

Fincher  
Fitzpatrick  
Flake  
Fleischmann  
Fleming  
Flores  
Forbes  
Fortenberry  
Foxy  
Frank (MA)  
Franks (AZ)  
Frelinghuysen  
Fudge  
Gallegly  
Gardner  
Garrett  
Gerlach  
Gibbs  
Gibson  
Gingrey (GA)  
Gohmert  
Gonzalez  
Goodlatte  
Gosar  
Gowdy  
Granger  
Graves (GA)  
Graves (MO)  
Green, Al  
Green, Gene  
Griffin (AR)  
Griffith (VA)  
Grijalva  
Grimm  
Guinta  
Guthrie  
Gutierrez  
Hahn  
Hall  
Hanabusa  
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Harper  
Harris  
Hartzler  
Hastings (FL)  
Hastings (WA)  
Hayworth  
Heck  
Heinrich  
Hensarling  
Herger  
Herrera Beutler  
Higgins  
Himes  
Hirono  
Hochul  
Holden  
Honda  
Hoyer  
Huelskamp  
Huizenga (MI)  
Hultgren  
Hunter  
Hurt  
Inlee  
Israel  
Issa  
Jackson (IL)  
Jackson Lee  
(TX)  
Jenkins  
Johnson (IL)  
Johnson (OH)  
Johnson, E. B.  
Johnson, Sam  
Jones  
Jordan  
Kaptur  
Keating  
Kelly  
Kind  
King (IA)  
King (NY)  
Kingston  
Kinzinger (IL)  
Kissell  
Kline  
Lamborn  
Lance  
Langevin  
Lankford  
Larsen (WA)  
Larson (CT)  
Latham

LaTourette  
Latta  
Levin  
Lewis (CA)  
Lewis (GA)  
Lipinski  
LoBiondo  
Loeb  
Loftgren, Zoe  
Long  
Lowey  
Lucas  
Luetkemeyer  
Lujan  
Lummis  
Lungren, Daniel  
E.  
Lynch  
Mack  
Manzullo  
Marchant  
Marino  
Matheson  
Matsui  
McCarthy (CA)  
McCarthy (NY)  
McCaul  
McClintock  
Green, Al  
McCotter  
McGovern  
McHenry  
McIntyre  
McKeon  
McKinley  
McMorris  
Rodgers  
McNerney  
Meehan  
Meeks  
Mica  
Michaud  
Miller (FL)  
Miller (MI)  
Miller, George  
Moran  
Mulvaney  
Murphy (CT)  
Murphy (PA)  
Myrick  
Nadler  
Neal  
Noem  
Nugent  
Nunes  
Nunnelee  
Olson  
Owens  
Palazzo  
Pallone  
Pascrell  
Pastor (AZ)  
Paulsen  
Pearce  
Pelosi  
Pence  
Perlmutter  
Peters  
Peterson  
Petri  
Pitts  
Platts  
Poe (TX)  
Polis  
Pompeo  
Posey  
Price (GA)  
Price (NC)  
Quayle  
Quigley  
Rahall  
Reed  
Rehberg  
Reichert  
Renacci  
Reyes  
Ribble  
Richardson  
Richmond  
Rigell  
Rivera  
Roby  
Roe (TN)  
Rogers (AL)

