

for the future that we want all Americans to partake of.

I want to say briefly that to be a Progressive is to be one who believes, yes we have our individual rights, but we also have things that we proudly share together, like our safety and clean water and like our environmental legal regime.

But on the other side, what a Progressive is not, what a Progressive is not is somebody who basically operates on the basis of fear-based politics. We boldly say we can do this new thing together. We are not afraid to embrace the future. But there is a set of politics that says be afraid, be very afraid. The Russians or somebody is going to get you, and you have to be afraid. You can't share with anybody. You just have to look out for yourself. That is a set of political ideas that is prevalent around here, too; and those ideas are not the ones that made America great. The ones that made America great are the ones listed on this board and the ones that we are talking about now.

I yield to Ms. PINGREE for your final comments.

Ms. PINGREE of Maine. You have said almost everything that needs to be said. You have a great chart. In talking about some of the proud things in progressive history, I want to emphasize that virtually everything on that list is where people have said, We are all in this together. What do we need to take care of the basic fundamentals in this world so that we can prosper, so we can be safe and healthy and have a sense of security? That is what we are dedicated to.

I know those are the commonsense values of people in my State, people of vastly different political perspectives and economic perspectives who say, Look, unless we are all in this together—we have to move forward together or we are not going to get anywhere.

As you mentioned, we have a tall order in front of us. We have done a lot in the few months we have been here. And I feel proud as a freshman to have come at this moment in time when we have a President who cares so deeply about our relations around the world, economic justice for people and health care. It is a great moment to be here, but it is certainly a difficult task. Many, many people are struggling in this economy. States like mine are having a hard time balancing their budget and getting ahead. We have a lot of work here to do. I have been pleased to be here tonight, and look forward to many other dialogues like this in the future as we accomplish many of our goals.

Mr. ELLISON. As I just wrap up, this is the Progressive message. We have had Members, including Congresswoman WOOLSEY, Congressman POLIS, and Congresswoman PINGREE, talk about why I am a Progressive, giving their personal testimony and giving their own ideas and values about this critical subject.

We also want folks to be able to check in on the Website right here: <http://cpc.grijalva.house.gov>. Very important for people who are watching to check in and check out the Progressive Caucus agenda. It is very important. The Progressive Caucus is a moral force within the Congress bringing America to its better half.

I agree with Congresswoman PINGREE, who pointed out that all of these things on this list are things where people said, Look, let's embrace our common life, our shared life. But these are all things, and I think that Congresswoman PINGREE would agree with me, that before they were passed, people said it can't be done. They said this is something that we shouldn't do. But you know what? All of these things were done, and we are all as Americans much better off for it.

Let me also wrap up by saying that it was the words of President Barack Obama, who said in his first address to Congress, "I reject the view that says our problems will simply take care of themselves, that government has no role in laying the foundation of our common prosperity." That rejected view, I submit, is a conservative view because government does have an important role to play in our common prosperity, and our problems will not simply take care of themselves.

□ 1800

President Obama went on to say, "For history tells a different story. History reminds us that at every moment of economic upheaval and transformation, this Nation has responded with bold action and big ideas." I quite agree with the President on this point.

I yield back the balance of my time.

OFFICE OF LEGAL COUNSEL NOMINEE DAWN JOHNSEN

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 2009, the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. KING) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. KING of Iowa. Thank you, Madam Speaker. I appreciate being recognized and having the privilege to address you here on the floor of the House of Representatives.

One of the things that I am able to receive as I come down here and prepare for my hour here is an opportunity to listen to my colleagues and sometimes an opportunity to get an education. And if one listens carefully, Madam Speaker, there is a lot to be learned in this Congress. In fact, I believe that this is the most amazing educational experience that one could ask for.

We are the center of information here in many ways. Washington, DC, is a magnet for information. And as Members, we have staff and committee people that gather that information at our request and give it to us in a means by which we can understand it, process it, and utilize it.

In this information age that we have, this electronic era that we have, the Internet is full of information. The Library of Congress is full of information. There are all kinds of links out there; many of them are very credible, some of them are not very credible. So we sort through, and we are always looking at what is the original source. How do you document the credibility? Well, you figure out who the person was that wrote it and their measure of credibility.

So as I come to the floor and listen tonight, I am rather amazed at what I've learned. I saw this long list of successes of the Progressives. And I've lived through a fair amount of history by now, Madam Speaker, and I've studied a lot of history by now, and I had never equated the Revolutionary War to Progressives. That's a new thing to me. That's a revolution to me. It's a revelation to me that it was the Progressive group that decided that we should throw off the yolk of King George and grasp our freedom.

It seems to me that it was the Founding Fathers and those who shaped this Nation who put down in the document of the Declaration of Independence—that inspirational document—that our rights come from God and that those rights that flow from God into man are granted willingly to the people. That's a structure that—I guess you could call it progressive, but I haven't heard anybody on this side of the aisle that calls themselves Progressive stand up and say that their rights come from God or that there are natural rights and there is a natural order of things and it's ordered by the Master of the universe. That's what our Founding Fathers believed. That was the inspiration that shaped America. It was the inspiration that brought about the Declaration, and it was the inspiration that caused the perseverance that allowed the United States to prevail over the British in the Revolutionary War.

The Nation was forged on those fundamental values that haven't been openly rejected by the Progressives, but neither have they been embraced by the Progressive Caucus. But almost night after night I hear these things. The American Revolution, a success of the Progressives. That's a new one. I had not heard that one before.

The emancipation of the slaves. Well, that's an idea that is related to change. The institution of slavery had existed for thousands of years. But I didn't know that Abraham Lincoln and the abolitionists were considered to be Progressives. I thought they were, Madam Speaker, Republicans. In fact, I'm sure they were Republicans. I have no doubt about it.

The history of my family and the history of my understanding of the Republican Party is it was forged in order to abolish slavery. That's why they came about. That's why they formed together and nominated Abraham Lincoln because he was the abolitionist

candidate, the first Republican candidate, the first Republican President, Abraham Lincoln, emancipated the slaves.

What would Abe Lincoln think if he were able to listen tonight and answer to the rhetoric that is here on the floor of the House of Representatives that claims that emancipation, the end of slavery at the loss of 600,000 free people who gave their lives in the clash to put an end to slavery and to establish the States' rights issue and to tie the Union back together, all those things tied together. All of that blood that was spilled by the sword that paid for the blood that was drawn by the lash was spilled because Republican abolitionists stepped forward and said we're going to put an end to the atrocity called slavery. They didn't think of themselves as Progressives. I don't think the word existed in politics in the fashion that we hear it today.

There are a group of Progressives in this Congress today. I don't know how they associate themselves with the success of the American Revolution, inspired by the rights that come from God, or the end of slavery that was paid for in blood and inspired and led by people who formed the Republican Party for, at least in part, the specific purpose to abolish slavery.

And then I go on and I see the National Park System, Teddy Roosevelt. I would call Teddy Roosevelt—not a Progressive. I would call him a populist, but not a Progressive. So he was responsible for establishing the National Park System. When I first looked at it, I thought, well, the Progressives are the "national pork system." I would agree with that, Madam Speaker. But, no, the typo didn't exist. The chart said, "National Park System." So let's give that to the prairie populous, or the populous, not the Progressives.

