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No. 200

## House of Representatives

The House met at noon and was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Ms. Foxx).

### DESIGNATION OF SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

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

WASHINGTON, DC,  
December 1, 2025.

I hereby appoint the Honorable VIRGINIA FOXX to act as Speaker pro tempore on this day.

MIKE JOHNSON,  
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

### MORNING-HOUR DEBATE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the order of the House of January 3, 2025, the Chair will now recognize Members from lists submitted by the majority and minority leaders for morning-hour debate.

The Chair will alternate recognition between the parties, with time equally allocated between the parties and each Member other than the majority and minority leaders and the minority whip limited to 5 minutes, but in no event shall debate continue beyond 1:50 p.m.

### NURSING EXCLUDED AS "PROFESSIONAL" DEGREE BY DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

(Mr. COURTNEY of Connecticut was recognized to address the House for 5 minutes.)

Mr. COURTNEY. Madam Speaker, as this headline from Newsweek magazine reports, a few weeks ago, the U.S. Department of Education issued probably the most out-of-touch, offensive new rule in the history of the Department, excluding nursing from its definition of "professional occupations," part of its new graduate student loan program,

which was created by the one big, ugly bill.

For the 4.7 million actively registered nurses and the 250,000 students enrolled in bachelor's, master's, and doctoral nursing programs across the United States, this decree that they are not professionals is both a disgraceful insult that shocks the conscience and an order which will condemn America's nurses into second-class status for Federal graduate student loan assistance.

Madam Speaker, this legal demotion is happening at a time when our country is experiencing a nursing shortage. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that we have 195,000 unfilled nursing positions in this country. The Department of Health and Human Services goes even higher. It says that it is 280,000. McKinsey & Company, a respected think tank, predicts that the shortage will grow to 400,000 by the end of this decade.

Madam Speaker, Members of this House don't really need to spend much time reading these reports to know that that shortage is real. Just go to any hospital, nursing home, or health clinic in your district, and you will hear the same thing: they are short-staffed in ERs, exam rooms, operating rooms, and on the floors. Short-staffing is bad for patients, and it is bad for nursing burnout.

Despite this blindingly obvious reality, the Education Department's designation is putting a hard cap of \$100,000, with no indexing, on graduate student loans for nurses, all part of the One Big Beautiful Bill Act, which my Republican colleagues passed in June. It is a healthcare monstrosity, which cut \$1 trillion from Medicaid, cut out premium subsidies for 22 million Americans for their healthcare exchange plans, and now will suffocate the growth of our Nation's caring professions.

If you doubt my words, then maybe you will listen to the president of the

American Nursing Association, the largest nursing professional organization in America. Jennifer Mensik Kennedy, the president, states: "Nurses make up the largest segment of the healthcare workforce and [are] the backbone of our Nation's health system. At a time when healthcare in our country faces a historic nurse shortage and rising demands, limiting nurses' access to funding for graduate school threatens the very foundation of patient care."

Well said.

Madam Speaker, ANA is doing more. They have organized a petition drive because this rule goes into effect next July. As of the middle of last week, they had 180,000 signatures, and that will grow.

Madam Speaker, it definitely will grow in the coming days. Every Member of this House—and I will be one of them—should write to the Department of Education saying that this rule makes no sense in terms of the healthcare system today and, also, is an insult to the people who go through extensive training, testing, and certification before they are allowed to practice their caring profession.

While we are at it, we should also help the other professions which were excluded by the Department of Education: physician assistants, physical therapists, audiologists, speech-language pathologists, architects, accountants, advanced degree educators, social workers, dental hygienists, and occupational therapists.

This proposal by the Department of Education is madness, and Congress should actually do more than just support the regulatory process in terms of reversing these rules. We should also go back and revisit the One Big Beautiful Bill Act and recognize, again, what our healthcare sector is telling us: We are risking the financial solvency of institutions all across America, and, again, we are damaging our

□ 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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future in terms of getting young, motivated people to join the healthcare professions.

#### HONORING THE LIFE AND LEGACY OF SARAH BECKSTROM

(Mr. JOYCE of Pennsylvania was recognized to address the House for 5 minutes.)

Mr. JOYCE of Pennsylvania. Madam Speaker, I rise today to honor the life and the legacy of U.S. Army Specialist Sarah Beckstrom, a 20-year-old from West Virginia, who was killed while defending Washington, D.C., during an assignment with the National Guard.

In Sarah's 2 years of service, she was distinguished, admirable, and a highly respected individual. Her assassination is nothing more than despicable.

The National Guard in Washington has aided immensely in cracking down on crime. Yet, they have been vilified with dangerous rhetoric. The devastation continues to arise.

On the day before Thanksgiving, America lost one of the best of us. May God watch over Sarah Beckstrom. May God comfort her loved ones and guide our Nation through this heartbreaking time. May we always recognize Sarah as an American hero, and may her sacrifice continue to uphold her legacy.

Please continue to lift Andrew Wolfe, the critically injured National Guardsman, in your prayers, and pray that God guides him and his family through these challenging times.

#### REGULATORY RELIEF ON COKE OVEN FACILITIES

Mr. JOYCE of Pennsylvania. Madam Speaker, last week, President Trump signed a proclamation providing 2 years of regulatory relief from the Biden-era restraints on coke oven facilities.

These facilities are essential to America's steelmaking capacity, a vital component of Pennsylvania's economic prosperity. Many companies in Pennsylvania's 13th Congressional District, including JLG Industries; Volvo Construction Equipment; Manitowoc Company; and defense firms such as Lockheed Martin, Leonardo DRS, Kongsberg Defense Corporation, and JWF Defense Systems, all depend on a stable and efficient U.S. steel supply.

This proclamation by President Trump recognizes the need for a robust domestic steel supply supported by U.S. coke oven facilities across our Nation. By balancing environmental standards with economic growth, Congress must support President Trump's efforts to strengthen America's economic resilience and our national security.

#### HONORING SHIPPENSBURG UNIVERSITY FIELD HOCKEY TEAM

Mr. JOYCE of Pennsylvania. Madam Speaker, I rise today to honor the Shippensburg University field hockey team for winning the NCAA Division II championship.

Overall, this year's title is the seventh national championship for

Shippensburg field hockey. In her first season as head coach at Shippensburg, Rayell Wallace led the Raiders to a record of 20-3. She led them to the Pennsylvania State Athletic Conference championship and the NCAA Division II championship.

Kelly Naude's goal in overtime propelled Shippensburg to a victory in that title game. Kelly's post-game comments reflect the team-oriented spirit: "Almost every single goal that our team has scored this year has been a team goal. Yes, there is one individual person who does touch the ball last and it goes in the goal. But every goal has been a team effort, and we do it for the team."

On behalf of everyone in Pennsylvania's 13th Congressional District, I congratulate Shippensburg's players and coaches for expanding upon a legacy of success.

#### HONORING MAYOR DEBORAH BARGO

Mr. JOYCE of Pennsylvania. Madam Speaker, I rise today to honor Mayor Deborah Bargo of Lewistown, Pennsylvania, for her dedicated public service as the mayor of Lewistown since 2007.

Beyond her leadership roles in borough government, Mayor Bargo has served as a member of the board of directors and the board of trustees for the Pennsylvania State Association of Boroughs.

A lifelong resident of Lewistown, Mayor Bargo is widely respected for her active engagement throughout the community. Very impressively, Mayor Bargo has proudly officiated at over 700 wedding ceremonies.

On behalf of everyone in the 13th Congressional District, I express my personal gratitude to Mayor Bargo for her distinguished legacy and her commitment to the service of community.

#### RECOGNIZING BISHOP MICHELLE C. THOMAS

(Mr. SUBRAMANYAM of Virginia was recognized to address the House for 5 minutes.)

Mr. SUBRAMANYAM. Madam Speaker, I rise today to recognize and congratulate the newly consecrated bishop, Michelle C. Thomas, a community leader in northern Virginia.

In 2006, Bishop Thomas became the first African-American female pastor to establish a church in our county, Loudoun County, Virginia. She has delivered invocations for numerous dignitaries and heads of state. Now, she is the first female bishop in the history of Loudoun County.

Perhaps the most remarkable accolade is reflected in the lives that she has changed. Faced with her own nightmare in the loss of her son, Fitz, Bishop Thomas went on to inspire countless others, serving as an active role model and advocate for her son's friends and community.

Her work continues to uplift those around her, and I congratulate Bishop Michelle C. Thomas on officially being consecrated to the office of bishop.

#### HONORING THE LIFE AND LEGACY OF JOHN HOWARD EISENHOUR

Mr. SUBRAMANYAM. Madam Speaker, I rise today to honor the life of John Howard Eisenhower, a devoted public servant, veteran, and proud Virginian who, unfortunately, passed away on November 10.

John lived a life rooted in service and civic responsibility. He served our Nation as a tank commander in the United States Army at Fort Hood and went on to a distinguished career in Federal service. John held key roles at the Office of Management and Budget, the Department of Defense, the American Embassy in Thailand, and the National War College. Even after retirement, he continued to lend his expertise as a consultant to the Federal Government.

Locally, John was active in civic life for many years, giving his time and energy to local Democratic politics and community service. John's legacy lives in all of the lives and communities that he touched.

My heart goes out to his family, and may he rest in peace.

#### CORRUPTION AND CONTROVERSY AT FANNIE MAE

Mr. SUBRAMANYAM. Madam Speaker, for decades, Fannie Mae has played a critical role in supporting home buyers and renters and has employed many of my constituents.

Madam Speaker, under this administration, it has taken a turn toward corruption and controversy. This year, Fannie Mae's ethics watchdogs have been fired.

A senior Fannie Mae executive shared confidential mortgage pricing data with a competitor at the direction of Bill Pulte, the Director of the Federal Housing Finance Agency. In his brief tenure, Director Pulte has weaponized his office to target Democrats with allegations of mortgage fraud.

Earlier this year, Fannie Mae has terminated hundreds of my constituents, as well, over charitable donations, without any due process to them. Months later, Fannie Mae has still not answered my letters or provided these employees with any meaningful explanation for their dismissal.

Instead of confronting the housing affordability crisis, Fannie Mae has turned to advancing the political interests of this administration, turned against the people who worked for them and served them for so many years, and turned against the American people.

#### GOOD AND BAD NEWS FOR SOCIAL SECURITY

Mr. SUBRAMANYAM. Madam Speaker, we had some good news this week.

One of my constituents was finally able to get an in-person appointment to receive at least an interview about her Social Security benefits. You would think that we would be delighted that appointment is going to happen in a couple of days, but this is also bad news because she had actually reached out to our office in February and is

now getting an appointment in January.

That is 11 months since she reached out to our office. She was probably trying to reach out to the Social Security office much longer. After repeated requests from our office, we didn't really hear back until finally getting her that appointment on December 3.

This is because there have been cuts to the staff in that particular office of Social Security. Sixty percent of the staff at that particular office have been cut. This is a huge issue in our community right now.

Social Security offices across the country are seeing that more people are now being forced to come in person to do these appointments and interviews, yet there are fewer appointments that are able to be had for them.

This is a huge concern, and we have to address it. Right now, this administration is going the wrong way when it comes to administering Social Security benefits.

□ 1215

#### RECOGNIZING VALENCIA ABBOTT

(Ms. FOXX of North Carolina was recognized to address the House for 5 minutes.)

Ms. FOXX. Mr. Speaker, I rise to recognize Valencia Abbott, of Rockingham Early College High School, who was recently named the 2025 National History Teacher of the Year.

This is a monumental accomplishment and one that speaks volumes to Ms. Abbott's passion for education and her dedication to the students she serves.

Not only is Ms. Abbott the 2025 National History Teacher of the Year, but she is also the 2025 North Carolina History Teacher of the Year.

Mr. Speaker, it is clear to me and to countless others that Ms. Abbott represents the best that Rockingham County Schools and North Carolina have to offer.

Mr. Speaker, I congratulate Ms. Abbott on her well-deserved recognition, and I thank her for her continued dedication to educating Rockingham County's future leaders.

#### RECOGNIZING VANCE DALTON UPON HIS RETIREMENT

Ms. FOXX. Mr. Speaker, I rise to recognize Vance Dalton, who recently retired from AgSouth Farm Credit after three decades of unwavering, passionate service.

I have been very fortunate to call Vance a friend for many years. He is a salt-of-the-earth person who is loyal, caring, and pleasant to everyone he meets. He has a deep faith that stands him in good stead.

During his time at Farm Credit, he built long-lasting friendships and relationships with the people Farm Credit is proud to serve, and he created long-lasting value every step of the way.

Mr. Speaker, everyone who is fortunate enough to have worked alongside

Vance, to know him, or to even call him a friend agrees with this sentiment.

Mr. Speaker, I congratulate Vance on a well-earned retirement. May God continue to bless him and his family as he enters a new and exciting chapter in his life.

#### RECOGNIZING SCOTTIE COOK

Ms. FOXX. Mr. Speaker, I rise to recognize Mr. Scottie Cook, a career and technical education teacher in the Alexander County School System.

In September, Mr. Cook was recognized as a winner of the Harbor Freight Tools for Schools Prize for teaching excellence. Mr. Cook was 1 of only 25 winners throughout the entire Nation and the only teacher in North Carolina to receive the award in 2025, a remarkable accomplishment, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Cook's passion and service with a career in technical education have left an indelible mark on the lives of his students. There is no question about it.

Mr. Speaker, I congratulate Mr. Cook on this well-deserved recognition.

#### RECOGNIZING STAN LAFURIA

(Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania was recognized to address the House for 5 minutes.)

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Madam Speaker, I rise today to recognize Stan LaFuria as he retires from Moshannon Valley Economic Development Partnership.

For 43 years, Stan has dedicated his career to championing community and economic development throughout Pennsylvania's 15th Congressional District.

After receiving a master's degree in public administration from Penn State in the summer of 1982, Stan began his career in Titusville, Pennsylvania, where he worked as the assistant director of the administration of the Titusville Redevelopment Authority.

For 5 years, he was responsible for creating and managing multimillion-dollar neighborhood revitalization and housing rehabilitation programs, as well as recreation improvement projects.

In 1988, Stan took a position as the assistant director of the Economic Development Corporation of Erie County, where he assisted in the management of three industrial parks, a new incubator facility, and a revolving loan fund program.

In 1990, Stan was named the executive director of the Moshannon Valley Economic Development Partnership, a role he has held ever since.

For 35 years, Stan has been a driving force behind major economic initiatives to enhance the communities and economy of the Moshannon Valley and Philipsburg region.

Under Stan's leadership, the Moshannon Valley Economic Development Partnership has developed two business parks, two multitenant buildings, a revolving loan fund program, \$2.9 million in housing rehabilitation

programs, and the Philipsburg Main Street Program.

In 1997, the organization was named Agency of the Year by the Pennsylvania Economic Development Association, in recognition of its outstanding accomplishments for the region.

Madam Speaker, Stan's commitment and leadership have shaped Moshannon Valley for the better, and his legacy will be felt for generations.

Madam Speaker, I wish Stan the best as he enters retirement and starts this new chapter of life.

#### RECESS

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

Accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 21 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess.

□ 1400

#### AFTER RECESS

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

#### PRAYER

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

God of hope, fill us this day with all joy and peace. Lift our minds out of the current disquiet and renew our hearts in the belief that our desires and our contentment are to be found in You and not in anything we devise or which the world designs.

By the power of Your Holy Spirit, may we discover the strength available to us when we hope in You.

In You, our creator, we find our source, the wellspring of all that is good and right. May we establish all of our decisions, intentions, and pursuits on Your firm foundation.

In You, our redeemer, we find our salvation, the one who delivers us from our trials and inspires us in our weakness. May we trust that You will bring forth the best outcomes from our worst attempts.

In You, our sustainer, we find our strength and purpose, the power that upholds and guides us to serve as instruments of Your will. May we abound in the hope You provide.

In serving You in these days, in these times, may all that we are and all that we do reveal the joy and peace found only in You.

We pray in the name of the one who is our joy, our peace, and the source of our hope.

Amen.

#### THE JOURNAL

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

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

#### PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

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

Mr. CISNEROS led the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

#### RECOGNIZING NATIONAL FAMILY CAREGIVER MONTH

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

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, last month was National Family Caregiver Month. Every day, more than 48 million family caregivers provide essential care to loved ones who are aging, ill, or disabled.

As a former healthcare professional, I have seen these caregivers often go above and beyond for their families, sacrificing their own time, energy, and well-being to ensure that those they care for receive the support and love that they need.

Family caregivers are often the unsung heroes in our communities. Many balance caregiving with full-time jobs, raising children, and managing their own health.

They deserve our support and recognition, which is why I am proud to support legislation like the Lowering Costs for Caregivers Act to help ensure these caregivers have the financial resources to continue providing care for their loved ones.

Mr. Speaker, let this month be a reminder of our shared responsibility to support these caregivers who give so much to others. By showing our appreciation and lending a hand where we can, we honor the work that they do every day.

#### TRUMP WINNING FOR FAMILIES

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

Mr. WILSON of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, as we return from Thanksgiving with families and friends, I am grateful that, under the leadership of President Donald Trump, America is beating inflation, leading to lower costs, higher pay, and job creation.

The cost of Thanksgiving dinner itself decreased by 5 percent, with 16 percent less for turkey.

Additionally, the One Big Beautiful Bill Act is working for American families. Inflation has dropped almost in half. Gas prices are at the lowest level in 4 years. American families are saving up to \$2,100. America has attracted

nearly \$20 trillion in foreign investments—promises made, promises kept.

In conclusion, God bless our troops as the global war on terrorism continues. Trump is reinstating peace through strength, revealing war criminal Putin lies, insulting Trump and mocking Trump as Putin mass murders civilians across Ukraine.

As a 31-year National Guard veteran myself with three National Guard sons, our sympathy to the family of Specialist Sarah Beckstrom and prayers for Staff Sergeant Andrew Wolfe. Both are American heroes standing for liberty and freedom in our own country.

#### RECOGNIZING KORSON'S TREE FARMS

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

Mr. MOOLENAAR. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize Korson's Tree Farms in Michigan's Montcalm County for being selected to provide the 2025 White House Christmas tree.

Under the leadership of Rex and Jessica Korson, Korson's earned this honor by winning the National Christmas Tree Association's grand champion title, a recognition that reflects years of dedication, family tradition, and the highest standards of Michigan agriculture.

To commemorate this accomplishment, this afternoon, I am introducing a resolution congratulating Korson's Tree Farms.

It has been 41 years since a Michigan-grown Christmas tree was displayed in the White House, and bringing this tradition back highlights the strength and quality of Michigan's growers.

Korson's has been recognized before, winning Michigan's Grand Champion Tree contest and even providing a tree for the Vice President's residence, but this selection marks the pinnacle of their work. Their family-run operation represents the excellence and tradition that define Michigan's growers and exemplifies the First Lady's Christmas theme: Home is where the heart is.

Mr. Speaker, I am grateful to honor this achievement and celebrate the role Michigan will play in bringing Christmas spirit to our Nation's Capital.

□ 1410

#### ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

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

The House will resume proceedings on postponed questions at a later time.

#### MADE IN AMERICA

##### MANUFACTURING FINANCE ACT

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 3174) to increase loan limits for loans made to small manufacturers, and for other purposes, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 3174

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

##### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

*This Act may be cited as the "Made in America Manufacturing Finance Act".*

##### SEC. 2. DEFINITIONS.

*Section 3 of the Small Business Act (15 U.S.C. 632) is amended by adding at the end the following:*

*"(gg) SMALL MANUFACTURER.—The term 'small manufacturer' means a small business concern—*

*"(1) the primary business of which is classified in sector 31, 32, or 33 of the North American Industrial Classification System; and*

*"(2) all of the production facilities of which are located in the United States.".*

##### SEC. 3. SMALL BUSINESS ACT LOAN LIMITS FOR SMALL MANUFACTURERS.

*Section 7(a) of the Small Business Act (15 U.S.C. 636(a)) is amended—*

*(1) in paragraph (3)—*

*(A) in subparagraph (A)—*

*(i) by inserting "except as provided in subparagraph (B)," before "if the total";*

*(ii) by striking "would exceed \$3,750,000" and inserting the following: "would exceed—*

*"(i) \$3,750,000";*

*(iii) in clause (i), as so designated, by striking "except as provided in subparagraph (B);" and inserting "; or"; and*

*(iv) by adding at the end the following:*

*"(ii) in the case of a borrower that is a small manufacturer, \$7,500,000 (or if the gross loan amount would exceed \$10,000,000);" and*

*(B) in subparagraph (B)—*

*(i) by striking "would exceed \$4,500,000" and inserting the following: "would exceed—*

*"(i) \$4,500,000";*

*(ii) in clause (i), as so designated, by striking "section 7(a)(14) for export purposes; and" and inserting "paragraph (14) for export purposes; or"; and*

*(iii) by adding at the end the following:*

*"(ii) in the case of a borrower that is a small manufacturer, \$9,000,000 (or if the gross loan amount would exceed \$10,000,000), of which not more than \$8,000,000 may be used for working capital, supplies, or financings under paragraph (14) for export purposes; and"; and*

*(2) in paragraph (14)(B)(i), by striking "than \$5,000,000." and inserting the following: "than—*

*"(I) except as provided in subclause (II), \$5,000,000; or*

*"(II) in the case of a loan made to a small manufacturer, \$10,000,000.".*

##### SEC. 4. SMALL BUSINESS INVESTMENT ACT OF 1958 LOAN LIMITS FOR SMALL MANUFACTURERS.

*Section 502(2)(A)(iii) of the Small Business Investment Act of 1958 (15 U.S.C. 696(2)(A)(iii)) is amended by striking "\$5,500,000" and inserting "\$10,000,000".*

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. WILLIAMS) and the gentleman from California (Mr. CISNEROS) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas.

##### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all

Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the bill.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of my bill, H.R. 3174, the Made in America Manufacturing Finance Act.

The ability to manufacture in the United States is vital to our country's economic and national security. However, for decades, America's policies have shipped good-paying manufacturing jobs overseas and opened the door for foreign adversaries to fill the void. We must reverse this trend which would require more than just luck.

That is why the Trump administration has been championing progrowth and pro-American policies that are fueling a domestic manufacturing comeback. Now, Congress can do its job to reverse the trend and support the revitalization of American manufacturing.

Small American manufacturers account for 98 percent of U.S. manufacturing companies. Like all small businesses, access to capital, or the appropriate amount of capital, is challenging. H.R. 3174 gives small American manufacturers access to capital at a level they need to start or grow their operations.

This legislation increases the loan limit for small American manufacturers under the SBA's 7(a) and 504 lending programs from \$5 million to \$10 million.

This will provide American manufacturing the capital they need to invest in new technology, hire, grow, and create onshore jobs that we have carelessly lost overseas.

H.R. 3174 is essential to keep pace with demand for capital and bring jobs back to the U.S. Two weeks ago, the Committee on Small Business heard testimony from the industry and other manufacturing stakeholders about the importance of this bill for small manufacturers across the country looking to grow and reshore their businesses.

It is often the case that when Congress passes a bill to support an industry, it will come at a cost to taxpayers. This is not the case with H.R. 3174 because the SBA's 7(a) and 504 loan programs operate under zero subsidy, meaning zero cost to the taxpayer. The Congressional Budget Office's review found that any costs would be insignificant in this area.

H.R. 3174 presents Congress with the critical opportunity to usher in the golden age of American manufacturing.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support H.R. 3174, to support made in America, small businesses, and the revitalization of the American manufacturing base.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I am grateful for the opportunity to speak as we take up a set of five bipartisan bills that will expand services available to our country's 36 million small businesses.

These businesses are crucial to our economy and national security, creating two-thirds of all new jobs, employing half the private-sector workforce, and generating almost half of our Nation's economic activity.

Despite forming the bedrock of our local communities, small businesses are increasingly feeling uncertain about the future of the country. The small business landscape is littered with obstacles like finding qualified workers, dealing with supply chain disruption as they adjust to the President's tariff regime, and adopting new technologies in order to stay competitive. These economic headwinds make SBA services more important than ever.

The bills before us today reflect the monthslong, bipartisan effort to strengthen the services offered by the SBA and bolster the support for small businesses across the country. These five bills were negotiated in good faith and in the spirit of collaboration.

Together, they help expand access to capital for businesses central to our national security, expand the reach of the SBA's Office of Rural Affairs, hold fraudsters accountable for exploiting the pandemic relief programs, and modernize the SBA's IT infrastructure.

These bills are quite simply common sense and would meaningfully improve SBA services for small businesses across the country. I am proud to support them, and I thank my colleagues for the bipartisan effort.

Mr. Speaker, turning to the first bill, I rise today for H.R. 3174, the Made in America Manufacturing Finance Act.

Small manufacturers account for more than 98 percent of U.S. manufacturing firms and employ 4.8 million Americans. They play a critical role in regional economies and in maintaining supply chain resilience.

There is no doubt that reshoring manufacturing is a top priority. We all lived through the pandemic and saw the downsides of streamlined just-in-time supply chains. When it comes to industries critical to our economic and national security, such as pharmaceuticals and weapons, ensuring the viability of domestic supply chains is paramount.

Let's all be honest, as a result of the crushing use of tariffs imposed unilaterally by the President, small businesses are clamoring for options in their supply chains that avoid massive and ever-changing taxes at points of entry, but a renewed economic focus on making things in the U.S. cannot happen at the snap of a finger.

It takes large investments and long-time horizons. This bill is a way to approach filling the gaps in manufacturing financing. It raises the loan limit

its for the SBA 7(a) and 504/CDC loan program from \$5 million to \$10 million for small manufacturers.

In fact, helping small firms with the upfront capital investment is one of the main goals of the 504/CDC program, and there is broad support for increasing the loan limits in particular. Whether this is a prudent use of the 7(a) program is a conversation that is still up for debate, and one I look forward to continuing to work through with our Senate counterparts.

Mr. Speaker, I support the bill, and I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support H.R. 3174 that supports American manufacturing, and I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. CISNEROS. Mr. Speaker, I will close by thanking the chairman for his commitment to working on behalf of small businesses to open up avenues of financing for small businesses hoping to contribute to the reshoring of manufacturing.

Mr. Speaker, I support this legislation, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this commonsense legislation, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Texas (Mr. WILLIAMS) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 3174, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### SBA IT MODERNIZATION REPORTING ACT

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 4491) to require the Administrator of the Small Business Administration to implement certain recommendations relating to information technology modernization, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 4491

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

#### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "SBA IT Modernization Reporting Act".

#### SEC. 2. IMPLEMENTATION OF RECOMMENDATIONS RELATING TO INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY MODERNIZATION FOR THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The Administrator of the Small Business Administration, acting through the Chief Information Officer of the Administration, shall take such actions as may be necessary to implement the recommendations contained in the report of the Comptroller General of the United States titled "IT MODERNIZATION: SBA Urgently

Needs to Address Risks on Newly Deployed System” (GAO-25-106963; published November 6, 2024).

(b) **IMPLEMENTATION PLAN.**—Not later than 180 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Administrator shall submit to the Committee on Small Business of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship of the Senate an implementation plan detailing the actions the Small Business Administration will undertake to establish and implement policies and procedures to govern information technology modernization projects of the Administration. Such policies and procedures shall, with respect to each project—

(1) for each risk identified, explicitly state the source of such risk in the relevant risk documentation;

(2) clearly define risk parameters;

(3) establish and maintain risk management strategies;

(4) identify and document risks for all phases of the life cycle;

(5) evaluate, categorize, and prioritize risks based on defined risk parameters and develop project risk management plans;

(6) connect measures to mitigate risk to risk mitigation plans;

(7) require that any information technology acquisition plan and any strategic plan contains information needed to manage cyber risks;

(8) require that a traceability analysis is performed and documented;

(9) require that security-related subject matter experts are involved in selection process for contractors for a project;

(10) develop master schedules using the guidelines contained in the publication of the Comptroller General titled “GAO Schedule Assessment Guide: Best Practices for Project Schedules” (GAO-16-89G; published December 22, 2015); and

(11) develop cost estimates using the guidelines contained in the publication of the Comptroller General titled “Cost Estimating and Assessment Guide: Best Practices for Developing and Managing Program Costs” (GAO-20-195G; published March 12, 2020).

(c) **ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENTS.**—The implementation plan required by this section shall include the actions required to carry out the requirements listed in paragraphs (1) through (11) of subsection (b), an identification of the office of the Administration responsible for implementation, and the timelines for completion of each action.

(d) **BRIEFING REQUIRED.**—Not later than 30 days after the submission of the implementation plan required under this section, the Administrator shall provide to the Committee on Small Business of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship of the Senate a briefing on the plan.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. WILLIAMS) and the gentleman from California (Mr. CISNEROS) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the bill.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of H.R. 4491, the SBA IT Modernization Reporting Act, introduced by Representative CISNEROS from the great State of California and Representative JACK from the great State of Georgia.

The SBA is charged with certifying small businesses to participate in certain government contract opportunities.

□ 1420

Last year, the Biden-Harris SBA sought to implement a new certification portal. Unfortunately, this portal’s lackluster planning, creation, and rollout left the SBA with a ticking time bomb.

The Biden administration’s failed Unified Certification Portal rollout resulted in delays, errors, and cybersecurity risks, shutting out small businesses from vital government contracting opportunities.

While this committee shared bipartisan concerns with the Biden-Harris SBA over its rollout plan, or lack thereof, former Administrator Guzman failed to listen, and the results were damaging. Small businesses were delayed for months, sometimes longer, to get approval from the SBA to compete for governmental contracts.

To make matters worse, the SBA allowed small businesses to use the new portal without conducting minimum cyber threat assessments. Entrepreneurs didn’t just face delays, but their sensitive personal and business information was put at risk of cybercrime.

The SBA IT Modernization Reporting Act ensures that this will not happen at the SBA again. This bill requires the SBA to implement the GAO’s recommendations to establish stronger safeguards and improve oversight of IT initiatives so small businesses can rely on an efficient contract certification system.

Small businesses should not be held back by government mismanagement. This bipartisan, commonsense bill restores accountability and helps Main Street focus on what it does best—innovate.

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

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

I rise today in support of my bill, the SBA IT Modernization Reporting Act, and I thank the chairman for his support. I also thank Representative JACK for joining me in introducing this bill, which will go a long way to help SBA modernize its IT infrastructure and improve its services to small businesses.

Billions of dollars in Federal contracts are awarded to small businesses every year, and the SBA plays a vital role in promoting small business participation; however, over the years the SBA’s outdated and inefficient IT sys-

tems have made it harder for entrepreneurs to access the resources they need.

After repeated unsuccessful attempts to develop and deploy a platform that would be a one-stop-shop for contracting certifications, the committee requested the GAO review the SBA’s efforts to figure out why they failed. The report identified the critical gaps in the SBA’s modernization efforts from risk management to cybersecurity and budgeting.

My bill directly addresses these issues by requiring the SBA administrator to implement the 11 recommendations in the GAO report, mandating a clear plan of action and ensuring Congress is kept in the loop. This means better oversight, better execution, and most importantly, better services by the SBA for all small businesses.

An efficient and fully operational IT platform is critical for the SBA to conduct the certifications that allow for so many small businesses to participate in the Federal marketplace. The SBA IT Modernization Reporting Act will ensure that the SBA addresses the root causes that lead IT projects to fall behind schedule, increasing costs, or outright fail.

I am grateful for the partnership of Representative JACK to introduce this commonsense, bipartisan legislation which shows that modernizing how the SBA works is not a partisan issue. Together, we can ensure that the SBA is prepared to meet the evolving needs of small businesses.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this bill to ensure we give the SBA the modern tools it needs to support the success of America’s small businesses.

Mr. Speaker, I close by once again thanking my colleague Representative JACK for partnering with me on this important legislation.

By bolstering SBA’s IT infrastructure, we can improve services to small businesses and open up doors to thousands of new entrants in the Federal marketplace. I encourage my colleagues to support this legislation, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this commonsense legislation to protect both the SBA and small businesses alike. I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Texas (Mr. WILLIAMS) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 4491.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### SBA FRAUD ENFORCEMENT EXTENSION ACT

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and



pass the bill (H.R. 4495) to extend the statute of limitations for fraud under certain pandemic programs, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.  
The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 4495

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

#### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the “SBA Fraud Enforcement Extension Act”.

#### SEC. 2. STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS FOR CERTAIN PROGRAMS.

(a) SHUTTERED VENUE OPERATORS.—Section 324 of division N of the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2021 (15 U.S.C. 9009a) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(g) STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, any criminal prosecution or civil enforcement action for a violation of, or conspiracy to violate, section 371, 641, 1001, 1028A, 1029, 1341, 1343, 1349, 1956, or 1957 of title 18, United States Code, or section 3729 or 3802 of title 31, United States Code, with respect to any grant for shuttered venue operators under this section shall be filed not later than 10 years after the date of the violation or conspiracy.”.

(b) RESTAURANT REVITALIZATION.—Section 5003 of the American Rescue Plan Act of 2021 (15 U.S.C. 9009c) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(d) STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, any criminal prosecution or civil enforcement action for a violation of, or conspiracy to violate, section 371, 641, 1001, 1028A, 1029, 1341, 1343, 1349, 1956, or 1957 of title 18, United States Code, or section 3729 or 3802 of title 31, United States Code, with respect to any restaurant revitalization grant under this section shall be filed not later than 10 years after the date of the violation or conspiracy.”.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. WILLIAMS) and the gentleman from California (Mr. CISNEROS) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the bill.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 4495, the SBA Fraud Enforcement Extension Act, a companion piece of legislation to S. 1199, introduced by Senator ERNST.

H.R. 4495 is bipartisan legislation introduced by the gentleman from Montana (Mr. DOWNING) and the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. CONAWAY).

For 4 years, the Biden administration's SBA failed to address over \$200 billion in COVID-19 era fraud. H.R. 4495 extends the soon-to-expire statute of

limitations for two pandemic-era relief programs: The Shuttered Venue Operators Grant and the Restaurant Revitalization Fund. The statute of limitations for these programs is set to expire this December.

These two programs combined provided over \$44 billion in grants and funding for small businesses during the pandemic. Unfortunately, fraudsters stole COVID relief funds from small businesses across the country. These fraudsters hope that the statute of limitations for their crimes will pass, allowing them to skirt justice.

As Congress, we cannot let this happen. American taxpayer dollars should be protected at all costs.

In the 117th Congress, we took similar action to extend the statute of limitations under the Paycheck Protection Program and the COVID EIDL program. Today, we have the chance to close this final loophole so that fraudsters do not get away with defrauding American taxpayers and entrepreneurs.

This legislation sends a clear message that the era of taking advantage of the American taxpayer is simply over.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support H.R. 4495, and I reserve the balance of my time.

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

I rise today in support of H.R. 4495, the SBA Fraud Enforcement Extension Act. This bill builds off the work done by Ranking Member VELÁZQUEZ in a previous Congress. That bill extended the statute of limitations for investigating fraud in the PPP and EIDL programs.

All of the major pandemic relief programs, including the Shuttered Venues Operators Grant Program and Restaurant Revitalization Fund, will have extended statutes of limitations from 5 years to 10 years because of this bill.

Passing this bill into law will send a strong message to fraudsters that their behavior will not be tolerated, and those who committed fraud will be held accountable in the years to come.

The pandemic upended regular SBA operations, and the agency executed 14 years of lending in 14 days to keep small businesses afloat. While these programs helped millions of small businesses, the implementation was not without its flaws.

As we now know, potential fraud could range from \$36 billion up to \$200 billion. While the exact number will never be known, we do know that the vast majority of that fraud came in the first 9 months under the first Trump administration.

Recognizing the potential for fraud, the Biden administration instituted strong upfront controls for RRF and SVOG. To date, the Office of the Inspector General's work has resulted in charges against 25 individuals, 14 criminal convictions, and more than \$61 million in recoveries.

Now, the OIG has 31 open RRF cases and 6 open SVOG cases. While modest

in number, these cases are complex, involving layered transactions, false documentation, and financial concealment. These cases will take time to investigate and prosecute, and we owe it to the experts doing the work to give them the tools they need.

Extending the statute of limitations is only part of the equation. We must provide full funding to the Office of the Inspector General so that they have the resources to root out the fraud. Moreover, we need to ensure proper staffing at the SBA to review the 1,892 active SVOG awards totaling over \$3.2 billion.

Mr. Speaker, with that said, this legislation is a step in the right direction. I commend Mr. DOWNING and Mr. CONAWAY for leading this effort. We need to make sure that no one gets away with fraud simply because the clock ran out.

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

□ 1430

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from the great State of Montana (Mr. DOWNING).

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, waste, fraud, and abuse fundamentally undermine the American people's trust in the government. When well-intentioned Federal programs are defrauded by criminal bad actors, taxpayer dollars are wasted, and funding for businesses and individuals in need of this vital support is squandered and stolen.

Over the course of the COVID pandemic, the Small Business Administration carried out an extensive effort, channeling funding to small businesses facing unprecedented economic challenges. In total, SBA provided over \$1.2 trillion in emergency loans and grants during this period.

While COVID-era SBA programs in many cases delivered much-needed emergency aid to small businesses, these programs were sometimes exploited by criminals seeking to defraud American taxpayers and illegally secure illegitimate loans and grants. According to a 2023 report from the SBA's Office of Inspector General, SBA distributed over \$200 billion in potentially fraudulent funds in its COVID-era programs.

This level of fraud undermines the integrity of the SBA. It is essential that we track these criminal fraudsters down and hold them accountable for their actions.

Two of these SBA COVID-era programs, the Restaurant Revitalization Fund and the Shuttered Venue Operators Grant, directed financial assistance toward small businesses that were disproportionately harmed by lockdown policies due to their reliance on confined gathering spaces.

The statute of limitations for prosecuting fraud within these programs is set to expire beginning early next year. If Congress does not act, law enforcement will not have the necessary time to investigate and prosecute these crimes.

Along with my colleague, Representative CONAWAY, I have introduced H.R. 4495, the SBA Fraud Enforcement Extension Act. This bill extends the statute of limitations from 5 years to 10 years for fraud with respect to SBA's Restaurant Revitalization Fund and the Shuttered Venue Operators Grant. This extension will provide critical time for law enforcement to track down criminals who have defrauded the U.S. Government and hold them accountable.

Small businesses across our country, including in my home district of central and eastern Montana, deserve an SBA that efficiently supports local job creators and isn't undercut by fraud.

Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague, Representative HERB CONAWAY, for co-leading this legislation.

The fraudulent spending of Federal taxpayer dollars undermines our trust in the government. It is essential that law enforcement is given the proper tools, time, and authority to punish those who subvert the integrity of the SBA programs and ensure that fraudsters face consequences for their actions.

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

Mr. CISNEROS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from the great State of New Jersey (Mr. CONAWAY).

Mr. CONAWAY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of H.R. 4495, the SBA Fraud Enforcement Extension Act. I am the co-lead on this legislation, along with my friend, colleague, and fellow Air Force veteran, Representative DOWNING.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, more than 30 million small businesses were negatively impacted. The Federal Government took action to ensure that an unprecedented amount of money flowed into small businesses in the form of grants and loans in order to help them stay afloat.

Over the course of 18 months, the SBA administered four major programs, which delivered 22.1 million loans and \$1.2 trillion in grants. Although these loans did provide much-needed relief to numerous small businesses throughout the United States, there were many who illegally obtained these loans.

The SBA issued a report titled: "Protecting the Integrity of the Pandemic Relief Programs." It states that there are estimates that \$36 billion of the \$1.2 trillion in pandemic relief emergency funds were obtained illegally.

H.R. 4495 would extend the civil and criminal statute of limitations for violations of, or conspiracy to violate, fraud related to the Shuttered Venue Operators Grant and the Restaurant Revitalization Fund.

To ensure small businesses can receive the benefits they deserve, it is important that the SBA is properly funded and staffed. I am concerned that the cut in the SBA's workforce by 43 percent will impede the SBA's ability

to recover the improper and illegally obtained payments.

Mr. Speaker, having said that, I urge all of my colleagues to support this very important legislation. I thank my colleague, Representative DOWNING, for allowing me to lead this important piece of legislation with him.

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

Mr. CISNEROS. Mr. Speaker, I will close by thanking Mr. CONAWAY, Mr. DOWNING, and Chairman WILLIAMS for their work on ensuring taxpayer funds are protected from fraudsters. This is a commonsense measure to rebuild public trust, and I encourage my colleagues to vote "yes."

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

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this commonsense legislation. We cannot let fraudsters get away with American taxpayer dollars.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Texas (Mr. WILLIAMS) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 4495.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### OFFICE OF RURAL AFFAIRS ENHANCEMENT ACT

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 4549) to amend the Small Business Act to clarify the responsibilities of the Office of Rural Affairs of the Small Business Administration, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 4549

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

#### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Office of Rural Affairs Enhancement Act".

#### SEC. 2. OFFICE OF RURAL AFFAIRS OF THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION.

Section 26 of the Small Business Act (15 U.S.C. 653) is amended—

(1) by amending subsection (b) to read as follows:

“(b) APPOINTMENT OF ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The Office shall be administered by an Assistant Administrator, who shall be an employee in the competitive service.

“(2) QUALIFICATIONS.—The Assistant Administrator shall—

“(A) have education or professional experience with, or knowledge of, rural affairs and issues relating to small business concerns; and

“(B) have experience providing development assistance to rural small business concerns.”;

(2) in subsection (c)—

(A) in paragraph (1), by striking “small business concerns located in rural areas” and inserting “rural small business concerns”;

(B) in paragraph (3)—

(i) by striking “provide information” and inserting “promote”; and

(ii) by striking “concerning the” and all that follows through the semicolon at the end and inserting the following: “on the policies and programs of the Administration and of other Federal departments and agencies for assisting rural small business concerns”;

(C) in paragraph (4), by striking “; and” and inserting a semicolon;

(D) in paragraph (5)—

(i) by striking “the United States Tourism and Travel Administration” and inserting “the National Travel and Tourism Office of the Department of Commerce”;

(ii) by striking “small businesses in rural areas” and inserting “rural small business concerns”; and

(iii) by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”;

(E) by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(6) host webinars and outreach events for rural small business concerns as described in subsection (d).”;

(3) by adding at the end the following new subsections:

“(d) OUTREACH.—The Assistant Administrator shall—

“(1) host webinars and outreach events in various regions of the United States for rural small business concerns; and

“(2) invite representatives from district offices of the Administration, resource partners, Federal and State agencies, and other interested persons to participate in such webinars and outreach events.

“(e) REPORT.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days after the date of the enactment of this subsection, and annually thereafter, the Administrator shall submit to the Committee on Small Business of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship of the Senate, and make publicly available on a website of the Administration, a report on the activities of the Office during the one-year period immediately preceding the date of submission of the report.

“(2) CONTENTS.—Each report required under paragraph (1) shall include the following:

“(A) The operational details of the Office, including the name of the Assistant Administrator, the budget of the Office, and the number of full-time employees employed by or detailed to the Office.

“(B) A summary of the activities conducted under subsection (c).

“(C) The number of webinars and outreach events conducted by the Administration to promote policies and programs described in paragraph (3) of subsection (c) and to provide information described in paragraph (4) of such subsection.

“(D) An analysis of the lending programs of the Administration in serving the needs of rural small business concerns.

“(E) Information gathered from any webinars and outreach events conducted by the Administration during the period covered by the report.

“(f) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

“(1) ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR.—The term ‘Assistant Administrator’ means the Assistant Administrator of the Office of Rural Affairs appointed under subsection (b).

“(2) RESOURCE PARTNERS.—The term ‘resource partners’ means—

“(A) small business development centers;

“(B) women’s business centers (described under section 29);



“(C) chapters of the Service Corps of Retired Executives (established under section 8(b)(1)(B)); and

“(D) Veteran Business Outreach Centers (described under section 32).

“(3) RURAL SMALL BUSINESS CONCERN.—The term ‘rural small business concern’ means a small business concern located in a rural area (as defined in section 7(b)(16) of this Act).”.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. WILLIAMS) and the gentleman from California (Mr. CISNEROS) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the bill.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 4549, Office of Rural Affairs Enhancement Act.

This bill was introduced by Representative GOODLANDER from the great State of New Hampshire, Representative WIED from the great State of Wisconsin, and Representative GOLDEN from the great State of Maine.

Mr. Speaker, 46 million Americans live in rural communities. The small businesses of rural America face distinct and persistent challenges, such as a shortage of business assistance resources and limited access to capital. These challenges often hinder their growth and sustainability.

The SBA Office of Rural Affairs was created to serve our rural entrepreneurs. However, it is often underutilized and thus ineffective. This bill addresses these challenges by clarifying the critical responsibilities of the Office of Rural Affairs and qualifications for leadership to prioritize the rural communities.

This bill ensures that the office will be utilized to reach rural entrepreneurs anywhere they are in Main Street America. These efforts will strengthen local networks and equip entrepreneurs with the knowledge and support necessary for long-term growth.

H.R. 4549 is about investing in the future of rural America, creating jobs, and ensuring resources reach all businesses across America. I thank Representatives GOODLANDER, WIED, and GOLDEN for introducing this bipartisan legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support H.R. 4549, and I reserve the balance of my time.

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

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this commonsense legislation to enhance the Office of Rural Affairs at the SBA.

I commend Representatives GOODLANDER, WIED, and GOLDEN for their commitment to making this office operate more effectively for rural small businesses.

Rural small businesses are powerful drivers of economic growth across the United States, fueling the agricultural, tourism, manufacturing, and energy sectors.