Rogers (KY)  
Rogers (MI)  
Rohrabacher  
Rokita  
Rooney  
Ros-Lehtinen  
Roskam  
Ross (AR)  
Ross (FL)  
Rothman (NJ)  
Roybal-Allard  
Royce  
Runyan  
Ruppersberger  
Rush  
Ryan (OH)  
Ryan (WI)  
Sanchez, Linda  
T.  
Sanchez, Loretta  
Scalise  
Schiff  
Schilling  
Schock  
Schrader  
Schwartz  
Schweikert  
Scott (SC)  
Scott (VA)  
Scott, Austin  
Scott, David  
Sensenbrenner  
Serrano  
Sessions  
Sewell  
Sherman  
Shimkus  
Shuler  
Shuster  
Simpson  
Sires  
Slaughter  
Smith (NE)  
Smith (NJ)  
Smith (TX)  
Smith (WA)  
Southernland  
Speier  
Stark  
Stearns  
Stivers  
Stutzman  
Sullivan  
Sutton  
Terry  
Thompson (CA)  
Thompson (PA)  
Thornberry  
Tiberi  
Tierney  
Tipton  
Tonko  
Towns  
Tsongas  
Turner (NY)  
Turner (OH)  
Upton  
Van Hollen  
Velázquez  
Walberg  
Walden  
Walsh (IL)  
Walz (MN)  
Wasserman  
Schultz  
Waters  
Webster  
Welch  
West  
Westmoreland  
Whitfield  
Wilson (FL)  
Wilson (SC)  
Wittman  
Wolf  
Womack  
Woodall  
Woolsey  
Yarmuth  
Yoder  
Young (AK)  
Young (FL)  
Young (IN)

Johnson (GA)  
Kildee  
Kucinich  
Lee (CA)  
Markay

McDermott  
Miller (NC)  
Napolitano  
Oliver  
Pingree (ME)

Sarbanes  
Schakowsky  
Watt  
Waxman

## NOT VOTING—19

Bonner  
Cardoza  
Culberson  
Davis (IL)  
Duncan (TN)  
Filner  
Garamendi  
Hinojosa  
Labrador  
Landry  
Maloney  
Miller, Gary  
Moore  
Neugebauer

Paul  
Rangel  
Schmidt  
Thompson (MS)  
Visclosky

□ 1304

Mr. KUCINICH changed his vote from “aye” to “no.”

So the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Stated against:

Mr. FILNER. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall 110, I was away from the Capitol due to prior commitments to my constituents. Had I been present, I would have voted “no.”

## PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. VISCLOSKEY. Mr. Speaker, on March 8, 2012, I was absent from the House and missed rollcall votes 107 through 110.

Had I been present for rollcall 107, on agreeing to the Peters amendment to H.R. 3606, to increase American job creation and economic growth by improving access to the public capital markets for emerging growth companies, I would have voted “aye.”

Had I been present for rollcall 108, on agreeing to the Capps amendment to H.R. 3606, to increase American job creation and economic growth by improving access to the public capital markets for emerging growth companies, I would have voted “aye.”

Had I been present for rollcall 109, on the motion to recommit with instructions H.R. 3606, to increase American job creation and economic growth by improving access to the public capital markets for emerging growth companies, I would have voted “aye.”

Had I been present for rollcall 110, on passage of H.R. 3606, to increase American job creation and economic growth by improving access to the public capital markets for emerging growth companies, I would have voted “aye.”

## AUTHORIZING THE CLERK TO CORRECT ENGROSSMENT

Mr. BACHUS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that in the engrossment of H.R. 3606, the Clerk be authorized to correct section numbers, punctuation, and cross-references and to make other technical and conforming changes as may be necessary to accurately reflect the actions of the House.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DOLD). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

## HOUR OF MEETING ON TOMORROW

Mr. BACHUS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today, it adjourn to meet at 11 a.m. tomorrow; when the House adjourns on that day, it adjourn to meet at 10 a.m. on Tuesday, March 13, 2012; when the House adjourns on that day, it adjourn to meet at 10 a.m.

on Friday, March 16, 2012; and when the House adjourns on that day, it adjourn to meet at 2 p.m. on Monday, March 19, 2012.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

## PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY IFC/PANHELLENIC DANCE MARATHON.

(Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to congratulate the Pennsylvania State University IFC/Panhellenic Dance Marathon, otherwise known affectionately as “THON.”

THON's goal every year is to raise money for the Four Diamonds Fund at Penn State Hershey Children's Hospital. The fund was established to support children's cancer by assisting patients and their families through treatment. The fund has helped thousands of families by offsetting medical expenses incurred during cancer treatment. This year, THON broke the previous record and raised \$10,698,924. They raised over \$10.6 million. That's amazing work. Congratulations.

