we are not going to be able to create a strong middle class and maintain the middle class that we have today.

So I want to commend you for doing this Special Order tonight. We know that our future lies in wealth creation, and it has to come from places like Ohio that have to stand on their own two feet and pull themselves up by their bootstraps.

Mr. GARAMENDI. I thank you so very much, Congresswoman KAPTUR, for joining us.

The heart and soul of America's manufacturing sector was the Midwest, and Ohio at one point was the strongest part of America's manufacturing economy. I know it can be restored. And right here in this area with the rolling stock of America's transportation system, with the new technologies, whether they're wind or turbine, if we use our tax money to support these industries rather than to support industries that are located in China or other countries, I think we can then provide the kind of strength that will return to America once again in the manufacturing sector.

We're nearly out of time, and this has been a great discussion. I just want to turn for a few moments to another colleague from California. We do think that we are the biggest part of the American economy. And a big part of it happens to be where Congresswoman WATSON lives, which is the entertainment industry.

Congresswoman WATSON, I think we're out of time.

# THE GOVERNMENT, THE ECONOMY AND JOBS

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

Mr. AKIN. Madam Speaker, it's a treat to be able to join you this evening to talk about the things that are of great significance to our country and to every individual citizen that lives in America. I thought that as we got into the subject of where things are with jobs and the economy tonight I might start by introducing it in a little different way than we do sometimes here on the floor, and what I'm going to be talking about tonight really is the fact that there is this fundamental difference between Republicans and Democrats. And most of the fighting and argument comes really in the answer to just one question. It's kind of a really simple thing. And the question is this: What should the Federal Government do? That's really what divides us. That's what makes all the people here in this Chamber disagree with each other, and sometimes even scream and yell, but at least respectfully disagree with each other, because we have a fundamentally different idea of what the Federal Government should do. That's a huge part of what we discuss. And, of course, the more that the Federal Government is going to do, it is going to cost more. And the more that it costs, the more regulations and all that you have, the more laws that are passed. And, inevitably, as the government does more, people have less freedom

So there is some sort of a question, well, you know, what should the Federal Government do. So we're going to be talking in a way about that tonight because it is the question of politics, essentially. And of course the Democrat position is—it's almost like the law of gravity, that wherever there's a problem, the answer always is more taxes and more government. The government should fix that problem. That's what they think. And the Republicans always say, well, we want less taxes and less government, and they tend to go that way. So we're going to talk a little bit about that.

We're also going to talk about sort of a theoretical question that sometimes I used to ask interns. We had an intern program. These are students that are in college and are just about to graduate from college. And I would ask them this question, and that is, Is it possible for the government to steal? Can the government steal from people? And you'd see they'd get these quizzical or puzzled looks on their faces. Can the government steal? Well, what does that mean? And you'd see them thinking, Well, I guess it's impossible because the government can kind of do anything they want and, therefore, the government can't steal.

Of course if you come to the conclusion that the government can't steal, then that means that you believe the government owns everything. Do you really believe that? Many people are taught that in school. As they get older, as they work hard for a living, they start to take a different perspective. They worked hard for that dollar bill, and they're not so sure they want the government to confiscate it.

Anyway, we are going to be talking a little bit about the conditions in our economy and where we are. Why is it that we have a problem with jobs? Why is the economy flat on its back? Why do we have a sense that things are not well in America? And there are some answers to those questions. It's not complicated. We simply look to the people who have gone before us and see what those are.

I am joined here this evening by a new Member of Congress, a young man that shows tremendous promise and is joining us here on the floor tonight from Georgia. Georgia seems to be a good State for growing congressmen. And my good friend Congressman GRAVES is joining me on the floor here tonight from the State of Georgia. We are here early enough that it may be that even some of your constituents my guy. We sent him to Congress, and he's doing a great job.

Welcome, Congressman, and we are going to get into things here in just a

minute. I thought I might start, though, by going back a little bit to how did this economic problem come to he

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And of course history just kind of continues to go along. But if I had to pick a point, this is kind of an interesting one. This is September 11, but it's not 2001, it's 2003, 2 years after the attack on New York City, September 11, 2003.

This is the New York Times, not exactly a conservative oracle, is reporting some news and this the news. It says that the Bush administration today recommended the most significant regulatory overhaul in the housing finance industry since the savings and loan crisis nearly a decade ago.

And it goes on to say that under the plan disclosed in the congressional hearing today a new agency would be created within the Treasury Department to assume supervision of Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac. Why? Because they just lost about a billion dollars, and they weren't running their house very well.

Now, Freddie and Fannie are not government organizations. They're quasi-government. And when Freddie and Fannie started doing some wild and wooly things economically, the problem was that the assumption was the Federal Government would come and bail them out. And so Freddie and Fannie are getting out. This is 2003. Real estate market's booming.

President Bush says, watch out, Freddie and Fannie are getting in trouble. I need more authority as President to control Freddie and Fannie. Freddie and Fannie, paying many lobbyists up here on the Hill, dishing out hundreds and hundreds of thousands of dollars, thousand dollar bills, just passing them out all over here. So there's Freddie and Fannie. They're starting to get in trouble. President Bush says we've got to regulate them.

Now the Democrats, on the other hand, the guy who is now in charge of taking care of regulating Freddie and Fannie because he's in the majority now, this is Congressman FRANK, the Democrat, he says, these two entities, Freddie and Fannie, are not facing any kind of financial crisis.

Well, that's interesting. We, of course, 20/20 hindsight we say, well, obviously you were wrong. I'm sure he would admit he was wrong. They were facing a financial crisis. And as Freddie and Fannie start to crash and collapse, we start to see the recession that's upon us. And so that was a piece of it.

Now, Freddie and Fannie, their whole concept was that we're going to require banks to make loans to people who really can't afford to pay the loans. Now, how that's compassionate I'm not so sure because I wouldn't want to be in debt to some loan for my home that I couldn't afford to pay the mortgage payments on.

But many people were encouraged to take loans out on houses because they're going up in value so fast during those years. You just go ahead and take the loan, postpone paying any interest payments. Five years later turn the house over, you doubled your money. It sounded good for a while until the music stopped, and then you didn't have a chair to sit in. And so we have the beginning of this financial problem that was based on liberal social policy that said that banks have to loan money to people who can't afford to pay those mortgages, and we'll just sort of sweep it under the carpet.

