cooperative agreement was signed between the two countries to produce alternative energy sources. This agreement brought together the U.S. Department of Energy and Israel's Ministry of Energy and Water Resources.

The joint venture has generated \$20 million in private sector investment in such areas as smart grid management, solar technology, and alternative fuels. The investment in this joint program has yielded greater revenue than the congressional investment of \$6.3 million. Israel has matched Congress' appropriations dollar-for-dollar. It is truly an equal partnership.

BrightSource Energy, a company that operates in the U.S. and Israel, is constructing the largest solar thermal energy project using technology developed in Israel. When the solar plant in California's Mojave Desert is operational, it will produce enough electricity to power 140,000 American homes.

Recently, a large natural gas field was discovered off Israel's shore. Noble Energy, a Houston-based energy company, has partnered with Israel's energy companies to develop its offshore fields. These opportunities strengthen the existing bond and create a less oil-dependent U.S. and world.

The U.S.-Israeli economic partnership is one of the most unique for the U.S. Our first free trade agreement was with the nation of Israel in 1985. In the past quarter of a century, U.S.-Israel trade has grown by 500 percent and exceeds \$78 million daily. More Israeli companies are trading on the NASDAQ than any company outside the United States and China.

U.S. firms such as Intel, Microsoft, Google, and Apple select Israel as one of their top destinations for international research and development. The free market environment in Israel is such that it attracts businesses seeing potential to invest and grow.

Even Berkshire Hathaway invests in Israel. When asked about why Warren Buffet invests in Israel, he answered that the economic spirit of both the U.S. and Israel is what makes it a nononsense investment.

Investment isn't one-sided. Between 2000 and 2009, Israeli companies have invested more than \$50 billion in the U.S. Israel is one of the biggest providers of investment in the United States. More than 15 U.S. States maintain offices in Israel.

Also, not just economics, not just military, but humanitarian aid as well. Assistance was provided by Israel to victims of Hurricanes Katrina and Sandy, as well as to the refugees in Rwanda. Israel established field hospitals there, and several doctors and nurses were sent with medical supplies and vaccinations. Israeli humanitarian groups provided water desalination equipment in Sudan. In all, Israel provided \$7 million in humanitarian aid.

Haiti received a comprehensive hospital team from Israel. Eighteen tons of supplies and a medical team were

sent to Japan in the aftermath of the 2011 earthquake. A friend in the region, Turkey, received a total of 50 mobile structures and 80 housing structures to aid the victims of its 2011 earthquake.

When you look at this kind of cooperation, when you look at this kind of partnership, it is still hard for me to believe that we are here talking tonight about an agreement that has the potential for such great harm to not only ourselves, but to such a good ally and a partner.

With that, I yield to the gentleman. Mr. SCHNEIDER. As we wrap up, let me just again express my sincerest gratitude for allowing me to participate this evening with you to talk about really two critically important issues: our unbreakable, special relationship with the free, independent Jewish state of Israel, and our necessary commitment to ensure that Iran never, ever is allowed to get a nuclear weapon capability. These two things come together at this moment in a crucial way.

I am reminded, as we close, of a famous saying by a rabbi and ancient scholar. Because, as you touched on, the United States and Israel share more than just a security arrangement. They share more than technology, even though a lot of the companies you mentioned—Apple, Intel, and Google—have more research dollars invested in Israel than any other country outside the United States.

Both countries, I am proud to say—the United States and Israel—have a sense of an obligation to give back to the rest of the world, to lean in to make a difference in peoples' lives.

You have talked about Haiti. One of the stories I have always loved is that one of the first relief ships to make it to Haiti was an Israel field hospital. There is a story about a woman who was giving birth shortly after the earthquake. She named her child Israel in honor of the doctors who flew in from Tel Aviv immediately after the earthquake—because they understand the need for emergency care and emergency times.

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But they were joined there by efforts of our own soldiers, United States soldiers, who understood in our own hemisphere and also around the world the need to give help, to lend a hand, when people are in need. We saw the same thing in the Philippines after the tragic typhoon. We saw American ships coming from nearby, and we saw Israelis and Americans coming from far away. Those are the types of things that unite us

As Rabbi Hillel said:

If I am not for myself, who will be? But if I am only for myself, what am I?

The third line of his saying, I think, is crucial at this moment as we look to Iran:

If not now, when?

We need to make sure that the United States, that the P5+1 and that

our regional allies can come together and guarantee that Iran does not become a nuclear-capable country. We need to make sure that the regional security is maintained and that the nuclear weapon is prevented. That is our role, and that is how history will judge us. That is why we are here talking tonight.

So, again, I thank you from the bottom of my heart. I thank you for the work we have done together. It is a privilege to work with you, and I look forward to working together on other issues, including this.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. I appreciate my friend for being here tonight as you have added so much to this debate, but I also appreciate your time here in standing up for what we both feel is a very important role in the American-Israeli relationship.

You see, Mr. Speaker, I believe that Israel is an ally well worth protecting. We recognize and understand the serious threat posed to Israel from nation-states such as Iran as well as from radical Islamic terrorist groups such as Hamas, Hezbollah, and al Qaeda. U.S.-Israel cooperation helps ensure that Israel will remain a shining example of what democratic ideals and a freedom-loving society can achieve.

I agree with my friend. Iran cannot be allowed to develop nuclear weapons. That is not a negotiating point. That is just a fact. When we understand that, I will support real solutions, with real triggers, with real time lines in order to dismantle a program that has not been based on a freedom-loving people just wanting an energy source but one that has been based on deception, that has been based on deceit, and that has been based on an underlying hatred of the West and especially of Israel. We cannot let that happen.

I pray that this administration and the others that have joined in this agreement do not fall victim to a pretty PR campaign. Israel has been a beacon of liberty despite the reign of despots all around them. Israel has never allowed a threat of attack to shake their recognition that the best way to thwart extremist ideals is to stay free. Now is the time for America to renew its commitment to Israel.

God bless this union and the United States.

I thank the gentleman from Illinois, my friend, for being here and for the work that we have done together, and I do look forward to the QME bill's coming to this floor, of its passing in the Senate, and of seeing the President sign it as a good faith effort to show that his commitment is there for Israel as well. I look forward to that day being with you as that happens.