Penn State's THON has grown to become one of the largest student-run philanthropies in the world, and their efforts have helped improve the lives of so many.

As a proud Penn State alum and Member representing the university here in Washington, I want to congratulate Penn State, the students, the donors, and all of the organizations involved in the THON for another amazing year in support of a truly important cause.

## END THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN

(Mr. MCGOVERN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, today's New York Times headline: “Intractable Afghan Graft Hampering U.S. Strategy”; the subtitle: Elite group is known for corruption, but high level trials have been absent.

Mr. Speaker, another story about corruption, another story about Afghan President Karzai's complicity in corruption. This story appears while American servicemen and -women continue to die in Afghanistan, while the American people continue to send billions of dollars each day to Afghanistan to sustain the Afghan Government.

Mr. Speaker, I've had it; the American people have had it. This war is not worth another American life. It is not worth another taxpayer dollar. I urge the President to bring our troops home now. I urge the President to end this war now. Enough is enough.

## NOES—23

Baca  
Bass (CA)  
Becerra

Capuano  
Conyers  
Dingell

Edwards  
Hinchey  
Holt

[From the New York Times, Mar. 7, 2012]  
 INTRACTABLE AFGHAN GRAFT HAMPERING U.S.  
 STRATEGY

(By Matthew Rosenberg and Graham  
 Bowley)

KABUL, Afghanistan.—For the past few months, possibly the most intriguing poker game in Kabul has been taking place in the sprawling pink sitting room of the man at the center of one of the most public corruption scandals in the world, the near collapse of Kabul Bank.

The players include people tied to President Hamid Karzai's inner circle, many of whom have profited from the crony capitalism that has come to define Afghanistan's economic order, and nearly brought down Kabul Bank. The game's stakes "aren't too big—a few thousand dollars up or down," one of the participants said.

Betting thousands of dollars a night in a country where most families live off a few hundred dollars a year would seem like a bad play for Sher Khan Farnood, the founder and former chairman of Kabul Bank, the country's biggest. His assets are supposed to be frozen, and he is still facing the threat of prosecution over a scandal that could end up costing the Afghan government—and, by extension, the Western countries that pay most of its expenses—almost \$900 million, a sum that nearly equals the government's total annual revenues.

But Mr. Farnood, who in 2008 won about \$143,000 at a World Series of Poker event in Europe, appears to know a good wager when he sees one. Despite years of urging and oversight by American advisers, Mr. Karzai's government has yet to prosecute a high-level corruption case. And now many American officials say that they have little expectation that Mr. Farnood's case will prove to be the exception—or that Washington will try to do much about it, especially after violent anti-American protests in recent weeks have sowed fresh doubts in the Obama administration over the viability of the mission in Afghanistan.

As Americans pull back from Afghanistan, Mr. Farnood's case exemplifies how the United States is leaving behind a problem it underwrote over the past decade with tens of billions of dollars of aid and logistical support: a narrow business and political elite defined by its corruption, and despised by most Afghans for it.

The Americans and Afghans blame each other for the problem's seeming intractability, contributing to the deterioration in relations that now threatens to scuttle talks on the shape of ties between the countries after the NATO combat mission ends in 2014. What is clear is that the pervasive graft has badly undercut the American war strategy, which hinged on building the Karzai administration into a credible alternative to the Taliban.

Still, the Obama administration has concluded that pressing the fight against corruption, as many American officials tried to do in recent years, could further alienate Mr. Karzai and others around him whom Washington is relying on as it tries to manage a graceful drawdown.

"It's a little late in the game to worry about anticorruption measures because what in the world is the alternative going to be?" said Anthony H. Cordesman, a military analyst at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. "If you find people who aren't corrupt, it is largely because they haven't had the opportunity."

