

work and get us more firmly on the path to recovery? I think not. I think much of this money is wasted and will create zero jobs.

Now, if you think that the Bush-era tax cuts worked well—they didn't create any jobs, but if for some reason you think they worked well—then you are going to like this. In fact, it is even a bigger giveaway than the Bush-era tax cuts. Or if you think the \$300 billion of the so-called stimulus that the President gave away in tax cuts, the Larry Summers tax cuts that were so small that no one would notice and they would just spend them on consumer goods—bad politics, bad economics, didn't put anybody back to work, to get three Republican votes, that is why that \$300 billion went in there, and bumped out real investment that would have created immediate and real jobs and long-term benefits—no, instead we had ephemeral spending. That was supposed to put Americans back to work.

If you liked that, you are going to love this. It has new provisions. One, instead of President Obama's "making work pay" tax cuts, now we are going to attack Social Security. That is right, the Republicans are getting their dreams here.

We are going to give a tax holiday of 2 percent on Social Security. Isn't that great? It goes to any income level. That means Members of Congress will get a minimum of a \$2,100 tax break, as will other people who do very well in this country.

But, don't worry, that that would kind of hurt Social Security, to cut its income by \$111 billion next year. It would accelerate the point at which it couldn't pay benefits. But, don't worry, we will borrow the money from China, and we will inject it into the Social Security trust fund, tearing down the firewall between the general fund and Social Security.

Next year the Republicans are going to say to the President, Hey, you can't let that tax cut for working people, that FICA holiday, expire. And, oh, by the way, we can't afford to subsidize Social Security anymore out of the general fund.

This is a trap, and that kind of a tax cut is not going to put people back to work.

Then we have the tax cuts for the upper income, \$51 billion for incomes above \$250,000. Now, remember, up to \$250,000, everybody under what President Obama first proposed would get a tax break. It is only your income over 250 that would be taxed at the Clinton-era rates. And guess what happened during the Clinton era? We balanced the budget, and we created 23 million jobs. Not too bad. Now we have record deficits, and we are creating an anemic number of jobs.

They estimate this package might create between 1 million and 3 million jobs, or save them, or later they will say it could have been worse, just like they did with the stimulus. If we directly invested a fraction of this \$858

billion in roads, bridges, highways, sewers, water systems, building schools, things that would pass benefits to future generations, we could create millions of jobs and you would have gotten something for your money, other than current consumption.

Then, how about this new provision, estates over \$10 million? Now, the media keeps saying \$5 million. No, it is 5 and 5, husband and wife, \$10 million of an estate tax-free, and after that a lower tax break. That costs \$10 billion a year.

We are going to borrow \$10 billion a year, all the American people are going to borrow that money, to give 6,000 families a tax break, who are already doing quite well, thank you very much. How many jobs will that create? Zero. Goose egg. None. It isn't about small business anymore. We are talking estates over \$10 million.

Then we are going to continue the Bush-era reductions in capital gains and dividend taxes, which go predominantly to the highest income brackets, under the premise that those things too create jobs. If this is a job creator, it is the least efficient, lamest way to create jobs at unbelievable expense.

If we want to create jobs, there are better ways to do it; or if you want to do the tax relief, you could do it for much less. If you cut out the upper income, over \$250,000, the estates over \$10 million, look at capital gains, dividends, don't do the FICA tax, or at least cap it so people at levels of Members of Congress don't get it, we could do this for less and put more people to work.

COSTS TOO HIGH FOR WAR IN AFGHANISTAN

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MCGOVERN) for 5 minutes.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, the recent congressional elections here in the United States focused on many issues, but the war in Afghanistan was not one of them.

There is no draft in this country. We have an all-volunteer Armed Forces. Only a small percentage of our population is at risk. And no one is paying for the war. It is all going on America's credit card. We are borrowing all the money to pay for this war. So, why should anyone pay attention?

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that we must pay more attention. There is absolutely no excuse for our collective indifference. At 109 months, this is the longest war in our history. Over 1,400 of our uniformed men and women have lost their lives in Afghanistan. Over 8,700 have been wounded in action.

High levels of deployment continue to strain our uniformed men and women, their families and their communities. In spite of the military's best efforts, suicide and post-traumatic stress rates continue to soar and our ability to care for the wounded is severely overburdened.

The ability of individual servicemembers and their units to rest, recuperate, retrain and reequip themselves for redeployment is stretched beyond its limits. And in Afghanistan, our so-called ally, President Hamad Karzai, is corrupt. The Afghan military and the police are not reliable partners and al Qaeda is someplace else.