Civil rights for minorities and women was another piece on this poster board; civil rights for minorities and women, passed by Republicans, majority of Republicans—more Republicans voted for the Civil Rights Act in 1964 than did Democrats. It gets distorted if you read the history off the poster. If you go back and look at the reality and the facts of it all, it's entirely different.

When I see rural electrification, it gets my attention. There have been a couple years of my life that I didn't use electricity that came from a rural electric cooperative. But almost every other year—most of the years of my life that has been our primary source of power. And I know where rural electrification came from. My families grew up on farms that didn't have electricity. They remember when the first wire got out there to the end of the line and they hung a light bulb in the barn so they could go out there and milk the cows in the dark; not by the lantern any longer, but by a 40-watt bulb that hung on a wire out of the ceiling of the barn. You pulled a little chain, turned the light on, then you could milk in the shadows of the light

bulb instead of the shadows of the flickering lantern. That got there because of cooperatives.

And cooperatives, I believe at the very closest you could bring them towards progressivism would be taking them towards populism. It was the people out on the prairie and in the open range, the La Grange in the West, the populism that exists today within the politics of the people from where I live and points on west, that politics that decided we're going to settle this countryside and we're not going to live out here and live in darkness without water, sewer, water, lights or roads. We're not going to try to farm this countryside and take it back from the wilderness and turn it into a productive region unless—we can do it if we can bring electricity out, if we can bring services out, if we can bring telephone out.

And so they went to work and they set up cooperatives. They didn't view themselves as Progressives. They didn't even view themselves as populists. The people that established the RECs years ago, the rural electric cooperatives—and I have known many of them face to face, personally, as neighbors, most of them passed away by now. They shaped their cooperatives because it was the only way they could get electrical power out to the farms.

I happened to have followed that history from the time it was shaped together when they decided to build their first power plant. The network that comes to my part of the country that flows all the way up from what was South Crawford REC, now it's Western Area Power—or connected to Western Area Power, then on up through Basin Electric all the way up into the coal mines in Wyoming—which, by the way, Wyoming is one of the most punished States under the Waxman-Markey cap-and-tax piece of legislation. But they shaped this so that they could have electricity go to the farms.

And they had to join together to do it. They had to have a little help because it cost a lot more money to string a wire from farm to farm a half a mile to a half a mile than it does to string it from house to house in the city or into an apartment complex or into an office complex within a city. So they shaped the cooperatives to do that.

I noticed on that board that took all this credit for Progressives—the accomplishments of creative individuals that wanted to simply operate in a free enterprise economy—that it didn't have our grain cooperatives there, but we established those, too; the grain cooperatives so that the farmer-owned cooperatives could set up a grain elevator to store and dry their grain and ship it and market it, and also mix and grind feed and sell fertilizers and chemicals and make this all work.

It's the same kind of a function in the grain cooperatives as we had in our electric cooperatives. But in neither case was it Progressives that put this

together, just like it wasn't the Progressives that fought and won the American Revolution or emancipated the slaves. In fact, of all these things that I've listed, it was a majority of Republicans—if you would identify their politics—that brought about these changes, most of which are good changes or they wouldn't have been listed on that poster board. But I think it's revisionist history, Madam Speaker, and I could not let that moment pass without raising that issue.

I will just stick with this subject for a moment, Madam Speaker, because I know what a Progressive is and I think America needs to know what a Progressive is. Now, it is not someone who has emancipated the slaves or fought and won the American Revolution or established a rural electric cooperative, not somebody that did those things.

It wasn't really somebody that—they may have played a part in, but they weren't a central part—that established the civil rights. It's people that believed in the intrinsic value of the individual, the rights that come from God regardless of what your race or ethnicity might be. That's not a Progressive thought. That's a thought of rights that come from God.

So here's what a Progressive is. And, Madam Speaker, anybody that's curious about this can just simply go to their Google page—that's the one thing that hasn't been nationalized at this point—and they can just Google in there dsausa.org—that's the Democratic Socialists of America, dsausa.org—and the screen will come up, and on it will say, "What is Democratic Socialism?" And when you read through this Web site—which I happen to have right here, Madam Speaker, and I will enter this into the RECORD—and this document that is the socialist Web site, peruse through it a little bit, dsausa.org.

WHAT IS DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM?

Questions and Answers From the Democratic Socialists of America

Democratic socialists believe that both the economy and society should be run democratically—to meet public needs, not to make profits for a few. To achieve a more just society, many structures of our government and economy must be radically transformed through greater economic and social democracy so that ordinary Americans can participate in the many decisions that affect our lives.

Democracy and socialism go hand in hand. All over the world, wherever the idea of democracy has taken root, the vision of socialism has taken root as well—everywhere but in the United States. Because of this, many false ideas about socialism have developed in the US. With this pamphlet, we hope to answer some of your questions about socialism.

Q: Doesn't socialism mean that the government will own and run everything?

Democratic socialists do not want to create an all-powerful government bureaucracy. But we do not want big corporate bureaucracies to control our society either. Rather, we believe that social and economic decisions should be made by those whom they most affect.

Today, corporate executives who answer only to themselves and a few wealthy stockholders make basic economic decisions affecting millions of people. Resources are used to make money for capitalists rather than to meet human needs. We believe that the workers and consumers who are affected by economic institutions should own and control them.

Social ownership could take many forms, such as worker-owned cooperatives or publicly owned enterprises managed by workers and consumer representatives. Democratic socialists favor as much decentralization as possible. While the large concentrations of capital in industries such as energy and steel pay necessitate some form of state ownership, many consumer-goods industries might be best run as cooperatives.

Democratic socialists have long rejected the belief that the whole economy should be centrally planned. While we believe that democratic planning can shape major social investments like mass transit, housing, and energy, market mechanisms are needed to determine the demand for many consumer goods.

Q: Hasn't socialism been discredited by the collapse of Communism in the USSR and Eastern Europe?

Socialists have been among the harshest critics of authoritarian Communist states. Just because their bureaucratic elites called them "socialist" did not make it so; they also called their regimes "democratic." Democratic socialists always opposed the ruling party-states of those societies, just as we oppose the ruling classes of capitalist societies. We applaud the democratic revolutions that have transformed the former Communist bloc. However, the improvement of people's lives requires real democracy without ethnic rivalries and/or new forms of authoritarianism. Democratic socialists will continue to play a key role in that struggle throughout the world.

Moreover, the fall of Communism should not blind us to injustices at home. We cannot allow all radicalism to be dismissed as "Communist." That suppression of dissent and diversity undermines America's ability to live up to its promise of equality of opportunity, not to mention the freedoms of speech and assembly.

Q: Private corporations seem to be a permanent fixture in the US, so why work towards socialism?

In the short term we can't eliminate private corporations, but we can bring them under greater democratic control. The government could use regulations and tax incentives to encourage companies to act in the public interest and outlaw destructive activities such as exporting jobs to low-wage countries and polluting our environment. Public pressure can also have a critical role to play in the struggle to hold corporations accountable. Most of all, socialists look to unions make private business more accountable.

Q: Won't socialism be impractical because people will lose their incentive to work?

