

jobs and the economy. I believe that the best thing Congress can do is to find common ground to move our country forward. This week, I'm happy to say, we did just that.

On Wednesday evening, the House of Representatives passed a bipartisan jobs bill—which I am pleased to say I championed—which would encourage global investment here in our country. This means jobs in our local communities. Companies in the 10th District like Astellas and Takeda and Siemens are able to invest here in America and put people to work.

This bill passed with broad bipartisan support. And I certainly want to thank Representatives ROSKAM, PETERS, and BARROW for reaching across the aisle and coming together and helping to pass a commonsense bill that helps businesses to grow right here at home. When we put people before politics and progress before partisanship, we can get things done for the American people.

□ 1220

RECOGNIZING THE BRAVE DISSIDENTS IN CUBA

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

Mr. RIVERA. Mr. Speaker, last week I took to this floor to discuss the brave dissidents inside Cuba that went on a hunger strike to protest the jailing of one of their own. The end of that hunger strike came this week when the Castro dictatorship announced the pending release of that dissident. This was a victory for the heroes of the opposition movement inside Cuba, but there is still much to be done.

The international community must continue to denounce the human rights abuses occurring inside Cuba, the lack of civil liberties and democratic rights, and continue to support the heroic opposition struggling for a free and democratic Cuba inside the island.

WE WILL NOT SUPPORT RADICALISM

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

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, recently we passed a continuing resolution to take care of the funding of the government until next March. And one of the things that concerned a lot of us was: Is any of that money in that continuing resolution going to go to help the Government of Egypt or Libya or any of the other countries where we see all that civil unrest and all the horrible acts of murder taking place?

And I never did get an answer, so I would just like to say to my colleagues who are going to be here—I'm retiring at the end of this year—we should not give one dime, not one penny, to any

country that tries to undermine the United States' interests around the world, and we should not give one penny to anybody that constantly tries to spread radical fundamentalist Muslim beliefs in this world.

Shari'a law is something we can't live with, and we need to let them know very clearly that if they want to work with the United States, fine, but they're not getting any money from us if this continues.

This world is in a terrible state because of these radicals, and we must not let them win this battle.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. REED). The Chair would remind Members to refrain from trafficking the well while a Member is under recognition.

AMERICA SHOULD STOP TRYING TO RUN THE WORLD

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

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, Americans do not want, forever, permanent wars that last three or four times longer than World War II. And they especially do not want to spend hundreds of billions on people who hate or don't at least appreciate what we've done for them.

Probably half the spending we have done over the years in Iraq and Afghanistan has been pure foreign aid. And we have poured many, many billions into Egypt, Pakistan, and other countries throughout the Middle East.

Our own Nation is \$16 trillion in debt. We are borrowing all this money to send to countries that are exploding with anti-American rage.

Fifty-one American soldiers have been murdered over the past several months by Afghan police and soldiers who they were training. Now we have had our Ambassador and three other Americans killed in Libya.

We should have gotten out of Afghanistan years ago. We need to get out now and not take too long to do it.

We need to stop trying to run the whole world, creating so much resentment, and start putting our own country first once again.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER
PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will recognize Members for Special Order speeches without prejudice to the resumption of legislative business.

DO-NOTHING CONGRESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 5, 2011, the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. HOYER. And so this 112th Congress convulses to an ugly end of its time before the national elections. All of us must be sad, and the American people are angry and sad that this Congress has been so inattentive to the needs of the American people.

Mr. Speaker, today House Republicans are leaving town and will not return until after the November elections.

Two very respected political scientists—not Democrats or Republicans; one a representative of the more conservative think tank and another a more liberal think tank—have written a book about the dysfunction they have seen in this Congress. Mr. Mann and Mr. Orenstein—quoted by many reporters from many journals, from all different perspectives—they said this:

We have been studying Washington politics in Congress for more than 40 years, and never, never have we seen them as dysfunctional. In our past writings, we have criticized both parties when we believed it was warranted. Today, however, said these two respected political scientists and observers of Washington, today, however, we have no choice but to acknowledge that the core of the problem lies with the Republican Party.

They went on to say that the GOP has become an insurgent outlier in American politics. It is ideologically extreme; scornful of compromise; unmoved by conventional understanding of facts, evidence, and science; and dismissive of the legitimacy of its political opposition. That is the nub of the problem.

Our Republican colleagues are leaving without getting their work done. I said, "their work done." Without getting our work done, the work of the American people.

Comprehensive jobs bills, middle class tax cuts have not been extended, farmers are left on their own to face the worst drought in decades—the worst drought in decades—and a farm bill reported out of the Republican committee lays unconsidered by this floor. Reported out of their committee, from their majority, and they haven't brought it to the floor, while farmers remain in trouble. We've not reauthorized the Violence Against Women Act, and we have not passed the postal reform bill.

I am glad to take this Special Order, Mr. Speaker, to say to the American people that we're prepared to stay. We're prepared to stay and work on these bills. And I'm going to talk about some of these bills, but my colleagues are here as well.

I first want to yield to the former president of the Senate of Vermont for his observations as we leave this town, my friend, Mr. WELCH from Vermont.

Mr. WELCH. I thank the gentleman.

You know, on the farm bill, we've got the worst drought we've had in 50 years. We've got people who need nutrition programs. We've got farmers who need certainty about what the price

support programs are going to be, what their future is going to be. We've got livestock farmers that are in desperate straits because of the drought.

And we've got a Senate that's passed a farm bill. We've got a House Agriculture Committee that's passed a farm bill, on a bipartisan basis, Democrats and Republicans working together to pass that bill. And the House leadership, who has the authority to bring this bill to the floor, won't do it. That's the first time in the history of the House of Representatives where a farm bill passed by the Agriculture Committee has not been brought to the floor for a vote.

Mr. Speaker, we could defend, each and every one of us on both sides of the aisle, a vote of conscience, whether it was "yes" or "no," on the farm bill. None of us can defend not even taking a vote on the farm bill.

That decision is not within the authority of any individual Member of Congress. That is the decision that the majority leader and the Speaker of the House have the authority to make, and their refusal to bring this bill to the floor will be absolutely an indictment of Congress' inability to do its job.

