intel Committee chair? They probably didn't have any hearings on that, did they? But they had a lot of other hearings.

Madam Speaker, I remember watching the chairman of Intel on a Sunday show. He was really excited because this whistleblower came forth, was shocked by it, shocked by it. And they asked him, do you know this whistleblower? You could see his body language. I don't know, I don't know.

But then you know what we found out?

Oh, he knew the whistleblower. They already met with the staff. He has already been directed where to go. But it was a little like the Attorney General today, he doesn't live by the same standards and the rule of law.

Madam Speaker, a lot of these changes that have been made are hard to change. They are going to be hard to change. We will change proxies.

We believe in science. You won't have to wear a mask. I don't know what happens in that rotunda, but the science shifts. I am not sure. But once you get halfway past, I am not sure how the doctor writes that. Maybe they have better filtration.

Do you think that is what it is? I think they might be more susceptible. They are older. No, not disrespectful, just history. No, it is the average.

We will trust you. You won't need to walk through a magnetometer. We won't fine you.

We will respect what you say. We won't tell you you can't look at us when you talk.

But the one thing we will do, we will tackle inflation, we will make America energy independent again, and we will make sure parents have a say in their kids' education, and we will secure the border.

□ 0330

If you vote for the bill, I hope you know it is wrong. If you hand your vot-

ing card over to Speaker PELOSI, if you put partisanship above people, that same fate awaits you in 355 days.

But that future is not yet set in stone. You have a chance, a chance to make a choice. And don't worry. You all don't have to do it, just five. That is all, just five.

That choice is not the Speaker's choice because I can almost certainly promise you there is a good chance she won't be here to face the consequences before voting for this bill.

Madam Speaker, I don't know in history there has been a Speaker that in 3 months, when you are working on the most important bill, the culmination of your career, that you have been able to go to Europe three times in 3 months. I am not sure if there are shirts with cities on them and a tour.

But the only thing I would say, Madam Speaker, if the floor and the rules are going to change like this, people should stay for the consequences if they believe in them. That is in her own words, the culmination of her career. That is what she said at the press conference.

Now the question, Madam Speaker, for all of you: Do you want it to be the culmination of yours? When your constituents call for help to secure benefits at the VA, where do you want them to be? When a crisis hits your community, such as a hurricane, or a wildfire, or an earthquake, where do you want them to be? Or when they are hurting, when they are suffering, when they are in need of your help, where do you want them to be? I trust that answer: Here.

That is why you ran for the position in the first place. But if you vote for this bill, I can promise that many of you will not be serving in this body after the midterms.

Today is not just about saving your seat; it is about saving our country. It is about showing your constituents and the American people that Members of Congress still vote their conscience, that Members of Congress still put country before party. Your vote is precious. Your vote is sacred. Your vote is yours, not PELOSI's and not Biden's. Cast it accordingly to your conviction and your faith in what is right.

I ask you, is it right to raise taxes on small businesses whose only crime is making their product in America?

Is it right to ignore the dire, desperate pleas of our border agents and pass a colossal amnesty for illegal immigrants during the middle of the largest wave of illegal immigration in human history? Is it right to cast a vote that will bring more drugs, more crime, more job losses into your communities? Is it right to destroy safety to accommodate open borders?

Is it right to tax the energy our seniors need to heat their homes in the winter?

Is it right to cut taxes for the wealthiest Americans simply because they live in NANCY PELOSI's district or Senator SCHUMER's backyard? Is it

right that \$200 million goes to the Speaker's district for a park? Who is going to protect it? It is in San Francisco.

Today is a day to make your choice, to make a choice for your community. Your community isn't hives of hyperpartisanship. They overflow with proud Americans who work hard today so that tomorrow can be brighter.

But what the radical left is trying to do today is crushing, it is callous, it is cruel, it is craven and a sign of colossal contempt for law-abiding Americans.

This is not about compassion. It is about control.

Madam Speaker, we watched that. We watched that from the moment I got to talk, first interrupted every couple of words, to when I looked to the side out of respect for my friends across the aisle. I was told as the leader of the Republicans not to look that way. Has it gone so far that the Democrats think they control everything? This is not PELOSI's House; this is the people's House.

But what the radical left is trying to do today is crushing. It is worth saying again: callous, cruel, craven, and a sign of colossal contempt.

I want to know if anybody on the other side, Madam Speaker, thinks that there is compassion in this bill. I want to know where the compassion is. Where is the compassion when you remove the Hyde amendment? How can you?

Madam Speaker, you have been here longer than one term, right? No, this is just your first term? You are doing a great job. That is probably why they made you take the midnight hour. It is good for you because it is a three-hour difference. The people in California are still watching.

You know, somewhere along the way this year, the voices of the American people vanished from this Chamber. When you think about it, they didn't have the chairs like this. Now, I know we all give tours of the Capitol, but we can't do that now because those in control say we can't, but do you know where my favorite place to go is? Statuary Hall. You know they have the little tiles for anyone who became President that was a Member of Congress. I like to go back to Father Serra from California, and right in front of that tile is where Abraham Lincoln served. He only served one term.

There is a great new book I just read about his mentors. Do you know who some of his mentors were? His political enemies. I don't know if people would say that today.

But what I like to do is I like to stand right on that tile, and I take the constituent and say: I want you to stand right here. This is where Abraham Lincoln, a young Congressman—the country was not so big. They were in chairs, and he sat right there.

Then I tell them: I want you to look over your shoulder. I want you to look at the clock. There is a muse there. If you look at that artwork, she is sup-

posed to be inscribing what is being said on the floor. I ask them, what time is it? If they look now, they would say 3:40 in the morning. I ask them twice: 3:40. I say, do you know what? Do you know why I asked you to do that? Because that is the exact same view, the exact same clock, that Abraham Lincoln looked at.

□ 0340

That is what this House means. It doesn't mean what has happened with one-party rule in 1 year to destroy so much.

And you know, you can go up—you take a door by my office and you go up, you go up in the pillars up above; and when you look down, that floor looks really clean. It wasn't at that time. They had spittoons.

They fought. Democrats fought because they wanted to maintain slavery; Republicans said no. Divided the Nation. I could only imagine in a war, family against family, more lives lost as Americans than you could ever imagine. But Abraham Lincoln says "malice towards none."

It is the anniversary of the Gettysburg Address. Can you imagine being invited to be a speaker, and you are the President of the United States, and you are not the main speaker? The person before him went for two hours. I will give 100 bucks to anyone who can quote what that person said. Abraham Lincoln just spoke a few words.

If you go to the Library of Congress every five years, they will put out this exhibit of what was in Abraham Lincoln's pockets that day when he was assassinated.