□ 1440

Unfortunately, they receive disproportionately fewer SBA loans and resources than their urban counterparts and face greater challenges, including access to affordable capital, unreliable internet access, and access to talent.

Created in 1990, the Office of Rural Affairs at the SBA could play a key role in helping small businesses overcome these challenges. However, throughout its existence, the office has either been dormant or the collateral duty of a regional administrator.

In 2020, an acting SBA director was named, and in 2021, the SBA appointed a permanent, full-time career deputy director to stand up the office. This bill would elevate the role of director to an assistant administrator, ensure that assistant administrator meets certain qualifications, and requires the office to host webinars and outreach events.

With clear lines of communication and the outreach that will come from the office, small businesses will be able to access resources that should be readily available to them.

I will, once again, thank Ms. GOODLANDER, Mr. WIED, and Mr. GOLDEN for their bipartisan efforts on behalf of America's rural small businesses.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from the great State of New Hampshire (Ms. GOODLANDER).

Ms. GOODLANDER. Mr. Speaker, I am very proud to rise today and join my colleagues from across America in support of what is a commonsense, bipartisan bill.

H.R. 4549 is a bill that will deliver a fair deal for America's rural small businesses and entrepreneurs by cutting red tape, delivering access to key Federal resources, and ensuring experienced and accountable representation and leadership within our government. It is a bill that will ensure the voices of rural America aren't just heard but are truly prioritized within our government.

Running a small business is really an act of faith. It is hard work, often brutally hard work, and it is extraordinarily important work because rural small businesses are the beating hearts of communities across America, and in every corner of my home State of New Hampshire. They are the backbone of our economy.

As I have worked alongside and as I have listened to and learned from rural small businesses across New Hampshire, from the family farmers of our north country to the manufacturers of our Monadnock region, and from the

loggers of our upper valley to the small businesses of the Souhegan Valley, I have heard again and again that the Federal programs designed to help our rural small businesses are riddled with red tape, and they are often impossible to access.

I have heard again and again that the rules of the road are simply not written with the realities of rural America in mind, their challenges and the opportunities. That is not right, and it is our job as lawmakers to correct it.

In 1990, Congress created the Office of Rural Affairs within the Small Business Administration to tackle this problem set, but as we have seen over the past 35 years, the office is underperforming. It lacks experienced and accountable leadership, and the red tape is still very much there for the cutting.

So our bill is going to address these gaps in the law. It is going to require a senior leader with real experience in rural economic development to be at the helm and to be accountable to Congress and the American people.

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

Mr. CISNEROS. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from New Hampshire.

Ms. GOODLANDER. Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues from across this body and across our Nation to come together to deliver for our rural small businesses. They are the backbone of our economy, and they are the fabric of American life. This bipartisan bill, the Office of Rural Affairs Enhancement Act, is going to go a long way to delivering for them.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I have no further speakers. I am prepared to close, and I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. CISNEROS. Mr. Speaker, I have no further speakers, and I am prepared to close.

Mr. Speaker, I will, once again, thank my colleagues, Ms. GOODLANDER, Mr. WIED, and Mr. GOLDEN, for their bipartisan efforts to pass this legislation.

By strengthening the Office of Rural Affairs, we can ensure all small businesses have adequate access to the resources at their disposal.

Mr. Speaker, I encourage my colleagues to vote “yes” on this bill, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this commonsense legislation to support rural small businesses, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Texas (Mr. WILLIAMS) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 4549.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

# INVESTING IN ALL OF AMERICA ACT OF 2025

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 2066) to amend the Small Business Investment Act of 1958 to exclude from the limit on leverage certain amounts invested in smaller enterprises located in rural or low-income areas and small businesses in critical technology areas, and for other purposes, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 2066

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

## SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the “Investing in All of America Act of 2025”.

## SEC. 2. SMALL BUSINESS INVESTMENT COMPANY MAXIMUM LEVERAGE EXCLUSION.

(a) **DEFINITIONS.**—Section 103(9) of the Small Business Investment Act of 1958 (15 U.S.C. 662(9)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A)(ii), by striking “and” at the end;

(2) in subparagraph (B)(iii)—

(A) in subclause (I), by striking “established prior to October 1, 1987”;

(B) in subclause (II)—

(i) by striking “or” and inserting a comma; and

(ii) by inserting “, foundation, endowment, or trust of any college or university” after “pension plan”; and

(C) in subclause (III), by striking the semicolon at the end and inserting “; and”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) does not include any funds obtained directly or indirectly from any Federal, State, or local government or any government agency or instrumentality, except for funds described in subclauses (I) through (III) of subparagraph (B)(iii), for the purpose of approval by the Administrator of any request for leverage.”.

(b) **MAXIMUM LEVERAGE EXCLUSION.**—Section 303(b)(2) of the Small Business Investment Act of 1958 (15 U.S.C. 683(b)(2)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A)—

(A) in clause (i), by striking “300” and inserting “200”; and

(B) by amending clause (ii) to read as follows:

“(ii)(I) with respect to such a company that makes quarterly or semiannual interest payments \$250,000,000; or

“(II) \$175,000,000 with respect to any other company licensed under section 301(c).”;

(2) in subparagraph (B), by striking “may not exceed \$350,000,000.” and inserting the following “may not exceed—

“(i) with respect to such companies that are commonly controlled and that make quarterly or semiannual interest payments, \$475,000,000; or

“(ii) \$350,000,000 with respect to any other companies licensed under section 301(c) that are commonly controlled.”; and

(3) in subparagraph (C)—

(A) in the heading—

(i) by inserting “OR RURAL” after “LOW-INCOME”; and

(ii) by inserting “, CRITICAL TECHNOLOGY AREAS, OR SMALL MANUFACTURERS” after “GEOGRAPHIC AREAS”;

(B) in clause (i)—

(i) by striking “(i) In calculating” and inserting the following:

“(i) **IN GENERAL.**—Except as provided in clause (iii), in calculating”;

(ii) by inserting “or companies” after “of a company”;

(iii) by striking “subparagraph (A)” and inserting “subparagraphs (A) and (B)”;

(iv) by striking “equity”; and

(v) by striking “the company in a smaller enterprise” and all that follows and inserting the following: “the company or companies in—

“(I) a small business concern located in a low-income geographic area (as defined in section 351 of this title) or in a rural area (as defined in section 343(a)(13) of the Agricultural Act of 1961 (7 U.S.C. 1991(a)(13)));

“(II) a small business concern operating primarily in a covered technology category (as defined in section 149(e) of title 10, United States Code); or

“(III) a small manufacturer (as defined in section 501(e)(6) of this Act).”;

(C) by amending clause (ii) to read as follows:

“(ii) **LIMITATION.**—While maintaining the limitation of subparagraph (A)(i) and consistent with a leverage determination ratio issued pursuant to section 301(c), the aggregate amount excluded for a company or companies under clause (i) from the calculation of the outstanding leverage such company or companies for the purposes of subparagraphs (A) and (B) may not exceed the lesser of 50 percent of the private capital of such company or companies or \$125,000,000.”; and

(D) by amending clause (iii) to read as follows:

“(iii) **PROSPECTIVE APPLICABILITY.**—An investment by a licensee is eligible for exclusion from the calculation of outstanding leverage under clause (i) only if such investment is made by such licensee after the date of enactment of this clause.”.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. WILLIAMS) and the gentleman from California (Mr. CISNEROS) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas.

## GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the bill.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of H.R. 2066, the Investing in All of America Act of 2025, introduced by Representative MEUSER from the great State of Pennsylvania and Representative SCHOLTEN from the great State of Michigan.

One of the most significant barriers to economic growth across America is the lack of access to capital for small businesses, including investment opportunities. While some regions and industries are flush with investment, too many small businesses struggle to attract investment capital that they would need to help them to grow.

The Investing in All of America Act strengthens one of the most effective public-private partnerships the SBA has to offer: the Small Business Investment Company, or SBIC, program. This program has a proven track record of turning promising small businesses into household names, all without spending any taxpayer dollars.

By unleashing nearly \$20 billion in private capital, this bipartisan bill would expand opportunities for small manufacturers, rural communities, and businesses critical to our national security. It means more jobs, greater innovation, and a stronger economy.

This commonsense solution rewards hard work and fuels private investment into small businesses across America without new spending or more red tape.

I ask my colleagues to support this bill for Main Street America, driving capital back into the hands of small business owners where it belongs.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of H.R. 2066, the Investing in All of America Act. Small Business Investment Companies, or SBICs, are an essential part of the small business lending ecosystem. Under this program, SBA works with and licenses private institutions to provide financing to small, high-growth companies.

Unfortunately, due to statutory constraints, investors are often limited in their ability to participate in the program when focusing on rural and underserved communities, small manufacturers, or small businesses critical to national security.

Due to their capital-intensive nature and early revenue profile, these small businesses operating in the critical technology sector need institutional investors with longer term time horizons to raise capital.

That is why this bill makes statutory improvements to provide SBICs with access to additional leverage when they invest in these businesses.

Providing SBICs with additional leverage flexibility will ensure the capital needs of small businesses in our critical technology sector are met by the SBIC program. This will enable the SBA and DOD to successfully implement their joint Small Business Investment Company Critical Technology Initiative.

In addition, this bill provides another avenue to extend private investment to small businesses in rural and underserved communities, something that lenders and policymakers have repeatedly fallen short on. This additional bonus leverage will encourage more investment in communities that need it most.

I applaud Representatives MEUSER and SCHOLTEN for leading this bipartisan effort, and I thank Chairman WILLIAMS and his team for their collaboration on this bill.

Mr. Speaker, I encourage my colleagues to vote “yes”, and I reserve the balance of my time.

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Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. MEUSER).

Mr. MEUSER. Mr. Speaker, I thank our chairman very much for yielding and for his leadership.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of my legislation, H.R. 2066, the Investing in All of America Act of 2025. This legislation will incentivize greater investment from small business investment companies, SBICs, to small businesses located in rural or low-income areas, as well as small businesses in the manufacturing and national security technology sectors.

SBICs are privately owned and managed investment funds that are licensed and regulated by the SBA. These companies raise private capital, which is then matched with additional leverage by the SBA, capped at \$175 million.

SBICs then invest both their private capital and SBA leverage into small businesses in communities across the country. Importantly, the SBIC program operates at zero subsidy cost to the American taxpayer.

Over the last 5 years, SBICs have invested over \$130 billion in small businesses across America, including \$1.3 billion in my home State of Pennsylvania's small businesses.

Though the SBIC program is successful, recent studies have shown that less than 20 percent of SBIC investment reaches low- to middle-income communities, especially rural communities.

The Investing in All of America Act encourages additional private capital investments in parts of America that are often overlooked by not counting dollars invested in these areas against an individual SBIC's \$175 million leverage cap. By creating this incentive, my bill will increase investment for these currently underserved communities.

It is important to note that the bonus leverage included in this legislation does not change the costs or risks of the SBIC program. The existing model operates at no cost to the taxpayer and will remain the same.

The Trump administration and SBA Administrator Kelly Loeffler are focused on fueling small business growth and reinvigorating domestic manufacturing throughout the United States. This legislation supports that effort by encouraging increased private investment in the manufacturing sector.

By expanding access to capital and reducing barriers to entry, this legislation helps manufacturers scale operations and create high-quality American jobs.

I thank Representative SCHOLTEN for her continued partnership, as well as the support from the Democratic leadership, on this legislation and the bipartisan group of all Members, Republican and Democrat, who have cosponsored it. This legislation will have tangible, positive impacts on our communities.

Mr. Speaker, I encourage my colleagues to support passage of this important piece of legislation.

Mr. CISNEROS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to close by once again thanking Mr. MEUSER and Ms. SCHOLTEN for their leadership on this bill and their efforts to extend additional capital to

rural and underserved entrepreneurs, as well as the critical technology industry.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to support this bill and encourage all of my colleagues to do the same. I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this commonsense legislation to increase access to capital for America's small businesses. I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Texas (Mr. WILLIAMS) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 2066, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

### TRAFFICKING SURVIVORS RELIEF ACT

Mr. FRY. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 4323) to provide for the vacating of certain convictions and expungement of certain arrests of victims of human trafficking, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 4323

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

#### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

*This Act may be cited as the "Trafficking Survivors Relief Act".*

#### SEC. 2. FEDERAL EXPUNGEMENT FOR VICTIMS OF TRAFFICKING.

(a) *IN GENERAL.*—Chapter 237 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

##### **"§3771A. Motion to vacate; expungement; mitigating factors**

*"(a) DEFINITIONS.*—In this section—

*"(1) the term 'child' means an individual who has not attained 18 years of age;*

*"(2) the term 'covered prisoner' means an individual who—*

*"(A) was convicted of a level A offense or level B offense;*

*"(B) was sentenced to a term of imprisonment for the offense described in subparagraph (A); and*

*"(C) is, or was previously, imprisoned or incarcerated under such sentence for a term of imprisonment;*

*"(3) the terms 'employee' and 'officer' have the meanings given the terms in section 2105 of title 5;*

*"(4) the term 'Federal offense' means an offense that is punishable under Federal law;*

*"(5) the term 'level A offense' means a Federal offense that is not a violent crime;*

*"(6) the term 'level B offense'—*

*"(A) means a Federal offense that is a violent crime; and*

*"(B) does not include a Federal offense that is a violent crime of which a child was a victim;*

*"(7) the term 'victim of trafficking' has the meaning given that term in section 103 of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 (22 U.S.C. 7102); and*

*"(8) the term 'violent crime' has the meaning given the term 'crime of violence' in section 16(a) of this title.*

*"(b) MOTIONS TO VACATE CONVICTIONS OR EXPUNGE ARRESTS.—*

*"(1) IN GENERAL.—*

*"(A) CONVICTIONS OF LEVEL A OFFENSES.—A person convicted of any level A offense (or an attorney representing such a person) may move the court that imposed the sentence for the level A offense to vacate the judgment of conviction if the level A offense was committed as a direct result of the person having been a victim of trafficking.*

*"(B) ARRESTS FOR LEVEL A OFFENSES.—A person arrested for any level A offense (or an attorney representing such a person) may move the district court of the United States for the district and division embracing the place where the person was arrested to expunge all records of the arrest if the conduct or alleged conduct of the person that resulted in the arrest was directly related to the person having been a victim of trafficking.*

*"(C) ARRESTS FOR LEVEL B OFFENSES.—A person arrested for any level B offense (or an attorney representing such a person) may move the district court of the United States for the district and division embracing the place where the person was arrested to expunge all records of the arrest if—*

*"(i) the conduct or alleged conduct of the movant that resulted in the arrest was directly related to the movant having been a victim of trafficking; and*

*"(ii) (I) the movant was acquitted of the level B offense;*

*"(II) the Government did not pursue, or the Government moved to dismiss, criminal charges against the movant for the level B offense; or*

*"(III)(aa) the charges against the movant for the level B offense were reduced to an offense that is a level A offense; and*

*"(bb) the movant was acquitted of the level A offense, the Government did not pursue, or the Government moved to dismiss, criminal charges against the movant for the level A offense, or any subsequent conviction of the level A offense was vacated.*

*"(2) CONTENTS OF MOTION.—A motion described in paragraph (1) shall—*

*"(A) be in writing;*

*"(B) describe any supporting evidence;*

*"(C) state the offense; and*

*"(D) include copies of any documents showing that the movant is entitled to relief under this section.*

*"(3) HEARING.—*

*"(A) MANDATORY HEARING.—*

*"(i) MOTION IN OPPOSITION.—Not later than 30 days after the date on which a motion is filed under paragraph (1), the Government may file a motion in opposition of the motion filed under paragraph (1).*

*"(ii) MANDATORY HEARING.—If the Government files a motion described in clause (i), not later than 15 days after the date on which the motion is filed, the court shall hold a hearing on the motion.*

*"(B) DISCRETIONARY HEARING.—If the Government does not file a motion described in subparagraph (A)(i), the court may hold a hearing on the motion not later than 45 days after the date on which a motion is filed under paragraph (1).*

*"(4) FACTORS.—*

*"(A) VACATING CONVICTIONS OF LEVEL A OFFENSES.—The court may grant a motion under paragraph (1)(A) if, after notice to the Government and an opportunity to be heard, the court finds, by a preponderance of the evidence, that—*

*"(i) the movant was convicted of a level A offense; and*

*"(ii) the participation in the level A offense by the movant was a direct result of the movant having been a victim of trafficking.*

*"(B) EXPUNGING ARRESTS FOR LEVEL A OFFENSES.—The court may grant a motion under paragraph (1)(B) if, after notice to the Government and an opportunity to be heard, the court*

finds, by a preponderance of the evidence, that—

“(i) the movant was arrested for a level A offense; and

“(ii) the conduct or alleged conduct that resulted in the arrest was directly related to the movant having been a victim of trafficking.

“(C) EXPUNGING ARRESTS FOR LEVEL B OFFENSES.—The court may grant a motion under paragraph (1)(C) if, after notice to the Government and an opportunity to be heard, the court finds, by a preponderance of the evidence, that—

“(i) the movant was arrested for a level B offense and the conduct or alleged conduct that resulted in the arrest was directly related to the movant having been a victim of trafficking; and

“(ii)(I) the movant was acquitted of the level B offense;

“(II) the Government did not pursue, or the Government moved to dismiss, criminal charges against the movant for the level B offense; or

“(III)(aa) the charges against the movant for the level B offense were reduced to a level A offense; and

“(bb) the movant was acquitted of the level A offense, the Government did not pursue, or the Government moved to dismiss, criminal charges against the movant for the level A offense, or any subsequent conviction of that level A offense was vacated.

“(5) SUPPORTING EVIDENCE.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of this section, in determining whether the movant is a victim of trafficking, the court—

“(i) shall consider an affidavit or sworn testimony of an anti-human trafficking service provider or clinician; and

“(ii) may consider any supporting evidence the court determines is of sufficient credibility and probative value, including sworn testimony from a law enforcement officer detailing the role of the movant in coercing other victims of trafficking into committing criminal offenses.

“(B) AFFIDAVIT OR SWORN TESTIMONY SUFFICIENT EVIDENCE.—The affidavit or sworn testimony described in subparagraph (A)(i) shall be sufficient evidence to vacate a conviction or expunge an arrest under this section if the court determines that—

“(i) the affidavit or sworn testimony is credible; and

“(ii) no other evidence is readily available.

“(6) CONVICTION OR ARREST OF OTHER PERSONS NOT REQUIRED.—It shall not be necessary that any person other than the movant be convicted of or arrested for an offense before the movant may file a motion under paragraph (1).

“(7) DENIAL OF MOTION.—

“(A) FINALITY.—If the court denies a motion filed under paragraph (1), the denial shall be final, except as provided under subparagraph (C) of this paragraph and subject to the discovery of any new and compelling evidence or information.

“(B) REASONS FOR DENIAL.—If the court denies a motion filed under paragraph (1), the court shall state the reasons for the denial in writing.

“(C) REASONABLE TIME TO CURE DEFICIENCIES IN MOTION.—If the court denies a motion filed under paragraph (1) due to a curable deficiency in the motion, the court shall allow the movant sufficient time to cure the deficiency.

“(8) APPEAL.—An order granting or denying a motion under this section may be appealed in accordance with section 1291 of title 28.

“(c) VACATUR OF CONVICTIONS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—If the court grants a motion to vacate a conviction of a level A offense under subsection (b), the court shall immediately—

“(A) vacate the conviction for cause;

“(B) set aside the verdict and enter a judgment of acquittal; and

“(C) enter an expungement order that directs that there be expunged from all official records all references to—

“(i) the arrest of the movant for the level A offense;

“(ii) the institution of criminal proceedings against the movant relating to the level A offense; and

“(iii) the results of the proceedings.

“(2) LIMITATION.—Nothing in this subsection requires a court to amend or remove any fine or restitution order in a criminal or civil proceeding.

“(3) EFFECT.—If a conviction is vacated under an order entered under paragraph (1), the conviction shall not be regarded as a conviction under Federal law and the movant for whom the conviction was vacated shall be considered to have the status occupied by the movant before the arrest or the institution of the criminal proceedings related to such conviction.

“(d) EXPUNGEMENT OF ARRESTS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—If the court grants a motion to expunge all records of an arrest for an offense under subsection (b), the court shall immediately enter an expungement order that directs that there be expunged from all official records all references to—

“(A) the arrest of the movant for the offense;

“(B) the institution of any criminal proceedings against the movant relating to the offense; and

“(C) the results of the proceedings, if any.

“(2) EFFECT.—If an arrest is expunged under an order entered under paragraph (1) the arrest shall not be regarded as an arrest under Federal law and the movant for whom the arrest is expunged shall be considered to have the status occupied by the movant before the arrest or the institution of the criminal proceedings related to such arrest, if any.

“(e) MITIGATING FACTORS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The court that imposed sentence for a level A offense or level B offense upon a covered prisoner may reduce the term of imprisonment for the offense—

“(A) upon—

“(i) motion by the covered prisoner; or

“(ii) the court's own motion;

“(B) after notice to the Government;

“(C) after considering—

“(i) the factors set forth in section 3553(a);

“(ii) the nature and seriousness of the danger to any person, if applicable; and

“(iii) the community, or any crime victims; and

“(D) if the court finds, by a preponderance of the evidence, that the covered prisoner committed the offense as a direct result of the covered prisoner having been a victim of trafficking.

“(2) REQUIREMENT.—Any proceeding under this subsection shall be subject to section 3771.

“(3) PARTICULARIZED INQUIRY.—For any motion under paragraph (1), the Government shall conduct a particularized inquiry of the facts and circumstances of the original sentencing of the covered prisoner in order to assess whether a reduction in sentence would be consistent with this section.

“(f) ADDITIONAL ACTIONS BY COURT.—The court shall, upon granting a motion under this section, take any additional action necessary to grant the movant full relief.

“(g) NO FEES.—A person may not be required to pay a filing fee, service charge, copay fee, processing fee, or any other charge for filing a motion under this section.

“(h) CONFIDENTIALITY OF MOVANT.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—A motion under this section and any documents, pleadings, or orders relating to the motion shall be filed under seal.

“(2) INFORMATION NOT AVAILABLE FOR PUBLIC INSPECTION.—An officer or employee may not make available for public inspection any report, paper, picture, photograph, court file, or other document, in the custody or possession of the officer or employee, that identifies the movant.

“(i) APPLICABILITY.—This section shall apply to any conviction or arrest occurring before, on, or after the date of enactment of this section.”.

(b) TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—The table of sections of chapter 237 of

title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

“3771A. Motion to vacate; expungement; mitigating factors.”.

### SEC. 3. REPORTS.

(a) UNITED STATES ATTORNEY MOTIONS FOR VACATUR OR EXPUNGEMENT.—Not later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this Act, each United States attorney shall submit to the Attorney General a report that details—

(1) the number of motions for vacatur or expungement filed under section 3771A of title 18, United States Code, as added by section 2, in the district of the United States attorney; and

(2) for each motion described in paragraph (1)—

(A) the underlying offense;

(B) the response of the United States attorney to the motion; and

(C) the final determination of the court with respect to the motion.

(b) UNITED STATES ATTORNEY TRAINING ON HUMAN TRAFFICKING INDICATORS.—Not later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this Act, the Attorney General shall submit to Congress a report that details all professional training received by United States attorneys on indicators of human trafficking during the preceding 12-month period.

(c) GOVERNMENT ACCOUNTABILITY OFFICE.—Not later than 3 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Comptroller General of the United States shall submit to Congress a report that—

(1) assesses the impact of the enactment of section 3771A of title 18, United States Code, as added by section 2; and

(2) includes—

(A) the number of human trafficking survivors who have filed motions for vacatur or expungement under such section 3771A;

(B) the final determination of each court that adjudicated a motion described in subparagraph (A);

(C) recommendations to increase access to post-conviction relief for human trafficking survivors with Federal criminal records; and

(D) recommendations for improving the implementation and tracking of professional training of United States attorneys on indicators of human trafficking.

### SEC. 4. USE OF GRANTS FOR POST-CONVICTION RELIEF REPRESENTATION.

The Office of Justice Programs or the Office on Violence Against Women, in awarding a grant that may be used for legal representation, may not prohibit a recipient from using the grant for legal representation for post-conviction relief.

### SEC. 5. SENSE OF CONGRESS.

It is the sense of Congress that—

(1) this Act is a first step to address the changing tactics of human traffickers, who are using forced criminality as a form of force, fraud, and coercion in their human trafficking enterprises; and

(2) Congress is committed to continuing to find solutions as needed to thwart human traffickers and protect survivors of human trafficking.

### SEC. 6. HUMAN TRAFFICKING DEFENSE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 1 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

#### “§28. Human trafficking defense

“(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section—

“(1) the term ‘covered Federal offense’ means a level A offense or level B offense, as those terms are defined in section 3771A; and

“(2) the term ‘victim of trafficking’ has the meaning given the term in section 103 of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 (22 U.S.C. 7102).

“(b) DURESS.—In a prosecution for a covered Federal offense, a defendant may establish duress by demonstrating that the defendant was a victim of trafficking at the time at which the defendant committed the offense.

“(c) *RECORD OR PROCEEDING UNDER SEAL.*—In any proceeding in which a defense under subsection (b) is raised, any record or part of the proceeding related to the defense shall, on motion, be placed under seal until such time as a conviction is entered for the offense.

“(d) *POST-CONVICTION RELIEF.*—A failure to assert, or failed assertion of, a defense under subsection (b) by an individual who is convicted of a covered Federal offense may not preclude the individual from asserting as a mitigating factor, at sentencing or in a proceeding for any post-conviction relief, that at the time of the commission of the offense, the defendant was a victim of trafficking and committed the offense under duress.

“(e) *FEDERAL AID.*—A failure to assert, or failed assertion of, a defense under subsection (b) by an individual who is convicted of a covered Federal offense may not be used for the purpose of disqualifying the individual from participating in any federally funded program that aids victims of trafficking.”.

(b) *TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENT.*—The table of sections for chapter 1 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

“28. Human trafficking defense.”.

#### SEC. 7. TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.

Section 103 of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 (22 U.S.C. 7102) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (16), by striking “(9)” and inserting “(11)”;

(2) in paragraph (17), by striking “(9) or (10)” and inserting “(11) or (12)”.

#### SEC. 8. RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.

Nothing in this Act, or the amendments made by this Act, may be construed to conflict with any of the crime victims’ rights described in section 3771 of title 18, United States Code.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. FRY) and the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. RASKIN) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from South Carolina.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. FRY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and to include extraneous material on H.R. 4323.

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

There was no objection.

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

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 4323, the Trafficking Survivors Relief Act, is a strong, bipartisan piece of legislation—and bicameral, actually—that will help one of our most vulnerable populations.

This legislation passed the House Judiciary Committee by a voice vote earlier this year, and I am looking forward to seeing it pass the full House.

Human trafficking is a heinous crime that we are all too familiar with. Human trafficking is not just a distant problem. It is a crisis that touches every corner of our Nation, rural communities and urban centers. It can occur anywhere, in any community, and it does not discriminate. Traffickers exploit the vulnerable wherever they may find them.

We see it happen to a vast number of women and children who are exploited

after crossing our southern border. We see it happen to people from both low-income and high-income backgrounds. We see it happen to ordinary Americans, people who never imagined that they would become victims themselves.

Efforts by Federal, State, and local law enforcement and advocates to eliminate trafficking and to support victims have increased awareness, reporting, and prosecution of sex traffickers across the country. However, victims of these crimes are sometimes prosecuted for their actions taken while under the control of their traffickers. This can lead to the arrest, conviction, and incarceration of actual trafficking victims themselves without proper consideration of their criminal culpability.

We know that criminal convictions, and even nonviolent ones, can hold someone back from applying for a job or getting housing. These victims deserve to be able to heal and move on with their lives.

Thankfully, we have made significant progress to help survivors. Today, the vast majority of States—in fact, 46 or 47—have some sort of relief to victims for nonviolent offenses committed while under the control of their traffickers. These laws allow individuals to reenter their communities and move on with their lives.

My home State of South Carolina continues to lead on this forward-looking, victim-centered approach. The Trafficking Survivors Relief Act follows the States’ clear lead and provides Federal relief to survivors of human trafficking who committed a non-violent offense as a direct result of being a victim of human trafficking.

For a court to grant this relief, a defendant must show that the offense was committed as a direct result of being a victim of human trafficking.

To ensure that these opportunities are only available to true victims of trafficking and not criminals, we have worked hand in hand with law enforcement to include appropriate safeguards in the bill. The legislation allows for additional evidence to be considered, including the sworn testimony of a law enforcement officer as to whether a victim had any role in coercing other victims into criminal offenses.

This legislation is endorsed by multiple advocacy organizations, faith-based organizations, and law enforcement officials. This is a bipartisan, bicameral piece of legislation that unites both law enforcement and victim organizations. It is a good piece of legislation.

There are countless individuals and organizations that have worked tirelessly to get this bill to where it is today, including CPAC Foundation’s Center for Combating Human Trafficking, NCOSE, Rights4Girls, Street Grace, survivor leader Hollie Nadel, and so many more.

Last Congress, a bipartisan group of attorneys general wrote a letter in strong support of the Trafficking Sur-

vivors Relief Act. This carefully crafted legislation strikes the right balance in protecting victims’ rights and public safety.

Let’s work together to fight back against this evil, to help victims and survivors begin a new chapter, and to allow them to take on every opportunity that life hands them without any constraint of their past.

I encourage all of my colleagues to support the Trafficking Survivors Relief Act, and I encourage swift passage in the Senate.

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

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

I thank the distinguished gentleman from South Carolina for his leadership on this issue.

I am pleased that we are considering the bipartisan Trafficking Survivors Relief Act, which will provide relief to victims and survivors of human trafficking who have been unjustly criminalized as a result of their trafficking.

□ 1500

Victims and survivors of human trafficking have been waiting nearly a decade for us to make this relief available to them at the Federal level. The heroic survivors of the global Epstein trafficking conspiracy have raised the conscience of our Nation about the nightmarish consequences of human trafficking for the victims of it, and they strongly support this legislation, which is part of the long, overdue reckoning that America must have with all of the double standards and coverups that have affected women and girls who have been entered into the trafficking criminal underworld.

While we have found far too less opportunities to work together in this broken session of Congress, I am glad that the majority has finally chosen to bring this much-needed consensus reform forward to the floor to protect trafficking victims and survivors, and I look forward to its swift passage.

Mr. Speaker, human trafficking is a multibillion-dollar criminal industry that overtakes the will and the freedom of nearly 25 million people around the world every year. Traffickers exploit their victims by forcing them to provide labor, services, and commercial sex through violence, fear, coercion, and manipulation. While awful, their exploitation doesn’t stop there. Traffickers often force their victims to commit other crimes, including prostitution, money laundering, fraud, drug trafficking, robbery, and theft.

This leads trafficking victims to be arrested and prosecuted without consideration of their status as victims themselves. They are often then made to serve prison sentences and left with criminal records that can stop them from finding employment, suitable housing, or qualifying to receive the treatment that they need to recover from trauma and rebuild their lives.

When they are unable to start fresh or move on because of the obstacles that they face as a consequence of the crimes that they were forced to commit, victims and survivors often return to their traffickers or fall victim to new predators. We cannot allow this cycle of trauma, criminal exploitation, and victimization to continue in the lives of so many untold victims.

While all but three States now allow trafficking survivors some form of criminal record relief, there is still no Federal pathway to clear criminal convictions or records in this situation. H.R. 4323 would correct this inequity by allowing human trafficking victims to petition to have their convictions vacated for certain offenses and to expunge their arrest records for other offenses if the offenses were committed only as a consequence of their trafficking.

This bill would also provide an avenue of relief for victims and survivors facing prosecution for certain Federal offenses relating to their victimization by establishing a human trafficking defense. The defense will also be available as a post-conviction remedy. To ensure that survivors have access to all of the remedies provided, this bill makes clear that a grantee may use grant funds from the Office of Justice Programs and Office on Violence Against Women for legal representation for post-conviction relief.

For far too long, we have closed our eyes to the true horrors of human trafficking and allowed victimization to fester simply by allowing survivors of human trafficking to be classified and treated as criminals. I am pleased to support this essential and thoughtful bipartisan bill, and I urge my colleagues to support it.

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

Mr. FRY. Mr. Speaker, I have no further speakers on the bill and am prepared to close. I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Georgia (Mrs. MCBATH), the distinguished ranking member of the Crime and Federal Government Surveillance Subcommittee.

Mrs. MCBATH. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

The Trafficking Survivors Relief Act is very critical, bipartisan legislation that would provide long-overdue relief to victims and survivors of human trafficking to help them overcome the lasting effects of being trafficked and allow them a chance to heal.

It recognizes their unique traumas, the immense challenges that they face after escaping their exploitation, and their right to rebuild their lives with some dignity and some respect.

Victims of trafficking are demeaned. They are dehumanized and coerced by their traffickers, who do not see them as people but see them as objects only to be bought, sold, and abused; but we see them, and we must give them the help that they need and they deserve.

Too often, they emerge with criminal records directly tied to their exploitation. These records follow them along their path long after they are free, preventing them from finding a job, securing safe housing, pursuing education, or even getting treatment for the trauma that they have escaped.

The barriers they face as a result of their records often serve as painful reminders of the abuse that they endured and can make survivors vulnerable to even further exploitation.

Many States, including my State of Georgia, have already passed laws like the Trafficking Survivors Relief Act. It is past time that we take similar steps to do this on the Federal level. By allowing survivors to expunge arrests or vacate nonviolent convictions connected to their trafficking, we give them a chance to reclaim their futures and move forward without the weight of their past being used against them.

Just as we must allow them the ability to shed the lasting remnants of their victimization, we must also provide them with resources and services that they desperately need. Survivors need strong and consistent Federal support to stay safe and move forward.

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

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Georgia.

Mrs. MCBATH. Mr. Speaker, we must ensure our government continues to invest in prevention services and enforcement that keeps survivors protected. Any cuts or weakened efforts will risk putting them back in harm's way or back in the streets, and we cannot allow that to happen.

This bill is about justice, healing, and true restoration. It affirms that survivors are more than the crimes that they are forced to commit. They are human beings deserving of opportunity, safety, and hope.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support putting survivors first and support this bipartisan legislation. I thank Representatives FRY and JOHNSON for championing this effort. I look forward to working together to ensure that survivors are seen, supported, and given every chance that they can to thrive.

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

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time for the purpose of closing.

Mr. Speaker, I pick up on the words of the distinguished gentlewoman from Georgia, who is the ranking member of the Crime and Federal Government Surveillance Subcommittee on Committee on the Judiciary. To be forced into a human-trafficking network, like the Epstein network, is to suffer a double trauma. There is the original trauma of the exploitation and the abuse, and then there is the added trauma of being stigmatized yourself as being a criminal: a prostitute and someone forced to engage in other criminal activity by the trafficking network.

Mr. Speaker, I am delighted that, on a bipartisan basis today, we are able to move forward to address this problem and to give some relief to the victims and the survivors of a human-trafficking network.

Again, I recognize the survivors from the Epstein global international child sex-trafficking conspiracy who have raised the conscience of the country and changed America's mind about the fundamental importance of our addressing this.

Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleagues for working with us on bringing this legislation forward, and I yield back the balance of my time.

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

Mr. Speaker, I find myself in this moment on H.R. 4323, the Trafficking Survivors Relief Act, in somewhat of a *deja vu*. I did this legislation at the State level, and I talked to victims of human trafficking and those who have used this legal mechanism as a sense of relief to expunge their crimes, to get their prior convictions vacated, to apply for housing, and to go on with their lives in a very meaningful way.

What they would share with me and what I will share with you today is that this absolutely matters to them. Being able to turn the page on their past is not easy. It is not easy for a victim of human trafficking to come forward. There is shame sometimes in doing so. There is extreme guilt. When they get that chance to do that, this is an incredibly important step.

□ 1510

Here is the caveat that I think is often overlooked. Law enforcement loves this bill, too. Why is that? Because during a prosecution of a criminal defendant who is a trafficking victim, or within a conviction of a human-trafficking victim, victims are allowed to tell their story. One, it is very therapeutic and helpful to the victims themselves, but for the law enforcement folks, they can go after the real bad actors.

I think that is the key crux of this bill, and I think that is what unites Republicans and Democrats, House and Senate Members, and the law enforcement community and victim organizations. It is a great piece of public policy that has worked so well in 46, 47, 48 States at this point, and there is no reason why the Federal Government should lag behind the States anymore in crafting a very good, commonsense piece of legislation.

This bill is victim-centered. It is law enforcement-focused, as well. It checks all the boxes of good public policy.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support it, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. FRY) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 4323, as amended.



The question was taken; and (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

### COUNT THE CRIMES TO CUT ACT

Mr. ROY. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 2159) to direct the Attorney General of the United States to submit to the Congress a report on Federal criminal offenses, and for other purposes, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 2159

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

#### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

*This Act may be cited as the "Count the Crimes to Cut Act".*

#### SEC. 2. REPORT ON FEDERAL CRIMINAL OFFENSES.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section—

(1) the term "criminal regulatory offense" means a Federal regulation that is enforceable by a criminal penalty; and

(2) the term "criminal statutory offense" means a criminal offense under a Federal statute.

(b) REPORT ON CRIMINAL STATUTORY OFFENSES.—Not later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this Act, the Attorney General shall submit to the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate and the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives a report, which shall include—

(1) a list of all criminal statutory offenses, including a list of the elements for each criminal statutory offense; and

(2) for each criminal statutory offense listed under paragraph (1)—

(A) the potential criminal penalty for the criminal statutory offense;

(B) the number of prosecutions for the criminal statutory offense brought by the Department of Justice each year for the 15-year period preceding the date of enactment of this Act; and

(C) the mens rea requirement for the criminal statutory offense.

(c) REPORT ON CRIMINAL REGULATORY OFFENSES.—

(1) REPORTS.—Not later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this Act, the head of each Federal agency described in paragraph (2) shall submit to the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate and the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives a report, which shall include—

(A) a list of all criminal regulatory offenses enforceable by the agency; and

(B) for each criminal regulatory offense listed under subparagraph (A)—

(i) the potential criminal penalty for a violation of the criminal regulatory offense;

(ii) the number of violations of the criminal regulatory offense referred to the Department of Justice for prosecution in each of the years during the 15-year period preceding the date of enactment of this Act; and

(iii) the mens rea requirement for the criminal regulatory offense.

(2) AGENCIES DESCRIBED.—The Federal agencies described in this paragraph are the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Commerce, the Department of Education, the Department of Energy, the Department of Health and Human Services, the Department of Homeland Security, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Department of the In-

terior, the Department of Labor, the Department of Transportation, the Department of the Treasury, the Commodity Futures Trading Commission, the Consumer Product Safety Commission, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the Export-Import Bank of the United States, the Farm Credit Administration, the Federal Communications Commission, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, the Federal Election Commission, the Federal Labor Relations Authority, the Federal Maritime Commission, the Federal Mine Safety and Health Review Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, the National Labor Relations Board, the National Transportation Safety Board, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission, the Office of Compliance, the Postal Regulatory Commission, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Securities Investor Protection Corporation, the Environmental Protection Agency, the Small Business Administration, the Federal Housing Finance Agency, and the Office of Government Ethics.

(d) INDEX.—Not later than 2 years after the date of enactment of this Act—

(1) the Attorney General shall establish a publicly accessible index of each criminal statutory offense listed in the report required under subsection (b) and make the index available and freely accessible on the website of the Department of Justice; and

(2) the head of each agency described in subsection (c)(2) shall establish a publicly accessible index of each criminal regulatory offense listed in the report required under subsection (c)(1) and make the index available and freely accessible on the website of the agency.

(e) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this section shall be construed to require or authorize appropriations.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ROY) and the gentlewoman from Georgia (Mrs. MCBATH) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. ROY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material.

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

There was no objection.

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

Mr. Speaker, first of all, I thank the gentlewoman from Georgia for joining with me in this effort. I thank the minority leader for his past work on this bill, as well, from his position on the Judiciary Committee, like the gentlewoman from Georgia.

We may come at these things from slightly different perspectives on different issues that come before us, but we are bound and joined together here in wanting some commonsense, good government to make sure that we know what we are dealing with, with respect to criminal laws. For decades, the American people, Congress, and corners of the Federal Government have tried to grasp a reliable estimate of how many criminal laws exist either in statute or in regulation.

In the 1980s, the Department of Justice tried to count the number of Fed-

eral criminal laws that reside within the code and estimated there are "about 3,000 criminal offenses." The American Bar Association, in the 1990s, said it was much higher than 3,000 but couldn't figure out the number. In 2019, the U.S. Code was estimated to have 5,199 Federal crimes, but again, that was uncertain.

In other words, the Department of Justice, the American Bar Association, and organizations within our government are guessing.

Now, to be clear, there are estimated to be thousands of criminal offenses, many buried in regulatory codes. For context, there are an estimated 300,000 Federal regulations that carry criminal offenses that could put an American citizen in prison.

We can debate the merits, and we would debate the merits no doubt among the Members of this body, of any particular statute that criminalizes a certain act or any particular regulation that comes with criminal penalties associated with an action. It might be something that involves OSHA. It might be something that involves environmental regulations. It might be something else.

There are thousands upon thousands of regulations and statutes, and the American people often have no idea that they might be in violation of something that would come with a penalty that might include jail time or sufficient fines, and so forth, and they potentially could become a felon.

This bill is pretty simple. It just directs the Federal Government and the executive branch to count the crimes, to come up with a list of the crimes that exist, put those in order, and make sure that we know what offenses are attached to those so that we can go through this and make decisions as to whether or not these crimes are duplicative, whether they might be contradictory, and whether maybe they go too far or not far enough.

We feel like the people's House, for sure—Congress in its Article I function—ought to know how many crimes there are and what penalties are associated with those crimes so that the American people can know this.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I thank Representative ROY for working with me. This is a true representation of good government and what it looks like for bipartisanship, and I hope we are able to do more of this going forward.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today for the sake of an effective criminal justice system. The laws within our criminal code, as has been expressed before, have become outdated and a highway to overcriminalization. We have so many unlawful acts within our criminal code that we don't even know how many criminal laws there are.

That is why we need to pass the Count the Crimes to Cut Act of 2025,

which would mandate the creation of a comprehensive inventory, as we have expressed, of all Federal criminal, statutory, and regulatory offenses.

I am really proud to co-lead this commonsense and, as I said before, bipartisan solution that will help us address the pressing issue of overcriminalization, a troubling result of unchecked growth of our Federal criminal law.

For too long, new Federal crimes have been created without a full understanding of what criminal laws already exist. Six years ago, policy organizations estimated that we have over 5,000 Federal crimes, many of which, as we have stated before, are redundant, overly broad, or better left to the States, or are so obscure that the public has no practical way of knowing that they even exist. In some cases, these laws are so vague that even a reasonable person would struggle to understand what conduct is prohibited.

This massive and unorganized body of Federal criminal law puts well-intentioned, law-abiding citizens definitely at risk. Legal scholars suggest that everyday Americans may unknowingly violate multiple Federal crimes without ever being made aware of it. Yet, we cannot meaningfully address the consequences of this bloated system until we fully understand the scope of the problem.

Over the last few decades, the number of Federal criminal offenses has dramatically increased to more than 5,000, and that figure doesn't even account for the countless additional crimes created by Federal regulations. Despite several previous attempts to determine the number of criminal offenses that are currently on the books, the fact is, we still don't know.

The Count the Crimes to Cut Act, which I am very proud to cosponsor, is a necessary first step toward comprehensive, data-driven reform that truly works.

By finally establishing a complete inventory of these offenses, we can effectively evaluate how they are enforced, understand the intent requirements associated with each one of these laws, and determine where reforms to mens rea standards are necessary. We will also be able to identify redundant or outdated laws that serve no public safety purpose at all.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to support this very reasonable bill, and I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. ROY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from Georgia for her comments.

Mr. Speaker, I would just add, in agreement with her, that, as I said before, this simply says that the Attorney General should provide to us, the people's House and this Congress, a list of all Federal crimes in statute and regulation, along with pertinent information such as potential criminal penalty, the mens rea requirement for the offense, and the DOJ prosecutorial history of the statute.

I think this is the bare minimum that we should have as a body to ensure that we are protecting due process and the rights of the American people while ensuring that we have an ordered society.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. BIGGS), my good friend.

□ 1520

Mr. BIGGS of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Texas for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, the Federal Government has turned the criminal code into a labyrinth, a maze so bloated and disorganized that not even the DOJ can tell you how many Federal crimes exist.

That is why I rise in strong support of H.R. 2159, the Count the Crimes to Cut Act, led by my friend, CHIP ROY from Texas, Representative MCBATH, who is the ranking member on our Subcommittee of Crime and Federal Government Surveillance, and supported by Members of both parties who understand that freedom collapses when the law becomes unknowable.

This bill is co-led by staunch conservatives like Representative ROY and myself and our colleagues, who occasionally think differently than us, Mrs. MCBATH and Mr. COHEN. We disagree on a lot in this Chamber, but we should all agree that Americans should know what conduct is criminal before they are punished for it.

The Count the Crimes to Cut Act forces the DOJ to produce a complete list of every Federal criminal statute with the specific legal elements, the authorized penalties, and the number of prosecutions for each offense over the last 15 years.

Right now, we literally cannot tell the American people how many Federal crimes exist. I called the Congressional Research Service several years ago because I was interested in this. They said we have no idea.

Estimates range from 4,000 statutes to hundreds of thousands of criminalized regulations, but no one actually knows because Washington has never bothered to count them. This is the very definition of overcriminalization: vague laws, hidden laws, duplicative laws, and regulatory crimes that nobody could reasonably expect an ordinary citizen to find or understand.