America needs a farm bill. This Congress needs to do its job. We've got the time to do it. We should act. That bill should be brought to us for a vote.

□ 1230

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, that is a sample of the dysfunction and inability and unwillingness to compromise on which Mr. Ornstein and Mr. Mann spoke.

I now yield to my friend from New York (Mr. TONKO).

Mr. TONKO. Thank you, Minority Whip HOYER. You have led us so expertly well on this floor.

You cite the many failings of this do-nothing Republican Congress. It is tragic that we will leave for home now and not get the work of the people done and will not respond to the needs of America. That is such an unjust outcome.

We know that a middle class tax cut has been passed in the Senate and that the President has said he would sign it. We need that measure. We need that measure done so as to provide for confidence in the American economy. What we need right now is that sort of boost. That booster shot can do a lot for growing sales for businesses out there. The aggregate demand for goods and services, driven by relief for the middle class via a tax cut, is important. The Violence Against Women Act that was reauthorized in the Senate failed to come to this floor. Postal reform—overwhelmingly approved by the Senate—fails to come to this floor. There is also the farm bill, which is important to all of upstate New York, and I know our members from the upstate delegation, from the New York delegation, are greatly disturbed by the do-nothing Republican Congress.

Minority Whip HOYER, thank you for leading us in this discussion. We have

not earned a 6-week recess until election day without having done the people's business. We need to stay here and get the people's work done—build America's economy, go forward with progress—and provide for the results that America so desperately needs. It's a shame that this do-nothing Republican Congress has now called a halt to all business on this floor for the next several weeks.

Mr. HOYER. I thank the gentleman for his comments. He is absolutely right.

Mr. Speaker, just for the knowledge of all of our Members, the Senate did pass a middle class tax cut, making sure that 98 percent of our taxpayers would not get any increase in their taxes on the 1st of January. That bill is over here. It has not been brought to the floor, notwithstanding the fact, I believe, that every one of us believes that those taxpayers ought not get an increase. So there is overwhelming support for that bill, bipartisan support, but it won't be brought to the floor.

On the Violence Against Women Act, to ensure that women and families are not subjected to dangerous domestic violence, it passed 68-31 through the United States Senate; not passed here. Postal reform passed 62-37 in a bipartisan vote in the United States Senate; not paid attention to here. The farm bill, which passed with 64 votes—almost 2-1 in the United States Senate on a bipartisan vote with 16 Republican Senators voting for it—has not been brought to this floor. Yet we walk away. We walk away from the American people.

I now yield to my friend from Illinois, the gentlelady from Illinois, JAN SCHAKOWSKY.

Ms. SCHAKOWSKY. I thank the gentleman so much for yielding and for pointing out how languishing in the House of Representatives are many pieces of legislation that have passed the United States Senate in a bipartisan way with a Democratic majority. Yet here in the House, where we have a Republican majority—and as you pointed out, some of these bills have actually passed their own committees led by Republicans—are still not being considered on the floor today.

So we are going to adjourn and will not meet again for almost 2 months—the earliest adjournment before an election in over 50 years. Republicans are going to turn off the lights in this Chamber, shutting down debate on matters of serious consequence to Americans and the economy. Shame on them. We should be staying and dealing with those bills.

They have voted, for example, time after time to repeal ObamaCare and to protect tax cuts for the wealthy and rich corporations, but have taken no action on preserving tax cuts for the middle class—for 98 percent of American taxpayers.

They've not taken any action on the Violence Against Women Act, which passed the Senate by a bipartisan vote

of 68-31. For the many years that the Violence Against Women Act has been enacted, it has always had bipartisan support.

We haven't passed the wind production tax credit, which, again, would mean jobs for Americans in an industry that has just been developing right now and that is so important to our environment and for people, for instance, in my State of Illinois as well as in Iowa and other Midwestern States.

We haven't passed the doctor fix, making sure that Medicare reimbursements to doctors don't drop by 27 percent.

We haven't dealt with sequestration, which would have a devastating impact on investments that create jobs and protect low-income people.

There has been no action on the post office reform or the farm bill, which has been mentioned. In southern Illinois, where we have a serious drought, our farmers are waiting for some drought relief, but they're not going to get it from this Congress.

Most importantly, while Republicans have found the time to vote again and again to end the Medicare guarantee—making it harder for seniors to choose their own doctors and raising the costs of health care for seniors by over \$6,000 a year—they still haven't found the time to bring a comprehensive jobs bill to the floor or one that deals with making it in America, which is an industrial policy that would actually put Americans back to work right here at home.

Millions of hardworking American people are still looking for more than just talk about jobs. Over a year ago, I introduced the Emergency Jobs to Restore the American Dream Act in order to create more than 2 million jobs and to put people back to work in the most straightforward of ways—by hiring them. My bill would put people to work in critical areas to our communities and our economy—people like teachers, cops and firefighters, health care workers, school construction and maintenance workers.

Over a year ago, President Obama sent to Congress the American Jobs Act, which incorporated parts of my bill and also would provide tax credits to small businesses—yet another tax credit—and assistance to State and local governments in order to prevent the layoffs of critical workers. Independent experts estimate that President Obama's American Jobs Act would create up to 2.6 million jobs.

But the Republican do-nothing Congress brought neither of these jobs bills to the floor. No. They are, every day, sabotaging every effort to actually help create jobs and to Make It in America. Democrats truly do want to stay to fight for jobs, for the economy, for farmers, for taxpayers, for battered women. It's time for the Republicans to join us.

Thank you, Mr. Minority Whip, for leading us in this effort, and I urge all of the Republicans to join us in staying here.

Mr. HOYER. I thank the distinguished Member from Illinois (Ms. SCHAKOWSKY) for her comments. Nobody fights harder for working people and seniors in this Congress than JAN SCHAKOWSKY, and no one is sadder that we have been so lacking in attention to the issues of concern to those folks.

I now want to recognize ALLYSON SCHWARTZ from the State of Pennsylvania, who has also been a great leader and a member of the Ways and Means Committee and who is trying to work on behalf of jobs and growing our economy. I yield to my friend from Pennsylvania.

Ms. SCHWARTZ. I thank you, Mr. Minority Whip.