He had two pair of glasses. Some had a little rubber band put together. He had some Confederate money because he had just been down to Richmond. But he scribbled, and he wrote a couple. You know, Abraham Lincoln, they didn't think he could become President. He didn't run again because he was going to lose. He didn't win on the first ballot to be the nominee. He gets elected 1860. He is not sworn in until March, but he is sworn in right outside there, on the east side.

His own rivals he puts into his cabinets. You know why? Because he trusted Americans. He was so compassionate; when a soldier wouldn't do what they wanted, when they wanted to hang him, many times he said to let them go.

If you go to the Library of Congress, they have—for the President, it is like his library card. They tell you what he checked out. Think about the time and place that he served.

And he checked out this book. The best way to describe it, it is like fighting wars for dummies. And he checked out this book because general after general was losing. It wasn't until he hired Grant that he returned the book.

At the same time war was going on, not knowing if we would win, just down the road, the Confederates. They had wealth; they had the South.

He built the intercontinental railway, because no matter how dire the country looked, in those words of Gettysburg, he said, but if we fail, "government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from Earth."

Think about the time and place. We were not the world power. But he knew where our power came from; the people. All I am asking you tonight is to listen to them. They are trying to tell you—two weeks ago. I don't know how clearer they can be.

He knew we could not fail. He knew that tomorrow would be better than today. He risked building an intercontinental railway to bring the country together. That is the first President of this party. That is the philosophy that is instilled in us.

You know, we hung a portrait here. He is not an American, but we couldn't have been a country without him. Those two men, he loved George Washington so much. He only had one son, and he named him George. They came to our time of need when we weren't even a country but an idea. And what did we do to them just this year? When they had their soldiers, once again, in Afghanistan, when they had their own citizens, because they have been there for 20 years, side by side, just like they were when we tried to create a nation.

And what did we tell them? Sorry, the Taliban picked the day. I am sure they have just as many of their citizens stuck there as we do. And what is interesting, their country has helped us get some Americans out. I never thought in my entire life, I would have to go to another country to help an American.

At your own State Department, if you told them of an American that wants out, they work against you to make sure they couldn't get there. But the Taliban literally told us, They can leave if you get the Secretary of State to say it is okay.

Inflation now is at the highest rate in years, which is now impacting all Americans. Housing, food, furniture, groceries, and many other goods are more expensive and disproportionately higher burdening on lower-income families.

The cost of home heating is projected to rise even as much as 50 percent in the coming months. That is reducing buying power for the household expenses. It is especially hard on the low-income households and seniors on fixed incomes. What do you think is going to happen when the big storm comes in and somebody on a fixed income is going to make a determination on their prescriptions, their food, or heating.

I am scared about that. Because you know what compassion is going to be? There are some that are going to make the wrong decision and freeze to death.

We have not talked enough about how the massive increases in home heating costs are going to impact people. This winter, the poor and senior

citizens will likely face a choice. You heat or eat.

I don't have any of my grandparents left. I have my mother. My mother called me the other day; she was mad. She had just gone to Costco. She fills up once a week. She could tell me exactly how much more she had to pay. She wasn't the only one.

Literally, the threat of winter deaths are real when the high cost of heating homes forces them to live in homes that are too cold.

Research has shown that energy insecurity is associated with poor sleep quality, mental strain, respiratory illness. Others have found that cold stress is connected to cardiovascular risk and declines in neurological function.

□ 0350

Our seniors in America struggle enough without having the policies of one-party rule in 1 year cost them so much. It is not just costing them money; it could cost their lives.

In fact, it has been reported that excess winter deaths caused potentially by fuel poverty kill more from Vermont each year than car crashes. Think about that. Fuel poverty will kill more people in Vermont each year than a car crash. What do you think a 50 percent increase will do this year? Oh, I sure hope OPEC helps us. Maybe if he sends another letter.

The projected use increases for natural gas, propane, heating oil, and electricity—low-income families and the elderly with preexisting conditions are going to be in great danger this winter. Your bill makes this plight even worse. It is by no means an exaggeration to expect thousands of excess winter deaths as a result of President Biden's energy policies and what you have put in this bill.

At least the elderly will suffer at home and not be forced to suffer and die in a COVID-infected nursing home, like thousands of senior citizens.

Madam Speaker, I watched families who lived in New York, their loved ones pushed into a home, infected. I watched that Governor write a book and win an Emmy. I watched those families. I hope they get some of the royalties from that book. I don't think they will get \$450,000, but I think they need something.

What my Republican colleagues and I want to know, what the American people have a right to know, is this: Did you fail to take these people into consideration when you wrote this bill? Madam Speaker, do we just consider them collateral damage? Are all of them just part of the cost for ramming through your agenda?

I am wondering, how many hearings did we bring senior citizens in to tell us so we can listen? We have all been waiting on a CBO score for this bill, and they did. They projected billions of dollars in deficit spending. Did you consider another CBO report that was released earlier this fall?

Here is what that report says about the direction we are heading. It kind of goes to the point that the majority leader brought up on this day. In the future, our children's children, that would be 2051, America's debt-to-GDP ratio will be over 200 percent, twice the size of our entire economy.

Madam Speaker, I got an MBA, but I will tell you this, if we have a 200 percent debt-to-GDP ratio, we will not be the world power. We will not have the next generation doing better than the generation before it.

Every great society has collapsed when they overextended themselves. Unfortunately, Madam Speaker, STENY HOYER and I disagree. He thinks the children's children will love this day. I am fearful. I am fearful. I just hope they teach it in school. I hope they can look at each other when they talk.

That CBO report said a growing debt burden could increase the risk of a fiscal crisis and higher inflation, as well as undermining confidence in the U.S. dollar, making it more costly to finance public and private activity in the international market. I will guarantee you this, Madam Speaker, the dollar won't be the world currency then.

The CBO reported that with a growing debt and rising interest rates, the net spending for interest more than triples the relative size of the economy over the last two decades of the projection period, accounting for most of the growth in total deficits. I guess you are going to have hire more IRS agents.

A New York Times article reported that the CBO warned that such high debt levels would lift borrowing costs, slow economic output, and raise the risk of a financial crisis.

The Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, a fiscal watchdog group, warned after a preliminary forecast was released last month that the Nation's long-term outlook was an air raid siren that can be heard for miles. It said that the mounting debt would make it harder to address income inequality and to make needed infrastructure improvements. I don't know if Buttigieg is going to solve all that.

This is the second time tonight that I have quoted The New York Times. What I want to know is, does it concern you that even The New York Times is raising the alarm about your excessive spending?

Madam Speaker, I don't know if you have had the opportunity—I know you have been here a short time—but have you ever met Larry Summers? Larry Summers worked in the Clinton administration and the Obama administration. He is highly respected on economic policy. He is a strong Democrat, a strong Democrat. He works hard to elect Democrats.