Some of the corruption will fade organically, as America and its allies cut back on their aid to Afghanistan, which is likely to have a harsh impact on the Afghan economy, Mr. Cordesman said. Efforts by the Amer-

ican-led coalition to better monitor the billions it spends each year in Afghanistan continue and are having an effect, although it remains slight largely because billions of dollars keep pouring in and are likely to do so for years to come.

The limits of the coalition's efforts to police its own spending—and the newfound reluctance of top American officials to push back against Afghan intransigence over prosecuting corruption—were laid bare in December when Mr. Karzai's office demanded that the coalition provide evidence if it wanted the government to prosecute the Afghan Army's former surgeon general, Gen. Ahmad Zia Yaftali.

Coalition officials had in fact provided the evidence a full year earlier. General Yaftali was suspended in December 2010 after Gen. David H. Petraeus, then the coalition commander, told Mr. Karzai that NATO investigators had found that the Afghan officer had stolen tens of millions of dollars' worth of drugs from the country's main military hospital, an institution he ran and where Afghan soldiers regularly died from simple infections because they could not afford to bribe nurses or doctors to treat them.

The running of the hospital, like much of the Afghan Army, is financed by the United States, which last year spent \$11.2 billion to pay, train and equip Afghanistan's security force.

But after the suspension of the politically connected general, the investigation into his conduct remained in limbo—until Mr. Karzai on Dec. 29 unexpectedly demanded to see the evidence he had already seen.

The American officer in charge of the inquiry, Brig. Gen. H. R. McMaster, was furious. The investigation of General Yaftali and the Dawood Military Hospital was one of the major initiatives undertaken by General McMaster's task force, a high-profile coalition effort set up in 2010 to go after corruption that was being financed by coalition spending. Now it appeared as if an officer who was accused of letting his own soldiers die so he could enrich himself would never be tried.

General McMaster and his staff quickly pulled together their evidence and wrote a statement to counter Mr. Karzai's demand. Their draft, a copy of which was obtained by The New York Times, struck both accusatory and conciliatory notes.

It bluntly stated that the coalition had provided the evidence Mr. Karzai was now demanding. It said efforts to investigate had been met with "interference, obstruction, and delay." It quoted a pledge Mr. Karzai had made in December at an international conference in Germany to end a "culture of impunity."

The statement was never released. According to two NATO officials, the commander of coalition forces, Gen. John R. Allen, decided there was little to gain in picking a fight with Mr. Karzai over the matter.

A senior coalition officer who is involved with the case said he believed that it would eventually proceed. NATO is focused on preparing Afghan forces to take over the fight against the Taliban, and will continue to try to clamp down on corruption that undermines that goal, the officer said.

The American officials tracking the bank investigation seem similarly uninterested in challenging Afghan authorities over the status of Mr. Farnood and his former partner, Khalilullah Frozi.

Under pressure from the United States and its allies, Afghan authorities arrested both men in June. Kabul Bank was taken over nearly 10 months earlier amid accusations that its owners used it as their personal piggy bank.

Mr. Farnood spent more than \$150 million of the bank's money on villas in Dubai pur-

chased in his own name. Kabul Bank money helped finance shell companies whose main function was to win subcontracts from businesses doing work for the American-led coalition, siphon a slice of the money and then find other subcontractors to do the actual work, American officials have said. Mahmoud Karzai, a brother of the Afghan president, and Abdul Haseen Fahim, a brother of the first vice president, Gen. Muhammad Qasim Fahim, both received interest-free loans so they could buy stakes in the bank.

News of the takeover prompted a run on the bank that almost led to its collapse. Afghanistan's central bank spent nearly \$900 million to keep it afloat, an outlay that the Afghan government, already short of cash, has since had to cover. While some of that money is likely to be recovered, some Western officials concede that donor funds will eventually be needed to close the hole in the Afghan budget, even if Western dollars do not go directly to cover Kabul Bank's losses.

