

Americans are pulling together, donating to relief organizations and giving their time to help the people of the Gulf coast region. That is how the American people react when they see their fellow citizens in need. Unfortunately, some people have looked at Katrina not as a chance to give, but as an opportunity for excessive profits. Some have decided to take this terrible tragedy and line their own pockets by price gouging the American people at the gas pump.

At a time when many Americans are choosing between filling their gas tanks or filling their prescriptions, oil companies are reaping record profits. People are rightly angry and frustrated with high gas prices, and they deserve to have someone on their side fighting to ensure that they do not get mugged at the gas pump. Sadly, this administration's answer has been to sit on its hands while consumers get the shake-down from the oil companies.

Eight governors, including Governor Granholm of Michigan, sent a letter to the President and Senate and House leadership urging Congress to act immediately by putting forth legislation that would return excessive, unconscionable collected profits to the consumers. As the governor stated, and I quote, "To price gouge consumers under normal circumstances is dishonest enough, but to make money off the severe misfortune of others is downright immoral."

It is obvious to me that Congress needs to protect the American people from price gouging and market manipulations. The Democratic bill, free from price gouging, is the Federal Response to Energy Emergencies bill. The FREE bill, as we call it, as authored by myself, the gentlewoman from South Dakota (Ms. HERSETH), and the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. ETHERIDGE) is our answer to our Nation's record high gas prices and oil prices.

If you look at this chart right here, from 2002 when gas was \$1.34 a gallon, all the way up to September 12, 2005, where it is up to \$2.96, that more than double. Just take it from 2004, when gas was \$1.58. It has doubled in less than a year.

Currently, only 28 States have laws on the books that define price gouging and that have enforcement mechanisms to go after those found ripping off consumers. At the Federal level, there is no oversight to protect consumers from this predatory pricing. That is why we need our legislation now, the "free from price gouging" legislation. No American should have to pay too much for gas because oil companies are rigging prices.

Our bill would give the President authority to take immediate action in the face of an energy crisis by declaring a national energy emergency. Under our bill, for the first time ever, the Federal Government would have a guideline, a definition of price gouging. Our bill would also provide the FTC, the Federal Trade Commission and the

Department of Justice with the authority to investigate and prosecute those that engage in predatory pricing, from oil companies all the way down to the local gas stations, with an emphasis on those who profit the most. This includes the gouging of gasoline, home heating oil, propane, and natural gas.

Our legislation expands the FTC's authority to more aggressively pursue instances of market manipulation, such as geographic price setting and territorial restrictions imposed by refineries.

If we look at the second chart, Mr. Speaker, which appeared this weekend in *The Washington Post*, just look at what has happened in 1 year. As of September 5, 2005 of this year, from last September, we see a 46 percent increase from the crude oil producer; a 255 percent increase at the refinery level; a 5 percent increase for distributors and retailers, and taxes remain at 2 cents difference, with a 64-cent increase to the consumer. This is price manipulation. This is the market setting not the price, but the opportunity to manipulate and, as they call it, to game the system.

So with our legislation, we want not only to stop price gouging, but also we want transparency. How does the consumer know when he is being charged a fair price for oil and gas when you see statistics like this? How is the price set? That is what the American people want to know. They want to make sure they are not being gouged or unduly taken advantage of by the oil companies, or the refineries in this case.

Our bill empowers the Federal Government to impose tough civil penalties up to triple the damages of all excessive profits of oil companies that have cheated consumers. It also imposes tough criminal penalties of up to \$100 million on corporations, and fines of up to \$1 million plus jail sentences of up to 10 years for individuals caught in manipulating the price of gas, home heating oil, or natural gas.

This bill would provide relief to those paying skyrocketing energy and transportation costs and it would expand the Low-Income Home Energy Assistance Program through fines for those caught price gouging.