He realized you had one-party rule in this country again. He wants you to succeed. He wants the best for you. He warned you in February: Don't do it. Don't do it. Don't take \$2 trillion and tell the American public it is about

COVID when only 9 percent goes to it because you will get inflation. He knows his business.

There was another. It is a long night for me. It starts with an r, Ratner? He just came out with a warning, did he not?

We have amazing people on this side of the aisle. Madam Speaker, I don't know if you ever had a chance to meet FRENCH HILL, but this isn't the first job he ever had. This isn't the first time he served his country.

He was in the Treasury Department. He was in the time they had to clean up from the last time the Democrats had one-party rule. Then he went out and made capital. He created capital for people to grow jobs.

I went to his district. He has a very unique district, a lot of history in that district and in that school.

You took me to those entrepreneurs. They are all in this facility. They had such hope. They had great ideas.

□ 0400

But I wonder, if this bill passes, will they still take that risk? Or can they?

I am not sure. I fear that the majority, Madam Speaker, doesn't care. Maybe the 21 who signed the letter to the Speaker care. I guess we will find out when we vote. Maybe five of them will have the moral courage to say "no" to the bill. They said it in a letter. I respect them. I take them at their word.

Madam Speaker, I talk a lot about this bill, and I want to save this for later.

Madam Speaker, I got a new binder. There are a couple pages. I want to save that for last. That is the closing.

But, Madam Speaker, I have just spent almost a full minute covering this bill's partisan, extreme, self-focused, and ultimately destructive policies. For every one of those policies there is a reason to defeat this bill on the merits. Another reason is that Democrats kept bipartisan, common-sense amendments out of the final text.

Do you know what is interesting, Madam Speaker?

How many of you grew up—and I am much older than you, Madam Speaker—I don't know if they had it, but Schoolhouse Rock.

Didn't you love that?

Conjunction junction, what is your function?

Hooking up phrases and cars. Or the Preamble, We the People in order to form a more perfect Union. But my favorite was: I am just a bill on Capitol Hill and I sit here and wait.

That bill, Madam Speaker, taught you a lot about Congress, and in less than 1 year with one-party rule, they changed all the rules. I don't know if we can show it anymore. But that bill says you have got to have compromise. You have got to be in committee.

I am afraid that this House has been closed for so long that the public hasn't been able to be a part of it. Luckily, I talk fast and I can get this

all in in a minute. But I can show you and tell the American public, take them on the inside.

What was offered?

What was the offer, but what was rejected?

Because maybe they would end up liking the bill. What would be good, Madam Speaker, when we do that townhall meeting, we could bring some of these, too, because everything I am going to talk about is an amendment that was brought up in committee, and House Democrats rejected every one of them because of the enthrallment of power. I am not sure anyone was told not to look at each other. That may just be a rule for the floor.

This is just another way Democrats aren't listening to the American people. But Republicans have listened. We are listening, and throughout this process, we offered a different path. We wanted to participate. Every amendment I will read offered by Republicans was rejected. This is a record of what is not in the bill.

As I read this record, I want my colleagues on the other side to answer a simple question when you are on the beach in Puerto Rico: When you said the House would consider the best ideas no matter where they came from, did you really mean it?

So let's start with KEVIN HERN's committee, the Ways and Means Committee. What a powerful committee. I wanted to be on that committee. They never let me.

Article I, section 7 of the Constitution says that all tax reform starts in the House.

Do you know what our rules say?

All taxes start in Ways and Means. So it doesn't matter the power of the Senate. It starts right here.

Now, this is an amendment offered by Congresswoman JACKIE WALORSKI. She is from Indiana, too. Boy, she works hard. When she first got here, she made sure women in the military were not abused. She fought.

But do you know what she did?

She worked across the aisle. She got something done. You see, Madam Speaker, when you work together, you can achieve so much. And I don't know, she is so optimistic. She probably thought this would pass. But let me read to you what she said.

She works in Indiana, and in Indiana-2 they build a lot of RVs. She talks to her businesses. I have been there many times with her. She has got Notre Dame in there, too, Touchdown Jesus. When she talks to the families, what they tell her is they want flexibility.

In today's world somebody needs to drive an Uber to buy a refrigerator. My kids need to be somewhere. Can I have flexibility?

But the hard part, Madam Speaker, for your side of the aisle is that means you would have to release control.

So this is what it said: Defending worker paychecks and family choice. Now, this would improve the existing 45(S) tax credit to better support em-

ployers in meeting the costs to provide paid leave benefits to employees.

That sounds pretty good, right?

This would allow employers and employees—you see, Madam Speaker, that is working together—employers and employees to negotiate. It is not government telling you. It says you guys work together, you work it out.

What type of leave makes the best sense for them and their families?

Boy, that is nice, rather than impose a one-size-fits-all Federal mandate that would reduce flexibility and hurt workers' ability to grow in their careers and provide for their family. That is reasonable. I actually think that could have been in Schoolhouse Rock because it would illustrate how government wouldn't build these big bureaucracies but would unshackle business, employers and employees. It would empower the employee.

My daughter has practice here and there, so I will work this hour instead of there because it is better for me.

Do you know what happens when you have happy employees?

Productivity goes up.

I will promise you this. I am a former employer. KEVIN HERN has employed hundreds. You want to help your employees. But the Federal Government is telling you "no" now. So she offered it as an amendment.

Do you know what happened, Madam Speaker?

It was rejected by the Democrats. This could have been in the bill. The American public has to understand: this could have been in the bill. All they had to do was vote for it.

But that would have relinquished control.

Now, this is an amendment offered by MIKE KELLY. I love to hear MIKE KELLY talk. He is not from Indiana, but he went to Notre Dame. He is from Pennsylvania. Oh, he and Victoria have a beautiful family. They work hard and employ a lot of people. When he talks, he says, What does it take to put you in this car today?

Okay. So his amendment—because he wanted to work with the other side of the aisle—was making government work more efficiently and effectively. Whoa. I bet you that statement is almost in every mailer of everybody who runs for Congress. It doesn't matter which side of the aisle you are on. So this is starting out pretty good. That would have changed the effective date to 6 months after the Treasury could certify they have expertise to stand up a new entitlement program.

Now, I actually believe he is helping.

Do you know why?

Because he is remembering what happened in ObamaCare. Remember the website?

Oh, my God, never been so embarrassed.

□ 0410

I mean, when I read this, I think, whoa, why didn't a Democrat think of that? And here is MIKE KELLY helping you out.

But it is not over. Let's finish it. If the government plans to spend an enormous amount of money, the least one-party rule in Washington could do is make sure it has the capability to effectively spend the money. Boy, that is harsh.

