

official symbol of all mothers who have children proudly serving their country in the Armed Forces. As our history shows, many of the brave men and women who have so honorably served this country in battle have indeed made the ultimate sacrifice to ensure that the United States of America remains the beacon of freedom and prosperity throughout the world. To honor these fallen heroes family members who lost loved ones in the defense of liberty began placing a gold star over the blue star to symbolize their sacrifice. As we speak, our courageous service men and women continue to secure the safety of the world and bring freedom to oppressed peoples. Therefore, it is only appropriate that we pass this resolution today and show our solidarity and resolve not only to those who serve, but to their family members that they have left behind here on the home-front. Mr. Speaker, I would urge all my colleagues to pass this resolution and show that the steadfastness of the American spirit starts here in the United States Congress.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ISAKSON). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Nevada (Mr. GIBBONS) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution, H. Con. Res. 109, as amended.

The question was taken.

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

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

The yeas and nays were ordered.

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

APPOINTMENT OF CONFEREES ON H. CON. RES. 95, CONCURRENT RESOLUTION ON THE BUDGET FOR FISCAL YEAR 2004

Mr. NUSSLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 95) establishing the congressional budget for the United States Government for the fiscal year 2004, and setting forth appropriate budgetary levels for fiscal years 2003 and 2005 through 2013, with the Senate amendment thereto, disagree to the Senate amendment, and agree to a conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses.

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

There was no objection.

MOTION TO INSTRUCT OFFERED BY MR. SPRATT

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to instruct conferees.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. SPRATT moves that within the scope of the conference (1) the managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the Senate amendment to the concurrent resolution

H. Con. Res. 95 be instructed to eliminate the reconciliation instruction to the Committee on Agriculture, the Committee on Education and the Workforce, the Committee on Energy and Commerce, the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, and the Committee on Ways and Means contained in section 201(b) of the House resolution; that (2) such managers be instructed to recede to the Senate on section 319 (entitled "Reserve Fund to Strengthen Social Security") of the Senate amendment; and that (3) such managers be instructed to adjust the revenue levels by the amounts needed to offset the cost of the instructions set forth in paragraphs (1) and (2), without resulting in any increase in the deficit or reduction in surplus for any fiscal year covered by the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) and the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. NUSSLE) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT).

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

Mr. Speaker, but for one vote, the budget resolution that we now seem to send to conference would have gone down. Fortunately, there is still a way out for this budget with its massive deficits and its misguided priorities: we can rewrite it in conference. If we cut through all the words, all the legislative language and the motion that was just read, that is what the motion to instruct calls for.

Now, we do not cover the waterfront and take out every change that we find objectionable and make every change that we feel needs to be made, but we do send the conferees a strong message, and that is to get rid of the worst of the entitlement reconciliation directives in this budget resolution.

First of all, Medicare. Originally, our Republican colleagues on the Committee on the Budget sought to cut Medicare by \$262 billion and Medicaid by \$110 billion. That was to offset the cost of their prescription drug benefit under Medicare. We tried to knock out these cuts in markup, but failed. The chairman, however, did change his mark twice. After these modifications were made, however, the Committee on Ways and Means is still directed to cut \$62 billion out of entitlement programs in its jurisdiction. This sort of saving can only come from two sources under the Committee on Ways and Means jurisdiction: Medicare or programs for the poor, the earned income tax credit, temporary assistance to needy families, or supplemental security income. It will have to come out of these programs, \$62 billion; and these could be critical cuts in critically important programs.

The chairman's amendment, the manager's amendment also shaved the reconciliation directions just slightly to the Committee on Energy and Commerce from \$110 billion to \$107 billion.

□ 1415

But of this amount, \$94 billion must still come from Medicaid, or SCHIP,

the children's health insurance program. Contrast that, Mr. Speaker, to what we do in our budget resolution, or would have done had it passed. Given the struggle that all the States are having with Medicaid, we sought to increase the Federal share and lighten the States' burden by adding \$10 billion at the Federal level to the cost of Medicaid this year.

If the rule had allowed during consideration of the budget, we would have offered amendments when the budget was on the floor to strike all of these cuts. Since everyone knows that they would have emasculated Medicare and Medicaid, I think they would have passed; but we were not allowed to make such an amendment.

Next, veterans. Originally, the Republicans on the Committee on the Budget set out to cut \$30 billion from the budget for the veterans. They say that veterans benefits actually increase in their budget, and they may in nominal dollars. But this is the fact of the matter: Their budget resolution, as brought to the floor, provided \$15 billion less for veterans health care than the President requested, and it still provides less for veterans disability benefits.

Next, education. The Republican resolution not only cuts appropriations for education below the President's already-low level, it saves none of the 47 programs that the President wiped out or would kill. It goes a step further: It whacks \$9.4 billion out of mandatory spending. What does the Committee on Education and the Workforce have in its jurisdiction? Student loans and school lunches. Do we really want to cut student loans and school lunches to pay for a dividend tax exclusion?

Next, railroad retirees. Looking everywhere for programs they could cut to offset a big tax cut of another \$1.35 trillion, our colleagues on the Committee on the Budget even called on the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure to come up with some reconciliation savings, namely, \$3.7 billion out of its mandatory or entitlement programs.

The only source that can produce such a cut under the jurisdiction of that committee is railroad retirement, a vested benefit on which 700,000 retirees depend. Surely we are not going to cut \$3.7 billion out of that.

Finally, in the same vein, is agriculture. The budget, as it now stands, requires the Committee on Agriculture to cut \$18.6 billion of direct spending over the next 10 years, but as in all of the other cases, it fails to mention which programs and fails to say how much.

Where does the Committee on Agriculture go? It can turn to the conservation reserve program, \$18.6 billion, roughly what it costs to run that program for 10 years; or the Committee on Agriculture could turn to food stamps and take 12 percent out of food stamps for the next 10 years to produce \$18.6 billion. But do we want to take 34 million acres of environmentally sensitive

land out of reserves? Do we want to cut food stamps when unemployment is 6 percent nationwide, in double digits in places like my district?

These are a few of the reasons, Mr. Speaker, that we should tell the conferees and tell them emphatically to recede to the Senate and drop these reconciliation directives. They should not be in here. First of all, these cuts are not in the President's budget, they are not in the Senate's budget, and except for the House budget, they are not on anybody's agenda.

Second, they are wrapped up in ambiguity, written in language so evasive that no one can know where the cuts may fall. They were clouded further by colloquies here on the House floor when we had the budget on the floor, in which the chairman of the committee, the Committee on the Budget, assured chairman after chairman of committees of jurisdiction that, no, they would not have to do what the black letter provisions of this resolution plainly say they must do, and that is cut Medicare, cut Medicaid and cut veterans benefits.

All, in effect, that this motion does is say to the conferees, conform the budget resolution to legislative history as recorded right here on the House floor the night we had the budget up.

Finally, these cuts, Mr. Speaker, would be questionable at any time, but cutting veterans when we are at war and Medicaid when the States are struggling just to sustain it and student loans for no good reason it is just wrong, callous and wrong.

In the end, I will be frank to say that I do not think most of these cuts will ever come to pass, not this year, anyway. But another huge tax cut may be passed. Its impact on the deficit may be obscured by pretending that these spending cuts will be enacted later as offsets. Most of these cuts may not be enacted later for the same political reasons, but as deficits swell, as they surely will if these tax cuts proposed are passed, the cuts will come in time, and this budget resolution is our forewarning of where they will have to fall.

We can ask fairly, what would happen to the budget's bottom line if these spending cuts we are calling for deletion are not enacted? The answer is that these proposed spending cuts are made necessary by the proposed tax cuts. If we forgo the tax cuts, we can forgo the deep cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, veterans benefits, student loans, agriculture, and railroad retirees.

As for the bottom line, if we just leave spending and revenues at current service levels, the Congressional Budget Office tells us the budget will be in balance by the year 2008. That is 4 years sooner and a couple of trillion less debt than this resolution promises. So if Members are for a budget that balances priorities as well as the bottom line, they should vote for this motion to instruct.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, here we are again. We are on the floor discussing the fact that the Federal Government does not have even one penny of waste. Do Members believe that? It is hard to believe that somebody would come to the floor of the House, or that an entire party would come to the floor of the House today and suggest that the United States Government does not have any waste.

I will admit, as the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) very eloquently stated, that there is no way, as we go to the conference between the House and Senate over the budget, that possibly the House-passed numbers of savings might be difficult to attain, and certainly might be difficult to reach a negotiation between the House and Senate.

But they come to the floor today and basically say that we are going to eliminate the instructions in order to get waste and abuse in this government, and that none of the instructions, not one of the years over the next 10 years can we even find a penny.

Is it going to be hard to find the \$300 billion? Okay, let us suggest it is. We made an attempt on our side in good faith to try and look at our programs called entitlements, which are nothing more than automatic spending, which has now basically engulfed the budget to the tune of about 60 percent of all our expenditures are automatic. We have nothing to say about them. We get sent to Washington to make judgments and choices, and those choices were made before us, a long time before us, in many instances.

As we do research on those programs, as we look and examine the programs, where we find challenges, where we find waste, where we find abuse, where we find problems, we even hire an agency called the General Accounting Office to do reports for us, and when we find those, we are not to challenge ourselves to reform those programs. We are not to challenge ourselves to find savings in those programs. We are not to challenge ourselves to look in every nook and cranny of the budget, or every nook and cranny of the Federal Government in order, at a time of challenge for our country, to find savings, so we can save taxpayers a little bit of money.

I do not know about the Members, but I just had to send in my taxes. That is not a fun experience for me, and I am sure it is not for any of my colleagues. I guarantee, Members, it is not for my friends back home in Iowa as they go visit the tax people.

So looking for a little bit of savings, looking for a little bit of waste and fraud and abuse, I thought would be a pretty worthy endeavor. We even put into our budget a couple of different items that we found kind of interesting.

We said that the Inspector General for the Department of Education has

found that nearly 23 percent of the recipients whose loans were discharged due to disability claims were gainfully employed. Now, think about this a second. What the Democrats are coming here today and saying is, we cannot find any waste. But the Inspector General who works for the Department of Education has found 23 percent of the claims for disability benefits for education were actually employed, 23 percent.

Can we do anything about that? No, we cannot do anything about that. Heaven forbid we challenge the Committee on Education and the Workforce to go looking for that, so let us eliminate that instruction. Not the amount in the budget, not even a penny, we cannot even find a penny of waste in the Education Department is what the Democrats are saying.

Based on the data provided by the Office of Management and Budget, the Committee on the Budget estimates more than \$8 billion in erroneous earned income tax payments are made every year, \$8 billion of checks that go out to recipients in the United States, \$8 billion.