Our bill would protect consumers from unfair gas prices and punish those who think the time of a tragedy is the right time to rob Americans of their hard-earned money. It is the right thing to do for consumers and for our Nation. I urge support of the free from price gouging bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BURTON) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. BURTON of Indiana addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN ACT REAUTHORIZATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 2005, the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. GINNY BROWN-WAITE) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Ms. GINNY BROWN-WAITE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, it is often said by politicians of both parties that Members of Congress must act with compassion and legislate from the heart. It is my strong and fervent belief that there are few pieces of legislation that this body will consider that are more relevant to the hearts and souls of our constituents than the passage of the Violence Against Women Act.

I have looked into the eyes of women beaten by men. Those women thought that that person was their partner for life, their soulmate and their lover. I have seen the pain and rejection and the hurt on their faces as these women struggle to recover their dignity and their strength.

I have spent a great deal of my public life being involved in raising money for domestic violence shelters. In the small county where I lived and was first a county commissioner, I raised money, because I saw the need. I was involved in the board of the domestic violence shelter. For years, the Founding Fathers of the county, the power brokers, were in denial that domestic violence actually occurred in the county. When I finally got elected to the Florida State Senate, I fought long and hard to get funding for domestic violence shelters so that women and their children would have a place to go.

The purpose of this hour this evening is to highlight the Violence Against Women Act, which was first passed in 1994 and which will be on the House floor tomorrow. Before I go into any more detail, however, I would like to yield to my colleague, the gentlewoman from West Virginia (Mrs. CAPITO), a woman with whom I have worked closely over the 3 short years I have been here on issues affecting women and the former Chair of the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues.

Mrs. CAPITO. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. GINNY BROWN-WAITE) for yielding to me, and for her steadfast support of women's issues, and particularly the reauthorization of the Violence Against Women Act. She has been a leader in this area and, as she said, she legislates from the heart on this issue. I appreciate her and all of the bipartisanship that has been shown in the reauthorization of this bill.

In the 5 years since the Violence Against Women Act of 2000 was enacted, we have made remarkable gains towards stopping domestic and sexual violence. But the Violence Against Women Act is due to expire at the close of September and it is time for Congress to renew its commitment.

Since its inception in 1994, VAWA funding has provided tremendous resources and protections for victims of domestic violence and sexual assault in my home State of West Virginia and nationally. Violence against women programs provide increased training for police, prosecutors, and court officials, and greatly improves the response of the criminal justice system to victims of domestic violence and sexual assault. These programs have been successful at providing victims with emergency shelters, hotlines, and supportive services.

In my hometown of Charleston, West Virginia, we have a domestic violence shelter that is run very well by the YWCA of Charleston, West Virginia. It is professional, it is safe, and it is that harbor for women and families who are subjected to the violence that occurs in so many of our families and in domestic situations.

Due to the Violence Against Women Act's worthy accomplishments, many more victims are now referred for services, and demand has steadily risen for the services provided by the grants. The Violence Against Women Act has helped transform the perception of domestic abuse as a situation that should be dealt with in the home. It has moved it to a serious crime that should be addressed in the courtroom. What used to be considered a family matter is now a crime. This bill is a crucial part of this perception change.

At issue now is more than just a reauthorization. Rather, Congress has an opportunity to make a statement by expanding and improving VAWA Acts passed in 1994 and 2000. This year's reauthorization builds on the successes, just what we want to see when we are reauthorizing legislation; to find out what is working, build on that, and remove those elements of a law that maybe are not working or not working as we had thought they might.

Reauthorization of VAWA will improve the help victims receive from the Department of Justice in several ways. One of its more important provisions gives grants to States to ensure victims have better access to trained attorneys and lay advocacy services, such as the one at the YWCA in Charleston, West Virginia. This means grief-stricken victims of violence, stalking and sexual assault will receive vital professional support in the moment they need it the most. This support can make all the difference in the time of tragedy.

Domestic violence, unfortunately, strikes everywhere, among the rich, the poor, within urban and rural communities. As a West Virginian, I have been especially sensitive to the needs of rural communities. That is why I am pleased that the reauthorization of VAWA will expand assistance to rural areas through amendments made to the rural domestic violence and child abuse enforcement assistance program. The Department of Justice is authorized to award 3-year grants for edu-

cation, training, and services to combat violence against women in rural areas.