We don't agree with the capitalist assumption that starvation or greed are the only reasons people work. People enjoy their work if it is meaningful and enhances their lives. They work out of a sense of responsibility to their community and society. Although a long-term goal of socialism is to eliminate all but the most enjoyable kinds of labor, we recognize that unappealing jobs will long remain. These tasks would be spread among as many people as possible rather than distributed on the basis of class, race, ethnicity, or gender, as they are under capitalism. And this undesirable work should be among the best, not the least, rewarded work within the economy. For now, the bur-

den should be placed on the employer to make work desirable by raising wages, offering benefits and improving the work environment. In short, we believe that a combination of social, economic, and moral incentives will motivate people to work.

Q: Why are there no models of democratic socialism?

Although no country has fully instituted democratic socialism, the socialist parties and labor movements of other countries have won many victories for their people. We can learn from the comprehensive welfare state maintained by the Swedes, from Canada's national health care system, France's nationwide childcare program, and Nicaragua's literacy programs. Lastly, we can learn from efforts initiated right here in the US, such as the community health centers created by the government in the 1960s. They provided high quality family care, with community involvement in decision-making.

Q: But hasn't the European Social Democratic experiment failed?

For over half a century, a number of nations in Western Europe and Scandinavia have enjoyed both tremendous prosperity and relative economic equality thanks to the policies pursued by social democratic parties. These nations used their relative wealth to insure a high standard of living for their citizens—high wages, health care and subsidized education. Most importantly, social democratic parties supported strong labor movements that became central players in economic decision-making. But with the globalization of capitalism, the old social democratic model becomes ever harder to maintain. Stiff competition from low-wage labor markets in developing countries and the constant fear that industry will move to avoid taxes and strong labor regulations has diminished (but not eliminated) the ability of nations to launch ambitious economic reform on their own. Social democratic reform must now happen at the international level. Multinational corporations must be brought under democratic controls, and workers' organizing efforts must reach across borders.

Now, more than ever, socialism is an international movement. As socialists have always known, the welfare of working people in Finland or California depends largely on standards in Italy or Indonesia. As a result, we must work towards reforms that can withstand the power of multinationals and global banks, and we must fight for a world order that is not controlled by bankers and bosses.

Q: Aren't you a party that's in competition with the Democratic Party for votes and support?

No, we are not a separate party. Like our friends and allies in the feminist, labor, civil rights, religious, and community organizing movements, many of us have been active in the Democratic Party. We work with those movements to strengthen the party's left wing, represented by the Congressional Progressive Caucus.

The process and structure of American elections seriously hurts third party efforts. Winner-take-all elections instead of proportional representation, rigorous party qualification requirements that vary from state to state, a presidential instead of a parliamentary system, and the two-party monopoly on political power have doomed third party efforts. We hope that at some point in the future, in coalition with our allies, an alternative national party will be viable. For now, we will continue to support progressives who have a real chance at winning elections, which usually means left-wing Democrats.

Q: If I am going to devote time to politics, why shouldn't I focus on something more immediate?

Although capitalism will be with us for a long time, reforms we win now—raising the minimum wage, securing a national health plan, and demanding passage of right-to-strike legislation—can bring us closer to socialism. Many democratic socialists actively work in the single-issue organizations that advocate for those reforms. We are visible in the reproductive freedom movement, the fight for student aid, gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgendered organizations, anti-racist groups, and the labor movement.

It is precisely our socialist vision that informs and inspires our day-to-day activism for social justice. As socialists we bring a sense of the interdependence of all struggles for justice. No single-issue organization can truly challenge the capitalist system or adequately secure its particular demands. In fact, unless we are all collectively working to win a world without oppression, each fight for reforms will be disconnected, maybe even self-defeating.

Q: What can young people do to move the US towards socialism?

Since the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s, young people have played a critical role in American politics. They have been a tremendous force for both political and cultural change in this country: in limiting the US's options in the war in Vietnam, in forcing corporations to divest from the racist South African regime, in reforming universities, and in bringing issues of sexual orientation and gender discrimination to public attention. Though none of these struggles were fought by young people alone, they all featured youth as leaders in multi-generational progressive coalitions. Young people are needed in today's struggles as well: for universal health care and stronger unions, against welfare cuts and predatory multinational corporations.

Schools, colleges and universities are important to American political culture. They are the places where ideas are formulated and policy discussed and developed. Being an active part of that discussion is a critical job for young socialists. We have to work hard to change people's misconceptions about socialism, to broaden political debate, and to overcome many students' lack of interest in engaging in political action. Off-campus, too, in our daily cultural lives, young people can be turning the tide against racism, sexism and homophobia, as well as the conservative myth of the virtue of "free" markets.

Q: If so many people misunderstand socialism, why continue to use the word?

First, we call ourselves socialists because we are proud of what we are. Second, no matter what we call ourselves, conservatives will use it against us. Anti-socialism has been repeatedly used to attack reforms that shift power to working class people and away from corporate capital. In 1993, national health insurance was attacked as "socialized medicine" and defeated. Liberals are routinely denounced as socialists in order to discredit reform. Until we face, and beat, the stigma attached to the "S word," politics in America will continue to be stifled and our options limited. We also call ourselves socialists because we are proud of the traditions upon which we are based, of the heritage of the Socialist Party of Eugene Debs and Norman Thomas, and of other struggles for change that have made America more democratic and just. Finally, we call ourselves socialists to remind everyone that we have a vision of a better world.

It really doesn't take a very heavy read to figure out what's going on. These are the Socialists. They say, "We believe that social and economic decisions should be made by those whom they most affect." Huh. Sounds

like a little bit of what's been going on with the major corporations in America. Sounds a little like what's happened to the auto industry. It looks like they've been taken over and nationalized by the White House and handed over to the unions for control. That would fit. "We believe that social and economic decisions should be made by those whom they most affect."

Here's another one: "We believe that the workers and consumers who are affected by economic institutions should own and control them." Exactly what's happening to the automakers today, as they pulled the plug on a good number of Chrysler auto dealers, as they threatened to pull the plug on an even greater number of General Motors auto dealers, and as the stock shares get handed over to the unions at the expense of the investors who were owners of the hard collateral of the business of Chrysler Motors, and now it looks like General Motors as well, all right off the Web page of the socialists. "We believe that the workers and consumers that are affected by economic institutions should own and control them."

"Social ownership could take many forms, such as worker-owned cooperatives or publicly owned enterprises managed by workers and consumer representatives"; not managed for profit, not managed for efficiency, but nationalized businesses run and managed by workers and consumer representatives.

I started a construction company in 1975. I borrowed money, invested a lot of capital, and the business is going on. It's a second-generation construction company. My older son owns it today. There were a good number of places along the way that it would have been easy to give up and just drop out of business, but I had to make it work. I was determined to make it work. And if I had handed over the management of the company to the employees at any one of those critical points, there's no way that King Construction would have survived.

This is quoting from the sheet again. "While the large concentrations of capital in industries such as energy and steel may necessitate some form of state ownership"—they're talking again about nationalizing—"many consumer-goods industries might be best run as cooperatives."

So they want to nationalize large businesses where there's concentrations of capital—energy, steel, a couple of examples. Automakers fall right in that. And on here it says, Well, we're not Communists. Here's the difference. Communists are harder lined than we are, and there's a few other distinctions. I'll ask you to read that, Madam Speaker, thoroughly. I think everybody in this Congress should know what the difference is between a Communist and a Socialist. I don't like either one.