Can we do anything about that? No, no, we cannot do anything about that. We do not want to challenge that. That is going to be real heavy lifting; we cannot do anything about that.

The Office of Management and Budget estimates there are erroneous payments for food stamps that account for almost 9 percent, 9 percent. With almost one out of every 10 people who get food stamps, something was erroneous about those accounts and those benefits. Can we challenge the Committee on Agriculture to go look at that? No, we cannot do that. Heaven forbid we will come down to the floor and scream that it is going to farmers, when we know full well that it is not.

We put in here that mismanagement of almost more than \$3 billion in trust funds controlled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs led the Congress to take extraordinary measures to regain control of the funds because \$3 billion were being mismanaged.

Can we find that? No, do not look there. There is no waste over there. Do not look over there. We cannot find any waste over there, not this year, not next year, not for the next 10 years, no waste.

There is no waste in Washington, that is what the Democrats are coming to the floor today to tell us. We cannot do any of that, too heavy. That is too heavy lifting.

Inspector General, Personnel Management, has documented numerous instances of the government continuing to make electronic payments for retirement benefits for the Civil Service Retirement system after the person died, meaning that people who work for our Federal Government, we give them a pension, and after they die, we care so much about the work they did for the United States Government we keep paying them.

But can we ask anybody to go look for that? No, we cannot do that. The motion to instruct says no, we are not going to do that. There is no waste in Washington. That is what the Democrats say, no waste in Washington. Eliminate that instruction. That is too hard. In fact, if it really gets hard, we will come down here and tell people that we are throwing seniors out of nursing homes, or that we are eliminating Medicare benefits, or that we are going to do a disservice to veterans.

In fact, we do such a service to veterans that last year 5,500 veterans received benefits from the Veterans Administration after they died. But can we go to the Veterans Administration? No, we cannot touch them. We do not want to do anything in that department. That is too heavy, that is too hard. Let us just keep paying them, because it is easier to send out the press release today saying, I supported the veterans, or I supported Medicare, or I supported Medicaid, or I supported farmers.

I do not think Members are supporting veterans when they pay them when they die. That does not make much sense. Pay them when they are alive, pay them for their service; there is not anybody who disagrees with that. We all agree with that. But to say there is not at least even a penny of savings over the next 10 years, I would like Members to go home and explain that to Members' constituents in a town meeting. I want Members to explain that they do not believe there is any waste in Washington, no waste at all in Washington.

What we are asking our committees to do is to go look for it and go find it. Is that going to be hard to do? Sure. Some of these are very politically sensitive areas, very politically sensitive, which is why today, for political intrigue and fodder, the Democrats rushed to the floor saying, we are supporting all of these constituent groups, and we are supporting them so much we will support them when there is mismanagement, when there is waste, when there is fraud within the system. We are not willing to challenge our committees to go and get that job done.

The second thing they say is that, what we are going to do about this is we are going to trim back the tax cut. The tax relief in the House-passed budget estimates it will create about 1.4 million jobs. How many jobs do Members want to create? Obviously, not 1.4 million. About half that? It is 1.4 million jobs. Why is it that they want to eliminate the opportunities under this growth package?

□ 1430

And what is more important, going to your second point here about the Social Security trust fund, is that the best way to create money in the Social Security trust fund is to create workers. That is who pays the bills, who

pays the Social Security money in the first place, the people who are working. The more people you create, the more jobs you create, the more people you have working, the more money that goes into the trust fund. And so by eliminating jobs by suggesting that you do not want to create these jobs at a time when our economy is struggling does the biggest disservice to the Social Security trust fund.

So I would rather you come here today and basically say that the General Accounting Office, which does all of these reports on the defense, food stamps, here is one on debt collection, here is one on the Defense Department again, public housing, here is a good one on the post office, Federal loans, defense again, foreign assistance, we have got travel cards in the Defense Department and across the country or across the government that are being abused. You do not want to do anything about that. You do not want to do anything about waste, fraud and abuse. That is what we are asking for. And so you come down here today, and you want to basically tie the hands of the conferees and say you do not want to instruct any of the committees to do this job.

Well, we reject that. We are not going to get, we know, all of the waste, fraud and abuse in the first budget, maybe not in the second budget. We may not get much at all, but you have got to start somewhere. And to suggest there is not even a penny, to basically say eliminate it all, eliminate any attempt to go find wasteful Washington spending, to me I think is a disservice. And so even though this is a non-binding motion to instruct conferees and certainly the minority has an opportunity to come down here and make this motion, it really shows your cards.

It shows that you do not really have a concern about some of these programs and their usefulness, finding the waste and the fraud and abuse within our Federal Government. That is what it shows to me, and I think it shows that to the American people. There is not a person in America that does not believe there is waste in Washington. There is not a person, certainly not a person I have ever run into. I hope if there is somebody, you would let me know because I have not met one yet who does not think there is some waste in Washington.

But your motion to instruct conferees says no there is no waste in Washington. We do not have to do our work. Let us just keep this automatic spending going right on automatically down the line. Let us not worry about it at all. Let us not create those jobs. Let us back down the tax relief. Let us not create taxpayers so we can replenish the Social Security trust fund. Let us not do that, and let us continue on business as usual in Washington.

Well, we do not want to do that. We want to make sure that the conferees, I hope to be one of them, of course, continues to work for waste, fraud and

abuse; and that is why we are going to continue that job even in the face of the Democrats coming here today suggesting that there is no waste in Washington.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time. I believe the gentleman has quite a bit of time remaining on his side for debate.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), the minority whip.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me time, and I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT), the ranking member of the Committee on the Budget.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, we are as concerned as any Member of this Congress about squeezing out waste, fraud and abuse. But we sincerely doubt that you can squeeze, ferret out \$265 billion in waste, fraud and abuse. If you can, I would say to my colleague, where has the Republican majority been for the last 8 years during which you have controlled the House. Instead of having oversight, we have had overlook, if there is that much waste being accumulated in the Federal operation at this time.

Here are the cuts that are entailed by this resolution as it goes to conference: Agriculture, \$18 billion. Waste, fraud and abuse, where is it? Education and the Workforce, Energy and Commerce, 107; most of that is Medicaid. Medicare, \$62 billion. The total amount, \$265 billion.

If you required these reconciliation savings to be accomplished and laid on the table before you passed your budget resolution, before you passed your tax cuts, they would have more credibility. But they lack credibility with me because if you are going to go ahead and have the tax cuts premised on adopting all of these \$265 billion in savings just a few months afterwards, I do not think they will ever come to pass.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, there is not anybody in here who is not against waste, fraud and abuse. Ronald Reagan ran in 1980, and he said he was going to save a lot of money by eliminating waste, fraud and abuse. The Republicans were in charge of the Senate. Ronald Reagan was President of the United States. Not once, not ever did Ronald Reagan have a veto of any appropriation bill overridden, not once that asked to spend more money.

He was in charge of the executive department. George Bush was in charge of the executive department for the 4 years following, for 12 years in a row. And, Mr. NUSSLE, you know what happened to waste, fraud and abuse? You quadrupled the national debt, I say to my friend who is trying to ignore me. You quadrupled the national debt from \$985 billion to \$4 trillion. Why did Mr. Reagan and Mr. Bush not eliminate waste, fraud and abuse?

And then what happened? Bill Clinton came to town, elected President of

the United States, and what happened in those 8 years? For 8 years in a row the deficit came down, for 4 years; and then the surplus started going up until 2001. We had 4 years of surpluses for the first time in 80 years. And then what happened? President Bush came to office. Mr. NUSSLE became the chairman of the Committee on the Budget, and we have reescalated the debt.

This budget proposes the largest debt in the history of this country. This budget is an April fool, a cruel hoax and joke on the American public. And what does the chairman of the Committee on the Budget do? He brings these little blue books. They are important books. The question I wanted to ask you, Mr. NUSSLE, and just an answer, is I am sure your committee staff has added up how would the savings if every piece of waste in those blue books was effected would it provide us. How much, Mr. NUSSLE?

Would it provide the 18 billion you want to take away from farmers who are attacked by drought? Would it take away the money that you are going to reduce school lunches by? Student loans by? Would it provide for the Medicaid that you want the Committee on Energy and Commerce to cut? Would it provide for the Medicare that your own committee has jurisdiction over?

Now, Mr. NUSSLE, it is April Fool's Day but do not take us for fools, because with all due respect, you offered a budget last year. Now you complained it did not pass, but in years past we have deemed adopted the House-passed budget and passed bills.

Again, the chairman of the Committee on the Budget ignores me. It is a shame because, my friends, 11 of the appropriations bills did not pass this House last year. Why? Because they could not get them within the budget. The budget that Mr. NUSSLE offered is not a real document. It is an April fool's joke. It will never be adopted. Never. And, Mr. NUSSLE, I believe you know it. I believe you know that the document that you have provided is unsustainable politically because the American public will reject it out of hand because they do not believe that that railroad retirement and people who work hard for their retirement should be cut. They do not believe that Social Security should be cut. They do not believe that Medicaid should be cut. They do not believe that Medicare should be cut.

The motion to instruct will make it a real budget and turn an April fool's joke into a real document for America.

Mr. Speaker, it is indeed fitting that on this, April Fool's Day, we're voting on this motion to instruct on the House GOP's phony and foolhardy budget.

Why?

Because the fact of the matter is: This GOP budget is a dishonest document designed solely to fool the American people.

To fool them into believing that this Republican Party really does care about balancing the budget, controlling deficits and reducing debt.

To fool them into believing that our nation—which is now prosecuting a war of unknown duration and undetermined costs—really can afford the President's \$1.4 trillion tax plan.

And, to fool them into believing that the Members who sit on the Republican side of the aisle really have the courage of their convictions.

Let me ask you: will you really vote to cut Medicaid funding and the Children's Health Insurance Program by \$94 billion?

Will you really vote to cut school lunches for poor children and student loans by \$9.4 billion?

Will you really vote to cut railroad retirees' pensions and Agriculture programs such as Food Stamps and Farm Support Payments?

And, with our brave armed forces now on the field of battle risking their lives to defend freedom and combat tyranny, will you really vote to cut veterans' benefits by \$14.6 billion?

Some of you actually might.

But we all know that most of you have absolutely no intention of walking the plank and voting for legislation that would implement these draconian funding cuts.

Thus, today, we're engaged in nothing more than a cynical charade.

You get to pretend that you're for balanced budgets and enormous tax cuts, too.

That's not leadership. That's a conscious evasion of the responsibility to level with the American people—to tell them that we cannot afford everything—and a deliberate decision to pass the costs of this reckless tax plan onto the next generation.

