

COMMUNICATION FROM THE
CLERK OF THE HOUSE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mrs. BLACK) laid before the House the following communication from the Clerk of the House of Representatives:

OFFICE OF THE CLERK,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, April 8, 2014.

Hon. JOHN A. BOEHNER,
The Speaker, House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Pursuant to the permission granted in Clause 2(h) of Rule II of the Rules of the U.S. House of Representatives, the Clerk received the following message from the Secretary of the Senate on April 8, 2014 at 8:50 a.m.:

That the Senate passed S. 2195.

That the Senate passed with an amendment H.R. 3979.

Appointments:

Joint Committee on Taxation.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

KAREN L. HAAS.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE
CLERK OF THE HOUSE

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Clerk of the House of Representatives:

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, April 8, 2014.

Hon. JOHN A. BOEHNER,
The Speaker, U.S. Capitol,
House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Pursuant to the permission granted in Clause 2(h) of Rule II of the Rules of the U.S. House of Representatives, the Clerk received the following message from the Secretary of the Senate on April 8, 2014 at 10:35 a.m.:

That the Senate agreed to without amendment H. Con. Res. 92.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

KAREN L. HAAS.

□ 1215

ELECTING CERTAIN MEMBERS TO
CERTAIN STANDING COMMITTEES
OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. WOODALL. Madam Speaker, by direction of the Republican Conference, I offer a privileged resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 546

Resolved, That the following named Members be, and are hereby, elected to the following standing committees of the House of Representatives:

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND THE WORKFORCE: Mr. Byrne.

COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE, SPACE, AND TECHNOLOGY: Mr. Johnson of Ohio.

Mr. WOODALL (during the reading). Madam Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

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

There was no objection.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION
OF H. CON. RES. 96, CONCURRENT
RESOLUTION ON THE BUDGET
FOR FISCAL YEAR 2015, AND
PROVIDING FOR PROCEEDINGS
DURING THE PERIOD FROM
APRIL 11, 2014, THROUGH APRIL
25, 2014

Mr. WOODALL. Madam Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 544 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 544

Resolved, That at any time after the adoption of this resolution the Speaker may, pursuant to clause 2(b) of rule XVIII, declare the House resolved into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for consideration of the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 96) establishing the budget for the United States Government for fiscal year 2015 and setting forth appropriate budgetary levels for fiscal years 2016 through 2024. The first reading of the concurrent resolution shall be dispensed with. All points of order against consideration of the concurrent resolution are waived. General debate shall not exceed four hours, with three hours of general debate confined to the congressional budget equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Budget and one hour of general debate on the subject of economic goals and policies equally divided and controlled by Representative Brady of Texas and Representative Carolyn Maloney of New York or their respective designees. After general debate the concurrent resolution shall be considered for amendment under the five-minute rule. The concurrent resolution shall be considered as read. No amendment shall be in order except those printed in the report of the Committee on Rules accompanying this resolution. Each amendment may be offered only in the order printed in the report, may be offered only by a Member designated in the report, shall be considered as read, and shall be debatable for the time specified in the report equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent. All points of order against such amendments are waived except that the adoption of an amendment in the nature of a substitute shall constitute the conclusion of consideration of the concurrent resolution for amendment. After the conclusion of consideration of the concurrent resolution for amendment and a final period of general debate, which shall not exceed 10 minutes equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Budget, the Committee shall rise and report the concurrent resolution to the House with such amendment as may have been adopted. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the concurrent resolution and amendments thereto to adoption without intervening motion except amendments offered by the chair of the Committee on the Budget pursuant to section 305(a)(5) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 to achieve mathematical consistency. The concurrent resolution shall not be subject to a demand for division of the question of its adoption.

SEC. 2. On any legislative day during the period from April 11, 2014, through April 25, 2014—

(a) the Journal of the proceedings of the previous day shall be considered as approved; and

(b) the Chair may at any time declare the House adjourned to meet at a date and time, within the limits of clause 4, section 5, article I of the Constitution, to be announced by the Chair in declaring the adjournment.

SEC. 3. The Speaker may appoint Members to perform the duties of the Chair for the duration of the period addressed by section 2 of this resolution as though under clause 8(a) of rule I.

SEC. 4. Each day during the period addressed by section 2 of this resolution shall not constitute a calendar day for purposes of section 7 of the War Powers Resolution (50 U.S.C. 1546).

SEC. 5. The Committee on Appropriations may, at any time before 5 p.m. on Thursday, April 17, 2014, file privileged reports to accompany measures making appropriations for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2015.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Georgia is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. WOODALL. Madam Speaker, for the purpose of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to my friend from Massachusetts (Mr. MCGOVERN), pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume. During consideration of this resolution, all time yielded is for the purpose of debate only.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. WOODALL. Madam Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. WOODALL. Madam Speaker, it is budget week. I have been trying to contain my smile all week long. I have the great pleasure of sitting on both the Budget Committee and the Rules Committee here in this House. The rule that we have before us today, House Resolution 544, does candidly what I think my friend from Massachusetts and I came here to do, and that is to have an open debate on the floor of the House about absolutely everyone's ideas.

I want to tell you what that means, Madam Speaker, because we sit on the Rules Committee, my friend from Massachusetts and I, and part of that responsibility is deciding whose voice gets heard and whose doesn't. It is a very solemn responsibility, one that neither of us takes lightly. I believe we would both say that whenever possible we should err on the side of having more voices instead of less. What we have today, Madam Speaker, is a rule that provides for absolutely every budget alternative written, drafted, and presented in this House, every one.

I want you to think about that, Madam Speaker, because this ought to be a place where we debate ideas. This ought to be a place where we talk about what tomorrow looks like, how can we make tomorrow better than today. And on this day, we will be voting on a rule that will make every single alternative idea available for robust debate on the floor of this House.

Now, the underlying bill is the bill that came out of the Budget Committee. Again, Madam Speaker, in full disclosure, I am a member of that Budget Committee. I am proud of the work that that committee put out.

Some folks call it the Paul Ryan budget. I take umbrage at that. I sit on that committee. I work shoulder to shoulder with PAUL. I am going to call it the Budget Committee budget. I hope at the end of this budget week it will be the House-passed budget, because I think it reflects the priorities of this institution, and I think it reflects the priorities of the American people.

If it does not reflect the priorities of any Member in this Chamber, they will have alternatives to vote on. One of those alternatives is written and drafted by the ranking member of the Budget Committee, the lead Democrat on the Budget Committee, the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. VAN HOLLEN), that substitute amendment made in order today.

