

good results rather than volume, saving tens of billions more.

Yes, we can fix Medicare. We don't need to destroy it to perpetuate tax cuts.

And then tax cuts create jobs. That's the reason we have to maintain the tax cuts, according to the Republicans. Tax cuts create jobs. Well, we're in the 11th year of the Bush tax cuts, the third year of the Obama tax cuts that supposedly are creating jobs. Well, where are the jobs? In fact, we just had a really good demonstration of this last week.

Last Friday, all taxes on airline tickets expired. Now, Republicans said, well, that will get passed on to the consumers. No. Most of the airlines are keeping the money. That's another issue. But did those tax cuts create jobs? No. Actually so far they've cost us 94,000 jobs—4,000 Federal employees. Now, they hate Federal employees, so that doesn't matter to them. But 90,000 private-sector construction jobs. Building of critical security and safety projects on airports all across the country has ground to a halt because they stopped us from continuing to collect that fee, that tax on people who use the system.

So tax cuts actually have destroyed 94,000 jobs. But they have profited a number of the airlines. One major airline, \$4 million extra a day because, guess what, they raised their ticket prices to capture that money. They didn't refund it. A couple like Alaska have refunded it, but most of the airlines, no.

□ 1030

So we're putting a lie to a lot of their policies here, and the biggest core part of their policy is trickle-down economics. It failed in the Reagan years and it's failing again now.

Give billionaires, the job-creators, tax cuts, and they'll create jobs for us little people. Well, guess what; no. Maybe they hired another pool boy or someone else on the yacht. There are a few jobs there. They're now hiring private jets to fly their kids to camp in Maine. Yes, there's a job there, but not the jobs that 18 million American people need.

If we restore the taxes on airline tickets, we would put 90,000 construction workers, private sector workers back to work, and 4,000 government employees. And if we fully fund our transportation needs in this country, we could put another 2.7 to 3.5 million people to work.

No, they want to cut investment in transportation and infrastructure. Bridges are failing. They're falling down. The roads are potholed. Transit systems are decrepit, and the Republican answer is: Give people back their money and cut spending on those wasteful things like mass transit, bridges, and highways.

And, oh, by the way, under their plan, we lose another 600,000 private sector jobs on top of the 20 percent unemployment in construction.

It's time to get real around here. Put America back to work. If Americans were working, that would solve one-quarter of the deficit problem. Stop the tax cut mayhem.

#### OPEN LETTER TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

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

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, I have voted to raise the debt ceiling where the bill makes America's financial condition better, not worse.

In my judgment, both the Reid and Boehner plans fail to adequately address unsustainable deficits that threaten America with insolvency and bankruptcy. Both plans push the debt ceiling issue to 2012 or 2013, at which time a financially weaker America will confront a worse debt ceiling crisis. Both plans simply are not up to the seriousness of the financial challenges America faces.

Washington must put 2012 election considerations aside and put America's interests first and foremost, now. Congress and the White House can and must do better, now. America deserves better, now. And quite frankly, we have no choice but to do better, now.

Years of spending binges by the Federal Government have come home to roost. America's debt exceeds \$14 trillion. America has suffered 3 consecutive years of trillion-dollar deficits and faces trillion-dollar deficits into the foreseeable future. Annual deficits and accumulated debt force America to confront two major financial threats, both with one common cause: unsustainable budget deficits.

In the short term, America faces a debt ceiling crisis. If the debt ceiling is not raised, economic hardship will ensue, unemployment rates will rise, and America's gross domestic product will decline. Over a longer term, however, America faces a larger, more serious debt crisis. If trillion-dollar deficits continue to run rampant, America's insolvency and bankruptcy is certain, which risks America's national defense capabilities, Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, NASA, and everything else that the government provides.

The question is not whether Congress will raise the debt ceiling; the question is when and how. I have already voted to raise the debt ceiling \$2.4 trillion as part of the Cut, Cap, and Balance bill. We're cutting FY12 expenditures by a modest \$111 billion in the context of a \$1.5 trillion deficit, capping Federal Government expenditures within historically justifiable 18 to 24 percent ranges, and passing a balanced budget constitutional amendment that protects future generations of Americans from the financial mess we now face.