The Federal code has grown so bloated that a person can unknowingly violate a regulation they have never heard of and the government can still throw the book at them.

Even former Harvard University Professor Harvey Silverglate estimates that the average American commits three felonies a day without even knowing it.

Dr. Silverglate clearly wasn't referring to violent felonies like murder or felonies like money laundering or fraud, but instead to those vague, hidden, duplicative and sometimes downright silly laws.

I have other pending legislation; the End Endless Criminal Statutes Act to repeal 10 unnecessary criminal offenses such as selling or possessing colored oleomargarine or colored margarine unless they are packaged and labeled or served in a triangular shape. That is far from the only silly law still on the books.

It is illegal to use a falconry bird in a movie that isn't about falconry, to sell runny ketchup, or to leave the country with too many nickels in your pockets.

Here is the deal: We just have too many laws and too many crimes. When the Federal Criminal Code becomes a weapon instead of a guide, it is always the most vulnerable, the poor, the small business owners, the persons who don't have a legal team on retainer who gets crushed first.

Overcriminalization is one of the most destructive features of the modern Federal leviathan. We cannot restore liberty, shrink government, or protect due process unless we first expose the scope of the problem and that is what this bill attempts to do.

I am so pleased to be a sponsor, but I am proud to associate with my cosponsors, Mr. ROY, Mrs. MCBATH, Mr. COHEN, and others.

This is very simple, Mr. Speaker: If you believe in liberty, you vote "yes" on H.R. 2159. If you believe the government should be accountable to the people, you vote "yes" on H.R. 2159. If you believe that Americans deserve to know the laws that can put them behind bars, you vote "yes" on H.R. 2159. It is bipartisan, common sense, and long overdue.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly urge my colleagues to support the Count the Crimes to Cut Act.

Mrs. MCBATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. RASKIN), our constitutional scholar and ranking member of the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I thank Mrs. MCBATH for yielding, Mr. ROY for his leadership on this, and Mr. BIGGS for his comments.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this bipartisan legislation. The Founders thought that Federal law would be strictly limited in two different ways: one, according to the subject matter; and two, according to number.

The subject matter of Federal criminal law requires that the conduct being proscribed be tethered to a particular Federal jurisdictional nexus, like interference with Federal interstate commerce or assault on a Federal officer in doing his or her duty, or seditious conspiracy against the Union, which is why the vast majority of crimes are prosecuted at the local level like assault, murder, armed robbery, theft, and so on.

Federal law would also be limited, the Founders thought, according to number because the Federal criminal laws would be organized around certain

specific principles forbidding criminal conduct that is clearly harmful to everyone. As my colleagues have said, what we have seen is the endless proliferation of criminal offenses, some of them statutory, some of them regulatory, oftentimes in a kind of political reaction to a particular event that might have been criminal already under a more general category.

This legislation will allow us to get on top of the problem. It will direct the Department of Justice and other Federal agencies to compile a comprehensive report describing every Federal statutory and regulatory criminal offense carrying penalties. These have grown substantially over the last four decades, despite several previous attempts by the Office of Legal Policy at DOJ, the American Bar Association, and several scholars to determine exactly how many Federal offenses there are.

There is simply not a single comprehensive accounting of Federal criminal offenses to be found anywhere in the Federal Government, and that is a pretty remarkable statement in itself.

Through the bipartisan Count the Crimes to Cut Act of 2025, Congress and the people will finally get an inventory of all Federal statutory and regulatory criminal offenses. Thanks to this bill, we will know the specific elements of each offense, the potential criminal penalties, the mens rea requirement, and the number of prosecutions that have taken place each year for the preceding 15 years for every listed offense.

Now, what is the danger of having too many criminal offenses? Some people might just say, let's let sleeping dogs lie. What is the problem with having proliferation of offenses that may be opaque, inscrutable, obscure, and duplicative? One danger is the citizen doesn't know what kind of conduct and behavior is actually expected of him or her. That leaves the citizen in a state of confusion and potential anxiety.

The other major danger is that an unscrupulous executive will use this nearly endless arsenal of criminal offenses to target political foes or vulnerable communities. In a free society, anything that is not specifically prohibited is allowed to you. That is what it means to live in a free society. In an authoritarian society, anything that is not specifically allowed to the population is considered prohibited and a danger to the government.

Mr. Speaker, the proliferation of endless criminal offenses moves us down that spectrum from being a free society much closer to an authoritarian society. We all have a right to know exactly what the criminal law entails at the Federal level.

Mr. ROY. Mr. Speaker, I don't have a whole lot more to add. I associate myself with the remarks of all of my colleagues who have spoken on this matter. I would only add that I think it is important to note that this legislation is supported by the Due Process Insti-

tute, R Street, Right on Crime, as well as the National District Attorneys Association and the National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers, which I think tells you what is going on here in that everybody would like to have some clarity and some transparency so we can have a commonsense understanding of our criminal laws, the extent to which they impact—as the gentleman from Maryland, I think, wisely noted—our civil liberties, and the extent to which we are made aware of what actions we take might be criminalized.

Mr. Speaker, I note as James Madison said in Federalist No. 62 on the fundamental principles of representative government and the importance of accessible and understandable laws: "It will be of little avail to the people, that the laws are made by men of their own choice, if the laws be so voluminous that they cannot be read, or so incoherent that they cannot be understood; if they be repealed or revised before they are promulgated, or undergo such incessant changes that no man who knows what the law is today, can guess what it will be tomorrow."

□ 1530

That is precisely the situation we find ourselves in, and we should fix it. We may have again, as I said before, some disagreements as to what should be criminalized or not. Previous Congresses have decided to criminalize some action that today we might take a second look at.

I do believe that we need to know and have the debate, and then be able to allow the subcommittee on which my Judiciary Committee colleagues serve, be able to review these, have open debate, and then make some decisions.

Maybe some of these should be sunsetted. Maybe some should be aligned. Maybe there are penalties that are out of whack. Maybe there are things that should be done to have greater notice for the American people.

I come together in good faith with my colleagues across the aisle and hope that my colleagues in the Chamber will support it.

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

Mrs. MCBATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. COHEN).

Mr. COHEN. Mr. Speaker, I got on this bill when it was first introduced, I think, last spring. Representative ROY and I have served on the Judiciary Committee for quite a while, and I respect his intellect. I certainly hope that he gets to be Attorney General of Texas. That would be great for him, and I think it would be great for Texas, too.

I will miss him in working on this act, Article I bill. We agreed to work on that just as a kind of a legislative check on Article I executive actions. That is something we may be able to bring up again next year, although I think it was more popular in certain

places when President Biden was the President, but it is still an important bill.

This is a commonsense bill. It is bipartisan, and I am happy to be a cosponsor. I look forward to the gentlewoman from South Carolina, the gentlewoman from Georgia, the gentlewoman from Colorado, the gentleman from Illinois, and all the other people who have been highlights of our last week of legislation to vote with us in unanimous passage.

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

Mrs. MCBATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time to close.

Mr. Speaker, we cannot have effective reform of Federal criminal laws without first passing and implementing the Count the Crimes to Cut Act. This bill is not about simply making lists. It is about creating the tools that we need for precise data-driven reform.

With concrete data, we can determine exactly which reforms are needed, remove speculation from the process, and avoid unintentional, unnecessary mistakes that could arise from a sweeping one-size-fits-all approach.

Might I say, in the era that we are in right now, there seems to be a lot of mistrust within our communities with law enforcement. We need to be building those relationships, building community, and I think this piece of legislation helps to really expedite that kind of community-driven policing and helps to make sure that people feel safe and secure in their communities.

I thank Congressman ROY for his leadership on this legislation, which will help eliminate duplicative laws and allow us to better serve and focus on the true threats to public safety, which are always a top priority of mine.

I urge all of my colleagues to support this long overdue piece of legislation. It is a bipartisan measure that really puts common sense and accountability first. I thank my colleagues for their support on this piece of legislation. I yield back the balance of my time.

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

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from Georgia for her comments. I thank the gentleman from Tennessee for his kind remarks, the gentleman from Maryland, all of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle, and my friend from Arizona. I also thank Judiciary Committee Chairman JORDAN. I thank the ranking member from Maryland who we have already engaged with, and all of my colleagues who worked on this in the Judiciary Committee.

This is not a long or major piece of legislation. I tend to think that speaks well of it. I think the shorter the bill, the better.

I do believe that this is an important step, but I do want to remind my colleagues it is just a step. I would hope that we would get swift action out of the executive branch in following this

legislation if we are to get it through the Senate and get it signed so we can make an understanding of what is happening with respect to our criminal laws and regulations, and then act on it, as a Congress, in a bipartisan fashion. Again, we will have reasoned debate over some of the matters, but let's act on it. Let's do some things.

I agree with the gentleman that we need to revisit Article I. I introduced that during the first Trump administration the first time, and then we had it, obviously, during the Biden administration. I want to revisit that. It is critically important.

I hope that the AUMF repeal for 2002 that was in the NDAA in the Senate will be allowed to stay in the NDAA as it is coming back over to the House. We shouldn't have a 23-year-old authorization for the use of military force continuing to be under use. I hope that we in the House will reclaim those portions of congressional authority.

I think this is an important step. It is critically important for due process. I hope my colleagues in the Chamber will support it, and I urge its swift passage. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ROY) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 2159, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### NO IMMIGRATION BENEFITS FOR HAMAS TERRORISTS ACT OF 2025

Mr. McCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 176) to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act with respect to aliens who carried out, participated in, planned, financed, supported, or otherwise facilitated the attacks against Israel, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 176

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

#### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

*This Act may be cited as the "No Immigration Benefits for Hamas Terrorists Act of 2025".*

#### SEC. 2. ALIENS WHO CARRIED OUT, PARTICIPATED IN, PLANNED, FINANCED, SUPPORTED, OR OTHERWISE FACILITATED ATTACKS AGAINST ISRAEL.

(a) *PARTICIPANTS IN HAMAS TERRORISM AGAINST ISRAEL.*—Section 212(a)(3) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1182(a)(3)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (B)(i), in the matter following subclause (IX)—

(A) by inserting "Palestinian Islamic Jihad, or Hamas" after "Palestine Liberation Organization"; and

(B) by inserting "member," after "representative,"; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

"(H) *PARTICIPANTS IN HAMAS TERRORISM AGAINST ISRAEL.*—Any alien who carried out,

participated in, planned, financed, afforded material support to, or otherwise facilitated any of the attacks against Israel initiated by Hamas beginning on October 7, 2023, is inadmissible."

(b) *INELIGIBILITY FOR RELIEF.*—Section 241(b)(3) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1231(b)(3)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

"(D) *INELIGIBILITY FOR RELIEF.*—Any alien who carried out, participated in, planned, financed, afforded material support to, or otherwise facilitated any of the attacks against Israel initiated by Hamas beginning on October 7, 2023, shall be ineligible for any relief under the immigration laws, including under this section, section 208, and section 2242 of the Omnibus Consolidated and Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1999 (and any regulations issued pursuant to such section)."

(c) *CONFORMING AMENDMENT.*—Section 237(a)(4)(B) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1227(a)(4)(B)) is amended by striking "subparagraph (B) or (F)" and inserting "subparagraph (B), (F), or (H)".

(d) *REPORT REQUIRED ON PARTICIPANTS IN HAMAS TERRORISM AGAINST ISRAEL.*—Beginning not later than one year after the date of the enactment of this Act, and each year thereafter, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall submit a report to Congress, including the number of aliens who were—

(1) found to be inadmissible under section 212(a)(3)(H) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1182(a)(3)(H)); and

(2) described in section 212(a)(3)(H) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1182(a)(3)(H)) and found to be removable pursuant to section 237(a)(4)(B) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1227(a)(4)(B)).

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from California (Mr. McCLINTOCK) and the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. RASKIN) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. McCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and insert extraneous material on H.R. 176.

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

There was no objection.

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

Mr. Speaker, although our political differences these days are vast, there are still some things we come together on in this body. We certainly did so during the last session. One of them was an enduring opposition to Hamas and the terrorism they unleashed on innocent civilians in Israel more than 2 years ago.

Earlier this year, the barbaric inhumanity of Hamas was revealed again in the macabre and infuriating spectacle of returning the bodies to the Bibas family. We last saw Shiri Bibas alive on October 7, 2023, as she was seized, terrified and sobbing, begging for the lives of her two little boys as they were dragged into the hell on Earth that Hamas created. This February, their murdered bodies were treated as trophies, and later we learned in a final act of cruelty that Shiri's body had been substituted for another.

We all came together in this body last year and said that such monsters as these must never be admitted into our country, never given safe haven on our soil, and never tolerated where they are found.

H.R. 176 says that anyone associated with Hamas or Palestinian Islamic Jihad, in any capacity, or anyone who assisted these terrorist activities in any form, will not be allowed in this country under any circumstances, will be immediately removed if we do find them here, and under no circumstances will we allow them to receive any immigration benefit under our laws. We already single out Nazi collaborators and PLO terrorists. This simply adds Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad to that list.

□ 1540

Madam Speaker, for reasons I find inexplicable, the Senate couldn't be bothered to take up this bill in the last session. They will hopefully find the time in this session.

Under current law, being a member of Hamas or associated with its barbaric attack against Israel is not an explicit ground of inadmissibility or removability. That is just not good enough. Anyone who gave them support in any form should never be allowed into this country.

During the Biden years, the number of known or suspected terrorists encountered at the Southwest border soared to nearly 400. Too many were allowed into this country. How many more were among the 2 million known gotaways is anybody's guess. How many more are among the 190,000 Afghans allowed into this country with minimal or no vetting is also anybody's guess. We found out last week that one is far too many.

Under the Biden administration, Hamas terrorists didn't even have to sneak in across the border. President Biden simply let them in through the front door.

As just one example, less than 2 months ago, Federal officials arrested a 33-year-old native of Gaza, who was living in Lafayette, Louisiana, for his alleged involvement in Hamas' attack against Israel on October 7.

After learning about the ongoing Hamas attack, the alleged terrorists gathered a group of fighters and stormed into Israel to join the barbarism. Less than a year later, he submitted a visa application, which the Biden administration quickly approved, and he was allowed to enter the United States.

After the October 7 attacks, Director Wray warned us that the FBI "cannot, and [does] not, discount the possibility that Hamas . . . could exploit the conflict to call on their supporters to conduct attacks on our own soil." These words proved to be prophetic.

On June 1, 2025, Mohammed Sabry Soliman, an Egyptian national, attacked pro-Israeli demonstrators who were marching in Boulder, Colorado, in

support of the release of hostages held captive by Hamas. While shouting, “Free Palestine,” Soliman attacked the peaceful demonstrators with Molotov cocktails, resulting in the hospitalization of at least eight people who suffered burns and other injuries. At least one of the victims had survived the Holocaust.

According to the Justice Department, Soliman stated he planned the attack for more than a year. He “wanted to kill all Zionist people and wished they were all dead” and would conduct the attack again if he had the chance. He, too, was able to enter the United States through the front door, this time with a tourist visa, under the Biden administration.

This can never be allowed to happen again, regardless of which party controls the executive branch. While we have a President who is committed to securing our borders, protecting our communities, and restoring the enforcement of our immigration laws, now is the time to act.

Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

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

The terrorist atrocities committed by Hamas in Israel on October 7, which took the lives of more than 1,200 innocent civilians, and the subsequent war of mass destruction in Gaza, have been nothing less than a catastrophe for humanity.

More than 70,000 people have been killed to date, including an estimated 20,000 children. Hostages kidnapped by Hamas were abused, shackled in cages, and isolated in underground tunnels—in some cases, for more than 2 years. Many were killed there.

According to UNICEF, the Gaza Strip is now home to the world’s highest concentration of child amputees. More than 80 percent of buildings in Gaza have been damaged or destroyed in the violence.

The world breathed a sigh of relief that a tenuous cease-fire was finally reached and that all the living hostages were returned home. Alas, the cease-fire continues to be breached. Violence and suffering continue to afflict the people of the region, including escalating vigilante settler violence in the West Bank.

Getting to a just and lasting peace in the region will require the creative leadership and hard work of statesmen and stateswomen. It is past time to break out of the brutal and circular logic of terrorism and violence and war and instead address the underlying political problems destabilizing the region. We must stay united around these goals and committed to the continuation of a strong peace process.

Madam Speaker, in the meantime, we must all agree to the aim of this bill, which passed the House with bipartisan support in the last Congress. No one affiliated with Hamas, nor anyone involved in the horrific and lawless attacks of October 7, should be admis-

sible to the United States or eligible for any immigration benefits whatsoever. That is an obvious point of political and moral consensus in our Chamber.

However, I am afraid this is another missed opportunity for us to work across the aisle in a bipartisan fashion because it departs dramatically from the Judiciary Committee’s traditional practice. This bill is essentially what we call a visa sanctions bill. For decades, we have relied on pre-negotiated, bipartisan, and bicameral texts for every such visa sanctions bill. This legislation today departs from this bipartisan practice by directly amending the Immigration and Nationality Act, the INA, to impose visa sanctions.

To put into perspective just how anomalous this approach is, consider our response to the 9/11 attacks. In the aftermath of that catastrophe, we revised our immigration laws to overhaul significant parts of our immigration system, and we created the Department of Homeland Security. Even then, we did not amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to specifically reference the events of September 11 or to bar the individuals involved in the planning or commission of those outrageous terror attacks from entering or remaining in the United States.

The reason for that is plain. The laws that we have in place already bar noncitizens who engage in terrorism or are involved with terrorist organizations from entering the United States. For any of those noncitizens who happen to be here, our laws clearly allow us to remove them and prevent them from obtaining any immigration benefits.

These laws were designed to apply broadly to any individual or organization engaged in terrorism without having to specify them by reference to specific historical events or attacks.

Under sections 212(a)(3)(B) and 237(a)(4)(B) of the INA, any noncitizen who has engaged in any terrorist activity, provided any material support to terrorists, or is a member or representative of a terrorist group or organization that enforces or espouses terrorist activity is presently inadmissible to the United States and is presently deportable. Hamas has been designated as such a terrorist group since 1997.

We already plainly have the legal tools to keep any noncitizen involved with Hamas, as well as any noncitizen who was involved in the horrific terror attacks of October 7, out of this country forever or to deport them from the United States if they are already somehow here.

This approach is, alas, symptomatic of the syndrome we just discussed in the last bill of the proliferation of redundant legislation and redundant language simply to make a point.

The Judiciary Committee’s standard visa sanctions language, which was carefully crafted with the majority and minority on both the House and Senate Judiciary Committees, would allow us to achieve all the aims of this legisla-

tion without departing from negotiated sanctions language and amending the INA in an unprecedented and incongruous way.

Amending the INA to impose visa sanctions sets a strange and potentially self-defeating precedent where new statutory language becomes necessary every time a new terrorist group or event emerges.

Nonetheless, we strongly support this legislation today, whose purpose is incontestable and essential. I hope we can both pass this bill and return to our bipartisan and bicameral practice for dealing with visa sanctions whenever the occasion presents itself.

Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

□ 1550

Mr. MCCLINTOCK. Madam Speaker, the gentleman says that the bill is unnecessary because terrorists are already covered under the Immigration and Nationality Act. This bill creates a new ground of removability and a new ground of inadmissibility for aliens who carried out, or participated in, or planned, or financed, or afforded material support to or otherwise facilitated any of the attacks against Israel beginning on October 7 of 2023.

In doing so, the bill treats the atrocities of October 7 on a par with the Immigration and Nationality Act’s current treatment of Nazi persecution, genocide, torture, and extrajudicial killings.

Does anyone seriously argue that we should repeal the sanctions against persons who aided and abetted the Nazi’s Holocaust?

If not, then why would they oppose extending the same sanctions to the Nazi’s would-be, modern-day successors who just 2 years ago slaughtered more than 1,200 innocent civilians, including children, infants, and the elderly because they were Jewish?

Madam Speaker, I am prepared to close when the gentleman has completed, and I reserve the balance of my time.

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

Madam Speaker, again, we restate our support for this bill and its purposes and only hope that we can return to the traditional visa sanctions method of dealing with particular events. In the meantime, I wonder if the gentleman would yield for a question.

I wonder how this legislation with the new language would apply to the case of Changpeng Zhao, the former CEO of the crypto firm Binance, who was prosecuted for and convicted of and sentenced to jail for taking money from a number of terrorist groups, among them Hamas, as part of his crypto venture. He was convicted of violating the Bank Secrecy Act and turning a blind eye to terrorists, including Hamas, cybercriminals, and child abusers.

I am wondering if the new language would cover Changpeng Zhao, who just

received a pardon from President Trump.

Mr. MCCLINTOCK. First of all, I am not familiar with the case, so I can't comment on that directly. I am quite confident that we have an existing process for applying the law and a process for appealing the application of that law through a writ of habeas corpus in the judiciary if an individual seeks to contest it.

Mr. RASKIN. Madam Speaker, I have no further speakers, and I am prepared to close.

Madam Speaker, again, I strongly support this legislation. We need to be doing whatever we can to eliminate terrorist forces and those who are providing critical material support to terrorist forces all over the world, which is why I raised the case of Changpeng Zhao, who is the former CEO of the crypto firm Binance, who was recently pardoned by President Trump.

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

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

Madam Speaker, for 4 devastating years, our Nation suffered the largest illegal mass migration in history. For 4 devastating years, we were told that the laws had to be changed if we wanted to do anything about it, and in the meantime anyone who illegally entered our country could stay in our country and be supported by American taxpayers.

However, as President Trump said in this very Chamber and proved in his first weeks in office: We didn't need new laws. We needed a new President.

The largest illegal mass migration in history must now be followed by the largest legal deportation and repatriation in history.

New laws would be helpful to prevent a future Joe Biden from making a mockery of our sovereignty and reopening our borders to the most violent criminal gangs, cartels, criminals, and terrorists on the planet, and it would be helpful to give a future President Donald Trump the added tools to quickly and expeditiously prevent these same groups from infiltrating our Nation, preying on our communities, and attacking our people.

This law will stop the Hamas terrorists and their supporters who perpetrated the most violent attack against innocent civilians since the Holocaust from entering our country, as we already sanctioned Nazi collaborators. Although they are a tiny fraction of those who do our country harm, at least it does that.

To the apologists of the Democrats' open-border policies who say that this is unnecessary and covered by other laws on the books, I would ask these two questions: First, if that were so, then where were those laws under Joe Biden?

Second, even if their argument was true and the legislation was entirely unnecessary, then why would they ob-

ject to sending a strong message around the world that terrorists will get no quarter here?

Madam Speaker, if you have associated with Hamas, then you are persona non grata in America, as you should be in any corner of the world that values peace, justice, and human dignity.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mrs. MILLER of West Virginia). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. MCCLINTOCK) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 176, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### FOUNDATION OF THE FEDERAL BAR ASSOCIATION CHARTER AMENDMENTS ACT OF 2025

Mr. MCCLINTOCK. Madam Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (S. 616) to amend title 36, United States Code, to revise the Federal charter for the Foundation of the Federal Bar Association.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

S. 616

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

##### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Foundation of the Federal Bar Association Charter Amendments Act of 2025".

##### SEC. 2. ORGANIZATION.

Section 70501 of title 36, United States Code, is amended—

- (1) by striking subsection (b); and
- (2) by redesignating subsection (c) as subsection (b).

##### SEC. 3. MEMBERSHIP.

Section 70503 of title 36, United States Code, is amended—

- (1) by striking subsections (a) and (b) and inserting the following:

“(a) **ELIGIBILITY.**—Except as provided in this chapter, eligibility for membership in the corporation and the rights and privileges of members are as provided in the bylaws.”; and

- (2) by redesignating subsection (c) as subsection (b).

##### SEC. 4. GOVERNING BODY.

Section 70504 of title 36, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

##### “§ 70504. Governing body

“(a) **BOARD OF DIRECTORS.**—The board of directors is the governing body of the corporation. The board may exercise, or provide for the exercise of, the powers of the corporation. The board of directors and the responsibilities of the board are as provided in the bylaws.

“(b) **OFFICERS.**—The officers and the election of the officers are as provided for in the bylaws.”.

##### SEC. 5. RESTRICTIONS.

Section 70507 of title 36, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

##### “§ 70507. Restrictions

“(a) **STOCK AND DIVIDENDS.**—The corporation may not issue stock or declare or pay a dividend.

“(b) **POLITICAL ACTIVITIES.**—

“(1) **IN GENERAL.**—The activities, funds, income, and property of the corporation may not be used to carry on political activity or attempt to influence legislation.

“(2) **NO CONTRIBUTION, SUPPORT, OR PARTICIPATION.**—The corporation or a director or officer in the corporate capacity of the director of officer may not contribute to, support, or participate in any political activity or in any manner attempt to influence legislation.

“(c) **DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME OR ASSETS.**—

“(1) **IN GENERAL.**—The income or assets of the corporation may not inure to the benefit of, or be distributed to, a director, officer, or member during the life of the charter granted by this chapter. This subsection does not prevent the payment, in amounts approved by the board of directors, of—

“(A) reasonable compensation; or

“(B) reimbursement for expenses incurred in undertaking the corporation's business, to officers, directors, or members.

“(2) **RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.**—This subsection shall not be construed to—

“(A) prevent the award of a grant to a Federal Bar Association chapter of which an officer, director, or member may be a member; or

“(B) prevent the payment of reasonable compensation to the corporation's employees for services undertaken on behalf of the corporation.

“(d) **LOANS.**—The corporation may not make a loan to a director, officer, member, or employee.

“(e) **IMMUNITY FROM LIABILITY.**—Members and private individuals are not liable for the obligations of the corporation.

“(f) **CLAIM OF GOVERNMENTAL APPROVAL OR AUTHORITY.**—The corporation—

“(1) may not claim congressional approval or the authority of the United States Government for any of its activities; and

“(2) may acknowledge this charter.”.

##### SEC. 6. PRINCIPAL OFFICE.

Section 70508 of title 36, United States Code, is amended by striking “the District of Columbia,” and inserting “a United States location decided by the board of directors and specified in the bylaws.”.

##### SEC. 7. SERVICE OF PROCESS.

Section 70510 of title 36, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

##### “§ 70510. Service of process

“The corporation shall comply with the law on service of process of the State or District in which it is incorporated.”.

##### SEC. 8. DEPOSIT OF ASSETS ON DISSOLUTION OR FINAL LIQUIDATION.

Section 70512 of title 36, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

##### “§ 70512. Deposit of assets on dissolution or final liquidation

“On dissolution or final liquidation of the corporation, any assets of the corporation remaining after the discharge of all liabilities shall be distributed—

“(a) as provided by the board of directors; and

“(b) in compliance with the charter and bylaws.”.

##### SEC. 9. DETERMINATION OF BUDGETARY EFFECTS.

The budgetary effects of this Act, for the purpose of complying with the Statutory Pay-As-You-Go Act of 2010, shall be determined by reference to the latest statement titled “Budgetary Effects of PAYGO Legislation” for this Act, submitted for printing in the Congressional Record by the Chairman of the Senate Budget Committee, provided that such statement has been submitted prior to the vote on passage.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from



California (Mr. MCCLINTOCK) and the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. RASKIN) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. MCCLINTOCK. Madam Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on S. 616.

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

There was no objection.

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

Madam Speaker, I rise in support of S. 616, the Foundation of the Federal Bar Association Charter Amendments Act of 2025.

The Federal Bar Association was founded in 1920 as a nonprofit organization. In 1954, Congress chartered the Federal Bar Association as a congressionally chartered organization under title 36.

The FBA seeks to strengthen the Federal legal system and administration of justice by providing services to Federal practitioners, the Federal judiciary, and the public.

The FBA serves the Federal legal community by promoting standards of professional competence and ethical conduct, providing educational programs to the public and the profession, and facilitating the administration of justice. The FBA is also committed to bringing civics education programs to classrooms across the country.

Over the years, it has become necessary for the FBA to update its bylaws. Because the FBA is a congressionally chartered organization, it takes an act of Congress to make changes in its charter to permit the FBA to update those bylaws.

S. 616 amends the FBA's current charter in several ways: It removes the requirement for the FBA to be incorporated and domiciled in Washington, D.C.;

It allows the board of directors to choose the location of the principal office;

It specifies that the FBA's bylaws establish membership requirements, responsibilities of the board of directors, and the election of officers;

It prohibits a director or officer from contributing or participating in political activities;

It prohibits loans to members and employees; and

It specifies that in the event of dissolution, any remaining assets are to be distributed by as provided by the board of directors.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting this bill, and I reserve the balance of my time.

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

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of S. 616, the Foundation of the Federal

Bar Association Charter Amendments Act of 2025.

I was proud to lead this bill, along with our former colleague, Congressman STEVE CHABOT, in the 117th Congress when the bill passed the House by unanimous consent. Sadly, the bill stalled in the Senate at that time.

However, I am delighted to see that our colleagues across the Capitol were finally able to come to an agreement this Congress and move this important legislation.

S. 616 makes technical changes to the Foundation of the Federal Bar Association's charter that will give the foundation the flexibility it needs to advance its significant mission in this century.

The changes made would enable the foundation to swiftly meet the needs and priorities of the organization and improve the administration of Federal justice for all of our citizens.

□ 1600

It is critical for attorneys who practice in the Federal judiciary to have the professional support that they need to illuminate the legal issues that they are litigating on and to advance the interests of their clients.

The Foundation of the Federal Bar Association provides just that support, and it is crucial that the foundation be allowed to grow and to serve our people with flexibility.

I thank our colleagues Senator KENNEDY and Senator WHITEHOUSE for working together to get this bill finally across the finish line. I urge all of our colleagues to support it, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. MCCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I urge adoption of S. 616, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. NEWHOUSE). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. MCCLINTOCK) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, S. 616.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### MIKAELA NAYLON GIVE KIDS A CHANCE ACT

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 1262) to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act with respect to molecularly targeted pediatric cancer investigations, and for other purposes, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 1262

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

#### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the “Mikaela Nylon Give Kids a Chance Act”.

(b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of contents for this Act is as follows:

- Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.
- Sec. 2. Research into pediatric uses of drugs; additional authorities of Food and Drug Administration regarding molecularly targeted cancer drugs.
- Sec. 3. Ensuring completion of pediatric study requirements.
- Sec. 4. FDA report on PREA enforcement.
- Sec. 5. Extension of authority to issue priority review vouchers to encourage treatments for rare pediatric diseases.
- Sec. 6. Limitations on exclusive approval or licensure of orphan drugs.
- Sec. 7. Program for pediatric studies of drugs.
- Sec. 8. Organ Procurement and Transplantation Network.
- Sec. 9. Establishment of Abraham Accords Office within Food and Drug Administration.
- Sec. 10. Increasing transparency in generic drug applications.
- Sec. 11. Medicare Improvement Fund.

#### SEC. 2. RESEARCH INTO PEDIATRIC USES OF DRUGS; ADDITIONAL AUTHORITIES OF FOOD AND DRUG ADMINISTRATION REGARDING MOLECULARLY TARGETED CANCER DRUGS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—

(1) ADDITIONAL ACTIVE INGREDIENT FOR APPLICATION DRUG; LIMITATION REGARDING NOVEL-COMBINATION APPLICATION DRUG.—Section 505B(a)(3) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 355c(a)(3)) is amended—

(A) by redesignating subparagraphs (B) and (C) as subparagraphs (C) and (D), respectively; and

(B) by striking subparagraph (A) and inserting the following:

“(A) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of paragraph (1)(B), the investigation described in this paragraph is a molecularly targeted pediatric cancer investigation of—

“(i) the drug or biological product for which the application referred to in such paragraph is submitted; or

“(ii) such drug or biological product used in combination with—

“(I) an active ingredient of a drug or biological product—

“(aa) for which an approved application under section 505(j) under this Act or under section 351(k) of the Public Health Service Act is in effect; and

“(bb) that is determined by the Secretary, after consultation with the applicant, to be part of the standard of care for treating a pediatric cancer; or

“(II) an active ingredient of a drug or biological product—

“(aa) for which an approved application under section 505(b) of this Act or section 351(a) of the Public Health Service Act to treat an adult cancer is in effect and is held by the same person submitting the application under paragraph (1)(B); and

“(bb) that is directed at a molecular target that the Secretary determines to be substantially relevant to the growth or progression of a pediatric cancer.

“(B) ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENTS.—

“(i) DESIGN OF INVESTIGATION.—A molecularly targeted pediatric cancer investigation referred to in subparagraph (A) shall be designed to yield clinically meaningful pediatric study data that is gathered using appropriate formulations for each age group for which the study is required, regarding dosing, safety, and preliminary efficacy to inform potential pediatric labeling.

“(ii) LIMITATION.—An investigation described in subparagraph (A)(ii) may be required only if the drug or biological product

for which the application referred to in paragraph (1)(B) contains either—

“(I) a single new active ingredient; or

“(II) more than one active ingredient, if an application for the combination of active ingredients has not previously been approved but each active ingredient is in a drug product that has been previously approved to treat an adult cancer.

“(iii) RESULTS OF ALREADY-COMPLETED PRECLINICAL STUDIES OF APPLICATION DRUG.—With respect to an investigation required pursuant to paragraph (1)(B), the Secretary may require the results of any completed preclinical studies relevant to the initial pediatric study plan be submitted to the Secretary at the same time that the initial pediatric study plan required under subsection (e)(1) is submitted.

“(iv) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION REGARDING INACTIVE INGREDIENTS.—With respect to a combination of active ingredients referred to in subparagraph (A)(ii), such subparagraph shall not be construed as addressing the use of inactive ingredients with such combination.”.

(2) DETERMINATION OF APPLICABLE REQUIREMENTS.—Section 505B(e)(1) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 355c(e)(1)) is amended by adding at the end the following: “The Secretary shall determine whether subparagraph (A) or (B) of subsection (a)(1) applies with respect to an application before the date on which the applicant is required to submit the initial pediatric study plan under paragraph (2)(A).”.

(3) CLARIFYING APPLICABILITY.—Section 505B(a)(1) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 355c(a)(1)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(C) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—No application that is subject to the requirements of subparagraph (B) shall be subject to the requirements of subparagraph (A), and no application (or supplement to an application) that is subject to the requirements of subparagraph (A) shall be subject to the requirements of subparagraph (B).”.

(4) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Section 505B(a) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 355c(a)) is amended—

(A) in paragraph (3)(C), as redesignated by paragraph (1)(A) of this subsection, by striking “investigations described in this paragraph” and inserting “investigations referred to in subparagraph (A)”;

(B) in paragraph (3)(D), as redesignated by paragraph (1)(A) of this subsection, by striking “the assessments under paragraph (2)(B)” and inserting “the assessments required under paragraph (1)(A)”.

(b) GUIDANCE.—The Secretary of Health and Human Services, acting through the Commissioner of Food and Drugs, shall—

(1) not later than 12 months after the date of enactment of this Act, issue draft guidance on the implementation of the amendments made by subsection (a); and

(2) not later than 12 months after closing the comment period on such draft guidance, finalize such guidance.

(c) APPLICABILITY.—The amendments made by this section apply with respect to any application under section 505(b) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 355(b)) and any application under section 351(a) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 262(a)), that is submitted on or after the date that is 3 years after the date of enactment of this Act.

(d) REPORTS TO CONGRESS.—

(1) SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES.—Not later than 6 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of Health and Human Services shall submit to the Committee on Energy and Commerce of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and

Pensions of the Senate a report on the Secretary's efforts, in coordination with industry, to ensure implementation of the amendments made by subsection (a).

(2) GAO STUDY AND REPORT.—

(A) STUDY.—Not later than 8 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Comptroller General of the United States shall conduct a study of the effectiveness of requiring assessments and investigations described in section 505B of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 355c), as amended by subsection (a), in the development of drugs and biological products for pediatric cancer indications, including consideration of any benefits to, or burdens on, pediatric cancer drug development.

(B) FINDINGS.—Not later than 10 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Comptroller General shall submit to the Committee on Energy and Commerce of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions of the Senate a report containing the findings of the study conducted under subparagraph (A).

### SEC. 3. ENSURING COMPLETION OF PEDIATRIC STUDY REQUIREMENTS.

(a) EQUAL ACCOUNTABILITY FOR PEDIATRIC STUDY REQUIREMENTS.—Section 505B(d) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 355c(d)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “Beginning 270” and inserting “NONCOMPLIANCE LETTER.—Beginning 270”;

(2) in paragraph (2)—

(A) by striking “The drug or” and inserting “EFFECT OF NONCOMPLIANCE.—The drug or”;

(B) by striking “(except that the drug or biological product shall not be subject to action under section 303)” and inserting “(except that the drug or biological product shall be subject to action under section 303 only if such person demonstrated a lack of due diligence in satisfying the applicable requirement)”;

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(3) LIMITATION.—The Secretary shall not issue enforcement actions under section 303 for failures under this subsection in the case of a drug or biological product that is no longer marketed.”.

(b) DUE DILIGENCE.—Section 505B(d) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 355c(d)), as amended by subsection (a), is further amended by adding at the end the following:

“(4) DUE DILIGENCE.—Before the Secretary may conclude that a person failed to submit or otherwise meet a requirement as described in the matter preceding paragraph (1), the Secretary shall—

“(A) issue a noncompliance letter pursuant to paragraph (1);

“(B) provide such person with a 45-day period beginning on the date of receipt of such noncompliance letter to respond in writing as set forth in such paragraph; and

“(C) after reviewing such written response, determine whether the person demonstrated a lack of due diligence in satisfying such requirement.”.

(c) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Section 303(f)(4)(A) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 333(f)(4)(A)) is amended by striking “or 505-1” and inserting “505-1, or 505B”.

(d) TRANSITION RULE.—The Secretary of Health and Human Services may take enforcement action under section 303 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 333) only for failures described in section 505B(d) of such Act (21 U.S.C. 355c(d)) that occur on or after the date that is 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act.

### SEC. 4. FDA REPORT ON PREA ENFORCEMENT.

Section 508(b) of the Food and Drug Administration Safety and Innovation Act (21 U.S.C. 355c-1(b)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (11), by striking the semicolon at the end and inserting “; including an evaluation of compliance with deadlines provided for in deferrals and deferral extensions”;

(2) in paragraph (15), by striking “and” at the end;

(3) in paragraph (16), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”;

(4) by adding at the end the following:

“(17) a listing of penalties, settlements, or payments under section 303 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 353) for failure to comply with requirements under such section 505B, including, for each penalty, settlement, or payment, the name of the drug, the sponsor thereof, and the amount of the penalty, settlement, or payment imposed.”.

### SEC. 5. EXTENSION OF AUTHORITY TO ISSUE PRIORITY REVIEW VOUCHERS TO ENCOURAGE TREATMENTS FOR RARE PEDIATRIC DISEASES.

(a) EXTENSION.—Paragraph (5) of section 529(b) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 360ff(b)) is amended by striking “December 20, 2024, unless” and all that follows through the period at the end and inserting “September 30, 2029.”.

(b) USER FEE PAYMENT.—Section 529(c)(4) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 360ff(c)(4)) is amended by striking subparagraph (A) and inserting the following:

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The priority review user fee required by this subsection shall be due upon the submission of a human drug application under section 505(b)(1) or section 351(a) of the Public Health Service Act for which the priority review voucher is used. All other user fees associated with the human drug application shall be due as required by the Secretary or under applicable law.”.

(c) GAO REPORT ON EFFECTIVENESS OF RARE PEDIATRIC DISEASE PRIORITY VOUCHER AWARDS IN INCENTIVIZING RARE PEDIATRIC DISEASE DRUG DEVELOPMENT.—

(1) GAO STUDY.—

(A) STUDY.—The Comptroller General of the United States shall conduct a study of the effectiveness of awarding rare pediatric disease priority vouchers under section 529 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 360ff), as amended by subsection (a), in the development of human drug products that treat or prevent rare pediatric diseases (as defined in such section 529).

(B) CONTENTS OF STUDY.—In conducting the study under subparagraph (A), the Comptroller General shall examine the following:

(i) The indications for each drug or biological product that—

(I) is the subject of a rare pediatric disease product application (as defined in section 529 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 360ff)) for which a priority review voucher was awarded; and

(II) was approved under section 505 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (42 U.S.C. 355) or licensed under section 351 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 262).

(ii) Whether, and to what extent, an unmet need related to the treatment or prevention of a rare pediatric disease was met through the approval or licensure of such a drug or biological product.

(iii) The size of the company to which a priority review voucher was awarded under section 529 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 360ff) for such a drug or biological product.

(iv) The value of such priority review voucher if transferred.

(v) Identification of each drug for which a priority review voucher awarded under such section 529 was used.

(vi) The size of the company using each priority review voucher awarded under such section 529.

(vii) The length of the period of time between the date on which a priority review voucher was awarded under such section 529 and the date on which it was used.

(viii) Whether, and to what extent, an unmet need related to the treatment or prevention of a rare pediatric disease was met through the approval under section 505 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (42 U.S.C. 355) or licensure under section 351 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 262) of a drug for which a priority review voucher was used.

(ix) Whether, and to what extent, companies were motivated by the availability of priority review vouchers under section 529 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 360ff) to attempt to develop a drug for a rare pediatric disease.

(x) Whether, and to what extent, pediatric review vouchers awarded under such section were successful in stimulating development and expedited patient access to drug products for treatment or prevention of a rare pediatric disease that wouldn't otherwise take place without the incentive provided by such vouchers.

(xi) The impact of such priority review vouchers on the workload, review process, and public health prioritization efforts of the Food and Drug Administration.

(xii) Any other incentives in Federal law that exist for companies developing drugs or biological products described in clause (i).

(2) **REPORT ON FINDINGS.**—Not later than 5 years after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Comptroller General of the United States shall submit to the Committee on Energy and Commerce of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions of the Senate a report containing the findings of the study conducted under paragraph (1).

#### **SEC. 6. LIMITATIONS ON EXCLUSIVE APPROVAL OR LICENSURE OF ORPHAN DRUGS.**

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 527 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 360cc) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a), in the matter following paragraph (2), by striking “same disease or condition” and inserting “same approved use or indication within such rare disease or condition”;

(2) in subsection (b)—

(A) in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by striking “same rare disease or condition” and inserting “same approved use or indication for which such 7-year period applies to such already approved or licensed drug”; and

(B) in paragraph (1), by inserting “, relating to the approved use or indication,” after “the needs”;

(3) in subsection (c)(1), by striking “same rare disease or condition as the already approved drug” and inserting “same use or indication for which the already approved or licensed drug was approved or licensed”; and

(4) by adding at the end the following:

“(f) **APPROVED USE OR INDICATION DEFINED.**—In this section, the term ‘approved use or indication’ means the use or indication approved under section 505 of this Act or licensed under section 351 of the Public Health Service Act for a drug designated under section 526 for a rare disease or condition.”.

(b) **APPLICATION OF AMENDMENTS.**—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply with respect to any drug designated under section 526 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 360bb), regardless of the date on which the drug was so des-

ignated, and regardless of the date on which the drug was approved under section 505 of such Act (21 U.S.C. 355) or licensed under section 351 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 262).

#### **SEC. 7. PROGRAM FOR PEDIATRIC STUDIES OF DRUGS.**

Section 409I(d)(1) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 284m(d)(1)) is amended by striking “section,” and all that follows through the period at the end and inserting “section, \$25,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2026 through 2028.”.

#### **SEC. 8. ORGAN PROCUREMENT AND TRANSPLANTATION NETWORK.**

Section 372 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 274) is amended—

(1) in subsection (b)(2)—

(A) by moving the margins of subparagraphs (M) through (O) 2 ems to the left;

(B) in subparagraph (A)—

(i) in clause (i), by striking “, and” and inserting “; and”; and

(ii) in clause (ii), by striking the comma at the end and inserting a semicolon;

(C) in subparagraph (C), by striking “twenty-four-hour telephone service” and inserting “24-hour telephone or information technology service”;

(D) in each of subparagraphs (B) through (M), by striking the comma at the end and inserting a semicolon;

(E) in subparagraph (N), by striking “transportation, and” and inserting “transportation”;;

(F) in subparagraph (O), by striking the period and inserting a semicolon; and

(G) by adding at the end the following:

“(P) encourage the integration of electronic health records systems through application programming interfaces (or successor technologies) among hospitals, organ procurement organizations, and transplant centers, including the use of automated electronic hospital referrals and the grant of remote, electronic access to hospital electronic health records of potential donors by organ procurement organizations, in a manner that complies with the privacy regulations promulgated under the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act of 1996, at part 160 of title 45, Code of Federal Regulations, and subparts A, C, and E of part 164 of such title (or any successor regulations); and

“(Q) consider establishing a dashboard to display the number of transplants performed, the types of transplants performed, the number and types of organs that entered the Organ Procurement and Transplantation Network system and failed to be transplanted, and other appropriate statistics, which should be updated more frequently than annually.”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(d) **REGISTRATION FEES.**—

“(1) **IN GENERAL.**—The Secretary may collect registration fees from any member of the Organ Procurement and Transplantation Network for each transplant candidate such member places on the list described in subsection (b)(2)(A)(i). Such registration fees shall be collected and distributed only to support the operation of the Organ Procurement and Transplantation Network. Such registration fees are authorized to remain available until expended.

“(2) **COLLECTION.**—The Secretary may collect the registration fees under paragraph (1) directly or through awards made under subsection (b)(1)(A).

“(3) **DISTRIBUTION.**—Any amounts collected under this subsection shall—

“(A) be credited to the currently applicable appropriation, account, or fund of the Department of Health and Human Services as discretionary offsetting collections; and

“(B) be available, only to the extent and in the amounts provided in advance in appropriations Acts, to distribute such fees among awardees described in subsection (b)(1)(A).