You want to know what happened? The Democrats rejected it. So don't blame us if you make another website.

All right. Here is an amendment offered by our Budget ranking member, JASON SMITH. Is JASON still here? You know what? Somebody call JASON on the phone and wake him up. It is not very often I talk about him, in a positive sense, too.

He is a really nice guy, Madam Speaker, you need to meet him.

Okay. He is from Missouri, works hard. Helping hardworking families. Who is opposed to that? That would mean test—means test, that is good, right?

So you make sure—I mean, you would be embarrassed if you spent so much money in here and it just went to the millionaires because what would happen is, in the election, people would say, wait a minute. You said that wasn't going to happen. So here is JASON helping you out.

It would mean test the new paid leave benefit, limiting it to families with incomes under \$100,000. I think that is pretty good, wouldn't you?

I mean, I know, Madam Speaker, you raised the limit now to \$800,000 for those people to be able to have taxpayers benefit them for buying a Tesla. So I don't know, you may be upset with this; it is just limiting it at \$100,000.

And guarantee a minimum benefit for lower-income families. So what you are doing is, you are guaranteeing the benefit for the lower-income families. Isn't that what we want to do? We want to help the needy, right? And if somebody doesn't need it, why should they get it?

Under the bill as it was marked up, the Democrat program would benefit substantial benefits to families—get this: Did you know this? Oh, my God.

The bill you are going to vote for, listen to this, it is going to benefit families with incomes up to \$500,000. Oh, my God.

So you are hiring the 87,000 IRS agents to go after that poor husband and wife working so hard making \$75,000 to give the benefit to them. Man, JASON was really trying to help you. But it wouldn't guarantee any minimum benefit to families on the low end. You are not even guaranteeing to those who need it.

Man, it is anticipation, huh? You are wondering what happened. It was rejected. It was rejected.

You know what is interesting? These would be good things to show to constituents for those who thought this wasn't good, because it would help them with those making \$500,000. It really would. It really would.

Okay. Here we go. Here is another amendment in Ways and Means by a

Member that would limit benefits to one caregiver per household for the same caregiving days. Okay. Let's think about that. That's kind of accountability, right?

Should the Federal Government pay more than one caregiver on the same caregiving day? That would seem like it would be fraud, would it not? You would think.

It was rejected. You know these Members never talked to me ahead of time, but they were really helping you out. I am surprised you didn't take some of these.

LLOYD SMUCKER, Pennsylvania 11. You know, I was just in his district the other day. We were in a barn that the Amish built; every walk of life in there. I wish you would have gone with me. I think had you gone with me you probably wouldn't vote for the bill. These are hardworking people.

Now, he wants to strengthen our workforce. You know, he had nothing, he had no money, going to school, borrows \$1,000 and creates a construction company that is putting up ply board; builds it into something more. So he knows about the workforce.

Now, that would require individuals to be employed in the last 30 days, and have an earnings history in at least four of the last 5 quarters in order to qualify for paid leave benefits.

Now, that is really giving accountability to the taxpayer, would it not? I mean, we want a healthy people. Is it too much to ask, have you been employed in the last 30 days? I guess for the Democrats it doesn't.

Oh, here is BRAD WENSTRUP. Madam Speaker, you do need to meet BRAD WENSTRUP. I will tell you a quick story. He is out of Ohio 2.

He joined the military late. He served overseas. He is a doctor. He has a servant's heart. He is an athlete. He plays baseball. And any time you see STEVE SCALISE, it is because of BRAD WENSTRUP.

The moment he ran onto that field once that shooter was stopped, he saved his life. Why? Because he served in theater. He knew what that looked like. And I will tell you, that night, I went to the hospital, I waited for Jennifer Scalise to come up. KEVIN BRADY and I wrote, with the doctor, the press release.

And I will tell you this, it is a miracle that STEVE is alive.

On my way home, BRAD called me. Many of you called me; I gave you a whole different impression. Oh, he is fine. He is fine.

BRAD was the one you couldn't say that to. He saw him. He knows how much blood he lost. He knows where the shrapnel was.

STEVE SCALISE has possibly the greatest strength. When I watched Jennifer Scalise—I don't know if I shared this with you before, but STEVE and I have been friends long before we ever came to Congress. We were in Young Republicans together. I was actually at his swearing in for the State Senate in Louisiana.

BRAD WENSTRUP, amazing man. He is here for all the right reasons. He has little Brad, cutest little guy. Little Brad likes to wear a uniform like his dad. He will bring him on the floor sometimes. Come say hi.

Now, his is stopping taxpayer theft. Now who could be opposed to that? That would stop the greatest theft of taxpayer dollars in our lifetime.

Now, I believe—I am no pollster, but I don't believe any party—I believe they would all support this. If you are going to take hardworking taxpayer money, they don't want it stolen.

As written, the Democrat socialist spending bill—who would have thought this—includes a lot of loopholes. I wonder if they are going to talk about those in Puerto Rico.

Madam Speaker, that would be interesting. Madam Speaker, I wonder—and I don't have any facts here, but if it is a fundraiser in Puerto Rico, and there are lobbyists down there, would they celebrate if they got a loophole? That was never in Schoolhouse Rock.

It includes a lot of loopholes that could be easily exploited. We don't want that. Republicans identified these vulnerabilities and tried to introduce amendments that would have strengthened the eligibility requirements by requiring a simple proof of identification and certification.

Whoa. How rough is BRAD? A simple proof of identification to get taxpayer money? Geez.

You can't eat in New York without showing your COVID ID.

□ 0420

I can't fly here each week without showing my ID. The gall of BRAD. The gall of BRAD.

Remember, Madam Speaker, I talked about all of that fraud in California. I think this would help. I don't know if you guessed. You all voted it down.

Now to my friend across from me, KEVIN HERN, from Oklahoma's First District. I don't know if you ever met KEVIN. KEVIN is one of those guys that is an entrepreneur, takes a risk. He is this guy right here.

Do you know what we should do? We should do like a block party, and we should meet each other. Wouldn't that be better?

I appreciate the times I got to eat dinner with you. I really do. You taught me how to do a townhall meeting. I am serious. And when we went through Israel together and you brought your sister, I thought that was fabulous. Oh, yeah, I remember. I think that is what America wants us to do. I really do.

I will tell you what. Madam Speaker, you and I can do this because we are from California. Let's have like potluck dinners because we could get to know each other's district. I have a conference room in there. We don't have to do everybody at once because we want to spend time.

Now, the only thing, it is going to cost us more. You know, inflation. But

do you know what the good news is? You don't have to drive to it. I am saving you on gas.

KEVIN HERN, that American Dream of owning a McDonald's, he had to go through the pandemic. He knows what it was like. He knows what it is to try to hire somebody. Now, his amendment would protect Americans' existing paid family and medical leave plans and prevent unfairly forcing the middle class to subsidize corporations' paid leave plans.