With that, Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

# CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS' HOUR OF POWER

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Weber of Texas). Under the Speaker's

announced policy of January 3, 2013, the gentleman from New York (Mr. JEFFRIES) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader. GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. JEFFRIES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members be given 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. JEFFRIES. Mr. Speaker, I stand before you today, along with the distinguished gentleman from the Silver State, my good friend, Representative HORSFORD, proudly coanchoring the CBC Special Order, what we have termed throughout the year as our "hour of power." With these 60 minutes, we have an opportunity to speak directly to the American people about issues of great significance that affect the folks back home in our congressional districts and that, in many instances, impact the entire Nation.

Today, we have gathered here to look back at the issues that members of the CBC have tackled individually and collectively throughout the year on behalf of the American people, but we look back in order to look forward as we anticipate the challenges that we confront in the next year on a whole variety of issues. Throughout the year, we have come to the floor every Monday that we have been in session in order to address a great many issues of significance to the American people.

We came to the floor in early February to deal with comprehensive immigration reform. Then we addressed the need to preserve section 5 of the Voting Rights Act during the week in which the Supreme Court was holding oral argument. We confronted the challenges in and around sequestration. We presented the CBC's people's budget, which sets forth a more progressive way forward in order to deal with the economic challenges that we confront in this country. We addressed health care disparities, the student loan crisis, poverty and income inequality in America, entrepreneurship. We had the opportunity to reflect and to celebrate the life and the legacy of a former distinguished Member of this august body, Representative Bill Gray, from the great State of Pennsylvania. We reviewed economic security through the labor movement. We stood up, of course, for the Affordable Care Act. We addressed the debt ceiling and the need not to hold the American economy hostage. We confronted hunger in America and the absolute moral imperative to stop the more than \$39 billion in cuts that our friends on the other side of the aisle would like to make to the

SNAP program. These are the issues that, throughout this year, we have taken to the floor of the House of Representatives to talk directly to the American people about the issues that we are working on on their behalf.

Today, I am pleased that so many distinguished members of the CBC have come to join us, including the distinguished chairperson, who has led us admirably and with great courage and intelligence and clarity throughout the entire year. I am now pleased to be able to yield to the distinguished gentlelady from Ohio, the chairperson of the Congressional Black Caucus, Representative Marcia Fudge.

Ms. FUDGE. Thank you, Congressman JEFFRIES, for yielding.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank my colleagues, Congressmen JEFFRIES and HORSFORD, for leading this CBC Special Order hour and for leading 16 CBC Special Order hours this year. It has been a pleasure to listen to you both. The information that you have shared with the American public is to be commended, and I thank you both because, week after week, you have led the CBC in discussions that promote increased opportunity, justice, and a better America for all Ameri-

I ask my colleagues to join me in saluting you both for bringing our message to the American people.

Mr. Speaker, 2013 has been a challenging year. Partisan gridlock has made this year one of the least productive in the history of the U.S. Congress. To date, Congress has passed only 52 bills into law, and if you remove the ceremonial legislation, that number shrinks to 42, almost matching the 41 laws passed in 2011, which was, to date, the least productive year in the history of the Congress.

It is far too easy to simply point fingers, but this much is clear: Congress is failing the American people.

Partisan grandstanding has lyzed our legislative branch, leaving our country unable to move forward to prepare for a rapidly changing and uncertain world. Facing widespread economic and political instability, America looks to Congress for leadership. The CBC has risen to this challenge, working with both sides of the aisle and both Chambers of Congress.

This year, the CBC addressed the government shutdown, our Federal budget process, gun violence, voting rights, justice reform, education reform, and so much more. The members of the CBC also led efforts to directly engage underserved communities on the benefits of the Affordable Care Act; to improve the judicial nomination and confirmation process; in discussing the pressing issues related to immigration reform, especially for those of the African diaspora; and we convened a summit on the culture of violence in our communities

I am proud of the CBC for our bipartisan solution-oriented approach to the most pressing issues facing our country, and despite the tough legislative environment, the CBC consistently looks to build coalitions and to enact solutions that will benefit all Americans. Unfortunately, a deeply divided Congress has prevented America from reaping the benefits of our efforts.

As we move into next year, Congress must end our crisis-oriented budget cycle. Our inability to end the sequester, to move past the failed policy of austerity and to generate new sources of revenue will slow economic growth and leave all but the very wealthy behind. We are a great Nation, but we cannot sustain our standing unless we end the partisan political gamesmanship and live up to the promise of America. Working together, we can create a more prosperous America in which the only ceilings to our potential are the limits of our own imagina-

Mr. Speaker, in 2 weeks, the first session of the 113th Congress will come to a close. It will be the end of a Congress marked with missed opportunities and hyperpartisan games. The Congressional Black Caucus is prepared to make 2014 the year Congress moves beyond the partisan politics of years past, ends our legislative paralysis, restores faith in our government, and brings prosperity back to the American

people.

Mr. JEFFRIES. I thank the distinguished chairperson of the CBC for her thoughtful and eloquent remarks and, certainly, for making the point that we as members of the CBC have come to Washington to try and make a difference on behalf of the people whom we represent back home and throughout the entire Nation. We have come to work together to try and find common ground, to promote solutions for the American people in the face of the difficult challenges that we have confronted. We didn't come to deal with a government shutdown that cost \$24 billion in lost economic productivity or to deal with this constant obsession with the Affordable Care Act and the consistent effort to delay, defund, or destroy the opportunity to give tens of millions of otherwise uninsured Americans access to health care.

Hopefully, as the first session of the 113th Congress winds to a close and as we move toward the opportunity to get some things done next year, we can find our way toward a more productive second half of the 113th Congress.

I am pleased that we have been ioined by the distinguished architect of the Congressional Black Caucus' budget as well as by a member of the Judiciary Committee, who has worked hard on issues of social and economic justice. He is here today to share with the American people the work that the CBC has done in putting forth a more progressive, inclusionary budget that works for working families, middle class Americans, and seniors.

I yield now to Representative BOBBY SCOTT from Virginia.

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from New York and the gentleman from Nevada and the chair from Ohio for their strong work and, particularly, for talking about some of the things that the Congressional Black Caucus has accomplished over the last year.

I want to take an opportunity to highlight the CBC's work on advocating for a responsible budget, on offering responsible solutions to address the budget deficit, to cancel the sequester, and to grow the economy.