Deputy Attorney General Rahmat-ullah Nazari said the authorities this past fall gave permission to let Mr. Farnood and Mr. Frozi out of prison during the daytime so they could help recover assets owed to the bank. Mr. Farnood owes the bank \$467 million, he said; Mr. Frozi owes \$78 million.

Mr. Frozi has been helpful in tracking down missing assets; Mr. Farnood less so, Mr. Nazari said, although some Western officials disputed that characterization and said it was Mr. Farnood who was being more helpful.

But it is unclear how hard the Afghan government is pushing either man. The villas and a pair of partly constructed office towers in Dubai are still in Mr. Farnood's name, and Mr. Nazari said the transfer of the property was being held up by a 2 percent tax that the United Arab Emirates levy on such deals. Some Western officials questioned why a routine tax would hold up such an important transaction.

Meanwhile, Mr. Farnood is collecting rent from tenants in some of the villas, Mr. Nazari said.

But, Mr. Nazari insisted, both will be prosecuted once the asset recovery has been completed.

American, European and even some Afghan officials say they doubt that will happen. Despite Mr. Nazari's claim that both spend their nights in prison, the two have rented separate houses in Kabul and rarely, if ever, return to their cells, said people close to the men.

Mr. Farnood's spacious house stands behind high walls in Kabul's most expensive neighborhood, around the corner from the office of the International Monetary Fund, which is overseeing a forensic audit of Kabul Bank.

A pool table, a table for table tennis, a large Samsung flat-screen television and a set of purple faux-leather couches and arm chairs grace the cavernous pink sitting room. A pair of late-model black Toyota Land Cruisers sit in the driveway. The officer from Afghanistan's National Directorate of Security, the country's intelligence agency, who mans the front door functions more like a doorman than a guard.

Mr. Farnood lunches regularly at the Kabul Serena Hotel, where the buffet costs about \$25 a head. Mr. Frozi has his own spot, Boccaccio, an upscale Italian eatery popular with well-heeled Afghans and foreigners, including American and European diplomats.

Lunching there on afternoon last month with four other men, Mr. Frozi declined to talk to a reporter. He said the American press had "destroyed the bank," and he dismissed his questioner with a wave of his hand.

## THE PRICE OF GAS

(Mr. DUNCAN of South Carolina asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DUNCAN of South Carolina. Americans, it's been 1,044 days since the United States Senate has passed a budget for America. Back in 2009, the average American family spent \$173.80 a month on gasoline. In 2011, that number had risen to \$368.09 a month on gasoline. What could you use that difference, \$194, what could you use that money for?

I guarantee you, with the policies coming out of this administration, gasoline prices are going up. It will be more than \$368 a month for gasoline unless we make changes to American energy policies and be energy independent.

## STUDENT LOANS

(Mr. CLARKE of Michigan asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. CLARKE of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced H.R. 4170, a bill that will forgive student loan debt for millions of hardworking Americans.

This bill provides that if a student loan borrower makes payments equal to 10 percent of their discretionary income for a period of 10 years, the balance of their Federal student loan debt will be forgiven. This provides student loan borrowers with a second chance, those who have been struggling financially. By cutting this debt, this frees up their money to invest on their own. That will create new jobs throughout this country.

It's time for Congress to stand for the rights of student loan borrowers. It's time to forgive these student loan debts.

## CONGRATULATING UALR WOMEN'S BASKETBALL TEAM

(Mr. GRIFFIN of Arkansas asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. GRIFFIN of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to congratulate the University of Arkansas at Little Rock women's basketball team for securing a spot in this year's NCAA basketball tournament.

The game that put them into the tournament was an exciting one. The Lady Trojans came back from a 22-point deficit in the second half against Middle Tennessee and went on to win by one point in overtime.

With Taylor Ford's game-winning shot, the lady Trojans earned their second straight Sun Belt Conference tournament title and their third straight NCAA berth.