I am prepared to vote to raise the debt ceiling again, so long as Congress substantively addresses our underlying deficit problem while protecting our

fragile economy and jobs market. As best I can with the limited and changing information available, I have examined both the Boehner and Reid plans. While they differ in many respects, they also share common concepts:

Neither plan purports to immediately raise taxes. Neither plan cuts spending in FY 2012 or 2013 by as much as 5 percent of this year's \$1.5 trillion deficit. Neither plan eliminates annual trillion-dollar deficits in the foreseeable future. Both plans raise the debt ceiling by at least \$1 trillion and as much as \$2.7 trillion. Both plans kick the can down the road and force America to revisit the debt ceiling crisis in either 2012 or 2013, at which time America's debt burden will be much higher and America will be that much weaker. Neither plan heeds Standard and Poor's or Moody's credit downgrade warnings. Neither plan cuts America's short- or long-term deficits enough to minimize the risk of downgrade in America's credit rating, a downgrade that will drive up America's debt service cost and cut funding for all other Federal Government programs. To make matters worse, if America's interest rates go up, State and local private interest rates are likely to also go up, thereby hurting Americans at all levels.

There is only one reliable solution that I can discern that protects America from both financial threats: a debt ceiling increase coupled with a balanced budget constitutional amendment that is phased in over a 5-year period of time.

In as much as constitutional amendments often take years to pass, time that America does not have, the first step must be to raise the debt ceiling when Congress passes a substantive balanced budget constitutional amendment. If the Senate and House concur, this can be done in as little as a week.

The second step, equally important, raises the rest of the debt ceiling when the States ratify the proposed balanced budget amendment, thus giving States a needed incentive to ratify the balanced budget amendment in less than 1 year.

This approach solves both financial threats.

Quite frankly, Mr. Speaker, I pray that Washington has the strength to do what it must before it is too late. America is on the verge of a downward spiral. We must act now, and we must act in substantive ways.

#### DEBT CEILING

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

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to talk about our current fiscal situation and how we got to where we are today. The thought that America would default on its obligations is unimaginable.

This afternoon, we're going to begin a debate on Speaker BOEHNER's debt

ceiling legislation, and I'll comment later on why I oppose the Speaker's approach. But before we begin that debate, I think it's important to acknowledge, step back, and review how we got to where we are.

The success of the 1993 Deficit Reduction Act, which was vehemently opposed by our Republican friends, led to a decade of prosperity and surplus. President Clinton balanced the budget for the first time since 1969 and ran surpluses for 4 years. Between 1998 and 2000, the publicly held debt was reduced by \$363 billion, the largest 3-year pay down in American history. Under Presidents Reagan and Bush, the debt held by the public quadrupled. By the time Bill Clinton left office, the budget was on track to pay off the entire publicly held debt on a net basis by 2009. Remember, Alan Greenspan warned us that we were paying down the debt too quickly. The clock in Times Square, which chronicled the deficit, was actually turned off at the end of the Clinton years. But, unfortunately, there were those who thought that we should shift course.

Economic growth averaged 4 percent during those Clinton years, compared to an average of 2.8 percent during President Reagan's years. The economy grew for 116 consecutive months, the most in history, fueled by more than 22.5 million jobs that were created during those 8 years, the most jobs ever created during a single administration and more than were created in the previous 12 years.

On January 20, 2001, when George W. Bush took the oath of office, the CBO estimated that the total budget surplus for 2002 to 2011 would be \$5.6 trillion. And their campaign began to spend that surplus in earnest, despite warnings. President Bush began taking us down that fiscal path by enacting tax cuts, first in 2001 of \$1.3 trillion, and again in 2003, \$1 trillion, that cost the government going forward almost \$4 trillion. The other major expenditure in those years was our idea that you could simultaneously engage two wars and cut taxes by \$2.3 trillion. Remember the argument about weapons of mass destruction that took us to the unnecessary war in Iraq.

While some question tax cuts in wartime, including people like Mr. Lincoln, others thought it brilliant. The Republican leader at the time or the deputy leader at the time said it was patriotic to cut taxes in a time of war. Well, I wonder if the 2.2 million more veterans who have served us with honor and distinction in Iraq and Afghanistan are going to feel that way when proposals come down the road to draw back on the benefits that they've earned. During the Bush years, our country spent \$1.5 trillion in Iraq and on national defense.