A few weeks ago, President Obama told us we are in Afghanistan for at least another 4 years, maybe more. The question is, for what? Why do we need to sacrifice more precious American lives? Why do we need to continue to align ourselves with a crooked government that routinely commits fraud in elections? Why aren't we instead using all of our resources to go after the terrorists that murdered so many of our civilians on September 11?

The Republicans won back the majority of the House by promising to control spending and reducing the deficit. This war has already cost us over \$450 billion. When combined with the cost of the war in Iraq, it accounts for 23 percent of our combined deficits since 2003.

Where is the outcry from the tea partiers and the deficit hawks? Fiscal conservatives should be outraged that this war is being financed with borrowed money. And for those who support the war, you should pay for it. And where is the liberal outrage? For those of us who are tired of being told that we don't have enough money to extend unemployment benefits or invest in green jobs or new jobs, we should be yelling and screaming at the fact that when it comes to the war in Afghanistan and supporting Hamad Karzai, our Treasury is an ATM machine.

□ 1240

Let us put in perspective what this war truly costs and what we must give up in order to maintain the status quo. According to Nobel Laureate and Columbia University professor Joseph Stiglitz, testifying before the House Veterans' Affairs Committee, the total cost of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, including interest payments on the money borrowed for these wars and taking care of our wounded soldiers and veterans, will likely be between \$4 trillion and \$6 trillion. Yes, Mr. Speaker, between \$4 trillion and \$6 trillion.

On Saturday, December 11, Mr. Speaker, another soldier from my district sacrificed his life in Afghanistan. Army Specialist Ethan Goncalo was just 21 years old when he died in Kabul. He is the third graduate of Durfee High School in Fall River to die in uniform this year, and the fourth servicemember from Fall River, a town of 90,000 residents. His loss is deeply felt in this tight-knit community, and my thoughts and prayers are with his parents, family, friends, and schoolmates.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the human and financial costs of this war are unacceptable and unsustainable. It is bankrupting us. We need a plan to extricate

ourselves from Afghanistan, not a plan to stay there for 4 more years and “then we’ll see.” This doesn’t mean that we abandon the Afghan people, Mr. Speaker. Rather, we should abandon this war strategy. It hasn’t brought stability to Afghanistan, and it is not enhancing our own national security.

Ending war is politically difficult. It is easier for politicians to “go along” rather than make waves. But, Mr. Speaker, this isn’t about politics. It’s about doing the right thing. And the right thing is to end this war.

[From the Boston Globe, Dec. 14, 2010]

WARTIME LOSSES HIT HARD IN TIGHTKINT
FALL RIVER

(By David Abel and John M. Guilfoil)

FALL RIVER.—A week before Army Specialist Ethan Goncalo was scheduled to speak at BMC Durfee High School, where he had been an A student known for his fastball, the 21-year-old died in Afghanistan.

He became the school’s third graduate to die in uniform this year and the fourth servicemember from Fall River.

In Massachusetts, only Boston, with six times the population of Fall River, has lost more of its own in Iraq and Afghanistan, according to *icasualties.org*, which tracks military deaths.

“As a community, it’s tough . . . very tough,” principal Paul Marshall said yesterday.

Marshall said the succession of deaths has made him wonder whether it was wise for administrators to steer students into the military.

“In time of peace, it’s a great opportunity,” he said. “Kids can get their education paid for, but they are literally putting their life on the line.”

Since the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan began, Fall River has lost five servicemembers, and Boston has lost seven.

Goncalo, who was assigned to the First Battalion, 181st Infantry Regiment in Worcester, died Saturday in Kabul of injuries sustained in a noncombat-related incident, military officials said.

In addition to Goncalo, Fall River has lost Army Private Michael E. Bouthot, a 19-year-old who died in Iraq in 2006; Army Sergeant Robert Barrett, a 21-year-old who died in Afghanistan in April; Army Specialist Scott Andrews, also 21, who was killed in June in Afghanistan; and Marine Corporal Paul Fagundes, 29, who died July 4 while trying to rescue fellow Marines drowning in a rip current off Guantanamo Bay. Barrett and Fagundes were also Durfee graduates.

“It seems surreal that we would lose this many heroes,” said Manuel DaPonte, director of veterans services in Fall River, which has about 90,000 residents.

“It’s really hard to believe. It doesn’t seem real or fair for so many people to die from a city our size.”