□ 1815

I don't like either one. I like free markets. I like freedom. I like free en-

terprise. I like capitalism, and I like individual rights that come from God. Those are the pillars of American exceptionalism, not socialism, not Marxism, not communism.

Here is another pretty frequently asked question. Private corporations seem to be a permanent fixture in the U.S., so why work towards socialism? Here is the socialist answer: In the short term, we can't eliminate private corporations.

Now I think, Madam Speaker, that you've been convinced that the Democratic socialists of America want to nationalize the major corporations, and they want to run this free enterprise economy not as a free enterprise economy but as a collectivist state, operating businesses for the benefit of the workers and the customers without regard to profit or the investors. That is clear here.

Also what's clear in this document, which I will submit for the RECORD, is that the socialists are no longer hosting the Web site of the Progressive Caucus. Because in 1999 the issue was raised and the heat got a little too high so the socialists that were managing the Web site of the Progressive Caucus, they decided, and the progressives decided they'd run their own Web site.

So when you see Progressive Caucus come up on a blue board here on the floor, they're saying, go to our Web site, see what all we've got. Look at all the credit we're taking for the things we didn't do. And, by the way, they don't actually announce that they are the legislative arm of the socialists, which you will find in this document that I will introduce into the RECORD this evening, Madam Speaker.

They say here in this document off the Web site, the socialist Web site, that they are not a political party that nominates candidates under their banner. But their legislative arm is the Progressive Caucus, an absolute undeniable link right here on the Web site, socialists tied to progressives. That's what they are, Madam Speaker.

So I get a little disturbed when this Congress and the rest of the Nation tries to mess with the definitions that Noah Webster wrote into our dictionary and our understanding of the English language.

We know what socialism is. If you want to find out what communism is, the socialists define it. If you want find out what a progressive is, the socialists say progressives are them, their arm. And there is a list when you go on the Web site of 72 registered progressives in this Congress that are linked to the socialists directly as their legislative arm. They are the ones advocating for the nationalization of our energy industry, for the oil refinery industry, for the nationalization of our automakers, for example, and all the way up the line. Our financial institutions, large insurance companies, the nationalization that has taken place from President Obama with the full support of the Progressive Caucus and most of

the Democrats in this Congress and in the House and in the Senate, Madam Speaker.

I don't think that we can hold the rose-colored glasses along any longer. We have got to understand that our freedoms are being taken from us, and it's happening right in front of our very eyes, under our very nose. And the American people don't understand it yet.

When they go to the Web site and they read through this document, What is Democratic Socialism? on the Web site of dsausa.org, and look to the connection of Progressive Caucus.

And then, by the way, go to the Progressive Caucus Web site. They put it up here. Just Google Progressive Caucus and up will come the Web site that takes the credit for a lot of these things that they didn't have anything to do with, they didn't have any existence then during that period of time. But also they won't take credit for the things that they advocate for that are the mirror image of what comes off the socialist Web site here. One and the same, Madam Speaker. And the American people need to know it, and they know it now.

So that's a little bit of what I didn't come here to talk about, Madam Speaker. But what I did come here to talk about is the nomination of one Dawn Johnsen to the Office of Legal Counsel. Dawn Johnsen is the President's nominee. And the Office of Legal Counsel, for the sake of those who are not all wrapped up in government, is the most important nomination that you've never heard of.

The Office of Legal Counsel is kind of a mini Supreme Court. They issue carefully worded opinions, and they're regarded as binding precedent, and they have the final say on what the President and all his agencies can and cannot legally do, Madam Speaker.

So this is the person that has the opportunity to whisper into the ear of the President on a daily basis, on a regular basis and make recommendations such as, Mr. President, you do or you don't have the authority to issue an executive order to close Guantanamo Bay. That would be one of those whispers into the ear of the President. It might well be a written document that would be formally handed to him as well. I use that as, I'll say, an image, not so much a technicality.

Dawn Johnsen is the person who has offended, I think, a greater number of Americans than any other nominee, even those that didn't pay their taxes. There is a long list of things that Dawn Johnsen has said and done. But I believe at this time it would be useful if I could have the opportunity to yield to the very vigorous and energetic gentlelady from Ohio (Mrs. SCHMIDT) for however much time as she may consume.

Mrs. SCHMIDT. Thank you so much, Congressman KING.

You are so right about this very contentious nomination. This position has

been called the Attorney General's lawyer. The Justice Department's Web site explains, "The Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Office of Legal Counsel provides authoritative legal advice to the President and to all executive branch agencies. The Office drafts legal opinions of the Attorney General and also provides its own written opinions and oral advice in response to requests from the Counsel to the President, the various agencies of the executive branch, and offices within the Department. Such requests typically deal with legal issues of particular complexity and importance or about which two or more agencies are in disagreement. The Office also is responsible for providing legal advice to the executive branch on all constitutional questions and reviewing pending legislation for constitutionality.

All executive orders and proclamations proposed to be issued by the President are reviewed by the Office of Legal Counsel for form and legality, as are various other matters that require the President's formal approval.

In addition to serving as, in effect, outside counsel for the other agencies of the Executive Branch, the Office of Legal Counsel also functions as general counsel for the Department itself."

Congressman KING, you are absolutely right that this individual will have the ear of the President because this position provides authoritative legal advice to the President and all executive branch agencies.

The AAG for the OLC is quite influential when evaluating existing laws and determining legal implications of legislative and administrative proposals. It is not a position for which an ideologue would be well suited.

I really want to go to that end because this, of all the nominations that have come to our attention so far, has really disturbed me the most. And it's disturbed me because, as most people know, one of the things and the heartstrings that I have is my position on life.

I believe that we cannot question when life begins or when it should end. We have to understand that life has value from conception to natural death. Only if we want to wage war against poverty, only when we want to make sure that each and every person in the world has the opportunity to be the best person that they can be, only when we give people the freedom to be what they want to be can this happen if we understand that that freedom begins at conception and that freedom must continue through its natural conclusion.

But this individual holds a much different view on those positions. So I really want to talk for just a few moments about what I call, Life According to Dawn Johnsen. I want to talk about some things that have been said by this individual.

"Pregnancy is equivalent to slavery." "Statutes that curtail her abortion choice are disturbingly suggestive

of involuntary servitude, prohibited by the 13th Amendment, in that forced pregnancy requires a woman to provide continuous physical service to the fetus in order to further the state's asserted interest." Dawn Johnsen, Supreme Court amicus brief that she authored in *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*. I have to be silent for a minute so you can digest the coldness of that statement.

"Protecting life makes women into no more than fetal containers," is another one of her beliefs. "The woman is constantly aware for 9 months that her body is not wholly her own. The state has conscripted her body for its own ends, thus abortion restrictions reduce pregnant women to no more than fetal containers," Dawn Johnsen, Supreme Court amicus brief that she authored in *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*.

I don't even know how to respond to that. As a mother, yeah, as soon as I felt life, I understood that I had a partner I was going to carry for the next 9 months. That experience only enabled me to begin the love that I have for my daughter and now that I see for her wonderful son. Yeah, pregnancy changes us because it gives us life.