Well, then as the economy crashes, what happens? Well, we go back to the same old mistake we've made in the past. Unfortunately, with the stimulus bill the Democrats didn't learn from their mistakes. I wish they would learn from other Democrats. They may not want to learn from Republicans, but at least learn from other Democrats.

This guy, Henry Morgenthau, is Franklin Delano Roosevelt's Treasury Secretary, and he's the one that started with the recession which turned into the Great Depression because they did the wrong things.

So he says now, after 8 years—their idea was that if you grab the loops of your boots and pull hard enough, you can fly around the room. The idea is if the government spends enough money, it will make the economy do really well. And so they tried it for 8 years. And this is his report to Congress.

He says, We have tried spending money. We're spending more than we've ever spent before, and it does not work. I wish they heard those words: "it does not work."

I say, after 8 years of the administration, we have just as much unemployment as when we started, and an enormous debt to boot.

You want to know why we've got unemployment? Because we haven't learned from going back even to FDR's Treasury. This was Keynesian economics. It says if the government hires a whole lot of people, spends a whole lot of money, it's going to make the economy okay. But the trouble is, it doesn't work.

I'd like to ask my good friend from Georgia now, Congressman GRAVES, if you would just join us. Let's talk a little bit about this whole situation because I don't want to be just critical of the Democrats. I will be critical of them, not because I don't like them, but because they're wrong. Their economics are wrong. They're doing the wrong thing. They're hurting the American public.

People are out of jobs, and what we need to do is say, that's not the right way to do it. But we have to have a good solution. We have to offer something constructive.

And let's talk about that. I vield.

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. It's great to join you tonight on this discussion. I think it's the number one discussion going on across America right now, and that's our economy, how's it going to get back on track.

And we've seen 15, 16 failed months of economic policy coming out of Washington, DC right here. And as I spent my time on the recess, and I had the opportunity 31 individual times to speak to various groups on those 12 days, I can tell you the economy is on the tops of the minds of the people.

Mr. AKIN. It sounds like the people from Georgia got their nickel's worth out of their Congressman. Thirty-one separate meetings?

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. Thirty-one separate addresses or speeches over 12 straight days.

Mr. AKIN. I wouldn't want to be your

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. But I can tell you, it's the number one topic on the minds of north Georgians, is how to get this economy back on track.

But what astonished Georgians so much was that just 4 days before July 4, the day of independence, the day of celebrating independence from tyranny and bondage of years ago, 4 days before that, \$167 billion of indebtedness was created on 1 day here because of the Federal Government. That's the numbers, 1, 6 and 7, with 9 zeroes behind it, a phenomenal amount, nearly \$1,500 per person here in the United States just on 1 day.

Mr. AKIN. You're saying \$167 billion of indebtedness just up to the time of just before the 4th of July?

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. No, just on 1 day. That was June 30, June 30 of this year alone, which was more than the deficit of 2006 altogether.

And you look at the stated budget of the State of Georgia, the annual budget is about \$17 billion today. So almost 10 times the budget of the State of Georgia for an entire year was borrowed in 1 day here for the Federal Government.

Mr. AKIN. Wow, that's a lot of borrowing.

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. So Georgians want to know how are we going to get back on track. So I spent part of my time this week on what I was calling my Economic Advisory Tour. We decided we're going to tear down the walls that we see here in Washington where Washington is not listening to the constituents. Instead, we're going to open up communication. Instead of Washington pushing down ideas on job creation on the private sector, why don't we get the ideas from the business leaders themselves, the risk-takers, the entrepreneurs, the ones that have the vision and the dreams them-

And so we had a great tour this week. And we came up with a simple formula. We're not that far away. In fact, we have, what, in America, 17 million Americans without a job, 27 million businesses all throughout the Nation; and we know all those businesses want to expand, succeed, have a profit because we believe profit's a good word here in the Republican Caucus.

But you have 17 million unemployed. You have 27 million businesses, so the formula is simple. If just one business out of every three would hire one person in the next 12 months, unemployment would be cut in half. And you know what? I didn't say government.

Mr. AKIN. That's pretty straightforward. All you have to do is just create one job per every three businesses, and there's no more unemployment.

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. And we didn't say if government would hire one more American. We said the private sector. So the question comes down to this, and this is probably what would be a great discussion tonight is, Why? Why are businesses in north Georgia and all across this Nation saying, you know what? I'm not going to hire somebody right now, even though I want to. I want to expend my business. I want to see my profits grow, my sales increase. I want to invest in capital, but I'm not right now.

Mr. AKIN. Not going to do it. Hey, you know, I'd really like to pick up because, as you said, there are people sitting around having dinner in America. In fact, I'm a little hungry myself. I'm going to look forward to getting some chow. But they're sitting around there talking about the same things you and I are talking about here tonight.

And we've talked about one solution, which was the government takes \$800 billion. That's what the Democrats did with their stimulus bill, and they said, if you don't pass this stimulus bill, do you know what's going to happen? We might get unemployment as high as 8 percent if you don't pass this stimulus bill. So the Republicans didn't vote for it, but they pushed it through anyway. Spent \$800 billion.

And it really wasn't even good old FDR, you know, "stimulus." It wasn't concrete to build hydro-plants or roads. It was basically taking money from one State, like in the State of, I don't know about Georgia, but Missouri, we're fairly conservative and we have a balanced budget, and we're not overspending. And yet you've got Illinois or California, they're overspending on the pensions of a lot of, like, teachers and things. So they take money away from our States, and I assume Georgia is probably a little bit more cautious fiscally. They take money away from our constituents and send them to the other States where the governments have been out of control spending

Well, anyway, so they get this idea.

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Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. Wealth redistribution

Mr. AKIN. The old wealth redistribution. The old socialism deal. So anyway it is \$800 billion. And here is what actually happened. This is putting people back to work the big government, Democrat way. Look what happens to the employment in the private sector. It's this white line. So 2007, 8, 9, 10, you see there is unemployment. And yet if

you take a look at the red line, that's the Federal Government. It's hiring all right. Instead of letting the businesses keep some of their money and hire people, instead they're hiring government workers. So that's how it works.