All told, \$50 million in funding each year from 2006 to 2010 is authorized and will go to VAWA programs that address rural domestic violence, dating violence, and sexual assault. And when it comes to grants that address sexual assault, rural communities are guaranteed to receive a minimum of 25 percent of the funds allotted.

In addition, when we reauthorize VAWA, the Federal Government will be sending a strong message to the criminals who have committed violence against women. Reauthorization will permit the doubling of applicable penalties for repeat Federal domestic violence offenders.

This bill also addresses the accessibility of funding and program dollars for colleges. As the mother of a college student, a young woman college student, I know that the area of sexual assault and dating violence is something that is ever present on the mind of every mother of a young daughter in college.

□ 2000

So this bill recognizes that and will help strengthen our institutions to deal with this problem.

This October will be the 19th annual Domestic Violence Awareness Month. I cannot wait for the day we no longer need a month to recognize domestic violence. For years, we in Congress have told women that domestic violence is not their fault and is no cause for shame. I believe we have the opportunity this year to redouble our efforts, to say that domestic violence is not just the victim's problems, it is America's problems. That means we in Congress must demonstrate to all Americans that it is incumbent on us as a Nation to stop this violence.

This year, let us usher in Domestic Violence Awareness Month by reauthorizing the Violence Against Women Act.

Ms. GINNY BROWN-WAITE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from West Virginia (Mrs. CAPITO). Certainly hearing the story about the domestic violence shelter close to her home is one that many Members of Congress certainly can relate to, and I appreciate her sharing that with us tonight.

Whether the victim's name is Mary, Laurie, Kate, Stephanie or Florence, they are all victims. Let me tell about a woman I know who was a victim named Florence. She found herself pregnant at the age of 17. She went on to have several other relationships and a total of four children, all daughters. Those daughters grew up seeing their mother being a victim. These children believed that abuse was normal because all of Florence's partners were abusive. Three of her four daughters turned out to be victims or abusers themselves. It is true that children learn what they live.

Given that story and my background of advocacy for victims, I know how important it is for Congress to recognize that there are millions of Americans out there who have had similar harrowing experiences. I rise this evening to highlight the Violence Against Women Act, which we will be discussing on the floor tomorrow. VAWA, as it is commonly known, is landmark legislation that provides real solutions to reduce the incidence of violence against women.

Mr. Speaker, domestic violence affects our most vulnerable constituents: battered women and their families. I think that every Member of Congress has heard stories of women who wish to leave an abusive situation and face threats, severe physical harm, and in some cases even death. Evidence suggests that the past incarnations of VAWA have been effective in reducing the violence.

I am delighted to see that I am joined by a fellow Floridian this evening, the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. HARRIS).

Ms. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, today much attention is focused on our ability as a Nation to respond to the events, natural or unnatural, which have emerged on a visibly grand scale. Mother Nature's naked fury, clothed in hurricanes Katrina and Rita, exposed our vulnerability to her indiscriminate forces and its cruelty, but also its charity, exhibited by thousands of citizens who reached out to the victims' grasping hands. We also continue to respond to terrorism by engaging in a vigilant battle against religious and ideological extremism at home and abroad.

No less vital to the security of our society is our response to the perniciously pervasive scourge of domestic violence. In 1994, this Congress recognized the threat posed by violence against women to the fabric of our society when it passed the Violence Against Women Act, VAWA.

Set to expire in October, I strongly support the reauthorization of VAWA, which has made a valuable contribution to declining rates of violent crime. Yet it is not enough to simply herald the falling violent crimes rates for both males and females since 1984. It is not enough to celebrate the fact the number of total domestic violence cases in Florida started to decline in 1998 and, in 2004, fell a further 3.3 percent.