The turnaround in our budget picture during the Bush years was remarkable. In October of 2008, CNN reported that the debt clock had run out of numbers. The debt clock actually had exceeded

13 digits that had been allotted, so the clock had to be revised.

□ 1040

According to one report at the end of the Bush term, the number of jobs in the Nation increased by 2 percent. That's the lowest or most tepid growth at any time since data began to be collected seven decades ago. Gross domestic product was at the lowest pace for a period of that length of time since the Truman administration. And the price that America has paid for the theology that suggested during all of those years that tax cuts paid for themselves, you can't find a mainstream economist in this town today who will acknowledge that argument. And yet we hear now more tax cuts for the wealthiest Americans.

By the time that the Bush years ended, the debt had increased to \$10.6 trillion, setting a record for any administration. And incidentally, the TARP vote that we hear so often, that took place in October of 2008, that's a very important consideration. That was during President Bush's years.

But let me give you a quote that I think sums up much of what we did during those years. Dick Cheney told the Treasury Secretary at the time, Paul O'Neill: Reagan proved that deficits don't matter. We won the mid-term elections, this is our due.

We embraced the prescription D Medicare benefit that we're paying a price for today.

So here we are. My Republican colleagues try to place the blame for this situation on the current administration. There were many of us who saw what was happening with the reckless expenditure during those years and the price that America paid.

We need to vote to raise the debt ceiling. It's the responsible position for all of us to take.

#### CHANGING THE DIRECTION OF THIS COUNTRY

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

Mr. BARLETTA. Mr. Speaker, almost 7 months ago I stood in this Chamber and took the oath of office. It was one of the proudest days of my life.

Since my swearing-in, we've worked together to change the direction of this country, and we've changed it for the better. We've cut Federal spending by \$361 billion. We've repealed an unpopular and unwanted government health care plan. And we've started dialing back some of the overregulation that's been slowing our economic growth.

During my short time here in Washington, I've heard some very passionate arguments, and I've seen some very heated debates. But they are nothing, Mr. Speaker, like the angry, confusing, misleading rhetoric I've heard in the last 2 weeks regarding the raising of the debt ceiling.

Some media reports around the Capitol make it seem like we will never come to an agreement. Not only are Democrats and Republicans seemingly miles apart, but it appears as if both parties have splintered internally. The bickering is dividing our government. It's dividing the American people, and it's bringing us to the brink of financial disaster.

Based on the calls my office has received over the past several days, my neighbors back in northeastern Pennsylvania want it to stop. They want a solution, and I'm sure every one of you and your neighbors back home do too.

There is no such thing as the perfect deal. There is no such thing as complete and total victory. Many of us came here opposed to raising the debt ceiling. Many of us prefer the Cut, Cap and Balance approach. Many on the other side prefer a clean debt ceiling increase with no spending cuts.

While the Budget Control Act is far from perfect, it accommodates the priorities of the people sitting on both sides of the table, both sides of the aisle, and both sides of the Capitol. If we, in this Chamber, if our friends in the other Chamber, or if the President holds out for the perfect plan, well, the United States will likely default on its obligations. As the responsible stewards of the people's government, we cannot let that happen. And I am confident that we will not let it happen.

But we need to work together. We need to trust each other. We need to realize that the perfect deal is neither possible nor practical.

We are at a critical moment in our history. This country has lived far beyond its means for far too long. The out-of-control spending has been going on in Washington for generations. Governments spent as if there were no tomorrow; and now we and our children and our grandchildren are left to pay the price.

I know the debt ceiling has been raised before, to the benefit of both Republican and Democratic administrations. Well, I wasn't there then and I didn't create this mess, but I'm sure going to clean it up, and that's why I'm here. That's why the people of northeastern Pennsylvania sent me here.

And while the thought of re-election should never, never enter anyone's mind when we're doing the people's business, let me say that this issue is far bigger than the next election. This issue is far bigger than one man or one branch of government or one political party.

How we solve this looming crisis is the defining issue of this Congress. We can either continue on the path that we've been on, a path of reckless spending, of increasing taxes, of mounting debts and deficits; or we can change our direction. We can put the brakes on the out-of-control spending. We can forge a new direction, one of fiscal responsibility, one of capped spending, one of balanced budgets.

We can send a message to the American people and to the world that the