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. If I remember right, what, about 700,000 temporary workers for census data gathering, which already a third of them have been laid off.

Mr. AKIN. The trouble is really the government can't stimulate the economy. The whole assumption is silly, because all the government does is takes money and spend it. But if you hire a government employee, does that create a job? The answer is no, because for every one government employee you have two jobs you have lost from the private sector because you are sucking money out of the private sector. So when you have the government spending a lot, you take jobs away. That's what's going on. That's why the jobs are going.

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. If I could expand upon that, because you make an interesting point. Because what I have started to understand, just from talking to business owners, is that the labor pool is a zero sum game. You are either in the private sector or you are in the government sector, one or the other. And so as the government sector expands, you are actually drawing intellectual capital and wealth out of the private sector all together and expanding the governmental sector. So the inverse of that would be if we want to shift some intellectual capital and wealth back to the private sector, we must shrink the governmental sector.

Mr. AKIN. It's one of those things, it's sort of an inevitable law. And you can't just let the government continue to grow and grow and grow, because eventually it takes over everything like a cancer.

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. I guess to illustrate that point even more clearly, let's assume government is the solution here. And we hear a lot of people say government's the solution. So why don't we make every American a government employee? Why wouldn't we do that if everyone could have—

Mr. AKIN. Don't you go giving people ideas here in D.C. Somebody will try and do that you know.

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. But they say that's the solution, to expand government. That's what creates jobs. So why don't we do that for everyone?

Mr. AKIN. Of course, obviously, that doesn't work, does it?

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. It doesn't work. Why? You are right. The answer then is the private sector.

Mr. AKIN. This is what was promised with the government bailout. You know, we are going to do the stimulus bill, \$800 billion. And if you do the stimulus bill, these are the numbers the administration and the Democrats said—this is what's going to happen to unemployment; it's going to go down. And if you don't pass the bill, they said

this is what's going to happen. But we did pass the bill, and that's what happened. Obviously, their economics don't work. They don't understand the facts

So where have we gone? Here is the picture right here. This is the nasty little secret down here. You remember hearing that they used to say that George Bush spent too much money.

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. Right. Eight failed years, if I remember right.

Mr. AKIN. See, those are these blue years, was George Bush. And then right here was a Bush year, but this is when Speaker Pelosi was in charge of Congress. So this was in a way, if you give Bush credit for when Pelosi was in Congress, Congresswoman Pelosi, then this would be his worst year, which is about \$460 billion worth of deficit. That's his worst year.

The next year, 2009, was when President Obama and the Democrats ran everything. Take a look at this jump. My goodness, it's a three times worse deficit than the Republicans had run under Bush, and Bush was spending too much money. And I agree we were spending too much money. And then the next year, 2010, it's even worse.

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. So if you go back to your other graph that talked about employment and the growth of employment, or I guess in our case what we are talking about is the growth of unemployment today, you would see it probably correlates with that deficit spending.

Mr. AKIN. If you spend more money, look what happens. You start to lose jobs.

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. Yeah.

Mr. AKIN. Now, does that make sense? Is that logical? Now, you know, I was talking to a bunch of people, too, as I went around my district. And you know, people make economics way too complicated. I said, look, it's not that complicated. It's like a lemonade stand. Just picture you run a lemonade stand. It doesn't have to be complicated. And if you want a little business, if it's a lemonade stand or a machine shop or whatever it is, you want to make some jobs, you want to do some jobs, what you want is you have got to allow the guy that owns it to make enough profit from it so that he will add another wing on it, and he is going to sell tea mixed with lemonade, and then he is going to have peach lemonade, and different things and different products, different people. So as he expands his business he hires more people.

But in order to let him do that, first of all he's got to keep enough of his profit to be able to invest it back in his business. I mean it's isn't complicated. Don't make economics so hard. And so I am sure you are talking to your constituents. My constituents are nodding their head up and down, yeah, I understand that. Not that complicated.

So if you want to know what's going to kill jobs, the first thing is excessive taxation. It's just a killer to jobs.

Where does the government get all its money? Taxation. Did you talk about that back in Georgia?

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. We did. And I know we are moving to solutions here.

Mr. AKIN. Good.

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. It's easy to look back and sort of, I guess, bash the policies of the last several months, but what's important right now as a Nation is looking for leadership. I mean there has been a lack of leadership coming out of Washington for some time now. The Nation's looking for leadership. They're looking for a vision. They're looking for a plan. And what we have discovered is it's about certainty in the marketplace. When the marketplace has a little bit of certainty about what's going to happen in the future, that creates confidence. There is no confidence in the business marketplace.

So your first point up there is excessive taxation. The one thing that is certain right now is that because of inaction right here in Congress because of the Democrat leadership, taxes will go up this January of 2011. Capital gains will rise. Dividend tax will rise. Every income tax bracket will rise. The death tax will rise. The marriage penalty will rise. All of those will rise. So if we want to bring some confidence back to the marketplace, we would make those tax cuts permanent, wouldn't you think?

Mr. AKIN. You are absolutely right. I think you are hitting a couple of different points in this chart. The first one I am talking about is excessive taxation. But taxation also creates an economic uncertainty. And if you have got that lemonade stand and you don't know what's going on, you think maybe a tornado is coming, or maybe there is a tornado coming from Washington, or whatever it is, what you are going to do is you are going to hunker down. In Missouri, we use the word hunker down. I don't know if there is a

verb to hunker or not.

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. You know, that's a favorite Georgia Bulldogs statement.

Mr. AKIN. Is it? Okay. Anyway, if you are talking about economic uncertainty, if you don't know what's going on as a businessman, what you are going to do is you are going to be very cautious, very conservative, and you are not going to hire a bunch of extra people.

But let's take a look at these job killers. Excessive taxation. Lets's take a look at what's coming down the pike. You have to be able to see. This is the largest tax increase in history unless Congress is going to act to deal with it. First of all, for married people the standard deduction decreases if you are married. And then parents, you have a child tax credit, it will be cut in half from a thousand to 500 per kid. If you die this year and you have an estate, you pay nothing. Next year if you die, 55 percent tax on it.