I urge all of my colleagues—including those on the Republican side of the aisle who are still nursing sore arms after the vote on the budget resolution two weeks ago—to vote for the Spratt motion to instruct.

That motion—which instructs conferees to reject these proposed and clearly unpassable and untenable funding cuts—is an honest one and based in reality.

Everyone of us knows that this GOP budget is not.

Mr. NUSSLE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY), the majority leader.

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, I was watching this debate, and I was very intrigued by the Democrat's motion to instruct. And as I look at this motion to instruct and I want to yield to the chairman of the Committee on the Budget to answer, if he sees this as what I see this. This looks like to me that the Democrats are suggesting that we have attacked an economic growth package that sets out a number of about \$514 billion. Is that correct, Mr. Chairman?

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

Mr. DELAY. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. NUSSLE. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY) is correct. If you take the tax number in the bill in the resolution at 726 and what the gentleman from South Carolina's (Mr. SPRATT) motion to instruct conferees backs out, which is \$212 billion of what they say, you know, there is no waste in Washington, yes, you would arrive at a tax number of about \$514 billion.

Mr. DELAY. So from what the chairman is saying, Mr. Speaker, is that the Democrats of this House are suggesting that the tax number be \$514 billion. I might be able to take that, Mr. Chairman. I am a little concerned that in the motion to instruct to continue spending, and I know that the minority loves to spend and they want to continue to spend; and we tried to as we pointed out in the House budget, that it was important not only to get the economy going again but also to show some fiscal restraint in the way the Federal Government spends money around here, and we wanted to go after waste, fraud and abuse and efficiencies and reforms, not cutting programs, but trying to squeeze out, out of this bureaucracy in Washington, D.C. the kind of savings we could find, anywhere we could find them, so that we could show some spending restraint and at the same time have an economic growth package.

So if the minority is suggesting that we go to conference and we go to conference with a number that seems to me to be a floor on the tax bill of \$514 billion, having faced in conference that the House has a number of 726 and the Senate has a number of 350 billion, I might take that. I might take that right now. I think we could do some really good stimulative effect with \$514 billion. We could go in there and make sure that the accelerated experiencing for small business people to be able to go out and buy equipment and start people making equipment would be there. We might be able to do something on capital gains. We all know through history that lowering capital gains rates always stimulates the economy and provides for long-term growth. And frankly, at 514 billion we could probably fool around a little bit with the double taxation dividends and even get something like that in there.

So I just might vote for this. I am going to look at it a little closer, but I just might vote for this motion to instruct because I for the first time am noticing that the Democrats are suggesting that we have a \$514 billion tax relief package, and I think we could do a lot with that.

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

Mr. DELAY. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. NUSSLE. Mr. Speaker, I want to make sure I understand what you are saying because I certainly want to defend the budget that I helped pass. While this technically is a nonbinding motion, I want to understand what we are suggesting here.

The Democrats are coming here and basically suggesting that even though we do not want to reduce the tax number, that they would be willing to go to \$514 billion. I do not like that number. I would rather stay at 726. I met very briefly with the chairman of the Senate budget committee today, and I told him that is what I am still interested in doing. But if we can get some agreement here, if the Democrats are willing

to come to the floor today and support a number in the tax bill of \$514 billion, at least that would be a more positive signal than what came out of the Senate.

So I still believe there is waste in Washington. I hate the first instruction in here that says that over the next 10 years we cannot even find a penny of waste, is what the Democrats said, not a penny. Nowhere is there waste in Washington. I hate that instruction. Of all of the instructions, that is the one that probably turns my stomach more than any of them. But if the majority leader is interested in this, I certainly would be willing to consider agreeing to the motion and urging my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to agree to a number of about \$514 billion.

Certainly at a time when Americans across the country are looking to get back to work and we are looking to try and create jobs, a tax number of \$514 billion is certainly, probably a good day's work. So I appreciate the gentleman analyzing the amendment and coming to that very interesting conclusion.

You know what will be interesting now, to see whether or not the Democrats even support their own motion.

□ 1445

I have a suspicion that the Democrats do not even support \$514 billion.

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, obviously we are going to have to give them the opportunity to express themselves, but the chairman knows that I want to restrain spending, too, and I want to find that waste, fraud and abuse myself. Just because we have a motion to instruct that says we want to do that does not mean the chairman has to negotiate that way on that particular portion.

But to have the Democrats support a \$514 billion tax cut, I think that strengthens us in conference because all throughout the debate, all I heard is, they did not want any of it, they wanted to spend it all. In fact, in their proposal, they wanted to raise taxes in order to bring down the deficit, which I think is a flawed way to go, because we have seen in the past that when we raise taxes and keep spending, the deficits keep going.

The point is, now we have a revelation here where the Democrats want \$514 billion. We could do that and we can still fight, or the chairman could fight in the conference committee for those spending restraints that we all want and come out of conference with a \$514 billion tax number and still have the spending.

I think the Democrats may have something, and I am going to think real hard about this.

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

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1½ minutes to make a few things clear before I yield to the gentlewoman from California (Mrs. CAPPS).

First of all, as to the tax cut level sought by the resolution that is now going to conference, this resolution has two different provisions with respect to tax cuts.

First, they say, reconcile the passage by a date certain of the President's request for \$726 billion of additional tax cuts. Second, in their revenue assumptions and elsewhere, they assume that we will pass and permanently enact the tax cuts that were enacted by the House in June of 2001. When we add those two together, the total amount of tax reduction called for by this resolution is \$1.35 trillion, not \$726 billion. That should be made clear.

Secondly, we have proposed tax cuts. We would like to have some tax cuts to go to the pockets and hands of people who are likely to spend it and give this economy a boost. On January 6, we proposed just such a rebate, along with some business tax cuts, accelerated appreciation, immediate expensing in order to give this economy a kick.

Thirdly, let me say with respect to these spending levels, Agriculture, Education, Energy and Commerce, which is Medicaid, Transportation, Veterans Affairs, Ways and Means, which is Medicare, as with respect to all of those, Mr. Speaker, we simply seek to restore the level of spending in these programs to the level sought by the President for the veterans and for Medicare beneficiaries.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Mrs. CAPPS).

Mrs. CAPPS. Mr. Speaker, I thank my distinguished ranking member for yielding me the time, and Mr. Speaker, I rise to support the Democratic motion to instruct conferees so that we can fix the budget so narrowly passed by the House of Representatives, a Federal budget that is supposed to reflect our values and our priorities, but this House budget resolution does not do that and so we need to change it.

The Republican budget resolution embraces the administration's irresponsible tax cut package at the expense of our Nation's health care needs. This is part of our national security, our health care security, and despite the protests of many Members of this Chamber, the majority resolution still requires Medicare and Medicaid to be cut, Medicaid to be cut by \$93 billion, and the appropriating committees are charged to either cut Medicare by almost \$200 billion or to shortchange an already weak prescription drug coverage benefit. Terrible choices.

These cuts endanger health care for almost 90 million Americans, among them the most vulnerable members of our society. This is unconscionable. This does not reflect American values.

As we move toward conference, we need to eliminate these terrible cuts, and among them, these health care cuts include cuts to our veterans, even as we are sending our young men and women off to war, and they will one day come back to be our Nation's vet-

erans. We are cutting health care benefits to today's veterans, wheelchair bound, frail, elderly. Promises made should be promises kept.

We need to reflect America's values in our budget, in our budget resolution, and we need to support the Democratic motion to instruct conferees so that we can do that.

Mr. NUSSLE. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of our time on this motion to instruct conferees on a \$514 billion tax cut.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, once again, I yield myself 30 seconds just to make it clear.

We do not propose and would not have our motion construed to say that we are adopting a \$514 billion tax cut or any level of tax reduction. We are saying that the tax cut ought to be adjusted accordingly after restoring these entitlement cuts that we have proposed in the motion to recommit.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from North Dakota (Mr. POMEROY).

Mr. POMEROY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

We are watching quite a performance on the other side this afternoon. First, we had the Budget chairman trying to explain away the vicious cuts they have made to programs as vital as veterans services. Imagine that, passing a budget that cuts veterans services, right in the middle of the Iraq war. It was unconscionable and unthinkable. Small wonder he tried to talk all around what they have done without ever really owning up to what is the issue before us.

Then the majority leader comes to the floor. He tries to totally redefine the motion that is advanced and before us. It looked a little to me like they are waving the white flag, that they do not have the votes to beat this motion because who, in the light of day, can vote for the cuts to veterans services, to Medicare, to Medicaid and to our Nation's farmers in the agricultural account.

There was no other budget advanced, not the administration's, not the Republican-controlled Senate's, that had this measure of cuts. It was a phenomenon of the House Committee on the Budget, led by the chairman and endorsed by majority leadership.

I view always as one of the darker moments of my time in the House the vote to support our troops taken at 2:30 in the morning followed by, 15 minutes later, the passage of the budget which cut the funding of veterans services. Frankly, it was a high water of hypocrisy in a Chamber that sees a good bit of hypocrisy.

We have got to reject these cuts, and this is what this motion before us does today. Reject the cuts to veterans services. Reject the cuts to agriculture. Reject the cuts to education. Reject the cuts to Medicare. That is the issue before us, and I will be very pleased if we can have a strong bipartisan vote overturning the really ill-advised direction the House budget would take us down.

Let us have a bipartisan vote on the motion to instruct.

Mr. NUSSLE. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of our time on the Democrat motion to cut taxes by \$514 billion.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ISAKSON). For the benefit of the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. NUSSLE) and the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT), the gentleman from Iowa reserves the balance of his time, which is 12½ minutes. The gentleman from South Carolina has 12 minutes remaining.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, once again, I yield 30 seconds to myself to say that in no way can this resolution be construed to support a tax cut of \$514 billion. If the gentleman wishes to put that construction upon it, I am here to say, as the author of it, it does not apply. We do not support such a tax cut. We have supported tax cuts to boost the economy, but not the tax cuts that this budget resolution proposes because it would drive a deficit deeper and deeper into debt.

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

Ms. HOOLEY of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, it is interesting when we talk about people saying they are against cutting waste, fraud and abuse. We are all for doing everything we can to cut waste, fraud and abuse, and I would suggest to my colleagues on the other side that possibly we should look at waste, fraud and abuse and use those dollars for tax cuts that we find.

Again, I want to reiterate, the maker of this motion is not talking about tax cuts. What he is talking about is restoring funds to some of those programs that are vital to the United States.

Here we are 2 years after Members from both sides of the aisle pledged to leave no child behind, and yet the House majority has approved budget cuts of over \$9 billion from Leave No Child Behind. The budget passed by this House proposes cuts in so many vital education programs I do not even know where to begin.