"Abortion brings relief," is another one of her statements. "The experience is no longer traumatic; the response of most women to the experience is relief," Dawn Johnsen, Supreme Court amicus brief that she authored in *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*. I've talked to women who have had abortions, and they have a much different view.

"Those that become pregnant are losers." This one really stings me. She says, "The argument that women who become pregnant have in some sense consented to the pregnancy belies reality." ". . . and others who are the inevitable losers in the contraceptive lottery no more 'consent' to pregnancy than pedestrians 'consent' to being struck by drunk drivers," Dawn Johnsen, Supreme Court amicus brief that she authored in *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*.

I don't see women who are pregnant as losers. I see their winning capabilities of having that life inside of them, being a life that will carry on and continue for generations to come.

Another one: "There is no need to reduce the number of abortions." "Progressives must not portray all abortions as tragedies,"

"Senator Hillary Clinton in a 2005 speech commendable for setting forth a pro-choice, pro-prevention, pro-family agenda, took the aspiration a step in the wrong direction when she called for policy changes so that abortion does not have to ever be exercised or only in very rare circumstances," Dawn Johnsen in the Constitution in 2020.

These are her statements. I'm not making these up, Congressman. These are her statements, Madam Speaker.

"Pro-life supporters are comparable to the Ku Klux Klan," that's another

one of her statements. And she says, "The terrorist behavior of petitioners is remarkably similar to the conspiracy of violence and intimidation carried out by the Ku Klux Klan," Dawn Johnsen, Supreme Court amicus brief that she authored in *Bray v. Alexandria Women's Health Clinic*.

I can't believe that she would say these things. But again, these are her words, not mine.

Some of her positions and comments, questionable legal arguments, including the assertion that abortion bans might have undermine the 13th Amendment, which banned slavery.

This is a woman who was so entrenched with NARAL and the ACLU's Reproductive Freedom Project, she's compared pregnancy to involuntary servitude, described pregnant women as losers in the contraceptive lottery, and criticized Senator Clinton for then claiming to keep abortions, traumatic experiences, rare.

□ 1830

This is a woman who doesn't have the same view of life that most Americans have. Yes, this is a sensitive issue. But most Americans understand that life is sacred and must be protected. And I believe that most Americans want someone who is the legal counsel of the President to not have such polarizing views. I believe that they want someone that will step back and evaluate decisions based on their constitutionality and their legality and not put forth their own agenda.

This is a person who at every step along her way has put forth her own very pro-abortion agenda in each and everything that she has done. This is not the right person for this job. And I would only hope that this administration changes its position.

Mr. KING of Iowa. Reclaiming my time, and I thank the gentlelady for coming to the floor and standing up for life and making this announcement on statement after statement, quote after quote, that has come from Dawn Johnsen, the former legal counsel for NARAL, the National Abortion Rights Action League, the one who has inflamed the profamily, pro-life, pro-Constitution pro-individual rights of people in this country by making a whole series of outrageous statements. And many of them were mentioned by the gentlelady from Ohio.

I put this one up on abortion protesters, this is the KKK piece, that "the 'terrorist' behavior of petitioners is remarkably similar to the conspiracy of violence and intimidation carried out by the Ku Klux Klan against which Congress intended this statute to protect."

People that are outside of the abortion clinics praying for the innocent human life that is being exterminated inside are being described as KKK-type of intimidators. This is the person that we would have whispering into the ear of the President, the Office of Legal Counsel, issuing opinions and decisions

that are de facto judgments on our Constitution and the legality. And that is one example. The gentlelady gave a number of other examples. And I would yield to the gentlelady from Ohio.

Mrs. SCHMIDT. I just want to say, sir, that I am someone who has, throughout my adult life, stood in front of an abortion clinic in the city of Cincinnati. We stand in silence. We stand in prayer. We do not say anything to people as they walk by. We just pray that they have a change of heart and that they understand that all life is precious, including the one they may be carrying inside of their body. I have been doing this since I was in college. And I have yet to see any behavior that would even look like a terrorist's behavior. So for her to say that, I think, is totally out of character.

Mr. KING of Iowa. Reclaiming my time from the gentlelady who has been a champion for life for a long time, here is another piece that we have heard about, Dawn Johnsen on abortion, legal but not rare. This is where she even goes in conflict with such known liberals as Hillary Clinton, for example, where Dawn Johnsen said, "The notion of legal restrictions as some kind of reasonable 'compromise,' perhaps to help make abortion 'safe, legal and rare,' thus proves nonsensical." That is her statement of January 25, 2006, not that long ago.

And here our Progressives show up again, as I spoke about earlier, Madam Speaker, "Progressives must not portray all abortions tragedies. Absent unforeseen technological and medical changes, abortion is unlikely to become truly rare and certainly not nonexistent."

This lady isn't happy about abortion becoming rare. She has chastised even Hillary Clinton about asking for abortion to be safe, legal and rare. This gives you an example of what Progressives are, also, Madam Speaker. Progressives fit this bill. Can you imagine a Progressive who was antislavery who believed in the value, the intrinsic value of human life, to the extent of laying down their life for their brethren who have lived in bondage, would people like that be advocating for more abortions and calling those who pray outside of abortion clinics equivalent to the KKK? I think we know what a Progressive is today. I don't think there were any Progressives that existed by any defined label that took place around the Revolutionary War time, Madam Speaker.

But Dawn Johnsen does fit. She is a Progressive. I will give her that. And her name should be withdrawn by the President of the United States.

In fact, the gentlelady from Ohio and I are on a letter together. We and 60 other Members of Congress issued a letter to President Obama dated March 24, 2009. It calls upon President Obama to withdraw the nomination of Dawn Johnsen as Office of Legal Counsel. And part of the language here in the second page of the letter to the Presi-

dent signed by 62 of us from the House says: "Senator Hillary Clinton, in a 2005 speech commendable for setting forth a pro-choice, pro-prevention, pro-family agenda, took the aspiration a step in the wrong direction." This is Dawn Johnsen talking about Hillary Clinton. She said Hillary Clinton "took the aspiration to rare abortions a step in the wrong direction when she called for policy changes so that abortion 'does not ever have to be exercised or only in very rare circumstances.'" That is a quote of Hillary Clinton.

Dawn Johnsen even calls Hillary Clinton out as not progressive enough, not being enough pro-abortion that she would think that abortions should be rare. That is an affront to Dawn Johnsen's values. And Dawn Johnsen would be in a position to whisper into the ear of the President on what is legal and what isn't, what is constitutional and what isn't. But not only that, she is not just flipping a toggle switch that is a legal opinion, Madam Speaker. She is shaping legal policy and making recommendations to the President that are policy changes.

Now imagine if she wasn't there. And she is formally not there because her nomination is held up by the Senate. It is held up by the Senate because they know many of the things that Mrs. SCHMIDT and I have talked about here tonight and we have talked about for some months now since her nomination emerged. But the Guantanamo Bay issue fits perfectly with the type of thing that I would bring to bear where an Office of Legal Counsel would be there with access to the President continually, generating an activist left-wing, yes, call it a Progressive agenda, because that is not going to be a very good word when we finish describing what it is, coming up with ideas like, Mr. President, you need to issue an executive order to close Guantanamo Bay and turn these prisoners loose.