You are a small businessman. You have gotten to be 80 years old. You got your business all going, it's really doing good. It's actually a farm. It's 1,000 acres with some big pieces of equipment. It's worth \$10 million, your farm is. And you up and die this year, and you pass that farm on to your son and he runs it, no problem. Next year same thing happens, you got the nice farm, got it all set up, you die, the government says, hey, taps your son on the shoulder, I need 55 percent. But he says wait a minute. If I take half the land of the farm then it doesn't make the thing work economically. I can't run the farm on half the land and half the equipment. If I have to sell 55 percent of it, you are going to put me out of business. They say you don't understand. You owe the IRS 55 percent of the cost of that farm. And so that small business closes down next year because of this policy.

Because what are we doing? Largest tax increase in history. Take a look at some of these tax increases. If you are paying 10 percent, you are going to be paying 15 percent next year. Those who are paying 25 percent of what they earn, they are going to be paying 28 percent. Those paying 28 are going to go to 31. Those paying 33 are going to go to 36. Thirty-five is going to go 39. Capital gains, dividends, death taxes. All of this stuff is going up.

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. Now, if I remember right, a couple years ago we heard a lot about hope, a lot about change. Taxes were not going to go up on the middle class if I remember right. But if I look at your charts, it's clear that the taxes are going to go up on not just the middle class, but every class. Everyone will pay taxes, regardless of where they are on the economic spectrum whatsoever. And as a result, businesses will not hire as many individuals because their taxes are going to go up. And if businesses aren't hiring individuals, unemployment continues to rise. Unemployment continues to rise, it impacts everyone throughout this Nation. Again we are back in this crazy cycle.

Mr. AKIN. Same cycle again. So basically what you are saying is, let's say that you don't make hardly any money at all. And so you are saying to yourself, hey, I am not making much money, so I am not paying any income taxes. So do I care? I like it if the taxes go up.

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Oh, no, you don't, because what happens if you have excessive taxation? You get no jobs. You know, you can't just beat up on businesses, say all businesses are bad and then complain there aren't any jobs. So if we keep soaking the owners of businesses with excessive taxation, we're going to have a problem with jobs.

So what the solution to these problems is—we're making it sound complicated. It shouldn't be complicated. It's simply that you've got to back off on taxes and back off on government spending. It's as simple as that.

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. So the solutions aren't reform and takeover of various industry in this Nation. In fact, it's just the opposite, because in the 15 counties that I spoke to this week, they said, Look, just get out of our way. Let us once again be creative, come up with the ideas to dream and to expand my business. But don't put that next regulation, don't force health care upon me. Don't increase taxes right now at all. Instead, let us, the business owners, the entrepreneurs, the risktakers, the ones who are willing to risk it all and work the hardest here and put it all on the line, allow us to do that without government interference.

Mr. AKIN. This is kind of an amazing

Mr. AKIN. This is kind of an amazing chart. These are all different countries all around the world down here, and there's a little green line there. And this is the corporate tax rates. And this little green line happens to be the United States. And the only one with higher taxes on corporations is Japan. And we wonder, gosh, we can't understand why we've lost jobs in this country. Well, we've got the second highest corporate tax rate going, not to mention the taxes on individuals, as you're saving.

So we're not doing the job. And part of the reason we're doing all of this taxation, of course, is because we're spending too much money.

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. It seems that there was a report put out by the Heritage Foundation that indicated that America is now classified for the first time as "mostly free," I believe, given their ranking system. And that would be a great illustration. I don't think most Americans realize that America is second highest in the world when it comes to corporate tax rates, behind Japan, that all of these other nations that you have on this chart have lower tax rates than the United States of America. And we wonder why jobs go overseas to other countries.

Mr. AKIN. Right. And that's the thing. People get really upset. In fact, the Democrats that were talking before we came on tonight, they're very upset that all of these jobs went overseas. And I'm thinking to myself, Well, who's pushing all of the jobs overseas? You create an environment in America that is hostile to business and the jobs are going to go overseas. It is as inevitable as water running downhill.

And what do we do? We keep increasing taxes, increasing government spending, and the smart executives and corporations in America that have plants and facilities all over the world, they keep creating jobs. It's just the jobs aren't here. The jobs are going overseas because they've created such a hostile environment that the jobs aren't going to be here. And how do they make the environment hostile? Well, first of all, by too much in taxes, and the second thing, of course, is too much spending.

Here's a containment dome. We've had some trouble with oil leaking out

of containment domes. And here's one. This is a containment dome. There's another containment dome, and it's not working either. It sure isn't working. Take a look at the rate of the spending that we've been doing. And the spending is always followed by, of course, a whole lot of taxation.

And so the first thing is, if you want to get this thing back on track, if you want to do the opposite of job killers, you want to create jobs, then what you need to do is you want to cut your taxation. This is one of those things I started out by saying I wish the Democrats would learn from the other Democrats, and one of them they could learn from was JFK. JFK had a bad economy and he did the right thing. He cut taxes. And when he cut taxes significantly, guess what happened? More jobs, stronger economy.

And the funny thing is—now this is sort of odd. If you cut taxes, the Federal Government will actually take in more money in revenue than if you didn't tax it. Have you thought about that? It's almost counterintuitive.

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. Well, it explains exactly what we need to do. You're right. It's counterintuitive, but it works. Just as if that were to work, then the opposite must be true if you increased taxes. That means your revenue decreases. There is a great illustration in the State of Georgia. They're trying to increase the tobacco tax in order to fill a budget hole. But prior to that, the administration here had raised tobacco taxes. And as a result of the raise of tobacco taxes from the Federal level, income of the State tobacco taxes had decreased by 20 percent.

Mr. AKIN. So let's do that again, because these numbers are interesting.

You're saying Georgia basically did a little experiment along these lines. It was a specific tax on one product—that is, tobacco—and they increased the tax on tobacco.

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. They were proposing to increase the tax on tobacco. Then they looked, and they looked at what had happened just prior to that. And it was the year before, and it was the administration here that actually raised taxes on tobacco. And as a result of that, the revenue for the State of Georgia actually declined 20 percent. Without the State of Georgia raising taxes, the Federal Government raising taxes, but the State of Georgia's taxes that they would normally collect from tobacco actually declined by 20 percent. This shows that when you increase taxes, you actually—productivity or consumption, all of those things, decrease and therefore it's more damaging to the economy.