After-school programs: After-school programs have been one of those programs that have done more to help keep children getting into our juvenile system than anything else. It has cut higher education funding. It cuts teacher quality training. It cuts rural education. This budget cuts money from everywhere in education.

When we passed Leave No Child Behind, we demanded more from teachers and students, but this budget would cut billions that would help teachers and students prepare to meet the new tougher standards imposed by the Federal Government. If we are going to demand more from our education system, we need to provide schools with adequate resources to meet those demands. We fool ourselves and cheat our students when we impose higher standards without providing the money necessary to achieve those standards.

Our schools are in dire straits right now. I do not know about the rest of my colleagues, but I know Oregon schools are. I visited a lot of schools throughout my district and the State, and there are schools that are literally falling down. Teachers are using closets as extra classroom space. Kids are sitting on heaters for lack of room.

At a time when State budget crises are forcing schools to lay off staff, increase class sizes and cut days off the school year, the Federal Government is once again failing to live up to its commitment and fund the laws that we have passed.

I do not understand why Congress would spend a year reforming our education system only to turn around and fail to provide States with the money needed for those reforms. We need to fund the No Child Left Behind Act. We need to fund the Individuals With Disabilities Act. Twenty-eight years ago, we promised we would fund 40 percent of that program; we do not even fund half of that. To my State, it would mean \$120 million more a year. That is a lot of money to our State.

We need to fund student financial aid. Instead, this budget cuts school lunches, student loan programs, after-school programs, increases class size and diverts public funds to private schools. This is not what we need to improve the education of our students.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to vote in favor of the motion to instruct and in favor of increasing education funding and living up to its commitment and living up to its promises.

Mr. NUSSLE. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the time on the Democrat motion to cut taxes by \$514 billion.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 45 seconds to say the gentleman is willfully misconstruing this resolution, and if he will simply read his black letter language, he will find out not only do we restore \$214 billion of programs like Medicare and Medicaid to be at the level the President requested, we also provide for the Breaux amendment to be adopted and incorporated so that \$396 billion can be taken out of the tax cuts and assigned to the solvency of Social Security. That is Section 319 of the Senate budget resolution which we are asking the House to accede to.

Add those two together, it is about \$700 billion. That is about the size of the tax cut. This is not an endorsement of that tax cut in any way, shape or form.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3½ minutes to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. SCOTT).

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Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time and would just want to point out, Mr. Speaker, this chart, which shows in stark terms what the budget deficit looked like over the years, until 1993, when this green box right here shows the Democratic plan to a surplus, and

in 1 year we are back to worse than where we were. I would point out that this chart was done before the supplemental war budget, which has no way to pay for itself, so the red ink would go even \$70 billion further down than this chart.

Mr. Speaker, because of the tax cuts that caused this drop, we are having to do spending cuts; spending cuts like cuts in school lunches, Pell Grants, student loans, health care, and veterans benefits. That is right, over \$14 billion in veterans benefit cuts will be restored if the motion to instruct is adopted.

Mr. Speaker, what are some of those cuts? Fraud, waste and abuse? No, they are cuts in disability compensation, pensions, GI bill benefits, housing subsidies, and burial funds. This is an unconscionable attack against our military personnel at a time when they are deployed in Iraq.

And Mr. Speaker, some say that we could get this through eliminating waste, but the President of the United States does not need funding cuts to stop paying benefits to people that are ineligible for benefits. This budget will cut benefits for eligible veterans.

Now, what do some of the veterans groups say? Letters to the Speaker from the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and Disabled American Veterans say that "we recognize that our country has serious budget problems, but cutting already underfunded veterans programs to offset the cost of tax cuts is indefensible and callous."

The Disabled American Veterans wrote, "Has Congress no shame? Is there no honor left in the hallowed halls of our government that you choose to dishonor the sacrifices of our Nation's heroes and rob our programs, health care, and disability compensation to pay for tax cuts for the wealthy? You will be reducing benefits and services for disabled veterans at a time when thousands of our servicemen are in harm's way fighting terrorists around the world, and thousands more of our sons and daughters are preparing for war against Iraq."

And what do the Paralyzed Veterans of America say? They say, in a letter to the Speaker, "The House Committee on the Budget proposal also calls for cutting \$15 billion over 10 years, \$463 million in fiscal year 2004 alone, in VA mandatory spending under the guise of eliminating 'fraud waste and abuse.' We do not consider payments to war-disabled veterans, pensions for the poorest disabled veterans, and GI benefits for soldiers returning from Afghanistan to be fraud, waste, and abuse. Fifty percent of the spending in VA entitlement goes to monthly payments to those veterans and their survivors. The House Committee on the Budget plan, if approved, would force cuts in each of these programs."

Mr. Speaker, listen to our veterans, support our troops, and pass the motion to instruct conferees.

Mr. Speaker, I submit for the RECORD the letters I just referred to.

MARCH 17, 2003.

Hon. J. DENNIS HASTERT,
Speaker of the House, House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

Hon. NANCY PELOSI,
House Minority Leader, House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER AND REPRESENTATIVE PELOSI: As so many of our nation's finest men and women are poised for possible war in the Persian Gulf region, fighting a global war on terror and defending our ideals at home and abroad, Congress is considering budget cuts that would deny sick and disabled veterans much-needed medical care and other earned benefits.

The House budget resolution proposes reducing both mandatory and discretionary spending for veterans programs and services by \$15 billion over the next 10 years. Especially appalling is a proposed 1 percent cut in mandatory spending, including veterans disability compensation and pensions, which is the main source of income for many veterans.

We point out that the monthly compensation for 3.3 million veterans and survivors increased just 1.4% this year. That is the smallest cost-of-living adjustment in three years. Now, with soaring energy costs driving up prices for other goods and services, it is callous and indefensible to propose slashing these benefits.

We recognize that our country has serious budget problems, but cutting already underfunded veterans' programs to offset the costs of tax cuts is indefensible and callous.

Congress must rethink drastic cuts in benefits and services for disabled veterans at a time when we have thousands of our service members in harm's way fighting terrorism around the world and when we are sending thousands more of our sons and daughters to fight a war against Iraq.

RONALD F. CONLEY,
National Commander,
The American Legion.

RAY C. SISK,
Commander in Chief,
Veterans of Foreign Wars.

EDWARD R. HEATH, SR.,
National Commander,
Disabled American Veterans.

DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS,
March 17, 2003.

Hon. J. DENNIS HASTERT,
Speaker of the House, House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: I write today on behalf of the 2.3 million disabled veterans, including the more than 1.2 million members of the Disabled American Veterans (DAV), to communicate our deep-seated outrage regarding the fiscal year 2004 budget adopted by the House Budget Committee, which would cut veterans programs by more than \$15 billion during the next 10 years.

Has Congress no shame? Is there no honor left in the hallowed halls of our government that you choose to dishonor the sacrifices of our nation's heroes and rob our programs—health care and disability compensation—to pay for tax cuts for the wealthy? You will be reducing benefits and services for disabled veterans at a time when thousands of our servicemembers are in harm's way fighting terrorists around the world and thousands more of our sons and daughters are preparing for war against Iraq.

The budget adopted by the Committee, on a nearly party-line vote, would reduce funding for veterans health care by \$844 million below the President's recommendation for

next year. It also proposes to cut \$463 million from benefit programs, such as disability compensation, pension, vocational rehabilitation, education and survivors' benefits, next year and \$15 billion over the next 10 years. The budget proposal is in distinct contract to the recommendations made by the Committee on Veterans' Affairs to increase discretionary programs, such as veterans health care, by \$3 billion to help ensure that our nation's sick and disabled veterans can be cared for properly.

Mr. Speaker, you are personally aware of the crisis in veterans health care and the urgent need to adequately fund the Department of Veterans Affairs (VA) health care system. If you, in your leadership role in the House, allow this budget proposal to pass the House without exempting VA programs from the massive cuts, it could mean the loss of 19,000 nurses, equating to the loss of 6.6 million outpatient visits or more than three-quarters of a million hospital bed days. But that is not all of the devastation that will be caused by the proposed cuts. You will be reaching into the pockets of our nation's service-connected veterans, including combat disabled veterans, and robbing them and their survivors of a portion of their compensation. Ninety percent of VA's mandatory spending is from cash payments to service-connected disabled veterans, low-income wartime veterans, and their survivors.

As hundreds of thousands of America's brave young men and women await the uncertainties brought on by war, including the potential of biological and chemical attacks at the hand of a fanatical tyrant, they should not have to also be concerned about the discouraging possibilities of a Department of Veterans Affairs that cannot provide either the necessary services or benefits they have earned and might need. Nor should World War II veterans, the "Greatest Generation," now in their twilight years, who are directly responsible for the freedom and prosperity of our nation, be forced out of a system designed specifically to provide for their needs.

All eyes will be on the critical action of the House this week as you vote on the budget. With America's sons and daughters prepared to do battle with the enemies of our country, and our veterans locked in battles over the crisis in VA health care and drastic cuts to our programs, the American public will want to know whether our government will honor its commitment to our veterans and to their children—our future veterans—serving in harm's way.

There is no question that the vote on the proposed budget is an important vote, one that will set the tone for the remainder of this Congress, and likely the next Congress.

Mr. Speaker, this budget dishonors the service of millions of service-connected disabled veterans, including combat disabled veterans, and seriously erodes the nation's commitment to care for its defenders. If this budget resolution retains provisions to cut veteran's programs, I will use all the resources at my disposal to take our case to the American people and call upon members of Congress to oppose and vote against the budget resolution. I urge you to reconsider the inequitable and ill-advised course proposed in the Committee's partisan budget proposal. I look to you, in your leadership position, to ensure that this Congress honors our government's commitment to its veterans.

Sincerely,

EDWARD R. HEATH, SR.,
National Commander.

PARALYZED VETERANS OF AMERICA,
Washington, DC.

Hon. J. DENNIS HASTERT,
Speaker of the House, Capitol Building,
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: On behalf of the members of Paralyzed Veterans of America (PVA) I am writing to express our profound objection to the provisions contained in the FY 2004 Budget Resolution as approved by the House Committee on the Budget that would cut veterans health care and benefit programs by nearly \$25 billion. The proposal, if implemented, would have a shocking effect on VA health care services and would be an affront to millions of veterans facing reductions in their health care, compensation, pension and education benefits.

The FY 2004 budget proposed by the Administration is already inadequate to meet the health care needs of veterans. The proposal, approximately \$1.3 billion above the FY 2003 appropriation, would not even cover inflationary impact and anticipated salary increases for VA health care workers. That budget proposal already relies too much on unrealistic management efficiencies, increased copayments, a new annual enrollment tax on certain veterans using the VA health care system and other "efficiencies" such as eliminating 5,000 VA nursing home beds. If the House Budget Committee plan is approved, Congress would have to vote to further block health care eligibility for hundreds of thousands currently eligible veterans, and drastically increase waiting times for health care and benefits adjudication. A cut of this size would force the House of Representatives to vote for a budget that would call for a loss of 9,000 VA physicians equating to a loss of nearly 900,000 days of hospital care.