The Congressional Black Caucus, Madam Speaker, comes together to put together a list of priorities, a full substitute budget, has done that for a number of years, has done that again this year. This rule makes that Congressional Black Caucus substitute in order for a vote.

The Congressional Progressive Caucus, Madam Speaker, they have presented a budget. Now, their budget is one that raises taxes by \$5 trillion over the next 10 years. It is not going to be one that I support here on the floor of the House, but it is absolutely a legitimate list of priorities, as I talked about earlier, priorities that affect the young people of this Nation. We are going to get a vote on that budget here on the floor of this House.

The Republican Study Committee, Madam Speaker, of which I am also a member, a proud drafter of that budget document, that vote, espousing the absolute fastest path to balance that we will be hearing in this institution during budget week, Madam Speaker, will get a vote on the floor of this House.

Finally, a budget presented by Representative MULVANEY of South Carolina but intended to replicate the budget written by the President of the United States of America. It is a funny thing in constitutional government. Of course we have article I, legislative branch; article II, executive branch. Certainly, we have different responsibilities, but I don't think there is anyone in this Chamber who would say the President hasn't invested an incredible amount of time and energy presenting his budget. It wasn't here on time, but it did arrive here. It is a complete budget, and it deserves a hearing. No one on the Democrat side of the aisle picked up that budget to present it until Representative MULVANEY did. Again, I think that is part of the robust debate that we must have.

All together, we are going to have 4 hours of debate on these budget alter-

natives. That is in addition to all the regular order that has already gone on in committee, in addition to the hours that we have invested in the Rules Committee already, 4 hours here on the floor of this House.

Why is that important, Madam Speaker? Because I think what I will hear on both sides of the aisle is that these budgets represent a statement of values. Who are you going to take the money from? Who are you going to spend the money on? How are you going to invest in the future? How are you going to prevent the future from being eroded by payments on debt after debt, after debt, after debt? These are the discussions that we are going to have.

Just 10 years ago, Madam Speaker, the public debt in this country was \$7.3 trillion. Today, it is \$17.5 trillion—all of the debt that we have racked up in the history of this country through 2004 more than doubled in just the last 10 years.

Madam Speaker, there may be folks in this Chamber who say that is a debt worth making, that the investments that we are creating by borrowing this money from our children and spending it on the generations today, that that is worth doing. I say no. I say our obligation to our children tomorrow, to our grandchildren tomorrow is not to advance ourselves at their expense. I think our obligation is to pay down that debt, but that is a legitimate discussion that we are going to have over the next several days.

The \$10 trillion on the Nation's credit card in just the past 10 years, Madam Speaker, let there be no doubt that that is the gravity of the conversation that we are having today.

I remember back in 2012, Madam Speaker, President Obama said in an interview with ABC News: "We don't have an immediate crisis in terms of debt. In fact, for the next 10 years, it's going to be in a sustainable place." In 2012, the President predicting that for the next 10 years the crisis won't come, that the crisis will be out beyond year 10. Madam Speaker, he may be right, but that was 2 years ago, and there are only two bills, two budgets that we have before us this budget week that even balance in that 10-year window.

This is a debate worthy of this Chamber; this is a debate worthy of America. And I hope that by the end of budget week, Madam Speaker, by the time we take our vote on final passage, irrespective of which substitute has passed or whether the House-passed or committee-passed budget remains, that we have a document that represents not just this institution's values but that represents our constituents' values, that represents American values, that is true to the obligation that we all have to protect the opportunities of the generations of tomorrow.

With that, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from

Georgia for yielding me the customary 30 minutes. I yield myself such time as I may consume.

(Mr. MCGOVERN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Speaker, budgets are moral documents. These annual documents are really statements of who we are as political parties and as groups and as people. They represent our values. They tell a story about what we believe in and how we would govern.

I had thought that I had come here today to say that this budget before us, the Ryan budget, is simply bad or that it is misguided. Madam Speaker, it is much worse than that.

□ 1230

This is an awful budget. It takes our country in the fundamentally wrong direction.

It seems as though every year we shake our heads wondering how the latest Ryan budget could possibly get worse than the previous year's efforts. And yet, time after time, the Ryan budget manages to pull it off.

This budget is cruel, but sadly, it is not unusual.

The gentleman from Georgia says he can't contain his smiles when he talks about this budget. I don't think there is anything to smile about.

Year after year, the Ryan budget does more and more damage to the social fabric of our Nation. Year after year, it puts the wishes of the rich ahead of the needs of the poor. And year after year, it sacrifices the reality of desperately needed investments at the altar of theoretical deficit reduction.

Let's look at the details. The Ryan budget includes deep cuts. How deep? \$791 billion below the sequester number. \$791 billion below sequester. That is amazing, Madam Speaker.

Now, I voted against sequester because of the damage it would and it did inflict on our economy. This budget would actually cut nearly \$1 trillion on top of the sequester. I thought we wanted to end sequester, not make choices that are even worse.

But that is not the end of the story. According to one estimate, 69 percent of the Ryan budget cuts come from low-income programs. It would shred the safety net. The programs that keep millions of Americans out of poverty and help provide millions of Americans with health care, that will provide millions of children with school meals and early childhood education, received the lion's share of the cuts. That is what the Ryan budget does.

In fact, according to the same estimate, \$3.3 trillion of the Ryan budget's \$4.8 trillion in non-defense cuts come from low-income safety net programs like Medicaid, SNAP, school breakfast and lunch programs, Head Start, the Supplemental Security Income program, the Earned Income Tax Credit, and Child Tax Credits.

Sixty-nine percent of the total non-defense cuts come from these life-changing, indeed, lifesaving programs.

The Ryan budget is successful at one thing: it deepens the divide between the rich and poor in this country. It successfully makes life harder for those who are already struggling to make ends meet.

If you are hungry in America, you would see food benefits cut by \$137 billion.

If you are a middle class college student in America, hopefully you can win the lottery, or have a rich uncle, because Pell grants would be cut by \$125 billion by freezing the maximum grant and cutting eligibility.

If you are a low-income working mother in America who gets health care through Medicaid, you would join at least 40 million Americans who will become uninsured by 2024 after the Ryan budget cuts at least \$2.7 trillion from Medicaid.

And if you are a middle class family with kids in America just trying to get by in this sluggish economy, you would see your taxes go up by \$2,000.

But if you are fortunate enough to be very rich in America, you lucked out. It is time to pop the champagne because you make out like a bandit. The oil companies keep their tax breaks. Businesses can keep putting money in overseas accounts just to avoid paying taxes here in America.

And if you are a millionaire?

Get ready for a big fat check from Uncle Sam. That is because anyone making \$1 million a year will see a tax cut of at least \$200,000.