For the 119,772 Floridians who were victims of abuse or violence in 2004, statistics provide neither comfort nor shelter. By reauthorizing and reinforcing the provision of VAWA, we demonstrate to those victims and their families that we have not lost focus or lost sight of them.

By strengthening the enforcement provisions of VAWA and by making it gender-neutral, I believe it will serve to protect not only women but all victims of domestic abuse and those who suffer its effects. The effects of domestic violence are neither discriminatory nor confined to the bruises of the body.

According to the Child Welfare League, between 3.3 million and 10 million children witness some form of violence in the home each year and children from violent homes exhibit more aggressive or delinquent behavior compared to their peers of nonviolent homes. Furthermore, it has been reported that between 50 and 70 percent of men who abuse their partners also abuse their children. And the cycle continues.

Tomorrow I will proudly lend my support to extending the lifeline VAWA provides to thousands of families and the community organizations which provide them safety and refuge each year. I will reaffirm my support for putting the full force of the law behind the enforcement of our criminal laws while placing my full faith in the families and communities this program serves.

I would also encourage my colleagues to offer the same support to language in the overall measure to prohibit the personal information of victims of domestic violence from being entered into the Homeless Management Information Systems Database. This would permit the use of nonpersonally identifying information for data collection and statistical purposes while safeguarding the identities of women who are most vulnerable to the violence and often dangerous ramifications of reporting domestic abuse. Our Nation faces many challenges, but few are more important than providing shelter for the body and hope for the soul.

Ms. GINNY BROWN-WAITE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. HARRIS). She and I worked together on both funding issues and strengthening Florida's laws to protect the victims and to make sure that the perpetrators were swiftly and adequately punished for their deeds.

She cited the rate of violence against females declining between 1993 and 2004. It has declined and we are glad that that occurred. However, until the violence is entirely wiped out, I do not think there is a person in this body on either side of the aisle who will rest.

Too many people continue to be abused and victimized by family members whom they should be able to trust. Before we voted this evening, I spoke to a person in Tallahassee who confided about the abuse that the daughters in the family sustained. When you realize it has absolutely no economic boundaries, that it happens in the best of families, the wealthiest of families, those middle-class families and those families who are on the lower economic spectrum, you realize how pervasive, unfortunately, it is in our society.

A study was released by the U.S. Department of Justice in June 2005 that reports that roughly 22 percent of murders in 2002 were perpetrated by family members actually against family members. This study also shows that women are much more likely than men to be victims of domestic violence. In fact,

three-quarters of violence victims are female while three-quarters of domestic violence perpetrators are male. The study also found that family members are also responsible for the murders of an astounding 43 percent of female victims.

I think we can all agree that these statistics are totally unacceptable. Love should not hurt, nor should it kill innocent victims.

Sometimes we are in a grocery store or at an event and you come across a woman who you may see bruises on and a black eye, and there are some warning signs that I think every American should be looking for. Some of these warning signs are, for example, if the person's partner acts controlling and puts her down in front of others. That is one sign. Another sign is that he is extremely jealous of any attention she gets or perhaps she may get quiet when he is around and seem afraid of making him angry.

Your friend or the person that you may know casually may become increasingly isolated and is seeing less and less of friends and family. Your friend may cancel plans at the very last minute. The perpetrator may also control her finances and her behavior and also her social life. You sometimes see him violently lose his temper, striking or breaking objects. Sometimes she has unexplained injuries or the explanations she offers just do not add up. Sometimes she has mentioned violent behavior that she has experienced, but she kind of laughs it off.

When I am back in the district, I carry a card with me that gives the telephone number of the domestic violence shelter. I will give it to people when I suspect a case of domestic violence. No one has ever been embarrassed that I gave it to them. Some women just quietly and discreetly tuck it in their purse, and I can only pray that they use it at a later time. We are fortunate that we do have some excellent domestic violence shelters in Florida. They are run very, very well. Of course, they are always running low on money, especially around the holiday times because that is when the domestic violence has a tendency to increase as a result of the stresses of the holidays. Very often those domestic violence shelters can use financial support from members of the community.