“(4) **TRANSPARENCY.**—The Secretary shall—

“(A) promptly post on the website of the Organ Procurement and Transplantation Network—

“(i) the amount of registration fees collected under this subsection from each member of the Organ Procurement and Transplantation Network; and

“(ii) a list of activities such fees are used to support; and

“(B) update the information posted pursuant to subparagraph (A), as applicable for each calendar quarter for which fees are collected under paragraph (1).

“(5) **GAO REVIEW.**—Not later than 2 years after the date of enactment of this subsection, the Comptroller General of the United States shall, to the extent data are available—

“(A) conduct a review concerning the activities under this subsection; and

“(B) submit to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions and the Committee on Finance of the Senate and the Committee on Energy and Commerce of the House of Representatives, a report on such review, including related recommendations, as applicable.

“(6) **SUNSET.**—The authority to collect registration fees under paragraph (1) shall expire on the date that is 3 years after the date of enactment of the Mikaela Naylor Give Kids a Chance Act.”.

#### **SEC. 9. ESTABLISHMENT OF ABRAHAM ACCORDS OFFICE WITHIN FOOD AND DRUG ADMINISTRATION.**

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Chapter X of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 391 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end the following:

##### **“SEC. 1015. ABRAHAM ACCORDS OFFICE.**

“(a) **IN GENERAL.**—The Secretary, acting through the Commissioner of Food and Drugs, shall establish within the Food and Drug Administration an office, to be known as the Abraham Accords Office, to be headed by a director.

“(b) **OFFICE.**—Not later than two years after the date of enactment of this section, the Secretary shall—

“(1) in consultation with the governments of Abraham Accords countries, as well as appropriate United States Government diplomatic and security personnel—

“(A) select the location of the Abraham Accords Office in an Abraham Accords country; and

“(B) establish such office; and

“(2) assign to such office such personnel of the Food and Drug Administration as the Secretary determines necessary to carry out the functions of such office.

“(c) **DUTIES.**—The Secretary, acting through the Director of the Abraham Accords Office, shall—

“(1) after the Abraham Accords Office is established—

“(A) as part of the Food and Drug Administration's work to strengthen the international oversight of regulated commodities, provide technical assistance to regulatory partners in Abraham Accords countries on strengthening regulatory oversight and converging regulatory requirements for the oversight of regulated products, including good manufacturing practices and other issues relevant to manufacturing medical products that are regulated by the Food and Drug Administration; and

“(B) facilitate interactions between the Food and Drug Administration and interested parties in Abraham Accords countries, including by sharing relevant information

regarding United States regulatory pathways with such parties, and facilitate feedback on the research, development, and manufacturing of products regulated in accordance with this Act; and

“(2) carry out other functions and activities as the Secretary determines to be necessary to carry out this section.

“(d) ABRAHAM ACCORDS COUNTRY DEFINED.—In this section, the term ‘Abraham Accords country’ means a country identified by the Department of State as having signed the Abraham Accords Declaration.

“(e) NATIONAL SECURITY.—Nothing in this section shall be construed to require any action inconsistent with a national security recommendation provided by the Federal Government.”.

#### (b) REPORT TO CONGRESS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 3 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of Health and Human Services shall submit to the Congress a report on the Abraham Accords Office, including—

(A) an evaluation of how the Office has advanced progress toward conformance with Food and Drug Administration regulatory requirements by manufacturers in the Abraham Accords countries;

(B) a numerical count of parties that the Office has helped facilitate interactions or feedback pursuant to section 1015(c)(1)(B) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (as added by subsection (a));

(C) a summary of technical assistance provided to regulatory partners in Abraham Accords countries pursuant to subparagraph (A) of such section 1015(c)(1); and

(D) recommendations for increasing and improving coordination between the Food and Drug Administration and entities in Abraham Accords countries.

(2) ABRAHAM ACCORDS COUNTRY DEFINED.—In this subsection, the term ‘Abraham Accords country’ has the meaning given such term in section 1015(d) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (as added by subsection (a)).

### SEC. 10. INCREASING TRANSPARENCY IN GENERIC DRUG APPLICATIONS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 505(j)(3) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 355(j)(3)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(H)(i) Upon request (in controlled correspondence or an analogous process) by a person that has submitted or intends to submit an abbreviated application under this subsection for a drug that is required by regulation to contain one or more of the same inactive ingredients in the same concentrations as the listed drug referred to, or for which the Secretary determines there is a scientific justification for an approach that is in vitro, in whole or in part, to be used to demonstrate bioequivalence for a drug if such a drug contains one or more of the same inactive ingredients in the same concentrations as the listed drug referred to, the Secretary shall inform the person whether such drug is qualitatively and quantitatively the same as the listed drug. The Secretary may also provide such information to such a person on the Secretary’s own initiative during the review of an abbreviated application under this subsection for such drug.

“(ii) Notwithstanding section 301(j), if the Secretary determines that such drug is not qualitatively or quantitatively the same as the listed drug, the Secretary shall identify and disclose to the person—

“(I) the ingredient or ingredients that cause such drug not to be qualitatively or quantitatively the same as the listed drug; and

“(II) for any ingredient for which there is an identified quantitative deviation, the amount of such deviation.

“(iii) If the Secretary determines that such drug is qualitatively and quantitatively the same as the listed drug, the Secretary shall not change or rescind such determination after the submission of an abbreviated application for such drug under this subsection unless—

“(I) the formulation of the listed drug has been changed and the Secretary has determined that the prior listed drug formulation was withdrawn for reasons of safety or effectiveness; or

“(II) the Secretary makes a written determination that the prior determination must be changed because an error has been identified.

“(iv) If the Secretary makes a written determination described in clause (iii)(II), the Secretary shall provide notice and a copy of the written determination to the person making the request under clause (i).

“(v) The disclosures authorized under clauses (i) and (ii) are disclosures authorized by law, including for purposes of section 1905 of title 18, United States Code. This subparagraph shall not otherwise be construed to authorize the disclosure of nonpublic qualitative or quantitative information about the ingredients in a listed drug, or to affect the status, if any, of such information as trade secret or confidential commercial information for purposes of section 301(j) of this Act, section 552 of title 5, United States Code, or section 1905 of title 18, United States Code.”.

#### (b) GUIDANCE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than one year after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of Health and Human Services shall issue draft guidance, or update guidance, describing how the Secretary will determine whether a drug is qualitatively and quantitatively the same as the listed drug (as such terms are used in section 505(j)(3)(H) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, as added by subsection (a)), including with respect to assessing pH adjusters.

(2) PROCESS.—In issuing guidance under this subsection, the Secretary of Health and Human Services shall—

(A) publish draft guidance;

(B) provide a period of at least 60 days for comment on the draft guidance; and

(C) after considering any comments received and not later than one year after the close of the comment period on the draft guidance, publish final guidance.

(c) APPLICABILITY.—Section 505(j)(3)(H) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, as added by subsection (a), applies beginning on the date of enactment of this Act, irrespective of the date on which the guidance required by subsection (b) is finalized.

### SEC. 11. MEDICARE IMPROVEMENT FUND.

Section 1898(b)(1) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395iii(b)(1)) is amended by striking “\$1,403,000,000” and inserting “\$2,622,000,000”.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. CARTER) and the gentlewoman from Michigan (Mrs. DINGELL) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Georgia.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and insert extraneous material in the RECORD on the bill.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. BILIRAKIS), a very valuable member of the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

Mr. BILIRAKIS. Mr. Speaker, I am rising in strong support of H.R. 1262, the Mikaela Naylor Give Kids a Chance Act, led by my friend, the gentleman from Texas, Congressman McCAUL.

This piece of legislation is comprised of bipartisan solutions to increase access to innovative treatments for those living with rare diseases, particularly children and adolescents.

Ten years ago, Mr. Speaker, the idea that we would be able to not just treat but cure sickle cell disease sounded like a dream that was too far out of reach. Today, we are curing sickle cell disease. We are curing spinal muscular atrophy. We are curing hemophilia and blood cancers. These cures are just a few of the success stories attributable to the FDA’s Rare Pediatric Disease Priority Review Voucher Program.

The PRV program is a powerful incentive that spurs the development of treatments for rare pediatric diseases, providing a lifeline for patients who require specialized treatments.

I also want to highlight the other provisions in this bill that seek to bolster important components of our healthcare system.

This legislation supports the improvement of the Organ Procurement and Transplantation Network by allowing the Secretary of HHS to collect member registration fees to support the operation of the OPTN.

This bill also helps secure our medical product supply chain by requiring the FDA to establish an office in a country that has signed the Abraham Accords.

I am grateful to Representatives Harshbarger and Vargas for their work to facilitate operations between the FDA and regulatory authorities and innovators in Abraham Accords countries.

Last but not least, this bill also includes a provision championed by Representatives DUNN and MULLIN that will ensure more affordable drug options are available to patients faster rather than being delayed by unnecessary red tape.

Mr. Speaker, this bill has one of the largest totals of bipartisan cosponsors of any legislation we will see this Congress.

One of the reasons for that is the tireless work of the patient advocates. They come to our office on a regular basis and tell us their personal stories. It makes such a difference, Mr. Speaker.

This bill now bears the name of one of those heroic kids, Mikaela Naylor, who passed away earlier this year after battling cancer for nearly 6 years. May her memory be eternal. She was 16 years old, and I will never forget the videos.

Throughout her battle, Mikaela was a fierce advocate of this bill to create

hope for a cure, not just for herself but for the thousands of kids around the country who are fighting the same fight.

This is a very important bill, and I want to get it to the Senate as soon as possible so it can become law.

Mr. Speaker, I encourage my colleagues to support this bill.

Mrs. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PALLONE), the distinguished ranking member of the Energy and Commerce Committee.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the sponsor of this legislation on the Democratic side, the gentlewoman from Michigan (Mrs. DINGELL), for yielding.

I rise today in support of this legislation, the Mikaela Naylor Give Kids a Chance Act, sponsored by Representatives DINGELL and MCCAUL.

This bill includes several strong, bipartisan pieces of legislation to help expand access to care for patients with rare diseases and complex medical needs. It increases research and development into rare pediatric diseases, improves regulatory certainty, strengthens the medical product supply chain, and enhances patient access to lower-cost medicines.

This bill will help in our efforts to bring new treatments to pediatric patients with more advanced forms of cancer. It also includes important enforcement authority for the Food and Drug Administration to take action against companies that do not conduct required studies for pediatric patients.

The bill also includes critical language to clarify the FDA's long-held treatment of orphan drug exclusivity and bring new treatments to more patients suffering from rare diseases. It will also allow for disclosure of certain information related to drug formulations to generic drug manufacturers to bring lower-cost medications to patients more quickly.

These provisions all advance our goal of accelerating the development of novel, safe, effective, and affordable treatments while improving outcomes for patients.

I am also pleased that the legislation provides the Health Resources and Services Administration, or HRSA, with the authority to modernize the organ transplant system. This language will allow HRSA to collect registration fees and distribute them among the multiple contractors that will be supporting the OPTN. The system is lifesaving for Americans, and I am glad that we can continue to support these much-needed reform efforts.

Mr. Speaker, this bill also includes important provisions to ensure that our medical product supply chain can be strengthened by working with international partners that believe in both tolerance and respect for every person, as well as advancement of science and medicine.

As a whole, this bill is going to make a difference, but I continue to believe

that additional guardrails are needed for the PRV program to function the way Congress intended it to.

Previous reports from the Government Accountability Office on the program and continued research from academics show that there is little evidence that it incentivizes the products that Congress intended to help come to market.

This is especially concerning as the FDA has introduced a new priority review program with potentially massive financial benefits for pharmaceutical companies without any transparency or congressional authorization. That is why I am pleased that this bill includes a requirement for the GAO to conduct a new study and report on the effectiveness of the PRV program in achieving our original intent.

Let us not overstate the impact of this bill, however. While we are working together to advance the bill forward on incremental but important bipartisan legislation to advance both drug discovery and drug affordability, the Trump administration continues its devastating attacks on public health, including in cancer research.

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The Trump administration's substantial cuts to research funding for the biomedical community is chilling the innovation that we are trying to promote through this bill.

The Trump administration is decimating research and endangering the pipeline of new cancer therapies that could come to FDA for approval. Their actions are putting patients at risk and leaving pediatric patients without the treatments that we are trying to ensure can be tested and brought to them.

Meanwhile, the Trump administration is using the FDA as a tool to provide lucrative gifts to drugmakers and allies of President Trump, undermining the Agency's science-based review process, and endangering the health of the American public with potentially unsafe and rushed drug reviews.

The Trump administration is also decimating our vaccine infrastructure, from the programs that cover our vaccines and ensure that patients can afford them to destroying the pipeline to future vaccines through their ideological, pseudoscience agenda.

Mr. Speaker, one day, I hope that my Republican colleagues will join us in calling on the Trump administration to reverse these terrible policies that are only harming the public health.

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of the bipartisan Give Kids a Chance Act, which supports research and development of drugs for children with cancer and other rare diseases.

Nearly 70 percent of rare diseases start in childhood, and most still have no approved treatments. The Rare Pediatric Disease Priority Review Vouch-

er Program has been a catalyst for developing therapies for these vulnerable populations.

Thanks to this program, treatments have reached children who are suffering from nearly 40 rare diseases, many of which previously had no FDA-approved options and often led to severe disability or death before adulthood. Since 2012, the Rare Pediatric Disease PRV Program has helped bring more than 60 new treatments to market and has driven investment in hundreds of additional therapies for rare pediatric diseases that would otherwise be financially unviable.

The Give Kids a Chance Act restores this critical program, ensuring that we continue to spur innovation, improve outcomes for young patients, and close gaps in pediatric drug research.

Mr. Speaker, I encourage my colleagues to support this bill.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I rise today to share my strong support for H.R. 1262, the Mikaela Naylor Give Kids a Chance Act. I am proud to co-lead this important, bipartisan legislation alongside Representatives MICHAEL MCCAUL, Dr. KIM SCHRIER, and GUS BILIRAKIS.

This bill will accelerate pediatric cancer treatments and expand access to lifesaving therapies for children battling rare diseases.

It is impossible to fully express the pain and the devastation that a family experiences when their child is diagnosed with cancer.

One of the bill's advocates was one that we are all going to talk about, Mikaela Naylor, a 16-year-old girl in Colorado who battled bone cancer. She was a fierce fighter for this bill. She talked to all of us, and we all sent videos to her. Unfortunately, she died on October 30.

Her mother told all of us, the sponsors and the cosponsors of this bill, that we gave her reason to live, and she hopes that other children will not die at her age and that this bill will help save lives.

She supported and spoke on the importance of funding cancer research to be able to help other kids like herself. She was a fighter her entire life, and this lifesaving bill has been renamed in her honor.

There are too many others facing the fight, as Mikaela has, each year. Nearly 16,000 children in just the United States are diagnosed with cancer each year.

Mr. Speaker, 1 in every 285 children in the U.S. will be diagnosed with cancer before they reach 20 years of age. In fact, children comprise as many as half of those living with rare diseases. Yet, here is the reality for those children: Treatment options for children remain extremely limited compared to those for adults.

We know that children respond to cancer treatments differently, but

there is limited research on how these therapies impact them. We owe our kids better than that, and their families deserve more.

We need this bill to offer more children a fighting chance. The Give Kids a Chance Act would reauthorize the Food and Drug Administration Priority Review Voucher Program to allow pharmaceutical companies to expedite FDA review of more profitable drugs in return for developing treatments for rare pediatric diseases.

Since 2011, 53 PRVs have been awarded for 35 different rare pediatric diseases. Additionally, thousands of successful drug combination therapies are now being studied and developed for adults but not for kids; not for our children.

The Give Kids a Chance Act also authorizes the FDA to direct companies to study a combination of cancer drugs and therapies in pediatric trials, as well. Together, we can show these young children and their families that they are not alone in this fight.

Mr. Speaker, I do thank the 313 cosponsors of this bill for their support, along with Chairman GUTHRIE and Ranking Member PALLONE for their assistance and support for this important bill. It has taken too long to get here today, but we are here. Let's show the kids in this country that we care.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to vote "yes," and I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. McCAUL), the esteemed Member who has announced that this will be his last session and who has had a stellar career in this august body and who has led in many, many ways, in many committees, and whose career we all want to emulate.

Mr. McCAUL. Mr. Speaker, I thank my dear friend from Georgia (Mr. CARTER) for those kind words. I thank Chairman GUTHRIE, GUS BILIRAKIS, Mr. PALLONE, and, especially, Chairwoman DINGELL for their steadfast advocacy for these kids. I can't think of anything more important in my 22 years.

As chairman of the Childhood Cancer Caucus, I host a yearly childhood cancer summit. Mrs. DINGELL is a co-chair. It is a time for pediatric cancer patients, survivors, and advocates to rally together around these precious children, the most precious thing we have, and to spread hope to them.

Each year, I meet a child who impacts me in a very strong way. This year, I was blessed to get to know this beautiful, beautiful young woman by the name of Mikaela Naylor. I could see in her eyes that she was at the height of her struggle with cancer. It took so much strength for her to come to the summit, but she believed that she was meant to be there. She wanted her presence and her voice to help shape our policies and change our world for the better.

We got her into a joint clinical trial at MD Anderson and Texas Children's

Hospital, but, unfortunately, it was too late. She had to be put on a ventilator 3 weeks after our summit, and she passed away.

As Congresswoman DINGELL mentioned, we sent videos to her to remind her of how important she is. In her final moments on this Earth, I reached out to her and told her that her story would not be forgotten and that her legacy would continue to help thousands of other children. I wanted her to know that her impact would outlive all of us.

Mr. Speaker, today, in her honor, the United States Congress will vote on the Mikaela Naylor Give Kids a Chance Act.

Mr. Speaker, 16 years ago, I founded the Childhood Cancer Caucus because I saw that children with cancer did not have a voice here in Washington. We cared about adult treatments, but no one was paying attention to the precious children who are battling this heartbreaking disease. In fact, they called it rare orphan diseases.

□ 1620

Since then, we have made a change for the better, and today is proof of that. Put simply, this bill gives kids the same chance to beat cancer that adults already have.

Right now, thousands of successful drug combination therapies are being studied and developed for adults, but not for children. The Give Kids a Chance Act will change that. It authorizes the FDA to direct companies to study those same drugs and therapies in children, as well.

It will also reauthorize my Creating Hope Reauthorization Act, which created a pediatric review voucher program within the FDA. It was the first-ever market incentive for pharmaceutical companies to develop childhood cancer treatments. Prior to that, there were none.

Since its inception in 2012, 63 vouchers have been awarded for treatments of at least 39 different rare pediatric diseases, 36 of which previously had no FDA-approved treatments. These diseases typically lead to death before a child can reach adulthood, but not anymore.

A dear friend of mine, Dr. Allison from MD Anderson in my home State of Texas, was able to use this voucher program to obtain FDA approval for a treatment called CAR-T immunotherapy. He received the Nobel Prize in medicine for it, and this voucher program had everything to do with the FDA approval of it. This breakthrough treatment could change everything, and it has changed everything, not just for kids with cancer, but also for many adults.

This bill will keep this successful voucher program going for another 5 years, fueling more innovation and more hope for children and families who desperately need it.

Mr. Speaker, I thank all of my friends on the Committee on Energy

and Commerce—I am not on the committee—who helped me get this bill done. I also want to recognize the childhood cancer survivors who are in the gallery today.

With 313 cosponsors, this bill has the most bipartisan support in Congress, and that is because there is nothing political about a child with cancer. There is nothing more important than saving the lives of the next generation.

My prayers remain with Mikaela's family, and we are honored to have them here with us today: her mother, Cassandra; her father, Doug; and her brother, Ayden. I thank them for sharing Mikaela's beautiful story with us.

Mikaela represents all the children who have suffered with this heartbreaking disease. After meeting with many of them over all of these years, I can tell you these kids are tougher and more resilient than any adult I have ever seen, and they are truly my biggest inspiration. Many survive, but many don't, and that needs to change. Losing these kids has been the hardest part of my career over 22 years.

Today, I am encouraged because Mikaela's legacy and all of their legacies, all those who have died and survived this horrible disease, will live on in this bill forever.

Mr. Speaker, it is rare in this place that you can pass a bill that will end up saving children's lives. I can think of nothing more important.

I urge my colleagues to do right by our children and pass the Mikaela Naylor Give Kids a Chance Act without delay.

Mrs. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I am ready to close, but before doing so, I thank my colleague, with whom I have been proud to co-chair the caucus. We both know too many children who have died, but we know a lot who we were able to get help for. We make a commitment to all the families in the gallery, and those who we have not gotten to know, that no matter where the gentleman is going, he and I are in this fight for the rest of our lives. I thank him for all of his work. I am going to miss my colleague.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time and beg everybody to support this bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair reminds Members not to refer to persons in the gallery.

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I apologize. I do have one other speaker.

Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from California (Mr. OBERNOLTE).

Mr. OBERNOLTE. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend, the gentleman from Georgia, for recognizing me.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support as both a member of the Health Subcommittee and a proud cosponsor of this bill, H.R. 1262, the Give Kids a Chance Act.

Mr. Speaker, we live in the most technologically advanced society in the history of human civilization, and modern medicine has recently come up



with amazing solutions and cures for many of the physical ailments that have afflicted humanity.

Unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, we have many rare pediatric diseases for which there is no cure. While we are researching the cures for those diseases, thousands and thousands of children continue to suffer.

Mr. Speaker, we need to give every priority and do everything we possibly can to speed up the delivery of these treatments for rare pediatric diseases, and that is what this bill is all about. The Give Kids a Chance Act will reauthorize the FDA's Priority Review Voucher system to speed the research and development of these technologies and innovative treatments and bring them to market. It also clarifies the FDA's authority over expediting these therapies and reauthorizes needed funding for the NIH to fund research and development into these cures.

Mr. Speaker, this bill will help us finally bring solutions to these thousands of suffering children.

Mr. Speaker, I thank my bipartisan cosponsors for their hard work on this bill. I urge this body to pass it this evening and urge its speedy consideration in the Senate.

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, in closing, I encourage a "yes" vote on this bill, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. CARTER) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 1262, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

## HOSPITAL INPATIENT SERVICES MODERNIZATION ACT

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 4313) to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to extend acute hospital care at home waiver flexibilities, and to require an additional study and report on such flexibilities, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 4313

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

### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Hospital Inpatient Services Modernization Act".

### SEC. 2. EXTENDING ACUTE HOSPITAL CARE AT HOME WAIVER FLEXIBILITIES.

Section 1866G(a)(1) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395cc-7(a)(1)) is amended by striking "January 30, 2026" and inserting "September 30, 2030".

### SEC. 3. REQUIRING ADDITIONAL STUDY AND REPORT ON ACUTE HOSPITAL CARE AT HOME WAIVER FLEXIBILITIES.

Section 1866G of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395cc-7), as amended by section 2, is further amended—

(1) in subsection (a)(3)(E)—

(A) in clause (ii), by striking "the study described in subsection (b)" and inserting "the studies described in subsections (b) and (c)"; and

(B) by adding at the end the following new flush sentence:

"The Secretary may require that such data and information be submitted through a hospital's cost report, through such survey instruments as the Secretary may develop, through medical record information, or through such other means as the Secretary determines appropriate.";

(2) in subsection (b)—

(A) in the subsection heading, by striking "STUDY" and inserting "INITIAL STUDY"; and

(B) in paragraph (3), by inserting "or subsection (c)" before the period at the end;

(3) by redesignating subsections (c) and (d) as subsections (d) and (e), respectively; and

(4) by inserting after subsection (b) the following new subsection:

"(c) SUBSEQUENT STUDY AND REPORT.—

"(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than September 30, 2028, the Secretary shall conduct a study to—

"(A) analyze, to the extent practicable, the criteria established by hospitals under the Acute Hospital Care at Home initiative to determine which individuals may be furnished services under such initiative; and

"(B) analyze and compare (both within and between hospitals participating in the initiative, and relative to comparable hospitals that do not participate in the initiative, for relevant parameters such as diagnosis-related groups)—

"(i) quality of care furnished to individuals with similar conditions and characteristics in the inpatient setting and through the Acute Hospital Care at Home initiative, including health outcomes, hospital readmission rates (including readmissions both within and beyond 30 days post-discharge), hospital mortality rates, length of stay, infection rates, composition of care team (including the types of labor used, such as contracted labor), the ratio of nursing staff, transfers from the hospital to the home, transfers from the home to the hospital (including the timing, frequency, and causes of such transfers), transfers and discharges to post-acute care settings (including the timing, frequency, and causes of such transfers and discharges), and patient and caregiver experience of care;

"(ii) clinical conditions treated and diagnosis-related groups of discharges from inpatient settings relative to discharges from the Acute Hospital Care at Home initiative;

"(iii) costs incurred by the hospital for furnishing care in inpatient settings relative to costs incurred by the hospital for furnishing care through the Acute Hospital Care at Home initiative, including costs relating to staffing, equipment, food, prescriptions, and other services, as determined by the Secretary;

"(iv) the quantity, mix, and intensity of services (such as in-person visits and virtual contacts with patients and the intensity of such services) furnished in inpatient settings relative to the Acute Hospital Care at Home initiative, and, to the extent practicable, the nature and extent of family or caregiver involvement;

"(v) socioeconomic information on individuals treated in comparable inpatient settings relative to the initiative, including racial and ethnic data, income, housing, geographic proximity to the brick-and-mortar facility and whether such individuals are dually eligible for benefits under this title and title XIX; and

"(vi) the quality of care, outcomes, costs, quantity and intensity of services, and other relevant metrics between individuals who

entered into the Acute Hospital Care at Home initiative directly from an emergency department compared with individuals who entered into the Acute Hospital Care at Home initiative directly from an existing inpatient stay in a hospital.

"(2) SELECTION BIAS.—In conducting the study under paragraph (1), the Secretary shall, to the extent practicable, analyze and compare individuals who participate and do not participate in the initiative controlling for selection bias or other factors that may impact the reliability of data.

"(3) REPORT.—Not later than September 30, 2028, the Secretary of Health and Human Services shall submit to the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Finance of the Senate a report on the study conducted under paragraph (1).

"(4) FUNDING.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services Program Management Account for fiscal year 2026, out of any amounts in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$2,500,000, to remain available until expended, for purposes of carrying out this subsection."

### SEC. 4. MEDICARE IMPROVEMENT FUND.

Section 1898(b)(1) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395iii(b)(1)) is amended by striking "\$1,403,000,000" and inserting "\$1,400,500,000".

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SMITH) and the gentlewoman from Wisconsin (Ms. MOORE) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Missouri.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and submit extraneous material on this bill under consideration.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Hospital Inpatient Services Modernization Act introduced by the Committee on Ways and Means Health Subcommittee chairman, Mr. BUCHANAN, and Congressman DWIGHT EVANS.

I think one of the healthcare-related conversations that frustrates a lot of us around here is the typical year-end healthcare policy extender mess.

□ 1630

The legislation in front of us takes the successful hospital at home program and removes it from that chaos by providing it with a renewed 5-year authorization so more Americans can receive care in the comfort and convenience of their own home.

Hospital at home has become embedded in the fabric of our healthcare system. More than 400 hospitals in nearly 40 States have participated in the program, which has built a track record of improved patient outcomes.

In Health Subcommittee Chairman BUCHANAN's home State of Florida

alone, there are 23 hospitals participating in this program. Hospital care provided at home cuts mortality rates, reduces the risk of falls and infections, and lowers recovery times. It also can save costs versus expensive in-person hospital visits. It is no wonder that 99 percent of patients said they were satisfied with the program.

At a Ways and Means Committee hearing, we heard the incredible story of a hospital at home patient from North Carolina named Roy who was diagnosed with sepsis and initially treated in a hospital. There, he was disturbed by beeping sounds, uncomfortable in the hospital gown, and alone with no one able to visit him. His recovery was much better at home.

He was able to sleep in his own bed and visit with friends and family. He also continued to receive the same level of care he would have otherwise received at the hospital. His recovery at home was rapid, complete, and without any infections.

Mr. Speaker, I represent one of the most rural districts in America. The long drives to a hospital faced by people living in small towns in remote areas can make seeking care prohibitive. Hospital at home shrinks the physical distance stopping rural patients from getting care. Hospital at home has been a proven success for getting more Americans the healthcare that they need.

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

Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I am really happy to see the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, and I am certainly happy to support this 5-year extension of the hospital at home program, which, of course, includes a critical study to ensure additional information about the program. I am also happy to hear about the success of this program as people experience it.

Mr. Speaker, the provisions, as the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee has pointed out, get extended every single year. Sometimes they get extended in short increments. Sometimes they move as a kind of tax package. As a matter of fact, this was just extended in the continuing resolution that we just passed and in previous funding bills before that. I am so delighted to be here this evening to see that my Republican colleagues are in the mood to extend current law.

I will offer them the opportunity to maybe extend the Affordable Care Act to the 24 million Americans who are facing unprecedented enormous health insurance premium hikes since we are extending healthcare stuff today.

In my own State of Wisconsin, Mr. Speaker, 279,000 people receive credits to help make insurance coverage affordable. In my State, for a 60-year-old couple not yet eligible for Medicare, earning \$85,000 a year, they will see their premiums increase by \$23,281 a

year. A family of four earning \$133,000 a year would see their premiums increase by \$14,000 next year.

Families are going to be asked to pay 20, 30, 40 percent of their income for health insurance premiums, and the majority just wants to ignore it. My constituents and your constituents, Mr. Speaker, Americans from coast to coast are going to be staring down these massive amounts of medical debt, massive insurance premiums, or the inability to access healthcare. If they are unable to afford it, they will just drop it.

We have to act. It is December 1. We have to act.

I am reminded, Mr. Speaker, of how fast the Ways and Means Committee and the majority moved to give tax breaks to the wealthy, but when it comes to regular families, we just don't seem to have the time. We could be doing that here on the floor now. This is a marvelous bill we are passing today, but I would much rather be securing the time for that purpose.

Those hikes in healthcare premiums are not isolated, Mr. Speaker. They come on the heels of the One Big Beautiful Bill Act that slashed more than 10 million Americans out of healthcare through the Medicaid program, cut over a trillion dollars in Medicare, and a half-trillion dollar liability in the Medicare fund. Hospitals will close, patients will suffer, and millions of American families will become uninsured all because the majority is refusing to act.

Mr. Speaker, the majority was more than happy to make a whole host of tax breaks permanent for the billionaire business class, but not for these entrepreneurs and families who are facing these tremendous hikes in their premiums. This is part of a Republican economy, I think. Help the billionaires. It will all trickle down. We are going to heap the costs onto middle-class families from every angle. Rising numbers of Americans are falling behind on their utility bills. There is a recent uptick in mortgage delinquencies and a rise in serious delinquency rates for the first time in years. Consumer bankruptcies are on the rise, up 15 percent since last year.

What are we doing? We just passed a \$4.3 trillion tax break overwhelmingly for the wealthy.

What else did the majority do, Mr. Speaker?

They found \$40 billion for certain people in Argentina, but no healthcare for American families. They found \$300 million for a new gilded ballroom where the East Wing of the White House used to be. The ballroom keeps getting bigger and bigger, so I can't describe the dimensions of it, but it is going to have a marble bathroom in it and a fancy new patio, but no healthcare for families.

We have higher electric prices, grocery prices, and housing prices. Half the people in my State who are renting are paying more than a third of their income for housing.

These prices are going through the roof. American families, unless they are billionaires, are struggling to stay afloat in this economy. While President Trump and his family use the White House to haul in billions of dollars to line their own pockets, people will not be able to access healthcare.

Mr. Speaker, while I support this bill, I object to how the majority and the President are making life worse every single day for most Americans.

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

□ 1640

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. BUCHANAN).

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for his leadership on this topic. It has been key to what we have accomplished today.

I rise today in strong support of my bill, the Hospital Inpatient Services Modernization Act, which would allow hospitals to treat Medicare patients safely at home.

During the pandemic, CMS established the hospital at home waiver to provide hospitals with the flexibility to care for patients from the comfort and convenience of their homes.

The hospital at home program has been very successful, being treated in many homes across the country. It has also made a big difference in reducing the risk of infections and falls.

I am thrilled to say that my bill extends the successful hospital at home program for an additional 5 years. I know a lot of people being in Florida where their parents will talk about the importance of if they could stay at home, and I know this is critical.

An extension of this program would ensure more than 200 hospitals across 34 States—including 20 hospitals in Florida—can continue to provide quality care to patients at home. More than 140 leading healthcare organizations, including hospitals, healthcare providers, and patients support this legislation.

I thank Mr. SMUCKER, Mr. EVANS, and Ms. MOORE for their friendship and bipartisanship on this bill. I thank Leader SCALISE and Whip EMMER for bringing this to the floor tonight. I urge my colleagues to support the hospital at home program extension for hospitals, providers, and patients.

Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time to close.

I congratulate Mr. BUCHANAN and Mr. EVANS on bringing forth this bill. I certainly agree with them that people do better at home in many instances and ought to have this as an option.

I look forward to the study that is involved in this iteration of the bill that will inform us about ways to improve the bill.

As we look at healthcare as a whole, it is one of those sort of broken markets that we have. We have 60 percent

of folks who get healthcare through their employer or government or labor unions. We have another group of people who are disabled who get healthcare. We have another group of people who are elderly, thank God they get Medicare, but then there is the rest of us out there.

In a broken system of healthcare, we have got to be concerned about those people. We have talked a lot about children with cancer. What if you are 27 and you have cancer, and you are not getting healthcare through an employer? You don't have one of them good government jobs. You are not elected to anything. What do you do?

While we are passing legislation, I hope that before we adjourn, we will not ignore the thousand-pound elephant in the room, and that is the Republican Party standing in the way of doing it.

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

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. SMUCKER).

Mr. SMUCKER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for moving this bill through Ways and Means and for having us consider this bill this evening, the Hospital Inpatient Services Modernization Act, which is legislation led by my friend, Congressman BUCHANAN. I appreciate his leadership on this, and I was pleased to be able to support the effort, as well.

This bipartisan bill would enable hospitals to extend their successful hospital at home programs for another 5 years. The hospital at home model gives hospitals the flexibility to treat certain patients in the comfort and convenience of their own homes rather than in the hospital facility.

Over 31,000 patients received acute level care in their homes as of October 2024, and studies show that hospital systems achieved savings of 19 percent regarding these patients who required a shorter average length of stay and used fewer unnecessary services.

A number of hospitals in my district have used the hospital at home waiver to great effect. For example, one system with a hospital in my community has accepted more than 800 patients across all of their facilities, freeing up more than 1,500 hospital bed days and saving approximately \$1.1 million.

This is exactly the kind of program that we should be encouraging. It allows medical providers to innovate and provide better care for their patients. Patients like being at home, as well. It decreases costs over the long run. By extending the hospital at home waiver for 5 years, this bill that we are considering today would give hospitals the certainty they need to continue to build out these innovative care models and serve their patients in a holistic way after the disruption caused by the Democratic shutdown.

Mr. Speaker, I encourage all of my colleagues to vote "yes" on this impor-

tant legislation, which is a clear win for patients and taxpayers.

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to approve this legislation, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SMITH) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 4313, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### CLAIMING AGE CLARITY ACT

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 5284) to require the Social Security Administration to make changes to the social security terminology used in the rules, regulation, guidance, or other materials of the Administration, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 5284

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

#### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

*This Act may be cited as the "Claiming Age Clarity Act".*

#### SEC. 2. CHANGES TO SOCIAL SECURITY TERMINOLOGY.

*Not later than the later of the date that is 12 months after the date of enactment of this Act or January 1, 2027, the Commissioner of Social Security shall ensure that, in any rules, regulation, guidance, or other materials of the Social Security Administration, whether online or in print—*

- (1) the term "early eligibility age" is replaced with the term "minimum monthly benefit age";*
- (2) the terms "full retirement age" and "normal retirement age" are replaced with the term "standard monthly benefit age"; and*
- (3) the term "delayed retirement credit" shall not be used and any reference to age 70 as the maximum age up to which delayed retirement credits can be received shall be replaced with the term "maximum monthly benefit age".*

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SMITH) and the gentleman from Wisconsin (Ms. MOORE) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Missouri.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the bill under consideration.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Claiming Age Clarity Act, bipartisan

legislation introduced by my Ways and Means colleagues, Representative LLOYD SMUCKER and DON BEYER.

Planning for one's retirement can be stressful enough without having to interpret needlessly complicated terminology. Unfortunately, millions of Americans claiming Social Security today often face confusing and misleading terms used by the agency that make it that much harder to make informed decisions about one's financial future.

Under the legislation before us, the Social Security Administration will be required to update the agency's language to make it clearer and more straightforward. This will help ensure that Americans do not accidentally claim benefits earlier than they should, are completely informed, and don't potentially miss out on substantial income during their retirement years.

This is critical for the nearly 100,000 citizens living in Representative SMUCKER's district and the over 80,000 in Representative BEYER's district who are nearing retirement age today. It is why organizations like the AARP, the Bipartisan Policy Center, and the Association of Mature American Citizens have come out in support of this bill, which received overwhelming bipartisan support in the Ways and Means Committee. I reserve the balance of my time.

□ 1650

Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 5284, the Claiming Age Clarity Act. I thank my colleagues, Mr. SMUCKER and Mr. BEYER, for their leadership on this important legislation.

As Mr. SMITH has described, these changes will better help seniors understand the advantages and disadvantages of claiming at different ages. I certainly know folks among my constituency who are faced with this confusion. This bill addresses that.

I want to quote Mr. BEYER, who is not with us. He is an author of the bill, along with Mr. SMUCKER. He noted, in our committee report, this bill "doesn't solve the big picture on Social Security, which this committee presides over, nor does it fix the data privacy, customer service, or staffing disaster that DOGE and this administration have put on this agency, but it will help on the margins, and I am glad that this little bill is seeing the light today."

Mr. Speaker, this bill passed the Committee on Ways and Means with overwhelming bipartisan support. I urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to support this commonsense legislation.

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

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. SMUCKER).

Mr. SMUCKER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the leader for bringing this bill to the floor.

Mr. Speaker, Ms. MOORE is right. There are serious questions about Social Security and its sustainability going forward. I can tell my colleagues that Republicans want to ensure that the promises that have been made to the American people will be kept.

We need to have that conversation that Ms. MOORE talked about. We need to make structural changes to the program. We have a math problem. In 8 years, if nothing is done, beneficiaries will not receive their full payments. It is time we begin to have that discussion.

Mr. Speaker, for individuals who are reaching retirement age, this ensures they have the best information available to them as they make decisions about when to start benefits.

Today, we use terms like “early eligibility age,” “full retirement age,” and “delayed retirement credits.” Those are confusing to people I talk with about this. Studies show that most beneficiaries don’t fully understand how their claiming decisions will affect their monthly benefits. As a result, there are many seniors today who may be missing out on substantial retirement income because of suboptimal claiming decisions they made.

Mr. Speaker, that is where the Claiming Age Clarity Act comes in. My bill would simply change the terminology used by the Social Security Administration to describe the different ages when an individual can begin to claim their benefits.

Instead of “early retirement age,” this bill would refer to 62 as the “minimum benefit age.” If Americans start Social Security at 62, then that is the smallest benefit, the minimum benefit, they would receive. “Full retirement age” would become the “standard benefit age.” Age 70 would be referred to as the “maximum benefit age.” When describing this, it doesn’t get any simpler than minimum, standard, and maximum benefit ages.

This bill will help seniors make informed decisions when deciding when to begin their Social Security benefits that they have earned.

Mr. Speaker, I thank Mr. BEYER for leading this effort with me, and I urge my colleagues to support this commonsense bill.

Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, I think this is a commonsense bill, and I am so happy that our colleagues thought it appropriate to bring it forward to help older Americans make better-informed decisions.

As I indicated, I have had friends who retired at age 62 and thought that that would be a better time based on the misinterpretation of the language.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to support this bill, and I yield back the balance of my time.

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

Mr. Speaker, no American entering retirement should lose out on their hard-earned Social Security benefits because the Social Security Administration failed to provide information in clear and understandable terms. We need to make it easier and not harder for individuals to plan for retirement in this country.

The Claiming Age Clarity Act is a positive step in the right direction. Representatives SMUCKER and BEYER are to be commended for forging this bipartisan consensus on a policy that will improve retirement security and ensure the bureaucracy here in Washington better serves American seniors.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SMITH) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 5284, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### IMPROVING SOCIAL SECURITY'S SERVICE TO VICTIMS OF IDENTITY THEFT ACT

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 5345) to amend title VII of the Social Security Act to provide for a single point of contact at the Social Security Administration for individuals who are victims of identity theft, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 5345

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

#### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

*This Act may be cited as the “Improving Social Security’s Service to Victims of Identity Theft Act”.*

#### SEC. 2. SINGLE POINT OF CONTACT FOR IDENTITY THEFT VICTIMS.

*(a) IN GENERAL.—Title VII of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 901 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end the following:*

#### “SEC. 714. SINGLE POINT OF CONTACT FOR IDENTITY THEFT VICTIMS.

*“(a) IN GENERAL.—The Commissioner of Social Security shall establish and implement procedures to ensure that any individual whose social security account number has been misused (such as to fraudulently obtain benefits under title II, VIII, or XVI of this Act, or in a manner that affects an individual’s records at the Social Security Administration, or in a manner that prompts the individual to request a new social security account number) or whose Social Security card has been lost in the course of transmission to the individual has a single point of contact at the Social Security Administration throughout the resolution of the individual’s case. The single point of contact shall track the individual’s case to completion and coordinate with other units to resolve issues as quickly as possible.*

*“(b) SINGLE POINT OF CONTACT.—*

*“(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of subsection (a), the single point of contact shall consist of a team or subset of specially trained employees who—*

*“(A) have the ability to coordinate with other units to resolve the issues involved in the individual’s case, and*

*“(B) shall be accountable for the case until its resolution.*

*“(2) TEAM OR SUBSET.—The employees included within the team or subset described in paragraph (1) may change as required to meet the needs of the Social Security Administration, provided that procedures have been established to—*

*“(A) ensure continuity of records and case history, and*

*“(B) notify the individual when appropriate.”.*

*(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by subsection (a) shall take effect 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act.*

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SMITH) and the gentleman from Wisconsin (Ms. MOORE) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Missouri.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the bill under consideration.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, in recent years, the theft and misuse of Social Security numbers has become a very serious problem in our country. In 2024 alone, there were over 3,000 reported data breaches, and over half of them included compromised Social Security numbers. For victims, the fallout can be overwhelming.

Instead of finding clear guidance at the Social Security Administration to deal with this stressful situation, too many folks are bounced from one office to another. They receive conflicting instructions and spend months trying to resolve what should be a straightforward issue.

During a previous Ways and Means Subcommittee on Social Security hearing, we heard directly from a mother about how a single point of contact at the Social Security office would have been beneficial in helping her deal with the fallout from her daughter’s Social Security number being compromised.

Protecting Americans from identity theft is not a partisan issue. This bill provides a simple and commonsense fix to provide victims of identity theft with a single point of contact at the Social Security Administration when their number is lost or compromised.

Mr. Speaker, I thank Congressman DAVID KUSTOFF for his leadership on this bill. Thanks to his work, victims of identity theft whose Social Security

numbers have been compromised will get the help that they so need.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this important piece of legislation, and I reserve the balance of my time.

□ 1700

Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I certainly support H.R. 5345, the Improving Social Security's Service to Victims of Identity Theft Act, and of course, this passed the Ways and Means Committee with overwhelming bipartisan support.

I think having a single person to deal with at the Social Security office is common sense, and it will enable a victim to unravel their problems a lot sooner.

I just want to make note of the fact that, like some other Social Security bills that are under consideration today, this bill does not fix the crisis that this Trump administration has inflicted on Social Security when it comes to data privacy and customer service. Thumb drives went into our central data computers by DOGE employees, people who had not been confirmed by any Senate or anything else, and our Social Security information was captured—captured indeed—on thumb drives.

Democrats are going to continue to fight to protect Americans from having their personal Social Security information politicized or bought and sold to the highest bidder or their Social Security benefits put at risk. It is very, very frightening, so frightening, Mr. Speaker, that as soon as our current Treasury Secretary was brought into office, I wanted to know what DOGE was doing and where the information was going. I don't think we have had any conversations of any substance regarding the location of that data.

While this bill will have a modest but meaningful improvement to Social Security's customer service to the victims of identity theft, and I urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to vote for this legislation, I want them to think more deeply about what we need to do in the atmosphere that we are in now to protect Americans' Social Security data that was mined by DOGE.

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

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. KUSTOFF).

Mr. KUSTOFF. Mr. Speaker, I thank our Ways and Means chairman, JASON SMITH, not only for his strong leadership but for his support on this important legislation.

Mr. Speaker, every year, more and more Americans are having their identity stolen. It is a sad fact. However, actors are becoming more sophisticated. They are using new technology to gain access to sensitive information.

Just last year, there were over 3,000 separate data breaches that were reported, including many leaks involving stolen Social Security numbers.

Currently, when somebody has their identity stolen, they have got to navigate a baffling process at the Social Security Administration. The Ways and Means Committee has heard from victims who describe the process of regaining their identities as a bureaucratic nightmare. It is complex. It is lengthy, and it is frustrating. Sometimes they report being passed from representative to representative and from department to department. Sometimes they even get conflicting advice from people within the Social Security Administration.

As identity theft becomes more commonplace, the system at the Social Security Administration needs to be streamlined to work better for the victims. The Improving Social Security's Service to Victims of Identity Theft Act addresses this problem head-on.