You have spoken out every week both on the floor of Congress and around this country. You've spoken out on the actions we ought to be taking in order to strengthen our Nation, protect our seniors, grow our economy, and make sure our children have a great future. You speak eloquently about that every week, so I really am pleased to be able to just join you in calling attention to the fact that we do have serious economic and fiscal challenges in this Nation.

Instead of coming together and trying to find common ground—trying to find that agreement so we can solve these problems that the American people are asking us to do, which is to solve these problems—the Republicans have been doing nothing. They're trying to roll us back, move us backward. In fact, the Republicans, as we know, just decided to recess and head home. We know the Republicans, yet again, have made their choices, their priorities, their values very clear not only to us and to our constituents but, really, to all Americans, who are seeing more clearly what the Republicans' choices have been. They are determined to dismantle the progress we have made. They continuously try and roll back our accomplishments that we have made so as to take our country back to a failed economic agenda that has hurt so many Americans.

The Republicans' goals are stunning, and we have seen them every week on the floor of Congress for the last year and a half, almost 2 years: repealing health care reform and eliminating the benefits for seniors and access to affordable coverage for millions of Americans; repealing the financial regulatory system; eliminating those consumer protections with regard to environmental regulations, thus threatening clean water and clean air; ending Medicare as we know it. Reducing the Federal Government at any cost, that has been their goal.

□ 1240

I want to mention just quickly two things that you're going to talk some more about and some of my colleagues. I fought so hard on Medicare. We all have. The Republicans have been absolutely clear on this, their willingness to undue Medicare for all seniors. I've

said this before that whether you're 65 and expecting Medicare and living under Medicare right now, you'll see a reduction in your benefits. Whether you're 55 or 45 or 35 and you're paying into Medicare and want Medicare to be there in the future, they are threatening that promise of Medicare. They are deliberately working and have voted to end Medicare as we know it. We've seen that time and again. It's not just the Republican leadership, not just Mr. RYAN. There are many. Most of the Republicans, not all of them have voted for this. Rather than guarantee benefits under Medicare, the Republicans will leave seniors on their own to buy benefits that they can afford or not. The voucher will be inadequate to buy Medicare benefits that exist now, costing our seniors about \$6,400 more per year.

They threaten our fellow seniors as well in nursing homes by voting for a third of a cut in Medicaid that affects, really, the costs of our seniors in nursing homes. Any of us who have loved ones or visit nursing homes know that these are people who require a great deal of care. This is the agenda of the Republicans.

Instead of tackling what we're willing to do together such as middle class tax cuts, they're holding it hostage to tax breaks for the wealthiest 1 percent or 2 percent. They won't move forward on that sort of certainty or on many of the issues facing us at the end of the year as we're on a fiscal cliff that many of us talk about and are really not doing the kind of work that needs to get done to create that certainty, to be able to protect Medicare, to be able to make the strategic investments, to make sure the tax policy is fair, and we do fiscal policy for our Nation in the right way, in a fair way, in a responsible way, and an achievable way.

I thank you for this Special Order, and I'm calling on the Republicans to meet these challenges for our Nation, and to do that together.

Mr. HOYER. I thank the gentlelady for her comments. No one works harder on health care and is more focused on the delivery of affordable care to all of our people, but particularly concerned about health care for our seniors. How ironic it is that the pledge that the Republicans made was to repeal and replace. I'm going to talk a little bit about that. But there has been no replacement. On the one hand, they want to eliminate the guarantee that Medicare gives to people to have the security that health care will be available to them; and on the other hand they offer nothing to replace it, no alternative, except to increase substantially the cost of those seniors when they are in need of health care.

I thank the gentlelady for her work, and I thank her for her leadership on this very critical issue.

I'm now pleased to yield to the distinguished minority leader, the former Speaker of the House, who has been instrumental in ensuring affordable

health care is available to all of our people, NANCY PELOSI of California.

Ms. PELOSI. Thank you very much, Mr. HOYER. I appreciate your yielding and your leadership in bringing us together on the floor of the House. We are after-hours, and it is only 12:40, but it's after-hours on a Friday afternoon. That is in the context that we left here on August 3. We're not due back until November 14, and yet we have had only 8 legislative days of work in that period of time.

I thank you for calling that dereliction of duty to the attention of the American people because we have work to do. It's not as if our work is finished. As you have indicated, there is critical legislation that is expiring that has passed even in the Senate; yet Republicans have blocked the vote in the House, whether it's middle income tax relief, postal reform, violence against women, the farm bill and then, of course, initiatives proposed by President Obama to create jobs for our economy.

I was so pleased to hear what our colleague, Congresswoman SCHWARTZ, had to say about Medicare, because our names are all on the ballot in this year's election. But what is really at stake is Medicare. Medicare, Medicare, Medicare. As you said, Mr. HOYER, they offered nothing except to raise costs to seniors for getting less as they phase out Medicare.

I wanted to talk about another subject because it's a larger issue as I hear this question bandied about. You hear people say, Are you better off now than you were 4 years ago? The Republicans have the nerve to pose that question that when you look back to 4 years ago, this very week, Mr. Speaker, you would know that we are indeed fundamentally and unquestionably better off as a country today. This week, 4 years ago, September 18 to be exact, but this week, there was a meeting in my office when I was Speaker of the Democratic and Republican leadership of the House and of the Senate gathered together to hear a report from the administration that was very alarming.

Mind you, September 18, 2008, the Secretary of the Treasury, Hank Paulson, described for us a financial system in imminent danger of total collapse. Chairman Bernanke at that same meeting, the chairman of the Fed, told us if we did not act immediately, we would not have an economy by Monday. This was a Thursday evening. You remember, Mr. HOYER. You were there. If we do not act immediately, we will not have an economy by Monday. How on Earth can people who perpetrated that situation on our country have the nerve to turn around and ask that question? At the end of the meeting, we all went out in a bipartisan way and spoke to the press. I said at the time, Time is of the essence and that Congress would act. I was trying to lift confidence in our financial situation.

Despite there being a Presidential election 7 weeks away at that time, it was no time for partisanship. The crisis demanded that Democrats and Republicans work with President Bush to rescue our economy from depression or, as Chairman Bernanke said, from our not having an economy 4 days later.