Last March, we offered our budget for fiscal year 2014 as an alternative to the budget that was adopted by the House. The CBC budget makes tough choices but not at the expense of our most vulnerable communities. The CBC budget offers a concrete plan that both cancels the economically disastrous sequester and then pays for that cancelation. Our budget is able to do so while also protecting Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, SNAP nutrition benefits, and other vital safety net programs that protect millions of Americans from poverty.

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The CBC budget also reduces the Nation's budget deficit by approximately \$2.8 trillion over the next decade compared to the February baseline calculated by the Congressional Budget Office.

Other ideas have been presented in the past to either cancel the sequester or reduce the deficit, but they almost always include significant cuts to Social Security and Medicare. These ideas have included changing the way the Social Security benefits are calculated—the so-called chained CPI, which reduces the cost of living benefits—or raising the age of eligibility for Medicare from 65 to 67.

The CBC budget is able to pay for the cancelation of the sequester and reduce the budget deficit without these harmful cuts to Social Security and Medicare

Our budget is in stark contrast to the Republican budget that passed the House earlier this year. That budget claimed—claimed—to reduce the budget deficit by \$4.6 trillion over the next decade by making draconian spending cuts in non-defense discretionary spending and unspecified savings in mandatory spending. That is the category that is mostly comprised of Social Security and Medicare. They are going to get savings, better known as "cuts."

That budget also included a \$5.7 trillion tax cut that was paid for with an asterisk-meaning that the Ways and Means Committee and the Appropriations Committee would have to figure out how to fill the \$5.7 trillion hole. Now, arithmetic requires you to recognize that you can only fill that hole by either raising taxes or in additional cuts. We know that the Republicans are opposed to tax increases, and the only real big ticket item left that can come anywhere close to filling that hole would be Social Security and Medicare—the only thing left on the table to pay for that.

The CBC budget does not include an asterisk or other types of budget gimmicks. Our budget outlines a concrete plan that makes tough choices and pre-

sents credible options that can be used to achieve our budget reduction targets.

The CBC budget calls for revenue enhancements totaling \$2.7 trillion over the next decade. Our budget outlines how the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee can reach this number by highlighting several revenue options totaling \$4.2 trillion that could be used to reach the \$2.7 trillion revenue target.

These revenue options include: \$1.1 trillion that can be obtained by limiting deductibility of corporate interest payments; \$1 trillion by closing special tax breaks and corporate loopholes; over \$800 billion by taxing capital gains and dividends as ordinary income; almost half a trillion dollars by having a 5.4 percent surcharge on that portion of your income over \$1 million: over \$300 billion by enacting a Wall Street Trading and Speculators tax of 0.25 percent; \$200 billion by ending the Bush-era tax cuts or that portion of your income over \$250,000; over \$100 billion by returning to the estate tax exemption that was in existence in 2009; and over \$100 billion by reducing the tax gap through better enforcement of the IRS Tax Code.

Those are specifics. They may be unpopular, but at least they are specific, in stark contrast to go find \$5.7 trillion unspecified that the Republican budget included.

The revenue enhancements provided in the CBC budget would allow Congress to totally cancel the sequester and then pass a jobs package of at least \$500 billion. At \$50,000 each, that is over 10 million jobs that could be created in 1 year with a jobs bill of that magnitude—almost enough to hire everybody drawing unemployment today and to provide an additional \$300 billion in long-term investments in our economy through education, job training, health care, and advanced science and research.

As I said earlier, the reforms contained in the CBC budget would reduce the deficit \$2.8 trillion over the next decade compared to CBO's baseline. That would put our Nation on a strong sustainable path, all without jeopardizing programs that support our seniors and programs that educate the next generation of leaders and business, science, and technology.

As we move forward to 2014 and the next budget deadline, the Congressional Black Caucus will continue to advocate these priorities contained in our budget.

It is imperative that Congress pass a budget that expands economic opportunity, invests in the American people, and reduces our deficit. The CBC budget presents a concrete plan—backed by actual numbers, not by asterisks—that shows how we can reduce our deficit while not being required to make further cuts in vital programs that support our Nation's safety net, especially Social Security and Medicare.

Most importantly, the CBC budget presents a clear path towards both eco-

nomic prosperity and fiscal responsibility for our Nation.

I want to thank the CBC budget for the opportunity to work on this budget because it is a responsible budget, does the right thing, and it has specifics that you can actually look at, in stark contrast to the asterisk gimmicks and other assumptions that cannot be fulfilled without going into Social Security and Medicare that the Republican budget has.

I yield back to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. JEFFRIES. I want to thank the distinguished gentleman from Virginia for his very thoughtful exposition and explanation about the CBC budget and the fact that there really are two different visions that have been set forth when comparing the CBC budget and the Republican budget.

The CBC budget, of course, is designed to promote progress for the many. The budget presented by the House majority is designed to promote, in our view, prosperity for the few. The CBC budget creates a balanced approach to deficit reduction that invests in the economy, protects important social safety net programs like Social Security and Medicare. The House GOP budget balances itself on the backs of working families, the poor, the most vulnerable Americans in our society. That, I believe, is the wrong approach to take as it relates to the well-being of the American people.

I thank the distinguished gentleman for his thoughts and his work on that progressive document that the CBC has put forth.

It is now my honor to yield to our distinguished co-anchor for the CBC Special Order, who has been with us throughout the year anchoring, articulating, putting forth the CBC vision on a vast array of issues important to our districts and to the American people.

Today, I believe he is going to speak to us about the work that he has led in partnership with other members of the CBC and folks on our side of the aisle for fair, racially inclusive, and equitable America.

Let me yield to my good friend, Representative STEVEN HORSFORD.

Mr. HORSFORD. Thank you. I would like to thank you, Mr. Speaker, and my good friend from the State of New York. One of the great pleasures of being a Member of this body is getting to know colleagues from across the State. We have a dynamic freshman class—five Members who are freshmen in the Congressional Black Caucus. It has been my honor to co-anchor this hour of the Special Order for the Congressional Black Caucus with my esteemed colleague, the gentleman from New York (Mr. Jeffries).