Mr. AKIN. I was trying to explain that to some—because I give some of these talks to my constituents, and one of the ways I try to explain it is let's say that you're king for a day and your job is to tax a loaf of bread and you want to get as much tax revenue as you can by taxing bread. And so you go

through this little exercise in your mind and say, I can tax the bread \$10 a loaf or one penny a loaf. If I taxed at one penny a loaf, nobody would notice. and I would get a penny times all of those loaves of bread. But if I got \$10 on a loaf, wow. I could make a lot of money, but then maybe nobody would buy any bread because it's too expensive. So common sense would say somewhere between a penny and \$10 you're going to come to an optimum place where you can get the most tax on it and people will still keep buving bread. If you increase it, you actually lose revenue; If you decrease it—so there's an optimum spot.

And what's happening is the government is taxing people so much, by increasing the taxes, it basically stalls the economy and so their revenue drops.

Now, if I were a happy socialist, if I were really one of these guys that wants the government to do everything for everybody—

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. Is there such thing as a happy socialist? I mean, help me with that.

Mr. AKIN. That's the trouble. There aren't very many of them that are happy because they're so worried about somebody else making money that they don't think—if I were a happy socialist, I would want a strong economy so I had more money to swap around to my buddies, you see. But instead what we're doing is we raise the taxes so much, it kills the economy and we don't have as much money to work on.

Now, the Federal Government doesn't notice it so much, but State governments that have balanced budgets—Missouri has a balanced budget amendment. We have to balance a budget. And if you're a legislator or Governor, particularly in a State that has a balanced budget—and most of them do—when you have a recession, it is a tough time to be the leader of your State because people hate you because you have to keep cutting things to keep the budget balanced. Of course, down here, we just let it go.

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. It's that print, spend, and borrow mentality down here.

What you were referring to a minute ago, there's a line of demarcation that I refer to as the tipping point that occurs. And whether it's an economy or anywhere else, there is a great book written on that very subject matter of how that occurs throughout time in various ways.

So what we need to do right now is look for solutions that tip the other way. I think we Republicans are certainly the ones for less taxes, less government, personal responsibility, and it's those positive solutions that I think Americans are looking for right now. They're looking for that glimmer of, I guess, sunshine out there that says we're going to get through this.

I'm telling you, we are going to get through this. We're going to get through this as Americans together working hard, once again, dreaming and not being dependent on the Federal Government to be the solution.

Mr. AKIN. You're absolutely right. I like the idea of being positive. And the solutions, one of them was JFK. He cut taxes, and the recession, after a period of about a year, turns right around and things go along well. Ronald Reagan did the same thing. Massive tax cut. As soon as he did that, the economytakes a little while—the economy turns right around because there's money now being invested not in more big government but the businessman puts that money into different new ways of creating, buying another milling machine, another wing on the building, more money for research and development to come up with a better way to make a product. And all of those things together, when the money goes back to the small business man, they start to hire people.

I think—what is it?—companies with 500 or fewer employees employ 80 percent of Americans. So if those smaller businesses from 500 employees on down, if they got more money to spend on their own business, that's part of the solution. And everybody does better when that happens.

Of course, another thing that kills jobs is this insufficient liquidity. The businessman can't borrow money because it's all tied up in banks. Of course, we've got that problem going on now, too, and part of the reason is the government is gobbling up so much money with their incredible, incredible level of Federal spending which, once again, we point to this chart. This is what's happened under Obama the first 2 years of his Presidency. It's three times more deficit than Bush, in his worst year, had.

So this liquidity is a big deal to the businessman. And the banking rules right now make it hard for small business men to get liquidity. And as you mentioned, the economic uncertainty. Who is going to take a risk when you see the lineup of what's happened to us? First of all, you've got Wall Street bailout, and then you've got Cash for Clunkers, and you've got this stimulus bill where we waste \$800 billion.

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And then we passed cap-and-tax at three o'clock in the morning. It was supposed to be about how bad  $CO_2$  is, and what's the solution to the bill to keep  $CO_2$  down? You guessed it, a whole lot of taxes and a whole lot of red tape and government regulations

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. Those taxes are only on Big Business, right, that wouldn't impact the consumer? That seems to be the argument that is put out there, but we all know that it's not Big Business that pays taxes. It's not the corporations that pay taxes. It's all passed down through the consumer through the cost of any goods and services as any other cost would be in a service or in a product.

But I've been here 30 days. Thirty days I've been sworn in here as a Member of Congress.

Mr. AKIN. We are glad to have you, too. We wish we had some more people who would vote along the lines of getting these jobs going and getting the economy going.

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. It is an honor to represent Georgia's Ninth Congressional District. I tell you, in Georgia what an incredible State. I know your State is great as well. But we have 13 Fortune 500 companies, three Fortune 100, the world's busiest and largest airport, the fourth busiest port in the Nation, an incredible university system and so much when it comes to entrepreneurial sprit.

Mr. AKIN. But you haven't mentioned Georgia peaches yet. You've got some good peaches down there.

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. But a great State, so much to work with there, but there's that uncertainty that lies out there.

So in my 30 days here, the House voted on TARP II—of course, I opposed that—the expansion of unemployment benefits to a far-reaching amount, and then the war supplemental budget which was 61 percent un-war related, and it goes one thing after another, whether it is financial reform or whether it is this reform or that reform, just in my 30 days. So there is a little bit of certainty out there in the business community

business community.

The certainty is that something's going to come down from Washington that's going to put another burden on them, another tax on them and it is killing job creation today. It's time to change that certainty around and say you can be certain that coming out of Washington it's going to be less taxes, less government, personal responsibility, and liberty and just for all. Let's get back to free markets and capitalism.

Mr. AKIN. That's what it boils down, too, isn't it? Two different visions for America. One of them is there are all these people who are victims and the government has to take care of them and you don't have to be responsible and you are just going to be part of this permanent welfare idea. And I don't think Americans by and large really want that. I think Americans really like the idea more of having the courage to live some dream that God puts on their hearts.