On top of these disastrous policies, the Ryan budget, once again, goes after seniors. This version, once again, ends the Medicare guarantee and reopens the Medicare prescription drug doughnut hole.

As a result of these cuts, seniors will see their traditional Medicare premiums soar by an average of 50 percent. As AARP says:

Removing the Medicare guarantee of affordable health coverage for older Americans by implementing a premium support system and asking seniors and future retirees to pay more is not the right direction.

Now these policies have real world ramifications. Last week, Madam Speaker, an incredibly strong and courageous group of women called the Witnesses to Hunger returned to Capitol Hill to talk about their struggles as low-income, working women trying to make ends meet.

It takes guts to come here to Capitol Hill to tell your story and challenge Members of Congress to do better, and that is exactly what these impressive women did. They told their stories. They talked about their struggles, and they challenged us to do more to help so they don't fall back into poverty.

These women, and the millions of Americans like them who work hard every day, don't earn enough to make ends meet. They are having to choose between rent and food and electricity.

These women and their children aren't line items in our budget. They aren't statistics in our reports. They are people, people who just want to have a roof over their heads, food on their tables, and an education system that will help their children learn and succeed.

They want to go to college and not have to worry about losing their scholarships just because they are a single mother and need to work a night job to feed their child.

These women, and millions of Americans, would be hurt, they would be devastated by the Ryan budget. I am glad there are people who are able to make a lot of money in this country. I have nothing against rich people, but we shouldn't penalize those who are struggling.

Madam Speaker, we should be providing ladders of opportunity to help people get out of poverty and move into the middle class. When people need a helping hand, we should provide that assistance, whether it is a job training program, early childhood education, health care, or something as simple and as basic as food.

These aren't handouts; they are hand-ups. They are investments in our future, and we should be providing opportunities to strengthen our communities and the middle class through job creation, higher education, and advancing research and innovation.

This is a great country. We have done great things, but we have begun to think small. That is what the Republican majority has succeeded in doing. They have got us to start thinking small rather than big. We don't tackle big problems anymore. We use deficit reduction as an excuse to do nothing.

What we need to do is tackle big issues like ending hunger. We should tackle the issue of ending poverty. We should want to strive for a country that benefits not just the few who are rich but the many who are poor.

The Ryan budget would set us back. It would do real damage to millions and millions of real Americans, our neighbors, our friends, our fellow parishioners.

As Pope Francis has written in his Papal Exhortation:

I ask God to give us more politicians capable of sincere and effective dialogue aimed at healing the deepest roots, and not simply the appearances of the evils in our world. Politics, though often denigrated, remains a lofty vocation and one of the highest forms of charity, inasmuch as it seeks the common good.

Inasmuch as it seeks the common good. This budget, this Ryan budget, this Republican budget, or whatever you want to call it, does not seek the common good. This budget fails that basic test that Pope Francis outlined. It does not seek the common good. It deserves to be defeated.

We can do so much better in this Congress and for our country. I am ashamed that this is what we are debating here today, that this is the Republican vision for our future.

This the wrong way to go. Democrats and Republicans should say "no" to this.

Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. WOODALL. Madam Speaker, I yield myself 2 minutes to say to my friend from Massachusetts, I believe we share many of the same priorities. But because of past Congresses, because of past administrations, because of past decisions that have been made in this Chamber, we are on track to spend \$6 trillion on interest over the next 10 years.

Madam Speaker, that is opportunity to fulfill every single one of those goals my friend from Massachusetts laid out that is frittered away by the borrow-and-spend behaviors of the past.

There is no disagreement in this Chamber about the commitment to a hand-up. The disagreement is about how much further out of reach we put opportunity and success by trading away future opportunities for spending today.

I have great respect and admiration for my colleagues on the other side of the aisle who have said yes, let's do raise taxes by \$5 trillion. Yes, let's do reset our priorities. Let's actually describe a pathway to a balanced budget. It is not an easy pathway to get to, but it matters.

It doesn't matter because it's a number, Madam Speaker. It matters because every year we don't balance the budget we steal opportunities from our children, and that is undeniable.

The debate is, Do the investments today outweigh those stolen opportunities from tomorrow? Or do the savings today that ensure that opportunity for tomorrow represent the best course of success that we can provide, again, for our children and grandchildren, about whom there is no disagreement about our strong and steadfast commitment?

Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I think one of the differences between what the Republicans have proposed and what Democrats are proposing is that what they propose is just one thing—cuts. Cuts and cuts and cuts in programs for the most needy in this country, and more tax cuts for the most wealthy.

What the Democrats have proposed is a more balanced approach. Yeah, there needs to be some sacrifice, but we also understand the importance of investment.

If you want to find a way to balance the budget, why don't we find a cure for Alzheimer's disease? Not only would that help improve the quality of life for millions of people, but it would also eliminate all the fiscal problems that Medicaid has.

Let's find a cure for diabetes. Let's find a cure for cancer.

Why aren't our energies devoted toward investing in medical research?

And yet the Ryan budget that we are now debating would devastate medical research in this country. It would devastate it.

We have researchers coming in to visit us who are telling us that China is offering them a better package to do their medical research, Singapore. I want these cures to be found here in the United States. I want to invest in that research that will not only save people's lives, but create jobs and also save money.

Yet, my friends on the other side, they devastate investments in medical research. They devastate investments in scientific research. They devastate investments in transportation.

Their way is one way: cut programs that help the most needy, and give tax breaks to the Donald Trumps of the world. Donald Trump doesn't need any more help. Middle class families, those struggling to get into the middle class, do need help.

Madam Speaker, I am going to urge that we defeat the previous question, and if we do, I will offer an amendment to the rule to bring up H.R. 4415, the House companion to the unemployment insurance extension bill passed by a bipartisan majority in the Senate just yesterday. Representative KILDEE introduced this bill just hours after Senate passage.

Today, on Equal Pay Day, my amendment will also bring up H.R. 377, ROSA DELAURIO's Paycheck Fairness Act. It is shameful that women in America still make an average of only 77 cents for every dollar earned by their male colleagues. The Paycheck Fairness Act will require equal pay for equal work.

Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. KILDEE) to discuss our proposal.

Mr. KILDEE. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I join him in urging my colleagues to defeat the previous question so that we can immediately bring up H.R. 4415, which is identical to a bill that passed on a bipartisan basis by the Senate just last night.

It would extend emergency unemployment benefits to the 2 million Americans who have lost those benefits since Congress failed to act late last year.

I also will note that I read today a report that seven of my Republican House colleagues have written the Speaker urging him to bring this legislation up immediately as well. So we have bipartisan support for this effort to restore necessary benefits to individuals who have lost their job.