In the days ahead, our country confronted the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression. The costs were staggering: more than \$8 trillion lost in household wealth, more than 8 million jobs lost, and more than 4 million families losing their homes to foreclosure. Nonetheless, the Democrats voted with President Bush to restore confidence in our markets, and the Republicans even walked away from their own President.

In the 2 years after that September 18 meeting, we continued to take actions to reduce spending and to address what was inevitable from the policies of the 8 years previous to the November 2008 election. When we took the majority and with President Obama in office, we took action to reduce spending, create jobs, keep people in their homes, and passed Dodd-Frank, the toughest Wall Street reforms in generations. With it—the most historic for the first time—protections for American consumers in that bill. All of it was fought vigorously against by the Republicans.

Now we have President Obama, and we have a Republican Congress. Under President Obama's leadership, we have added private sector jobs for 30 straight months, compared to losing 700,000 jobs a month as he entered office; the auto industry, which was facing extinction, and the loss of over 1 million jobs in that industry is again competitive and hiring and thriving; the Dow Jones average, which is one reflection of the security of tens of millions of American investors and pension funds, has already doubled; and housing prices are slowly rising again. We need much more progress there. Imagine, from that time the Dow Jones has doubled.

We still have work to do to continue the American recovery. If the Republicans had cooperated at all with President Obama in the last 2 years, we would be much farther down the road to recovery. We cooperated with President Bush; but they would not offer an ounce of cooperation to President Obama, and our economy has paid the price. We have reaped the benefits of some of what happened in the 2 years when we were in the majority and President Obama was in the first 2 years of his term. But so much more could have been done with some cooperation from the Republicans.

We get back to the question: Are we better off this week in September than we were this week 4 years ago? You be the judge.

□ 1250

I know America's families are hurting. We want to do more to create jobs, et cetera, and we have to have bipartisan cooperation to do that. The Re-

publicans have resisted that. From that standpoint, yes, we can do better.

But from the standpoint of this country when there was a financial crisis, we were on the verge of a total collapse where the chairman of the Fed told us that if we did not act immediately, we wouldn't have an economy by Monday. Yes, we are fundamentally as a country better off and, therefore, the prospects for the future are better for all of America's families, and that's what we are here to work on, the future.

Too bad our Republican colleagues have cut and run from town, but we stand ready to welcome them back to work in a bipartisan way to make concessions to get the job done for the American people.

I thank you, Mr. HOYER, for giving us all the opportunity to express our views on the subject today.

Mr. HOYER. Madam Leader, thank you for your comments and your leadership.

You are so correct in studying the statistics of the Dow, having doubled. It's actually up now probably about 105, 110 percent. The Standard & Poor's is up more than double, and the NASDAQ is up more than double over those years. In January of 2009, I'm sure most people tragically remember, we lost 818,000 private sector jobs that month. Last month we gained 92,000 jobs.

Is there anybody who could say a loss of 818,000 jobs isn't a lot worse than the gain of 92,000 jobs—92,000 jobs is not enough. We need to do more. The President offered a jobs bill. It has not been brought to this floor, notwithstanding the fact in the Pledge to America they said this is a transparent Congress that would be allowed to work its will. That bill has not been brought to the floor.

For the last 30 months we have gained, straight, more jobs, 4.6 million jobs to be exactly correct, while 4.4 million jobs were lost in 2008 alone. Are we better off gaining 4.6 million as opposed to losing 4.4 million jobs?

We have had 12 straight quarters of economic growth. The last four quarters of 2008 in the last administration was a net 13 percent decrease in GDP. Yes, Mr. Speaker, the leader is correct. We're better off today, but we could be much better off. We ought to be better off if we hadn't walked away from a jobs bill, hadn't walked away from investing in an infrastructure bill that gave certainty.

We didn't even bring that bill to the floor. We walked away from making sure that the health care bill works properly, walked away—and I'm going to recognize Mr. COSTA—walked away from the farmers of America, walked away this day as we have walked away in the past.

Mr. COSTA is from farm country. He understands the pain being experienced in farm country, and he knows how terrible it is to have simply walked away, walked away from the House-passed bill out of committee and walked away from a bipartisan Senate bill. My

friend is such a strong voice on this floor, such an active member of the Agriculture Committee and such a proponent of farm country, not only California, which he represents but through this country.

I yield to my friend.

Mr. COSTA. I thank the gentleman from Maryland for yielding, because we ought to be about doing the people's business. Walking away as we are for the next 46 days to focus on elections when we ought to be focusing on the people's business is a very sad commentary, a very sad commentary to the people of our land.

I appreciate all the good work that my colleague Congressman HOYER and my other colleagues do in trying to address the critical challenges that we face in our Nation today. As was stated, our House Republican colleagues have left town to focus on the election. In the meantime we have unfinished business. We have unfinished business on comprehensive jobs, big and balanced budget solutions to the deficit, tax cuts for the middle class, the farm bill—which I want to speak to—and the Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act, as a cochair of the Victims' Rights Caucus, is especially disheartening.

Let me say that the folks who farm and put the food on America's dinner table are wondering why, just why, we can't get a farm bill. It is one of the most bipartisan things we ever do here in Congress.

In 2008 we had a bipartisan farm bill when we had the majority. President Bush vetoed it, we overrode his veto twice. Today we have a farm bill that passed with overwhelming bipartisan support in the Senate by a vote of 64–35. It made cuts because we have to make cuts, and we have to be fiscally responsible, \$23.5 billion less than the farm bill of 2008.

In the House, as a Member of the House Agriculture Committee, we voted a comprehensive bill out, 35–11. We made cuts because we have to make cuts. In a number of the areas we made similar cuts to the Senate's, \$20 billion in farm programs. We made additional cuts in nutritional programs, which are part of what would normally be worked out if regular order was allowed to take place.

Mr. HOYER. The gentleman may know this better than I because he works so closely with the ag community, but over 70 farm organizations and farmer-focused organizations came to town a week or two ago and all said pass the Senate bill, not because they believed it was perfect, but because they believed it was a bipartisan bill that would bring relief to farm country and give some certainty to the farming community. I think I'm correct on that.