The House Budget Committee proposal also calls for cutting \$15 billion over ten years, \$463 million in FY 2004 alone, in VA mandatory spending under the guise of eliminating "fraud, waste and abuse." We do not consider payments to war-disabled veterans pensions for the poorest disabled veterans and G.I. Bill benefits for soldiers returning from Afghanistan to be "fraud, waste and abuse." Ninety percent of the spending for VA entitlements goes in monthly payments to these veterans and their survivors. The House Budget Committee plan, if approved, would force cuts in each of these programs.

Mr. Speaker, budget resolutions set spending priorities. We find it hard to fathom that veterans would not be a priority to the Budget Committee, or the leadership of the House of Representatives. We know that forcing spending cuts on veterans in order to pay for other priorities, such as large tax cuts, would not be the priority of the American people. Hundreds of thousands of this country's men and women in the Armed Forces are poised to invade the country of Iraq in defense of the United States. In defense of them and their best interest, we must strongly object to this Budget Resolution in its entirety if the magnitude of these cuts in veterans benefits and services is sustained in any fashion. The vote on this budget resolution will be closely watched by our members and all veterans.

Sincerely,

JOSEPH L. FOX, SR.,
National President.

Mr. NUSSLE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. THOMAS), the very distinguished chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time, and I rise in part because I have

just now read the motion to instruct conferees. The ranking member on the Committee on the Budget had indicated that perhaps there were some misrepresentations by a description of what some of the black letter language was. If the gentleman would be willing to respond to some questions that I have, it might assist us in understanding, or at least it will assist this gentleman from California in understanding.

When, for example, on page 5 the gentleman indicates that we be instructed to eliminate the reconciliation instruction, that means to remove the 1 percent across-the-board cut; is that correct?

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

Mr. THOMAS. I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, it means it is to remove, in the case of agriculture, a reduction of \$18 billion.

Mr. THOMAS. That is 1 percent across the board.

Mr. SPRATT. If the gentleman would be so kind as to let me finish answering his question.

Mr. THOMAS. Reclaiming my time, Mr. Speaker, if we are going to go through each of the committees, that will eat up my entire time.

The instruction was a 1 percent.

Mr. SPRATT. We are seeking to restore to the level the President requested Medicare, Medicaid, education.

Mr. THOMAS. Reclaiming my time, it does not say restore to. Reading the black letters in front of me, it does not say restore to the President's request. It says eliminate the reconciliation instruction, not restore to the President's request.

So it is clear, then, it is the removal of the 1 percent no matter what they may say they mean based upon that language.

Then when we drop down further and the gentleman talks about the managers receding to the Senate on section 319. It was described, I understand, as the Breaux amendment. The Breaux amendment is in two sections. One section is to cut by \$396 billion, the other is to create a reserve fund to strengthen Social Security.

My assumption is that when the gentleman refers to 319, not tying it to the money number that was included in the Breaux amendment, he is referring only to the creation of a reserve fund or a lockbox for Social Security; is that correct?

Mr. SPRATT. In the amount of \$396 billion, which would be deducted from the gentleman's tax cut. We would instead invest it in the insolvency of Social Security.

Mr. THOMAS. Does that language include the \$396 billion which was included in the Breaux amendment?

Mr. SPRATT. If the gentleman will continue to yield, section 319 reads, "If legislation is reported by the Senate Committee on Finance, or if an amendment is offered or conference report is

submitted to extend the solvency of the Social Security trust funds, the chairman of the sitting Committee on the Budget may revise the aggregates, the functional totals, the allocations and limits by up to \$396 billion in budget authority.

Mr. THOMAS. In other words, Mr. Speaker, this is an attempt to create a lockbox to preserve Social Security.

And then, no matter how much the gentleman may not like the explanation, when we read the black letter language, what it says is that instead of a \$1.3 billion reduction in taxes, there will be a \$1.1 billion reduction in taxes, and it in no way addresses the \$726 billion amount that was included in the House budget resolution.

That is not discussed, nor is it altered by this motion to instruct. There may be an attempt through language on the floor to convey that that is the intent; but as the gentleman requested, if we read the black letter language in front of us, the \$726 billion budget cut for taxes is retained. It is a removal of the 1 percent cut across the board, and it is to create a Social Security lockbox. That is what they are attempting to do.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1 minute to correct the gross misstatement the gentleman just made as to the construction of this motion.

If he will read on, the last sentence says, "and that such managers be instructed to address the revenue levels by the amounts needed." "To adjust the revenue levels by the amounts needed to offset the cost of the instructions in paragraphs 1." Those are the entitlement reclamations. "The restoration of the entitlement expenditures." And two, that is the Breaux reserve fund. To adjust the levels of revenues in this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from North Dakota (Mr. POMEROY).

Mr. POMEROY. Mr. Speaker, this is a most extraordinary debate. Where I come from they mean what they say and they say what they mean.

Let us look at this debate. In the first 10 minutes, the chairman of the Committee on the Budget talks against the resolution. He is surprised by the majority leader, who comes to the floor and says, you know, I think we can go for this, even while the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means tries to parse the language.

It is quite clear they are a little uncertain of what to do. What is this all about? It is because cuts to veterans services do not stand the light of day. And this is not 2:30 in the morning. This is in the afternoon, with America watching and our country at war. So it is time we pass this resolution and reject the cuts to veterans services contained in the majority budget.

Mr. NUSSLE. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 30 seconds to say, no, that is not what it says. It says cut taxes \$1.1 billion and freeze veterans benefits. That is what the other side's motion to instruct says.

You have to read it. You wrote it; you read it. I do not like it, because, quite honestly, I think our budget was better. But if the other side is going to instruct us, at least know what you are instructing us. You are instructing us to freeze on spending at 2003 levels, and you are saying cut taxes by at least \$1.1 trillion. That is what the letter of the law in the instruction says.

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

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I believe we have the right to close.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LATOURETTE). That is correct.

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

Mr. NUSSLE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS), the vice chairman of the Committee on the Budget.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Speaker, I did not think that the last speaker, a colleague who used to be for controlling the growth in spending, would be advocating spending so much.

When we were in the Committee on the Budget voting out this bill, my Democratic colleagues came out with a total of \$982 billion of new spending over the next 10 years. That is far more than the amount of the tax cut. It would not have helped reduce the deficit. It was simply more government spending.

Only in Washington when we spend more money do people call it a cut. The total budget is going to go up 3 percent. Medicare is going to go up 7.9 percent. Veterans spending is going to go up 6.9 percent, but they called it a cut. They call a \$3.97 billion increase a cut when it is actually an increase of 6.9 percent.

I believe that during the time I was on the Committee on the Budget we had some clear delineation. We wanted to cut taxes. Our Democratic colleagues did not want a cut in taxes; they wanted to spend more. We never had a debate with President Clinton in which he thought we were spending too much. It was always that we needed to spend more, and that is the dialogue that is happening now. Then some of my conservative colleagues on the other side of the aisle are saying they cannot, in some areas, have a 1 percent cut in the budget for 1 year and then allow it to go back on its trail of new spending.

I was proud of what the Committee on the Budget did. I would have liked for us to stay on that issue. I would have liked for us, for 1 year, to take a deep breath and show at least some of what local communities are doing, where Governor Richardson in New Mexico is cutting spending and cutting taxes. He happens to be a Democrat doing what Republicans usually do.

In my judgment, we should control the growth of spending, take a breath for a year, cut taxes and grow this economy. But instead, what we are seeing once again are my Democratic colleagues saying we are not spending

enough. We need to spend more and more and more. I think we need to do what they are doing on the State and local levels: suck it in a little bit, control, and spend 1 percent less on non-defense, non-homeland security and get our country's financial house in order. That is what I believe we should be doing.

Whether or not my colleague on the other side of the aisle is supporting a \$514 billion tax cut or a \$700 billion-plus tax cut, the bottom line is we need a tax cut to grow this economy. This side of the aisle is not going to be like President Hoover. We need to move this economy forward. That is absolutely essential.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, how much time remains on this side?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Iowa (Mr. NUSSLE) has 5 minutes remaining, and the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) has 3¼ minutes remaining.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. MENENDEZ), the chairman of our caucus.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. Speaker, today must be April Fool's Day, because what I hear in this debate is our Republican colleagues renouncing their budget and, in essence, accepting ours.

This motion to recommit is about values. Mr. Speaker, what message is the Republican majority sending our brave men and women fighting in Iraq even as we speak when it cuts \$14.6 billion in veterans benefits in the budget resolution; when it cuts the health care and disability compensation even as hundreds of thousands of men and women are deployed in the Middle East risking their lives for America, even as dozens of our wounded troops are airlifted back to hospitals in Germany and the United States?

The Republican value is very clear, as is their message: fight for us today, but we cannot make any promises to you about tomorrow. And that is exactly what their budget does. In fact, the Disabled American Veterans described the House Republican approach in the following terms by asking, "Has the Congress no shame?"

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Mr. Speaker, Republicans choose to dishonor the sacrifices of our Nation's heroes and rob our programs to pay for tax cuts for the wealthy, and it is a real shame. These young men and women may well depend upon the benefits they are seeking to cut.

This weekend, I was fortunate enough to visit 7,000 troops at Fort Dix, New Jersey, 7,000 men and women, 7,000 sons and daughters, 7,000 mothers and fathers about to be deployed to Iraq. They were unanimous in their dedication and selflessness, and they are ready to perform and perform proudly. But soldiers do not pick the battle or the place or the time. They just respond to the call. We should respond to the call by rallying behind them and

those that served before them, our veterans.

Mr. Speaker, this motion to recommit is that opportunity. Try telling them that they are part of waste, fraud and abuse. The other side had 8 years of Republican control to root out that waste, fraud and abuse, and Republicans did nothing. Do not do it on the backs of veterans today. Vote for the motion to recommit.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman for not only yielding time, but for offering this most important motion to instruct conferees on the Fiscal Year 2004 Budget Resolution.

What message is the Republican Majority sending our brave men and women fighting in Iraq even as we speak, when it cuts 14.6 billion dollars in Veterans' Benefits in the Budget Resolution?

Cuts to health care and disability compensation, even as hundreds of thousands of men and women are deployed in the Middle East, risking their lives for freedom and democracy?

Cuts to health care and disability compensation, even as dozens of our wounded troops are airlifted back to hospitals in Germany and the United States?