You know, the way that this country was founded, they believed that every single person that God created in this world had some purpose, some job that God had in mind for them to do. So what they did was they came up with the idea that the only thing that you got in trouble for up in New England was if you didn't work. You see, over in Europe they had all these classes and they had certain people who didn't want any calluses on their hands because they didn't like the idea of working.

But the people that came to this country said, no, your job is to work hard because God made a job for everybody to do. In the process of doing that, they created almost a classless society because how can you look down your nose at somebody else if God made one person to be an accountant, another person to be a blacksmith, another one to be a farmer? How could you look down your nose if somebody is doing what God called them to do?

But it was always the idea of hard work and being honest and so people could be free and chase the dreams that they had in their heart. But I don't think people are happy when the government is dishing them out, you know, always dependent on the government, you see, and I don't think that's what America is all about. I don't think Americans are happy with the system where they're just constantly going to be dependent on the government. I think people love freedom in this country.

As you talk to people around your district, I ask people if you had to summarize what is America all about-I love to ask that question. Let's say somebody from some foreign country came and they had a bunch of TV cameras and put it in your face, and you've lived in America. Can you tell me just in a sentence what is the basic secret of what makes America such a special place. And the word that I always hear is freedom, freedom. It is not like, no, that the government's going to take care of me. No, it's the idea of being a free person, and that's something that's so precious to us in this country.

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. You're right, and it's great, and that's what we've got to get back to is allowing the freedom to succeed and the freedom to fail, wouldn't you say? I mean, that is a freedom as well. Not government bailouts and government taking care of businesses that make poor decisions or take a risk that just doesn't work out, for whatever reason. But, you know, when we think about where we are going in the future—and I think we've got a great future—we just have to be positive. We have to come up with positive solutions and solutions that aren't the government being the solution but empowering the private sector.

We've come into a new era I believe, and I believe it's coming. I would like to say the sun is setting on an era, and that's the era of the champions of government, that the sun is setting on that and now a new dawn is arising and that is going to be the champions of the taxpayer.

So as we move forward through these next weeks and this great recess, I think America is waiting for this Congress to take a recess so that they will stop passing policies that are damaging to small businesses and elect a new governing majority here coming up soon and we have positive solutions that just reduce the business owners and, once again, empower them to be the job creators instead of empowering government to be that.

Mr. AKIN. You know, when people make a mistake—we were talking quite a bit about socialism, and lib-

erals really just hate it when you mention that word "socialism," but really an awful lot of Americans don't know socialism when they see it. And it is very dangerous, it's deadly, and it goes to the idea of what's the job of the government.

And if you go to our Founders, right off the bat the Pilgrims had socialism imposed on them by the loan sharks from England, and they pitched it out. They knew it wasn't any good. They knew that socialism was really a system of stealing where the government would take from one person and give to another person. If you go to the founding of our country, it was built on a bright vision. There was a fresh air; there was a vibrancy and enthusiasm because you could fail. There was an incentive to do well.

The understanding was that the job of the government was limited and limited in a particular way, and that was, the job of the government was justice. And Lady Justice was depicted—they chipped her out of marble, you know, and she's sitting there and she always had this blindfold over her eyes and she held up the scales, and the scales were what the law says and your own actions. But she always had that blindfold on. Well, what did the blindfold mean? Well it meant when you came before the government, before Ladv Justice, she didn't peek whether you're black or white or male or female, rich or poor. She just said this is the way the law applies evenly to all people.

But socialism does something different. Lady Justice peeks and says this one's rich, this one's poor. I'm going to take from this one to give to this one and then we get sophisticated and we steal from everybody and pass it around to everybody else in the government. It gets more and more inefficient, but Lady Justice is peeking. That's socialism. It's wealth redistribution. It is institutionalized debt. It's morally wrong, and worst of all, it doesn't work.

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. Right. And I believe Bastiat over 150 years referred to that as "legalized plunder" in the book, "The Law," where he knew that anyone that was taking without permission and giving to someone else was plunder. And in the case of taxation here in the United States and the raising of taxes that we're going to see in January 2011 just due to the inaction of the leadership here in Washington, that is an increased legalized plunder that is going to occur.

Mr. AKIN. Which really kind of wraps back around. I promised when we started we'd ask a couple of these really basic questions, that is, Can the government steal? A lot of kids say, well, the government can't possibly steal. The fact of the matter is the government can steal when the government does stuff that it's not its job to do. And one of the things it's not its job to do is to take something from one person and give it to someone else and that's, of course, what the President

said that he wanted to do with the government. He announced that before he was elected that that was his plan, to take money from Joe the plumber and give it to someone else.

And, of course, he said he wouldn't tax anybody that made less than \$250,000, and yet that silly cap-and-tax bill that we passed in this Chamber before you were here—you don't have the shame of having that having gone through here—but if you flipped a light switch, you start paying a tax. You know, it isn't a matter of 250,000 bucks, you flip a light switch you're going to be taxed.

And that socialized medicine bill, wow, is that ever a disaster. They've got taxes in there on wheelchairs. I thought I saw a taxing on everything that moves or doesn't move, but they've even got taxes on wheelchairs in that thing, and of course the problem is that's what kills jobs. It's messing the economy up, adding to the insufficient liquidity, the economic uncertainty and of course the red tape and government mandates.

You put this package together and you can go both ways. You can have a vibrant economy, people free and prosperous and out there chugging along, good economy, or you can just keep on dialing in more and more government interference, more tremendous levels of spending, and basically what you're doing is you're killing freedom.

□ 1830

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. When you think about it, imagine if you had the opportunity to implement the policies that you felt were best to get jobs moving forward here in this Nation. If it was me, I would say, let's empower the private sector. Let's allow them to be the job creators, not government. Let's reduce the tax burden. Let's start with the capital gains tax, the corporate tax rate, as well as many of the other tax rates involved in there. But then not only reduce taxes, cut spending. You have to cut spending in association with those tax cuts. In addition, we need to cut it beyond because of the spending level that we're currently on. But when you think about spending, everyone around here says, well, you can't cut spending. And you have to ask the question: Are we running at an efficient level here as government? We know the answer. The answer to that is no. In my opinion there are no sacred cows. It is time to cut government and cut it and cut deep when it comes to cutting government. Americans all across this Nation are cutting their budget, and there are a lot of important things in their budget. I believe it's time for the Federal Government to cut their budget tremendously, reduce taxes, reduce the regulation, and let the private sector once again flourish.