Mr. COSTA. The gentleman is correct. We had over 70 farm organizations from the American Farm Bureau, the National Farmers Union to the, as we say, the "barnyard coalition" that represents all of the poultry and pork and

dairy and beef cattle industries, because they understand that a farm bill is a safety net. Without it, we don't have a farm policy, we don't have a food policy for not just American farmers, ranchers, and dairymen but for the consumers who, each night, enjoy the highest-quality food produced with the safest quality anywhere in the world.

Let me just close by saying two things. The dairy industry is hurting. We have had a drought in the Midwest that has devastated a whole host of the farm country. And yet, what is one of the ways that farmers, ranchers, and dairymen are able to produce next year's crops? Well, they get loans. They get loans from banks and production credit associations.

What are those loans made of? They are based upon the value of their farm and how much they were leveraged, but they are also based upon a farm bill, a farm bill that provides the ability to ensure that there is a safety net and that there is crop insurance. Without any farm bill, we don't have any crop insurance. Without a farm bill, we don't have that safety net.

With the overwhelming bipartisan support that we have in the Senate, the bipartisan bill that was voted out of the House Agriculture Committee, it seems to me that we ought to let the process work. I would urge my colleagues to come back. Come back and let's do the people's business on all of these issues. The Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act. The Victims' Rights Caucus every day is focusing on protecting women and their families throughout this country, and that is also a bipartisan piece of legislation that we always act on. Again we're not doing the people's business.

The gentleman from Maryland, my colleague, is so correct in bringing this to the attention of the House. Ladies and gentlemen, we ought to be about doing the people's business.

Mr. HOYER. I thank the gentleman from California for his leadership, not only for farm country but for all of the people in this country on behalf of getting people back to work, making jobs available, and making sure our farmers are secure, and particularly for making sure that we address the epidemic of violence perpetrated against family members. I thank the gentleman for his leadership.

I yield to somebody who is as strong a voice as we have in this House on behalf of the working men and women in this country, the gentlewoman from California, LYNN WOOLSEY.

Ms. WOOLSEY. I thank the gentleman for leading this Special Order.

Mr. Speaker, yesterday we were debating work requirements under the TANF program. Well, after we've all listed the issues that the Republicans have refused to address in this Congress, we can say that we know a bunch of people who should be subjected to a work requirement.

□ 1300

They take home a lot of Federal dollars. They're actually on the public

dole, but they don't seem to be doing very much work. And I'm talking about the do-nothing Republicans in this Congress. I don't blame them for wanting to hurry home for their campaigns because a lot of their jobs must be in jeopardy. On the other hand, when they get there, they might find their constituents pretty frustrated that they haven't done their jobs and they have not met their responsibilities.

Every single day that we're here, my colleagues across the aisle put forward bills that have no hope of becoming law and exist only to promote Republican talking points. Time and time again, they have chosen gridlock and confrontation over progress and cooperation. They haven't lifted a finger to pass the President's jobs package, even though it contains many, many ideas that the Republicans supported in the past. They want to destroy health care reform instead of building on it. They have refused to work with Democrats on education issues, failing to invest in our children, who are 100 percent of our future. They haven't done a thing to support the middle class and give them hope for the future. It's no wonder the Congress has record-low approval ratings.

But, Mr. Speaker, most disappointing of all to me is the Republican Congress's failure to lead on issues of national security and war and peace. While we're on recess, the war in Afghanistan will turn 11 years old. Eleven years—and more. More than 2,000 Americans are dead, thousands more are wounded, and taxpayers are out more than half a trillion dollars, all for a policy that continues to undermine our national security goals instead of advancing them. The brave servicemembers who are putting life and limb on the line in Afghanistan don't get a recess.

When we adjourn, they will continue to be very much "in session." Their "district work period" is in districts in Afghanistan, where the Taliban is poised to strike—some at the most dangerous places imaginable. The war isn't just morally reprehensible; it's fiscally irresponsible. And the very same Members who want to cut every domestic program to the bone have barely blinked an eye when it comes to billions and billions of dollars in misplaced war appropriations.

When is the Congress going to catch up with the American people? Certainly not between now and the election, because we've gone home. The people we work for know that it makes no sense to continue military occupation, that it's doing more harm than good, creating more terrorists than it's defeating, making us less safe, not more. The American people have made it abundantly clear: they want us to be here. They want us to be debating this war. They're done with this war. They want us to vote to bring our troops home safely.

The country faces huge challenges. Our people are crying out for leader-

ship, and the Majority wants to turn out the lights. Actually, they have gone home. Americans desperately want the Congress to do something to create jobs and jump-start the economy, something to create peace and security; but the Republicans in Congress have gone home. They have left the work site. They're gone.

Mr. HOYER. I thank the gentle lady for her comments, and I yield to my friend, SUZANNE BONAMICI, who was such an effective State legislator. She was overwhelmingly elected in a special election. And every day since that election, she has been working hard on behalf of hardworking men and women not only in Oregon, but throughout this country. And I know that she's disappointed that we're walking away from our responsibilities.

I yield to my friend.

Ms. BONAMICI. Thank you very much, Mr. HOYER, for bringing to the country's attention the work left undone.

When I arrived in Congress just a little more than 7 months ago, I brought a pretty strong message from my constituents back in Oregon, and that's that they want us to overcome the gridlock, they want us to get our economy back on track and support policies that create new jobs. Of course, no one expects this to be an easy task, but I was really encouraged by so many people who said, That's why we're here. Let's work together for job creation. Unfortunately, these conversations have now been kicked down the road for another day—actually, another month—while too many of our constituents back home are facing unemployment, their homes are underwater, their child care costs are rising.

Several of my colleagues have talked about the failure to pass the farm bill. This typically bipartisan legislation became a staging ground for a fight over nutrition assistance to people who are struggling. Now the bipartisan Senate bill has some amendments that were added that will help farmers in my district and across this country. We should be able to vote on that bipartisan bill that passed the Senate.

As others have mentioned, we're going to go back to our districts and face our constituents, who are expecting so much from us. But we did not extend the production tax credit for wind energy. Now, that's a problem in my district. I have companies that are waiting for that. They may now be facing additional layoffs. That policy has long been a bipartisan policy supported by many to develop the wind industry in this country. That's going to be hard for us to explain to our constituents.