I would like to commend him for his tremendous leadership on a breadth of issues that have come before this Congress. Even recently in his role as a member of the Judiciary Committee, some legislation that we will be considering just this week is going to happen

because this Member has worked across the aisle to bring people together to try to seek common ground. It is what we need more of, Mr. Speaker. One of the things that we are doing here tonight is reflecting after a year in this 113th Congress.

I am a new Member. I have been here now, like I said, for just over a year after being elected. My constituents back home in Nevada ask me often, so what is it like to be a Member of Congress? You know, do you feel good about what it is you are able to accomplish? It is an honor, it is a great honor, to serve the people of Nevada's Fourth Congressional District here in the people's House, the House of Representatives. It is a great honor, and I am proud to be a member of the Congressional Black Caucus, which has colleagues who are some of the most committed proponents of progressive social and progressive economic justice legislation that comes before this Con-

As honorable as this position is, as proud of a moment that it is for me personally, when I hear the statistics that were read by our chairwoman, Chair FUDGE, that less than 50 bills that have been passed by Congress have become law, that is rather frustrating, and it is frustrating to the American people.

Prior to coming to Congress I served in the State legislature in Nevada. We only meet every other year for 4 months. Do you know, Mr. Speaker, in 4 months—in 120 days—we considered and passed approximately 1,000 bills. Think about that. One State can consider and approve approximately 1,000 bills in 120 days every other year, but 435 Members in the House of Representatives in more than a year have been able to accomplish less than 50 bills becoming law.

That is why the American public is so frustrated. So while I reflect on this year, there are areas that I am proud of in accomplishments that we have made. Unfortunately, there are bills that have been proposed that have not moved and legislation that is still pending in this body.

My hope is that, as we reflect on this first year in the 113th Congress, that it will challenge us as Members to come prepared in 2014 to get the people's job done. There are a number of key bills that we need to focus on. As my colleague has talked about, we have fought to ensure our justice system is more fair and protects all citizens equally under the law. We have fought to increase access to affordable health care, something that is desperately needed for millions upon millions of Americans. Our leaders have worked to fight to preserve and to protect important social safety nets like SNAP benefits and Medicare and Medicaid because we have made it our mission to protect America's most vulnerable citizens.

We have time and time again called for the sequester to be ended. I just met with constituents in my district in Nevada who said, please don't allow a government shutdown to happen again in January, don't allow these cuts under the sequester; the second round of cuts would be even more harmful, let alone the first round to take hold.

Despite these areas, there is work to be done. One of the issues that I have been particularly involved with, as a member of this Congressional Black Caucus, has been immigration reform, the need for comprehensive immigration reform.

I am proud to have served as one of the cochairs, along with my colleague, Mr. JEFFRIES, and Representative CLARKE, also from New York, as cochairs of the Congressional Black Caucus' Immigration Reform Task Force. We have worked tirelessly with other House Democrats to craft a bipartisan commonsense bill, H.R. 15, which aims to begin fixing our broken immigration system.

It would grow our economy, we know, by 5 percent in just two decades, reduce our deficit by hundreds of billions of dollars, create thousands of jobs, and, most importantly, Mr. Speaker, it would bring millions of people out of the shadows and into society, including thousands of DREAMers, by creating a pathway to citizenship, all while shoring up our border security.

As a member of the Homeland Security Committee, I know my colleague, Mr. JEFFRIES, on the Judiciary Committee, we have worked time and time again on legislation to bring forward proposals on comprehensive immigration reform. We are asking our colleagues on the other side to join with us to make these things possible, to not just talk about it, to not be proud or pleased with just 50 bills being passed by one of the least productive Congresses in the history, but to actually accomplish things that the American public expects us to accomplish.

Another top priority that I would like to talk about this evening, Mr. Speaker, that we have been working on with my colleagues in the Congressional Black Caucus is preventing racial profiling practices in our law enforcement that have been hurting individuals across the country.

Our citizens deserve to live free from fear, especially among those whose jobs are to serve and to protect. That is why I introduced the Universal RESPECT Act, a bill that would help prevent racial profiling practices from occurring.

The Universal RESPECT Act will establish an interagency review of Federal efforts to eliminate racial profiling in the United States by amending the Homeland Security Act to require that recipients of Federal law enforcement grants and training facilities do not engage in racial profiling.

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Simply put, Mr. Speaker, the Universal RESPECT Act will end the practice of rewarding law enforcement programs that do not respect basic civil

rights and civil liberties. We need to make sure we stay vigilant in our fight for justice in this country, and that has been a constant theme in the Congressional Black Caucus's legislative agenda, whether it is on the budget, as our colleague, Mr. Scott just talked about, or a plethora of bills that have been brought forward by individual members, and is central to the FY14 budget that has been worked on by the Congressional Black Caucus which reduces the budget and creates millions of jobs in a fair and balanced way.

Let me just close by talking about one final area, Mr. Speaker, that we as Members of this body need to stay focused on, and that is jobs and growing the economy. In my home State of Nevada, we still have a stubbornly high unemployment rate above the national average. Despite improvements in certain sectors, there are far too many Nevadans who are still looking for work, many who have been out of work a year, year and a half, going on 2 years. And I know as part of the budget debate that will occur between now and January 15 will be a discussion about extending unemployment benefits, which is incredibly important to American families who have been struggling during this sustained recession.

So I would challenge my colleagues on the other side, allow us to bring forward the number of jobs legislation and bills that would help build our infrastructure back up in this country. Allow us to bring these bills to a vote in this Chamber so that we can get our country moving again, we can get the middle class economy moving, we can help middle class families who are trying to provide for themselves and their families with good, sustainable, family-sustainable jobs, not low-wage jobs that put people in the same position to depend on assistance programs by the Federal Government. That is not what the American public wants. They want a family-sustaining job that allows them to provide for themselves and their family. That is what we are arguing for. It is what the Congressional Black Caucus represents each and every week when we come to this Special Order hour and why these issues are incredibly important.

So as we reflect back on this year, this year of missed opportunities, as my colleague from New York just said, it is in fact missed opportunities because we could have done so much more in this body. There are 435 Members, dedicated staff, people who love our country and want to see it progress, but it is time for us to put the partisanship, the ideological views aside and to allow us to put our country first. That is what I am here for, Mr. Speaker. I know it is what my colleagues are here for, and I look forward to working with anyone from either side of the aisle from either Chamber who wants to work with the President to move our country forward, and I appreciate this Special Order time.