It takes an average of 37 weeks for someone who loses their job in this country to find their next opportunity. Yet, in my State, after 20 weeks, you are cut off of unemployment.

So while today is a beautiful spring day outside, and all across the country people are breathing in the optimism that comes with spring, for 2 million Americans, they look at this a dif-

ferent way. They go outside today and wonder if today is the day that the foreclosure notice will come, if today is the day that the eviction will be tacked on to their front door, if they will go outside and today will be the day that the car has been repossessed or that there won't be enough food to feed their family.

These are real-life Americans who are facing this struggle. We have it in our power to do something about it.

H.R. 4415, like the Senate action, is fully paid for. Despite the fact that, in the past, on a bipartisan basis, we have approved an unemployment insurance extension without it being paid for, this is paid for. It will not increase the deficit but will decrease the suffering of millions of American people who go every day trying to find their next job.

I have heard some on the other side say, well, we shouldn't do this because it is not an emergency. Well, if you are about to lose your house, or about to lose your apartment, or about to lose your car, or don't have enough food to feed your children, let me tell you, for them, maybe not for all of you, but for them it is an emergency, and this Congress can act, and it should act immediately.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRIES

Mr. POLIS. Madam Speaker, point of parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. POLIS. Madam Speaker, is it a constitutional right of the House to change the rules for consideration of a budget resolution as they are otherwise established in the Congressional Budget Act and were adopted in this Congress pursuant to H. Res. 5?

□ 1245

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The House has the authority to adopt rules regarding its proceedings.

Mr. CARDENAS. Madam Speaker, parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from California will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. CARDENAS. Madam Speaker, does House Concurrent Resolution 96, which provides 4 hours of debate, supersede section 305(a) of the Budget Act, which provides for 10 hours of general debate?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair does not interpret a special order of business prior to or pending its consideration under the guise of a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. POLIS. Madam Speaker, parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Colorado is recognized to state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. POLIS. Rule XIII, clause 6(c) states that it is not in order for the Committee on Rules to report a rule that would prevent the motion to recommit from being made as provided in clause 2(b) of rule XIX.

Was it, therefore, in order under House rule XIII for the Committee on Rules to report H. Con. Res. 96?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair cannot interpret the pending resolution under the guise of a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. CÁRDENAS. Madam Speaker, parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from California is recognized to state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. CÁRDENAS. Madam Speaker, is a report from the Committee on Rules privileged under House rules?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The pending resolution was called up as privileged.

Mr. POLIS. Madam Speaker, parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Colorado will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. POLIS. Is it in order to offer an amendment to the rule?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. An amendment may be offered at this point only if the majority manager yields for it.

Mr. CÁRDENAS. Madam Speaker, parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from California will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. CÁRDENAS. Madam Speaker, will House Concurrent Resolution 96 be considered under the hour rule?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will not interpret the provisions of House Resolution 544.

Mr. POLIS. Madam Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to permit Representative CÁRDENAS to offer an amendment.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman from Georgia yield for that purpose?

Mr. WOODALL. Madam Speaker, I do not yield for that purpose. All time yielded is for the purpose of debate only.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Georgia does not yield for that request.

Mr. CÁRDENAS. Madam Speaker, parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from California will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. CÁRDENAS. Is it correct that on April 2, 2014, I offered an amendment to the concurrent resolution on the budget during the markup in the Budget Committee and all Republicans on the committee voted against it?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair cannot comment on proceedings in committee.

Mr. POLIS. Madam Speaker, point of parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Colorado will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. POLIS. Does clause 3(b) of rule XIII, which requires committee reports to include—for record votes—the total number of votes cast for and against an amendment, as well as the names of Members voting for and against an amendment, apply to the Rules Committee?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members may consult the standing rules.

Mr. CÁRDENAS. Madam Speaker, parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from California will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. CÁRDENAS. Madam Speaker, is the requirement of House rule XIII, clause (b), that a committee report include the total number of votes cast for and against an amendment, as well as the names of Members voting for and against an amendment, enforceable through a point of order raised against the reported bill or resolution?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman may consult the standing rules.

Mr. POLIS. Madam Speaker, parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Colorado will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. POLIS. Would a point of order lie against H. Res. 544 if the accompanying report, House Report 113-405 of the Rules Committee, did not include a record of the votes cast for and against an amendment, as well as the names of Members voting for and against an amendment, knowing that transparency is so fundamental to the rules of the House and the democratic process?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. House Resolution 544 is currently pending.

Mr. CÁRDENAS. Madam Speaker, parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does either manager seek time for debate?

Mr. POLIS. Madam Speaker, parliamentary inquiry.

I believe that parliamentary inquiries are privileged. Is that correct?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Recognition for a parliamentary inquiry is within the discretion of the Chair.

Does either manager seek time for debate?

Mr. WOODALL. Madam Speaker, I seek time for debate.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Georgia is recognized.

Mr. WOODALL. Madam Speaker, I yield myself 1 minute.

Madam Speaker, there are often reasons to come to this floor and instruct the Rules Committee about how the Rules Committee could do better. We do the very best we can, but we accept constructive criticism from all comers.

The rule that is before us today is an example of what has gone right, not what has gone wrong. The rule that is before us today makes in order every single budget that was offered to the Rules Committee.

Now, I don't dispute that there are lots of different agendas that are being pursued here on the floor at this time; but for the budget agenda, for the openness agenda, for the full debate agenda, we have a rule before us that has made in order every single substitute offered in the Rules Committee, which happens to be five substitutes in addition to the base bill, but had there been more, we would have made more in order.

Again, there are lots of things that we can come to the floor of the House and disagree on, but this rule, to bring those disagreeing budgets to the floor, should be a point of great pride for both sides of the aisle.

With that, I reserve the balance of my time.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRIES

Mr. CÁRDENAS. Madam Speaker, parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from California is recognized for a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. CÁRDENAS. Madam Speaker, would a point of order lie against House Resolution 544 if it did not include a record of the courageous votes cast by Representative ROS-LEHTINEN in favor of allowing an amendment on comprehensive immigration reform?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The resolution is pending; therefore, the gentleman is asking for an advisory opinion. The Chair will not give an advisory opinion.

Mr. POLIS. Madam Speaker, parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Colorado is recognized for a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. POLIS. Madam Speaker, is it correct that Representative CÁRDENAS' amendment, which made the necessary changes in the budget to accommodate passage of H.R. 15, the bipartisan Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act, which lowers our deficits and secures our borders and establishes clear and just rules for citizenship, was not made in order under H. Res. 554?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members may consult the Committee on Rules regarding its proceedings.