Here is a guy who worked—and think about his workforce. They are young. He is mentoring them. One of our last Speakers worked in a McDonald's, Paul Ryan. He is trying to look out for the little guy and gal. I won't keep you in suspense any longer. It was rejected.

Now, here we go with KEVIN BRADY. I can't believe he left us. This is bipartisan retirement options and Main Street protection—this is important for people—that would restore the bipartisan agreement in H.R. 2954 in the 117th Congress. Well, that wasn't very long ago, and we both agreed upon it. Let's find out what it does.

As reported by the Committee on Ways and Means by a voice vote, it protected small businesses from a new Federal retirement mandate. I wonder what changed. One party, one rule, 1 year.

Here is an amendment offered by VERN BUCHANAN. That is who you really want to meet. It is small business protection. This guy started with nothing. He made a copy company, expanded it. That would exempt from the Federal retirement mandate excise tax on small businesses with 50 or fewer employees.

Well, that is pretty good, right? These are the people just trying to start out. They should not be held to the same standard as some big corporation because it is going to put them out of business. I bet a Democrat probably cosponsored this. Let's see.

Oh, it gets better: minority-owned businesses, women-owned businesses, and veteran-owned businesses. Now, as written, the Democrat bill would apply to any firm with six or more employees. Whoa, whoa.

Remember what happened with ObamaCare? You put that 50 in, and you crushed so many businesses. Now you are going after businesses with just six employees. Friends, I am sorry. I don't think the incubator is going to make it.

The smallest employers lack the financial and logistic ability to provide retirement benefits, and paying the penalty will often be cheaper.

Man, I wonder where you got that idea? Remember, in ObamaCare, you said if they didn't get it, you would just penalize them. It was cheaper, and everybody just took the penalty.

Madam Speaker, you really have to get some new people working on these bills. They are regenerating bad, old ideas.

The Republicans' amendment would have, instead, provided for the retirement support package included in the bipartisan SECURE 2.0 legislation.

That dang VERN. He went back to something we both agreed upon and offered it to you, but now you are one-party rule so you said no. That is interesting. You support it one day, but the next day, no, don't even let us look at them.

Whoa, listen to this one: protecting workers from financial predators. They would strike the requirement that employers must offer employees the option to take half of their retirement account as annuities. This requirement creates a large burden on employees to set up these financial contracts, which at a low-dollar value will end up being a bad deal for retirees who rely on this for their retirement income.

Why can't we let the employee have more choice? We want to determine that everybody makes the same amount? The Democrats rejected that.

An amendment offered by the ranking member of Ways and Means, KEVIN BRADY: No new mandates from Washington. Whoa, that would be great.

Now, that KEVIN, do you know what he is doing? He is offering a bipartisan auto-enrollment that passed the House, where Republicans and Democrats both voted for it. But do you know what changed? One-party rule. They voted it down.

Here is JACKIE. She is so optimistic. She didn't quit defending worker paycheck and family choice. Gosh, she keeps fighting for the families, doesn't she? That would strike the Democrats' government takeover of childcare, which would increase costs for families, and instead insert an alternative which would improve the child care tax credit and provide flexibility for families to arrange for the type of childcare that is best suited for their family.

Now, why would JACKIE think about that? Madam Speaker, if your party does not believe parents have a say in their education, you definitely don't believe that parents have a say in their childcare. It has to be one size fits all, so you rejected it.

Protecting taxpayers from wasteful duplication is a positive thing. Do you know how much duplication there is in government? People hate that. That would keep States from receiving more unnecessary government spending. The amendment would have required States to spend down their ARP childcare dollars before receiving new funds under this bill. Well, that is pretty smart. Make them spend their money before you give them more.

Here is MIKE KELLY back at it. Mike went to Notre Dame. Not all of us could play for Alabama. If you want to find Mike in the morning, even if he is up late, he will be down at Mass. He never misses. I respect that man.

His amendment is the religious freedom amendment. It is personal to him. It is personal to a lot of his friends. It would prevent discrimination against faith-based childcare providers.

□ 0430

Look, I remember when my kids were young. When we played sporting events and others, we went to the church. Why? Because we knew everybody. They knew us. We knew what was being taught. Isn't that interesting?

I would hate for government to get in the way of raising your children with faith. Wouldn't that go against the founding of our country? I am not a history major, but weren't there a lot of people that helped found the country because of religious freedom? Surely, we can't change that now.

The Democrat bill includes a constitutionally questionable prohibition on religious-affiliated childcare providers from receiving funds under the bill. Whoa. Did you know that, Madam Speaker?

So what is going to happen here to those churches? They don't do it for profit. They do it because their congregation needs it.

Do you know how many people I know that are single parents that take a second job so their children can go to a faith-based school for childcare? Do you know how many work in the church so they can get a discount? I guess it is rules for thee but not for me. The government is going to pick.

You know, I told this story early on about some Senators that went on a codel to China, and this general came and lectured them. It hadn't happened before. He looked these U.S. Senators in the eyes, and he said, "America is weak because you believe in God, and you take fentanyl." I don't know, if China reads this bill, they might not think we believe in God anymore.

This could carve out the most popular and trusted options for working parents. The amendment would have struck the prohibition. You know what that would do? It would allow the parent to decide.

Now, I don't know if this came up in the Virginia Governor's race, too, but it smacks of the exact same philosophy and principle. You can have the children, but government is going to raise them, and you have no say.

I am not sure, I don't want to put words in anybody's mouth, Madam Speaker, but when I heard the chairman of Ways and Means was real excited and said we were going to grow the bureaucracy, I am not sure if he was referring to this, but it meets that criteria.

Here's an amendment by DREW FERGUSON from Georgia. He is supporting women-owned and minority-owned businesses over bureaucrats. He is picking the right side. That would provide \$1 billion to HHS to support five new childcare grant programs.

Well, that is pretty good, right? You provide that grant so they can start these childcare programs. That helps the economy, too. I don't know, maybe if a Democrat offered that, it would have been accepted. But it got rejected.

All right, I have got to read one from JODEY ARRINGTON. He works too hard,

and he would be upset if I didn't. TAA for energy workers. You see, JODEY is from Texas.

I don't know if you have met him yet, Madam Speaker. Nice guy. He will talk a lot, but nice guy. Spend some time with him, though. He is passionate. He is passionate. You know, he served in the administration before. He's got young kids, a beautiful wife. He is out not far from August. This is the energy-producing part of Texas. So he sees the families that are getting hurt.

Now, this would provide assistance to communities and blue-collar workers harmed by President Biden's cancelation of the Keystone XL pipeline. I would think the President would even lean into this because he promised those union workers. They endorsed him, they walked for him. He said he was going to take care of them.