Well, Madam Speaker, I didn't make that up. I'm not being flippant. I'm simply quoting Dawn Johnsen. It says here on a list of quotes from Dawn Johnsen with regard to Guantanamo Bay under Gitmo that Dawn Johnsen posits two alternatives to deal with the Gitmo detainees, the enemy combatants, the terrorists, the vile al Qaeda terrorists, the worst of the worst that are down there, 241 of them, according to the testimony before the Judiciary Committee today by Attorney General Holder.

She says we only have two choices with the Gitmo detainees: either release them or transfer them to facilities in the United States and consideration of civilian criminal prosecution in the Federal courts. An outrageous idea that seems to be under consideration by this White House at this time.

And I have been down to Gitmo maybe a little over a month ago. They are living pretty good down there, Madam Speaker. No nation has ever treated prisoners of a conflict as well. I didn't say any better. I said no nation

has treated them as well as we have treated these enemies at Guantanamo Bay who have a vile oath to kill Americans. And they believe it is their path to salvation. They are attacking American guards an average of 20 times a day. Half the time they are throwing feces and trying to rub it into the face of our guards. That is their own feces. The other half of the time they are physically assaulting them and trying to hurt them with whatever they might have for cuffs and shackles. They are living in climate control. They set the thermostat in the air conditioned Caribbean island vacation resort. Their limitations are they have to live within the fences that keep them from getting away. But even when they are in there, they get a little soccer field. They can go out and play soccer. They have got foosball tables. They get to choose from nine items on the menu every day and they set the thermostat between 75 and 80 degrees because they say that is their cultural temperature. So we would give them air conditioning and give them their cultural temperature while our troops are sometimes out in the sun. They stop for prayer five times a day, 100 minutes a day. Our troops stop and respectfully wait. That is all right with me. Everybody gets a Koran. No one can have a Bible. Of the 800-and-some who were there altogether, there was one who requested a Bible. And it created such belligerence and violence among other detainees that they said, no, you can't have a Bible. They have since released the individual that wanted a Bible. Everybody else gets a Koran, one that is untouched by one of these infidel guards that are getting feces thrown in their face on a regular basis, Madam Speaker.

This is the kind of idea that comes from Dawn Johnsen. Let's turn these people loose or bring them to the United States. She argues that she should have habeas corpus rights. That is a radical Federal Court decision by the way. And it is radical. The Founding Fathers would have never approved such a thing. That is why they wrote the provisions in the Constitution of habeas corpus. She writes that it was there so that when we fight people around the world we can round them up and bring them back on a slow ship with a sail. They didn't have motors on their boats back then, let alone airplanes. Bring before an American court. Give them rights of habeas corpus. If they get turned loose on a technicality, turn them loose into the streets of America. I asked the Attorney General today, Can you assure us that you will not turn these Gitmo detainees loose into the United States? He could not assure of us of that.

Now, I can tell you if I were the Attorney General, I would be able to find out a way. I could tell you under these conditions this is what we are trying to do. I will assure you I would do everything I can. I would at least like not to have these detainees board domestic

American airliners and fly with my children or grandchildren. I would think that maybe we could put them on the no-fly list like TEDDY KENNEDY was. For some reason, we can't even do that.

And as a temporary diversion to this diatribe, I would be happy to yield to the gentleman from Indiana, who might be able to flesh that story out just a little bit, such time as he may consume.

Mr. SOUDER. I thank my colleague from Iowa for taking the lead tonight and my colleague and friend from Ohio as well. Both have been long-time pro-life leaders. And my colleague from Iowa and I have fought on numerous fronts in the various battles here.

Today before I speak on the abortion question which is one thing I want to raise here, of course, but today in the homeland security markup on Transportation Security Administration, I offered an amendment that anybody released in the United States from Gitmo would go on the no-fly list. We thought that the debate was going to be, should this be a recorded vote and the Democrats would propose not having a recorded vote. But it caused such panic that they had long meetings and basically came up with a gutting amendment and knocked the amendment out by stating that only after all the processes with the President were completed, but that didn't even put them on a no-fly list. Now here is the fundamental question that this isn't putting people in prison and detaining them. This is a question of should they be on the no-fly list.

If you were in Gitmo—and understand that I don't favor closing Gitmo. I imagine neither of my colleagues here favored closing Gitmo. Just because you made a stupid campaign statement doesn't mean you have to have a stupid policy once you get in and see the truth. And there has been a number of people who have changed their opinion about that. But we have already released a number of these people. At best, the results have been mixed. Some have gotten already back involved in al Qaeda. And just because it has been hard to come up with the evidence, say, because people get beheaded, because of the type of retribution that occurs, the fearfulness of stating upfront and going through even a military court where it is private, worried that it is going to get out, it was difficult to make some of the cases. It has been very mixed, the ones they did release. So the ones that are there have at least some doubt because they are already not released. Now we transfer them to the United States. The question is what is going to happen? Are they going to await trial? Are they going to be detained? How are they going to sort this through? We don't have a plan. Secretary Napolitano said at our hearing the day before, looking at our budget, clearly homeland security was going to have to keep track of them. If they are

going to keep track of them, why in the world wouldn't they be on a no-fly list? If they are too dangerous to be released in the country without homeland security tracking them, why do we want them on an airplane next to us? I just see no logic to this, that we put American citizens on the no-fly list because maybe they have a cousin, they have done some phone calls, we have questions and we are concerned about it.

These people are the people they have held in Gitmo, not the ones they have released, a couple hundred already down there. These are the people who are higher risk at the very least.

Now, the Chinese Uyghurs who were part of al Qaeda-affiliated groups, China won't take them back. They already announced they will release them in Northern Virginia. They can get on airplanes at Reagan Airport.

What kind of a philosophy is this that, oh, we are going to see final resolution of this, we are going to work this through? This is absurd. The last thing we need is a legal counsel over there telling him, oh, wow, these people should have public trials. We have been through this in the Department of Homeland Security. When the New York Times released the classified report, none of us actually know precisely what was in it that caused this reaction. But what we know is terrorists were taking down around the world, networks were broken up in process before they could do that because we heard them get up on their phones because was it a bank account that they didn't know that we knew they were doing it? Was it a phone line they didn't know that was tapped? When you get things in public, you expose your ability to track. And they go other routes. The idea of public trials would be catastrophic to the safety of this country.

Now, the idea that they aren't even going to be on a no-fly list is just incredible. And anybody, in my opinion, who blocks that, and if it isn't in the bill next week, the people who kept it out of the bill should be held responsible if something happens. It isn't like you can't figure out who to blame here. We had an amendment that would have said they are automatically on the no-fly list, if they get on the plane now, without even being more than routinely checked, it would be incredible.

□ 1845

Now I would like to talk briefly about Dawn Johnsen. She's a fellow Hoosier. I do not know her, but she and her husband are well known in Indianapolis. She teaches at the Indiana Law School. There is incredible pressure on our two United States Senators on the vote, and we need their votes against her.

It isn't whether or not she's smart. It's not whether or not they're good people, good neighbors, good people to go to church with. This is about policy and critical policy. This is about basi-

cally a person with radical views on abortion being put in a position to give that advice. And we need our two Senators to understand that. We need the American people to understand that. And really we need this President to understand this.