Over the last 10 years, we have learned from VAWA what methods are effective in combating violence against women. That learning process is why VAWA of 2005 not only reauthorizes the effective provisions of the existing law but it adds some new provisions to strengthen and improve the law.

VAWA 2005 incorporates the best practices of States and expert opinions. The provisions in this new bill include new grants for court training and improvements. This program improves the court's response to adult youth and minor domestic violence, dating violence, sexual assault, and also stalking cases. There is a provision for access to

justice for teens. This program encourages crosstraining and collaboration between the courts, domestic violence and sexual assault service providers, youth organizations, violence prevention programs, and law enforcement agencies so they may establish and implement policies serving youths age 12 to 24.

□ 2015

There are additionally in this excellent legislation new penalties for stalking violations. The measure strengthens anti-stalking laws by including stalking over the Internet to the current list of violations and doubles the prison sentence for repeat offenders of interstate domestic violence violations. Interstate violation of protection orders or interstate stalking violations. Certainly, the Internet can be used these days to benefit a stalker and this portion of the legislation is long overdue. The national stalker database is also reauthorized through 2010.

VAWA reauthorizes grants to combat violent crimes on campuses. So many times we hear of young women who go away to college who are the victims of date rape. Additionally, VAWA 2005 creates new grant programs aimed at mitigating the effects on children exposed to domestic violence, dating violence, sexual assault, and stalking.

A while ago, I mentioned the story about Florence, who had four children and who was always in abusive relationships, and how three of her four children ended up being either an abuser or a victim. It is important to remember that children who experience this phenomena of domestic violence in their childhood often think that this is normal. Clearly the majority of families know that this is abnormal, that this is not the way that families should get along or that children should be treated or that children be exposed to this violence.

In order to continue the learning process, VAWA 2005 requires a government accountability office, or GAO, as most people know it as, study to determine the extent to which men, women, youth, and children are victims of domestic violence, dating violence, sexual assault, and stalking. The report also should examine the availability of shelter, counseling, legal representation, and all other services to all victims.

I, today, submitted an amendment to the Violence Against Women Act also calling for a study to be done correlating the instance of perpetrator's abuse of substance, whether it is alcohol or whether it is drug abuse, and the fact that he was a violent person and committed a violent act on a woman. I know in Florida we did such a study, and we were amazed that the very strong correlation was there. I think once we are armed with this information, we will be able to provide a lot more funding and assistance for drug prevention and alcoholism treatment programs and not just throwing money

at the issue, but supporting those programs which truly are effective, not those that just take the money and have no efficacy to them.

Mr. Speaker, as the Members can see from these new programs highlighted here tonight, this VAWA reauthorization is a step forward for victims of domestic violence as well as their families and loved ones. It is frustrating for policymakers to know that we cannot just wave a magic wand and eradicate violence in our society. Yet, Mr. Speaker, it is comforting to know that there are wonderfully generous people who dedicate their careers to making the lives of their fellow man better.

I have been privileged to personally witness the generosity of spirit at the Dawn Center, a domestic violence shelter in my district. I also regularly visit the one in Pasco County. The Dawn Center happens to be in Hernando County, and Sunrise is in Pasco County.

I will tell the Members a little bit about the director of Sunrise, whom I have known for about 18 years now. Penny was a nurse, and certainly as part of her training being a nurse, as nurses tend to be very caring and very nurturing, she learned that there was an opening as the director of Sunrise and applied for the directorship. Penny has risen in the ranks of directors of domestic violence shelters over the years to be one of the absolute premier shelter directors. She is innovative, she has fundraisers in the community which are fun. This past weekend, as a matter of fact, she had a lobster bake where they sold tickets and had lobsters flown in from Maine so that they could have a really upscale party to raise funds and also raise awareness for domestic violence and the need for the shelters.

Penny is certainly indicative of the commitment that many people make once they enter into the field of being a staff person or a director or a counselor or a caseworker at a domestic violence shelter.