Specifically, this bill will establish a single point of contact at the Social Security Administration for Americans who have had their Social Security numbers lost or stolen. Mr. Speaker, think of it as a one-stop shop for those trying to protect themselves from identity theft. Having a single point of reference, one point of contact, at the Social Security Administration will simplify the process, making it easier and faster for victims to get relief.

This piece of legislation was passed favorably out of the Ways and Means Committee with a strong bipartisan vote. Mr. Speaker, now it is time to act in a bipartisan manner to support Americans whose Social Security numbers fall into the wrong hands.

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I am prepared to close.

Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I have no further speakers, and I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, I just want to thank my colleague for introducing this very important piece of legislation. I am always happy, as are other Democrats on the Ways and Means Committee, for any initiative to protect our data, to protect and secure it, to protect people's privacy, and to streamline their ability to resolve their problem.

I would hope that the authors of this legislation and the chairman of the committee would recognize that this will mean that they will have to stop taking the appropriations away from the Social Security Administration. We have shut down scores of offices. Many people have been fired, and that data and AI will not resolve the issue of having a single point of contact or a person to deal with.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this legislation. It did pass out of committee with a strong bipartisan vote. I hope that there is bipartisan interest in protecting our data which, like I said, has been DOGE'd and stored somewhere in the cloud. I hope that

this urgency around protecting data will continue to be a priority of the committee.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, identity theft has become a major issue in our country. One of the main ways that bad actors exploit victims is through the misuse of their Social Security number.

Unfortunately, when people contact the Social Security Administration for help with a stolen or missing Social Security number, they are often met with red tape, waiting for callbacks, confusion, and conflicting information. Callers will get bounced around to multiple SSA employees or have go through different processes just to get the help that they need.

This bill sponsored by Representative KUSTOFF will make it easier for Americans to resolve issues with stolen or missing Social Security numbers by providing them with a single point of contact at the SSA.

I, once again, want to thank Representative KUSTOFF for his great leadership on this legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to vote "yes", and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SMITH) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 5345, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

□ 1710

#### SOCIAL SECURITY CHILD PROTECTION ACT OF 2025

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 5348) to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide for the reissuance of social security account numbers to young children in cases where confidentiality has been compromised, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 5348

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

#### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

*This Act may be cited as the "Social Security Child Protection Act of 2025".*

#### SEC. 2. REISSUANCE OF SOCIAL SECURITY ACCOUNT NUMBERS TO YOUNG CHILDREN IN CASES WHERE CONFIDENTIALITY HAS BEEN COMPROMISED.

(a) *IN GENERAL.*—Section 205(c)(2)(B) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 405(c)(2)(B)) is amended—

(1) by redesignating clause (iii) as clause (iv); and

(2) by inserting after clause (ii) the following new clause:

“(iii) In any case in which a social security account number has been issued to a child who has not attained the age of 14 pursuant to subclause (IV) or (V) of clause (i) and it is demonstrated by evidence, as determined by the Commissioner of Social Security, and submitted under penalty of perjury to the Commissioner by a parent or guardian of the child that in the course of transmission of a social security card to the child, the confidentiality of such number has been compromised by reason of loss or theft of such social security card, the Commissioner shall issue a new social security account number to such child and make note in the records maintained with respect to such child of the pertinent information received by the Commissioner regarding the loss or theft of the social security card.”.

(b) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall take effect on the date that is 180 days after the date of the enactment of this Act.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SMITH) and the gentlewoman from Wisconsin (Ms. MOORE) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Missouri.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and submit extraneous material on the bill under consideration.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, a lost or stolen Social Security number can cause a lifetime of harm to American children. Every year, more than a million children become victims of identity fraud.

Current Social Security Administration policy makes it extremely difficult for families to get a new Social Security number for a child, even when families know the original number was compromised through no fault of their own.

Previously, the Ways and Means Committee heard direct testimony from a mother who had to battle with the Social Security Administration when her 1-month-old child's Social Security number was compromised, and she was denied a new number.

This bill, the Social Security Child Protection Act of 2025, sponsored by Representative SMUCKER, will help families when their child's Social Security number is lost or stolen. It requires the SSA to issue a new number to children under the age of 14 when the child's card has been compromised versus sitting around and waiting for a malicious act to take place.

This is a straightforward solution that will help protect children and families from fraud.

I urge my colleagues to support this so we can continue to stand together to better safeguard the identities of American kids.

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

Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I certainly think that H.R. 5348, the Social Security Child Protection Act of 2025, which passed the Ways and Means Committee with overwhelming bipartisan support, deserves to be supported by this body.

As has been indicated, this legislation would direct the SSA to issue a new Social Security number to a child under 14 if it was stolen in the course of being mailed.

The current policy brings nothing but misery upon a child and a new family, and I think that this is a commonsense effort to mend this grievous bureaucratic conundrum that parents have to face.

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

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. SMUCKER).

Mr. SMUCKER. Mr. Speaker, I thank Chairman SMITH for the opportunity to bring this up in committee and then for moving it out of committee. I thank the leader for bringing it to the floor for a vote.

This is about helping kids. I know when we talk about Social Security, we don't often think about kids. But remember, every child receives a Social Security number that follows them around for the rest of their life. Every year, there are kids whose Social Security numbers are lost or stolen in the mail and exposed to fraudsters.

Because children don't open bank accounts, they don't apply for lines of credit, and they don't seek employment, it can take them years to discover that their identity was stolen or to realize the effects of a stolen identity.

Under current policy, even if the child is aware that the Social Security number was stolen, a child must become victimized by actual fraud before the Social Security Administration will give them a new number.

That is ridiculous. If my bank issued a credit card and I didn't receive it in the mail, they wouldn't send me another copy of the same card. They would cancel the old one and send me a new card. Why would we treat our children any differently? We shouldn't.

That is why, Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to vote for the Social Security Child Protection Act. This bill would simply require that the Social Security Administration issue a new, different Social Security number to a child under the age of 14 if the card has been lost or stolen while being issued to the child in the mail.

Mr. Speaker, it is a simple fix to protect our children and make the process of interacting with the Social Security Administration easier. I urge my colleagues to vote “yes.”

Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time for closing.

Mr. Speaker, this is a commonsense bill, and it will strengthen customer service for children whose Social Security card has been lost or stolen in the mail.

While Mr. SMUCKER described this as a very simple, commonsense bill, I think the importance of this is it demonstrates that on a bipartisan basis we can solve problems. You always start with the little things and work yourself forward.

If providing greater customer service through the Social Security Administration is a goal that has strong bipartisan support, I think that that really gives us a runway to do bigger things.

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

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

A mother testifying before the Ways and Means Committee told us how it took “hours of effort over months” to protect her daughter from identity theft and that “the threat will never completely go away unless she is assigned a new Social Security number.”

This mother had to battle with the SSA after her infant daughter's Social Security number was compromised. Unfortunately, the story is all too common for millions of Americans who have had their Social Security numbers stolen or misused each year.

By taking swift action today, we can prevent a lifetime of financial harm to American children across the country.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this legislation, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SMITH) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 5348, as amended.

The question was taken.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In the opinion of the Chair, two-thirds being in the affirmative, the yeas have it.

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

#### FAIR AND ACCOUNTABLE IRS REVIEWS ACT

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 5346) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to reform certain penalty and interest provisions, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 5346

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

#### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

*This Act may be cited as the “Fair and Accountable IRS Reviews Act”.*



**SEC. 2. PROCEDURAL REQUIREMENTS FOR ASSESSMENT OF PENALTIES.**

(a) **APPROVAL OF ASSESSMENT.**—Section 6751(b)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended to read as follows:

“(1) **IN GENERAL.**—No penalty under this title shall be assessed or entered unless, before any written communication with respect to such penalty (including proposal of a penalty as an adjustment) is sent to the taxpayer, the initial determination of such assessment is personally approved (in writing) by the immediate supervisor of the individual making such determination or such higher level official as the Secretary may designate.”.

(b) **IMMEDIATE SUPERVISOR DEFINED.**—Section 6751(b) of such Code is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(3) **IMMEDIATE SUPERVISOR.**—For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘immediate supervisor’ means, with respect to an individual making a determination under paragraph (1), the person to whom such individual reports.”.

(c) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendments made by this section shall apply to notices issued, and penalties assessed, after December 31, 2025.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SMITH) and the gentlewoman from Alabama (Ms. SEWELL) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Missouri.

**GENERAL LEAVE**

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and submit extraneous material on the bill under consideration.

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

There was no objection.

□ 1720

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the Fair and Accountable IRS Reviews Act introduced by our colleague, Representative GLENN GROTHMAN.

While not a member of the Committee on Ways and Means, I know Representative GROTHMAN to be a tireless advocate for American taxpayers, as represented by this important piece of legislation that will go a very long way toward protecting their rights.

The legislation ensures that rogue IRS employees are not able to unfairly impose penalties and fines on taxpayers without going through proper channels of authorization and doing so in a timely manner.

Right now, an IRS agent can impose a penalty on an American taxpayer before obtaining a supervisor's approval. Moreover, they can shop around for any other employee at the agency that they wish to seek permission from since current law does not require approval from a direct supervisor.

These loopholes undermine the no-signature, no-penalty principle. Representative GROTHMAN's bill received unanimous support at the Committee on Ways and Means. It is an important policy reform that will reinforce fair treatment of taxpayers at the IRS.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 5346, the Fair and Accountable IRS Reviews Act.

Mr. Speaker, I thank Chairman JASON SMITH for putting this bill on the floor, and I thank the gentleman for always remembering that it is better to do things in a bipartisan way.

This bill clarifies procedures under section 6751 of the Internal Revenue Code and fixes an ongoing controversy regarding tax penalties and IRS supervisory approvals.

The IRS Restructuring and Reform Act of 1998 added section 6751 to the Internal Revenue Code, which says that certain tax penalties shall not be assessed unless the initial determination of the assessment is personally approved, in writing, by the immediate supervisor of the employee making the determination, or a higher-level official.

This provision, in its current form, does not define when supervisory approval must be obtained or who is considered an immediate supervisor. The lack of definition has led to conflicting decisions in the court regarding the time of approvals and among whom at the IRS can make such approvals.

Due to this widespread confusion, the National Taxpayer Advocate recommended that Congress enact legislation to fix this provision. Therefore, this bill clarifies that an IRS employee must obtain supervisory approval in writing before any written communication is sent to a taxpayer about certain proposed penalties. It also clarifies that an IRS employee's immediate supervisor is a person to whom the employee reports.

In addition to providing clarity, this bill also raises \$117 million over the next 10 years. This bill passed the Committee on Ways and Means with overwhelming bipartisan support.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to support this very important clarification bill.

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

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. GROTHMAN).

Mr. GROTHMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the previous speakers for their kind words and assistance on this bill. I also will address the Fair and Accountable IRS Reviews Act.

For decades, Federal laws required that before the IRS can impose penalties on a taxpayer, an agent must first receive written approval from that agent's immediate supervisor.

Congress put this safeguard in place to ensure that penalties are imposed fairly, consistently, and with appropriate oversight. A supervisor's signature helps prevent the use of penalties as a pressure tactic and creates a transparent record that benefits both

taxpayers and the government in collection and appeals proceedings.

In recent years, unfortunately, a regulatory interpretation complicated the intent of this longstanding statute. Instead of adhering to the clear requirement that an agent's immediate supervisor must approve a penalty at the time of the initial determination, supervisory approval could be obtained at any point in the process and the term “immediate supervisor” was broadened beyond Congress' original intent.

As a result, an agent could propose a penalty without prior review and later seek approval from a wide range of individuals, weakening the transparency and accountability that the law was designed to ensure.

The Fair and Accountable IRS Reviews Act restores clarity. It reaffirms that an IRS agent's actual immediate supervisor must provide written approval at the initial determination of a penalty, ensuring proper oversight from the start. This simple clarification strengthens the taxpayer protections and promotes a consistent and reliable penalty process.

Mr. Speaker, Americans deserve a tax system that is fair, predictable, and transparent. This bill moves us closer to that goal.

I thank Chairman SMITH for his leadership on the Committee on Ways and Means and all of the Members on the other side of the aisle who helped shoot it out of the committee on such a bipartisan basis. I thank Chairman SMITH for his commitment to strengthening fairness and accountability within our tax system.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support the bill.

Ms. SEWELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time for the purposes of closing.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 5346 is a common-sense bill that will help taxpayers and the courts. I urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to support this bill because not only is it common sense, but it will allow for more efficiency in our IRS code. I think it is really important that both sides of the aisle, Democrats and Republicans, support such an efficient and common-sense bill.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, American taxpayers should not be at the mercy of rogue IRS agents who are handing out fines without reasonable due process. At the very least, agents ought to have actual prior approval before issuing a penalty and should not be allowed to go around looking for a sympathetic employee to grant them that approval.

I commend our colleague, Representative GROTHMAN, for introducing this straightforward legislation that puts in place some guardrails around the IRS and its agents. This bill will help restore integrity to the agency's processes. Above all, it will protect the

rights of American taxpayers, whose interests we must continue to look out for.

Mr. Speaker, I encourage my colleagues to vote "yes" on the Fair and Accountable IRS Reviews Act, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SMITH) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 5346, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

## TAX COURT IMPROVEMENT ACT

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 5349) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to improve services provided to taxpayers by the Internal Revenue Service by providing greater judicial review, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 5349

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

### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; ETC.

(a) **SHORT TITLE.**—This Act may be cited as the "Tax Court Improvement Act".

(b) **AMENDMENT OF 1986 CODE.**—Except as otherwise expressly provided, whenever in this Act an amendment is expressed in terms of an amendment to a section or other provision, the reference shall be considered to be made to a section or other provision of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.

(c) **TABLE OF CONTENTS.**—The table of contents of this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title; etc.

Sec. 2. Authorization of subpoenas before hearings to facilitate settlements.

Sec. 3. Authorization of special trial judges to hear additional cases and address contempt.

Sec. 4. Disqualification of judges and special trial judges.

Sec. 5. Clarification of Tax Court jurisdiction to apply equitable tolling in deficiency cases.

### SEC. 2. AUTHORIZATION OF SUBPOENAS BEFORE HEARINGS TO FACILITATE SETTLEMENTS.

Section 7456(a) is amended to read as follows:

"(a) **IN GENERAL.**—

"(1) **ADMINISTRATION OF OATHS.**—For the efficient administration of the functions vested in the Tax Court or any division thereof, any judge or special trial judge, the clerk or the clerk's deputies, as such, or any other employee of the Tax Court designated in writing for the purpose by the chief judge, may administer oaths or affirmations.

"(2) **SUBPOENA AUTHORITY.**—Any judge or special trial judge may examine witnesses and require, by subpoena ordered by the Tax Court or any division thereof and signed by the judge or special trial judge (or by the clerk of the Tax Court or by any other employee of the Tax Court when acting as deputy clerk), any of the following:

"(A) The attendance of parties or witnesses.

"(B) The production of books, papers, documents, electronically stored information, or tangible things from any place in the United States

by any party or witness having custody or control thereof for purposes of discovery or for use of the things produced as evidence in accordance with the rules and orders of the Tax Court. Any such subpoena shall be issued and served, and compliance therewith shall be compelled, as provided in the rules and orders of the Tax Court.

"(3) **DEPOSITIONS.**—Pursuant to rules and orders of the Court, the deposition of a witness may be taken before any designated individual competent to administer oaths under this title. Any deposition testimony shall be reduced to writing by the individual taking the deposition, or under such individual's direction, and shall be subscribed by the deponent."

### SEC. 3. AUTHORIZATION OF SPECIAL TRIAL JUDGES TO HEAR ADDITIONAL CASES AND ADDRESS CONTEMPT.

(a) **CONSENT TO ASSIGNMENT.**—Section 7443A(b) is amended by striking "and" at the end of paragraph (6), by redesignating paragraph (7) as paragraph (8), and by inserting after paragraph (6) the following new paragraph:

"(7) upon the consent of the parties, and pursuant to rules promulgated by the Tax Court, any proceeding not described in paragraphs (1) through (6), and", and

(b) **AUTHORIZING SPECIAL TRIAL JUDGE.**—Section 7443A(c) is amended by striking "or (6)" and inserting "(6), or (7)".

(c) **CONTEMPT AUTHORITY.**—Section 7443A is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(f) **INCIDENTAL POWERS.**—A special trial judge appointed under this section shall have the power to punish for contempt of the authority of the Tax Court as provided in section 7456(c), except the sentence imposed by such a special trial judge for any contempt shall not exceed the penalties for a Class C misdemeanor as set forth in sections 3571(b)(6) and 3581(b)(8) of title 18, United States Code. This subsection shall not be construed to limit the authority of a special trial judge to order sanctions under any other statute or any rule of the Tax Court prescribed pursuant to section 7453."

(d) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendments made by subsections (a) and (b) shall take effect on the date the United States Tax Court adopts rules implementing the consent procedures of section 7443A.

### SEC. 4. DISQUALIFICATION OF JUDGES AND SPECIAL TRIAL JUDGES.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Part II of subchapter C of chapter 76 is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

#### "SEC. 7467. DISQUALIFICATION OF JUDGE OR SPECIAL TRIAL JUDGE.

"Section 455 of title 28, United States Code, shall apply to judges, special trial judges, and proceedings of the Tax Court."

(b) **CLERICAL AMENDMENT.**—The table of sections for such part is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

"Sec. 7467. Disqualification of judge or special trial judge."

### SEC. 5. CLARIFICATION OF TAX COURT JURISDICTION TO APPLY EQUITABLE TOLLING IN DEFICIENCY CASES.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 7451(b) is amended to read as follows:

"(b) **TOLLING OF TIME.**—

"(1) **IN GENERAL.**—The Tax Court shall have jurisdiction to toll the period for filing a petition under section 6213(a) in cases in which the Tax Court determines based on the facts and circumstances that equity warrants such tolling.

"(2) **RULES FOR INACCESSIBLE FILING LOCATIONS.**—

"(A) **IN GENERAL.**—Notwithstanding any other provision of this title, in any case (including by reason of a lapse in appropriations) in which a filing location is inaccessible or otherwise unavailable to the general public on the date a petition is due, the relevant time period for filing

such petition shall be tolled for the number of days within the period of inaccessibility plus an additional 14 days.

"(B) **FILING LOCATION.**—For purposes of this paragraph, the term 'filing location' means—

"(i) the office of the clerk of the Tax Court, or

"(ii) any on-line portal made available by the Tax Court for electronic filing of petitions."

(b) **CONFORMING AMENDMENT.**—Section 7459(d) is amended—

(1) by striking "If a petition" and inserting the following:

"(1) **IN GENERAL.**—If a petition", and

(2) by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

"(2) **EXCEPTION.**—Paragraph (1) shall not apply with respect to any dismissal which is solely based on a determination of the Tax Court not to toll the period for filing a petition under section 6213(a)."

(c) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendments made by this section shall apply to filings made after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(d) **NO INFERENCE.**—The amendment made by subsections (a) shall not be construed to create any inference with respect to the jurisdiction of the Tax Court with respect to any petition filed on or before the date of the enactment of this Act.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SMITH) and the gentleman from Alabama (Ms. SEWELL) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Missouri.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the bill under consideration.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

□ 1730

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Tax Court Improvement Act, bipartisan legislation introduced by Representatives NATHANIEL MORAN and TERRI SEWELL. As a former judge, Congressman MORAN knows the importance of fully protecting Americans' legal rights and due process, and I appreciate his leadership on this issue.

This bill strengthens taxpayer rights during judicial proceedings before the U.S. Tax Court.

The court will be able to more expeditiously resolve cases as the legislation enhances the efficiency of its judicial review to the benefit of the taxpayer. This will increase the court's productivity, and Tax Court judges will also be held to the same disqualification standards as other judges. Finally, the court will now have the ability to extend taxpayer deadlines where timely filing is impractical.

The U.S. Tax Court is the only venue where taxpayers can dispute a tax estimate without first paying that tax. Taxpayers must stand on equal footing when going toe-to-toe with the IRS. Without the guarantee of rights, taxpayers are put in a situation where the

IRS is essentially saying: Heads, I win. Tails, you lose.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to stand with American taxpayers and support this legislation, and I reserve the balance of my time.

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

Mr. Speaker, I thank Chairman SMITH for bringing this bill to the floor.

I rise in support of H.R. 5349, the Tax Court Improvement Act, which passed the Committee on Ways and Means with overwhelming bipartisan support.

Mr. Speaker, I thank my cosponsor and colleague, Mr. MORAN of Texas, for his leadership and for working with me on this important legislation. I also thank the gentleman from Texas for the smoked turkey he sent to several members of our committee.

The Tax Court has a very important impact on everyday Americans. It provides individuals and businesses with an opportunity to be heard in court to challenge the Internal Revenue Service before paying a disputed tax. Our committee is always looking for ways to make the Tax Court more efficient and fairer for the taxpayer, and that is why we are here today.

The Tax Court Improvement Act will strengthen Tax Court procedures and practices by making four commonsense reforms. The act will accelerate the collection of documents, expand the types of cases assigned to special trial judges, hold Tax Court judges to the same recusal standards as other Federal judges, and allow the deadline for petitions to be extended in certain circumstances.

These improvements to the Tax Court will have a tangible impact on thousands of taxpayers, and it will raise \$6 million over the next 10 years.

Given the importance of the Tax Court, I urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to support this important legislation.

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

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. MORAN).

Mr. MORAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of the Tax Court Improvement Act. This taxpayer-friendly bill significantly improves the critical Tax Court process available to Americans who find themselves in a dispute with the IRS.

Mr. Speaker, I thank specifically Representative TERRI SEWELL, who joined me in coauthoring this bill, for recognizing that taxpayers deserve a court process that is clear, timely, efficient, and just. Her work on this bill reflects our joint commitment to the people we serve.

For too long, the Tax Court has operated under preexisting rules that do not mirror many of the well-established procedures for other courts and rules that are antiquated in their application.

In short, changes need to be made so that the Tax Court process works better for the people that it serves. When a system is slow or confusing, the burden falls on taxpayers, often at moments when they are already under stress. This bill provides practical updates that help the court do its job more effectively, and it helps taxpayers find resolution more easily and quickly.

First, this bill modernizes the court's subpoena rules. Today, if someone is subpoenaed to produce documents before the Tax Court, they must show up in person. This wastes time, adds expense, and clogs an already full docket. Other Article I and Article III courts already allow documents to be submitted, at times, without requiring physical appearance. This bill, likewise, gives the Tax Court the same commonsense flexibility, allowing judges to decide when someone truly needs to appear in person.

Second, the bill helps the court address its growing case backlog. It does this by allowing special trial judges, who are experienced legal professionals who already handle much of the court's work, to take on additional responsibilities with the consent of the taxpayer. If the taxpayer agrees, these special trial judges can hear certain additional matters, issue final decisions in specific cases, and use limited contempt authority to maintain order. This is similar to how magistrate judges currently assist Federal district court judges to streamline their dockets when consent of the parties exists. The result is simple: faster resolution for taxpayers without sacrificing expertise on the bench, fairness in the process, or integrity in the result.

Third, the bill strengthens public trust by creating clear ethical standards for Tax Court judges. Article III judges already have statutory recusal rules. Currently, Tax Court judges do not. Codifying disqualification requirements ensures that taxpayers know that their case will be heard by a judge who is impartial and above reproach. This change helps to take away any indicia of impropriety in the process, again giving weight to the soundness of the final judgment.

Finally, this legislation clarifies the court's authority to use equitable tolling in deficiency cases. Today, if a taxpayer misses a filing deadline, even due to illness, natural disaster, or being given incorrect information, the court often has no ability to offer relief to that taxpayer. Cases can be dismissed before the merits are even heard, putting taxpayers at risk for losing their claim when they are not at fault for missing the deadline. That is not a just result. This bill ensures the court can make determinations based on the substance of claims, not just procedural technicalities, especially when a taxpayer is acting in good faith.

Taken together, these reforms make the Tax Court more efficient, responsive, and just for the American tax-

payer. They reflect these values that guide our work in this Chamber: strong institutions, fair treatment for taxpayers, and renewed trust in our government processes.

This is a measured, practical bill that passed unanimously in committee, and it deserves the support of this House on both sides of the aisle.

I urge my colleagues to vote for the Tax Court Improvement Act to help strengthen a court process that plays a vital role in protecting our taxpayers' rights and ensuring accountability of the IRS within our tax system.

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

Mr. Speaker, in closing, in support of H.R. 5349, the Tax Court Improvement Act, is the fact that we want more commonsense, bipartisan efforts to modernize our Tax Court system.

At its heart, this bill strengthens taxpayer rights and removes unnecessary procedural roadblocks. Specifically, it authorizes the Tax Court to issue subpoenas before hearings. That means third parties can be compelled to produce relevant documents, electronic records, and other evidence early, facilitating settlement, reducing the need for protracted litigation, and helping to resolve disputes sooner rather than later.

This bill also expands the role of special trial court judges, allowing them to hear additional cases and act when there are issues such as contempt, thereby helping to clear backlogs and improving the court's overall input.

It holds Tax Court judges and special trial judges to the same ethical and disqualification standards as other Federal judges, ensuring transparency and integrity in every case.

This bill also clarifies that the Tax Court has the jurisdiction to grant equitable tolling in deficiency cases. In other words, the court can expand and extend deadlines when timely filings were impossible and impractical to make.

These reforms are not radical. They are commonsense improvements designed to deliver timely justice, lower court costs, and greater access for everyday Americans, small businesses, and those who currently face intimidating and burdensome procedures.

In a system where there are high stakes for individuals, families, and entrepreneurs, there is nothing uncommon or unreasonable about expecting a fair shot, swift resolution, and procedures that reflect modern realities. That is exactly what H.R. 5349 delivers.

□ 1740

Passing this legislation is a statement that we believe in a tax system where accountability, transparency, and due process matter, not just for the wealthy or well-connected, but for all Americans.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to support H.R. 5349 and deliver on commonsense Tax Court reform.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, the Ways and Means Committee has been working tirelessly to strengthen taxpayer rights. This year alone, the committee has approved several pieces of legislation giving taxpayers fairer treatment. The Tax Court Improvement Act is another one of these solutions.

The IRS is the most feared Federal agency for good reason, but we are working to change that. In addition to pursuing partisan aims, it has a long-documented history of treating taxpayer rights as mere suggestions.

This bill will give taxpayers more confidence and greater protections when litigating their case before the U.S. Tax Court.

Mr. Speaker, I thank Congressman MORAN and Congresswoman SEWELL for championing taxpayer rights. This bill received total support in the Ways and Means Committee, and I urge all my colleagues to do the same here in the House.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SMITH) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 5349, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### HUD TRANSPARENCY ACT OF 2025

Mr. DAVIDSON. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 225) to require the Inspector General of the Department of Housing and Urban Development to testify before the Congress annually, and for other purposes, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 225

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

#### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

*This Act may be cited as the "HUD Transparency Act of 2025".*

#### SEC. 2. CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY.

*Not later than October 1 of each year, the Inspector General of the Department of Housing and Urban Development shall appear before the Committee on Financial Services of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs of the Senate and present testimony on the Office of Inspector General's—*

*(1) efforts to detect and prevent fraud, waste, and abuse;*

*(2) ability to conduct and supervise audits, investigations, and reviews;*

*(3) actions to identify opportunities for the programs of the Department of Housing and Urban Development to progress and succeed;*

*(4) recommendations to improve overall efficiency and public accountability of the Department of Housing and Urban Development;*

*(5) assessment of the extent to which the Department of Housing and Urban Development has resources sufficient to carry out its statutory mission; and*

*(6) ongoing activities regarding any such additional work, as appropriate.*

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. DAVIDSON) and the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WATERS) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. DAVIDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on this bill.

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

There was no objection.

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

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 225, the HUD Transparency Act.

I thank the gentlewoman from Texas, Congresswoman DE LA CRUZ, for sponsoring this legislation.

The HUD Transparency Act of 2025 is a piece of commonsense legislation that strengthens accountability, enhances oversight, and ensures the American people have a clear view into how Federal housing dollars are spent.

For years, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, HUD, has administered programs that touch millions of families, seniors, and veterans in communities across our Nation. These programs are critical. They support affordable housing development, combat homelessness, and help communities recover after disasters.

Unfortunately, over the years, in my view, the agency has shown time and time again they are unable to perform some basic functions. The agency continually fails to hold local public housing authorities responsible for providing safe housing.

Reports from the inspector general, the Government Accountability Office, and our own committee have repeatedly identified some of the same issues: outdated and incomplete reporting, inconsistent and unverifiable data, missed deadlines, and major programs operating without clear evidence of effectiveness.

As the branch with the power of the purse, it is Congress' responsibility to ensure tax dollars that go toward HUD's programs are managed effectively, efficiently, and transparently. H.R. 225 delivers on that responsibility.

This bill requires the Office of the Inspector General of the Department of Housing and Urban Development to annually testify before Congress so we can ensure the Department is meeting its performance reporting and management standards. By requiring the HUD Inspector General to appear in front of Congress, Ms. DE LA CRUZ's bill makes HUD take the necessary steps to publish key performance information, re-

port program outcomes in a timely manner, and makes the data available so Congress and the public can better ensure Federal housing programs are meeting their goals.

The HUD Transparency Act is a straightforward, bipartisan solution to a longstanding problem. HUD needs to use consistent reporting formats so Congress can compare outcomes across programs and track progress over time. It ensures that the American people can see how their tax dollars are being used.

These are basic principles of good governance. Transparency strengthens public trust and improves program performance. It allows Congress to address problems early instead of after tax dollars have been wasted or ones in need have been left behind.

Importantly, this bill does so without imposing new burdens on State or local governments and without slowing down the delivery of critical housing assistance. H.R. 225 simply ensures that HUD operates with the openness and accountability the American people expect and deserve.

Mr. Speaker, I thank Ms. DE LA CRUZ for this important measure, and I urge our colleagues to support it.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 225, the HUD Transparency Act of 2025, sponsored by Representative DE LA CRUZ.

Oversight is a core function of the Financial Services Committee. Inspectors general also play a critical role in providing transparency about the functions of government, as well as holding government officials accountable.

They are able to do this because they are independent of the officials they oversee, and until recently, were only removed for cause.

However, since taking office, President Trump has fired over 20 IGs across the government. The majority of these IG firings took place in the first week President Trump took office and violated lawful removal procedures as they came with no warning or rationale.

In fact, the Trump administration has kept more than three in four presidentially appointed inspector general positions vacant and without Senate-confirmed leadership.

These actions not only silence future IGs but leave the public less informed about critical activities happening across agencies.

Dangerously, Trump's actions, combined with Republican House leadership who are unwilling to investigate anything Trump's team does, enable the Trump administration to be entirely unaccountable.

Notably, the HUD Inspector General this bill would require to testify before our committee was one of the people Trump arbitrarily fired earlier this year.

Since that firing, the acting HUD IG has been replaced again, and there is no one being considered by the Senate for confirmation. As a result, no one in this Chamber knows when our committee will be able to receive this testimony.

That said, and while I support this bill, this debate ignores the real and urgent challenges facing HUD and our housing market, and how the President and his administration are actively taking steps to undermine efforts to address the affordable housing crisis.

For example, where is the legislation from our Republican colleagues to stop Trump's plan to gut existing permanent supportive housing that could force more than 170,000 people back on the streets? Twenty States and D.C. have already sued HUD citing the plan as chaotic and unlawful.

□ 1750

Mr. Speaker, where are their investigations into the Director of the Federal Housing Finance Agency, Bill Pulte, who is weaponizing the housing finance giants Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac for politically motivated witch hunts and trying to lock new home buyers into 50-year mortgages?

If Republicans wanted to lower housing costs, why aren't they calling to exempt materials like lumber from Trump's tariffs or why aren't we negotiating the ROAD to Housing Act so that it can be included in NDAA and quickly passed into law?

Mr. Speaker, the invitation to my colleagues on the other side of the aisle is open. Join us in finally taking steps to address the rising costs of housing. The American public wants us to lower their bills, and Democrats have numerous ideas about how to do that. Join us in ensuring that the HUD inspector general has the independence to do their job without fear of retaliation when they uncover corruption or abuse of power.

We will join Republicans in passing this bill today, but we need to finally get to work to deliver real change for the American people.

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

Mr. DAVIDSON. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD the Congressional Budget Office estimate for this bill.

H.R. 225, HUD TRANSPARENCY ACT OF 2025, AS REPORTED BY THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FINANCIAL SERVICES ON JULY 15, 2025

	By fiscal year, millions of dollars—		
	2025	2025–2030	2025–2035
Direct Spending (Outlays) .....	0	0	0
Revenues .....	0	0	0
Increase or Decrease (–) in the Deficit .....	0	0	0
Spending Subject to Appropriation (Outlays) .....	*	*	**

\* = between zero and \$500,000.  
\*\* = not estimated.

Increases net direct spending in any of the four consecutive 10-year periods beginning in 2036? No.

Increases on-budget deficits in any of the four consecutive 10-year periods beginning in 2036? No.

Statutory pay-as-you-go procedures apply? No.

Mandate Effects:  
Contains intergovernmental mandate? No.  
Contains private-sector mandate? No.

H.R. 225 would require the Inspector General of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to testify annually before the Congress on different topics including the sufficiency of the agency's resources, actions taken to identify opportunities for program improvement, and the inspector general's ability to investigate and audit HUD programs to prevent fraud, waste, and abuse.

Using information from the agency, CBO estimates that implementing H.R. 225 would cost less than \$500,000. Any related spending would be subject to the availability of appropriated funds.

The CBO staff contact for this estimate is Zunara Naeem. The estimate was reviewed by H. Samuel Papenfuss, Deputy Director of Budget Analysis.

PHILLIP L. SWAGEL,  
*Director, Congressional Budget Office.*

Mr. DAVIDSON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. DE LA CRUZ).

Ms. DE LA CRUZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of my bill, H.R. 225, the HUD Transparency Act of 2025.

This commonsense legislation requires annual testimony from the Department of Housing and Urban Development's inspector general. By doing so, the HUD Transparency Act adds formal oversight over HUD that does not currently exist.

In the past, Congress has gone years without hearing from HUD's inspector general. With a budget that exceeds \$70 billion, we must have proper oversight over HUD to ensure housing programs are working for all Americans.

That being said, my bill will require the inspector general to provide Congress with recommendations and insights into reforming HUD's programs and rooting out waste, fraud, and abuse in our Federal spending.

Housing issues impact all Americans. I commend this administration for their focus on restoring the American Dream of homeownership by bringing down housing costs and cutting red tape. Our HUD programs play a critical role in increasing the affordable housing supply and access nationwide.

However, the success of HUD's programs relies on the Department's ability to root out fraud, waste, and abuse. The HUD Transparency Act aids in this by adding critical oversight to ensure that those who qualify for HUD's programs can receive the housing assistance that they need.

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

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

Ms. DE LA CRUZ. Mr. Speaker, this legislation has a strong record of bipartisan support, including passage in the House in the 118th Congress.

As this legislation continues to receive overwhelming bipartisan support,

I strongly urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to join me in passing this important piece of legislation, the HUD Transparency Act of 2025.

Ms. WATERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time to close.

Mr. Speaker, HUD plays a vital role in providing safe and affordable housing to families all across the United States. Families depend on HUD's programs to keep a roof over their heads.

H.R. 225 would allow Congress and the public to hear directly from an independent oversight authority, provided one is ever confirmed, and offer more transparency into the functions and operations of HUD, especially at a time when Trump's appointees are abusing their power.

I again urge my colleagues to support this bill, and I yield back the balance of my time.

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

For the reasons I explained earlier, I urge my colleagues to support this bill, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. DAVIDSON) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 225, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

NO NEW BURMA FUNDS ACT

Mr. DAVIDSON. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 4423) to continue the pause on disbursements and new financing commitments to the Government of Burma, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 4423

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

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

*This Act may be cited as the "No New Burma Funds Act".*

SEC. 2. CONTINUATION OF PAUSE ON WORLD BANK DISBURSEMENTS AND COMMITMENTS TO BURMA.

*The Secretary of the Treasury shall direct the United States Executive Director at the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to use the voice and vote of the United States to continue the pause by the Bank on disbursements and the making of new financing commitments to the Government of Burma, that was initiated after a military coup overthrew the democratically elected Government of Burma in 2021, unless the Secretary of the Treasury determines that it is not in the national interest to do so.*

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. DAVIDSON) and the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WATERS) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. DAVIDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the bill.

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

There was no objection.

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

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 4423, the No New Burma Funds Act. I thank the gentlewoman from Georgia (Ms. WILLIAMS) for sponsoring this bipartisan legislation.

I am pleased to note that this bill passed the Financial Services Committee unanimously by a vote of 54-0 in July of this year. That kind of agreement underscores the seriousness of the threat posed by Burma's military regime and the broad consensus that the United States must respond firmly.

The No New Burma Funds Act ensures that the United States will oppose any new World Bank financing that could benefit Burma's illegitimate military junta and supports international efforts to restore democratic governance.

Since the military overthrew the elected Burma Government in 2021, Congress has fought to hold Burma's military coup accountable and support the Burmese people in their struggle for freedom to restore their rightful voice in their own government.

Yet despite widespread global condemnation, the acting Government of Burma continues to entrench its power, exploit state resources, and suppress democratic aspirations of its citizens, all while seeking access to new streams of international financing.

The No New Burma Funds Act responds directly to this challenge by ensuring that the United States continues to use its full voice and vote at the World Bank to maintain a strict pause on disbursements in new financing commitments to the current government in control of Burma.

Supporting democratic movements, defending human rights, and advancing stability in Southeast Asia are in our American interest. When international institutions inadvertently enable authoritarian regimes through new financing, our credibility suffers, and in this case the Burmese people would pay the price.

By reaffirming and strengthening this pause, H.R. 4423 provides a responsible and targeted approach that prevents international funds from benefiting the current government and maintains the pressure applied following the 2021 coup.

This is a bipartisan, commonsense measure that upholds human rights, reinforces international accountability, and supports the long-term prospects of peace and democracy in Burma. I thank the bill's sponsor for her work on this legislation and commitment to standing with the people of Burma.

I urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to support this bill and help send a clear message that the United States will not allow international financing that empowers brutal dictatorship or tyranny in Burma. I reserve the balance of my time.

□ 1800

Ms. WATERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Georgia (Ms. WILLIAMS).

Ms. WILLIAMS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of H.R. 4423, the bipartisan No New Burma Funds Act.

This bill, which I introduced with my colleague YOUNG KIM, would mandate that the United States use its voice and vote to continue the World Bank's pause on disbursements and new financing commitments to the Government of Burma. This pause was initiated after a military coup overthrew the democratically elected Government of Burma in 2021.

Mr. Speaker, 4 years ago, the democratically elected leaders in Burma's ruling party, the National League for Democracy, were overthrown by the Tatmadaw, Burma's military. Since the military regime's coup, we have seen families displaced. We have seen citizens detained without access to income, education, or healthcare. There has been brutal violence against the Burmese civilian population.

I center my work on my constituents and fighting for those most marginalized. Mr. Speaker, while I hope we are going to have a robust conversation around making sure that everyone back home in my district is housed with affordable housing and lowering costs in this country, today, this bill is still central to my constituents. In my district alone, DeKalb County is home to over 2,000 Burmese refugees.

In another life, prior to my congressional service, I was a public school teacher. I had a student who was a Burmese refugee. Htet-Yet and his family's story is empowering and a stark reminder that not only do we have an obligation to help those no matter their ZIP Code, but we have a duty to help those no matter where they are around the globe.

This legislation gives our country yet another tool to put financial pressure on the Burmese Government. This bill will ensure that the U.S. executive director at the World Bank pushes the institution to continue its pause on the disbursement of funds and new financing commitments to the government, incentivizing the Burmese Government to give power back to the most important piece of any thriving free country: the people.

I thank Congresswoman YOUNG KIM for co-leading this important legislation with me. I also thank Chairman HILL and Ranking Member WATERS for their support of this priority. I urge all of my colleagues to support this bill.

Mr. DAVIDSON. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD the CBO estimate for this bill.

H.R. 4423, NO NEW BURMA FUNDS ACT, AS REPORTED BY THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FINANCIAL SERVICES ON SEPTEMBER 8, 2025

	By fiscal year, millions of dollars—		
	2026	2026–2030	2026–2035
Direct Spending (Outlays) .....	0	0	0
Revenues .....	0	0	0
Increase or Decrease (–) in the Deficit .....	0	0	0
Spending Subject to Appropriation (Outlays) .....	*	*	*

\* = between zero and \$500,000.

Increases net direct spending in any of the four consecutive 10-year periods beginning in 2036? No.

Increases on-budget deficits in any of the four consecutive 10-year periods beginning in 2036? No.

Statutory pay-as-you-go procedures apply? No.

Mandate Effects:  
Contains intergovernmental mandate? No.  
Contains private-sector mandate? No.

H.R. 4423 would require the United States Executive Director at the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to advocate for a continued pause on disbursements and new financing commitments to the Government of Burma.

On the basis of information about the costs of similar diplomatic efforts to influence the actions of other nations and international organizations, CBO estimates that implementing H.R. 4423 would cost less than \$500,000 over the 2026–2030 period. Any spending would be subject to the availability of appropriated funds.

The CBC staff contact for this estimate is Emma Uebelhor. The estimate was reviewed by Christina Hawley Anthony, Deputy Director of Budget Analysis.

PHILLIP L. SWAGEL,  
Director, Congressional Budget Office.

Mr. DAVIDSON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Mrs. KIM).

Mrs. KIM. Mr. Speaker, I thank Representative DAVIDSON for yielding time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 4423, the No New Funds for Burma Act. This bill would suspend disbursements and financing from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to Burma until the Treasury Secretary identifies a meaningful change in regime and restoration of democratic values.

In February 2021, the democratically elected members of Burma's Government were deposed by the military junta. As we approach almost 5 years since the military's unlawful seizure of power, chaos has overtaken Burma. Since the coup, more than 6,000 people have been killed, 20,000 detained, and more than 3.5 million displaced from their homes.

Caused directly by the Burmese military junta, this humanitarian crisis makes one thing very clear: The regime cannot be trusted to responsibly steward funds from international financial institutions or deliver aid to the communities most in need.

Mr. Speaker, I thank Representative WILLIAMS of Georgia for allowing me to co-lead the No New Funds for Burma Act. I urge my colleagues to join us in condemning the ongoing violence in Burma and supporting this legislation.



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

Mr. Speaker, given the human rights violations committed by the Burmese leadership, we must ensure that no new funds are disbursed to the government. In line with longstanding U.S. policy, America should urge multilateral institutions like the World Bank to avoid rewarding those who breach international laws and the norms that they should be respecting.

Mr. Speaker, I again urge my colleagues to support this bill, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. DAVIDSON. Mr. Speaker, for the reasons I explained earlier, I urge all of our colleagues to support this bill.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GOLDMAN of Texas). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. DAVIDSON) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 4423, as amended.

The question was taken.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In the opinion of the Chair, two-thirds being in the affirmative, the yeas have it.

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

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

#### SYSTEMIC RISK AUTHORITY TRANSPARENCY ACT

Mr. DAVIDSON. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 3716) to amend the Federal Deposit Insurance Act to require reports on the use of the systemic risk authority applicable to winding up a failed insured depository institution, and for other purposes, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 3716

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

#### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

*This Act may be cited as the "Systemic Risk Authority Transparency Act".*

#### SEC. 2. BANK FAILURE TRANSPARENCY RELATED TO SYSTEMIC RISK EXCEPTION.

(a) GAO REVIEW.—Section 13(c)(4)(G)(iv) of the Federal Deposit Insurance Act (12 U.S.C. 1823(c)(4)(G)(iv)) is amended to read as follows:

“(iv) GAO REVIEW.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—The Comptroller General of the United States shall, not later than 60 days after a determination is made under clause (i), and again 180 days thereafter, review and report to the Congress on the determination under clause (i), including—

“(aa) the basis for the determination;

“(bb) the purpose for which any action was taken pursuant to such clause;

“(cc) the likely effect of the determination and such action on the incentives and conduct of insured depository institutions and uninsured depositors;

“(dd) any mismanagement by the executives and board of the insured depository institution that contributed to the failure of the insured depository institution;

“(ee) a review of the compensation practices of the insured depository institution;

“(ff) any supervisory or regulatory shortcomings with respect to the appropriate Federal banking agency of the insured depository institution;

“(gg) any actions taken by the Federal banking regulators, Financial Stability Oversight Council, Department of the Treasury, and other relevant financial regulators in relation to the failure of the insured depository institution; and

“(hh) any additional relevant entities or activities that may have contributed to the failure of the insured depository institution, including with respect to auditing, accounting, credit rating agencies, investment bank underwriters, and emergency liquidity options such as loans from the Federal reserve banks or advances through the Federal Home Loan Bank system.

“(II) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this clause or a report issued pursuant to this clause may be construed to limit the authority of a Federal agency to enforce violations of Federal statutes, rules, or orders.”.

(b) APPROPRIATE FEDERAL BANKING AGENCY REPORT.—Section 13(c) of the Federal Deposit Insurance Act (12 U.S.C. 1823(c)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(12) APPROPRIATE FEDERAL BANKING AGENCY REPORT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The appropriate Federal banking agency of an insured depository institution about which a determination is made under paragraph (4)(G)(i) shall, not later than 90 days after the date of such determination, and again 210 days thereafter, submit a report to the Congress that discloses the following:

“(i) Subject to such redactions as the appropriate Federal banking agency determines appropriate of personally identifiable information about customers and other financial institutions (as such term is defined under section 11(e)(9)(D)), all—

“(i) reports of examination and inspection that relate to the failed insured depository institution in the previous 3-year period;

“(II) formal communications of a material supervisory determination conveyed to the failed insured depository institution in the previous 3-year period; and

“(III) any additional exam reports and correspondence that the appropriate Federal banking agency determines may be relevant to the failure of the insured depository institution.