Mr. JEFFRIES. I thank the distinguished gentleman from the Silver

State for his observations and for his look forward as it relates to the issues that we all hope this Congress will decide to tackle as we close out the first half of the 113th Congress and move toward calendar year 2014.

This has been a year of lost opportunities, of obstruction, of delay, of distraction, and a failure to meaningfully address the issues of importance to the American people. This has been a very schizophrenic economic recovery. We have come a long way since the collapse of the economy in 2008, but we still have a long way to go.

As members of the CBC have consistently pointed out from the floor of the House of Representatives, there are people who have been left behind, and the American people deserve this Congress putting aside issues of partisan bickering and to attempt to find common ground to solve their problems.

The stock market is way up. Corporate profits are way up. Productivity of the American people, way up. CEO compensation is way up, yet unemployment still remains stubbornly high. There are Americans who have been left behind, and we have failed to take up a jobs bill from the floor of the House of Representatives at any point this year.

As my colleague from Nevada also pointed out, we have a very broken immigration system. There is almost uniform agreement across the aisle about that fact. Yet there has been a failure to bring a meaningful piece of immigration reform legislation to the floor of the House of Representatives, despite the overwhelming demand for action by the American people.

Now, we all agree, as the CBC indicated earlier this year in February when we took to the floor to talk about the need to address the issue of the broken immigration system, that something needs to be done. And there really only are three possible options:

One, we have mass deportation of the 11 million undocumented individuals who are in this country. That is option number one;

Option number two is the status quo; just leave the broken immigration system in place;

Option number three is meaningful, comprehensive immigration reform with a tough but fair pathway towards citizenship.

Mass deportation is impractical; the status quo, unacceptable. Comprehensive immigration reform is the right thing to do for this country, for the economy, and for the American people.

I am hopeful, as my colleague from Nevada indicated, that that is the direction that we will go in as we speed to a close this year and attempt to restart the Congress after the end of the first half of this session.

I am pleased that we have been joined by the distinguished gentlelady from Texas who is a member of both the House Judiciary Committee and the Homeland Security Committee. She has worked on many issues. She is

a leader within the Congressional Black Caucus and is a leader within the Congress on the issues of social and economic justice. It is now my honor and privilege to yield to her, Representative Sheila Jackson Lee.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. I thank the gentleman from New York. It was thought provoking to hear the gentleman from Nevada offer his thoughts of bipartisanship and to listen to the astute gentleman from Virginia on the many issues that have been left along the highway of despair, and also to be joined by Congresswoman CLARKE from New York, whom we will hear from shortly.

Let me thank you for the leadership you have given to this special time, and let me try to work to be succinct on the issues that have been left along the highway of despair.

You started out with immigration reform, and you were kind enough to note that I have served on the Judiciary Committee for a number of years, formerly the ranking member on the Immigration Subcommittee, and now the ranking member on the Border Security and Maritime Subcommittee.

I will tell you that there are many times when we could have come together and passed comprehensive immigration reform, but I am going to tout as a bipartisan legitimate expression of border security, to share with my colleagues H.R. 1417, which many know was passed out of the Homeland Security House committee through the efforts of Republicans joined by Democrats, and the legislation passed with no weaknesses, no loopholes, no disrespect for the importance of the security of the northern and southern border. There were very strong responses as it relates to operational control, as it relates to the amount of control that we would have at the border, but matching it with the recognition that there must be an infrastructure of immigration reform. But let me throw all those words away and say there must be humanity. There must be concern for human beings, for families torn apart, for DREAM children destined to be valedictorians or salutatorians or to be generals in the United States military. We are losing the talent of those who have trained here with knowledge about the next level of technology because of the no H-1B because we do not have a comprehensive approach. Those folks are leaving, and, therefore, we are losing the geniuses that we trained to be able to help us.

So I want to join the gentleman and say to him that, if there is any cause on which we can come together, it would be comprehensive immigration reform. Might I just take note of my button that honors the Fast for Families, those that have been fasting for almost 20 days, almost a month, because they are trying to pull at the heartstrings of America and the heartstrings of this Congress to recognize that they are Americans, too. They are just a few blocks down the

street. A few blocks down the street, families, children are fasting, asking, Is there someone who can hear our plea?

So I thank the gentleman for bringing it up, and I just want to make some other points that we have been lingering on and have not followed through on.

I introduced H.R. 2585, which is an antibullying bill, Prevention of Bullying and Intervention, and reflects where America is when you can find most every child that is interviewed has indicated that they have been bullied; or something happens to a child in high school, and they will talk about having been bullied some years back; or a child will be shot or violence will occur, and they will talk about bullying, even to the extent it is raised up in the NFL. And I want to pay tribute to a young man at the Baltimore Ravens, Mr. Rice, who has taken this cause up from the NFL.

H.R. 2585 would reauthorize the Juvenile Accountability Block Grant, and it would provide sort of a sentence road map that allows organizations that would be funded under the block grant to be able to focus on bullying prevention and intervention. How simple a legislative initiative is that? And I would offer to say that I heard from leadership on both sides of the aisle. So why not pass something as simple as that even before Christmas to be able to move forward on something that would not, in fact, be a negative?

I just quickly want to indicate that we have young people exposed to violence in ways that we have not known. Thirty percent of U.S. students in grades 6 through 10 are involved in moderate or frequent bullying. There are cases in Florida where young people have been arrested because, tragically, someone committed suicide, or the hearing I held in Houston where parents upon parents and students came in to testify how they had been bullied. One out of four kids is bullied.

Some would say they are calling everything bullying. Well, I believe if we do the outreach, we can find a way to develop an infrastructure so that there will be people who find the comfort of knowing someone cares, a system that intervenes when someone feels something is untoward, and to break the shackles of bullying by getting rid of the atmosphere that is tolerated because it is done in silence and fear.

I also introduced gun safety legislation, and I would hope that some day we could have universal background checks. As I was driving to the airport, I read an ad in the Houston Chronicle that had gun safes on sale. I said that guy, I want to give him an award, because my simple legislation requires individuals to store their guns. They can have all the guns they want, but have them stored and safe, particularly if you have a large number of them, to be able to secure and protect children and those who want to do us harm.