The Republican Budget's message is clear: Fight for us today, but we can't make any promises for tomorrow.

And that's exactly what their budget does—in fact, the Disabled American Veterans described the House Republican approach in the following terms:

"Has the Congress no shame? Is there no honor left in the hallowed halls of our government that you choose to dishonor the sacrifices of our nation's heroes and rob our programs . . . to pay for tax cuts for the wealthy?"

It is a real shame. Our men and women in uniform are fighting in Iraq or are about to be shipped out to the Middle East, and Republicans are suggesting cutting benefits many of these young men and women may depend on upon their return.

This weekend I was fortunate enough to visit 7,000 troops at Fort Dix in New Jersey; 7,000 men and women; 7,000 sons and daughters, mothers and fathers, about to be deployed to Iraq.

They were unanimous in their dedication and selflessness—they told me that, no matter what their personal views may be on this war, they will fight honorably and will make us proud.

I wish the Republican Leadership had even an iota of their bravery, selflessness and dedication. But instead, it turns its back on these troops, their families, our communities, and, worst of all, our veterans.

Soldiers don't pick the battle. They don't pick the place. They don't pick the time. They just respond to the call, and we should respond to the call by rallying behind them, and those that served before them, our veterans.

Mr. Speaker, I believe all of us who say we support our troops and veterans should be on this floor supporting this motion when the time comes. I urge my colleagues to vote for the gentleman's motion to instruct.

Mr. NUSSLE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY).

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Speaker, the previous speaker should have saved that debate for the debate on the budget. We

are debating a motion to instruct conferees.

I have to admit to the gentleman from South Carolina I did misread this. I thought he was eliminating all the cuts, 1 percent across the board. Indeed, what he is doing is freezing. I am willing to accept that. I will take a freeze over the cut. It is still spending restraint, and I will do that.

Secondly, in the provision, the gentleman is right. I thought it was \$212 billion out of the \$726 billion tax relief, but as I read it and analyze it, it is \$212 billion from \$1.4 trillion that is in the budget. So we lower the tax number down to \$1.2 trillion, more than enough to accommodate the President's economic growth package. I am going to support this motion to instruct, and I ask the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) in the interest of bipartisanship, I am willing to work with the gentleman on this motion to instruct and ask the gentleman if he is going to call a voice vote on the motion.

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

Mr. DELAY. I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I intend to ask for a recorded vote.

Mr. DELAY. Then it is obvious this is nothing but a political operation. If the gentleman calls for a recorded vote on this, it is all politics on the other side. The problem is, they so poorly wrote this that now the Democrats are going to support freezing the budget to 2003 levels of all these committees, and give us enough of a tax number to accommodate the President's package.

I am all for it, and I am going to vote with the gentleman.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Ms. PELOSI).

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time and I thank him for his tremendous leadership once again in putting forth a proposal that reflects the values of our country. Even the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY), the majority leader, has to admit the gentleman is right on his motion to instruct.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this motion to instruct the budget resolution conferees to reject some of the most harmful cuts in the Republican budget.

Mr. Speaker, the Federal budget should be a statement of our shared national values. We should allocate our resources to those proposals and initiatives that are important to our country. The budget passed by the Republicans in the House certainly does not meet that standard. I am not even sure they understand what they passed in the House.

But what we do know is that when the President sent his budget to Congress, we thought we had seen the worst of it. The Bush budget shortchanges veterans, seniors, children and the environment to pay for his tax cut.

But the worst was yet to come. The House Republicans did the President's budget one better, or one worse as the case may be, and made even deeper cuts in education and issues relating to seniors. The difference is significant.

President Bush's budget is not balanced. He pays for his tax cut by adding more than \$2 trillion to the deficit. It is reckless and irresponsible.

House Republicans have shown us that the only way they can pay for the President's reckless and irresponsible tax cut and balance the budget by 2012 is to slash veterans benefits, slash student loans, slash the school lunch program, and slash Medicaid. Slashing those priorities in order to give every millionaire in this country a \$90,000 tax cut, that does not reflect our values.

Americans value our veterans. We value education. We value access to quality health care. Passing a budget that cuts those priorities to pay for a huge tax cut that will not benefit most Americans is simply wrong.

The Democratic motion instructs conferees to do the right thing. A vote for the Democratic motion is to reject the cuts to veterans benefits, education and health care currently in the bill passed by the Republicans. The announcement by the distinguished majority leader that he would accept the Spratt motion to instruct is an admission that the Republican budget is wrong.

We must not shortchange the veterans who have so courageously defended our country and the thousands of future veterans who are risking their lives in Iraq as we speak. A vote for the Spratt amendment supports our veterans. It is ironic that on the same night that this House properly passed a resolution to honor the troops, the Republican majority passed this budget that dishonors the troops by making deep cuts in veterans benefits.

The conferees should accept the other body's language that provides \$14.6 billion more than the House Republican bill for veterans disability and education benefits. We must not shortchange students who rely on student loans and other education programs that expand opportunities and promote excellence.

A vote for the Spratt motion to instruct expands opportunity and promotes excellence. It rejects \$9 billion in cuts to student loans and the school lunch program. We must do the right thing for millions of seniors, children and disabled Americans who rely on Medicare for their health care coverage.

We should accept the other body's language that rejects \$94 billion in cuts in Medicaid. These cuts threaten access to nursing home care, hospital services and prescription drugs for some of our most vulnerable citizens. A vote for the Spratt motion to instruct would remove that threat from the budget.

It is simply wrong to pass a budget that fails veterans, fails students, fails seniors, fails children and fails the dis-

abled. The American people deserve better. I urge my colleagues to support the Democratic motion to instruct.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LATOURETTE). The gentleman is recognized for 4 minutes.

Mr. NUSSLE. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished minority leader, the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI) has a great speech writer, but the speech writer failed to read the budget. Great speech, but the speech writer did not read the budget.

School lunches are not mentioned in the budget. It is not in there. Education, not even mentioned. There are no cuts in education. There are no cuts to seniors. We cannot find farmers in here. Hospitals, we will not find the word "hospital" in the budget. No, that is not what a budget is about. The gentlewoman knows that. Student loans, that is not mentioned in the budget. Cuts to the school lunch program, she claims. School lunch program is not in here.

See, the interesting thing about it is that Democrats come running to the floor claiming there is no waste in Washington. So very hastily they draw up a motion to instruct conferees. And what does that motion say? It says there is no waste in Washington. The Democrats cannot find one penny of waste in Washington. So instead of finding waste and instead of adopting the Republican-passed budget, what should we do?

Well, it says right here in black and white, let us reduce those instructions so what we end up with is a freeze in spending. So they are freezing school lunches and veterans benefits, freezing hospitals, freezing student loans, freezing all these things that they are talking about. They come running to the floor breathlessly to discuss this and send their press releases and play political games about a motion to instruct.

That is not what this is about. But that is what the other side of the aisle is saying. What do they do with the so-called "savings" of just freezing spending? They want to reduce the tax cut. We happen to support a \$1.3 trillion tax cut. By reducing this, what the Democrats come running here to the floor today to support is a \$1.1 trillion tax cut.

Well, we have considered it. It is not what we passed. We would rather find waste in Washington. We do not want to just freeze spending. We would rather go through each and every program and find the savings, find the waste and the abuse, so the money and the programs go to the intended purpose. But instead, what the Democrats want to do is freeze spending. All right, I guess we can consider doing that when we get to conference.

So I would encourage my Republican colleagues to vote for the Spratt motion to instruct conferees that freezes spending. That is at least a good start. I think we could do better, but I think

this is at least a good start to freeze spending. Of course, freezing spending at the 2003 level is a cut, is a cut from the increase that was anticipated, the anticipated increase that the other side of the aisle sometimes comes to the floor and claims that we provide cuts in.

So 2003 levels in a 2004 budget is what the other side of the aisle is supporting.

The second thing they say is, reduce the tax cut by that amount. We have done the math. We have read the black and white letters of the motion to instruct conferees, and the math is very simple. We come up with \$1.1 trillion worth of tax relief. That is far and above where the Senate was. That is not where the House wanted to be, but we think it is at least worthy of taking into consideration in the conference.

So I believe even though we can find more waste in Washington than what the Democrats are suggesting, and we can have more tax reform and more simplification and more reduction in taxes to create jobs, even though I believe those things, I believe we should support this motion to instruct conferees. It is nonbinding, it is political, but I think they have been hoisted by their own petard.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) has 15 seconds remaining.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, this restores spending to the present levels for Medicaid, Medicare, school lunches. In addition, this does not endorse any particular level of tax cut. It simply says it adjusts the revenues accordingly after restoring these amounts to the budgets.

It is a good motion. Members should vote for it if they want to vote for Medicaid, Medicare, student loans and other programs which are so vitally important to our country.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Spratt/Pomeroy motion to instruct conferees on the budget resolution. This motion rejects the House's mandatory spending cuts to education, health care, and veterans' programs by calling on the conferees, on a deficit-neutral basis, to restore these cuts. These cuts are included in the Republican budget—which I voted against—but not in the Senate resolution, or the President's budget.

As our country is engaged in a war with Iraq that will require additional spending, we must not overlook our domestic priorities.

This motion calls on the conferees to reject the budget cuts to Medicaid and Medicare; cuts to key education programs like school lunches and student loans; cuts in veterans' benefits; cuts to railroad retirees' pensions; cuts in aid for working families and the disabled; and cuts to the food stamp program.

It is astonishing that in this time of conflict, we could cut benefits to our nation's veterans. The House-passed resolution cuts direct spending for veterans' benefits by a total of \$14.6 billion over ten years. Veterans all across the Nation will be hurt if these cuts are

not restored. Our Nation's veterans have risked their lives for our country and they served on the front lines. We cannot deny them basic benefits like housing, medical care, and other services that civilians receive.

I offered an amendment in the Rules Committee to restore these cuts. Specifically, my amendment would have stricken the reconciliation instructions to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs in section 201 (b)(2)(M) and increased mandatory budget authority and outlays for Function 700. Unfortunately, the committee rejected my amendment.

The House resolution's cuts are supposed to be unspecified reductions in veterans' benefits that eliminate so-called "waste, fraud, and abuse." We are robbing from our veterans' programs—health care and disability compensation—to pay for tax cuts for the wealthy.

According to Amvets, a veterans organization, more than 200,000 veterans seeking health care in January waited more than six months. VA officials say they are working on improving the wait time. The national goal for a doctor's visit is a 30-day wait. Waits at Texas hospitals and clinics abound.

Hospitalized veterans also are vying for too few doctors and nurses. And the VA system has started drastically rationing its health care, deciding some veterans get care while others don't.