This one probably went big. On day one of his administration, President Biden canceled the Keystone pipeline, resulting in thousands of blue-collar workers losing their jobs. That is okay, the government will still see them, they will audit them. The amendment would have allowed those workers who lost their jobs to this political decision to TAA benefits. Don't you think that is fair?

Because they didn't lose their jobs because they didn't work hard. They lost their job because one man became President on January 20. And by one stroke of the pen—it wasn't anything voted on in here. You didn't need to defend that.

Madam Speaker, I see friends over there from Texas. They know what is happening in the oil fields. They know people need help, and I know that. I have seen them work hard for them.

Now, here is an amendment offered by CAROL MILLER. She is a fabulous lady, great grandma. You know she raised buffalo? She is tough. Small business.

You know what is interesting in West Virginia? She would probably be a good person to talk to on a political basis because West Virginia used to be all Democrats, and she ran, and she won. There was only a couple of them, now they are heavily in the majority. If you ask her what happened, it was Democratic policies. People changed. It is kind of like what happened 2 weeks ago.

This is combating maternal mortality that would take the funding from the ineffective Health Professional Opportunity Grants, that program, and put it towards funding for mothers in poverty. Man. So you take a program that is failing, and let's use that money for women in poverty. And even more, domestic violence prevention as part of the Maternal, Infant, and Early Childhood Home Visiting Program. Who could be opposed to that? The majority.

All right. I see ADRIAN SMITH here, Madam Speaker. Have you met him yet? We came in together. ADRIAN,

great guy. I was at his wedding. I was going to sing, but I can't sing. But I did a reading.

I don't know, if you want to see some of the cutest kids. He has got this beautiful son; he just adopted this beautiful daughter. We were actually roommates for a while, but he got married and kicked me out. When we ran for office, he got the President and Air Force One to come campaign for him. I didn't get anything. I don't think they liked me. He got on Ways and Means. I didn't. It was tough. It was tough.

His mom and dad are great people. Great people. His brother, a State Farm agent, great kids. Kids went to Liberty, got married, some live here. It is good to meet people we work with. It is good friends you make, lifetime. Lifetime.

You know, he is Scottsbluff. I don't know if you have ever been to Scottsbluff. It is in Nebraska. If he gives you his business card, Nebraska only has three congressional seats. There is Omaha, there is Lincoln, and then there is all ADRIAN. He has got a big district, big district. He wins by big margins. They like him there.

Let me tell you what he did. He wanted to lower costs for seniors with chronic conditions that would require patients' exposure to supplemental benefit cost to be no more than that of the average Medicare Advantage plan for enrollees with chronic conditions. Well, that is reasonable. They voted it down.

Madam Speaker, I will give you one other idea, if you walk up to ADRIAN, don't tell him I told you to say this. Just talk about horses. He likes to talk about horses.

□ 0440

What else do we have here? My eyesight is going. Don't worry, I don't have that much. I just have to get to a certain time. There is a record. I am competitive. You know what is the hardest part of this? I can't tell you.

Now, this is by RON ESTES. Now, RON is another guy that I met before we ever came to Congress. You know, he was in the Young Republicans from Kansas, and his wife, Susan, oh, my God, fabulous. He comes from Wichita. I am going to be there next week. So I don't know if you're listening but come on down and see me.

So RON, before he got here, he was State-wide elected. He is really focused. He is a treasure. This guy knows how to do stuff.

Keep our promise to seniors. Now, who could be opposed to that?

That would prevent cuts to benefits for seniors should the Medicare Trust Fund run out.

Whoa. Are you telling me the Democrats voted to cut benefits to seniors if the Medicare Trust Fund runs out? Whoa, I don't think they knew what they were voting on.

Look, I don't know what is going to happen, but I bet you that is going to be a mailer.

An amendment by DAVID SCHWEIKERT. This guy is smart. Smart. Always thinking. Oh, my gosh. Madam Speaker, I don't mean to keep bothering you, but this one is good. DAVID SCHWEIKERT is one of those individuals that God touched. He was adopted. He has the most beautiful daughter, Olivia. And do you know who her favorite Congressman is? Me. I am not teasing. You come to my office; you'll see the picture. If you see her on the floor, she will run up to me. I have never seen a child like this laugh. Have you spent any time with Olivia? My God. Sweetest thing. And when she comes here, she comes to my office. She sits on the couch.

Now, I am going to be in Arizona, too, in another week, and I hope I get to see Olivia. But DAVID SCHWEIKERT, this is an idea guy. He was just in my office tonight. He walked in, and he says, I have another idea for you. But he is fabulous. He has all these ideas. That is what this body should be about.

Now, this one he says, true priorities. It would invest in cures, development, and research at the National Institutes of Health.

Whoa, that sounds pretty good, right? Think about the pandemic. Think about what we have been going through.

Now, what is it going to invest in? Diabetes, minority health, and health disparities, maternal mortality, and postpartum care. This is DAVID SCHWEIKERT. Does not seem self-serving there. Do you know what else? Cancer and Alzheimer's and other diseases affecting the brain. Do you know, if we cured cancer and Alzheimer's, we would do a lot for people's lives? It would also do a lot for the budget.

You know, DAVID SCHWEIKERT and I, he is in Arizona and I am in California. You have a little of this, too, in your district, and if you want to join us, you can.

We have a Valley Fever Caucus. Now, Valley fever is an orphan disease. And the hard part is people don't know when they get it, they think they just have the flu, but it comes from the spores of the Earth and the dirt, right? And two-thirds of all of it is in DAVID's and my district. And we got together, and we were thinking, and we created a symposium. And do you know, the director of NIH, the director of CDC came to the district, and we had a townhall meeting. And here are some of the brightest minds. And I said, whoa, we didn't know it was this big. Afterwards they invested \$7 million to see how best to treat it, because an orphan disease, they really don't want to work with, and DAVID and I have worked really hard on this. And it is not just people who get it, animals get it. And so there is a vaccine that is being tested for dogs right now. But it can kill you.

And what happens is you could be driving through our district, a spore could come through the air conditioner and go inside, you never know, you go

back to New York, and the doctor would never know to look for it because they don't know. So we have got to bring awareness to it. And DAVID works hard on that. He really does.

Okay. TOM REED. I remember TOM. Have you guys ever met TOM? He is going to retire after the end of this term, but he came in from New York, came in the majority, serves on Ways and Means, really good man.

He has a son and a daughter. His son has some health issues. His son, when he was young, would come down to the gym and we would play ping-pong. His wife, she is fabulous.

Now, TOM has no tax shelters for Ivy League elites. That is right up your alley, right? That is right up your alley. Let's make sure this bill is not going to help Ivy League elites.