“(ii) An examination of any mismanagement by the executives and board of the insured depository institution that contributed to the failure of the insured depository institution.

“(iii) Any supervisory or regulatory shortcomings by such appropriate Federal banking agency with respect to the insured depository institution.

“(iv) Any dynamics that the appropriate Federal banking agency determines may have contributed to the failure of the insured depository institution.

“(v) Any supervisory, regulatory, or legislative recommendations such appropriate Federal banking agency may have to improve the safety and soundness of similarly situated insured depository institutions, the banking system, and financial stability.

“(B) PROTECTION OF SENSITIVE INFORMATION.—

“(i) EFFECT ON PRIVILEGE.—The provision of any information by a Federal banking agency under this paragraph may not be construed as—

“(I) waiving, destroying, or otherwise affecting any privilege applicable to the information; or

“(II) waiving any exemption applicable to the information under section 552 of title 5, United States Code (commonly known as the ‘Freedom of Information Act’).

“(ii) TRANSPARENCY.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—A Federal banking agency shall publish materials contained in a report required under subparagraph (A) to the fullest extent possible to promote transparency.

“(II) CONSULTATION ON OMITTING MATERIALS.—If a Federal banking agency determines particular materials described under subclause (I) should not be published, the Federal banking agency shall consult with the chair and ranking member of the Committee on Financial Services of the House of Representatives and the chair and ranking member of the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs of the Senate.

“(III) OMITTING MATERIALS.—If, after the consultation required under subclause (II), the Federal banking agency determines there is a substantial public interest in not publishing such materials, the Federal banking agency shall provide those materials to the Committee on Financial Services of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs of the Senate with a written explanation describing the reasons for not publishing those materials.

“(iii) PRIVILEGE.—For purposes of this subparagraph, the term ‘privilege’ includes any work-product, attorney-client, or other privilege recognized under Federal or State law.

“(C) REPORT EXTENSION.—A Federal banking agency may extend a deadline described under subparagraph (A) for an additional 60 days, if the Federal banking agency—

“(i) faces ongoing circumstances that require the Federal banking agency to prioritize activities to promote stability of the U.S. banking system; and

“(ii) notifies the Congress of such extension and the reasons for such extension.

“(D) CONSOLIDATED REPORTS.—A Federal banking agency may consolidate multiple reports required under this paragraph so long as the individual reports being consolidated all meet the timing requirements under this paragraph.

“(E) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this paragraph or reports or materials provided pursuant to this paragraph may be construed to limit the authority of a Federal agency to enforce violations of Federal statutes, rules, or orders.”.

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

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. DAVIDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on this bill.

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

There was no objection.

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

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 3716, the Systemic Risk Authority Transparency Act.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GREEN) for offering this bill. I am pleased to note that this legislation earned unanimous support of the House Financial Services Committee in June, passing 51–0. I thank Mr. GREEN for offering this bill.

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

Ms. WATERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GREEN). He is also the ranking member of the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations.

Mr. GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, and still I rise.

Mr. Speaker, I thank Chairman HILL; the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. DAVIDSON); and the ranking member for allowing me to carry and present the Systemic Risk Authority Transparency Act.

Mr. Speaker, following the failures of Silicon Valley Bank and Signature Bank in 2023, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation invoked the systemic risk exception to guarantee uninsured deposits at those banks. Before 2023, the systemic risk exception was invoked but five times, all occurring between September 2008 and March 2009.

Mr. Speaker, it is important to note at this point the importance of the knowledge of what has occurred in Congress. We call it institutional knowledge. Institutional knowledge is important because this legislation gives us the opportunity to explain why institutional knowledge can make a difference.

Because the Honorable MAXINE WATERS was present in 2008 and saw what occurred when banks were afraid to lend to each other, she was able to give the necessary input when we had the Silicon Valley and Signature Bank failures. She was able to give the necessary input to prevent a further run on banks in this country. Institutional knowledge should never be undervalued. We must maintain and keep our institutional knowledge.

To prevent further panic in the financial system following the collapse of Silicon Valley Bank and Signature Bank, the FDIC chose not to follow the typical resolution process for failed banks, in which a failed bank is immediately sold to a competitor.

□ 1810

The Systemic Risk Authority Transparency Act would continue this practice, requiring that for any use of a systemic risk exception, the Government Accountability Office would have to produce the same post-failure report within 60 days of invocation of a systemic risk exception and a more comprehensive report in 180 days.

We deserve transparency—we, the Members of Congress—but the people in this country deserve transparency also. It is this transparency that helps people to have the confidence in the system necessary to prevent runs on banks.

Again, I would want people to understand that institutional knowledge is a supreme exemplar of what can occur when we have these circumstances that require bold action, but you can't have bold action, Mr. Speaker, without bold people. I thank the ranking member for her bold action.

Ms. WATERS. Mr. Speaker, I have no further speakers, and I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend and colleague, Ranking Member GREEN, for his good work on this bill.

H.R. 3716 will ensure that if we have another banking emergency, as we did

2 years ago with several regional banks, and regulators respond by using systemic risk tools, that Congress and the American people promptly receive detailed information from GAO and others on what went wrong and what should be done to promptly fix it.

This bill is supported by Americans for Financial Reform and Public Citizen.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this bill, and I yield back the balance of my time.

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

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD the CBO cost estimate for this bill.

H.R. 3716, SYSTEMIC RISK AUTHORITY TRANSPARENCY ACT, AS REPORTED BY THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FINANCIAL SERVICES ON JULY 15, 2025

	By fiscal year, millions of dollars—		
	2025	2025–2030	2025–2035
Direct Spending (Outlays) .....	0	*	*
Revenues .....	0	*	*
Increase or Decrease (–) in the Deficit .....	0	*	*
Spending Subject to Appropriation (Outlays) .....	0	*	*

\* = between –\$500,000 and \$500,000.

Increases net direct spending in any of the four consecutive 10-year periods beginning in 2036? \*

Increases on-budget deficits on any of the four consecutive 10-year periods beginning in 2036? \*

Statutory pay-as-you-go procedures apply? Yes

Mandate Effects:  
Contains intergovernmental mandate? No  
Contains private-sector mandate? Yes,  
Under Threshold

H.R. 3716 would require several federal agencies to report to the Congress if federal banking regulators invoke an emergency determination known as the systemic risk exception. Systemic risk is the possibility that the failure of a financial business, market, or product could trigger severe financial instability in the economy. The bill would require the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), the Federal Reserve, the Government Accountability Office (GAO), and the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency (OCC) to submit information about bank supervision, regulation, management, and recommendations to improve the safety and soundness of the industry.

Enacting H.R. 3716 would increase administrative costs for those agencies to meet the additional reporting requirements. CBO estimates that the total cost across all four agencies would be less than \$500,000 over the 2025–2035 period. The budgetary treatment for those four agencies is described below:

The operating costs for the FDIC and the OCC are classified as direct spending. The OCC collects fees from financial institutions to offset its operating costs; those fees are recorded as offsetting receipts, that is, as reductions in direct spending. CBO estimates that enacting the bill would, on net, increase direct spending by less than \$500,000 over the 2025–2035 period.

Costs incurred by the Federal Reserve reduce remittances to the Treasury, which are recorded in the budget as revenues. CBO estimates that enacting H.R. 3716 would decrease revenues by less than \$500,000 over the 2025–2035 period.

GAO's funding is provided in annual appropriation acts. CBO estimates that imple-

menting the bill would cost less than \$500,000 over the 2025–2030 period; any related spending would be subject to the availability of appropriated funds.

If federal financial regulators increase annual fees to offset the costs of implementing the bill, H.R. 3716 would increase the costs of an existing private-sector mandate on entities required to pay those fees. CBO estimates that the incremental cost of the mandate would be small and would fall well below the annual threshold established in the Unfunded Mandates Reform Act (UMRA) for private-sector mandates (\$206 million in 2025, adjusted annually for inflation).

The bill contains no intergovernmental mandates as defined in UMRA.

The CBO staff contacts for this estimate are Julia Aman (for federal costs), Nate Frentz (for revenues), and Rachel Austin (for mandates). The estimate was reviewed by H. Samuel Papenfuss, Deputy Director of Budget Analysis.

MARK P. HADLEY  
(For Phillip L. Swagel, Director,  
Congressional Budget Office).

Legislation Considered Under Suspension of the Rules

The Majority Leader of the House of Representatives announces bills that will be considered under suspension of the rules in that chamber. Under suspension, floor debate is limited, all floor amendments are prohibited, points of order against the bill are waived, and final passage requires a two-thirds majority vote.

At the request of the Majority Leader and the House Committee on the Budget, CBO estimates the effects of those bills on direct spending and revenues. CBO has limited time to review the legislation before consideration. Although it is possible in most cases to determine whether the legislation would affect direct spending or revenues, time may be insufficient to estimate the magnitude of those effects. If CBO has prepared estimates for similar or identical legislation, a more detailed assessment of budgetary effects, including effects on spending subject to appropriation, may be included.

Mr. DAVIDSON. For the reasons I explained earlier, Mr. Speaker, I urge all of my colleagues to support this bill, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. DAVIDSON) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 3716, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DEVELOPING AND EMPOWERING OUR ASPIRING LEADERS ACT OF 2025

Mr. DAVIDSON. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 4429) to require the Securities and Exchange Commission to revise the definition of a qualifying investment, for purposes of the exemption from registration for venture capital fund advisers under the Investment Advisers Act of 1940, to include an equity security issued by a qualifying portfolio company and to include an investment in another venture capital fund, and for other purposes, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.  
The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 4429

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

#### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the “Developing and Empowering our Aspiring Leaders Act of 2025”.

#### SEC. 2. DEFINITIONS.

Not later than the end of the 180-day period beginning on the date of the enactment of this Act, the Securities and Exchange Commission shall—

(1) revise the definition of a qualifying investment under paragraph (c) of section 275.203(l)-1 of title 17, Code of Federal Regulations—

(A) to include an equity security issued by a qualifying portfolio company, whether acquired directly from the company or in a secondary acquisition; and

(B) to specify that an investment in another venture capital fund (as defined in paragraph (a) section 275.203(l)-1 of title 17, Code of Federal Regulations) is a qualifying investment under such definition; and

(2) revise paragraph (a) of such section to require, as a condition of a private fund qualifying as a venture capital fund under such paragraph, that, immediately after the acquisition of any asset, such fund holds no more than 49 percent of the amount of the fund’s aggregate capital contributions and uncalled committed capital (excluding short-term holdings) in—

(A) one or more venture capital funds; or

(B) qualifying investments acquired in a secondary acquisition, valued at cost or fair value, consistently applied by the fund.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. DAVIDSON) and the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WATERS) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. DAVIDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on this bill.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. DAVIDSON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to gentlewoman from Missouri (Mrs. WAGNER).

Mrs. WAGNER. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend from Ohio for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to sponsor H.R. 4429, the Developing and Empowering our Aspiring Leaders, or DEAL, Act.

This bill, which passed with almost unanimous support out of the Financial Services Committee, seeks to ensure the United States remains the most entrepreneurial country in the world, where the next great companies are founded and funded.

It is often said that small businesses are the engine of the American economy, and that is an absolute truth. Small businesses make up 99 percent of U.S. employers, and they are the driving force behind the creation of a majority of new jobs.

The entrepreneurs leading these companies are building something new, taking real risks, and driving growth in communities across the Nation, but too often, they can’t get a fair shot at investment.

Right now, our capital markets suffer from an extreme geographic imbalance. The data is stark. Nearly 70 percent of venture capital flows to three States, Mr. Speaker: California, New York, and Massachusetts.

This leaves entire regions of the country struggling to access funding. It leaves communities in the Midwest and the South without the capital they need to build and scale businesses. Access to capital is not just a coastal issue. It is a national economic necessity.

This capital divide is why the DEAL Act is so critically important. This bill is a targeted, forward-looking effort to modernize outdated rules and channel investment to where it is needed most.

The DEAL Act fundamentally strengthens the ability of capital to reach more founders and more communities. It achieves this by allowing larger venture funds to invest directly in smaller, regional funds, a fund-of-funds investment.

This mechanism is a game changer, Mr. Speaker. It means more funding for startups, more opportunities for businesses that might otherwise be overlooked, and more innovation happening everywhere, not just in a handful of elite ZIP Codes.

Newer, regional venture funds are often best positioned to back the entrepreneurs who are building businesses on Main Street. The DEAL Act ensures that these funds can expand that important work, giving them the flexibility to partner with larger institutions to reach a wider base of early-stage companies.

H.R. 4429 ensures our policies are helping capital move efficiently and effectively, empowering those taking risks to build something new, and helping good ideas grow into great companies.

I thank Chairman HILL for his support, and also I thank Congressman CASTEN for joining me and co-leading this commonsense and bipartisan piece of legislation.

Ms. WATERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. CASTEN), who is also the vice ranking member of the Committee on Financial Services.

Mr. CASTEN. Mr. Speaker, I also rise in support of H.R. 4429, the Developing and Empowering our Aspiring Leaders Act, or DEAL Act, which is a critical bill to support innovation, entrepreneurship, and capital formation.

The venture capital industry provides vital funding for early-stage startups at points in their life cycle when they are generally deemed to be too risky for traditional bank financing or for raising money on the public market. This basically means that if we are going to have a growing and in-

novative economy, then we have to have a healthy venture capital sector.

Historically, venture capital earns investor returns and frees up more capital to recycle in other companies by selling their mature portfolio companies to strategic investors or taking them public on public markets.

For a variety of reasons, including public company reporting obligations, economic uncertainty, and the rise of private equity, U.S. companies today are staying private much longer, which has reduced the opportunities for venture capital firms to recycle their investment dollars.

Some venture capital firms have sought to create new liquidity options through secondary acquisitions and investments in other VC funds. This is what Congresswoman WAGNER was referring to, but that option right now is constrained by provisions in the Dodd-Frank Act of 2010 that limit venture capital funds’ ability to invest in these so-called fund of funds to only 20 percent of their commitments.

That rule was very well-intentioned when passed, and the intent was to ensure that VC firms remained focused on direct investments in early-stage startups. However, it was crafted for a very different financial market than we have today.

I would also note that that constraint is irrelevant to the larger, more well-known VC funds who have the resources to shoulder the compliance burdens associated with registering with the SEC as registered investment advisers. They can already do this, but they are the big ones. They are the ones based in San Francisco and New York. That option isn’t available for these emerging regional fund managers located in the middle of the country. Many of those funds increasingly depend on that fund-of-funds model.

What the DEAL Act does is just provides greater flexibility to those smaller VC funds while still ensuring that investors are protected and that fund managers continue to prioritize direct funding in small businesses. It does this by revising the existing rules to raise the cap from 20 percent in fund of funds up to 49 percent but still requiring that the majority of their investments are directly in portfolio companies.

In other words, the DEAL Act supports growth in the startup economy and ensures that capital reaches the communities and innovators who need it most.

I thank my fellow Midwesterner and friend, Congresswoman WAGNER, for her leadership on this. I am proud to lead this important legislation, and I urge all my colleagues to support it.

□ 1820

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

Our economy is struggling. People cannot afford groceries and gas. Every day, it seems more and more people are getting laid off. The American Dream is increasingly out of reach.

A core engine of our economy has always been the entrepreneurs who take the risk of starting their own company. By implementing key changes to the legal definition of a venture capital fund, H.R. 4429 will make it easier for capital to flow into American small businesses.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this bill, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. DAVIDSON. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD the CBO estimate for this bill.

Legislation Considered Under Suspension of the Rules

The Majority Leader of the House of Representatives announces bills that will be considered under suspension of the rules in that chamber. Under suspension, floor debate is limited, all floor amendments are prohibited, points of order against the bill are waived, and final passage requires a two-thirds majority vote.

At the request of the Majority Leader and the House Committee on the Budget, CBO estimates the effects of those bills on direct spending and revenues. CBO has limited time to review the legislation before consideration. Although it is possible in most cases to determine whether the legislation would affect direct spending or revenues, time may be insufficient to estimate the magnitude of those effects. If CBO has prepared estimates for similar or identical legislation, a more detailed assessment of budgetary effects, including effects on spending subject to appropriation, may be included.

EFFECTS ON DIRECT SPENDING AND REVENUES OF LEGISLATION CONSIDERED UNDER SUSPENSION OF THE RULES IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WEEK OF DECEMBER 1, 2025

Bill number	Title	Effect on direct spending	Effect on revenues	Additional information on direct spending and revenue effects
H.R. 176 .....	No Immigration Benefits for Hamas Terrorists Act of 2025, as amended.	Reduce by Less Than \$500K.	None .....	
H.R. 225 .....	HUD Transparency Act, as amended .....	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 1262 .....	Mikaela Naylor Give Kids a Chance Act, as amended	Increase by at Least \$500K.	Increase by at Least \$500K.	Section 3 would increase revenues by an insignificant amount. Section 10 would reduce direct spending and increase revenues for a net \$1.219 billion reduction in the deficit. Section 11 would appropriate \$1.219 billion to the Medicare Improvement Fund. On net, the bill would reduce the deficit by an insignificant amount over the 2026–2035 period.
H.R. 2066 .....	Investing in All of America Act of 2025, as amended	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 2159 .....	Count the Crimes to Cut Act, as amended .....	Increase by Less Than \$500K.	None .....	Includes insignificant costs for Postal Service Fund, which are classified as off-budget direct spending.
H.R. 3174 .....	Made in America Manufacturing Finance Act, as amended.	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 3716 .....	Systemic Risk Authority Transparency Act .....	Increase by Less Than \$500K.	Reduce by Less Than \$500K.	
H.R. 4313 .....	Hospital Inpatient Services Modernization Act, as amended.	Change by Less Than \$500K, Direction Unknown.	None .....	
H.R. 4323 .....	Trafficking Survivors Relief Act, as amended .....	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 4423 .....	No New Burma Funds Act, as amended .....	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 4429 .....	Developing and Empowering our Aspiring Leaders Act of 2025, as amended.	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 4430 .....	Expanding WKSJ Eligibility Act, as amended .....	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 4431 .....	Improving Capital Allocation for Newcomers Act of 2025, as amended.	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 4491 .....	SBA IT Modernization Reporting Act .....	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 4495 .....	SBA Fraud Enforcement Extension Act .....	Reduce by at Least \$500K	Increase by Less Than \$500K.	
H.R. 4549 .....	Office of Rural Affairs Enhancement Act .....	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 5284 .....	Claiming Age Clarity Act, as amended .....	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 5345 .....	Improving Social Security's Service to Victims of Identity Theft Act, as amended.	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 5346 .....	Fair and Accountable IRS Reviews Act, as amended	None .....	Increase by at Least \$500K.	Would increase revenues by \$117 million over 2026–2036.
H.R. 5348 .....	Social Security Child Protection Act of 2025, as amended.	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 5349 .....	Tax Court Improvement Act, as amended .....	None .....	Increase by at Least \$500K.	Would increase revenues by \$6 million over 2026–2036.
S. 616 .....	Foundation of the Federal Bar Association Charter Amendments Act of 2025.	None .....	None .....	

Source: Congressional Budget Office; Joint Committee on Taxation

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

For reasons I explained earlier, I urge all of my colleagues to support this bill, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. DAVIDSON) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 4429, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

**IMPROVING CAPITAL ALLOCATION FOR NEWCOMERS ACT OF 2025**

Mr. DAVIDSON. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 4431) to amend the Investment Company Act of 1940 with respect to the definition of qualifying venture

capital funds, and for other purposes, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 4431

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

**SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

This Act may be cited as the “Improving Capital Allocation for Newcomers Act of 2025”.

**SEC. 2. QUALIFYING VENTURE CAPITAL FUNDS.**

Section 3(c)(1) of the Investment Company Act of 1940 (15 U.S.C. 80a–3(c)(1)) is amended—

(1) in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), by striking “250 persons” and inserting “500 persons”; and

(2) in subparagraph (C)(i)—

(A) by striking “\$10,000,000” and inserting “\$50,000,000”; and

(B) by striking “beginning from a measurement made by the Commission on a date selected by the Commission” and inserting “beginning from a measurement made on the date of the enactment of the Improving Capital Allocation for Newcomers Act of 2025”.

**SEC. 3. STUDY AND RULEMAKING.**

(a) STUDY REQUIRED.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Beginning 5 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Advocate for Small Business Capital Formation, in consultation with the Investor Advocate, shall conduct a study on the effect of the amendments made by section 2 on the businesses and startup entities in which qualifying venture capital funds invest, specifically including, with respect to such businesses and startup entities, changes or trends relating to—

(A) the geographic distribution of capital to portfolio companies;

(B) the socio-economic characteristics of founders or controlling persons;

(C) the veteran status of founders or controlling persons;

(D) the industry sector, size, stage of development, and related details; and

(E) other factors or metrics determined by the Advocate for Small Business Capital Formation.

(2) AUTHORITIES RELATED TO REQUIRED STUDY.—For purposes of conducting the study required by paragraph (1), the Advocate for Small Business Capital Formation and the Investor Advocate shall have authority to—

(A) obtain from the Securities and Exchange Commission (in this section referred to as the “Commission”) and utilize any

data or information necessary to carry out the study;

(B) request and receive assistance from any division or office of the Commission, including the Division of Economic and Risk Analysis; and

(C) enter into agreements with third parties to assist in data analysis.

(b) REPORT.—The Advocate for Small Business Capital Formation shall issue a report to the Congress containing all findings and determinations made in carrying out the study required by subsection (a)(1), and make such report available to the public on the website of the Commission.

(c) PUBLIC COMMENT.—During the 180-day period beginning on the date the report is issued under subsection (b), the Commission shall solicit feedback from the public on the findings and determinations contained in the report.

(d) RULEMAKING.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The Commission, in consultation with the Investor Advocate and the Advocate for Small Business Capital Formation, may, after considering all comments received under subsection (c) and only if the Commission determines in such report that the amendments made by section 2 have had a demonstrable effect on increasing the geographic distribution of capital to portfolio companies, increasing the variety of the socio-economic characteristics of founders or controlling persons, or increasing the number of founders or controlling persons who are veterans, issue rules to—

(A) increase or decrease the 500 person threshold described in the matter preceding subparagraph (A) of section 3(c)(1) of the Investment Company Act of 1940, but such threshold may not exceed 750 persons or be reduced below 250 persons; and

(B) increase or decrease the \$50,000,000 dollar figure in section 3(c)(1)(C)(i) of the Investment Company Act of 1940, but such dollar figure may not exceed \$100,000,000 or be reduced below \$10,000,000.

(2) DEADLINE FOR RULEMAKING.—The rule-making authority in paragraph (1) only applies to a rule with respect to which the proposed rule was issued during the 180-day period beginning at the end of the public comment period described in subsection (c).

(3) NO EFFECT ON INFLATION ADJUSTMENTS.—A rule issued under this subsection shall have no effect on the requirement under clause (i) of section 3(c)(1)(C) of the Investment Company Act of 1940 (15 U.S.C. 80a-3(c)(1)(C)), as amended by section 2, to index the first dollar amount in such clause for inflation.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. DAVIDSON) and the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WATERS) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. DAVIDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise

and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the bill.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. DAVIDSON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. TIMMONS).

Mr. TIMMONS. Mr. Speaker, I rise for my bill, H.R. 4431, the Improving Capital Allocation for Newcomers Act, also known as the ICAN Act.

I am proud to partner with my colleague Representative BRITTANY PETTERSEN on this bipartisan legislation that expands access to venture capital far beyond our Nation's traditional financial hubs.

H.R. 4431 updates the qualifying venture capital fund exemption by raising the capital cap from \$10 million to \$50 million and by increasing the allowable number of investors from 250 to 500.

These updates allow venture funds to raise more capital from more individuals. This will support the growth of startups located outside of Silicon Valley and other major financial centers.

Today, nearly half of the United States' venture funding goes into companies in California alone, and more than 70 percent is concentrated in only four States. Meanwhile, many entrepreneurs in other regions struggle to secure critical Series A funding, which limits their ability to grow and attract later-stage investments.

Mr. Speaker, an entrepreneur in Spartanburg, South Carolina, deserves the same access to capital as an entrepreneur in Silicon Valley. This bill democratizes venture capital by enabling more Americans to invest in their own communities, drive innovation, and create good-paying jobs. It is about expanding opportunity and fostering economic growth in regions that are much in need.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to support this legislation and to help ensure that investors and entrepreneurs in every one of our districts have a fair and level playing field.

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

I rise in support of H.R. 4431, the Improving Capital Allocation for Newcomers Act of 2025, or ICAN Act, offered by Mr. TIMMONS and Ms. PETTERSEN.

Like the DEAL Act, the ICAN Act also amends the definition of "venture capital fund" under the Investment Company Act. Currently, in order to

qualify as a venture capital fund under this act, a private fund must hold \$12 million or less in assets and have no more than 250 investors. This bill adjusts those figures upward, raising the cap to \$50 million and the investor limit to 500.

It also requires the SEC to conduct a study 5 years after enactment to determine the bill's impact on how capital is being allocated to companies owned by these venture funds. Based on the results of the study, the SEC could further adjust the \$50 million and 500 beneficial owner limit upward or downward.

The ICAN Act should help venture funds to more widely invest in small and growing businesses.

Mr. Speaker, I urge all colleagues to support H.R. 4431 to make it easier for capital to flow to startups and small businesses. This bill does so by increasing the dollar size and number of investors for venture funds.

Additionally, it requires the SEC to conduct a study that examines how funds are invested across several metrics, including the veteran status of a company's founders, geographical location, and industry sector, size, and state of development. Based on the results of this study, the SEC would be authorized to adjust the bill's limits upward or downward by a tailored amount, if needed.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this bill, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. DAVIDSON. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD the CBO estimate for this bill.

Legislation Considered Under Suspension of the Rules

The Majority Leader of the House of Representatives announces bills that will be considered under suspension of the rules in that chamber. Under suspension, floor debate is limited, all floor amendments are prohibited, points of order against the bill are waived, and final passage requires a two-thirds majority vote.

At the request of the Majority Leader and the House Committee on the Budget, CBO estimates the effects of those bills on direct spending and revenues. CBO has limited time to review the legislation before consideration. Although it is possible in most cases to determine whether the legislation would affect direct spending or revenues, time may be insufficient to estimate the magnitude of those effects. If CBO has prepared estimates for similar or identical legislation, a more detailed assessment of budgetary effects, including effects on spending subject to appropriation, may be included.

EFFECTS ON DIRECT SPENDING AND REVENUES OF LEGISLATION CONSIDERED UNDER SUSPENSION OF THE RULES IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Bill Number	Title	Effect on Direct Spending	Effect on Revenues	Additional Information on Direct Spending and Revenue Effects
H.R. 176 .....	No Immigration Benefits for Hamas Terrorists Act of 2025, as amended.	Reduce by Less Than \$500K.	None .....	
H.R. 225 .....	HUD Transparency Act, as amended .....	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 1262 .....	Mikaela Naylon Give Kids a Chance Act, as amended ..	Increase by at Least \$500K	Increase by at Least \$500K	Section 3 would increase revenues by an insignificant amount. Section 10 would reduce direct spending and increase revenues for a net \$1.219 billion reduction in the deficit. Section 11 would appropriate \$1.219 billion to the Medicare Improvement Fund. On net, the bill would reduce the deficit by an insignificant amount over the 2026–2035 period.
H.R. 2066 .....	Investing in All of America Act of 2025, as amended ..	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 2159 .....	Count the Crimes to Cut Act, as amended .....	Increase by Less Than \$500K.	None .....	Includes insignificant costs for Postal Service Fund, which are classified as off-budget direct spending.

EFFECTS ON DIRECT SPENDING AND REVENUES OF LEGISLATION CONSIDERED UNDER SUSPENSION OF THE RULES IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Continued

Bill Number	Title	Effect on Direct Spending	Effect on Revenues	Additional Information on Direct Spending and Revenue Effects
H.R. 3174 .....	Made in America Manufacturing Finance Act, as amended.	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 3716 .....	Systemic Risk Authority Transparency Act .....	Increase by Less Than \$500K.	Reduce by Less Than \$500K.	
H.R. 4313 .....	Hospital Inpatient Services Modernization Act, as amended.	Change by Less Than \$500K, Direction Unknown.	None .....	
H.R. 4323 .....	Trafficking Survivors Relief Act, as amended .....	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 4423 .....	No New Burma Funds Act, as amended .....	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 4429 .....	Developing and Empowering our Aspiring Leaders Act of 2025, as amended.	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 4430 .....	Expanding WKSI Eligibility Act, as amended .....	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 4431 .....	Improving Capital Allocation for Newcomers Act of 2025, as amended.	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 4491 .....	SBA IT Modernization Reporting Act .....	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 4495 .....	SBA Fraud Enforcement Extension Act .....	Reduce by at Least \$500K	Increase by Less Than \$500K.	
H.R. 4549 .....	Office of Rural Affairs Enhancement Act .....	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 5284 .....	Claiming Age Clarity Act, as amended .....	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 5345 .....	Improving Social Security's Service to Victims of Identity Theft Act, as amended.	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 5346 .....	Fair and Accountable IRS Reviews Act, as amended ....	None .....	Increase by at least \$500K	Would increase revenues by \$117 million over 2026–2036.
H.R. 5348 .....	Social Security Child Protection Act of 2025, as amended.	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 5349 .....	Tax Court Improvement Act, as amended .....	None .....	Increase by at Least \$500K	Would increase revenues by \$6 million over 2026–2036.
S. 616 .....	Foundation of the Federal Bar Association Charter Amendments Act of 2025.	None .....	None .....	

Source: Congressional Budget Office; Joint Committee on Taxation

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

For the reasons I explained earlier, I urge all of my colleagues to support this bill, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. DAVIDSON) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 4431, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

EXPANDING WKSI ELIGIBILITY ACT

Mr. DAVIDSON. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 4430) to lower the aggregate market value of voting and non-voting common equity necessary for an issuer to qualify as a well-known seasoned issuer, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 4430

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

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

*This Act may be cited as the “Expanding WKSI Eligibility Act”.*

SEC. 2. DEFINITION OF WELL-KNOWN SEASONED ISSUER.

(a) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of the Federal securities laws, and regulations issued thereunder, an issuer shall be a “well-known seasoned issuer” if—

(1) the aggregate market value of the voting and non-voting common equity held by non-affiliates of the issuer is \$400,000,000 or more (as determined under Form S-3 general instruction I.B.1. as in effect on the date of enactment of this Act); and

(2) the issuer otherwise satisfies the requirements of the definition of “well-known seasoned

issuer” contained in section 230.405 of title 17, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on the date of enactment of this Act) without reference to any requirement in such definition relating to minimum worldwide market value of outstanding voting and non-voting common equity held by non-affiliates.

(b) REPORT ON WITHDRAWN APPLICATIONS RELATED TO WELL-KNOWN SEASONED ISSUER STATUS.—The Securities and Exchange Commission shall, not later than 90 days after the end of each calendar year, publish the total number of applications submitted during such calendar year where the applicant—

(1) submitted the application under section 230.405 of title 17, Code of Federal Regulations, for a determination by the Commission that the applicant not be considered an ineligible issuer under such section;

(2) requested such determination in order to meet the definition of a well-known seasoned issuer under such section; and

(3) withdrew the application.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. DAVIDSON) and the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WATERS) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. DAVIDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on this bill.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. DAVIDSON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. STEIL).

Mr. STEIL. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague Mr. DAVIDSON for his broad work in the capital market space and for leading us here on the floor today.

I rise to urge my colleagues to support the Expanding WKSI Eligibility Act. I thank my co-leads, Mr. FIELDS, as well as Chairman HILL and Ranking Member WATERS, for their support.

We have far too many regulations in the United States, and this bill is

about rightsizing our regulations in support of investments and jobs.

This commonsense bill will help more well-run companies responsibly raise money in the public markets. It rightsizes regulatory burdens and frees up more resources for companies to invest in American jobs and American innovation.

The well-known seasoned issuer—also known as WKSI—status was first implemented around 20 years ago. It allows qualified public companies in good standing to use automatic shelf registration. This reduces the cost and complexity of a public offering and allows companies to be more responsive to market conditions.

The WKSI construct has a track record of success in expanding access to public markets while protecting investors.

According to Joel Trotter, one of the authors of the JOBS Act, “Decades of successful experience show that the well-known seasoned issuer category is long overdue for expansion.”

I couldn’t agree more, and this bill does exactly that. It lowers the size threshold for WKSI qualification while maintaining all the existing good governance requirements.

In other words, more small and midsized American public companies will be able to benefit from the privileges that already exist for larger businesses with similar compliance records.

The Expanding WKSI Eligibility Act also includes a helpful reporting requirement for the Securities and Exchange Commission. This report will provide Congress and the public with a better understanding of how many previously ineligible companies are trying to regain their WKSI status. Doing so will gain the insight needed to make future legislative adjustments.

□ 1830

The Expanding WKSI Eligibility Act is a tailored, regulatory improvement



that will support small and mid-sized businesses, job creators, and investments.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to support this legislation.

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

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of H.R. 4430, which expands the number of public companies that can qualify as a well-known seasoned issuer, or WKSI. This designation is a special status conferred on companies that frequently raise money by issuing securities from the public.

Think of WKSI status like having frequent-flyer privileges. It allows companies that are well known to regulators and the public to raise money without needing permission. These companies are widely followed in the markets, so there are a lot of eyes, so to speak, watching what they are doing. The main requirement for a company to meet WKSI status is that it has previously issued \$700 million or more in securities.

The current bill would lower that threshold to \$400 million. By reducing the current WKSI threshold, the bill allows an additional 400 companies to qualify on top of the 2,000 or so companies that qualify today.

One final thing this bill does is provide transparency around companies that have been disqualified from operating as WSIs. Notably, a company can lose its WKSI status if it has been convicted of a securities-related felony or a misdemeanor or has violated the antifraud provisions of the securities laws. Notable examples include UBS and Bank of America, which each previously lost their WKSI status due to fraud violations.

However, even if a company loses their status through such a violation, it can ask the SEC for a waiver to continue operating as a WKSI. UBS and Bank of America both sought and received such waivers.

Importantly, though, waivers are rarely formally denied because SEC staff normally gives a company a heads-up that their waiver is likely to be denied, so many companies simply withdraw their waiver requests. The final provision of this bill provides investors on an annual basis a view into the number of waiver requests that have been withdrawn.

Mr. Speaker, I support this bill and urge all Members to do the same.

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

Mr. DAVIDSON. Mr. Speaker, I am prepared to close, and I reserve the balance of my time.

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

Mr. Speaker, I support this bill, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. DAVIDSON. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD the CBO estimate for this bill.

Legislation Considered Under Suspension of the Rules

The Majority Leader of the House of Representatives announces bills that will be considered under suspension of the rules in that chamber. Under suspension, floor debate is limited, all floor amendments are prohibited, points of order against the bill are waived, and final passage requires a two-thirds majority vote.

At the request of the Majority Leader and the House Committee on the Budget, CBO estimates the effects of those bills on direct spending and revenues. CBO has limited time to review the legislation before consideration. Although it is possible in most cases to determine whether the legislation would affect direct spending or revenues, time may be insufficient to estimate the magnitude of those effects. If CBO has prepared estimates for similar or identical legislation, a more detailed assessment of budgetary effects, including effects on spending subject to appropriation, may be included.

EFFECTS ON DIRECT SPENDING AND REVENUE OF LEGISLATION CONSIDERED UNDER SUSPENSION OF THE RULES IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WEEK OF DECEMBER 1, 2025

Bill Number	Title	Effect on Direct Spending	Effect on Revenues	Additional Information on Direct Spending and Revenue Effects
H.R. 176 .....	No Immigration Benefits for Hamas Terrorists Act of 2025, as amended.	Reduce by Less Than \$500K.	None .....	Section 3 would increase revenues by an insignificant amount. Section 10 would reduce direct spending and increase revenues for a net \$1.219 billion reduction in the deficit. Section 11 would appropriate \$1.219 billion to the Medicare Improvement Fund. On net, the bill would reduce the deficit by an insignificant amount over the 2026–2035 period.
H.R. 225 .....	HUD Transparency Act, as amended .....	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 1262 .....	Mikaela Naylon Give Kids a Chance Act, as amended ..	Increase by at Least \$500K	Increase by at Least \$500K	
H.R. 2066 .....	Investing in All of America Act of 2025, as amended ..	None .....	None .....	Includes insignificant costs for Postal Service Fund, which are classified as off-budget direct spending.
H.R. 2159 .....	Count the Crimes to Cut Act, as amended .....	Increase by Less Than \$500K.	None .....	
H.R. 3174 .....	Made in America Manufacturing Finance Act, as amended.	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 3716 .....	Systemic Risk Authority Transparency Act .....	Increase by Less Than \$500K.	Reduce by Less Than 500K	
H.R. 4313 .....	Hospital Inpatient Services Modernization Act, as amended.	Change by Less Than \$500K. Direction Unknown.	None .....	
H.R. 4323 .....	Trafficking Survivors Relief Act, as amended .....	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 4423 .....	No New Burma Funds Act, as amended .....	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 4429 .....	Developing and Empowering our Aspiring Leaders Act of 2025, as amended.	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 4430 .....	Expanding WKSI Eligibility Act, as amended .....	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 4431 .....	Improving Capital Allocation for Newcomers Act of 2025, as amended.	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 4491 .....	SBA IT Modernization Reporting Act .....	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 4495 .....	SBA Fraud Enforcement Extension Act .....	Reduce by at Least \$500K	Increase by Less Than \$500K.	
H.R. 4549 .....	Office of Rural Affairs Enhancement Act .....	None .....	None .....	Would increase revenues by \$117 million over 2026–2036.
H.R. 5284 .....	Claiming Age Clarity Act, as amended .....	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 5345 .....	Improving Social Security's Service to Victims of Identity Theft Act, as amended.	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 5346 .....	Fair and Accountable IRS Reviews Act, as amended ....	None .....	Increase by at least \$500K	Would increase revenues by \$6 million over 2026–2036.
1H.R. 5348 .....	Social Security Child Protection Act of 2025, as amended.	None .....	None .....	
H.R. 5349 .....	Tax Court Improvement Act, as amended .....	None .....	Increase by at Least \$500K	
S. 616 .....	Foundation of the Federal Bar Association Charter Amendments Act of 2025.	None .....	None .....	

Source: Congressional Budget Office; Joint Committee on Taxation

Mr. DAVIDSON. Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this bill, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. DAVIDSON) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 4430, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Proceedings will resume on motions to suspend the rules previously postponed.

Votes will be taken in the following order:

- H.R. 5348; and
- H.R. 4423.

The first electronic vote will be conducted as a 15-minute vote. Pursuant to clause 9 of rule XX, the remaining electronic vote will be conducted as a 5-minute vote.

### SOCIAL SECURITY CHILD PROTECTION ACT OF 2025

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, the unfinished business is the vote on the motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 5348) to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide for the reissuance of social security account numbers to young children in cases where confidentiality has been compromised, as amended, on which the yeas and nays were ordered.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SMITH) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, as amended.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 386, nays 0, answered “present” 1, not voting 44, as follows:

#### [Roll No. 306] YEAS—386

Adams	Cisneros	Finstad
Aderholt	Clark (MA)	Fischbach
Aguilar	Clarke (NY)	Fitzgerald
Alford	Cleaver	Fitzpatrick
Allen	Cline	Fleischmann
Amo	Cloud	Fletcher
Amodei (NV)	Clyburn	Flood
Ansari	Clyde	Fong
Arrington	Cohen	Foster
Auchincloss	Cole	Foushee
Bacon	Collins	Fox
Baird	Comer	Frankel, Lois
Balderson	Conaway	Franklin, Scott
Balint	Correa	Friedman
Barragán	Costa	Frost
Barrett	Courtney	Fry
Baumgartner	Crane	Fulcher
Bean (FL)	Crank	Garbarino
Beatty	Crawford	Garcia (IL)
Begich	Crenshaw	Garcia (TX)
Bentz	Crockett	Gill (TX)
Bera	Crow	Jimenez
Bergman	Cuellar	Golden (ME)
Beyer	Davids (KS)	Goldman (NY)
Bice	Davidson	Goldman (TX)
Biggs (AZ)	Davis (NC)	Gomez
Biggs (SC)	De La Cruz	Gonzalez, V.
Billirakis	Dean (PA)	Gooden
Boebert	DeGette	Goodlander
Bonamici	DeLauro	Gosar
Bost	DelBene	Gottheimer
Boyle (PA)	Deluzio	Graves
Brecheen	DeSaulnier	Gray
Bresnahan	DesJarlais	Green, Al (TX)
Brown	Dexter	Griffith
Brownley	Diaz-Balart	Grijalva
Buchanan	Dingell	Grothman
Budzinski	Doggett	Guest
Burchett	Donalds	Guthrie
Burlison	Downing	Hageman
Bynum	Dunn (FL)	Hamadeh (AZ)
Calvert	Edwards	Harder (CA)
Cammack	Elfreth	Harrigan
Carbajal	Ellzey	Harris (MD)
Carey	Emmer	Harris (NC)
Carson	Escobar	Harshbarger
Carter (GA)	Espallat	Hayes
Carter (LA)	Estes	Hern (OK)
Carter (TX)	Evans (CO)	Higgins (LA)
Case	Evans (PA)	Hill (AR)
Casten	Ezell	Himes
Castor (FL)	Fallon	Hinson
Castro (TX)	Fedorchak	Horsford
Cherfilus-	Feenstra	Houchin
McCormick	Fields	Houlahan
Chu	Figures	Hoyer
Ciscomani	Fine	Hoyle (OR)

Hudson	McDonald Rivet	Scholten
Huffman	McDowell	Schrier
Huizenga	McGarvey	Schweikert
Hunt	McGovern	Scott (VA)
Hurd (CO)	McGuire	Scott, Austin
Issa	McIver	Scott, David
Ivey	Meeks	Self
Jack	Menendez	Sessions
Jackson (IL)	Messmer	Sewell
Jackson (TX)	Meuser	Sherman
Jacobs	Mfume	Shreve
James	Miller (IL)	Simon
Jeffries	Miller (OH)	Smith (MO)
Johnson (GA)	Miller (WV)	Smith (NE)
Johnson (TX)	Miller-Meeks	Smith (NJ)
Jordan	Mills	Smith (WA)
Joyce (OH)	Min	Smucker
Joyce (PA)	Moolenaar	Soto
Kamlager-Dove	Moore (AL)	Stansbury
Kaptur	Moore (NC)	Stanton
Kean	Moore (UT)	Staubert
Keating	Moore (WI)	Stefanik
Kelly (IL)	Moore (WV)	Steil
Kelly (MS)	Moran	Steube
Kelly (PA)	Morelle	Stevens
Kennedy (NY)	Morrison	Strickland
Kennedy (UT)	Moskowitz	Strong
Khanna	Moulton	Subramanyam
Kiggans (VA)	Mrvan	Suozi
Kiley (CA)	Mullin	Sykes
Kim	Murphy	Takano
Knott	Neal	Taylor
Krishnamoorthi	Neguse	Tenney
Kustoff	Nehls	Thompson (CA)
LaHood	Newhouse	Thompson (MS)
LaLota	Nunn (IA)	Thompson (PA)
LaMalfa	Obernolte	Timmons
Landsman	Ocasio-Cortez	Tlaib
Langworthy	Olzewski	Tokuda
Larsen (WA)	Omar	Tonko
Latimer	Owens	Torres (CA)
Latta	Pallone	Torres (NY)
Lawler	Palmer	Trahan
Lee (FL)	Panetta	Tran
Lee (NV)	Pappas	Turner (OH)
Lee (PA)	Patronis	Underwood
Leger Fernandez	Perez	Valadao
Letlow	Perry	Van Drew
Levin	Peters	Van Dwyne
Liccardo	Pfluger	Van Orden
Lieu	Pingree	Vargas
Lofgren	Pocan	Vasquez
Loudermilk	Pou	Veasey
Lucas	Pressley	Velázquez
Luttrell	Quigley	Vindman
Lynch	Ramirez	Wagner
Mackenzie	Raskin	Walberg
Magaziner	Riley (NY)	Walkinshaw
Malliotakis	Rivas	Wasserman
Maloy	Rogers (AL)	Schultz
Mann	Ross	Waters
Mannion	Rouzer	Watson Coleman
Mast	Roy	Weber (TX)
Matsui	Ruiz	Webster (FL)
McBath	Rutherford	Westerman
McBride	Ryan	Wied
McCauley	Salinas	Williams (GA)
McClain	Sánchez	Williams (TX)
McClain Delaney	Scalise	Wittman
McClellan	Scanlon	Womack
McClintock	Schakowsky	Yakym
McCollum	Schmidt	
McCormick	Schneider	

#### ANSWERED “PRESENT”—1

Larson (CT)

#### NOT VOTING—44

Babin	Luna	Rulli
Barr	Mace	Salazar
Bell	Massie	Simpson
Bishop	Meng	Sorensen
Casas	Nadler	Spartz
Craig	Norcross	Stutzman
Davis (IL)	Norman	Swalwell
Garamendi	Ogles	Thanedar
Garcia (CA)	Onder	Tiffany
Gillen	Pelosi	Titus
Gonzales, Tony	Petersen	Whitesides
Greene (GA)	Randall	Wilson (FL)
Haridopolos	Reschenthaler	Wilson (SC)
Jayapal	Rogers (KY)	Zinke
Johnson (SD)	Rose	

□ 1857

So (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Stated for:

Mr. THANEDAR. Mr. Speaker, had I been present, I would have voted YEA on Roll Call No. 306.