It is still unclear how budget cuts will affect post-war health benefits for troops returning from Iraq, Afghanistan and elsewhere.

A 1998 law compels the VA to provide free medical care to those newly returned from a combat zone, whether or not they have a military service-related disability, for up to two years. After that, only those with medical problems related to military service qualify for life-long medical benefits.

We wonder how a system that cannot afford to treat the veterans it already serves will be able to handle new ones, especially if some of those new patients may be exposed to chemical or biological weapons in this war. It is unconscionable that we will not provide additional benefits to those who have suffered from Agent Orange while serving in the Vietnam Conflict, and we do not know all the ills that possibly face our troops now deployed in Iraq.

More than 6.5 million veterans are enrolled in the VA health system, but the VA is budgeted to provide care for only 4.8 million patients in 2004.

Will support for our troops evaporate once war ends? We must fund critical programs for veterans. I urge my colleagues to support the Spratt/Pomeroy motion.

Mr. GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the Budget Resolution approved last month by this body contains cuts to domestic programs that millions of Americans depend on, day in and day out.

The victims of these funding cuts include Medicaid, children's health care, student loan, and veterans programs. To slash programs that provide health care to our seniors and children, educate our students and honor the commitments made to the veterans who have bravely protected our freedom flies in the face of the American values that we hold so dearly.

Mr. Speaker, the President didn't request cuts for these programs. Furthermore, the Senate's budget did not contain these cuts. Yet, this chamber cut these programs in order to fund a tax cut.

Ask any group of senior citizens if they'd trade Medicare funding for a tax cut on their dividends, and I guarantee you they'd choose Medicare. Ask any high school senior what's more important to him, a tax cut or a student loan program that will make his education more affordable. The answer is clear.

Ask any of our troops who are fighting so valiantly to bring freedom to Iraq whether they'd rather have a tax cut or adequately funded veterans programs. I bet you they'd want this country to honor their military service and restore the \$14.6 billion this budget cuts from veterans programs over the next 10 years.

We cannot afford this tax cut on economic grounds alone. But to pay for it by taking away from our seniors, students, veterans and farmers is particularly shameful. I urge my colleagues to support this motion and instruct the budget conferees to restore funding for these crucial domestic programs.

Mr. UDALL of New Mexico. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of the gentleman from South Carolina's motion to instruct conferees on the budget resolution. This common sense, non-binding motion will restore some sanity to this budget.

Put simply, Mr. Spratt's resolution rejects cuts to education, health care, and veterans' programs by urging the House and Senate conferees, on a deficit-neutral basis, to restore these cuts. The House budget is so extreme that these cuts are not included in the Senate-passed budget or even the Bush distraction's budget blueprint.

It is sadly ironic that at the same time we send our young people abroad to fight a war, the majority is advancing a budget that will force those same young people to pay the bill for their recklessness. By showering the most privileged among us with hundreds of billions of dollars in tax breaks and running up more than a trillion dollars in debt, this budget poses a serious threat to the long-term economic well-being of the nation.

Month after month, more American families are suffering from the failure of this Administration's irresponsible economic strategy. With the economy hemorrhaging jobs for every sector, an increasing number of Americans are losing faith that they will ever find a job. With this budget, the majority has turned their backs on the problems of American families. Instead of offering new ideas and fresh solutions, the Administration continues to push a tired ideology that has turned our once-robust economy into a job-destroying machine.

I believe we are obligated to help our States, counties and cities meet the every-increasing burdens of skyrocketing programs. I believe we are obligated to reject the drastic cuts to Medicare and Medicaid. I believe we are obligated to reject the cuts to education funding, including school lunches and student loans. I believe we are obligated to reject the majority's cuts to the critical programs that benefit our veterans. I believe we are obligated to reject the cuts to assistance programs for the working poor—especially important during this economic downturn.

Most important though, this budget will hang more than a trillion dollars of debt around the necks of our children and grandchildren. They will be paying for this mistake for decades to come. The President's own chief economist, in his academic writings, agrees that the chronic deficits perpetuated by this budget will raise

interest rates, and cut off economic growth for the future.

I will continue to fight for a budget that contains a fiscally responsible stimulus plan that cuts taxes today, while meeting our obligation to prepare for the future. This is not a time to shrink from our responsibilities to one another. We need to meet the test of this demanding movement in our history.

I thank Ranking Member SPRATT, for offering this reasonable motion to instruct and I urge my colleagues to vote for it.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the previous question is ordered on the motion to instruct.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion to instruct offered by the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT).

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

Mr. NUSSLE. 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, this 15-minute vote on the motion to instruct conferees on the budget resolution will be followed by two 5-minute votes on motions to suspend the rules that were debated earlier today.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 399, nays 22, not voting 13, as follows:

[Roll No. 95]

YEAS—399

Abercrombie	Burns	Dicks
Ackerman	Burr	Dingell
Aderholt	Burton (IN)	Doggett
Akin	Buyer	Dooley (CA)
Alexander	Calvert	Doolittle
Allen	Camp	Doyle
Andrews	Cantor	Dreier
Baca	Capito	Duncan
Bachus	Capps	Dunn
Baird	Capuano	Edwards
Baker	Cardin	Ehlers
Baldwin	Cardoza	Emanuel
Ballance	Carson (IN)	Emerson
Ballenger	Carson (OK)	Engel
Barrett (SC)	Carter	English
Bartlett (MD)	Case	Eshoo
Barton (TX)	Castle	Etheridge
Bass	Chabot	Evans
Beauprez	Chocola	Everett
Becerra	Clay	Farr
Bell	Clyburn	Fattah
Bereuter	Coble	Feeney
Berkley	Cole	Ferguson
Berman	Collins	Filner
Berry	Conyers	Fletcher
Biggert	Cooper	Forbes
Billirakis	Costello	Ford
Bishop (GA)	Cox	Fossella
Bishop (NY)	Cramer	Frank (MA)
Bishop (UT)	Crane	Frelinghuysen
Blackburn	Crenshaw	Frost
Blumenauer	Cubin	Gallegly
Blunt	Cummings	Garrett (NJ)
Boehlert	Cunningham	Gerlach
Boehner	Davis (AL)	Gibbons
Bonilla	Davis (CA)	Gilchrest
Bonner	Davis (FL)	Gillmor
Bono	Davis (IL)	Gingrey
Boozman	Davis (TN)	Gonzalez
Boswell	Davis, Jo Ann	Goode
Boucher	Davis, Tom	Goodlatte
Boyd	DeFazio	Gordon
Bradley (NH)	DeGette	Goss
Brady (PA)	Delahunt	Granger
Brady (TX)	DeLauro	Graves
Brown (OH)	DeLay	Green (TX)
Brown (SC)	DeMint	Green (WI)
Brown, Corrine	Deutsch	Greenwood
Brown-Waite,	Diaz-Balart, L.	Grijalva
Ginny	Diaz-Balart, M.	Gutierrez

Gutknecht
Hall
Harman
Harris
Hastings (FL)
Hastings (WA)
Hayes
Hayworth
Hensarling
Herger
Hill
Hinchey
Hinojosa
Hobson
Hoeffel
Hoekstra
Holden
Holt
Honda
Hooley (OR)
Houghton
Hoyer
Hunter
Inslee
Isakson
Israel
Issa
Jackson (IL)
Jackson-Lee
(TX)
Janklow
Jefferson
Jenkins
John
Johnson (CT)
Johnson (IL)
Johnson, E. B.
Johnson, Sam
Jones (NC)
Jones (OH)
Kanjorski
Kaptur
Keller
Kelly
Kennedy (MN)
Kennedy (RI)
Kildee
Kilpatrick
Kind
King (IA)
King (NY)
Kirk
Klecza
Kline
Knollenberg
Kucinich
LaHood
Lampson
Langevin
Lantos
Larsen (WA)
Larson (CT)
Latham
LaTourette
Leach
Lee
Levin
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (GA)
Lewis (KY)
Linder
Lipinski
LoBiondo
Lofgren
Lowey
Lucas (KY)
Lucas (OK)
Lynch
Majette
Maloney
Manzullo
Markey
Marshall
Matheson
Matsui

McCarthy (NY)
McCollum
McCotter
McCrery
McDermott
McGovern
McHugh
McIntyre
McKeon
McNulty
Meehan
Meek (FL)
Meeks (NY)
Menendez
Michaud
Millender-
McDonald
Miller (MI)
Miller (NC)
Miller, Gary
Miller, George
Mollohan
Moore
Moran (KS)
Moran (VA)
Murphy
Murtha
Musgrave
Myrick
Nadler
Napolitano
Neal (MA)
Nethercutt
Ney
Northup
Nunes
Nussle
Obey
Oliver
Ortiz
Osborne
Ose
Owens
Oxley
Pallone
Pascarell
Pastor
Payne
Pearce
Pelosi
Pence
Peterson (MN)
Peterson (PA)
Petri
Pickering
Pitts
Platts
Pombo
Pomeroy
Porter
Portman
Price (NC)
Pryce (OH)
Putnam
Quinn
Radanovich
Rahall
Ramstad
Rangel
Regula
Rehberg
Renzi
Reyes
Reynolds
Rodriguez
Rogers (AL)
Rogers (KY)
Rogers (MI)
Rohrabacher
Ros-Lehtinen
Ross
Rothman
Roybal-Allard
Ruppersberger
Rush

Ryan (OH)
Ryan (WI)
Ryun (KS)
Sabo
Sanchez, Linda
T.
Sanchez, Loretta
Sanders
Sandlin
Saxton
Schakowsky
Schiff
Schrock
Scott (GA)
Scott (VA)
Sensenbrenner
Serrano
Sessions
Shaw
Shays
Sherman
Sherwood
Shimkus
Shuster
Simpson
Skelton
Slaughter
Smith (MI)
Smith (NJ)
Smith (TX)
Smith (WA)
Snyder
Solis
Spratt
Stark
Stearns
Stenholm
Strickland
Stupak
Sullivan
Sweeney
Tancredo
Tanner
Tauscher
Tauzin
Taylor (MS)
Terry
Thompson (CA)
Thompson (MS)
Thornberry
Tiahrt
Tiberi
Tierney
Towns
Turner (OH)
Turner (TX)
Udall (CO)
Udall (NM)
Upton
Van Hollen
Velazquez
Visclosky
Vitter
Walsh
Wamp
Waters
Watson
Watt
Waxman
Weiner
Weldon (PA)
Weller
Wexler
Whitfield
Wicker
Wilson (NM)
Wilson (SC)
Wolf
Woolsey
Wu
Wynn
Young (AK)
Young (FL)

McCarthy (MO)
McInnis
Mica

Oberstar
Simmons
Souder

Walden (OR)