Another thing happened just a few miles outside my district. I represent most of Elkhart County. CARSON and DONNELLY represent about a third; I have two-thirds. And I come up around within about 5 or 7 miles of the University of Notre Dame, and about a third of my district is in South Bend. So there's been a little bit of ruckus about the President's speaking at Notre Dame. He's the eighth President in a row to speak at Notre Dame. It's not so much the controversy of speaking but whether he should get an honorary doctorate since his positions seem to be at odds with the fundamental teachings of the Catholic Church and the Pope.

Now, the administration claims that they aren't as hostile to the pro-life cause as we say. He said at the press conference in an astounding statement that, Oh, I wouldn't be for embryonic stem cell research if there was another alternative. And you wonder is this a kind of cuteness or does he really not know that there are other alternatives that work and embryonic stem cell doesn't work, that embryonic stem cell has been going on for 10 years without even a pig being able to live let alone a human, whereas other forms of stem cells, in fact, have cured people of diseases.

Maybe, however, when you think about it, President Obama was raised in Hawaii and Indonesia and elsewhere. Then he went to Harvard. He worked as a community organizer, lived in an upscale neighborhood of Illinois in Chicago. I'm not sure whether he's really heard a lot of the debate. And to be fair, maybe we need to educate him in a non-yelling way. Some of the problems we are having in South Bend right now, some of the controversy there, we need to win the middle. We lost the last election. If we're going to win the pro-life debate and save children in America, we need to make sure we can try to persuade the middle. And in this, President Obama, if he wants to claim that he really wants to reduce abortion, he needs to show that with his actions, not just say that I favor that. He needs to support methods on adoption. He needs to encourage the Women's Care Centers and Hope Centers. My wife, Diane, volunteers at a Hope Center.

You've been reading some of these statements, but to appoint somebody as Deputy Legal Counsel who says that pregnancy is like slavery, that protecting life makes women no more than fetal containers, that abortion brings relief, that those who become pregnant are losers, that there's no need to reduce the number of abortions, and comparing pro-life supporters to the Ku Klux Klan, among other things that you've been highlighting in these quotes, you're not

neutral trying to reduce abortion. If you appoint a person in a key legal position that interprets policy, you do not have credibility then to go to the University of Notre Dame next Sunday, to go around at a press conference to tell us we're working for a middle ground. There's no middle ground there. That is the radical position of NARAL being put in a position to make legal policy for the United States of America. You have to not talk out of one side of your mouth and do the other.

What we need the President to do is withdraw this nomination.

Mr. KING of Iowa. Reclaiming my time, I appreciate the gentleman's coming to the floor and laying out this picture in this fashion, as much as I do the gentlewoman from Ohio doing the same.

As I listened to this, Dawn Johnsen's confirmation of her nomination is in trouble. HARRY REID announced that Tuesday of this week, that he had planned to bring it up for a vote. He was short a couple Democrat votes, and I think more than that.

So we need to ask, I think, Madam Speaker, that everybody weigh in on this from a conscience standpoint and understand that these statements made by Dawn Johnsen are just that, an advocacy for the National Abortion Rights Action League, which she was the chief legal counsel for them. She argued a number of cases before the court. The record is replete. It does not vary. It's consistent. It's liberal. It's activist. It is a danger to life. It's a danger to every unborn child. And she is a danger to fathers.

This is a quote from Dawn Johnsen: "Our position is that there is no father and no child, just a fetus, and any move by the courts to force a woman to have a child amounts to involuntary servitude."

But put into that context. Dangerous for babies, unborn babies, dangerous for mothers, who are disrespected. My mother a fetal container? That offends me. It should offend America. We're all children of mothers. They're not fetal containers; they're our mothers. They brought us into this world. They loved us. They nurtured us. There's no substitute for a mother, and I will never get to be one, and I'm a little jealous.

I yield to the gentlewoman.

Mrs. SCHMIDT. Well, I'm not a fetal container; I'm a mother. And I was very glad to have my wonderful daughter. Just 7 months ago, she had a beautiful little boy, and I think she would be appalled at being called a "fetal container." She was thrilled on Sunday to be called a mother, just as I was thrilled to be called a mother and a grandmother.

But more importantly, when we put people into positions of authority, while we respect that they may have a divergence of views than we might have, we certainly want people in authority that are willing to listen to all viewpoints before rendering a decision.

But when you time and again, like Dawn Johnsen, have made statement after statement after statement with inflammatory rhetoric surrounding those statements, as she appears to have done for a better part of her adult life, especially on abortion but on other issues as well, I don't think the American public is going to be comfortable with a person of her position of authority whispering in the President's ear or in bureaucrats' ears her opinion on matters not just on abortion, not just on Guantanamo, but on other issues as well.

I think we want someone that's even-tempered, someone that's willing to look at all viewpoints, someone that's willing to see all sides and render the decision that they believe is the most appropriate for America. I don't think she has the capability of doing that when I read the kinds of statements that she has made.

Mr. KING of Iowa. Reclaiming my time, I thank the gentlewoman.

I'd add a piece that I want to reiterate here. Madam Speaker, if America is not moved enough at this pro-abortion activism and this legal distortion that has taken place as a matter of the professional actions and the public record of Dawn Johnsen, the President's nominee to head up the Office of Legal Counsel, they should be concerned about our national security. A national security that would say turn the Gitmo detainees loose or bring them here to the United States, put them under U.S. courts, and then, by the way, turn them loose and nurture them with our tax dollars so they can get on their feet again. All of that being part of this concept. But also Dawn Johnsen's objecting to surveillance of al Qaeda communications when it was a phone call that took place from a foreign country like, let's say, Afghanistan and ended up in Pakistan. If Osama bin Laden was calling Khalid Sheik Mohammed and if that nexus came back to the United States for the link but no one set foot in the United States, she would object to their not getting a warrant to listen in on that traffic on a telephone signal that would originate in Afghanistan and terminate in Pakistan.

Here is what she said. She attributed that type of surveillance to "an extreme and implausible Commander in Chief theory."

Now, this is an implausible and extreme theory, Madam Speaker, but the Commander in Chief is not a theory. It's constitutional. It's strictly defined in the Constitution. The Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces is the President of the United States. And the President of the United States has nominated Dawn Johnsen, who is a radical extremist. And her nomination is in trouble, and 62 of us wrote a letter and said please pull the nomination.

The President, if I were standing before him, I would make such a plea, and I would entreat the President of the United States that the juice is not

worth the squeeze. There are plenty of activists that are traipsing through the White House these days. This is a lightning rod activist. Why don't you give us somebody that's not such a lightning rod, maybe somebody that's not going to be quite so radical. You're going to have to appoint somebody there to make these legal opinions, and I would like to have somebody that understands what's constitutional, at least recognize that the President of the United States is Commander in Chief, that constitutional position.

I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. SOUDER. The naivete is incredible here in the intelligence area. I've worked in the narcotics area on the Intel Committee of Homeland Security. In case people haven't heard, the border is not completely sealed. Clearly we don't even want to put the Gitmo detainees on a no-fly list. If you don't have intelligence, I don't know how we stay safe.