One of the things that the CBC worked on, and I am proud that we

worked on it, but I will say that it brings me sadness, we are at a point where we have cut \$40 billion from the Supplemental Nutrition program. I went to my food bank and had them explain what a devastating impact that \$40 billion, \$4 billion a year, will have on the people who are in need in Houston in particular.

### □ 2115

In my city of Houston, the census report said over the last 12 months, 442.881 incomes were below the poverty level, and 18 percent of households in the State of Texas in 2009 through 2011 ranked second in the highest rate of food security. So why can we not have an ag bill that would restore the \$40 billion? Why are we suggesting that those individuals are deadbeats when one-half of the persons on food stamps or SNAP are, in fact, children? That is something. Mr. JEFFRIES, that we could come together on and redo or the conference could redo. We could look to ensure a place of laws but a place of humanity.

In conclusion, allow me to throw in two disparate points, but I consider them justice issues. First, that is the Affordable Care Act, which is a justice initiative. It is to say that we all have access to good health care. That is not a carte blanche for good health because we must all change our attitudes and do a lot of things to make us healthy, but it certainly is an intervener that allows to us have preventive care; it allows women to not be characterized as a preexisting disease because they are pregnant; it allows children born with preexisting diseases not to be eliminated from the insurance rolls; and it allowed 13 million Americans to receive \$1.1 billion in rebates from their health insurance last year when the Affordable Care Act was in place. Now 105 million Americans have free preventive services.

So all of the talk of the technology takes away from the core value that Americans should have access to health care, and today I am glad to hear that we are making strides in a technological system that is not always perfect. Let us not undermine this bill. I am very glad that the Congressional Black Caucus, under the leadership of our chairwoman, has been strong in educating our constituents about the Affordable Care Act.

In conclusion, a remaining challenge that we have: the Voting Rights Act must be reauthorized to the extent of a provision that was eliminated by the Supreme Court decision wrongly, Shelby County v. Holder, that took away the provisions of preclearance which, in fact, provided justice and the right to vote for all Americans. We are gathered, hopefully, in a bipartisan manner with the leadership of Mr. Sen-SENBRENNER and others who are on various committees in the Congressional Black Caucus and the leadership of our Democratic Caucus and the Republican conference to come together in a bipar-

tisan manner to be able to accept the constitutional premise best said by the Declaration of Independence: that we all are created equally with certain inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

We have coddled the right to vote. We have welcomed the right to vote. I am reading a story about our Puerto Rican citizens who don't have the right to vote and how they felt like secondclass citizens. There are those of us on the mainland that have had roadblocks thrown across the pathway that needed to be protected not only by the Bill of Rights but by the Voting Rights Act that has withstood the test of time, that has been reviewed. So it is important that we get a construct that all of us can support so that if there is a voter ID law, it does not block people from voting, it does not keep one particular group from getting a voter ID law because they do not have access, like in Texas with the Department of Public Safety. In essence, the Voting Rights Act is one that reaffirms America's commitment that every person has a right to vote—one person, one vote.

I want to thank the Congressional Black Caucus for being a leader on so many issues, from preventing gun violence to the issue of dealing with our children and anti-bullying and intervention, to the idea of the Affordable Care Act, to restoring SNAP funding, to the Voting Rights Act and, ves. to a comprehensive approach to immigration reform, particularly the idea that we worked on so extensively, and that is diversity visas.

When I go home and speak to people from all walks of life, particularly the African community, they understand the work the Congressional Black Caucus has done—the Haitians, those from the Caribbean, those from South Asiain reuniting families. They understand that we have been a leader on the broad landscape of comprehensive im-

migration reform.

For that reason, I am hoping that we will not end this session by looking sadly back on what we have not done, but that we will roll up our sleeves. I also hope that before we leave here before the end of this particular first session of the 113th Congress, we will have the opportunity to see an ag bill that will restore a portion of the SNAP dollars, helping those who cannot help themselves; that we will actually have passed anti-bullying legislation that should draw Republicans and Democrats together; that we will have confronted the issue of comprehensive immigration reform, listened to the voices of reason, and passed legislation in regular order and then, as well, that we in conclusion find it within ourselves to eliminate the sequester in a way that provides funding back to the basic responsibilities of this government in rebuilding infrastructure, creating jobs, stopping the bleeding of losing jobs because we have kept the sequester long overdue; funding our de-

fense; providing for education and the safety and security of our seniors and our veterans. Let's get to work.

I thank the gentleman from New York (Mr. Jeffries) for reminding us that we came here to roll up our sleeves and to work for the American people.

I introduced the above legislation H.R. 2585 to save our children's lives.

#### SUMMARY OF BILL

H.R. 2585 will help to stem this epidemic by reauthorizing for 5 years Juvenile Accountability Block Grant program (JABG) and providing funding to state and local governments for the creation of bullying and gang prevention programs.

Legislation authorizes such appropriations as may be necessary, which is anticipated to be at least \$40 million per year (\$200 million total) for the 5 year reauthorization period.

In addition to reauthorizing juvenile justice programs, legislation clarifies how to address the occurrences of bullying through developmentally appropriate intervention and prevention techniques, which center on evidencebased models and best practices that rely on schools and communities rather than involvement from law enforcement and the justice system.

Legislation designed to help both the victims and perpetrators of bullving. Research studies have shown that approximately 25 percent of school bullies will be convicted of a criminal offense in their adult years.

H.R. 2585 also includes provisions for gang prevention programs, which will help guide our children towards socially beneficial paths.

If we want our children to learn, we must be able to maintain a safe and healthy school environment.

# WHY H.R. 2585 IS NECESSARY

Although some people may dismiss bullying as a normal part of growing up, bullying can be detrimental to a child's education and development.

Each day an estimated 160,000 students in this country refuse to go to school because they fear being bullied by their peers, and many more attend school in a chronic state of anxiety and depression.

In addition, six out of ten American youth witness bullying at least once a day, and nearly 30 percent-or 5.7 million children-are involved in bullying as victims, perpetrators, or

1 in 7 Students in Grades K-12 is either a bully or a victim of bullying.

90% of 4th to 8th Grade Students report being victims of bullying of some type.

56% of students have personally witnessed some type of bullying at school.

71% of students report incidents of bullying as a problem at their school.