Congratulations to the entire UALR community, to Coach Joe Foley for his leadership this championship season, and to the student athletes on this

year's team. Thank you all for representing your school, the city of Little Rock, and our great State of Arkansas.

Good luck.

□ 1310

## IN HONOR OF THE CYSTIC FIBROSIS FOUNDATION

(Mr. HIMES asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HIMES. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor the Cystic Fibrosis Foundation. Cystic fibrosis is not a disease that affects a lot of Americans; but of the Americans it does affect, it compromises and, all too often, prematurely ends their lives.

I had the good and great fortune to just meet with a number of my constituents, including some young constituents who are with me in the Chamber today, who are very concerned and involved with cystic fibrosis.

We are an enlightened and good society because we invest the money necessary to solve the problems that affect our children, our people. We spend money on cures to eradicate diseases that compromise and end the quality of life for so many of our citizens. So as we do the hard work of getting our budget in order, I ask that this Chamber not erode that good work that we do.

## 16TH ANNIVERSARY OF BROTHERS TO RESCUE AIRPLANE SHOOT-DOWN BY CUBAN AUTHORITIES

(Mr. RIVERA asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RIVERA. I am here today to honor four American heroes—Carlos Costa, Mario de la Pena, Pablo Morales, and Armando Alejandro, Jr.—who tragically lost their lives 16 years ago at the hands of the Castro dictatorship.

On February 24, 1996, two planes from the humanitarian organization Brothers to the Rescue were shot down under Fidel Castro's and Raul Castro's direct orders as they conducted air search and rescue missions for Cuban refugees trying to reach freedom.

Raul Castro, himself, has publicly admitted to ordering the shoot-down over international waters so that there would be no evidence of the crime; but the Castro brothers have yet to be indicted for their role in ordering the murders of four innocent Americans, and they continue to commit blatant human rights violations towards peaceful civilians every day.

The United States should move immediately to indict the Castro brothers for this crime. We must not turn our backs on the Cuban people, who so tirelessly fight for freedom. I also ask, on

this tragic anniversary, that we continue to push forward for democratic change in Cuba.

## THE FACTS ABOUT THE PRICE OF GAS IN AMERICA

(Ms. FOXX asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Ms. FOXX. It is time that we emphasize the facts about the price of gas in our country.

On inauguration day for President Obama, the average price of gasoline was \$1.84 per gallon. Today, it's \$3.75. That's an increase of 103 percent. The estimate is that it will be \$4.50 by May. A 1-cent increase in the cost of gas equals \$1 billion out of the economy, and it's a \$4 million-per-day cost to consumers.

As the price of oil continues to rise at an alarming rate, the President and the congressional Democrats have tried to deflect the blame of their failed energy policies and point the finger at Wall Street speculators for the rise of the cost of a barrel of oil. But that's not the problem, Mr. Speaker. The Obama administration's energy policies are creating uncertainty in the marketplace and are driving up costs.

We need this President to assume the responsibility for the problems that he has caused the average hardworking American taxpayer and to do something about the price of gas.

## APPOINTMENT OF MEMBERS TO PRESIDENT'S EXPORT COUNCIL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair announces the Speaker's appointment, pursuant to Executive order 12131, and the order of the House of January 5, 2011, of the following Members of the House to the President's Export Council:

Mr. REICHERT, Washington

Mr. GERLACH, Pennsylvania

Mr. TIBERI, Ohio

Ms. SUTTON, Ohio

Ms. LINDA T. SANCHEZ, California

## THE PREMEDITATED MURDER OF NEW-BORN BABIES JUSTIFIED AS MORALLY EQUIVALENT TO ABORTION

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Ms. FOXX). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 5, 2011, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Thank you very much, Madam Speaker.

Late last month, two bioethicists—Dr. Alberto Giubilini and Francesca Minerva—published an outrageous paper in the Journal of Medical Ethics, justifying the deliberate, premeditated murder of new-born babies during the first days and even weeks after birth.

Giubilini and Minerva wrote: "When circumstances occur after birth that