Mr. CÁRDENAS. Madam Speaker, parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from California is recognized for a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. CÁRDENAS. Madam Speaker, is it correct that my amendment, known as the Cárdenas amendment, which also called for the House leadership to allow a vote on H.R. 15, the House's bipartisan comprehensive immigration bill, since the House majority had refused to bring it to the floor for a vote, was not made in order under House Resolution 544?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair cannot comment on proceedings in the Committee on Rules.

Mr. POLIS. Madam Speaker, parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Colorado is recognized for his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. POLIS. How many cosponsors does H.R. 15 currently have?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman is not stating a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. POLIS. Further parliamentary inquiry.

How many of those cosponsors are Republican Members of the House of Representatives?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman has not stated a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. CÁRDENAS. Parliamentary inquiry, Madam Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from California is recognized to state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. CÁRDENAS. How many Members have signed on to the discharge petition for H.R. 15?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members may consult the petitions at the desk.

Mr. CÁRDENAS. Further parliamentary inquiry on that note, Madam Speaker.

How many of those cosponsors are Republican Members?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members may consult the discharge petitions at the desk.

Mr. POLIS. Madam Speaker, parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Recognition for a parliamentary inquiry is within the discretion of the Chair.

The Chair is prepared to recognize the managers for debate.

Mr. WOODALL. Madam Speaker, at this time, it is my great pleasure to yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. SESSIONS), the chairman of the House Rules Committee.

Mr. SESSIONS. Madam Speaker, I recognize why we are here and so do Members of this body, and the reason why is because, if you look at the pathway of the Democratic Party, which is what our colleagues are arguing for today, it is a pathway not only to destruction, but insolvency for the United States of America, up to and including Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, and our ability to pay for the things that this great Nation needs.

Last night in the Rules Committee, the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. WOODALL), who is our representative to the Budget Committee, spent hours not only in understanding, talking, and debating these issues, but in making sure that he brought back a product that was worthy of the sale to the American people by the House of Representatives today.

The gentleman from Georgia (Mr. WOODALL) is taking time to describe how, really, there are two different pathways that we could go down. Now, I am aware that we also made in order five other opportunities, opportunities where there are groups of people, Members who came to the Rules Committee upstairs, talked forthrightly about what was in their bills, and they were very proud of saying they wanted to raise taxes by trillions of dollars; they wanted to blame the ills and woes on a balanced budget and America doing something that was about solvency and a good future.

Here, we are on the floor today to talk about the pathways. One pathway where we can sustain what we do is called the Ryan budget. The chairman of the Budget Committee, PAUL RYAN, thoughtfully and carefully—I think

artfully—came and spoke about how we need to make sure that we continue to grow jobs in this country.

The alternative to that was higher taxes and putting more off on the American people to not only have to work harder for what they would earn, but less take-home pay.

We argued forthrightly about putting us on a pathway with our budget to where we could look at the energy resources of America, providing us with those opportunities to develop jobs and more revenue for the country.

Our friends on the Democratic side want to tax oil by billions of dollars, raising the price of energy. We forthrightly understand this, and we get it. We have seen energy prices double at the pump by President Obama and the Democrat leadership. We have seen food double in price.

No wonder it is difficult for average Americans to make ends meet. We have seen the Democrat Party, through their budget and through the actual laws that they have passed, diminish not only hours of work—which was the debate of the last few weeks about whether we would diminish the 40-hour workweek in favor of a 30-hour workweek.

There are two different pathways, two different directions we could go, taxing and spending, blaming people who have jobs, blaming millionaires and billionaires for the woes of America.

Ladies and gentlemen, I would submit to you today that it is the people who are innovative and creative and do well in life that create jobs and opportunities for this country, but they will quit doing so if we really tax them out of existence, if we do what the Democrats want to do and move to the pathway that means that America does not have a brighter future.

We will do exactly what we have seen is happening in Greece, in Iceland, and in France, where the brightest and the best of those people have given up on their countries because they cannot make a go of it.

Quite honestly, the Republican Party is proud of what we are doing. We are talking about how important it is to be careful and cautious, to make sure we can sustain what we do, to make sure that our promise to America's seniors on Medicare and Social Security is taken care of, not to go and make promises that we know we cannot fulfill.

On the other side, they turn right around and say: let's just go tax business, let's go tax energy, let's go tax people, those rich people.

Ladies and gentlemen, that is how you kill the goose that lays the golden egg. I have worked hard and never missed a day of work in 36 years.

I am not one of those people that they want to pick on, but I say thank goodness that we have entrepreneurs in our country who have chosen to make America home, who have chosen to employ American workers, and what the

Democrat Party wants to do with their budget is to throw us all out of work and make us beholden to them.

□ 1300

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRIES

Mr. POLIS. Madam Speaker, parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Colorado is recognized for a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. POLIS. Madam Speaker, is it correct that the concurrent resolution on the budget fails to assume enactment of H.R. 15, immigration reform and, in doing so, squanders the opportunity to reduce taxes that Mr. SESSIONS just talked about to the tune of \$900 billion?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman has not stated a proper parliamentary inquiry. The gentleman is engaging in debate.

Mr. CARDENAS. Parliamentary inquiry, Madam Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from California is recognized for a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. CARDENAS. Madam Speaker, isn't it true that unlike the concurrent resolution on the budget, which fails to balance in 10 years, H.R. 15, the House's bipartisan comprehensive immigration reform bill, would, according to the independent Congressional Budget Office, reduce our deficit by nearly \$1 trillion over the next 20 years?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman has not stated a proper parliamentary inquiry. The gentleman is engaging in debate.

Mr. POLIS. Madam Speaker, parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Colorado is recognized for a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. POLIS. Madam Speaker, is it true that, unlike the concurrent resolution on the budget, which slashes the transportation budget by \$52 billion this year alone, and, according to the Economic Policy Institute, decreases GDP by 2.5 percent, H.R. 15, the House's comprehensive immigration reform bill, would create 120,000 jobs, according to the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman has not stated a proper parliamentary inquiry. The gentleman is engaging in debate.

Mr. CARDENAS. Madam Speaker, parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from California is recognized for a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. CARDENAS. Madam Speaker, is it correct that Ranking Member VAN HOLLEN's substitute amendment assumes the passage of immigration reform and that a vote against the Van Hollen substitute is a vote against immigration reform?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman has not stated a proper parliamentary inquiry. The gentleman is engaging in debate.

Mr. POLIS. Madam Speaker, point of parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Colorado is recognized to state a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. POLIS. Would it be in order to introduce an amendment to allow for an amendment to the rule to allow for consideration of H.R. 15 as part of the budget?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The amendment could only be offered at this point if the majority manager yielded for the amendment.