### NO NEW BURMA FUNDS ACT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, the unfinished business is the vote on the motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 4423) to continue the pause on disbursements and new financing commitments to the Government of Burma, as amended, on which the yeas and nays were ordered.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. DAVIDSON) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, as amended.

This is a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 385, nays 0, not voting 46, as follows:

#### [Roll No. 307] YEAS—385

Adams	Cisneros	Fischbach
Aderholt	Clark (MA)	Fitzgerald
Aguilar	Clarke (NY)	Fitzpatrick
Alford	Cleaver	Fleischmann
Allen	Cline	Fletcher
Amo	Cloud	Flood
Amodei (NV)	Clyburn	Fong
Ansari	Clyde	Foster
Arrington	Cohen	Foushee
Auchincloss	Cole	Fox
Bacon	Collins	Frankel, Lois
Baird	Comer	Franklin, Scott
Balderson	Conaway	Friedman
Balint	Correa	Frost
Barragán	Costa	Fry
Barrett	Courtney	Fulcher
Baumgartner	Craig	Garbarino
Bean (FL)	Crane	Garcia (IL)
Beatty	Crawford	Garcia (TX)
Begich	Crockett	Gill (TX)
Bentz	Crow	Jimenez
Bera	Cuellar	Golden (ME)
Bergman	Davids (KS)	Goldman (NY)
Beyer	Davidson	Goldman (TX)
Bice	Davis (NC)	Gomez
Biggs (AZ)	De La Cruz	Gooden
Biggs (SC)	Dean (PA)	Goodlander
Billirakis	DeGette	Gosar
Boebert	DeLauro	Gottheimer
Bonamici	DelBene	Graves
Bost	Deluzio	Gray
Boyle (PA)	DeSaulnier	Green, Al (TX)
Brecheen	DesJarlais	Griffith
Bresnahan	Dexter	Grijalva
Brown	Diaz-Balart	Grothman
Brownley	Dingell	Guest
Buchanan	Doggett	Guthrie
Budzinski	Donalds	Hageman
Burchett	Downing	Hamadeh (AZ)
Burlison	Dunn (FL)	Harder (CA)
Bynum	Edwards	Harrigan
Calvert	Elfreth	Harris (MD)
Cammack	Ellzey	Harris (NC)
Carbajal	Emmer	Harshbarger
Carey	Escobar	Hayes
Carson	Espallat	Hern (OK)
Carter (GA)	Estes	Higgins (LA)
Carter (LA)	Evans (CO)	Hill (AR)
Carter (TX)	Evans (PA)	Himes
Case	Ezell	Hinson
Casten	Fallon	Horsford
Castor (FL)	Fedorchak	Houchin
Castro (TX)	Feenstra	Houlahan
Cherfilus-	Fields	Hoyer
McCormick	Figures	Hoyle (OR)
Chu	Fine	Hudson
Ciscomani	Finstad	Huffman

Huizenga	McDowell	Scholten
Hunt	McGarvey	Schrier
Hurd (CO)	McGovern	Schweikert
Issa	McGuire	Scott (VA)
Ivey	McIver	Scott, Austin
Jack	Meeks	Scott, David
Jackson (IL)	Menendez	Self
Jackson (TX)	Messmer	Sessions
Jacobs	Meuser	Sewell
James	Mfume	Sherman
Jeffries	Miller (IL)	Shreve
Johnson (GA)	Miller (OH)	Simon
Johnson (TX)	Miller (WV)	Smith (MO)
Jordan	Miller-Meeks	Smith (NE)
Joyce (OH)	Mills	Smith (NJ)
Joyce (PA)	Min	Smith (WA)
Kamlaager-Dove	Moolenaar	Smucker
Kaptur	Moore (AL)	Soto
Kean	Moore (NC)	Stansbury
Keating	Moore (UT)	Stanton
Kelly (IL)	Moore (WI)	Stauber
Kelly (MS)	Moore (WV)	Stefanik
Kelly (PA)	Moran	Steil
Kennedy (NY)	Morelle	Steube
Kennedy (UT)	Morrison	Stevens
Khanna	Moskowitz	Strickland
Kiggans (VA)	Moulton	Strong
Kiley (CA)	Mrvan	Subramanyam
Kim	Mullin	Suozi
Knott	Murphy	Sykes
Krishnamoorthi	Neal	Takano
Kustoff	Neguse	Taylor
LaHood	Nehls	Tenney
LaLota	Newhouse	Thanedar
Landsman	Nunn (IA)	Thompson (CA)
Langworthy	Obernolte	Thompson (MS)
Larsen (WA)	Ocasio-Cortez	Thompson (PA)
Larson (CT)	Olshewski	Timmons
Latimer	Omar	Tlaib
Latta	Owens	Tokuda
Lawler	Pallone	Tonko
Lee (FL)	Palmer	Torres (CA)
Lee (NV)	Panetta	Torres (NY)
Lee (PA)	Pappas	Trahan
Leger Fernandez	Patronis	Tran
Letlow	Perez	Turner (OH)
Levin	Perry	Underwood
Liccardo	Peters	Valadao
Lieu	Pfluger	Van Drew
Lofgren	Pingree	Van Dyne
Loudermilk	Pocan	Van Orden
Lucas	Pou	Vargas
Luttrell	Pressley	Vasquez
Lynch	Quigley	Veasey
Mackenzie	Ramirez	Velázquez
Magaziner	Raskin	Vindman
Mailiotakis	Riley (NY)	Wagner
Maloy	Rivas	Walberg
Mann	Rogers (AL)	Walkinshaw
Mannion	Ross	Wasserman
Mast	Rouzer	Schultz
Matsui	Roy	Waters
McBath	Ruiz	Watson Coleman
McBride	Rutherford	Weber (TX)
McCaul	Ryan	Webster (FL)
McClain	Salinas	Westerman
McClain Delaney	Sánchez	Wied
McClellan	Scalise	Williams (GA)
McClintock	Scanlon	Williams (TX)
McCollum	Schakowsky	Wittman
McCormick	Schmidt	Womack
McDonald Rivet	Schneider	Yakym

## NOT VOTING—46

Babin	Johnson (SD)	Rose
Barr	LaMalfa	Rulli
Bell	Luna	Salazar
Bishop	Mace	Simpson
Casar	Massie	Sorensen
Crank	Meng	Spartz
Crenshaw	Nadler	Stutzman
Davis (IL)	Norcross	Swalwell
Garamendi	Norman	Tiffany
Garcia (CA)	Ogles	Titus
Gillen	Onder	Whitesides
Gonzales, Tony	Pelosi	Wilson (FL)
Gonzalez, V.	Petterson	Wilson (SC)
Greene (GA)	Randall	Zinke
Haridopolos	Reschenthaler	
Jayapal	Rogers (KY)	

□ 1905

So (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

## PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, I was absent during the time of votes today due to minor health concerns. Had I been present, I would have voted YEA on Roll Call No. 306 and YEA on Roll Call No. 307.

## PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Ms. GILLEN. Mr. Speaker, had I been present, I would have voted YEA on Roll Call No. 306 and YEA on Roll Call No. 307.

## PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Ms. TITUS. Mr. Speaker, I was absent from the floor and missed Roll Call Nos. 306 and 307. Had I been present, I would have voted YEA on Roll Call No. 306 and YEA on Roll Call No. 307.

## PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. STUTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, on Roll Call Nos. 306 and 307, I am not recorded because I was absent due to official business. Had I been present, I would have voted YEA on Roll Call No. 306 and YEA on Roll Call No. 307.

□ 1910

## RECOGNIZING MATT HARRIS

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

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to celebrate the unanimous appointment of Matt Harris as president and chief executive officer of the Northwest Georgia Joint Development Authority.

Mr. HARRIS brings a strong track record of innovation and leadership in education and community development. Previously, he served as principal and coordinator of innovation for Walker County Schools, where he led Gilbert Elementary to national recognition by establishing Georgia's first public school forest kindergarten and earning U.S. Department of Education Green Ribbon status. Beyond his work in public education, Mr. HARRIS has private-sector experience as a businessowner and operator.

In his new position, Mr. HARRIS is charged with advancing business recruitment, strengthening site and infrastructure readiness, and fostering prosperity across northwest Georgia. The board of directors noted his professionalism and commitment as key reasons for his selection.

Please join me in congratulating Matt Harris on this important appointment and thanking him for his service to our region.

## ENSURING ACCESS TO EDUCATION FOR OUR CHILDREN WITH DISABILITIES

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

Ms. BYNUM. Mr. Speaker, this weekend marks the 50th anniversary of the passage of the Individuals with Disabilities

Education Act. At the time, that was a landmark piece of legislation that made sure our children with disabilities had what they needed to succeed in the classroom.

The IDEA hasn't been fully funded for decades, meaning these kids aren't receiving all the support that they need. On top of that, President Trump is dismantling the Department of Education and threatening programs that protect civil rights and expand access to opportunity for our kids. I will not stand for that.

Mr. Speaker, my North Star is America's children. That is why, earlier this Congress, I introduced the IDEA Full Funding Act to help our students with disabilities. I will continue fighting in Congress to ensure that our children and our children's children and our children's children's children have access to the education they deserve.

## COMMEMORATING 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF HISTORIC ARREST OF ROSA PARKS

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

Ms. SEWELL. Mr. Speaker, I rise to commemorate the historic arrest of Rosa Parks, which took place in Montgomery, Alabama, exactly 70 years ago today.

Rosa Parks' legacy is one of remarkable bravery and moral fortitude. By refusing to give up her seat on the segregated bus, she took a stand for the values that this Nation holds dear. Her quiet and dignified courage set the stage for the historic Montgomery bus boycott and galvanized a movement that changed our Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to lead legislation to designate December 1 as a national Federal holiday, commemorating her historic arrest. This bill is critical, given the attacks by the Trump administration on our history.

In times like these, it is especially important for us to tell our stories and to recognize the contributions of amazing African-American leaders like Rosa Parks. Her legacy is proud Alabama history and proud American history, and it should always be that way.

As Alabama's first Black Congresswoman, I know that I stand on the shoulders of amazing freedom fighters like Rosa Parks, who are unafraid to challenge the status quo.

Mr. Speaker, I can think of no one more befitting to honor with a new Federal holiday than Rosa Parks, and I ask my colleagues to join me.

## HONORING RAFAEL BUENO

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

Mr. LAWLER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor the life and legacy of Rafael Bueno, a devoted public servant and pillar of the village of Haverstraw.

Rafael dedicated more than 20 years to the community he loved. First elected in 2003, he made history as the first Dominican councilman in Haverstraw. He quickly became a steady and trusted voice on the village board, helping guide decisions on infrastructure, public safety, and community services with a real understanding of what local families needed.

Rafael's connection to Haverstraw started long before he entered public service. A barber by trade, he was someone generations of residents knew, respected, and relied on. His leadership extended to the fire department, as well, where he served as fire commissioner and strengthened emergency response and protection efforts. A proud Rockland Community College graduate, Rafael never stopped giving back to the place he called home.

Those who knew him speak of his humility, his constant presence, and his willingness to help anyone who needed it.

Mr. Speaker, may his memory be a blessing for his family, his friends, and the Haverstraw community he so loved.

#### HONORING ROSA PARKS

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

Mrs. BEATTY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor Rosa Parks, an American hero.

Mr. Speaker, it was 70 years ago today, in Montgomery, Alabama, that Rosa Parks was arrested for not surrendering her bus seat to a White man, igniting a 381-day bus boycott.

On December 5, more than 500 community leaders and guests will join me and Congressman JAMES CLYBURN, the president of The Ohio State University, and the president and CEO of the Central Ohio Transit Authority.

Mr. Speaker, 20 years ago, I wrote the legislation for Ohio to become the first State in the Nation to designate December 1 as Rosa Parks Day.

Lastly, as America approaches its 250th birthday, we must also honor the mothers of our democracy and carry forward their courageous examples.

□ 1920

#### CALVARY BAPTIST CHURCH

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

Mr. LATIMER. Mr. Speaker, I want to recognize an important faith institution in the city of White Plains celebrating its 90th year of worship and service: Calvary Baptist Church.

The leadership and congregants have been a bedrock for worship and values since its founding in the 1930s.

Its involvement in the community has been impactful and significant. The

pastor for the last 13 years, Reverend Erwin Lee Trollinger, has been a true leader for the people of faith both inside and outside the church family.

Calvary Baptist sponsors weekly worship services, Bible study, Sunday school, and external outreach to assist the needy of the community. Pastor Trollinger and the team of ministers work tirelessly to bring a message of love and service to all. He is the latest in a long line of dynamic Calvary pastors who played a role in social justice efforts in the city of White Plains and in Westchester County.

Ninety years young and still growing in membership and in love, we salute Calvary Baptist Church for its important role in the life of our community.

#### JUAN ORLANDO HERNÁNDEZ, FORMER PRESIDENT OF HONDURAS

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

Ms. BALINT. Mr. Speaker, last Friday President Trump said he would give a full and complete pardon to Juan Orlando Hernández, the corrupt former President of Honduras. It is disgusting.

Trump is going to erase a major drug trafficking conviction against Hernández, who is serving 45 years in Federal prison for his crimes. He was convicted by an American jury for working with drug cartels to move 400 tons of cocaine through Honduras to the United States. He got millions of dollars in kickbacks and bribes.

What the hell is the President of the United States doing giving this thug a full pardon?

He is a man who helped bring deadly drugs into our communities. Trump is literally rewarding a narco-terrorist.

What will it take for my Republican colleagues to speak up?

There is no way to spin this. He is literally standing with a drug trafficker and against us.

#### PIES OF THANKS

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

Mr. DAVIS of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, members of my team and I have recently traveled to all 22 counties in North Carolina's First Congressional District, all on the same day, in what we call Pies of Thanks.

At each stop we delivered pecan, apple, and pumpkin pies to law enforcement officers, firefighters, EMS professionals, and our 911 telecommunicators.

These dedicated public servants are the backbone of safety and emergency care in our communities. They work long hours, often on weekends and holidays, answering the call during some of life's most difficult times for families.

Thanksgiving offered us a moment to pause and to honor these heroes. A simple pie may be small, but it carries a heartfelt message: To all of our first responders, the people of eastern North Carolina see you, appreciate you, and are grateful for you.

#### PRICELESS COIN COLLECTION HEADS TO THE TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART

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

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to share a story of renewal, of history and heritage rediscovered, and of deep respect for heritage in the American heartland.

For 167 years, one of the world's greatest collections of coins—doubloons, silver dollars, and denari—that tell the story of civilization and economic progress itself sat largely unseen in vaults in Manhattan, New York. These coins crossed oceans, witnessed empires rise and fall, and marked the turning points of human history, and they rested largely unseen.

In New York, this priceless collection had few visitors, little space, and no real home, but now these treasures are coming to northwest Ohio to the world-class Toledo Museum of Art.

The American Numismatic Society has chosen Toledo, located on beautiful Lake Erie, as the place where its future can flourish. We are so grateful that the society saw what we know so well: a community that opens its doors wide to history and also a world-class museum that inspires.

Mr. Speaker, children will be able to learn about heritage in this great location. I will thank and congratulate Adam Levine, the director of the museum, and the inspired board of the Toledo Museum of Art. We give Mr. LEVINE a salute and congratulate him.

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD a New York Times article titled "After 167 Years in New York, a Priceless Coin Collection Heads to Toledo."

[From The New York Times, Nov. 20, 2025]

AFTER 167 YEARS IN NEW YORK, A PRICELESS  
COIN COLLECTION HEADS TO TOLEDO

(By Dan Barry)

On the 11th floor of a downtown Manhattan building, just around the corner from the Holland Tunnel, sits one of the world's finest collections of coins. Stored behind a series of locked doors in a massive, climate-controlled vault, the coins tell the story of civilization, from antiquity to today.

A Sumerian clay tablet from about 2000 B.C.E. Early Chinese forms of money shaped like miniature tools. A silver French penny from the age of Charlemagne. A medal given by the Lincoln administration to a Native American chief, pierced by a bullet. More than 800,000 other telltale coins, medals and objects of wonder.

But apart from scholars, members and the occasional enthusiast, almost no one sees this treasure, which is one reason its guardian, the American Numismatic Society, is

leaving the city where it was founded in the mid-19th century—and moving to Toledo, Ohio.

The society announced today that it will be making a “strategic” relocation to an Art Deco building on the spacious campus of the Toledo Museum of Art. The \$20 million plan, to be completed in 2028, would make possible its long-harbored vision of a state-of-the-art money museum, a dream that has proved elusive in New York.

“One of our members said that this will mean a terrible loss to New York City,” the society’s executive director, Ute Wartenberg Kagan, said. “But if no one uses it, what’s the loss?”

Wartenberg Kagan, a scholar of ancient Greek coinage, left the British Museum in 1998 to join the American Numismatic Society and someday establish a proper money museum where one belonged, in the city of Wall Street. But exorbitant costs and space constraints conspired against those plans, as did an apparent indifference to the charms of numismatics.

So: Hello, Toledo!

Wartenberg Kagan said that she and several other colleagues are eager to make the 560-mile move west, where the society has already bought the building that will house its collection as well as a library, auditorium and education center. The population of the Toledo metropolitan area is about 650,000, less than one-tenth that of New York City, but there are many buts.

The cost of living is lower. The campus has plenty of space to accommodate the school buses that never pulled up to the current location because there was nowhere to park. And there is the opportunity to work in concert with the museum, integrating collections to produce dynamic exhibits for an engaged community.

“We’re not just buying real estate,” Wartenberg Kagan said. “We’re buying a relationship.”

But as one relationship begins, another ends. The American Numismatic Society traces its origins to 1858, when a teenage boy named Augustus B. Sage invited other coin obsessives to his family’s Manhattan home to discuss the creation of a society dedicated to all matters numismatic. Sage, who would go on to serve in the Civil War and die young, of pneumonia, donated the first object: an 1825 American half-cent.

In 1908, the society built a neoclassical building at 155th Street and Broadway, in the city’s Washington Heights section, to accommodate its growing membership, library and collection. The numismatic cognoscenti gathered there for lectures and exhibits, for celebrations of National Coin Week and debates about the aesthetics of the buffalo nickel.

But as the years passed, fewer people traveled to Upper Manhattan to see and discuss coins. Mentions of the society sometimes appeared in newspaper roundups of out-of-the-way places to visit in Manhattan.

Excitement occasionally paid a call. In 1977, four armed men overpowered two society guards, meticulously taped cloth over display cases to muffle the sound of glass being broken and made off with about 300 rare coins worth as much as \$100,000. As they calmly exited the building, the thieves told three impatient visitors at the door that the place was closed.

And in 1989, a heart surgeon and coin collector from California arrived in New York to be honored by the society for his beneficence, only to be arrested—and later convicted—instead. During his occasional visits, the good doctor had been pocketing rarities worth about \$1 million: a gold coin of the Roman Emperor Hadrian here, six gold coins of the Visigoths there.

Facing a yawning deficit, the society sold its Washington Heights building and moved to the Wall Street area in 2004, with plans to open a money museum. But the plan never came to fruition.

In 2008 the society moved again, to leased space on the 11th floor of an old building at 75 Varick Street. Over eight hours one late-spring Saturday, its entire collection, cocooned in bubble wrap and packed in more than 400 plastic crates, was transported to the new location as quietly as can be done with a police escort.

Both the appeals and challenges of the society’s current home were evident during a recent tour. An extensive library all but begged the visitor to pause and flip through a book, any book: on heraldry or mythology, shipwrecks or excavation. Then, once past the several locked doors that guard the vault, Wartenberg Kagan and Peter van Alfen, the chief curator, shared with glee just the smallest hint of the society’s immense treasure.

In this sliding drawer, a silver coin from the reign of Alexander the Great, one of many, portraying him in battle in India. And in this drawer, the famous silver denarius, minted to commemorate the murder of Julius Caesar and depicting two daggers and the bust of his assassin, Brutus. Here, a 1787 doubloon made by a New York City goldsmith, and here, a rare 1861 Confederate half dollar, struck in New Orleans.

A year could be lost in the vault of the American Numismatic Society.

But the society’s leased space is too expensive (\$1.8 million a year, including taxes), too small to accommodate its ever-growing holdings and not conducive to public engagement. A few years ago, a travel guide included the society among its list of free attractions—open by appointment and closed on weekends—in Lower Manhattan. Even then, only a half-dozen or so tourists might wander in every week.

“This is both a big and a small place,” Wartenberg Kagan said. “That’s one of its problems.”

For the last several years, the society—which has 1,400 members, including 265 outside the United States—has searched for more suitable quarters. Plans to move to the University of Chicago fell apart, as did those to move to the University of Pennsylvania, Long Island City in Queens and a warehouse in Fall River, Mass.

Then came a bit of numismatic serendipity. It just so happened that Adam M. Levine, the president and director of the Toledo Museum of Art, had spent the summer of 2009 at the American Numismatics Society, studying the iconography of Justinian II coinage. He contacted Wartenberg Kagan, whom he knew, and suggested that she consider Toledo, where he just happened to know of a four-story building on the museum’s 37-acre campus that would soon become available.

Levine, who grew up in the Riverdale section of the Bronx, expressed great affection for his native city. But he is now imbued with what he called the “zeal of the convert,” and he vouched for Toledo’s cultural amenities, community spirit and easy, relatively short ride to the Detroit Metropolitan Wayne County Airport.

“I feel very confident that there is life after New York,” Levine said. “And Toledo is made special by being the only place where you can pretty much guarantee that you’ll like the next person you meet.”

A dubious Wartenberg Kagan visited Toledo—and came away persuaded. It checked every box for the society’s trustees, including a supportive, good-sized city, reasonable housing costs and proximity to major research facilities.

Other staff members also made the trip to Toledo and liked what they saw. About half of the 17-member staff will be making the move, including Wartenberg Kagan and van Alfen.

“They will be welcomed with open arms,” Levine predicted. “And they’ll have more visitors in their first year than they’ve had in the last five.”

“Probably 10 years,” Wartenberg Kagan added.

## OREGON’S THIRD DISTRICT CONSTITUENT SERVICES

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

Ms. DEXTER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to share how my office has been hard at work for the people of Oregon’s Third Congressional District.

Since coming to Congress, our office has helped constituents recover more than one-half million dollars owed to them by the Federal Government through our casework services.

That is one-half million dollars returned to veterans waiting on care, to families caught in bureaucratic limbo, and to seniors who depend on their Social Security checks to live with dignity.

If my constituents need help navigating a Federal agency, my team is here for them. Visit [dexter.house.gov](http://dexter.house.gov) or call 503-231-2300.

I certainly cannot reverse every agency decision, but I can ask questions, and I can press for answers and work to move stalled cases forward.

We do that every day for veterans seeking care, for seniors needing benefits, for families waiting on tax refunds, and for neighbors who simply need someone in their corner.

That is what representation looks like.

## MEDICAL BILLS ARE TOO HIGH

(Under the Speaker’s announced policy of January 3, 2025, Ms. McCLELLAN of Virginia was recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.)

### GENERAL LEAVE

Ms. McCLELLAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and insert extraneous material in the RECORD.

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

There was no objection.

Ms. McCLELLAN. Mr. Speaker, today is December 1. At midnight and 30 days, at least 5 million Americans could lose access to their health insurance, and 22 million Americans who benefit from enhanced premium tax credits under the Affordable Care Act—as they began open enrollment 1 month ago—started to see their health insurance premiums spike.

Last week, in honor of Prematurity Awareness Month, I stood on this floor

to talk about how the Affordable Care Act expanded insurance to millions of Americans, how Medicaid expansion expanded insurance to millions of Americans, and how critically important that health insurance coverage is to a full-term birth with a nonfatal outcome for mother and child.

In the middle of the week, with several other mothers of preemies, I talked about my birth story.

Ten years ago, when I woke up one morning and my placenta ruptured and after almost bleeding to death, my daughter, Samantha, was born by emergency C-section. It was the scariest moment of my life. The hardest moment was the fact that I could not hold her, see her, or touch her for 24 hours, as she was in the NICU, and then the moment when I walked out of the hospital and had to leave her in the NICU for 6 more weeks.

I don't remember how much that NICU bill was because I was one of the lucky ones who had health insurance to cover that stay. On average, a NICU stay is \$70,000 a day. That is more than a single person who qualifies for the enhanced premium tax credits under the Affordable Care Act at the maximum rate of 400 percent of the Federal poverty line makes in a year. That person makes \$62,600. The average NICU stay is \$70,000.

□ 1930

I was lucky not only because I was able to take my daughter home 6 weeks later, but that entire 6 weeks I didn't have to worry about how I was going to pay that bill. All I had to worry about was her and my recovery. There are a lot of people that aren't that lucky.

There are a lot of people trying to decide right now whether to start a family. There are people right now who are in the process of starting a family who wonder if they will be able to afford their health insurance come January 1. They are having to make really tough decisions now, as they are in the middle of open enrollment, as to whether or not they can continue to afford health insurance.

Tonight, members of the Congressional Black Caucus will bring you stories from our constituents, from the States that we represent, of people who will be priced out of the insurance market, who will be one illness or accident away from economic devastation if Congress does not act to extend the enhanced premium tax credits beyond December 31.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentlewoman from New York (Ms. CLARKE), our chairwoman and the Representative from New York's Ninth District, to tell some stories.

Ms. CLARKE of New York. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from Virginia for her steadfast leadership and for hosting our Special Order hour this evening.

Mr. Speaker, good evening. I am Representative YVETTE D. CLARKE, chair of the Congressional Black Caucus, proud-

ly representing New York's Ninth Congressional District, located in Brooklyn, New York.

I thank my colleague, Congresswoman JENNIFER MCCLELLAN, for anchoring this Congressional Black Caucus Special Order hour.

I rise tonight with my colleagues of the Congressional Black Caucus to bring awareness to the fast-approaching ACA tax credit funding deadline, 30 days to go, and to give voice to everyday Americans who will be harmed by the Republican-led healthcare crisis.

The enhanced ACA tax credits are set to expire on December 31 unless congressional Republicans join Democrats to extend them.

Without an extension of the ACA tax credits, tens of millions of individuals and families can expect to pay significantly higher health insurance premiums for marketplace plans.

Without these tax credits, Americans will see their healthcare costs skyrocket, increase by hundreds if not thousands of dollars per month, which will force families who are already struggling with the cost of living to face unaffordable premium spikes or lose coverage altogether.

The ACA tax credits have ensured that families, seniors, young adults, and workers in every CBC district could afford quality healthcare.

In our districts, we have heard from countless constituents who receive their healthcare on the ACA marketplace who are now worried about the cost of their healthcare going up.

One of my constituents, Lilah Wilson, a small business owner who depends on the ACA marketplace said: "My heart dropped when I got an email earlier this month stating that I might lose my insurance benefits. I already struggle to afford the city that I have grown up in and contributed to as a small business owner."

She continued: "Shopping for health insurance through the marketplace created by the Affordable Care Act was the first time that I had assurance of affordable, good insurance. We must protect this program. It is a matter of survival."

At every turn, Republicans have turned their backs on the American people. President Trump and congressional Republicans promised the American people that they would take swift action on day one to address our Nation's affordability crisis by lowering the high cost of living.

Well, instead, they unleashed the most aggressive assault on our Nation's healthcare in history, and the damage has been devastating.

Across the country, we are already seeing hospitals, nursing homes, and clinics that serve our communities closing their doors, and now Republicans' refusal to extend ACA premium tax credits is driving up costs and pushing coverage out of reach for many in our communities.

The CBC and House Democrats stood united for more than 40 days to prevent

exactly this outcome while Republicans refused to negotiate and left working families to bear the consequences.

We are calling on our Republican colleagues to join us in putting the wellbeing of the American people above partisanship, to put people over politics.

This is not an abstract policy debate. It is about real lives. It is about parents deciding whether to fill a prescription or pay the rent. It is about seniors choosing between a doctor's visit and groceries. It is about young adults, gig workers, caregivers, and small business owners who depend on the ACA marketplace for the coverage that keeps them healthy and financially secure.

Let me be clear: Allowing these tax credits to expire is a choice. It is a choice of greed. It is a choice of cruelty. It is the wrong choice.

Ms. MCCLELLAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank our chair for those remarks.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. JOHNSON), the Representative from Georgia's Fourth District.

Mr. JOHNSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I thank Representative MCCLELLAN for running point on this Special Order hour for the CBC. She is a legislative champion both in the State house and in the Federal House. It is good to be with her tonight, and I thank her for recognizing me.

I also give a shout-out to our beloved leader of the CBC, Representative YVETTE CLARKE, who is doing a fine job leading us through these difficult times.

These are difficult times for us. We here in Congress are having a difficult time. You see it. But the difficulties we face are nothing to what you face out there. You are the ones who are struggling to put food on the table. You are the ones who are struggling to keep a roof over your head as the head of your family. You are the ones struggling to work 8 hours a day for an honest day's wage only to come up short and having to work second and third jobs in order to make ends meet while you see others living lavishly surrounded by gold ornaments on everything that they can touch, building ballrooms for the rich and wealthy after knocking down the historic east wing of the White House, and doing it without anybody's consent, just waking up and deciding I am going to do this.

□ 1940

We live in a democracy, not someplace where a king is in charge, and that king is playing politics with the people.

The other day, he floated the idea that he wanted to extend the Affordable Care Act tax credits, or ObamaCare tax credits. He floated that idea but got some pushback from a few Representatives on the Republican side of the aisle, and so he snatched it back.

He doesn't realize that real people are depending on those tax credits in



order to make insurance affordable for them. People like Vivian in my district, who I had a phone conversation with recently about the rising cost of her healthcare premiums due to the Republicans' cruel refusal to extend ObamaCare tax subsidies, are depending on those tax credits.

She told me: That is just an amount I simply cannot afford.

Mr. Speaker, her premiums are going from \$50 a month all the way up to \$1,260 a month. From \$50 a month to \$1,260 a month. There is no way that she can afford that.

Vivian has suffered from psoriatic arthritis since she was 27, and she now has vision problems in one eye. She relies on specialty medications to deal with her conditions.

While Vivian faces skyrocketing healthcare costs, her husband is dealing with cancer. Luckily, he is on Medicare and is receiving the care that he needs, but if Vivian is cut off from her access to care, there is no way that she can keep going and take care of him at the same time.

She said: Without the ObamaCare subsidies, my quality of life will be nonexistent.

Vivian told me that without healthcare and access to her medications, she would lose vision in one eye, and because the medications help keep her arthritis at bay, it allows her to do seemingly simple things, such as to tie her shoes or walk without pain.

She said: ObamaCare subsidies have saved my life. I don't know what I will do without it. People are people. Access to quality, affordable care shouldn't be a partisan issue.

I agree. Americans like Vivian who are out there, those are the people who Democrats are fighting for.

In the wealthiest country in the world, no one should have to worry about affording medical care. That is why I will work with anybody in Congress, including MARJORIE TAYLOR GREENE, who believes that access to quality healthcare is a human right and not a privilege reserved only for those who can afford it.

Mr. Speaker, I have a number of other testimonials from people in my district, the Fourth District of Georgia, who have written and emailed what their situations are all about. They are many, and they are excruciatingly painful to listen to.

Over 1.5 million Georgians are in the health exchange, in the marketplace, and 340,000 of those, or about one-quarter will lose their coverage if we don't do something about these expiring tax credits.

A family of four earning \$82,000 a year will see their annual premiums double to around \$7,000 per year. It is just unsustainable for people to have to go through this month after month, and so we need to do something.

Mr. Speaker, I appreciate our caucus for hosting this Special Order hour.

Ms. MCCLELLAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his words.

To hear more stories from Georgia, I now yield to the Representative from Georgia's Seventh District, Congresswoman LUCY MCBATH.

Mrs. MCBATH. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today to speak out on the rising costs of healthcare, which are putting undue burdens on the American people. I thank my colleague Representative JENNIFER MCCLELLAN for consistently continuing to elevate the voices of the Congressional Black Caucus members as we talk about the stories of our communities and the stories of our people and those who we represent, highlighting the needs of those in our Nation who are suffering right now.

I thank our chair of the Congressional Black Caucus, YVETTE CLARKE, for her earnest, continued work to also make sure that the Congressional Black Caucus is standing on the front lines and trying each and every day to make sure that we are defending people's rights to exist in this country freely and fairly without these undue burdens.

Earlier this year, we watched as this Republican congressional leadership reached historic new lows in their inability to work in a bipartisan fashion to meet the needs of the people who we were elected to serve.

For 43 days, Speaker Johnson refused to come to the table and extend the healthcare subsidies which will prevent premiums from skyrocketing for the millions of Americans who get their insurance from the Affordable Care Act marketplace. That is approximately more than 70,000 people, constituents, in my district alone.

During that same time, we watched President Trump and his administration play politics with Federal food assistance, jeopardizing benefits for hungry families.

I heard a story in my district in Georgia from Rich about the impact that these cost increases would have on his livelihood. I have heard many stories, but this one really struck me.

He writes: I am the self-employed, sole provider for a family of four where two of us have preexisting conditions. If the Republicans get their way and remove the subsidies, my very basic catastrophe plan-style HMO will literally increase tenfold. I am currently spending 39 percent of my income on healthcare, including the subsidized ACA policy. Removing subsidies will ultimately lead me to financial bankruptcy.

There are more stories just like this, and they are a window into how the chaos and unpredictability of this administration is making it harder on working families to succeed and thrive.

Since January, we have dealt with the uncertainty and the chaos that has been brought by this second Trump administration. From the unpredictability of the tariffs, the rising costs of healthcare, and the increasingly unattainable goal of homeownership, what

is going on in Washington should concern every single American in this country.

Congress and the Trump administration should be doing more to lower costs and improve outcomes for our hardworking families.

As I have continued to do since I first came to Congress, I have been committed to addressing the concerns of the families who I am very honored to represent. No family in this country should ever be forced to choose between paying their insurance premiums or for prescription drugs over paying their mortgage. That is unconscionable, and that is most definitely un-American.

We must identify solutions to put the dream of homeownership back into reality for young Americans, and we must make it less expensive for Americans to get the skills necessary to provide a decent life for themselves and for their families, but they can't do that if they are sick. They can't do that if they can't go to work. They can't do that if they can't pay their bills, such as their hospital bills or other medical bills.

I am a two-time breast cancer survivor myself, and not a day goes by that I don't think about how egregious not extending these ACA tax subsidies is to the American people. I am a lucky person.

□ 1950

I am very grateful that I had the ability to have private insurance, group insurance, where I could pay for all of my healthcare and didn't have to sit there and worry about how I was paying the bills while I was getting healthy and well.

There are people all over this country who, if they ever get sick, that is the absolute demise of their ability to be able to live in this country and care for their families, and that is un-American.

I am so grateful to Chairwoman CLARKE and my fellow CBC member, Representative MCCLELLAN, for convening us again tonight as we look ahead to the year 2026. I truly look forward to working with every single one of my colleagues to build a better life for the hardworking families that we are privileged to represent, but I honestly pray every single day that everyone here, every one of us in this Chamber, truly is committed to the same ideals.

Ms. MCCLELLAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentlewoman from Florida (Mrs. CHERFILUS-McCORMICK), who represents the 20th District.

Mrs. CHERFILUS-McCORMICK. Mr. Speaker, I thank Representative MCCLELLAN for hosting this tonight and for hearing the cries of our district, what they are suffering and the political anxiety that they are living in just thinking that healthcare for them and their families will be stripped from them.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today for a woman named Maria. Maria lives in

Broward County. She is a home health aide who works full time, raising two children, and still cannot afford health insurance without the tax credit from the Affordable Care Act.

Because of those credits, Maria can take her blood pressure medication, and her son can see a specialist for his asthma. These are not extras. These are basic human survival and dignity matters.

If these credits expire, Maria's premiums will more than double. She will be forced to choose which child sees a doctor and which child stays home and waits to get better.

Mr. Speaker, that is not a choice any mother should have to face. That is not freedom. That is fear.

Maria is not alone. In Florida's 20th District, more than 200,000 people depend on these tax credits, and many are already dealing with serious gaps in their healthcare.

This is not a policy debate. This is not a question of who we choose to value. This is a question of dignity for all Americans and their right to survive.

I am calling on every Member in this House to look beyond party politics, party games, and trying to get the limelight to actually put human beings' lives front and center.

The shutdown may be over, but our responsibility to protect the health and dignity of the American people is not.

If we do not pass the ACA tax credits, we will be guilty of political malpractice for each person who goes without healthcare and has an unfortunate demise.

Once again, I stress to every Member in this body to make sure we retain healthcare and the dignity of all Americans in this country and their right to have healthcare and survive like anyone else.

Ms. MCCLELLAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. IVEY), who represents the Fourth District.

Mr. IVEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague from Virginia for yielding to me and for putting this together. I appreciate the fact that she took the leadership and initiative to bring this forward. I also thank my colleagues in the Congressional Black Caucus, as well, for taking a stand on this issue and the House Democratic Caucus overall.

This is the issue that we fought about with respect to the government shutdown. This is the issue that has not gone away. I suppose the White House and my Republican colleagues were hoping that it would, but it is worse now than it was even then.

In fact, the Republicans knew this problem was coming all the way back on January 20 when Mr. Trump first took office. To much fanfare, they began moving forward with his legislative agenda, the big, beautiful bill and other pieces of legislation. I don't even know how many executive orders they put together and put out undermining the government from the standpoint of government employees and making damaging impacts across the board.

They failed to address this particular issue. In fact, I will come back to that in a moment. Not only did they not address extending the tax credits for the Affordable Care Act, but they made the problem even worse. The big, ugly bill that they passed included a \$1 trillion cut to Medicaid.

The healthcare safety net in this country, to the extent it is a safety net, was damaged terribly by what they have done, and it is about to get infinitely worse when these tax credits expire at the end of the month.

I know my Republican colleagues have been fighting against ObamaCare for years now. I can remember back when it was first passed 15 years ago in this Chamber. There were over 60 votes to repeal and replace the ObamaCare piece of legislation. They kept going year after year after year. Somewhere along the way, about 5 years in, they found out that the American people actually like ObamaCare. They don't call it ObamaCare. They might call it the Affordable Care Act, but they kind of liked not having pregnancy treated as a preexisting condition, and they kind of liked having the ability to have their kids stay on their family insurance plans until they turned 26.

The efforts to repeal it not only failed, but it has gotten stronger over the years because people have come to realize that without it, they might not be able to afford healthcare at all.

I have decided to bring in a couple of comments from people in my district. There are too many to read all of them, but this one is from Beth, who lives in Greenbelt, Maryland, which is in my district. She is looking at her premiums going up \$9,372 this year. She has major health conditions that require ongoing healthcare that she can't avoid. They were brought on by a major surgery that she underwent several years ago.

Her case isn't unique. In the State of Maryland, it is estimated that the impact will be on 14,000 or so members of my district. A 60-year-old couple with an \$82,000 income is looking at a 168 percent increase if these affordable care tax credits are allowed to expire. A family of four, ages 45, 45, 15, and 10, is looking at a 200 percent increase in their monthly premiums. Obviously, most families can't sustain that.

I am going to pick one. I read an article in the Washington Post a little while ago. This is a gentleman in Altoona, Pennsylvania. That is not my district, obviously; that is the district of Congressman JOYCE. Matt Hornberger is 61 years old and from Altoona, Pennsylvania. Monthly payments for him and his wife will rise from \$670 to \$2,054. He said this: "Between the high deductible and \$25,000 in premiums, this is 40 percent of our income. I am just trying to live a life here and be able to go to the doctor when you need to go to the doctor."

He ought to be able to do that. In fact, every American ought to be able to do that.

What have we gotten from our Republican colleagues in the 9 months or

so since they took over the White House, the House, and the Senate? Not much. I remember the President saying in the debate that he didn't have a plan, that he had a concept of a plan. I am not sure we have gotten much past the concept point 9 months later, but he did talk about HSAs.

I was looking at that, doing a little research, and an economist, Doug Holtz-Eakin, who works for the American Action Forum, a conservative think tank, said this: "There is a place for health savings accounts to augment insurance and fill things out around the edges, but it can't be the core insurance product."

The reason for that is because it is not designed to be the core insurance product. As a matter of fact, we have HSAs in place now, but 66 percent or so of these have only \$1,000 or less in the account.

As you heard from my colleague from Virginia, \$1,000 doesn't go a long way in our healthcare system. It is \$70,000 a day for the NICU system. I am a kidney cancer survivor. A thousand dollars sure wouldn't have covered my insurance for the surgery that I underwent. As a matter of fact, it wouldn't have even covered the MRI that allowed us to find it, fortunately, very early on.

□ 2000

Now, what is the path forward?

Mr. Speaker, I have to complain a bit because we have been talking about this issue the whole time. I am a father. I have six kids, and this reminds me a little bit of one of them.

He came home from school one day and he looked at his mom, of course, and said: Mom, will you help me with this project I have? She said: Honey, I am a little tied up right now. Can I help you out later? He said: We can't really wait on this. She said: Why not? He said: It is because it is a big part of my grade. It is a huge part of my grade. She said: Okay. I will help you out with it, but when is it due? He said: Tomorrow. She said: When did you know about this project?

As it turned out, he knew he had this assignment months ago, but he hadn't done anything to get ready for it. He hadn't let us know that he needed the help to work on it, and he certainly hadn't done any work to prepare the project.

That is what our Republican colleagues are doing right now. They came into office on January 20th knowing that these ACA tax credits were going to expire. They didn't do anything to address it. Not only that, but we brought it to their attention when this bill was moving through, the big, ugly bill. We tried to address it then, but they refused to extend the tax credits then. We tried to offer amendments at the committee level. I am on the Appropriations Committee. We offered four of those to try and amend

this piece just to extend it. Let's try and fix it. If you have other things you want to do with it, let's extend it now so it doesn't expire.

They refused to do it. They voted it down four times on a party-line vote over and over again just like they had done over the previous 15 years when they were trying to get rid of it. Maybe this is death by a thousand cuts in their minds, but something strange happened along the way.

The American people started getting these notices in the mail that their premiums were about to double or triple. The American people, millions of them across the country, started realizing that there is no way they can afford to pay that. They are going to be forced into the choice of either dropping the insurance or take some other drastic measure like selling their house. One lady said she might have to pull her kid out of college to pay for this healthcare coverage.

It is absolutely outrageous, but the failure to do something until the eleventh hour is a total abdication of their responsibility of leadership, not just in the House, not just in the Senate, not just in the White House but entirely across the board.

The Republican Party didn't wake up to this until the American people started screaming in their ears. Well, now, here we are. What is the path forward?

Senator SCHUMER back during the government shutdown at the end of it said: Tell you what. Why don't we just extend it for a year. Let's put a task force together to try and work out the differences because I understand the Republicans don't agree with everything. Let's take a year and extend it and try and work it out.

Not only did the Republicans and the Senate reject that, they actually said: This is stupid. I can't believe he would propose this. Those were the types of comments he got from his Senate colleagues for proposing a 1-year extension.

Right now, there is a 3-year discharge petition that would extend the tax credits for 3 years. I don't know if there are any Republicans who have signed on to that, but I think we have about 9 legislative days left. At least my kids were only in their early teens. However, if they want to do the big fixes they have been talking about with respect to healthcare, they are not going to be able to do it in 9 days.

Now, I know they are going to try and do something to save face, but at the end of the day, the extension is really the only realistic way we have to go here.

I have to say this: If they don't do the extension, it is going to be devastating for families across the country, millions of them.

We were talking a little bit about how much these things could cost. The HSA is a thousand-dollar average. Look at the average cost for heart surgery. Just the surgery, not even the

stay, is between \$30,000 and \$200,000 just for the procedure. I don't even know how much my cancer surgery cost because I had health insurance. I didn't have to check it like that. We had to pay some deductible, but nothing dramatic. We wouldn't have been able to afford it. I wouldn't have gotten the surgery because I wouldn't even have known I had cancer because we wouldn't have gotten the MRI.

That is where we are putting the American people right now. Actually, not we, the Republicans are putting the American people right now.

It is time to end this. The clock is running out. The calendar says the time has come to do something and put some kind of proposal on the table.

I have to say this, too, on the proposal piece. When the Speaker passed the bill, I think it was, if I recall correctly, July 25th, we left town for the August recess, came back, passed the bill, and then left town again. There was a stretch there where I think we had been in session between July 25th and when the government finally reopened, I think it was 12 legislative days.

To my friends out there in the country, how many of you could only work 12 days in July, August, September, and October and still have a job and still get paid while you are out? That is what they did.

Mr. Speaker, the time has come to get this done finally, to make some kind of an effort to reach a bipartisan solution and resolve this crisis that was created entirely by my Republican colleagues, that was totally avoidable, that they decided to run into the fire anyway.

Let's fix this. Let's protect the American people. Let's allow them to go at least 1 year, maybe 3, so we can extend this so they can make sure that they continue to have healthcare coverage while we are working on this bill. Let's get it done.

Ms. McCLELLAN. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire as to the time remaining.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MCQUIRE). The gentlewoman from Virginia has 20 minutes remaining.

Ms. McCLELLAN. Mr. Speaker, I will take a personal privilege to close this Special Order hour with some stories from Virginia, which I know you, Mr. Speaker, care a lot about. You and I served together in the State legislature there where we were able to find common ground across the aisle a little more easily than we are able to do in Congress.