Mr. AKIN. I think you're absolutely right.

The idea, though, that we can bring the level of spending that we've got going on under control by just trying to get efficiency, I think that's probably optimistic. I think what we have to do is decide that there are some things that Washington, D.C. should not be doing in the first place. We shouldn't cut it; we should just totally eliminate it. It should just stop. None. We need to take a good look at our Federal spending and say, What are the things the Federal Government has to do? We have to defend our Nation. We know that much. Because the States aren't going to do that. We have to make sure there's no pirates on the high seas. There used to be a law, it was one of the few Federal laws against piracy on the high seas. There was a Federal law when America started that was against counterfeiting, because that was not a State job: that had to be a Federal job.

There are very few jobs that originally started at the Federal level. And then everything else, we have to push them back to the States. I would be happy to say, look, if the people of California, or Massachusetts, or Tennessee want to have socialized medicine, let them try it and see how it works. They could learn from Massachusetts. It didn't work well. They could learn from Tennessee. They about shut down medicine in Tennessee. If States want to try these things, let the experiments begin at the State level. But at the Federal level, we have got to basically stop a lot of stuff. The first place I would start with would be just what Ronald Reagan said, shut down that Department of Education.

I had a group I was talking to down at a Honda dealership just a couple of days ago and I asked them, How much benefit do you think you've gotten from a whole bunch of Federal bureaucrats that work in the Department of Education? Has it helped your kid any at all? There were these blank looks. No, I don't think it's helped a whole lot.

So what happens if you sell the building and just shut down the Department of Education at the Federal level? Why can't that be done at the State or local level? I think we have to ask those tough questions. Maybe you could make a case, gosh, it would be nice if; but we can't afford it.

Here's a number: Debt and deficit as a percent of GDP. This is deficit. Here's the United States. We're right alongside of Greece and Spain and the United Kingdom. We're right in there with these European countries that are struggling, and we're not much better off than they are. We're way overspending.

Here is debt as a percent of GDP. You've got the United States. There are only two other countries that are worse than we are, that's Greece and Italy.

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. If you had to simplify that for the American viewers out there, and I see that says about 91 percent of our debt as a percentage

of GDP. How would you simplify that in terms of the average household at home and they have income coming in, their pay as it relates to debt?

Mr. AKIN. Let's try and speculate a little bit. Let's say the income for the whole year, they make a hundred bucks. So what does this mean, 91 percent? If their income is a hundred dolars for the year, what does that mean? That means they've got an incredible level of debt. They're not going to get back out from under it hardly.

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. You're saying that 91 percent of that goes to debt; that income has to go to debt.

Mr. AKIN. That's the problem.

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. If the liability was called in at that point. It is a liability of 91 percent.

Mr. AKIN. Yes.

So the point is, what do we do here in America? We basically have to stop thinking that the Federal Government is God and that it's going to solve every problem. We've got the Federal Government now, they're into the automobile business, the insurance business, the student loan business, they're in the flood insurance business, they're in the food business, they're in the food business, they're in the housing business.

It kind of reminds me, there was this country that I grew up paying close attention to in the U.S., and it had this philosophy that the government is going to give you food, and it's going to give you a place to live, some shelter, it's going to give you an education, the government's going to give you a job and it's going to give you health care. We looked at that country and thought, That's not going to work. And it didn't work. The whole country crashed economically. It was called the USSR.

Here we are today, and what does the Federal Government try to do? Give people housing and food and education and a job and health care. How are we different? What we have to understand is the Federal Government has to be reined in to do just what it's supposed to do, which is justice. That is, provide a set of laws where everybody is equal before the law and a national security that protects us from terrorists and other people that wish us ill. So that Federal Government is just going to have to go on a diet.

Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. That's right.

I've only been here 30 days and I can tell you, this government is way too big. It does not run efficiently. There are many tasks that it should not be involved in whatsoever. We've seen those pass this House just in my few short weeks of being here. As I think about where we're going and I think about the solutions that we're all seeking, the Economic Advisory Council that I've put together across the 15 counties of the Ninth Congressional District is going to be one of the most dynamic councils I believe we have ever seen, because these are the business leaders, those that are on the

ground hiring and making decisions for their business, that are making tough decisions; what to cut out of their budgets, what hours are they going to operate, what supplies are they going to buy. And we're asking them that question, What is keeping you from hiring that next employee? Because it goes back to that, if one out of three businesses would just hire one person in the next 12 months, unemployment would be cut in half. That's how close we are.

So what is it that the government is doing to prevent you from hiring that next employee? I am excited that soon I will be bringing back what I believe are going to be some powerful recommendations to the House of Representatives right here and say, From the Ninth Congressional District, from the business leaders in north Georgia, here's what they say needs to be done in order to get this economy back on track.

Mr. AKIN. I think you and I have a pretty good idea what they're liable to say, because they have enough business sense to know what's happened historically. They know socialism doesn't work, and they know what you've got to do is as the jobs and wealth and freedom, those are things that come from free people. It isn't the government that makes jobs. It's the businesses. It's all of the innovative Americans that are out there, that are living that dream in their heart. From the beginning days of this country, there are these people, these crazy people that came to this land with some dream of something they wanted to do.

I remember there was one guy that had this idea, he wanted to build light bulbs. He built a hundred of them and none of them worked. His attitude was, now I know a hundred ways not to build a light bulb. These crazy people came with these dreams in their hearts, the dream became a vague possibility and eventually it became a reality, and America was built, one dream at a time. It got to be so common, we called it the American Dream.

I know, gentlemen, as you travel in Georgia and you talk to those people, that you really get to love them out there, and you hear the stories:

"Well, my wife and I were sleeping under a park bench, but we had this idea for a little business. That was 20 years ago. Well, now, my goodness, we've done pretty well. The kids are in good shape. We've got a nice house. I think I might be selling the business."

We do this, this, or that. Who would have thought it? We've got one guy in Missouri. He started a little company called Innoventor. I love this story. Talk about somebody with some imagination. He had grown up on a hog farm. Some of us that are from suburbia, we're not too fond of the by-product of those hog farms. But he had a lot of that by-product kicking around trying to figure out what to do with it. And so this guy took all this pig manure and he put it into a tank and he ran the

temperature up and the pressure up in the tank according to some basic principles of the way that we work with petroleum products and figured out a way to turn all that pig manure into this thick oily sludge which they then use to make asphalt.