Bradley (NH)
Brady (PA)
Brady (TX)
Brown (OH)
Brown (SC)
Brown, Corrine
Brown-Waite,
Ginny
Burgess
Burns
Burr
Burton (IN)
Buyer
Calvert
Camp
Cannon
Cantor
Capito
Capps
Capuano
Cardin
Cardoza
Carson (IN)
Carson (OK)
Carter
Case
Castle
Chabot
Chocola
Clay
Clyburn
Coble
Cole
Collins
Conyers
Cooper
Costello
Cox
Cramer
Crane
Crenshaw
Cubin
Culberson
Cummings
Cunningham
Davis (AL)
Davis (CA)
Davis (FL)
Davis (IL)
Davis (TN)
Davis, Jo Ann
Davis, Tom
Deal (GA)
DeFazio
DeGette
Delahunt
DeLauro
DeLay
DeMint
Deutsch
Diaz-Balart, L.
Diaz-Balart, M.
Dicks
Dingell
Doggett
Dooley (CA)
Doolittle
Doyle
Dreier
Duncan
Dunn
Edwards
Ehlers
Emanuel
Emerson
Engel
English
Eshoo
Etheridge
Evans
Everett
Farr
Fattah
Feeney
Ferguson
Filner
Flake
Fletcher
Foley
Forbes
Ford
Fossella
Frank (MA)
Franks (AZ)
Frelinghuysen
Frost

Galleghy
Garrett (NJ)
Gerlach
Gibbons
Gilchrest
Gillmor
Gingrey
Gonzalez
Goode
Goodlatte
Gordon
Goss
Granger
Graves
Green (TX)
Green (WI)
Greenwood
Grijalva
Gutierrez
Gutknecht
Hall
Harman
Harris
Hart
Hastings (FL)
Hastings (WA)
Hayes
Hayworth
Hefley
Hensarling
Herger
Hill
Hinchey
Hinojosa
Hobson
Hoeffel
Hoekstra
Holden
Holt
Honda
Hooley (OR)
Hostettler
Houghton
Hoyer
Hunter
Inslee
Isakson
Israel
Issa
Istook
Jackson (IL)
Jackson-Lee
(TX)
Janklow
Jefferson
Jenkins
John
Johnson (CT)
Johnson (IL)
Johnson, E. B.
Johnson, Sam
Jones (NC)
Jones (OH)
Kanjorski
Kaptur
Keller
Kelly
Kennedy (MN)
Kennedy (RI)
Kildee
Kilpatrick
Kind
King (IA)
King (NY)
Kingston
Kirk
Klecza
Kline
Knollenberg
Kolbe
Kucinich
LaHood
Lampson
Langevin
Lantos
Larsen (WA)
Larson (CT)
Latham
LaTourette
Leach
Lee
Levin
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (GA)
Lewis (KY)
Linder

Lipinski
LoBiondo
Lofgren
Lowey
Lucas (KY)
Lucas (OK)
Lynch
Majette
Maloney
Manzullo
Markey
Marshall
Matheson
Matsui
McCarthy (NY)
McCollum
McCotter
McCrery
McDermott
McGovern
McHugh
McIntyre
McKeon
McNulty
Meehan
Meek (FL)
Meeks (NY)
Menendez
Mica
Michaud
Millender-
McDonald
Miller (FL)
Miller (MI)
Miller (NC)
Miller, Gary
Mollohan
Moore
Moran (KS)
Moran (VA)
Murphy
Murtha
Musgrave
Myrick
Nadler
Napolitano
Neal (MA)
Nethercutt
Ney
Northup
Norwood
Nunes
Nussle
Obey
Oliver
Ortiz
Osborne
Ose
Otter
Owens
Oxley
Pallone
Pascarell
Pastor
Paul
Payne
Pearce
Pelosi
Pence
Peterson (MN)
Peterson (PA)
Petri
Pickering
Pitts
Platts
Pombo
Pomeroy
Porter
Portman
Price (NC)
Pryce (OH)
Putnam
Radanovich
Rahall
Ramstad
Rangel
Regula
Rehberg
Renzi
Reyes
Reynolds
Rodriguez
Rogers (AL)
Rogers (KY)
Rogers (MI)
Rohrabacher

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE
The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LATOURETTE) (during the vote). Members are advised that approximately 2 minutes remain in this vote.

□ 1551

Messrs. KOLBE, SHADEGG, CAN-
NON, PAUL, MILLER of Florida,
DEAL of Georgia, NORWOOD,
CULBERSON, ROYCE, KINGSTON,
TAYLOR of North Carolina, FRANKS
of Arizona, WELDON of Florida,
HEFLEY, and BURGESS, and Ms.
HART changed their vote from "yea"
to "nay."

Mr. PENCE changed his vote from
"nay" to "yea."

So the motion to instruct was agreed
to.

The result of the vote was announced
as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on
the table.

Stated for:

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 95,
had I been present, I would have voted "yea."

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr.
LATOURETTE). Without objection, the
Chair appoints the following conferees:

For consideration of the House con-
current resolution and the Senate
amendment, and modifications com-
mitted to conference: Messrs. NUSSLE,
SHAYS, and SPRATT.

There was no objection.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursu-
ant to clause 8 of rule XX, the remain-
der of this series will be conducted as 5-
minute votes.

HIGHER EDUCATION RELIEF OP- PORTUNITIES FOR STUDENTS ACT OF 2003

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The
pending business is the question of sus-
pending the rules and passing the bill,
H.R. 1412.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The
question is on the motion offered by
the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr.
KLINE) that the House suspend the
rules and pass the bill, H.R. 1412, on
which the yeas and nays are ordered.

This will be a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic de-
vice, and there were—yeas 421, nays 1,
not voting 12, as follows:

[Roll No. 96]

YEAS—421

Abercrombie
Ackerman
Aderholt
Akin
Alexander
Allen
Andrews
Baca
Bachus
Baird
Baker
Baldwin
Ballance
Ballenger

Barrett (SC)
Bartlett (MD)
Barton (TX)
Bass
Beauprez
Becerra
Bell
Bereuter
Berkley
Berman
Berry
Biggert
Bilirakis
Bishop (GA)

Bishop (NY)
Bishop (UT)
Blackburn
Blumenauer
Blunt
Boehlert
Boehner
Bonilla
Bonner
Bono
Boozman
Boswell
Boucher
Boyd

Burgess
Burns
Burr
Burton (IN)
Buyer
Calvert
Camp
Cannon
Cantor
Capito
Capps
Capuano
Cardin
Cardoza
Carson (IN)
Carson (OK)
Carter
Case
Castle
Chabot
Chocola
Clay
Clyburn
Coble
Cole
Collins
Conyers
Cooper
Costello
Cox
Cramer
Crane
Crenshaw
Cubin
Culberson
Cummings
Cunningham
Davis (AL)
Davis (CA)
Davis (FL)
Davis (IL)
Davis (TN)
Davis, Jo Ann
Davis, Tom
Deal (GA)
DeFazio
DeGette
Delahunt
DeLauro
DeLay
DeMint
Deutsch
Diaz-Balart, L.
Diaz-Balart, M.
Dicks
Dingell
Doggett
Dooley (CA)
Doolittle
Doyle
Dreier
Duncan
Dunn
Edwards
Ehlers
Emanuel
Emerson
Engel
English
Eshoo
Etheridge
Evans
Everett
Farr
Fattah
Feeney
Ferguson
Filner
Flake
Fletcher
Foley
Forbes
Ford
Fossella
Frank (MA)
Franks (AZ)
Frelinghuysen
Frost

Galleghy
Garrett (NJ)
Gerlach
Gibbons
Gilchrest
Gillmor
Gingrey
Gonzalez
Goode
Goodlatte
Gordon
Goss
Granger
Graves
Green (TX)
Green (WI)
Greenwood
Grijalva
Gutierrez
Gutknecht
Hall
Harman
Harris
Hart
Hastings (FL)
Hastings (WA)
Hayes
Hayworth
Hefley
Hensarling
Herger
Hill
Hinchey
Hinojosa
Hobson
Hoeffel
Hoekstra
Holden
Holt
Honda
Hooley (OR)
Hostettler
Houghton
Hoyer
Hunter
Inslee
Isakson
Israel
Issa
Istook
Jackson (IL)
Jackson-Lee
(TX)
Janklow
Jefferson
Jenkins
John
Johnson (CT)
Johnson (IL)
Johnson, E. B.
Johnson, Sam
Jones (NC)
Jones (OH)
Kanjorski
Kaptur
Keller
Kelly
Kennedy (MN)
Kennedy (RI)
Kildee
Kilpatrick
Kind
King (IA)
King (NY)
Kingston
Kirk
Klecza
Kline
Knollenberg
Kolbe
Kucinich
LaHood
Lampson
Langevin
Lantos
Larsen (WA)
Larson (CT)
Latham
LaTourette
Leach
Lee
Levin
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (GA)
Lewis (KY)
Linder

Lipinski
LoBiondo
Lofgren
Lowey
Lucas (KY)
Lucas (OK)
Lynch
Majette
Maloney
Manzullo
Markey
Marshall
Matheson
Matsui
McCarthy (NY)
McCollum
McCotter
McCrery
McDermott
McGovern
McHugh
McIntyre
McKeon
McNulty
Meehan
Meek (FL)
Meeks (NY)
Menendez
Mica
Michaud
Millender-
McDonald
Miller (FL)
Miller (MI)
Miller (NC)
Miller, Gary
Mollohan
Moore
Moran (KS)
Moran (VA)
Murphy
Murtha
Musgrave
Myrick
Nadler
Napolitano
Neal (MA)
Nethercutt
Ney
Northup
Norwood
Nunes
Nussle
Obey
Oliver
Ortiz
Osborne
Ose
Otter
Owens
Oxley
Pallone
Pascarell
Pastor
Paul
Payne
Pearce
Pelosi
Pence
Peterson (MN)
Peterson (PA)
Petri
Pickering
Pitts
Platts
Pombo
Pomeroy
Porter
Portman
Price (NC)
Pryce (OH)
Putnam
Radanovich
Rahall
Ramstad
Rangel
Regula
Rehberg
Renzi
Reyes
Reynolds
Rodriguez
Rogers (AL)
Rogers (KY)
Rogers (MI)
Rohrabacher

NAYS—22

Burgess
Cannon
Culberson
Deal (GA)
Flake
Franks (AZ)
Hart
Hefley

Hostettler
Istook
Kingston
Kolbe
Miller (FL)
Norwood
Otter
Paul

Royce
Shadegg
Taylor (NC)
Thomas
Toomey
Weldon (FL)

NOT VOTING—13

Combest
Crowley

Foley
Gephardt

Hulshof
Hyde