In Virginia, about 350,000 people benefit from the Affordable Care Act premium tax credits, enhanced premium tax credits, 30,000 in my district, the Fourth Congressional District.

For a family of four that earns \$129,800 a year, they are looking at premiums that will increase by \$4,675. A family of four earning \$64,000 a year will see their annual premiums increase \$2,571. A 60-year-old couple earning \$82,800 a year will see their annual

premiums increase \$11,968. That is a 174-percent increase. That is what Virginians are facing if we can't find common ground to solve this problem, even temporarily.

Our former colleagues in the General Assembly have predicted that at least 60,000 Virginians would end up canceling their insurance coverage due to affordability if they lose access to the enhanced premium tax credits.

Mr. Speaker, last week, Cardinal News—which covers the Southwest and Southside, Virginia, both of us represent portions of that part of the Commonwealth—told several stories.

There was one from Reagan Fisher Wyssbrod from Salem. Reagan and her husband, who is self-employed, have two children.

□ 2010

Wyssbrod works three part-time jobs to help support the family while keeping the flexibility needed for her children. She spends some days as a substitute teacher and as a business manager for a library association. She does some bookkeeping on the side. None of these jobs offer benefits.

She has a bachelor's degree in psychology, roughly two decades of experience in health insurance and accounting, and she is willing to take almost any job that will offer benefits, she said, even if that means working at McDonald's because she doesn't want to let her children go without healthcare.

Her projected monthly premium increase is \$400, which would raise her monthly out-of-pocket costs to \$1900. On top of that, her longtime doctor has moved out of network. It is astonishing, she said.

She spent 3 weeks combing through plans and eventually found one that would save the family about \$100 a month, bringing their premium down to \$1,800, allowing her to keep her doctor, but it has a higher deductible. She said the worst case scenario is her out-of-pocket costs would be \$20,000 on top of the monthly premium.

Ultimately, it came down to: I don't go to the doctor that often, my kids don't go to the doctor that often, so we will just roll the dice.

She said: We will wrap some bubble wrap around us, I guess.

I don't think bubble wrap is going to help if they get in a car accident.

Victoria Cassels, an accountant in Roanoke, worries about her adult daughter who lives in Richmond, who is a self-employed graphic designer with an autoimmune disease. Her condition limits how much work she can take on, and she depends on marketplace coverage. Her monthly premium rose by \$400, about three times higher than it was last year.

Cassels is going to do what she can to help her daughter cover the costs if she can't take on enough work to meet this new expense. Cassels prepares taxes for individuals and small businesses and says more of her younger clients are

talking about dropping health insurance all together because they just can't afford it.

In the last few years, she has had a slew of clients in their twenties and thirties who have started their own businesses. Just getting started in life, they don't have the savings to afford the increasing cost of health insurance. Without health insurance, it is going to be very difficult for them to start a family.

Ben Pearman, financial adviser from Bent Mountain in Roanoke, runs his own business which is well established, and he has a steady income, but higher monthly costs have led him to reconsider his options.

As a single man in his fifties, he pays for his own health plan. Next year, his monthly premium will jump from \$724 to \$935. He can absorb the higher cost but is considering switching to concierge care, a model in which the patients pay a flat monthly fee, but that would leave him without insurance if an accident happens.

Linda Bartlett, 64, entered semi-retirement last year, and now works part time at Roanoke's Mast General Store. She turned to the marketplace until she qualifies for Medicare. Her premium is about to double, bringing her monthly payment to \$1,200, which is nearly all of her Social Security check.

Mr. Speaker, I yield now to the gentlewoman from Illinois' Second District, Congresswoman ROBIN KELLY.

Ms. KELLY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I rise today as the chair of the Congressional Black Caucus Health Braintrust to urge my colleagues across the aisle to extend the ACA tax credits.

As you know, they are set to expire at the end of the year and will cause monthly health bills to skyrocket for millions of Americans. The rising cost of healthcare goes beyond the individual. It affects Black small business owners.

A small business owner in my district owns several coffee shops and worries about her employees being able to afford healthcare. She feels responsible for her employees, but healthcare is a large expense for a small business. The ACA premium tax credits provide affordable care to her employees, allowing her coffee shop and her employees to thrive.

Another small business owner in my district runs a wine production business that sells nationwide. Despite her success, she has to rely on her husband's job for healthcare. These are two small business owners who have created their own success, and through their businesses created jobs for other people.

Republicans love to say they support our economy. It is time to actually support the healthcare of small business owners, who are the backbone of our economy. Republicans also love to say the best option for healthcare is a job.

My constituents have a job. They also provide jobs for more people, but

they all receive affordable healthcare through the ACA. Without the ACA tax credits, their employees may have no other option but to go uninsured or find another job. If they decide to leave, my constituents' businesses won't be able to run.

It is simple: We all do better when we all do better. We are all healthier when we are all healthier. Let's extend the ACA premium tax credits. Let's make healthcare more affordable and accessible.

Ms. McCLELLAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to put this debate in a larger context. I was in the State legislature where the Affordable Care Act passed. It wasn't perfect. Our healthcare system has never been perfect, but what it did, between the marketplace and expanding Medicaid, is it got the number of uninsured to record lows, at least in Virginia. I can't speak to nationwide, but in Virginia, we saw our uninsured rate go to record lows.

We were able to expand Medicaid on a bipartisan basis because it didn't just benefit urban cores, but suburban centers and rural communities, rural communities that had high numbers of uninsured, that were worried about how their healthcare centers, their hospitals were going to have the volumes to stay open.

We expanded Medicaid. During the—I call it the big, ugly bill, we put millions of Americans at risk of losing their health insurance through cuts to Medicaid. We saw a list of over 300 hospitals in rural areas identified as being at risk of closing.

During the August recess, I traveled all over Virginia not just to talk to my constituents, but as one of only two members of the Energy and Commerce Committee to talk to a wide cross-section of Virginians. I visited a dental clinic in Abingdon. Eighty percent of their patients are covered by Medicaid, 80 percent. The other 20 percent are uninsured.

Before that clinic opened, that community got dental services once a year when a mobile dental clinic showed up, and the line was incredibly long to get one day of dental service a year.

When I visited this clinic, I didn't come in with any talking points. I just came to tour. I asked: What keeps you up at night? The director said: I don't know how we are going to keep our doors open with these Medicaid cuts.

Two TV stations were there who were there when the clinic opened because they understood what a big deal this clinic was, not just for Abingdon, but the entire southwest corner of the Commonwealth. My colleague who represents that area in response to that visit said: Democrats are just fear-mongering.

Well, lo and behold, less than a month later, three rural clinics closed, citing Medicaid cuts in H.R. 1. A hospital in Farmville closed its labor and delivery unit.

I ran for office because I grew up listening to my parents tell stories when

they grew up in the segregated South during the Depression. They saw the best of government and they saw the worst of government.

□ 2020

Mr. Speaker, the best of government was when people came together to solve problems and to help people who were hurting through no fault of their own. These were people who were working day in and day out and couldn't afford to put food on the table. They couldn't afford healthcare when they got sick. They couldn't afford a roof over their heads.

The worst of government is when we sit here and focus more on: How can I score political points? How can I benefit the wealthiest 1 percent on the backs of every other working American?

As I traveled around Virginia in August and October, and in the 54 days that we weren't doing our job here in Washington—not having committee hearings and not voting on the House floor—what I heard was people losing faith that our government knows how to be at its best. We have to get back to that.

Our system is not perfect. That is why in the Constitution it says that our government was formed in order to form a more perfect Union. It is not a perfect union but a more perfect Union.

The beauty of our form of government is when we listen to the people and see that they are hurting, we have an opportunity to do something to stop that hurting, an opportunity to feed the hungry, house the homeless, care for the sick, welcome the stranger, and visit the incarcerated. When we do for the least of these, we are at our best.

We have gotten away from that, Mr. Speaker. We better get back to it because the American people are losing faith that this body, Congress, will do its job. We better do it. They are depending on us to. They have told us they are worried. We heard the stories tonight. This is just one thing people are worried about.

We need to get back to our better nature. We need to come together, find common ground, and help people who are wondering: Come January 1, how am I going to afford this health insurance? What am I going to do when my kid burns his hand and ends up in the burn unit with a bill of \$15,000 that I can't afford to pay? What am I going to do if my baby is born prematurely and has to stay in the NICU at an average price of \$70,000 a day?

People are wondering: Do we hear them, and are we going to act?

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

#### HONORING GEORGIA'S FINEST

(Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2025, Mr. CARTER of Georgia was recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.)

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all

Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the topic of this Special Order.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor the decades of service of Chief Warrant Officer Eric Bryan Williams.

Chief Warrant Officer Five Eric Bryan Williams is a distinguished MH-60 Black Hawk flight leader with the 160th Special Operations Aviation Regiment.

Williams was born on October 17, 1975, and is a native of Duluth, Georgia. He first enlisted in June 1993 as a combat medic. Later, he was selected for appointment to Warrant Officer Candidate School.

Williams conducted deployments to Iraq, Afghanistan, Djibouti, Yemen, and Somalia. Throughout his service, Williams went through a variety of training and earned a number of accolades, the highest being the Distinguished Flying Cross.

On December 12, 2025, Chief Warrant Officer Williams is scheduled to retire, concluding 32 years of honorable and dedicated service to the United States Army. His exemplary career within the prestigious 160th Special Operations Aviation Regiment reflects a commitment to excellence and unwavering dedication to the defense of our Nation. We thank him for his service.

COMMENDING SERGEANT BOBBY STEWART

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to commend Sergeant Bobby Stewart of the Chatham County Police Department for his outstanding act of bravery that earned him the Medal of Merit.

On a critical day in Savannah, Sergeant Stewart disarmed a suicidal individual who was armed with a firearm, preventing what could have become a tragic outcome. His calm demeanor, compassion, and quick thinking not only safeguarded the life of the individual involved but also allowed that person to receive the help and care they needed.

According to his supervisor, Sergeant Stewart's actions exhibited extraordinary kindness, courage, and unwavering service to the public.

In recognizing Sergeant Stewart, we honor more than just a singular act. We uphold the standards of leadership and humanity that define public service.

Please join me in thanking Sergeant Bobby Stewart for his courageous efforts and in acknowledging the many officers who keep our community safe every day.

HONORING FIREFIGHTER MEDICS KIMBERLY ROYER AND DEREK WILSON

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor Bryan County Firefighter Medics Kimberly Royer and Derek Wilson, who were recognized by

the 200 Club of the Coastal Empire for their remarkable courage and service.

On June 7, 2024, a domestic dispute in Richmond Hill turned violent when a man shot his wife multiple times. While law enforcement secured the scene, Medics Royer and Wilson negotiated with the armed suspect for over an hour. After convincing him they were unarmed, they entered the house at great personal risk, reached the wounded woman, and carried her to safety for lifesaving treatment.

For their bravery, Royer and Wilson received the 2025 Valor Award at the 200 Club ceremony in Savannah. Their actions reflect the high standards of public service and the courage that defines first responders across Georgia.

Today, we thank Kimberly Royer and Derek Wilson for their valor, compassion, and steadfast commitment to saving lives.

HONORING TAX COMMISSIONER SONYA L. JACKSON

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to commend Chatham County Tax Commissioner Sonya L. Jackson, who recently received the Presidential Award from the Savannah Branch NAACP at their 2025 gala. This award recognizes individuals whose leadership and service strengthen our communities through integrity, innovation, and impact.

Commissioner Jackson earned this honor for her unwavering commitment to public education, exceptional customer service, and operational excellence at one of Chatham County's most vital government offices.

Since assuming office, Commissioner Jackson has led efforts to make tax services more accessible and efficient for all residents. Her Tax Commissioner University initiative empowers citizens with the knowledge and confidence to navigate local government processes, building trust and transparency in government operations.

Commissioner Jackson's leadership exemplifies how public service can strengthen the bonds between government and community.

Today, we celebrate Commissioner Jackson's significant contributions and offer our gratitude for her dedication to improving the lives of Chatham County residents.

HONORING DR. DASHAUN MCGEE

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to congratulate Dr. DaShaun McGee, assistant principal at Bradwell Institute in Hinesville, for being named Georgia's Assistant Principal of the Year by the Georgia Association of Secondary School Principals.

Dr. McGee stood out among more than 140 applicants, thanks to his servant leadership, tireless energy, and heartfelt commitment to students. He is known for being present in the lunchroom, in the hallways, and among the faculty. He builds relationships, offers guidance, and makes a tangible difference every day.

Serving the students of Bradwell Institute and the wider Liberty County

system, Dr. McGee leads with integrity, compassion, and a clear vision for educational success. His work elevates the school, supports his colleagues, and strengthens his community.

Please join me in recognizing Dr. DaShaun McGee for this well-earned honor and in thanking him for his outstanding contribution to education in the State of Georgia.

□ 2030

MARCHESE CONSTRUCTION, LLC

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize Marchese Construction, LLC, a Savannah-based company that has been named one of America's Top 100 Small Businesses by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and its small business platform, CO.

Out of more than 12,500 applicants nationwide, Marchese Construction earned this distinction as part of the 2025 CO-100, which highlights exceptional innovation, leadership, and community impact.

For years, Marchese Construction has played a vital role in building not only structures, but also opportunities across our region. Their commitment to excellence and their dedication to local partnerships have strengthened Savannah's economy and showcased the entrepreneurial spirit that drives small business success through Georgia.

This recognition is a testament to their hard work and the values they bring to every project. We are proud to see a business from Georgia's First District receive national recognition for excellence and community leadership.

COMMEMORATING THE 37TH ANNUAL GEORGIA PEANUT TOUR

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to commemorate the 37th Annual Georgia Peanut Tour.

The 37th tour began in Valdosta, Georgia, right around the onset of harvest season, making it the perfect time to showcase some peanuts.

This year's preeminent stop was at Swilley Farms in which the Swilley family has been tilling the land for over 100 years. Danny Swilley continues to honor his family legacy, operating alongside his two brothers and his father.

The Georgia Peanut Tour contacted Swilley and other local farmers, allowing them to showcase their farms and support the industry.

The tour forges relationships, providing these businesses with the opportunity to connect with their customer base. Tourists can gain insight into the peanut harvesting process, infrastructure, production, handling, processing, and utilization.

I want to congratulate the Swilley family for highlighting their stories in the peanut industry, from digging to managing disease that can ruin the harvest.

HONORING POOLER FIRE CHIEF WADE SIMMONS' 36 YEARS OF SERVICE

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize an extraordinary public servant, Pooler Fire-Rescue Chief Wade Simmons, who recently

celebrated 36 years of dedicated service as a career firefighter.

Chief Simmons began his journey in 1989 with the Southside Fire Department, later joining Savannah Fire in 1998 before bringing his leadership to Pooler in 2008. Under his direction, Pooler Fire-Rescue has grown from a small two-station department to a five-station organization operating six companies and a daily shift commander.

Throughout his career, Chief Simmons has been a pillar in the fire service community, known for his mentorship, professionalism, and unwavering commitment to excellence. He has strengthened departments across Georgia through training, consultation, and collaboration, earning the respect of firefighters statewide.

For 36 years, Chief Simmons has dedicated his life to protecting others and preparing the next generation of first responders. His service is an inspiration to us all.

#### CELEBRATING JOE FUSILE

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to celebrate excellence that extends far beyond the football field. Joe Fusile, a Georgia Tech student, Richmond Hill High School alumnus, and civil engineering major, has been named a semifinalist for the 2025 William V. Campbell Trophy.

Known as college football's premier scholar-athlete award, the William V. Campbell Trophy honors the absolute best for combined success in academics, athletics, and leadership.

This year, the National Football Foundation announced 177 semifinalists across all of college football. The average GPA among them is an extraordinary 3.60 with more than one-half already holding degrees. To be nominated, a player must be a senior or graduate student, carry at least a 3.2 GPA, excel on the field, and demonstrate strong character and citizenship.

Participating in the Uplifting Athletes organization, a group that raises awareness for individuals with rare diseases, Mr. Fusile exemplifies what it means to be a true Georgia Tech student-athlete on and off the field.

#### HONORING THE LIFE OF RANDALL KATO

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor the life of Randall Kato.

A native of Hawaii, Randall carried his island warmth all the way to Georgia, where he became legendary for his dedication to surfing. He made the daily drive from Hinesville to Tybee Island just to greet the waves and his friends.

Kato was not only the first one in the water and the last one out, but he was also a devoted father, friend, and mentor, uplifting everyone he met with kindness and wisdom. Those who were lucky enough to know him saw him as a role model with a peaceful spirit and a positive outlook on life. Kato fed off the energy from surfing, forming a physical and mental connection with and a respect for nature.

Even in the face of trials, he taught by example that peace and resilience would carry us through. Let us honor that legacy and celebrate the life of a true legend.

#### CELEBRATING BLAKE RAULERSON

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to celebrate an important leadership appointment for the University of Georgia. Go Dawgs.

Mr. Blake Raulerson has been named the University of Georgia's next vice president for government relations, a position he has earned through his dedication and results for the university.

Raulerson has spent the last 4 years representing UGA, first as director of State government relations and most recently as associate vice president. His leadership has been pivotal in securing support for the university's capital priorities, including \$50 million in State matching funds for the new school of medicine.

President Jere Morehead praised Blake's decade of experience and ability to deliver results for the university.

Raulerson's career spans service to Lieutenant Governor Casey Cagle, Senator David Perdue, Georgia Farm Bureau, and Governor Brian Kemp. He succeeds Kevin Abernethy and will oversee UGA's government relations strategy with State, Federal, and local partners.

We welcome Blake Raulerson's leadership as UGA continues advancing academic excellence for the great State of Georgia.

#### RECOGNIZING THE COLLEGE OF COASTAL GEORGIA

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize the College of Coastal Georgia, a public college in Brunswick.

The college earned its fourth consecutive semester win of the Chancellor's Cup from the University System of Georgia. This achievement reflects the college's continued momentum in enrollment growth and its commitment to student success.

The Chancellor's Cup is awarded to institutions that have demonstrated the highest increase in full-time enrollment within their sector. Coastal Georgia has consistently led the State colleges sector, enrolling 12 percent more students this summer than the year before.

After the Chancellor's Cup win, the college began the 2024-2025 academic year with its highest first-day numbers and broke last year's dual enrollment record.

As Coastal Georgia continues to expand its reach and academic offerings, the Chancellor's Cup serves as both recognition and motivation. Coastal Georgia is a place where students thrive, and that is a legacy to keep building on.

I congratulate the College of Coastal Georgia.

#### INDUCTING UGA ATHLETES INTO THE GEORGIA SPORTS HALL OF FAME

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to congratulate three

former University of Georgia athletes on their induction into the Georgia Sports Hall of Fame.

As an avid sports fan, it is great to see these impressive athletes recognized for their prowess.

Leah Brown is a 14-time All-American gymnast who rose to the national number one in the all-around, vault, and floor in 1997. She was the first to record a 10.0 in her collegiate debut.

John Kasay was a 4-year letterman from 1987-1990 on the football team. He earned second-team All-SEC and third-team All-American honors in his senior season before a career in the NFL.

Bunny Fuller Harris was a star at Taylor County High School, leading her basketball team to four State titles and 100 straight wins while averaging 22 points per game. She became the leading scorer during the Georgia Lady Bulldogs' first winning season.

Mr. Speaker, I congratulate these athletes on their recognition of a lifetime.

□ 2040

#### 125TH ANNIVERSARY OF RITZ THEATRE

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to celebrate a true jewel of Georgia's cultural heritage, the Ritz Theatre in historic Brunswick, marking its 125th anniversary this year.

Since its opening in 1899 as the Grand Opera House, the Ritz has entertained generations through vaudeville, silent films, live theater, and modern performances.

Despite years of challenge, including a roof collapse and threat of demolition, the city and community rallied, secured the theater, and restored it to its former glory.

For more than a century, the Ritz has been a gathering place where art, music, and shared stories bring communities together. It embodies resilience, creativity, and faith in the power of culture to unite us.

On this milestone, we honor everyone who preserved this landmark: past leaders, art advocates, volunteers, and citizens of Brunswick. May the next 125 years see the Ritz grow stronger, welcome new audiences, and continue to light up hearts across our State.

#### HONORING LIFE AND LEGACY OF DR. MARK VANN STEWART

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor the life and the legacy of Dr. Mark Vann Stewart of St. Marys, Georgia, who passed away peacefully on September 25, 2025.

Dr. Stewart was a devoted husband, father, brother, and friend whose life was marked by faith, service, and kindness. A proud graduate of the University of Georgia, he went on to earn advanced degrees from Valdosta State University and the University of Sarasota.

For over 30 years, Dr. Stewart served Camden County Schools as a teacher, coach, administrator, and assistant superintendent, later continuing his work with Coastal Plains High School.



Through his leadership, he touched countless lives and shaped the future of education in his community.

Beyond the classroom, he was a man of faith who loved the Lord, his family, golf, and the Georgia Bulldogs. His generosity, quiet strength, and compassion left a lasting impact on all who knew him.

We honor his life and celebrate his legacy of faith and service.

HONORING DAWN BAKER

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor Dawn Baker, a news anchor from WTOC-TV in Savannah. She was inducted into the Georgia Association of Broadcasters' 2026 Hall of Fame class.

The GAB Hall of Fame requires that one spend at least 20 years in broadcasting and have a meaningful connection to Georgia, significant contributions to Georgia broadcasting, and a strong record of achievement.

Dawn joined WTOC as a reporter in 1989 and has been elevating the station's standards ever since.

She is a strong leader in the newsroom, guiding hundreds of younger journalists in her time at WTOC.

She believes the best part of being a reporter is having the chance to help.

Her involvement and dedication to community is second to none, making her very deserving of this honor.

The 2026 Hall of Fame class reflects the true spirit of Georgia broadcasting. Their contributions have strengthened local journalism, inspired future broadcasters, and enriched our State.

Congratulations to Dawn.

CELEBRATING DR. DESHAUN MCGEE AS GEORGIA ASSISTANT PRINCIPAL OF THE YEAR

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to congratulate Dr. DeShaun McGee, assistant principal at Bradwell Institute in Hinesville, for being named Georgia Assistant Principal of the Year by the Georgia Association of Secondary School Principals.

Dr. McGee stood out among more than 140 applicants, thanks to his servant leadership, tireless energy, and heartfelt commitment to students.

He is known for being present in the lunchroom, in the hallways, and among the faculty building relationships, offering guidance, and making a tangible difference every day.

Serving the students at Bradwell Institute and the wider Liberty County system, Dr. McGee leads with integrity, compassion, and a clear vision for educational success.

His work elevates his school, supports his colleagues, and strengthens his community.

Please join me in recognizing Dr. DeShaun McGee for this well-earned honor and in thanking him for his outstanding contribution to education in the State of Georgia.

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The 37th tour began in Valdosta, Georgia, right around the onset of har-

vest season, making it the perfect time to showcase some peanuts.

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Danny Swilley continues to honor his family legacy, operating alongside his two brothers and his father.

The Georgia Peanut Tour contacted Swilley and other local farmers allowing them to showcase their farms and support the industry.

The tour forges relationships, providing these businesses with the opportunity to connect with their customer base.

Tourists can gain insight into the peanut harvesting process, infrastructure, production, handling, processing, and utilization.

I congratulate the Swilley family for highlighting their stories in the peanut industry, from digging to managing diseases that can ruin the harvest.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois (at the request of Mr. JEFFRIES) for today on account of flight delays.

#### BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Kevin F. McCumber, Clerk of the House, reported that on December 1, 2025, the following bill and joint resolutions were presented to the President of the United States for approval:

H.J. Res. 105. Providing for congressional disapproval under chapter 8 of title 5, United States Code, of the rule submitted by the Bureau of Land Management relating to "North Dakota Field Office Record of Decision and Approved Resource Management Plan".

H.J. Res. 106. Providing for congressional disapproval under chapter 8 of title 5, United States Code, of the rule submitted by the Bureau of Land Management relating to "Central Yukon Record of Decision and Approved Resource Management Plan".

H.J. Res. 104. Providing for congressional disapproval under chapter 8 of title 5, United States Code, of the rule submitted by the Bureau of Land Management relating to "Miles City Field Office Record of Decision and Approved Resource Management Plan Amendment".

H.R. 452. To award 3 Congressional Gold Medals to the members of the 1980 U.S. Olympic Men's Ice Hockey Team, in recognition of their extraordinary achievement at the 1980 Winter Olympics where, being comprised of amateur collegiate players, they defeated the dominant Soviet hockey team in the historic "Miracle on Ice", revitalizing American morale at the height of the Cold War, inspiring generations and transforming the sport of hockey in the United States.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 8 o'clock and 45 minutes

p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, December 2, 2025, at 10 a.m. for morning-hour debate.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. GRIFFITH: Committee on Rules. H. Res. 916. A resolution providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 4312) to protect the name, image, and likeness rights of student athletes and to promote fair competition with respect to intercollegiate athletics, and for other purposes; providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 1005) to prohibit elementary and secondary schools from accepting funds from or entering into contracts with the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese Communist Party, and for other purposes; providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 1049) to ensure that parents are aware of foreign influence in their child's public school, and for other purposes; providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 1069) to prohibit the availability of Federal education funds for elementary and secondary schools that receive direct or indirect support from the Government of the People's Republic of China; providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 2965) to require the Administrator of the Small Business Administration to ensure that the small business regulatory budget for a small business concern in a fiscal year is not greater than zero, and for other purposes; and providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 4305) to direct the Chief Counsel for Advocacy of the Small Business Administration to establish a Red Tape Hotline to receive notifications of burdensome agency rules, and for other purposes (Rept. 119-391). Referred to the House Calendar.

#### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XII, public bills and resolutions of the following titles were introduced and severally referred, as follows:

By Mrs. MCCLAIN:

H.R. 6329. A bill to ensure that Federal agencies rely on the best reasonably available scientific, technical, demographic, economic, and statistical information and evidence to develop, issue or inform the public of the nature and bases of Federal agency rules and guidance, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, and in addition to the Committee on the Judiciary, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. JACK:

H.R. 6330. A bill to amend title 5, United States Code, to provide for lump-sum relocation payments for Federal employees relocated in the interest of the Government, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform.

By Mr. MILLER of Ohio (for himself, Mr. SHREVE, Mr. MCCAUL, and Mr. MOYLAN):

H.R. 6331. A bill to modify certain definitions under the Export Control Reform Act of 2018; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. WALKINSHAW (for himself, Mr. COMER, Mr. SCOTT of Virginia,

Ms. McCLELLAN, Mr. BEYER, Mr. SUBRAMANYAM, Mr. VINDMAN, Mr. MCGUIRE, Mr. WITTMAN, Mr. GUTHRIE, and Mr. TURNER of Ohio):

H.R. 6332. A bill to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 10660 Page Avenue in Fairfax, Virginia, as the "Congressman Gerald E. Connolly Post Office Building"; to the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform.

By Mr. AUCHINCLOSS (for himself and Mrs. HOUGHIN):

H.R. 6333. A bill to ensure responsible age assurance practices within the mobile ecosystem, particularly concerning the protection of minors, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

By Mr. AUCHINCLOSS (for himself and Ms. MALOY):

H.R. 6334. A bill to amend section 230 of the Communications Act of 1934 and the TAKE IT DOWN Act to combat cyberstalking and intimate privacy violations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

By Mr. AUCHINCLOSS (for himself and Ms. GOODLANDER):

H.R. 6335. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to impose a tax on digital advertising services, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means, and in addition to the Committee on Education and Workforce, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Ms. FEDORCHAK (for herself and Mr. WEBER of Texas):

H.R. 6336. A bill to prohibit the allocation of costs for a certain transmission facility to consumers of a State the public officials of which did not expressly consent to such transmission facility, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

By Mrs. MCCLAIN (for herself and Mr. HIMES):

H.R. 6337. A bill to increase the supply of affordable housing in America; to the Committee on Financial Services, and in addition to the Committees on Transportation and Infrastructure, Veterans' Affairs, Appropriations, Agriculture, Energy and Commerce, the Budget, and Oversight and Government Reform, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. MEEKS (for himself and Mrs. KIM):

H.R. 6338. A bill to require the imposition of sanctions with respect to foreign persons and foreign vessels that engage in illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and in addition to the Committee on the Judiciary, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Ms. NORTON:

H.R. 6339. A bill to amend the District of Columbia Home Rule Act to permit the District of Columbia to establish the timing of special elections for local office in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform.

By Mr. PAPPAS (for himself, Mr. MOYLAN, and Mr. GOLDEN of Maine):

H.R. 6340. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to include the program of advanced training in the Senior Reserve Officers' Training Corps in the computation of the length of service in the Armed Forces of an individual appointed as an officer on the basis of satisfactorily completing the re-

quirements of such program; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Ms. SCHRIER (for herself and Ms. STRICKLAND):

H.R. 6341. A bill to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to provide grants to covered entities to develop, modify, or implement climate adaptation and climate mitigation proposals on agricultural land, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. STEUBE (for himself and Mr. CARTER of Louisiana):

H.R. 6342. A bill to amend the Robert T. Stafford Disaster Relief and Emergency Assistance Act to provide assistance for common interest communities, condominiums, and housing cooperatives damaged by a major disaster, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

By Ms. TOKUDA (for herself, Mr. BEGICH, and Mr. CASE):

H.R. 6343. A bill to amend the National Agricultural Research, Extension, and Teaching Policy Act of 1977 to extend education grant programs for Alaska Native serving institutions and Native Hawaiian serving institutions, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. TORRES of New York:

H.R. 6344. A bill to require the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to require public housing agencies to disclose contracts entered into, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Financial Services.

By Mr. TORRES of New York (for himself and Mr. LAWLER):

H.R. 6345. A bill to require the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to establish Federal guidelines for point-access block buildings, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Financial Services.

By Mr. TORRES of New York:

H.R. 6346. A bill to prohibit the Commandant of the Coast Guard from issuing guidance that is less restrictive on prohibiting divisive or hate symbols and flags than the memorandum titled "Coast Guard Policy and Lawful Order Prohibiting Divisive or Hate Symbols and Flags", and for other purposes; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

By Mr. MCGOVERN (for himself, Mr. CASTRO of Texas, Mr. KHANNA, Ms. JACOBS, and Ms. KAMLAGER-DOVE):

H. Con. Res. 64. Concurrent resolution to direct the removal of United States Armed Forces from hostilities within or against Venezuela that have not been authorized by Congress; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MOOLENAAR (for himself, Mr. JAMES, Mr. BERGMAN, Ms. SCHOLTEN, Mr. HUIZENGA, Mr. WALBERG, Mrs. DINGELL, Mr. BARRETT, Ms. McDONALD RIVET, Mrs. MCCLAIN, Ms. STEVENS, Ms. TLAIB, and Mr. THANEDAR):

H. Res. 917. A resolution congratulating Korson's Tree Farms in Montcalm County in Sidney Township for being selected to provide the 2025 White House Christmas Tree; to the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform.

By Mrs. SYKES:

H. Res. 918. A resolution honoring and commemorating 200 years of historic contributions to American culture made by the city of Akron; to the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform.

#### CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY STATEMENT

Pursuant to clause 7 of rule XII of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the following statements are submitted regarding the specific powers

granted to Congress in the Constitution to enact the accompanying bill or joint resolution.

By Mrs. MCCLAIN:

H.R. 6329.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution

By Mr. JACK:

H.R. 6330.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

clause 18 of section 8 of article I of the Constitution.

By Mr. MILLER of Ohio:

H.R. 6331.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8, Clause 18 of the Constitution

By Mr. WALKINSHAW:

H.R. 6332.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution

By Mr. AUCHINCLOSS:

H.R. 6333.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 3

By Mr. AUCHINCLOSS:

H.R. 6334.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 3

By Mr. AUCHINCLOSS:

H.R. 6335.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 3

By Mrs. FEDORCHAK:

H.R. 6336.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 3 of the United States Constitution.

By Mrs. MCCLAIN:

H.R. 6337.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution

By Mr. MEEKS:

H.R. 6338.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution

By Ms. NORTON:

H.R. 6339.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

clause 17 of section 8 of article I of the Constitution

By Mr. PAPPAS:

H.R. 6340.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8, Clause 18 of the United States Constitution states that "Congress shall have the authority to make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof."

By Ms. SCHRIER:

H.R. 6341.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1 of the United States Constitution.

By Mr. STEUBE:

H.R. 6342.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I Section 8

By Ms. TOKUDA:

H.R. 6343.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clauses 1 and 18 of the United States Constitution.

By Mr. TORRES of New York:

H.R. 6344.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8.

By Mr. TORRES of New York:

H.R. 6345.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8.

By Mr. TORRES of New York:

H.R. 6346.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8

### ADDITIONAL SPONSORS

Under clause 7 of rule XII, sponsors were added to public bills and resolutions, as follows:

H.R. 138: Mr. GOODEN.  
H.R. 262: Mr. EDWARDS.  
H.R. 269: Mr. SUOZZI.  
H.R. 286: Mr. SUOZZI.  
H.R. 335: Ms. GREENE of Georgia.  
H.R. 349: Mr. VAN DREW.  
H.R. 381: Mr. SCOTT of Virginia.  
H.R. 409: Mr. KENNEDY of New York.  
H.R. 516: Mrs. McCLAIN Delaney.  
H.R. 621: Mr. PAPPAS.  
H.R. 637: Mrs. FLETCHER.  
H.R. 717: Mr. LEVIN.  
H.R. 721: Mr. GOLDMAN of New York.  
H.R. 929: Mr. MACKENZIE.  
H.R. 987: Mr. SIMPSON.  
H.R. 1083: Mr. SCHMIDT.  
H.R. 1094: Mr. SUOZZI and Mr. CARSON.  
H.R. 1106: Mrs. CHERFILUS-McCORMICK, Mr. NADLER, Ms. MENG, Mr. AUCHINCLOSS, Ms. SCHOLTEN, and Ms. MORRISON.  
H.R. 1171: Mr. CARSON and Mr. LARSON of Connecticut.  
H.R. 1178: Mr. FLEISCHMANN.  
H.R. 1189: Mr. KENNEDY of New York.  
H.R. 1227: Mr. STEUBE.  
H.R. 1241: Mr. SCHMIDT.  
H.R. 1269: Mr. LANGWORTHY.  
H.R. 1299: Mr. NEGUSE, Mr. STAUBER, Mr. VINDMAN, and Mr. GIMENEZ.  
H.R. 1340: Mr. MEUSER.  
H.R. 1349: Mr. MOORE of Alabama.  
H.R. 1410: Ms. CRAIG.  
H.R. 1415: Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas.  
H.R. 1494: Mr. STEUBE.  
H.R. 1509: Mrs. FLETCHER, Mr. LEVIN, and Mr. SHREVE.  
H.R. 1510: Mrs. BEATTY.  
H.R. 1521: Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas.  
H.R. 1566: Mr. CORREA, Mr. WALBERG, Ms. ANSARI, and Mr. GROTHMAN.  
H.R. 1614: Mr. STEUBE.  
H.R. 1659: Mr. ALFORD.  
H.R. 1661: Mr. SCOTT of Virginia.  
H.R. 1667: Ms. TOKUDA.  
H.R. 1668: Mr. BRECHEEN.  
H.R. 1733: Mr. WHITESIDES.  
H.R. 1781: Mr. KEATING.  
H.R. 1783: Mr. LANDSMAN.  
H.R. 1845: Mr. COURTNEY.  
H.R. 1939: Ms. GARCIA of Texas.  
H.R. 1945: Mr. MEUSER.  
H.R. 1958: Ms. VAN DUYN.

H.R. 2028: Mr. PAPPAS.  
H.R. 2137: Mrs. KIGGANS of Virginia.  
H.R. 2199: Mr. BEAN of Florida, Ms. DEAN of Pennsylvania, and Mr. VICENTE GONZALEZ of Texas.  
H.R. 2213: Mr. HORSFORD.  
H.R. 2220: Mr. GOLDEN of Maine.  
H.R. 2232: Mr. WESTERMAN.  
H.R. 2253: Mr. SCOTT of Virginia, Mr. VASQUEZ, and Ms. BALINT.  
H.R. 2268: Mr. WHITESIDES.  
H.R. 2279: Mr. LANGWORTHY.  
H.R. 2426: Mr. WHITESIDES.  
H.R. 2485: Ms. ANSARI.  
H.R. 2491: Mr. DOGGETT and Ms. RANDALL.  
H.R. 2623: Mr. RUIZ.  
H.R. 2729: Mr. QUIGLEY.  
H.R. 2743: Mr. BERA.  
H.R. 2771: Mr. WHITESIDES.  
H.R. 2830: Mr. PAPPAS.  
H.R. 2848: Mr. LARSON of Connecticut.  
H.R. 2880: Mr. MAGAZINER.  
H.R. 2940: Mr. MACKENZIE.  
H.R. 3006: Mr. OWENS.  
H.R. 3028: Mr. MOSKOWITZ and Mr. HURD of Colorado.  
H.R. 3051: Ms. FRIEDMAN.  
H.R. 3071: Mr. QUIGLEY.  
H.R. 3105: Mr. LANGWORTHY.  
H.R. 3112: Mr. PALLONE and Mr. TRAN.  
H.R. 3132: Mr. CRENSHAW.  
H.R. 3151: Ms. BYNUM.  
H.R. 3184: Mr. SCHNEIDER.  
H.R. 3316: Ms. JAYAPAL.  
H.R. 3376: Ms. ANSARI.  
H.R. 3429: Mr. CARSON.  
H.R. 3514: Mr. VALADAO, Ms. TITUS, and Mr. BENTZ.  
H.R. 3533: Mr. DAVIDSON.  
H.R. 3627: Mr. NEGUSE.  
H.R. 3674: Mr. CARSON.  
H.R. 3699: Mrs. LUNA, Mr. BILIRAKIS, and Mr. HILL of Arkansas.  
H.R. 3743: Mr. VALADAO.  
H.R. 3747: Ms. BONAMICI, Mr. PAPPAS, and Mr. DOGGETT.  
H.R. 3753: Mr. WHITESIDES.  
H.R. 3757: Mr. CLEAVER, Ms. UNDERWOOD, Mr. CASE, Ms. TLAIB, Mr. MCGARVEY, and Mr. IVEY.  
H.R. 3852: Ms. ESCOBAR.  
H.R. 3859: Mr. GOLDMAN of Texas.  
H.R. 3946: Mrs. HAYES.  
H.R. 3950: Mr. MOORE of Alabama.  
H.R. 4119: Mr. GOODEN.  
H.R. 4155: Mr. NUNN of Iowa.  
H.R. 4167: Mr. NUNN of Iowa and Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas.  
H.R. 4168: Mr. LARSON of Connecticut.  
H.R. 4169: Mr. LAWLER.  
H.R. 4204: Mr. GROTHMAN.  
H.R. 4206: Mr. HURD of Colorado and Ms. FRIEDMAN.  
H.R. 4231: Mr. TURNER of Ohio.  
H.R. 4304: Mr. EZELL.  
H.R. 4317: Ms. DAVIDS of Kansas.  
H.R. 4385: Mrs. BEATTY and Ms. WILLIAMS of Georgia.  
H.R. 4397: Mr. COLLINS, Mr. WIED, Mr. MOORE of West Virginia, Mr. HARIDOPOLOS, Mr. GILL of Texas, Ms. VAN DUYN, and Mr. MOORE of Alabama.  
H.R. 4398: Mr. WHITESIDES.  
H.R. 4509: Ms. MCBRIDE.  
H.R. 4516: Ms. CRAIG and Mr. HORSFORD.  
H.R. 4565: Mr. SCHMIDT.  
H.R. 4588: Mr. FINSTAD, Mr. STAUBER, Mrs. DINGELL, and Mr. LANDSMAN.  
H.R. 4696: Mr. CASAR, Mr. GARCIA of California, and Ms. KAMLAGER-DOVE.  
H.R. 4721: Mr. LEVIN.

H.R. 4731: Mr. CONAWAY.  
H.R. 4958: Ms. NORTON.  
H.R. 5104: Mr. DESAULNIER.  
H.R. 5106: Mr. SELF.  
H.R. 5222: Ms. HOULAHAN.  
H.R. 5267: Mr. TAYLOR and Ms. TENNEY.  
H.R. 5269: Mr. SUOZZI.  
H.R. 5271: Mr. JOHNSON of Georgia.  
H.R. 5325: Ms. BALINT.  
H.R. 5357: Ms. DAVIDS of Kansas.  
H.R. 5434: Ms. SIMON, Mr. TONKO, and Mr. RASKIN.  
H.R. 5439: Mr. CARSON, Ms. MATSUI, and Ms. MCCOLLUM.  
H.R. 5476: Ms. FRIEDMAN.  
H.R. 5486: Mr. STANTON, Ms. FRIEDMAN, and Mr. IVEY.  
H.R. 5491: Mr. MOOLENAAR.  
H.R. 5527: Ms. CRAIG.  
H.R. 5529: Mr. WITTMAN and Ms. CRAIG.  
H.R. 5604: Mrs. HAYES.  
H.R. 5616: Mr. TONY GONZALES of Texas, Mr. MOOLENAAR, Ms. HOULAHAN, Mr. MOORE of West Virginia, and Mr. SORESENSEN.  
H.R. 5710: Mr. PFLUGER.  
H.R. 5767: Mr. MOORE of Alabama.  
H.R. 5776: Mr. LAWLER.  
H.R. 5814: Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas.  
H.R. 5815: Mr. PFLUGER.  
H.R. 5888: Mr. SCHMIDT.  
H.R. 5959: Mr. MOORE of Utah, Mr. BILIRAKIS, Ms. SALAZAR, Mr. FITZPATRICK, and Mr. LAWLER.  
H.R. 5968: Mr. COLLINS.  
H.R. 5973: Ms. NORTON.  
H.R. 6000: Mr. MCGARVEY and Mr. VAN ORDEN.  
H.R. 6010: Mr. KHANNA.  
H.R. 6020: Mr. CASTEN.  
H.R. 6035: Mr. BAIRD.  
H.R. 6056: Mr. FROST, Mrs. FLETCHER, Mr. IVEY, Mr. MCGARVEY, Mr. MRVAN, and Ms. STRICKLAND.  
H.R. 6058: Mr. SHREVE.  
H.R. 6108: Mr. CASAR.  
H.R. 6109: Mr. CASAR.  
H.R. 6110: Mr. CASAR.  
H.R. 6111: Mr. CASAR.  
H.R. 6112: Mr. CASAR.  
H.R. 6113: Mr. CASAR.  
H.R. 6114: Mr. CASAR.  
H.R. 6115: Mr. CASAR.  
H.R. 6130: Mrs. KIGGANS of Virginia and Mr. TORRES of New York.  
H.R. 6137: Mr. TONKO and Ms. ANSARI.  
H.R. 6146: Mr. LALOTA.  
H.R. 6161: Mr. NUNN of Iowa and Mr. STUTZMAN.  
H.R. 6165: Mr. TURNER of Ohio.  
H.R. 6166: Mr. LARSON of Connecticut, Mr. HOYER, Ms. JOHNSON of Texas, Ms. SIMON, Mr. RILEY of New York, Mr. COSTA, Ms. CLARKE of New York, Ms. CHU, Ms. UNDERWOOD, Ms. DEXTER, Mr. COURTNEY, Mrs. McIVER, Ms. GILLEN, and Ms. SCHAKOWSKY.  
H.R. 6181: Ms. BARRAGAN, Mrs. FLETCHER, and Mr. CARTER of Louisiana.  
H.R. 6191: Mr. STEUBE.  
H.R. 6204: Ms. TITUS.  
H.R. 6225: Mr. DONALDS.  
H.R. 6231: Mr. FITZPATRICK and Mr. CAREY.  
H.R. 6243: Mr. WILSON of South Carolina and Mr. TONKO.  
H.R. 6249: Mr. FITZPATRICK.  
H.R. 6271: Ms. MORRISON.

H.R. 6275: Mr. SHREVE.  
H.R. 6278: Mr. COLLINS, Mr. CISCOMANI, and  
Mr. VAN DREW.  
H.R. 6297: Mr. LAWLER.  
H.R. 6302: Mr. MOYLAN.  
H.R. 6322: Mr. KRISHNAMOORTHY, Mr.  
MOOLENAAR, Mrs. MCCLAIN, and Mr. HARDER  
of California.  
H.J. Res. 9: Mr. GROTHMAN.  
H.J. Res. 132: Ms. FRIEDMAN.

H. Con. Res. 12: Mr. MASSIE.  
H. Con. Res. 27: Mr. LEVIN.  
H. Res. 155: Mr. SCHNEIDER.  
H. Res. 220: Mr. BAIRD.  
H. Res. 603: Mrs. GRIJALVA.  
H. Res. 635: Ms. KAPTUR and Mr. CARSON.  
H. Res. 795: Mr. PAPPAS.  
H. Res. 841: Mr. SUOZZI.  
H. Res. 846: Mrs. FLETCHER.  
H. Res. 866: Mr. SELF.

H. Res. 882: Mr. SHREVE.  
H. Res. 899: Ms. RANDALL, Mr. DESAULNIER,  
Ms. ADAMS, and Mrs. FLETCHER.  
H. Res. 906: Mr. COHEN.  
H. Res. 909: Ms. TITUS.  
H. Res. 912: Mr. ELLZEY, Mr. BACON, Mr.  
CRAWFORD, Mr. MOULTON, Mr. GOLDEN of  
Maine, Mr. FLEISCHMANN, Mr. SELF, and Mr.  
MOORE of Alabama.