So, Mr. HOYER, thank you. There's so much that we can do and should be doing to get our economy back on track, but Congress is not doing our job. This failure to pass bipartisan, commonsense legislation is something everyone in America should know

about. We should be staying here representing the best interests of our constituents, helping to put this country back to work.

So thank you again, Mr. HOYER, for yielding and for bringing this important issue to everyone's attention.

Mr. HOYER. I thank the gentlelady for her comments.

I want to now recognize the distinguished gentleman from Missouri (Mr. CARNAHAN), who's been such a leader on so many of these issues.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Thank you. I want to thank the gentleman from Maryland for his leadership on this issue as this Congress shuts down.

It was Harry Truman from Missouri who coined the term the "do-nothing Congress" in 1948. But that Congress was 10 times more productive than this Republican Congress of 2012. To call this Congress a do-nothing Congress is an insult to the do-nothing Congress of 1948. So we're leaving today, the earliest this Congress has ever left for a campaign in an election year in 52 years.

Look at how disconnected this Congress has been from the urgent needs of the American people. Thirty percent of the bills passed were for the purpose of attaching someone's name to a building. We voted to repeal the Affordable Care Act 33 times. The Republicans passed 30 jobs message bills that didn't do a thing to create jobs. They voted so often to restrict women's freedom and access to health care that one female Republican lawmaker said, Are you kidding me? How many times are we going to vote for this? And we have voted on the Romney-Ryan plan to end the Medicare guarantee and increase cost to seniors by \$6,400. It's no wonder this Republican Congress has the lowest approval rating ever.

There are urgent priorities on the table that many have talked about here today: the middle class tax cuts, the farm bill, the Violence Against Women Act, responsible deficit reduction, and President Obama's jobs bill. This Republican wall of obstruction is wreaking havoc on this country. It's leaving a trail of dysfunction. And now Republicans are running for the exit door to cut their own political losses. They're shutting down this people's House without getting the work done. This Congress should be here. Our Democratic leaders have made it clear we're ready to do that work. People will be the judge.

I thank the gentleman from Maryland for his leadership on this order.

Mr. HOYER. I thank the gentleman for his comments.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and include therein extraneous materials on the topic of this Special Order.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. HOYER. I yield to my friend from New Jersey (Mr. HOLT), an effective Member of this House.

Mr. HOLT. I thank the gentleman.

As we've heard the gentleman from Maryland say many times, "Representative" is not just a title. It's our job description. We need to hear from our constituents. And our constituents have told us over and over again this year what they want. They want middle class tax relief.

□ 1310

They want a farm bill. They want the postal service fixed so it can pay its bills. They want passage of the Violence Against Women Act. It's a long list of things that they feel we can do to help Americans.

We've had an opportunity to hear from people because the leadership sent us home a month and a half ago where we could hold town meetings while they allowed us to do nothing here. We heard from our constituents very clearly—not just from a small segment, not just from a few special interests, not just from a few percent for whom everything seems just fine, thank you. But we heard from all sorts of Americans who say, Help. Please. Get to work.

You've heard this is the least productive Congress in a generation, in a long generation; and that's by design. The majority sets the schedule. They scheduled very few days in session, very few committee hearings, very few markups.

So even the do-nothing Congress, as my friend from Missouri said, even the Congress that Harry Truman called the do-nothing Congress was much more productive than this one.

So why did the majority close up shop and head home until after the election? Well, the answer I think is pretty clear: they want to campaign. They've decided with their dismal record they need a little more time to campaign, a little time to explain why they cast 302 votes to limit protections for clean air and clean water and good land. They need a little more time to explain why the farm bill, to help the areas that have been hit by drought, to help the farmers that need crop insurance, hasn't been passed. To be sure, it's going to be hard to campaign on the record that they've compiled, and maybe they need a little extra time.

We don't need extra time to hear from our constituents about their needs and what they want us to do.

I stand with my friend Mr. HOYER and all of us on this side of the aisle, to return to Washington any day, any night to do the work that the American people hired us to do—to be their representatives.

Mr. HOYER. I thank the gentleman for his very compelling comments.

I know that, Mr. Speaker, you've heard us speak and the Members have heard us speak, and one might say, well, these are Democrats speaking about the non-productivity and non-at-

tention to the people's business of this Congress.

But some years ago, just a few years ago, 4 years ago, the Republican Party, our friends on that side of the aisle, nominated JOHN MCCAIN to be their President. What does JOHN MCCAIN say of this Congress? "The worst since 1947 statistically, the worst ever as far as I'm concerned," Senator JOHN MCCAIN told reporters Wednesday when asked to assess this Congress. That was September 19, 2012, just a few days ago. Bipartisan observation.

This walkaway Congress is the least effective in which I've served, and I've been here for 31 years.

I want to yield to my friend who came to Congress the same year I did, who unfortunately is leaving, one of the great leaders of this Congress and responsible for putting the referee back on the field so that we will not have another financial meltdown that plunged this country almost into depression, the distinguished Member from Massachusetts, BARNEY FRANK.

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. I thank the Democratic whip, and I thank him for the leadership he provided during his years as majority leader when we were able to do some things.

You know, we're talking about what this Congress didn't do. I suppose in some ways we ought to be happy because some of what they said they wanted to do would have been totally destructive.

This is the party that let the financial community run riot for years when they had both the White House and both Houses of Congress, did no regulation, so that we got the worst recession in 80 years, a near depression, because of their irresponsibility. They were threatening to undo it. Unfortunately, they were able to accomplish one thing.

One of the things we did was to give the Federal regulatory agencies the power to regulate derivatives, a serious, obscure, powerful instrument that was a major cause of our crisis. While they were not able to repeal the rules, they were able to reduce the funding of the agencies that have to deal with this complex matter to a level where they have not been very effective.

So that's one of the things they were able to do—undo by financial stealth what we tried to get done.

But I want to come to their defense to some extent, Mr. Whip, because there may be some implication that they're not willing to work hard. No, let's be very clear. The reason we have such a dismal record here is not because they are lazy, our Republican colleagues. It's more because of a word that rhymes with "lazy," which the House rules will prohibit me from using.

The problem is this: in 2010, a significant number of Republicans were elected who do not understand the importance of governance in a free enterprise society in which there has to be a vigorous private sector creating goods and

services and a public sector that works with it.