The domestic violence shelters throughout our Nation depend a lot on State and Federal moneys for their support. In addition, certainly they are great at fundraising in the community. It seems like every maybe 4, 5 months, I get a solicitation letter from one of the domestic violence shelters.

I would ask the viewing public that as the holidays approach, that they remember the domestic violence shelters. Government cannot do it all, and to remember that the violence does escalate during time of the holidays. So having a generous spirit of the public who can afford to help these centers is a very important.

My husband was a law enforcement officer for over 20 years, and years ago a domestic violence call was one that too many times law enforcement officers kind of did a wink and a nod at. Why? Because too many times women were forced into changing their mind the next day, or when the law enforce-

ment officer got there, they would say do not press charges because they were stay at home moms and realized that if he spent a couple of nights in jail, he might very well lose his job.

Thankfully, we have come a long way from that time and domestic violence is no longer given a wink and a nod by law enforcement. As a matter of fact, I am very proud to say that in most of the counties I represent, the sheriffs' offices actually have a member of their staff, if not the sheriff or first deputy, actually serving on the boards of the domestic violence shelters. This is a message that is being sent, and that message is a strong one. That message is that law enforcement is serious about cracking down on those who would perpetrate harm on women and children. That cycle of abuse, unless it is stopped, unless women have a place to go to with their children, unless the Violence Against Women Act is reauthorized, women and children certainly will be in jeopardy.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I want to remind Members that domestic violence is not just a man against woman phenomenon. When a man hits a woman or a woman hits a man, oftentimes it is the lasting impression of that violence that affects the children and the young adults that are witness to the abuse. Studies show that young men exposed to domestic abuse are more likely to be abusers themselves in the future.

As a matter of fact, I counseled a young woman to that very effect. I knew her family, and I said to her, "I know you did not grow up in this kind of a violent situation and you have sons. Why would you want your sons to grow up to be abusers? Because if they see your husband abusing you, they are going to think that that is okay, and that cycle of abuse will never stop."

She sought counseling. She ended up turning this marriage around, and her husband received extensive counseling. Thankfully, that was a success story where the abuse did stop. And he also taught his sons that abuse is wrong and that he was man enough to say, hey, I was absolutely wrong in what I did.

This vicious cycle is one that can be combated, Mr. Speaker, effectively through education, support networks, increased law enforcement programs, and family counseling programs.

Mr. Speaker, once again, I would urge my colleagues to support the reauthorization of the Violence Against Women Act.

□ 2030

RECESS

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

Accordingly (at 8 o'clock and 31 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

□ 2139

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. DREIER) at 9 o'clock and 39 minutes p.m.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 3402, DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE APPROPRIATIONS AUTHORIZATION ACT, FISCAL YEARS 2006 THROUGH 2009

Mr. GINGREY, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 109-236) on the resolution (H. Res. 462) providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 3402) to authorize appropriations for the Department of Justice for fiscal years 2006 through 2009, and for other purposes, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. CARDIN (at the request of Ms. PELOSI) for today.

Ms. HARMAN (at the request of Ms. PELOSI) for today and the balance of the week on account of official business.

Ms. MCKINNEY (at the request of Ms. PELOSI) for today on account of official business in the district.

Mr. MENENDEZ (at the request of Ms. PELOSI) for today.

Mr. RYAN of Ohio (at the request of Ms. PELOSI) for today before 7:00 p.m. on account of attending the funeral for the son of a district staff member.

Mr. GRIJALVA (at the request of Ms. PELOSI) for today.

Mr. CULBERSON (at the request of Mr. DELAY) for today and September 28 on account of business in the district.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Ms. WOOLSEY) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mrs. MCCARTHY, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. DEFAZIO, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. WOOLSEY, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. STUPAK, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. OSBORNE) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. OSBORNE, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. POE, for 5 minutes, September 28.

Mr. JONES of North Carolina, for 5 minutes, September 29.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN, for 5 minutes, today.