87% of youth said shootings are motivated by a desire to "get back at those who have hurt them, and 86% said, "other kids picking on them, making fun of them or bullying them" causes teenagers to turn to lethal violence in the schools.

Consequences of bullying:

15% of all school absenteeism is directly related to fears of being bullied.

1 out of every 10 students who drops out of school does so because of repeated bullying. Suicides linked to bullying are the saddest statistic

Behind these statistics are real children and young people who suffer and hurt too often in silence. Let me tell you the heart breaking story of David Ray Ritcheson.

David Ray Ritcheson was a victim of adolescent bullying. He was 16 years of age—when he was bullied, beaten and tortured nearly to death.

David was assaulted while attending a party in Spring, Texas. He spent 3 months in a hospital as a result of his injuries and underwent more than 30 surgeries to repair his battered body.

His courage in the face of such violence was reflected in his willingness to come before Congress to tell his story.

My reaction to his courage and later death by suicide was to sponsor House Resolution to honor the life and sacrifice of David Ray Ritcheson. The Resolution told his story and expressed the importance of passing hate crime legislation; and his story also showed the violence of bullying.

Mr. JEFFRIES. I thank the distinguished gentlewoman from Texas for her leadership on a wide variety of issues important to the social and economic justice landscape, and, of course, for laying out a very significant roadmap, a blueprint for the future in terms of what this Congress should confront as we close out this first session of the 113th Congress and move toward the second session.

We are pleased that we have also been joined by my neighbor back home in Brooklyn, the distinguished gentlewoman from the Ninth Congressional District, a woman who is one of the CBC cochairs on the task force related to comprehensive immigration reform. She has been a leader on that issue, as she has on many others. She is a member of the Small Business Committee, as well as the Homeland Security Committee. She represents one of the most diverse districts anywhere in this Nation and has made us all proud to call her a colleague. I yield now to Congresswoman YVETTE CLARKE.

Ms. CLARKE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank the gentleman from New York (Mr. JEFFRIES) and the gentleman from Nevada (Mr. HORSFORD) for their leadership in anchoring this year's CBC Special Order hour and thank them in particular for this evening here in review.

Mr. Speaker, it has been a long road. From fighting to keep SNAP funding to rehashing the Affordable Care Act to advocating for immigration reform that is truly diverse and comprehensive, the CBC has come a long way.

As one of the cochairs of the CBC immigration task force, I am proud of the work we have done to ensure that everyone, including immigrants of the African diaspora and African Americans, were adequately included and represented in this conversation.

It feels like it was just yesterday when we stood here in February introducing the CBC's perspective on the urgent need for comprehensive immigration reform. That night, we laid the foundation of what was to be an uphill battle between politics, policy, and procedure. The CBC, along with our Tri-Caucus colleagues, argued that the

burden of the broken immigration system does not encumber one group of immigrants alone. For example, there are approximately 3 million immigrants from the African diaspora in the United States, the vast majority of whom entered the country with legal documentation, but there are millions more from all over the world, including eastern Europe and South Asia.

As the conversation increased, the CBC immigration task force tried to highlight the impact of immigrants of the African diaspora from the continent of Africa, the Caribbean region, and South and Central America, which has been large in scale. Their contribution has not been mentioned in the Main Street stories representing reform. Many did not recognize nor understand that the road for many immigrants of the diaspora was significantly different than the proverbial stories in the media.

Many entered our Nation with legal student visas, like my own parents did, to pursue careers in medicine, science, education, and other professions. Many are proud business owners of law firms, restaurants, grocery stores, shipping companies, and hair-braiding venues. There are those who have come as asylum seekers fleeing the tumult of war, famine, and genocide. Like any other immigrant group, they come to the United States to be productive, taxpaying members of our civil society, to attain the American Dream.

Like the other immigrant groups, immigrants of the African diaspora are dealing with backlogged immigration processing, families being ripped apart, falling out of status because they have aged out of the legal immigration process; racial and status discrimination; unfair criminal aggravated felony laws that prohibit judicial review; deportation processes that violate civil and human rights; an insecure, prohibitive student visa program; and limited access to work permits and much more.

Mr. Speaker, it is imperative for us to acknowledge the fact that many immigrants arrive on our shores during a time of their lives when they are in the most productive years of their lives. Any delay in processing these individuals, bringing them to the fore, would deny us as a Nation the opportunity to access their talent, their skill, and abilities in the prime of their lives.

Additionally, it was important for us to note that African Americans, those descendents of the transatlantic slave trade, whom I fondly call "longtime stakeholders" of this Nation, have been affected by our broken immigration system as well.

Mr. JEFFRIES. One of the things that the CBC has attempted to work on, as my distinguished colleague from New York has indicated, is to deal with comprehensive immigration reform in a manner that fixes a broken system for all involved, and we certainly are thankful for the distinguished gentlewoman's work as a member and leader of the CBC task force on immigration reform

We both proudly represent districts that are incredibly diverse. Back at home in the Eighth Congressional District in Brooklyn and parts of Queens. I represent African Americans, Caribbean Americans, South Asians, Russian-speaking Eastern European Jewish immigrants, Latinos, Chinese Americans, the gorgeous mosaic of the American people. What I found—and this has been the history and the experience, in fact, in New York City—is that immigrants are hardworking, entrepreneurial, spiritual, family-oriented, community-centered individuals. America would be strengthened, of course, by fixing our broken immigration system.

Let me now yield back to my distinguished colleague from New York.

Ms. CLARKE. Let me thank the gentleman from New York for saving me. I have recovered now and would just like to bring forth a few more points.

Working class Americans of all backgrounds, races, and ethnicities are adversely affected with a broken immigration system. As we stated, they are dealing with depressed wages because of unscrupulous and illegal corporate hiring practices. Urban communities aren't even being adequately counted via the census and other surveys, resulting in the reduction of adequate government services and Federal resources to meet the needs of actual populations in our communities, increasing the strain on current public services.

Urban communities are exposed to more crime as the undocumented are more reluctant to report crimes, and African Americans are dealing with increased racial and status discrimination as many are subjected to interrogation based on citizenship.

□ 2130

Imagine our delight, Mr. Speaker, when the immigration reform debate gained some traction this year with the actions taking place in the Senate. There were tangible legislative fixes in the works.