Mr. POLIS. Madam Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to allow for the consideration of the Cárdenas amendment.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman from Georgia yield for that purpose?

Mr. WOODALL. Madam Speaker, all time is yielded for the purpose of debate only.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman does not yield.

Mr. CARDENAS. Madam Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. For what purpose does the gentleman from California seek recognition?

Mr. CARDENAS. Permission to debate for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman may be yielded to by a manager. The gentleman from Massachusetts is recognized.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. CARDENAS).

Mr. CARDENAS. Madam Speaker, I just wanted to respond a little bit to what Congressman WOODALL just said a little while ago. The fact of the matter is that 68 Senators and a majority of the American people believe in debate and reform. When it comes to comprehensive immigration reform, it is about the budget. It is about the budget: 120,000 American jobs every year for the next 10 years, \$900 billion reduction in the deficit—in our deficit—the United States deficit.

That is why we need comprehensive immigration reform. It is about the budget, Madam Speaker and Members. I think it is important for us to understand that that would be the responsible—responsible—budget to pass, one that has comprehensive immigration reform.

Mr. WOODALL. Madam Speaker, I yield an additional 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. SESSIONS), the chairman of the Rules Committee.

Mr. SESSIONS. Madam Speaker, I recognize that I need to hold some classes up at the Rules Committee so that Members have a better opportunity to understand more about the rules of the House and about how we operate on the floor. The facts of the case are very simple.

The Rules Committee last night made in order anything that was a complete substitute or an opportunity to have their bill heard last night. We do not take on what might be one single issue or literally an amendment.

The process that we are trying to follow here today is one that is happening

because, for 4 years, the Democratic Party had the Speaker of the House, the Senate Majority Leader, and the President of the United States, and they did not do for 4 years what they are asking us to do today. And all these shiny objects swirling around do not fool the American people. They want to raise taxes, raise spending, and blame someone rather than coming to the table and working together.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Speaker, I think what you just saw on the floor is frustration. In the supposedly open House that my colleagues brag about—erroneously, I should add—this issue of comprehensive immigration reform has failed to be given a day on the floor.

The United States Senate, in a bipartisan way, passed comprehensive immigration reform, a bill that would, by the way, raise close to a trillion dollars over the next 20 years to pay down our debt, and yet we can't even get it scheduled on the House floor. The leadership here continues to block it, and Mr. CÁRDENAS and Mr. POLIS last night in the Rules Committee thought that, given the fact that there is such an incredible savings here, it was relevant to this.

And, by the way, the Rules Committee can do whatever it wants to. The Rules Committee could issue the necessary waivers to allow this to happen. There is no reason at all why this couldn't have been brought up today except that a majority in the Rules Committee said no. I mean, that is the reason why.

So what you see is frustration. What you see is frustration not just by Democrats. There are people on the Republican side who, as well, would like to see us debate comprehensive immigration reform, and instead we are blocked at every single avenue. So that has to change; otherwise, you are going to see more of the kinds of displays that you just witnessed.

With that, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. WOODALL. Madam Speaker, at this time, it is my great pleasure to yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. COLE), a member of both the Rules Committee and the House Budget Committee.

(Mr. COLE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. COLE. Madam Speaker, I want to thank my friend, Mr. WOODALL, for yielding me the time. I want to urge support for the rule and the underlying legislation.

I would be the first to tell you that this budget is not a perfect budget—no budget is actually perfect—but it is a good budget.

There are a couple of issues that do concern me, as I addressed Mr. RYAN last night; and we are worried that we haven't dealt with the wildfire issue to my satisfaction, which disrupts the appropriating process within Interior, but he assured me that he recognized that was a problem, and we are going to

continue to work on it. I actually am going to vote for Mr. WOODALL's budget when I have the opportunity to do that. It is the most conservative approach on the floor, and I appreciate that.

I think we ought to stop and remember that without PAUL RYAN, we wouldn't have the choices in front of us today. The United States Senate has chosen not to have a budget once again this year, something that it frequently does. And with all due respect to my friends who do have a budget—and I am pleased that they do—in 2010, when they were actually in the majority, they didn't present a budget to this body, either.

It is PAUL RYAN that has forced us to confront the fiscal crisis that is facing the country and has actually put something on the table to deal with it. Now, you don't have to agree with everything in it, but it has a lot of virtues to it. The first virtue is it actually focuses on the number one driver of the debt, and that is our unsustainable entitlement programs.

We have made a lot of progress in the last few years in this body on a bipartisan basis in reducing discretionary spending. We are actually spending \$165 billion less in discretionary accounts than we were in 2008 when George W. Bush was President of the United States. I don't agree with all those reductions, and I suspect my friends on the other side don't either, but that is a tangible contribution to reducing the deficit and moving us toward balance.

What we haven't dealt with, what the President has largely refused to deal with, and what I suspect my friends in their budget will not deal with, but PAUL RYAN has, are the real drivers of the debt: Medicare and Medicaid, in particular. There is an offer in there to sit down and deal seriously with Social Security, as well. And until we do those things—and PAUL RYAN has started us on a path to do them—we will never bring the budget into balance.

Now, one of the other things I like about Mr. RYAN's budget is, gosh, it really does balance within 10 years. It makes a lot of tough choices. My friend, Mr. WOODALL, actually gets there a little bit faster because he makes even tougher choices, but it balances.

My friends on the other side and the administration haven't presented a budget that balances in 10 years or 20 years or 30 years or 40 or 50—or just draw the lines right on out to infinity. I don't think that is what the American people sent us here to do. But until somebody actually has the courage to do what Mr. RYAN has done and what Mr. WOODALL has done, that is the situation the country is going to be in.

The other thing I like about the Ryan budget, in particular, is that it actually incorporates in it the agreement that he arrived at with Senator MURRAY in the other body. Now, there was a lot of criticism about that be-

cause it probably wasn't what I would have negotiated if I got my way or probably Mr. WOODALL or any other Senator, but it was a real agreement—only a 2-year agreement, but a real agreement. And against a lot of criticism, Mr. RYAN incorporated, okay, if that is going to be the settled law of the land, then that should be part of our budget. He put it in there, and I am proud of him for doing that.

Finally, again, it reduces not spending, but the growth of spending. We are going to hear a lot of talk about slashes and not investing. If you actually look at the Ryan budget, Federal spending still grows. It grows by about 3½ percent a year. The difference is the Democratic alternative—well, excuse me—the current course is like 5.2 percent. That is not a great deal of difference. We could really restrain our deficit in the short term and ultimately bring ourselves into balance not by slashing everything, but by simply making some of the simple, commonsense reforms that my friend, Mr. RYAN, to great criticism, has advanced and put on this floor year after year after year.