And so he's got a section of road in the State of Missouri that's paved with asphalt made from pig manure. Of course the first question is, does the road smell? He says, No, when you get it up to this temperature, all the ammonia and things that you associate with smell is gone. But here's a guy that took something that nobody wanted, people looked at it as a liability, and he's got an invention that's going to turn that pig manure into asphalt to pave our roads with.

That's the kind of thing that makes America. I thought that was a colorful example. I know you've got stories of your own from Georgia. My brother was a Ramblin' Wreck from Georgia Tech. I know they've trained some good engineers down there.

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Mr. GRAVES of Georgia. There are great talents and opportunities in Georgia. And as I know we are wrapping up our time probably here, and as I sort of close out, it goes back to that zero sum. It is a zero sum game when it comes to employment.

You are either expanding the private sector, or you are expanding the governmental sector. And I believe our objective, and I am glad that you are of like mind with me, that as we consider the deliberations over the next several weeks, that those who are watching tonight know that there are two men, plus more here, who really want to see the private sector expand, and expand through innovation and the excitement of the idea.

So I sort of liken it to the flame. There is that entrepreneurial flame out there. It has been dampened. It has been dampened quite a bit over the last 15-16 months with the policies coming out of Washington, and I believe it is our objective and I believe we can do this.

It is time to once again fan that flame and get that dampened spark flamed back up and get that entrepreneur fired back up about that American dream that you just spoke of.

I will close with this story, because my son who is 10 shared with me the greatest illustration last year. We were debating allowances. We were talking a dollar for this task and a dollar for that task. And he stopped me and he said, dad, if you give me a dollar to do something that I should already be doing, doesn't that just take away from what mom can buy groceries with? Wouldn't it be better if I made something and sold it and added to the family?

I mean, what a phenomenal example from a 10-year-old boy who understands productivity and wealth accumulation. That is something that excites me, that that young generation gets it.

Mr. AKIN. Well, you know, that is a heartwarming story, and it shows the basic nature of your 10-year-old son. He understands that somewhere along the line, that he was made to do something, and even that God maybe has a plan for him, and his thinking was, I want to help my dad.

You know, there is nothing I think as a Christian that inspires me more than a passage in the Bible that is in Ephesians. It says that we are God's workmanship created in Christ Jesus. That means that each one of us is a unique and special person.

But not only that. Here is what exciting. He says unto good work which God prepared for us to do, every single one of us has a purpose in this world, and the purpose is to do some good work, which our Father wants us to do. And it is a pretty exciting thing if you are not cynical to say, you mean I can actually do something that would please my Father in heaven?

You see, I think the freedom that we treasure in America was given to us so that we could do that mission that we were created to do. That is what freedom is all about. It is not to abuse, not to have the government take from one person and give to another person. It is about each one of us doing what we were called to do and living that American dream.

Then as the country builds and becomes strong and we have this attitude that everybody has a purpose, everybody, there is no one that isn't included in that, and that the freedom we enjoy is freedom so that we can do what we were created to do in the first place. When we have that kind of attitude, it gets contagious, and all over the world people are going to say, hey, look what is going on in America. Isn't that exciting? Those people really do believe in freedom. They understand difference between socialism, which is big government doing something that is stealing, it is dishonest, and allowing people to follow their god-given direction.

That means as you said though that people will fail sometimes. We try, we fall down, we have to get up and try it again. If we didn't understand that, none of us would know how to walk. We fall down the first few times. And I found that out trying to ski as well. You know, there is a part of my anatomy that worked as a brake for quite a while. It got pretty sore.

But we keep getting back up again, and that is necessary in a free kind of society. But I think America loves that sunlight and bright light of freedom and that fresh air and the enthusiasm of the challenge, and the fact that every one of us has a purpose that we were put on this earth to do.

The Lord has given us the simple commandment, thou shalt not steal, and when somebody takes something from one person and gives it to you and you didn't earn it, you see, that is short-circuiting the way God made everything, and that is why it didn't

work. It didn't work for the Soviet Union, it hasn't worked in these other countries.

Socialized medicine doesn't work. Yes, you get insurance, but you can't get any health care. That doesn't do you any good.

Well, I appreciate your joining me, and thank the good citizens from Georgia for sending up such a great Congressman. Congressman GRAVES. Is a pleasure joining you.

## BRITISH PETROLEUM AND OTHER ISSUES OF THE DAY

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mrs. HALVORSON). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 2009, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GOHMERT) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. GOHMERT. Madam Speaker, it is always an honor and privilege to speak on the floor of the House of Representatives where so much history has been made. There are a number of things we need to cover.

I had some interesting things going on in the Natural Resources Committee today because we are taking up legislation as a result of the oil spill. Those pesky words keep resurfacing, "never let a crisis go to waste," and it appears that is what is happening here.

We had 11 people lose their lives in the Deepwater Horizon explosion. Many thousands may lose their livelihood. We know that it is the worst environmental accident we have had in the United States.

It has been amazing that so little had been done to try to assist from the Federal Government. Eventually the Coast Guard came on board, but three days after this terrible accident, it is nations like the Netherlands that have extraordinary expertise in building barrier islands, in actually taking in water and separating out the oil, people that had all these wonderful inventions and ideas and things that would help capture the oil, should have all been utilized because so many of them have merit, and yet the Coast Guard kept turning them away. Kevin Costner had spent \$10 million of his own money to see this thing developed that would separate oil and water and do so in large numbers, but didn't get a lot of attention.

So I know there were a lot of pressing things to do. There were golf courses to be played, there were things that had to be done, parties that had to be attended. All the while the oil kept coming up and the environment kept suffering, wildlife kept suffering.

And then when we eventually find out, well, actually there was a reason. British Petroleum thought they were bulletproof. They thought they could have more safety violations, hundreds of times more safety violations than other oil companies drilling in the Gulf of Mexico, and be immune from having the administration come down on it.

It is understandable now, once we got into it. They were supportive of the administration's crap-and-trade bill. In