The CBC quickly expressed our concerns to both the House and the Senate leadership over the elimination of the Diversity Visas, used largely by African and Eastern European immigrants.

We voiced our concern over the ability of American children, particularly those from underrepresented and underserved areas to be successful in STEM fields without the proper education, especially since much of the emphasis in the debate relied on increasing incentives of migrants in those fields.

We also expressed the need to address our immigration judicial system. The current state is not aligned with our criminal justice system, leaving many immigrants forced to experience double jeopardy for nonviolent crimes.

We stood up against racial profiling language that does not include religion or national origin and expressed concerns over the switch from familybased immigration to an economic-based system.

Now, as the House looks to different vehicles to consider comprehensive immigration reform, I implore the House leadership to understand the importance of diversity; that is, racial, ethnic, religious, national, and especially economic diversity, the visa equity that must be afforded immigrants from around the globe.

If we eliminate country caps without including other avenues for smaller countries, we are jeopardizing the beautiful mosaic that makes this country unique and great.

We must evaluate consideration of the SAFE Act, which is a bad idea and a slap in the face to our immigrant history.

Additionally, we have to have an honest conversation about the relationship between legalization and border security. Allowing those who are here a pathway to citizenship but creating an obstacle course based in fear to obtain the citizenship is not the way to go.

We will never realize the true potential of this country if anyone in our society is held back from realizing their individual dreams. And relying heavily on an economic-based immigration system will exclude many immigrants, creating yet another stratified immigration system, forcing people back into the shadows.

That is why, as we look at the next session of the 113th Congress, I ask my colleagues to take the opportunity to revisit these proposals, sans political pressure, sans the haste to get it done, and take a real look at how we can improve the lives of all Americans and all those who strive with the hope to be an American.

Mr. Speaker, we must get this right. Our national security is at stake. Our moral standing in the world depends upon it. The American people, many of whom are first- and second-generation immigrants, have demanded it.

If we turn our backs on those lawabiding contributors to our civil society that come to our shores only to embrace the American Dream, to labor in the rebuilding of our great Nation, strengthen our economy, and to serve honorably in our military, we turn our back on ourselves and our future.

I can definitely say that the CBC Immigration Taskforce looks forward to continuing this conversation into the new year, ensuring that any comprehensive immigration reform measures mirror the diversity of this Nation.

So I want to thank my colleague, the gentleman from New York, whose district is right next to mine in Brooklyn, for yielding time to me today.

Mr. JEFFRIES. I thank the distinguished gentlelady from New York for her leadership on this issue, for the progress that has already been made, and her continued commitment.

The CBC, as I close, Mr. Speaker, will continue to take its role seriously as

the conscience of the Congress, a voice for the voiceless, and the guardian of the integrity of the democratic proc-

And I am just hopeful, as we move forward, that our friends on the other side of the aisle will end the obfuscation, end the obstruction, end the obsession with the Affordable Care Act, and we can find common ground to advance an agenda for the benefit of the American people.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

# THE CONGRESS THAT KILLED THE PATENT SYSTEM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2013, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRABACHER) until 10 p.m.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Speaker, I would ask my colleagues, do we want to be known as the Congress that killed the U.S. patent system, a patent system which has served the American people well for 225 years?

I ask America, America, are you listening?

Congress is, once again, talking about reforming the patent system. The last patent reform bill, which passed last year, was the America Invents Act, and it just went into effect earlier this year, and patent lawyers and courts and inventors are still trying to figure out the implications of that change, of the change that that legislation made, and it was the most sweeping change in patent law in the history of our country.

Yet, even before we are able to judge the effects of the America Invents Act, a new patent bill is being rammed through this House and through Con-

I wish I could focus simply on the bad provisions of this new bill, the Innovation Act. I like to think of it as the Anti-Innovation Act, H.R. 3309, which is expected to be on the floor later this week

But if the bill is bad, which we are talking about, the process being used to stifle debate and ram this down the congressional throats here on the floor is even worse. In the one Judiciary Committee hearing, witness after witness strongly recommended moving forward slowly, and warned of unintended consequences.

It only takes a few minutes to consider each provision of this bill to see that, although it may be aimed at a single thorn in the side of mega-electronic companies, it will create much more pain in other industries, in higher education, and especially to individual inventors.

In the rush to get H.R. 3309 onto the floor so quickly, it has not been even one single day between when this bill passed the Judiciary Committee and then, thus, becoming available to Members of the House, once it passes the Judiciary Committee, and there

has only not even been one single day of legislative business for Members to consider and submit amendments to the Rules Committee for this important legislation, not one single full day of legislative work, and now this is being rammed down our throats.

And of course, the Thanksgiving holiday happened right after they passed it through the committee. The holiday was right in the middle of a very short time line which, of course, virtually guaranteed that all Members, and most of the staff would not be in Washington, D.C., thus, they passed it right before we left town.

And this schedule suggests what? It suggests that the fix was in. The clear message to little inventors: give thanks for your intellectual property rights because you may not have them this time next year.

Well, this isn't just about rapid, it is also about covert. It seems that we have to pass this bill to find out what is in it. That hasn't worked well for America in the past, and it sure shouldn't be happening again on our watch.

I am calling on my friends and my colleagues who haven't had time to fully understand the implications of this legislation, and that means almost everybody in this body, and we are just back today from the holiday break. If you haven't had time to fully understand the implications of this legislation, join me in demanding a postponement of this vote until after the holiday season, which will give us all sufficient time to consult with our constituents, with experts, and to better understand this legislation and the implications it will have for industry, for American progress, for American inventors and innovators.

Now, to the content of this legislation. We are told this bill is aimed at the threat of so-called patent trolls. These so-called villainous trolls are patent holders, or they are companies who represent patent holders. They are engaged in defending their rights, given to them by ownership of that patent, against the infringement of their patents by someone else.

They own these patents, and these are just as valid as any other patents granted by the Patent Office. But huge corporate infringers would have us believe that these patents are questionable, invalid, unworthy; they are unworthy of being a patent in the first place. Of course, these are the same corporations who have taken these patents and used them without paying the lawful fee that you would pay to someone who invented something that you are using.

Well, this is not the case. They are not paying the inventor, and the patents that are being targeted by these multinational electronics firms as claiming that they are illegitimate, well, most of these were just the product of small inventors. And these small inventors, quite often, because they are