So I want to urge the adoption of this rule, which is a terrific rule, because despite some complaints, the reality is my friend, Mr. WOODALL, and the Rules Committee have put a variety of choices before this body.

We are going to have a budget from the Progressive Caucus that is very different than I would like, but it is going to get its opportunity. We are going to have a budget from the Congressional Black Caucus—again, different than I would choose, but it certainly deserves to be heard and examined. We are going to have Mr. WOODALL's budget. So we are going to have several choices before we get to Mr. RYAN's budget, any one of whom might win, might actually persuade people.

At the end of the day, we are going to have multiple choices because of this rule, and so it deserves to be dealt with because it does, indeed, open the process. At the end of the day, I suspect Mr. RYAN's budget will be the one that passes. Again, I am very proud to do that, and I urge its passage.

Madam Speaker, I want to thank Chairman RYAN for again putting together yet another budget that balances in ten years. I know from the many meetings that we had on this side of the aisle that there was a lot of thought put into how we can maintain our commitment to fiscal balance, given the mounting debt, and the overall deterioration of our economic growth, brought about, in part, by the over 17 trillion debt.

Additionally, this budget maintains the Republican focus on dealing with the true drivers of our debt, entitlement programs. It would have been very easy, given that the Bipartisan Budget Act set the 302(a) allocations for Fiscal Year 2015, to not do a budget; however, this budget, this blueprint yet again allows us to share our vision for the future.

This budget reflects the discretionary caps which were agreed to in the Bipartisan Budget

Act. As a member of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, I have seen the devastating cuts in end strength and capabilities we will face if we continue with sequester. And, instead of making discretionary cuts for the fifth year in a row, we have redoubled our efforts in entitlement programs to ensure they are available for all in the future.

I was disappointed to see that the President reversed himself in his budget submission, removing Chained CPI from his budget proposal. However, House Republicans are willing to work with the President where possible and find common ground that will move our debt trajectory downward, instead of increasing at an exponential rate.

Many have criticized this budget for "moving the goalposts" and now transitioning to a Premium Support model for those 56 and below; however, Madam Speaker, we have to face the facts. Every year that we do not act it becomes harder and harder to preserve the current programs for those already at or near retirement. This budget recognizes that hard reality and adjusts itself accordingly.

Finally, Madam Speaker, I want to say a little about wildfires suppression costs. When devastating wildfires do occur and the costs exceed the Forest Service's budget, most often, other programs within the Interior Appropriations Subcommittee bear the costs. And that is not right. I am disappointed that this budget fails to consider how we can better budget for the true costs of wildfire suppression activities. My friend from Idaho, Mr. SIMPSON, has a deficit-neutral bill that would deal with this issue. Much of what we have considered on the floor the past few days has aimed at ensuring the true costs of programs are reflected in the budget. That is what Mr. SIMPSON's bill does and I hope we can consider it in the coming weeks.

I hope this budget serves as a wake-up call that it is time to act. Here in Washington, we can become numbed to the problems facing our country. But they are real, and they must be addressed. This budget reflects the Republican vision for the future, one where we are in control of our destiny, as opposed to turning over control to our creditors.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Speaker, I want to agree with my friend from Oklahoma that Mr. RYAN has given us a choice. He has presented us a budget that would end Medicare as we know it; it would slash the social safety net to smithereens; it cuts SNAP by \$137 billion; and it would damage the National Institutes of Health and transportation funding. Pell grants would be cut. I could go right down the list. Yeah, I know we have got a choice here, and people ought to understand what that budget is all about.

My friends on the other side may be proud of this. Again, I find that puzzling, because the notion that the only way to balance the budget is by hurting poor people or hurting the middle class, I don't agree with.

You talk about sacrifices. Why are all the sacrifices on the backs of middle-income families or on the backs of the poor in this country? The rich get a tax cut. The rich get a tax cut. Middle class families get a tax increase. Poor people get their food stamps taken away from them. Why is that al-

ways the choice that you provide Members of this House? Why are those the only people that sacrifice? I just find it unconscionable, quite frankly.

With that, Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. DEFazio).

Mr. DEFazio. Madam Speaker, let's talk about what is not in the Ryan budget.

The Federal highway trust fund, which funds all highway, road, bridge, and transit projects in the United States of America will be exhausted sometime this summer. A number of States are already delaying or canceling major projects, and there will be a flood of States doing that after the trust fund goes belly up.

For next year, under the Ryan budget, there will be zero—no, none, zero—Federal investment in roads, bridges, highways, and transit despite the deteriorated state of our infrastructure for somewhere between 9 and 11 months until we pay our past bills, and then there will be a little trickle.

Meanwhile, bridges will be falling down, people will be driving through potholes, delays, and congestion. We will walk away from or lose over 1 million construction, manufacturing, and engineering jobs, and it will have an impact on hundreds of thousands—millions—of other jobs across the United States of America, not even to begin to talk about our lack of competitiveness with the rest of the world.

□ 1315

The Ryan budget does address this in a rather novel way, so the trust fund is going broke. Probably what we have done the last couple of times when we get to that point, we say transportation is so important we transferred some general fund money over. The Ryan budget says you can't transfer general fund money over to transportation; it must go broke.

Well, the other thing is a new source of revenue or user fees. The Federal gas tax is 18.4 cents a gallon, and that has been since 1993, the same tax in 1993 when gas was \$1.11 a gal. Last weekend, I paid \$3.71, and Federal tax is still 18.4 cents a gallon.

Where is that money going? It is going to ExxonMobil; it is going to Wall Street speculators. It sure is the heck not going to rebuilding our crumbling infrastructure and putting millions of Americans back to work.

Under the Ryan budget, we are going to revolve Federal transportation. What does that mean? It means we are going to have a 50-State and territory Federal transportation policy. You know, we actually tried that once. This was 1956. This is the brandnew Kansas Turnpike.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I yield an additional 1 minute to the gentleman.

Mr. DEFazio. Oklahoma promised they would build one, too. Well, they didn't have the money. They said: sorry, guys, can't build it.

This is Emil Schweitzer's farm field. For 3 years, people crashed through the barrier at the end here and went into his field, until Dwight David Eisenhower, a Republican, passed the national highway transportation bill with a trust fund.

That would be undone by PAUL RYAN. He says States can opt out. They don't even have to collect the 18.4 cents Federal tax; they can do whatever they want with that money.

Madam Speaker, counties are actually ripping up paved roads and turning them back to gravel because they can't afford them. There are 140,000 bridges that need repair or replacement. Forty percent of the national highway system has pavement that has totally failed.