Now, I know you made a mistake, and you are helping those \$500,000 people and those 800,000, but this time you have a chance to correct it. Now, this would strike out the carveout for the college endowment anti-abuse tax.

The change proposed in the Democrat bill would carve the highest cost schools that inflate tuition and aid amounts back out of the endowment tax. That is dirty. That is not right.

It was enacted by the Republican-led Tax Cuts and Jobs Act to ensure that endowments were being used to fund their charitable purposes of educating students, not simply as tax shelters for donors, pet projects, and vanity buildings. Now, how many of us—these Ivy Leagues, do you know how much money they have in their endowments? We are talking billions.

The first moment I found out that I was going to have a son, I don't have wealth, but I believe what Einstein told me: There is only one miracle in this world, the compounding of interest. I don't think I was making more than \$35,000 a year. I started taking \$50 every time, and I bought this mutual fund. And by the time Connor could make it to college—I wanted him to go to any college he could get into. Smart kid. Good kid. Proud of him. He and Meghan, God blessed us tremendously. I tried to talk him out of going to Georgetown. I said, Why do you want to go there? Why don't you go to a California school? I have enough money saved up. We were able to scrounge and put together—and we were fortunate his grandmother gave him some money one time. We had about \$150,000. And this was important to us because we had to pay our own way through college. I wanted something better for my son and daughter.

So we went and we toured all these campuses. But I remember when we walked through Georgetown, he said this is where he was meant to be. So I said, okay. And do you know it was a great decision. I believe you end up at the college you are supposed to be. It is tough. It is tough on parents. It is tough on students. You get rejected or something else. That wasn't enough money. I am still paying on a \$90,000

loan. He is a smart kid. He got scholarships. He got help. Every year it went up higher. Every year.

So if these Ivy Leagues are telling their donors they are going to help the kids who can't afford it, we are going to be the great equalizer. We are going to allow people who have never been to the Ivy League not to be stopped by their brain but the dollar.

□ 0450

But now, we find out they're not using it for that. They use it for tax shelters, for pet projects, for vanity buildings.

Madam Speaker, I don't know, but is there somebody lobbying for these people? Because that would be wrong. That would be wrong.

Madam Speaker, I am going to chock this up that you guys didn't even know this was in here. I can't believe you would vote against that. Now if you want, now that I have explained it, it only takes five to say, Whoa, whoa. We could still go to Puerto Rico. Let's just add this in. It is okay.

Don't worry, TOM is retiring. He is not going to use it for campaigns. He is just using it because it is good policy. I am giving Committee on Ways and Means a lot of attention. I need to—let's see.

All right. This is a good one. I am going to give ADRIAN another one:

Cancer cures instead of SALT tax shelters for millionaires.

Whoa, I bet you this is what JARED was talking about. You see, JARED doesn't even serve on the Committee on Ways and Means. Did you tell him about this?

Now, this would make permanent the SALT deduction cap for millionaires. Because I remember, I listened. I listened closely. That this bill was going to help those under \$400,000. Now, don't take my words.

Madam Speaker, surely you know JARED GOLDEN. He is in your conference. Have you talked to him today? He has been reading the bill. He is pretty concerned about it. He literally was shocked. He makes a quote, and I may not get it right, so don't hold me to it, but he said, If you would have told me a year ago that the second most amount of money in this thing was going to go to millionaires, I would have said you guys were Republicans.

No, no, no, no. You are a one-party rule in 1 year. I can't believe it. They rejected it. We will bring it up next year, ADRIAN.

All right. Hold on. I got to thank staff for putting this all together. Not bad.

Oh, here is a good one. JOHN CURTIS, what a nice man.

Madam Speaker, if you meet JOHN CURTIS, he is a former mayor, transformed his city. He will bring you a pair of socks. He is literally one of the nicest men you would ever meet; he is from Utah. He works across the aisle; he cares about so much stuff. He is on the Committee on Energy and Com-

merce, great committee, important committee.

Now, this amendment that would prevent millionaires—and there is that word again, millionaires, I think they are sneaking into your bill—prevent millionaires from receiving taxpayer dollars to replace their plumbing. Holy moly.

Now, I don't know if you met MARKWAYNE back here, but this guy is a plumber; a pretty good one. Madam Speaker, if you ask MARKWAYNE—I got to highlight him for a second. He is an amazing guy. I don't know if they opened the gym back up, but we do a bipartisan workout. He is a former cage fighter. He teaches me boxing at night.

I want to brag on myself. Is it okay if I brag on myself?

So we were boxing. The rule was you can't hit me in the face, and I could try to hit him anywhere. The boxing match had to stop. You know why? His nose was bleeding. Not bad, right? He scratched it on my glove. But think about this, on a very serious note, I will give 100 bucks to anybody in Congress that can tell me they knew millionaires were going to get money for their plumbing. That is outrageous. Well, they need plumbing, too, I guess. I didn't finish about MARKWAYNE.

You know, I met MARKWAYNE when he first came in. And on his very first day, he missed his first vote. I had to call him back to come in. And Christie, his wife, oh, she is a saint. Now this has been written about in a lot of magazines. What magazine, MARKWAYNE? Women's Health? What was it? The story of your daughters. Well, I know it better than he does.

So I met him, he has these two wonderful boys, when he first came here—and a daughter. And, oh, my gosh, if you see the two twins. You see, these two twins were related to him but they weren't his. And they were being raised by separate grandparents. And here is MARKWAYNE coming to D.C., Christie is back there working on everything. And she kept asking MARKWAYNE, Let's adopt these two. MARKWAYNE said, Oh, that is hard, that is hard.

You know what Christie did? She came to him one day and she didn't ask that. She just said, MARKWAYNE, I want you to pray about it. MARKWAYNE looks at me—I am still the before guy; he is the after. We were working out late one night—if you wonder how that mirror in the gym got broke, we dropped a weight one night.

But what am I going to say? Dear God, make me selfish? Those two little girls, sometimes you will sit here and they jump into your heart, just there. But that wasn't the only thing. You see, MARKWAYNE is a good wrestler, too. His boys, Jim, oh, my gosh.

And I got to spend a lot of time with Jim and MARKWAYNE because Jim had an accident in wrestling that could have killed him. Took the oxygen out from his brain. And you know what? One week, I think he was in Kansas. I

just happened to call him that morning to check on him. I said, MARKWAYNE, it just so happens the best brain rehabilitation center happens to be in Bakersfield, California. It was almost like it was just on my heart.

He got in that camper and he drove all the way to California. And I am not telling personal stories. They put this out and it has been in magazines. But I am just so proud of Jim. When Jim first got there, this is an elite athlete. This kid was only a freshman or sophomore but colleges were looking at him. And he couldn't touch his toes. He couldn't remember anything he read. You would never know it today.