I wanted to add another thing on the abortion issue. About 2 months ago, apparently we had Fetal Container Day. My daughter was going through Fetal Container Day as a mom, and 2 months ago our granddaughter, Reagan Rebekah, was born. My daughter, Brooke, and her husband, Jeff, who apparently, in Dawn Johnsen's mind, wasn't relevant, and I don't know when he became a father if he wasn't a father at the beginning. I don't know when Reagan Rebekah became a human being, because my daughter was having problems and they decided they had to bring Reagan out early, and it wouldn't have been that many years ago that she wouldn't have survived. She came out somewhat over 4 pounds, just under 5 pounds. She yelled just as loud as if she were heavier, but she came out very small. But she survived. She was able to go home. She had a high enough Apgar score. But at one point, and true of my wife too, but at one point my daughter was a fetal container, and Reagan Rebekah was a fetus. And then she came out a month early, where before she wouldn't even have been able to survive, and now she's a human being suddenly, and my daughter is a mom? It doesn't make any sense here.

We cannot have somebody with these radical views in this position of power. If she wants to continue at IU Law School, if she wants to continue with NARAL, fine. But we do not need her.

And, Mr. President, she needs to be withdrawn. We need to have a reasonable alternative that we can try to work with. We know we lost an election. But we do not need radicals in this position that would destroy human life, whether it be because of lack of intelligence in terrorism or in abortion.

I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. KING of Iowa. Reclaiming my time, I thank the gentleman and the gentlewoman.

It sparks my memory, as I listened to the gentleman from Indiana speak. A

mother is not transformed from a fetal container into a mother by the birth. A mother is a mother at conception and from that point on. And we use that language consistently.

But another piece comes to mind when I think about the President of the United States and this subject matter, and that is that I look back on the Saddleback Church debate that took place there, very well handled by Reverend Rick Warren, who offered the prayer just a few feet behind me here on the west portico of the Capitol Building at the inauguration of the President of the United States. But there they sat with JOHN MCCAIN and President Obama, and he asked the question of then-Senator Obama, When does life begin?

Senator Obama's answer was, "That's above my pay scale." When life begins—when his life began—is above his own pay scale.

Now, there is significant evidence that President Obama got a raise put in since August of last year because he decided right away in January that it was in his pay scale. He decided that he would rescind the Mexico City policy which prohibited our taxpayer dollars from funding abortions in foreign lands. By executive order, he wiped that out, that very conscience decision that was debated on the floor of this House over and over and over again and defended by the pro-life effort in this Congress and across the United States. And he also by executive order decided that he wants to fund with Federal tax dollars the ending of human life in the form of experimenting on embryos, little frozen embryos, little snowflake babies, some of whom I've held in my arms that were frozen for 9 years. Loving, giggling, laughing little children wiped out by executive order that now seems to have found its legs and decided life must not begin or it must not be sacred yet if it's in the early stages, when it can't scream for its own mercy. So the Mexico City policy wiped out, the embryonic stem cell prohibition of using Federal dollars to experiment on them has already been moved. And now we see the appointment of Dawn Johnsen. And we have a President that's going to be soon speaking in South Bend, Indiana, at Notre Dame University, directly in conflict with the teachings of the church. It is a hard thing for us Catholics to watch. It's a hard thing for the pro-life people in this country to watch.

□ 1900

But I have seen hundreds of thousands of Americans come to this city to stand up for innocent unborn human life. They will come to this city in greater numbers if Dawn Johnsen is confirmed, and I think the President will keep that in mind, and I pray that he will pull her nomination.

COMMEMORATING ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN HERITAGE MONTH

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Ms. KOSMAS). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 2009, the gentleman from California (Mr. HONDA) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. HONDA. Madam Speaker, I would like to yield to Member SHEILA JACKSON-LEE. I believe she wanted to address the floor.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Let me thank the distinguished gentleman, and as I rise, let me add my appreciation for his leadership of the Asian Pacific caucus and join him in celebrating Asian Pacific history month.

This is a time in our Nation that we are able to celebrate the many diverse cultures that make up those who are of Asian ancestry in the United States of America. And so my hat is tipped to the leadership in this Congress, the distinguished gentleman from California, and the many Members who have been such leaders.

I pay a special tribute to the late Bob Matsui who, of course, was a dear friend and someone that we all cherished.

I will speak briefly about the recent supplemental and the crisis that we face in this Nation. This is more than a tough challenge, to be able to address the concerns and the need for moving forward by a new President and the questions that are raised as this war supplemental makes its way through.

I will be asking questions as relates to our final solution, or legislative vote, as to whether or not language goes into this supplemental that will direct the administration to have an exit strategy for Afghanistan. I believe it is important as this bill makes its way through the Senate and back to the House, through conference, that there is a more definitive mark or standards and procedures for downsizing the war in Iraq, moving out equipment and bringing our soldiers home.

We now face a different conflict in Afghanistan. It is one of insurgents, the rise of the Taliban. We face as well the rising conflict in Pakistan, although the civilian government has maintained, in their visits here to the United States, they are committed to democracy, and I do believe them. Many of us have visited with President Zardari and leaders of his government, and we frankly believe that there is an opportunity to promote continued democracy in Pakistan, a friend of the United States for many years.

Just a few minutes ago I was meeting with a Pakistani American who was leaving to go help the internally displaced persons who are, as a result of the Pakistani Government, trying to rid that area of the Taliban and other insurgents who want to do harm to peace-loving people.

We need to be assured that the nuclear materials that Pakistan has are secure. But this bill, I believe, had mer-

its in that it did promote the developmental assistance, the foreign aid, to help Pakistan get on its feet.

The questions that I had, of course, were the monies used to surge up the war in Afghanistan. And so this will be a time to review how this bill will make its way back, and whether or not we can get an end time, and whether or not we can tell family when their young people will come home, and whether or not we can answer those families whose returning soldiers suffer from posttraumatic stress disorder, as evidenced by the five bodies who came back at the hands of another soldier.

War is horrible, and so I believe it is important, as we have given this vote to the President, that it be such that it is a vote that ends these wars and focuses on building nations and building democracies so that they can take care of their own war and hopefully be unconflicted, if you will.

I am grateful for the resources in this bill that will help military families, mothers and fathers and children, the salary that comes about through those soldiers who lost salaries that have been put in this bill; the disaster aid, although I would have wanted to have a match, a 100 percent match for Galveston that is still suffering from Hurricane Ike. I hope we will be able to work on this issue as we move forward.

Again, I want to thank the gentleman from California for yielding to me, because I wanted to ensure that the support that has been given by some of us is based upon finding a way to end these conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan.

And in finality, I might say that what I hope to have happen is that we find a way to ensure the end of the tenet, the term, if you will, of Osama bin Laden and of the insurgents that are destroying countries. I would hope, also, that we would be able to work to expand resources for posttraumatic stress disorders, and I am continuing to work to procure such a center in the 18th Congressional District for the large number of active soldiers that are in the Houston and Harris County area, noted as one of the major areas where active soldiers are in place.

This is, of course, an important step. And as we fight for education health reform, I think what we first of all must do is resolve these conflicts so that resources can be used to build a better America.

Mr. HONDA, again, I salute you on this great month and great leaders. You can count me as a friend as we move forward on so many different issues as we improve the lives of all Americans.

Mr. HONDA. I thank the gentlewoman from Texas and always count on her support for the issues that we care about together.

Madam Speaker, I rise today to recognize the Asian American and Pacific Islander community and to commemorate the Asian Pacific American Heritage Month. As Chair of the Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus,