

The irony of the situation is that under existing law affluent debtors in a number of states are allowed to keep homes of unlimited value. Should we punish the remaining older Americans twice—for having to file for personal bankruptcy under either Chapter 7 or 13, and to lose what often is their only remaining retirement asset?

We urge Members of the Senate to provide this modest bankruptcy relief for older Americans. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me, or call Roy Green of our Federal Affairs staff at 202-434-3800.

Sincerely,

DAVID CERTNER,  
Director, *Federal Affairs*.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. President, Senator FEINGOLD has been very alert to the issues of this bill, and he has contributed to this legislation. We have agreed some and disagreed some. We have had a lot of fun discussing the issues, and I know I have learned a good bit from it.

Let me say, frankly, where we are on homestead. That has been an intensely debated matter for 8 years. We have reached a compromise on how to handle homestead, and rather than cracking down on the abuses of those people who move to States with unlimited homesteads, we basically have agreed as a Senate that the States get to decide how much should be exempted under the bankruptcy law. In other words, each State gets to decide.

States need to begin to think about what their limits are and whether they need to change them. The Senator noted that California has raised its exemption for a home. Others will probably do the same, and some have already done so.

It threatens this legislation in a fundamental way if we now go in and say we are going to override the State laws about what the homestead exemption should be. I do not think we should do that. I think it could help kill this bill. I know Senator FEINGOLD is not a fan of it, and I do not think we should do this.

With regard to the abuses in the homestead legislation, we did put in language that cracked down on the ability of someone to move to a State that has a more favorable law and place an unlimited amount of equity into a very expensive home and file bankruptcy and be able to keep that equity which they could then reconvert to cash.

I think that is a problem. I would like to have seen this go farther, but we didn't make that, we didn't reach that bridge. It was a bridge too far. We failed to do that. It is one item in the bill I think we could have done better with, frankly.

I will say this. The exemption, fundamentally, should apply to everyone, 62 above or below, as far as I can see. A young family, I don't know why they would not need the same protections a senior would. Right now they all get the same. It is whatever the State decides.

So I would have to rise in objection to the Feingold amendment on the basis that it is contrary to the State prerogatives in this area, the State deference that we have given repeatedly over the years. It is contrary to that. It would be a Federal imposition of a homestead floor and it is contrary to a very fragile agreement we have reached in this body over what the homestead exemption should be. It could, in fact, jeopardize the successful passage of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Let me thank the Senator from Alabama, not only for his willingness to engage on the merits of this amendment, but for his willingness to engage on a number of difficult subjects, whether it be the homestead exemption or landlord-tenant issues. When the Senate takes up legislation, we typically start with a good discussion in committee, make some progress toward agreement, and then come to the floor. And when we go to the conference committee between the Houses, we also sometimes manage to come up with an agreement.

It is regrettable, through no fault of the Senator from Alabama, that in this case we are starting this process on the floor. I think had these amendments been taken seriously in committee, we could have found some common ground and not had to take up the time of the whole body, but this is where we are.

I do believe this amendment is a reasonable extension of something in which the Senator from Alabama is already involved. His principal concern about this amendment is apparently that we would be overriding State law in the area of homestead exemptions. But the Senator, as he has indicated, has been a party to an agreement that would do exactly that when it comes to the high end of homestead exemptions. It is not as if I picked a new area where I am suggesting that State laws are inadequate. What I am arguing is that if we are going to be dealing with some of these outrageous abuses of the bankruptcy system perpetrated by the very wealthy, let's also take the opportunity to make sure that the average senior citizen in this country, who desperately wants to protect their home and has to go into bankruptcy, has some minimum protection.

To me, this is not an extreme proposal. We only pass these bankruptcy bills once in a great while. As I understand it, the last one was passed in 1978. There clearly is a trend across the country in places like Maine and California, where legislators are recognizing that there is a special, severe problem for many of our seniors. I agree with the Senator from Alabama, it would be terrific if we could extend this protection to everybody. Perhaps that is something we should consider. But there is a particular problem when it comes to seniors, who have no way of making money anymore, and who are beset with unexpected medical bills,

whether it be prescription medicine or some other bills. They are stuck. They don't have any other way to save their home. This problem just cries out for a minimum Federal standard of the kind this amendment proposes.

I hope my colleagues consider this amendment. It is offered in good faith. It is not something that should in any way upset the overall bill because we have already engaged in a discussion about the changes that need to be made at the high end of the homestead exemption, and the bill already includes such a provision. So I ask my colleagues to give an independent and fresh look at this, given how important it is to senior constituents in every State of the Union.

I yield the floor.

#### RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the hour of 12:30 having arrived, the Senate will stand in recess until 2:15 p.m.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 12:30 p.m., recessed until 2:16 p.m. and reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. VOVINICH).

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In my capacity as a Senator from Ohio, I suggest the absence of a quorum. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from West Virginia.

#### UNLIMITED DEBATE IN THE SENATE

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, in 1939, one of the most famous American movies of all time, "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington," hit the box office. Initially received with a combination of lavish praise and angry blasts, the film went on to win numerous awards and to inspire millions around the globe. The director, the legendary Frank Capra, in his autobiography, "Frank Capra: The Name Above the Title," cites this moving review of the film, appearing in the Hollywood Reporter, November 4, 1942:

Frank Capra's "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington," chosen by French Theaters as the final English language film to be shown before the recent Nazi-ordered countrywide ban on American and British films went into effect, was roundly cheered. . . .

Storms of spontaneous applause broke out at the sequence when, under the Abraham Lincoln monument in the Capital, the word, "Liberty," appeared on the screen and the Stars and Stripes began fluttering over the head of the great Emancipator in the cause of liberty.

Similarly, cheers and acclamation punctuated the famous speech of the young senator on man's rights and dignity. "It was . . . as though the joys, suffering, love and hatred, the hopes and wishes of an entire people who value freedom above everything, found expression for the last time. . . ."

For those who may not have seen it, “Mr. Smith” is the fictional story of one young Senator’s crusade against forces of corruption and his lengthy filibuster—his lengthy filibuster—for the values he holds dear.

My, how things have changed. These days, Mr. Smith would be called an obstructionist. Rumor has it that there is a plot afoot to curtail the right of extended debate in this hallowed Chamber, not in accordance with its rules, mind you, but by fiat from the Chair—fiat from the Chair.

The so-called nuclear option—hear me—the so-called nuclear option—this morning I asked a man, What does nuclear option mean to you? He said: Oh, you mean with Iran? I was at the hospital a few days ago with my wife, and I asked a doctor, What does the nuclear option mean to you? He said: Well, that sounds like we’re getting ready to drop some device, some atomic device on North Korea.

Well, the so-called nuclear option purports to be directed solely at the Senate’s advice and consent prerogatives regarding Federal judges. But the claim that no right exists to filibuster judges aims an arrow straight at the heart of the Senate’s long tradition of unlimited debate.

The Framers of the Constitution envisioned the Senate as a kind of executive council, a small body of legislators, featuring longer terms, designed to insulate Members from the passions of the day.

The Senate was to serve as a check on the executive branch, particularly in the areas of appointments and treaties, where, under the Constitution, the Senate passes judgment absent the House of Representatives.

James Madison wanted to grant the Senate the power to select judicial appointees with the Executive relegated to the sidelines. But a compromise brought the present arrangement: appointees selected by the Executive, with the advice and consent of the Senate confirmed. Note—hear me again—note that nowhere in the Constitution of the United States is a vote on appointments mandated.

When it comes to the Senate, numbers can deceive. The Senate was never intended to be a majoritarian body. That was the role of the House of Representatives, with its membership based on the populations of States. The Great Compromise of July 16, 1787, satisfied the need for smaller States to have equal status in one House of Congress, the Senate. The Senate, with its two Members per State, regardless of population, is, then, the forum of the States.

Indeed, in the last Congress—get this—in the last Congress 52 Members, a majority, representing the 26 smallest States, accounted for just 17.06 percent of the U.S. population. Let me say that again. Fifty-two Members, a majority, representing the 26 smallest States—two Senators per State—accounted for just 17.06 percent of the

U.S. population. In other words, a majority in the Senate does not necessarily represent a majority of the population of the United States.

The Senate is intended for deliberation. The Senate is intended for deliberation, not point scoring. The Senate is a place designed, from its inception, as expressive of minority views. Even 60 Senators, the number required under Senate rule XXII for cloture, would represent just 24 percent of the population if they happened to all hail from the 30 smallest States.

So you can see what it means to the smallest States in these United States to be able to stand on this floor and debate, to their utmost, until their feet will no longer hold them, and their lungs of brass will no longer speak, in behalf of their States, in behalf of a minority, in behalf of an issue that affects vitally their constituents.

Unfettered debate, the right to be heard at length, is the means by which we perpetuate the equality of the States. In fact, it was 1917, before any curtailing of debate was attempted, which means that from 1789 to 1917, there were 129 years; in other words, it means also that from 1806 to 1917, some 111 years, the Senate rejected any limits to debate. Democracy flourished along with the filibuster. The first actual cloture rule in 1917 was enacted in response to a filibuster by those people who opposed the arming of merchant ships. Some might say they opposed U.S. intervention in World War I, but to narrow it down, they opposed the arming of merchant ships.

But even after its enactment, the Senate was slow to embrace cloture, understanding the pitfalls of muzzling debate. In 1949, the 1917 cloture rule was modified to make cloture more difficult to invoke, not less, mandating that the number needed to stop debate would be not two-thirds of those present and voting but two-thirds of all Senators elected and sworn. Indeed, from 1919 to 1962, the Senate voted on cloture petitions only 27 times and invoked cloture just 4 times over those 43 years.

On January 4, 1957, Senator William Ezra Jenner of Indiana spoke in opposition to invoking cloture by majority vote. He stated with great conviction:

We may have a duty to legislate, but we also have a duty to inform and deliberate. In the past quarter century we have seen a phenomenal growth in the power of the executive branch. If this continues at such a fast pace, our system of checks and balances will be destroyed. One of the main bulwarks against this growing power is free debate in the Senate . . . So long as there is free debate, men of courage and understanding will rise to defend against potential dictators . . . The Senate today is one place where, no matter what else may exist, there is still a chance to be heard, an opportunity to speak, the duty to examine, and the obligation to protect. It is one of the few refuges of democracy. Minorities have an illustrious past, full of suffering, torture, smear, and even death. Jesus Christ was killed by a majority; Columbus was smeared; and Christians have been tortured. Had the United States Senate

existed during those trying times, I am sure that these people would have found an advocate. Nowhere else can any political, social, or religious group, finding itself under sustained attack, receive a better refuge.

Senator Jenner was right. The Senate was deliberately conceived to be what he called “a better refuge,” meaning one styled as guardian of the rights of the minority. The Senate is the “watchdog” because majorities can be wrong and filibusters can highlight injustices. History is full of examples.

In March 1911, Senator Robert Owen of Oklahoma filibustered the New Mexico statehood bill, arguing that Arizona should also be allowed to become a State. President Taft opposed the inclusion of Arizona’s statehood in the bill because Arizona’s State constitution allowed the recall of judges. Arizona attained statehood a year later, at least in part because Senator Owen and the minority took time to make their point the year before.

In 1914, a Republican minority led a 10-day filibuster of a bill that would have appropriated more than \$50,000,000 for rivers and harbors. On an issue near and dear to the hearts of our current majority, Republican opponents spoke until members of the Commerce Committee agreed to cut the appropriations by more than half.

Perhaps more directly relevant to our discussion of the “nuclear option” are the 7 days in 1937, from July 6 to 13 of that year, when the Senate blocked Franklin Roosevelt’s Supreme Court-packing plan—one of my favorite presidents.

Earlier that year, in February 1937, FDR sent the Congress a bill drastically reorganizing the judiciary. The Senate Judiciary Committee rejected the bill, calling it “an invasion of judicial power such as has never before been attempted in this country” and finding it “essential to the continuance of our constitutional democracy that the judiciary be completely independent of both the executive and legislative branches of the Government.” The committee recommended the rejection of the court-packing bill, calling it “a needless, futile, and utterly dangerous abandonment of constitutional principle . . . without precedent and without justification.”

What followed was an extended debate on the Senate floor lasting for 7 days until the majority leader, Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas, a supporter of the plan, suffered a heart attack and died on July 14. Eight days later, by a vote of 70 to 20, the Senate sent the judicial reform bill back to committee, where FDR’s controversial, court-packing language was finally stripped. A determined, vocal group of Senators properly prevented a powerful President from corrupting our Nation’s judiciary.

Free and open debate on the Senate floor ensures citizens a say in their government. The American people are heard, through their Senator, before their money is spent, before their civil

liberties are curtailed, or before a judicial nominee is confirmed for a lifetime appointment. We are the guardians, the stewards, the protectors of the people who send us here. Our voices are their voices.

If we restrain debate on judges today, what will be next: the rights of the elderly to receive social security; the rights of the handicapped to be treated fairly; the rights of the poor to obtain a decent education? Will all debate soon fall before majority rule?

Will the majority someday trample on the rights of lumber companies to harvest timber or the rights of mining companies to mine silver, coal, or iron ore? What about the rights of energy companies to drill for new sources of oil and gas? How will the insurance, banking, and securities industries fare when a majority can move against their interests and prevail by a simple majority vote? What about farmers who can be forced to lose their subsidies, or western Senators who will no longer be able to stop a majority determined to wrest control of ranchers' precious water or grazing rights? With no right of debate, what will forestall plain muscle and mob rule?

Many times in our history we have taken up arms to protect a minority against the tyrannical majority in other lands. We, unlike Nazi Germany or Mussolini's Italy, have never stopped being a nation of laws, not of men.

But witness how men with motives and a majority can manipulate law to cruel and unjust ends. Historian Alan Bullock writes that Hitler's dictatorship rested on the constitutional foundation of a single law, the Enabling Law. Hitler needed a two-thirds vote to pass that law, and he cajoled his opposition in the Reichstag to support it. Bullock writes that "Hitler was prepared to promise anything to get his bill through, with the appearances of legality preserved intact." And he succeeded.

Hitler's originality lay in his realization that effective revolutions, in modern conditions, are carried out with, and not against, the power of the State: the correct order of events was first to secure access to that power and then begin his revolution. Hitler never abandoned the cloak of legality; he recognized the enormous psychological value of having the law on his side. Instead, he turned the law inside out and made illegality legal.

That is what the nuclear option seeks to do to rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate.

I said to someone this morning who was shoveling snow in my area: What does nuclear option mean to you?

He answered: Do you mean with Iran?

The people generally don't know what this is about. The nuclear option seeks to alter the rules by sidestepping the rules, thus making the impermissible the rule, employing the nuclear option, engaging a pernicious, procedural maneuver to serve immediate partisan goals, risks violating our Nation's core democratic values and poi-

soning the Senate's deliberative process.

For the temporary gain of a handful of out-of-the-mainstream judges, some in the Senate are ready to callously incinerate each and every Senator's right of extended debate. Note that I said each Senator. Note that I said every Senator. For the damage will devastate not just the minority party—believe me, hear me, and remember what I say—the damage will devastate not just the minority party, it will cripple the ability of each Member, every Member, to do what each Member was sent here to do—namely, represent the people of his or her State. Without the filibuster—it has a bad name, old man filibuster out there. Most people would be happy to say let's do away with him. We ought to get rid of that fellow; he has been around too long. But someday that old man filibuster is going to help me, you, and every Senator in here at some time or other, when the rights of the people he or she represents are being violated or threatened. That Senator is then going to want to filibuster. He or she is going to want to stand on his or her feet as long as their brass lungs will carry their voice.

No longer. If the nuclear option is successful here, no longer will each Senator have that weapon with which to protect the people who sent him or her here. And the people finally are going to wake up to who did it. They are going to wake up to it sooner or later and ask: Who did this to us?

Without the filibuster or the threat of extended debate, there exists no leverage with which to bargain for the offering of an amendment. All force to effect compromise between the parties will be lost. Demands for hearings will languish. The President can simply rule. The President of the United States can simply rule by Executive order, if his party controls both Houses of Congress and majority rule reigns supreme. In such a world, the minority will be crushed, the power of dissenting views will be diminished, and freedom of speech will be attenuated. The uniquely American concept of the independent individual asserting his or her own views, proclaiming personal dignity through the courage of free speech will forever have been blighted. This is a question of freedom of speech. That is what we are talking about—freedom of speech. And the American spirit, that stubborn, feisty, contrarian, and glorious urge to loudly disagree, and proclaim, despite all opposition, what is honest, what is true, will be sorely manacled.

Yes, we believe in majority rule, but we thrive because the minority can challenge, agitate, and ask questions. We must never become a nation cowed by fear, sheeplike in our submission to the power of any majority demanding absolute control.

Generations of men and women have lived, fought, and died for the right to map their own destiny, think their own thoughts, speak their own minds. If we

start here, in this Senate, to chip away at that essential mark of freedom—here of all places, in a body designed to guarantee the power of even a single individual through the device of extended debate—we are on the road to refuting the principles upon which that Constitution rests.

In the eloquent, homespun words of that illustrious, obstructionist, Senator Smith, in "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington":

Liberty is too precious to get buried in books. Men ought to hold it up in front of them every day of their lives and say, "I am free—to think—to speak. My ancestors couldn't. I can. My children will."

I yield the floor.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I compliment my friend and colleague from West Virginia for his excellent comments about the responsibilities of the Senate under the Constitution and the implications of a parliamentary maneuver that would effectively undermine the constitutional rights of our Members to speak in accordance with the ways our Founding Fathers intended.

Once again, the Senator from West Virginia has spoken eloquently and passionately about this institution and about this Constitution. He is in this body the true student of the American Constitution. There is in this body no one who works to preserve the rights and responsibilities of this institution the way those rights of individuals in this institution, within the framework of the Constitution, were so intended.

We, once again, thank him and urge our colleagues in the Senate to pay close attention to his well thought out, reasoned, compelling, legitimate, and persuasive arguments.

They are enormously important because they reach the heart and soul of this institution and the heart and soul of the whole constitutional framework that our Founding Fathers drafted when they wrote the Constitution. It was an extraordinary contribution to the whole debate that takes place in this body from time to time about the authority and the powers of the institution and the individuals who are elected to serve. We all will benefit from reading his comments closely.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, as I listened to the distinguished Senator from West Virginia speak against filibuster reform, I wanted to make a few points that he did not say, at least as far as I could tell. I did not hear every word of his speech, but I did hear enough of it.

Number one, he did not say that killing judicial nominations by filibuster is part of Senate tradition, nor could he have said that because for the first time in history, we have had filibusters of judicial nominees. Only President Bush's judicial nominees have been filibustered by our colleagues on the other side, and in every case where they were filibustered, those nominees had majority support.

So filibustering judges is not a part of the tradition of the Senate, nor has it ever been.

Some have said that the Abe Fortas nomination for Chief Justice was filibustered. Hardly. I thought it was, too, until I was corrected by the man who led the fight against Abe Fortas, Senator Robert Griffin of Michigan, who then was the floor leader for the Republican side and, frankly, the Democratic side because the vote against Justice Fortas, preventing him from being Chief Justice, was a bipartisan vote, a vote with a hefty number of Democrats voting against him as well. Former Senator Griffin told me and our whole caucus that there never was a real filibuster because a majority would have beaten Justice Fortas outright. Lyndon Johnson, knowing that Justice Fortas was going to be beaten, withdrew the nomination. So that was not a filibuster. There has never been a tradition of filibustering majority supported judicial nominees on the floor of the Senate until President Bush became President.

Number two, if I recall it correctly, the distinguished Senator from West Virginia did not say ruling such filibusters out of order is against the rules. I do not believe he said that because it is not against the rules. At least four times in the past, some of which occurred when Senator BYRD, the distinguished Senator from West Virginia, was the majority leader in the Senate, there have been attempts to change the Senate's rules on the filibuster. Admittedly, I think in some of those cases the Senate backed down and changed the rules, but the effort was made to change the rules, and in the eyes of the Senator from West Virginia and others they should have and could have been changed by majority vote.

Let me say, in fact, all of the examples the Senator from West Virginia cited of legislative filibusters would not be affected by the constitutional option. That is a constitutional option that would allow judicial nominees an up-or-down vote.

That is a very important distinction because never before have judicial nominees been filibustered. Never before has one side or the other, in an intemperate way, decided to deprive the Senate as a whole from not just its advice function, but its consent function. We consent, or withhold that consent, when we vote up or down on these nominees.

Filibustering against the legislative calendar items has been permitted since 1917, and with good reason. I, for one, agree that this is a very good rule. But those filibusters happen on the legislative calendar. That is the calendar of the Senate; it is our legislative responsibility. The filibuster rule, Rule XXII, is to protect the minority. Frankly, I would fight for that rule with everything I have. But executive nominees, filibustering on the executive calendar is an entirely different situation. And it is one that was not addressed in Senator BYRD's remarks.

I myself had never looked at this very carefully until this onslaught of

filibusters against 11 appellate court judges took place on this floor. Then I started to look at it, and others have, too, and we now realize there is a real disregard of a constitutional principle by these unwarranted and, I think, unjustified and unconstitutional filibusters. In these particular cases, every one of those people—every one—had a bipartisan majority waiting to vote on the floor. This distinction is ultimately the critical one. Should a minority be able to permanently prevent a vote on a majority supported judicial nominee? I think the answer is clearly no, and there is nothing in the distinguished Senator from West Virginia's remarks that contradict that conclusion.

#### BANKRUPTCY ABUSE PREVENTION AND CONSUMER PROTECTION ACT OF 2005

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Hawaii is recognized.

##### AMENDMENT NO. 15

Mr. AKAKA. Mr. President, I rise to speak on amendment No. 15, which I will offer to S. 256.

I thank Senators DURBIN, LEAHY, and SARBANES for working with me on this legislation, the Credit Card Minimum Payment Warning Act, and for cosponsoring the amendment.

Mr. President, during all of 1980, only 287,570 consumers filed for bankruptcy. As consumer debt burdens have ballooned, the number of bankruptcies have increased significantly. From January through September of 2004, approximately 1.2 million consumers filed for bankruptcy, keeping pace with last year's record level. The growth in use of credit cards can partially explain this surge. Revolving debt, mostly compromised of credit card debt, has risen from \$54 billion in January 1980 to more than \$780 billion in November 2004. A U.S. Public Interest Research Group and Consumer Federation of America analysis of Federal Reserve data indicates that the average household with debt carries approximately \$10,000 to \$12,000 in total revolving debt.

We must make consumers more aware of the long-term effects of their financial decisions, particularly in managing their credit card debt, so that they can avoid financial pitfalls that may lead to bankruptcy.

While it is relatively easy to obtain credit, not enough is done to ensure that credit is properly managed. Currently, credit card statements fail to include vital information that would allow individuals to make fully informed financial decisions. Additional disclosure is needed to ensure that individuals completely understand the implications of their credit card use and the costs of only making the minimum payments as required by credit card companies.

S. 256 includes a requirement that credit card issuers provide additional information about the consequences of making minimum payments. However,

this provision fails to provide the detailed information for consumers on their billing statement that our amendment would provide. Section 1301 of the bankruptcy bill would allow credit card issuers a choice of disclosures that they must provide on the monthly billing statement.

The first option included in the bankruptcy bill would require a "Minimum Payment Warning" stating that it would take 88 months to pay off a balance of \$1,000 for bank card holders or 24 months to pay off a balance of \$300 for retail card holders. It would require a toll-free number to be established that would provide an estimate of the time it would take to pay off the customer's balance. The Federal Reserve Board would be required to establish a table that would estimate approximate number of months it would take to pay off a variety of account balances.

There is a second option that the legislation permits. The credit card issuer could provide a general minimum payment warning and provide a toll-free number that consumers could call for the actual number of months to repay the balance.

Both of these options are inadequate. They do not require the issuers to provide their customers with the total amount they would pay in interest and principal if they chose to pay off their balance at the minimum payment rate. The minimum payment warning included in the first option underestimates the costs of paying a balance off at the minimum payment. Since the average household with debt carries a balance has approximately \$10,000 to \$12,000 in total revolving debt, a warning based on a much smaller balance, \$1,000 or under in this case, will not be helpful. If a family has a credit card debt of \$10,000, and the interest rate is a modest 12.4 percent, it would take more than 10½ years to pay off the balance while making minimum monthly payments of 4 percent.

As we make it more difficult for consumers to discharge their debts in bankruptcy, we have a responsibility to provide additional information so that consumers can make better informed decisions. Our amendment will make it very clear what costs consumers will incur if they make only the minimum payments on their credit cards. If this amendment is adopted, the personalized information they will receive for each of their accounts will help them to make informed choices about the payments that they choose to make towards reducing their outstanding debt.

This amendment requires a minimum payment warning notification on monthly statements stating that making the minimum payment will increase the amount of interest that will be paid and extend the amount of time it will take to repay the outstanding balance. The amendment also requires companies to inform consumers of how many years and months it will take to repay their entire balance if they make