Mayor Will Flanagan said it was hard for him to imagine attending his fourth military funeral this year, his first term in office.

“It has had a toll on me,” he said. “This is a time for me to reflect and to be there for the families and the city, to honor any requests they have.”

He said the city has paid tribute to the fallen in parades and through benefits. In addition, he said the city plans to rename the reconstructed Brightman Street Bridge the Veteran’s Memorial Bridge when it is rededicated in the spring.

“Fall River is a hard-working community, a patriotic community, and our young men see the military as a way to serve,” said

Flanagan. “It provides them stability in their lives and gives them an opportunity to further their education and to earn an income.”

He added: “We are deeply saddened by the loss, but these young men paid the ultimate sacrifice for freedom and democracy. Their losses are not in vain, and their memories will not be forgotten.”

At Durfee yesterday, friends, coaches, and administrators described Goncalo as a talented baseball player, a driven student, and a good friend. He had agreed to address his school during his upcoming leave.

Marshall said each of the young men who attended the 2,200-student school was the kind of person you would want beside you in a foxhole.

“They were stand-up kids,” he said. “The common thing is that they made their commitment with their eyes wide open.”

He said Goncalo, who graduated from Durfee in 2008 after transferring there a year earlier from Bishop Connolly High School, fit in immediately. “It felt like he was here for four [years],” Marshall said. “He was that kind of kid.”

Brad Bustin, the varsity baseball coach at Durfee, described Goncalo as “dedicated, well-rounded, and a hard worker.” Goncalo was a utility player who caught and pitched, with an arm strong enough to play outfield and a glove good enough to play first base.

“He was a nice, nice kid, easy to get along with and liked by all the other kids,” Bustin said. “He was just a happy person, a happy kid, always smiling.”

The school put a large piece of paper in the school cafeteria with several boxes of magic markers. Students described Goncalo as a “good man” and a “big brother.”

“You were a great teammate, friend, and an overall good man,” wrote one student, Nathan Farias. “Thank you for all you helped me with.”

Danielle Santos, another student, also thanked the fallen soldier.

“You were the nicest guy and a great athlete,” she wrote. “You will be missed.”

Goncalo’s relatives could not be reached yesterday and were apparently heading to Dover Air Force Base in Delaware, where his body was to be brought sometime today or tomorrow, city officials said. The military did not release details about his death.

On Goncalo’s Facebook page, friends sang his praises.

Bryanna Rego, who attended Bishop Connolly High School with Goncalo, recalled how he loved to goof around.

“Ethan was an amazing person,” she wrote. “. . . He made an impact on so many people’s lives, and his face will be engraved in not only mine, but in the hearts of everyone who knew him.”

RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 12(a) of rule I, the Chair declares the House in recess until 2 p.m. today.

Accordingly (at 12 o’clock and 42 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess until 2 p.m.

□ 1400

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. CUMMINGS) at 2 p.m.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Daniel P. Coughlin, offered the following prayer:

Lord God, at this time when You desire to be close to Your people, the truth of Isaiah, the prophet, frightens us. So we withdraw to a more comfortable place, content with fictitious demands on our time.

You said to Isaiah:

“Since this people draws near with words only and honors Me with their lips alone, their hearts are far from me. Their reverence for Me has become routine observance.

“I will now deal with this people in surprising and wondrous fashion.

“Woe to those who would hide their plans, thinking they are too deep for the Lord; who work in the dark saying, Who sees us or who really knows what we are about?”

It is time, Lord, to shake us from our stupor. Send forth Your word to shatter our illusions and all our fears, both now and forever.

Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day’s proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Pursuant to clause 1, rule I, the Journal stands approved.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Will the gentleman from Utah (Mr. CHAFFETZ) come forward and lead the House in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Mr. CHAFFETZ led the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE HONORABLE BART STUPAK, MEMBER OF CONGRESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Honorable BART STUPAK, Member of Congress:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, December 10, 2010.

Hon. NANCY PELOSI,
Speaker, House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

DEAR MADAM SPEAKER: This is to notify you formally pursuant to rule VIII of the Rules of the House of Representatives that I have been served with a subpoena for testimony issued by the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Michigan.

After consultation with the Office of General Counsel, I have determined that compliance with the subpoena is consistent with the precedents and privileges of the House.

Sincerely,

BART STUPAK,
Member of Congress.

COMMUNICATION FROM CHIEF OF STAFF, THE HONORABLE BART STUPAK, MEMBER OF CONGRESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from Scott Schloegel, Chief of