That's why we have no postal bill, although the Senate passed one; why we have no agricultural bill; why they couldn't pass a highway bill and had to be dependent on the Democratic Senate to pass one, so they could catch on to it.

They simply do not understand the importance of our coming together and doing things in this complex economic society that cannot be done by the private sector.

It is an extremism. It is not laziness. It is extremism that grips the Republican Party so they are not able to discharge the normal functions of government.

By the way, there is one particular inaction that I want to stress. It has to do with Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac. When my Republican friends are out of power, they know exactly what to do about housing. When they're in power, they forget. It's a peculiar form of amnesia.

From 1995 until 2006, they controlled the Congress and did nothing about Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac. We came into office in 2007. At the request of Henry Paulson, George Bush's Secretary of the Treasury, we took action and put them in a conservatorship and stopped them from losing money.

The next step was to go forward with replacing them. We said that we would do that. We did financial reform first. The Republicans said, in 2009 and 2010, you must do reform of Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, and we thought financial reform came first because we already stopped the bleeding. Then they came to power in 2011, and they've done nothing.

The reason they've done nothing about Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, and the reason they've done nothing about the post office and agriculture and couldn't do anything about the highways is very simple: they are a party torn between extremists and people who are afraid of extremists. People who will not take them on. A Speaker who will not bring an agriculture bill to the floor that might very well pass because he's intimidated by his own Tea Party extremist wing which rules him.

They could not come forward with housing legislation because what a majority knows should be done to put in some kind of Federal-private cooperation without the mistakes we've made in the past, they couldn't get the votes for it because their extremists had a veto over it.

Last point, Mr. Whip. I want to talk a little bit about bipartisanship.

In 2007, things began to buckle in our financial system. I, as the chairman of the committee, worked closely with Mr. PAULSON to deal with it. In 2008, the Bush administration came to us, and you know what they wanted? You remember, a stimulus. That terrible word "stimulus." George Bush, that radical, and Ben Bernanke, his ap-

pointee, the Chairman of the Fed, and Hank Paulson, his Secretary of Treasury, said, Let's do a stimulus.

This Democratic leadership worked with them. Then-Speaker PELOSI negotiated with them. We did a bipartisan stimulus.

Then later on when the economy began to collapse because of financial dissolution, Hank Paulson came to us and asked for cooperation, and we gave him cooperation.

From 2007 through 2008, we had a very bipartisan approach in the economic crisis. Then one thing happened: Barack Obama became President and bipartisanship disappeared because extremism took over the Republican Party, first when they were in the minority and now when they are in the majority. That's why nothing has happened.

I thank the whip.

Mr. HOYER. I thank the gentleman for his very cogent comments. I would remind him the Leader talked about that, and he's talked about it.

Mr. Speaker, I think you will recall—George Bush, Republican President of the United States; Hank Paulson, Republican Secretary of the Treasury; and Ben Bernanke, who I think is neither Republican nor Democrat but appointed by the Republican President.

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. He was a registered Republican but was three times appointed by George Bush to high economic positions.

Mr. HOYER. President Bush came to us and said: The country's in trouble, at risk of going into depression. We need you to act.

Who acted? The Democrats, in a bipartisan response to President Bush. Who walked away? Two-thirds of the Republican Party, the President's party. Two-thirds of them walked away. As a result, we failed the first time. We came back and added another 30 Democrats, 172, and the Republicans couldn't even get to 100 to support their own President to keep this country out of depression.

Ladies and gentlemen, 2 years ago as the previous election approached, Republicans unveiled a long list of pledges. Their Pledge to America reads, and I quote:

A plan to create jobs, end economic uncertainty, and make America more competitive must be the first urgent domestic priority of our government. So, first we offer a plan to get people working again.

That's what they said. We are still waiting for that plan, and we have walked away.

□ 1320

Twenty-one months later, Republicans have not offered a comprehensive plan to create jobs and boost competitiveness. Nor have they allowed Democrats to bring major items of our Make It in America—expand manufacturing, create jobs, give good-paying jobs with good security to Americans that will then redound to the benefit of all agencies and job creators and small

businesses that service those manufacturers.

When President Obama proposed his plan, the American Jobs Act—which economists say would have expanded by 1 million or 1.5 million jobs—Republicans blocked it outright, not brought to the floor, not given a vote. Instead of making jobs their priority, it seems to have been last on their to-do list, at a time when it remains the first concern for millions and millions of Americans and for our side of the aisle.

Mr. Speaker, let me read another excerpt from the Republican pledge:

With common-sense exceptions for seniors, veterans, and our troops, we will roll back government spending, putting us on a path to balance the budget and pay down the debt.

However, over the last 21 months Republicans have torpedoed every serious attempt to reach agreement on deficit reduction. Why? No revenues from the very wealthy in America. Not because we don't like the very wealthy, not because we want to penalize the very wealthy, but because we need to keep our country on a financially secure path, and those of us on this floor can contribute a little more to that effort.

Pushed to the extreme by their Tea Party wing, House Republicans early on embraced an "our way or no way" that made compromise impossible, refusing to accept any solution that included revenues or that ended unnecessary tax breaks for the wealthiest in our country. That's why the middle class tax cut passed overwhelmingly in the United States—well, passed by a majority—in the United States Senate languishes here unconsidered, which would keep 98 percent of America from any concern about having their taxes increased on January 1. Why? To protect the 2 percent. How sad.

In pursuit of their extreme budget agenda, they pushed our country to the brink of default, leading to—for the first time ever in the history of our Nation—the most creditworthy nation on Earth being downgraded by the Standard & Poor's rating agency. To avert that default, Republicans insisted on creating the sequester that so many of them now lament. It was their creation. In fact, in their cap, cut, and balance bill, what is the default position they take? Sequester.

Meanwhile, led by Chairman PAUL RYAN, Republicans passed two budgets that would end Medicare as we know it, end the guarantee, end the security that it gives to people who are seniors and going to be seniors; guts social programs that keep millions out of poverty; and doesn't balance over the next 30 years.