And I remember the first time he was reading a Bible verse and he could remember. Well, Jim had some other friends who wrestled, too. And this guy, he is a year younger than Jim. I don't know why things happen, but his father got sick; his father died. It is MARKWAYNE and Christie, with a good number of kids, didn't bat an eye and brought them right back into the family.

Madam Speaker, these are the people we work with. These are the people sometimes that the press tries to demonize without ever telling the true story behind something or the passion of why.

If he gets a phone call from a woman with young kids stuck in Afghanistan that he would risk his own life, but his own country attacked him for it. He has a giving heart. He really does. He really, really does.

All right. Who didn't I—there has got to be somebody. Who has been sitting the whole time that didn't get one read?

□ 0500

Let's do GREG PENCE. He is not here, is he? He needs his sleep. GREG is a very good guy. His wife is hilarious. His kids are great. He is on the Energy and Commerce Committee. He offered an amendment that would ensure policies in this bill would not lead to job losses or transition to lower paying jobs. Who could be opposed to that? The majority.

GARY PALMER. Nobody works harder. He is the head of our policy. I don't know if you know the background for GARY. He played for Alabama football, Bear Bryant. Pretty impressive. He ran think tanks for years, so it is ideal to be a Member of Congress. His whole life is trying to find solutions.

His amendment that he offered would require funds to be used on domestically produced critical minerals. Whoa. This guy is thinking in the future, is he not?

This bill is going to empower China, but he is now thinking about the children's children so we could have the critical minerals.

Madam Speaker, I would actually like to work with any Democrat that wants to work on critical minerals. I think it is very important, really important.

DEBBIE LESKO. If you spend some time with DEBBIE, take her to dinner. I am not going to share it here, but just have her tell you her story of growing up. There is no stronger woman than DEBBIE LESKO.

Her amendment would prohibit funds from going to entities tied to the Chinese Communist Party. Come on. Seriously? I am serious. This is an amendment that was rejected. I should have started with this one from the very beginning. That has to get five votes to say “no.” It has just got to.

Seriously, if you vote for this bill, there is nothing that prohibits it for the Chinese Communist Party. Let me tell you this. When you spend \$5 trillion, that party is going to be celebrating. Unbelievable. Unbelievable.

I want to apologize to the staff. You do a great job. I owe you another dinner. We might make her pay if I win the bet. You are working late. You didn't count on this. Personally, I didn't think I could go this long.

Madam Speaker, my 1 minute is almost up. Madam Speaker and Parliamentarian, is there any way that you can verify—I guess you can't say that because that would be past a minute. How far over? I can still tell some family stories.

No. I will not yield. I am not trying to be rude. You are trying to trick me. I watched “Mr. Smith Goes to Washington.” I just need the Boy Scouts. It is important.

I am a competitive guy. I am a competitive guy.

Madam Speaker, this 1 minute feels almost like 8 hours now. I want to thank my colleagues for standing with me, for standing with their constituents, as we do everything in our power to stop this bill.

I hope the American public learned a little more. I hope my colleagues did, too. While it has been a long night for many of us who have been on this floor, my Democratic colleagues chose to handle this debate differently.

There have been good moments and bad. I just never thought power would go so far as to tell another Member where they can look. Maybe he was having a bad night.

I want to thank my colleagues on the other side for being here. I have enjoyed your company. I probably owe you dinner, too. Will you get in trouble if you have dinner with me? We don't have to tell people. You can pick the restaurant.

Democrats were so unnerved with the truth behind this bill they booed, they yelled, they heckled, they even mocked me. Quite honestly, it was shameful behavior. It was shameful. I am not sure, but if it was on the other side, they probably would have lost their committees.

Not long after that, Speaker PELOSI heard enough of how this bill will hurt hardworking Americans. She came to this floor and directed her Members to leave. Why are we afraid of debate? Why are we afraid to learn? I imagine there are Members—they are not on all the same committees. They didn't know they were funding the Communist Party. They didn't know they were paying for millionaires' plumbing. They may change their votes.

Maybe that is why the CBO says it costs so much. Could you only imagine some senior paying a lot for their heating, but choosing not to, and some millionaire getting their plumbing paid for. It just doesn't seem fair to me. It just doesn't seem fair.

She decided it wasn't worth their time to hear how their fellow Americans would be affected by this bill. That is exactly what the Democrats don't understand. It is not about them. It is about you, the American people.

This is the longest 1 minute I have ever given. It is the longest 1 minute ever given in this body. There is a reason why. This is a tipping point. This is a point of not coming back from. The American people have spoken, but unfortunately, Madam Speaker, the Democrats have not listened.

I tried to stick to the facts. I did not yell back when someone told me I couldn't look at them or when they heckled me. I simply asked the Speaker that the House was not in order. I don't know if he set a record this night, but I imagine it came close, to try to get the House in order.

There have been times in people's lives when they act emotionally, when they don't want to hear the truth coming at them. I don't know if that is the reason why they acted the way they did; it could be.

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I don't believe there is ill will. I won't bring a censure. I am not sure if they will be back here next time.

Madam Speaker, this evening showed that no matter the time, the day, or the circumstances, House Republicans

will always fight for you, fight for your family, and fight our country.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Ms. JACOBS of California). Pursuant to clause 1(c) of rule XIX, further consideration of H.R. 5376 is postponed.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

Cheryl L. Johnson, 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:

H.R. 5142. An act to award posthumously a Congressional Gold Medal, in commemoration to the servicemembers who perished in Afghanistan on August 26, 2021, during the evacuation of citizens of the United States and Afghan allies at Hamid Karzai International Airport, and for other purposes.

SENATE ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The Speaker announced her signature to enrolled bills of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 796.—An Act to codify maternity care coordination programs at the Department of Veterans Affairs, and for other purposes.

S. 894.—An Act to identify and refer members of the Armed Forces with a health care occupation who are separating from the Armed Forces for potential employment with the Department of Veterans Affairs, and for other purposes.

S. 1031.—An Act to require the Comptroller General of the United States to conduct a study on disparities associated with race and ethnicity with respect to certain benefits administered by the Secretary of Veterans Affairs, and for other purposes.

S. 1095.—An Act to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide for the disapproval by the Secretary of Veterans Affairs of courses of education offered by public institutions of higher learning that do not charge veterans the in-State tuition rate for purposes of Survivors' and Dependents' Educational Assistance Program, and for other purposes.

ADJOURNMENT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to section 11(b) of House Resolution 188, the House stands adjourned until 8 a.m. today.

Thereupon (at 5 o'clock and 11 minutes a.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until today, Friday, November 19, 2021, at 8 a.m.