SUSAN COLLINS, Republican Member of the United States Senate—I showed you JOHN MCCAIN, Mr. Speaker—she says:

It is very frustrating to have worked on legislation that really matters to our country, like the cybersecurity bill and legislation to save the postal service, and just have them gather dust.

In other words, she worked in the Senate across the aisle with Democrats

and sent that bill here—both those bills—and we have not acted. We have walked away.

Mr. Speaker, we have made our point: Walking away has been the practice of this Congress. Not getting the work done has been the practice of this Congress. How lamentable it is for the American people. But as President Obama said: They have a choice. May they make it well.

I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. GENE GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to congratulate the Republican leadership in the House on their two greatest accomplishments this Congress: 1) thanks to their leadership, we have had the least productive Congress in modern history and 2) thanks to their leadership Congress has the lowest approval rating ever.

Time and time again, the House Republicans showed Americans that they would rather play politics by putting messaging bills on the Floor that never stood a chance of passing in the Senate than work with us and the Senate on legislation our country desperately needs.

House Republicans found time to vote to repeal the Affordable Care Act 33 times but we can't find the time to extend the Farm Bill.

In fact, halfway through 2012, the House Majority Leader ERIC CANTOR declared that "serious legislating is all but done until after the election."

This is not what Americans want and the majority should be ashamed of themselves for creating an environment where compromise is avoided at all costs.

Mr. Speaker, I have served many years in the House of Representatives and am proud of the fact that I often work with my colleagues across the aisle to find solutions that make sense for my constituents, industry and the environment.

But this Congress, it's been different. Their mentality is that you're either with us or against us. But Mr. Speaker, that is no way to lead a chamber that represents various constituencies around the country.

PERSPECTIVE

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

Mr. GOHMERT. Mr. Speaker, well, my head is spinning a bit after hearing my friends across the aisle. I heard our former Speaker ask about whether we're better off now than we were 4 years ago, and actually ask how can people who perpetuated this economic disaster ask that question. And it was amazing, because former Speaker PELOSI and I were on exactly the same wavelength. She was asking: Are we better off now than we were 4 years ago? And I was thinking the same thing that she was: How could people who perpetuated this economic disaster ask that question? But she asked it anyway.

You heard our friends talk about the economic disaster. Some of us remember back into the early point of the

21st century when there was an effort by first-term President Bush, George W. Bush, calling for reform of Fannie and Freddie, and I seem to recall my friend from Massachusetts who resisted such reform. In fact, there were people here on the Democratic side of the aisle that resisted such reform; they prevented such reform. There were Members on the Republican side—not all of them, but there were Members who were calling for reform of Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, but it didn't happen. In fact, our friends across the aisle were in control of the House and Senate for 4 years.

In 2005 and 2006, as a freshman, I often heard our colleagues across the aisle asking how we could do such a terrible, terrible thing of spending 100 to \$200 billion more than we had coming in. And they were right, they were right: we should not have been spending \$160 billion more than we had coming in. The Democrats were right. And because Republicans did not stay true to what we had promised—our leadership just wouldn't dig in and stop it, even though we had a Republican President, you know, well, we've got a Republican President, don't want to hurt his feelings—we spent \$160 billion more than we had coming in.

So, the American public sounded like they weren't thrilled with what they heard from the Democrats, but they figured they'd give them a chance. So, November 2006, Democrats—who had promised to end the deficit spending—took over and the deficit spending, rather than coming under control, went out of sight.

□ 1330

They passed the Dodd-Frank bill. It has historic overregulation of community banks.

Now, why would a group who is so upset with Wall Street pass legislation that devastates community banks that are closest to the community, know the borrowers the best, that have been the real foundation of this country? Why would they strangle out community banks with this massive overregulation that really doesn't hurt the massive, big banks?

Well, someone said years ago, follow the money. And if you look at the money that has been contributed to campaigns for many years, you find out that the Wall Street executives and their immediate family normally donate about four times more to Democrats than they do to Republicans.

Now, the Wall Street executives have to endure being called fat cats by a Democratic President, but they know, perhaps it's a wink and a nod, I'll call you fat cats, but I'm going to destroy your competition. We'll get rid of community banks. We'll strangle them with overregulation. They can't make loans. We'll threaten them through the FDIC and the regulators to prevent them from making loans that they know are to good, reliable people who have never missed a payment. We'll

threaten them not to do that, and we'll choke them out. And the only people to be left are the big investment banks on Wall Street that got us into the big mess in the first place.

So if you follow the money and you follow the contributions, you find out, gee, Democrats talk about Wall Street as if they're Republicans, but there are four times more Democrats on Wall Street as executives than there are Republicans. What a shock. Because they talk a good game, I thought for so long that Wall Street executives must be Republicans, the way the Democrats talk. Not so. President Obama got four times more contributions from executives and their immediate family than did a guy named JOHN MCCAIN.

So, we look on further. What about jobs?

How about when we have a disaster, by British Petroleum, who has been allowed to operate in the gulf coast with 800 or so egregious safety violations, but that's okay. According to the Obama administration, they didn't want to step in.

I read an account that at the very time *Deepwater Horizon* had blown out, and this administration, Obama administration, should have been all over them, the executives of British Petroleum were negotiating with the Democrats to be the one big oil company that rolled out support in favor of cap-and-trade.

I said I wouldn't use the term "crap-and-trade" anymore, so I'll avoid saying that.

But they had a big oil company that was willing to come out and support cap-and-trade. So certainly this administration and the Democrats in the House and Senate wouldn't want to do anything too detrimental to British Petroleum because they're going to come out on our side. That meant that they ended up actually believing BP when they said, Oh, we'll get it under control.

Well, they didn't get it under control.

So then there was this bipartisan group of experts peer-reviewing what was going on in the gulf coast, and they came back with a report that made recommendations of what should be done. One of those recommendations was not to have a moratorium on drilling, not only of the deep water, but also the very shallow water. They didn't recommend it. And yet this administration goes through and changes the report the way it's printed and put out so that it makes it sound like these experts recommended a moratorium. They did not. But that's the way this administration wanted to manipulate what the American public believed so that the President could sign off on a moratorium.

Other than those precious lives that were lost and those who were harmed out there on the *Deepwater Horizon* rig because this administration had allowed them to continue to operate, the biggest damage to the people in the gulf area was from the President's moratorium.