There is a \$70 billion backlog on our transit systems. These are millions of jobs foregone—productivity foregone, and if you are so darn proud, as I heard on that side, why aren't you proud of the future of America, putting people back to work and competing with the rest of the world with a world class, 21st century transportation system? You're going to kill it.

Mr. WOODALL. Madam Speaker, at this time, it is my great pleasure to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. NUGENT), a former sheriff, a member of the class of 2010, and a member of the Rules Committee.

Mr. NUGENT. Madam Speaker, one of the most important things that we do in this Congress—and it is a constitutional requirement—is we provide for the common defense of this Nation, to allow things like my good friends on the Democrat side are arguing for in regards to more entitlement programs, more helping our neighbors; but without a national defense, all of this is moot. It doesn't matter. It adds up to nothing if we can't defend the homeland and defend our friends when they need it.

Now, I will tell you that this budget does something that is needed. It increases the spending for our military. It actually takes something that the President, the Commander in Chief who has cut the military by \$1 trillion in the last few years, is actually restoring money that he was holding hostage.

He said the military can have \$26 billion more if you give us \$27 billion more for domestic spending. It is about holding our safety hostage. When those that are in a position to talk to us and tell us that the world is changing, you don't have to look very far.

See what is going on in Russia and China and Iran and North Korea. This is not a safer world since this President has taken office. It has become a much more dangerous world, particularly from state actors.

It is not all his fault, I must say, Madam Speaker. This goes back to years of kicking the can down the road by this Congress.

Mr. WOODALL and I came to Congress at the same time, 3 years ago, Madam

Speaker. We weren't part of the problem, but those who were here prior to that have been part of the problem. They continued to kick the can down the road.

PAUL RYAN, chairman of the Budget Committee, and members of the Budget Committee actually took the bull by the horns. It is starting to turn this country.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. WOODALL. I yield an additional 1 minute to the gentleman.

Mr. NUGENT. This is actually talking about difficult questions we have to talk about.

This body loves, if the problem isn't immediate, we don't have to worry about it, don't worry about it because it will never happen; but we are being told by professionals: guess what, Medicare and Social Security are at risk if we do nothing.

If we don't challenge the status quo, if we don't start talking about how do we move forward to protect our seniors today from cuts in Medicare and Social Security, how we move forward for our younger folks as they get closer to retirement age, we have to do more, and I believe this budget is creating a dialogue for us to move forward and do more, not just put our heads in the sand and say we just need to spend more money because we can tax our way out of it. Everybody knows that is not true.

Madam Speaker, the first and most important job of our government is to provide for the defense of its citizens.

If the government can't protect the people's liberty then everything else we talk about today—every dime spent on every domestic program—is all moot.

So when we're considering how taxpayer money should be spent, we ought to keep this at the forefront of our minds.

We ought to put forward a budget that recognizes this basic truth and most fundamental responsibility.

I'm glad to see that Chairman RYAN's budget embraces this fundamental priority because, Madam Speaker, not all the budgets we'll debate today share this perspective.

Not even the budget of the military's own Commander in Chief.

The House Armed Services Committee has analyzed the last several budget proposals from President Obama, and I want to share some of those findings with my colleagues in the larger House of Representatives today:

Since entering the White House, President Obama has proposed more than \$1 trillion in cuts to the military.

Over the next 10 years, the President is proposing \$345 billion less than the minimum amount the military says they need to perform the President's own defense strategy.

Less than 15 percent of our U.S. Army is deployment ready today.

Without regard for the command signals from Combatant Commanders, the President has produced a budget recommendation that neither complies with the statutory nor strategic requirements of the military.

Instead, the President cuts \$26 billion from the military and holds it for ransom until this

Congress is willing to give him \$32 billion in domestic programs.

These budget gimmicks will not stand and I applaud the House Budget Committee for not engaging in the false narrative that this Congress must pay \$58 billion in order to restore \$26 billion to meet the minimum standard of national security.

In this tough fiscal environment, the budget brought to the Floor by this Rule provides the minimum dollars necessary to resource the President's strategy and sustain the World's premiere fighting force.

In fiscal year 2015, that means a commitment of this Congress to our military of more than \$521 billion.

Translating that dollar amount into capability—this budget maintains a force structure well above the drastic reductions recommended by the President:

The Army has the flexibility to retain the 100,000 soldiers on the chopping block.

Navy can preserve the 11 aircraft carriers required by both strategy and law,

Modernization programs critical to maintaining our military's technological edge and our troops' safety will continue to give our warfighters an advantage on the battlefield next year and beyond.

I truly hope the Army will take the flexibility afforded them under this budget as an opportunity to establish the right balance between Active Component, Reserve Component and the National Guard.

By the time this budget goes into effect, our Army will be drawing down from 14 years of continuous war.

To effectively make that transition

To reduce the cost of a war-time standing Army while preserving capability

To "right-size" the forward deployed force and meet the domestic responsibilities to the individual states

Big Army must recognize and incorporate the National Guard's indispensable role in providing our national security at home and abroad.

If such a right-sizing cannot be found internally within the Army, this Congress will have to put Army decisions on hold until a commission can be established to study the correct balance of the Service moving forward.

Finally, I applaud this budget for sustaining compensation for all warfighters, retirees and their families.

Too many times over the past several years, Congress has had to defend the pay of service members—as if the reasons for adequately compensating our all-volunteer military were not self-evident.

I hope that this year, the paycheck of our troops will be spared the political games of the recent history.

We are certainly off to a good start with this budget that meets our compensation commitments to the military—including healthcare.

And so, Madam Speaker, I support this rule and the underlining resolution.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Speaker, I would just say to the gentleman from Florida that national defense includes more than the number of weapons we have in our arsenal. It also include the quality of life for our people here at home, and these programs that he is denigrating, like SNAP, for example, I should remind him there are an extremely high number of military fami-

lies that rely on SNAP to get by and a high number of veterans who do as well.

Basic food, they are looking for helping with putting food on the table. So before anybody denigrates those programs, understand that they contribute to our national defense as well. They are feeding our military families and veterans because our returning veterans can't find jobs that pay a livable wage.

At this time, it is my pleasure to yield 6 minutes to the gentlewoman from New York (Ms. SLAUGHTER), the distinguished ranking member of the Rules Committee.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Madam Speaker, I thank Mr. MCGOVERN.

Madam Speaker, this is pretty exciting this morning. I think this is the first time in 5 years that I have been here that we were actually having a debate, discussing what both sides stand for.

Mr. DEFAZIO was wonderful. He is absolutely right. He knows what he is talking about. We haven't built infrastructure. Do you know, we haven't built one airport from the ground up in the United States since 1972, and every place else in the rest of the world has brandnew airports?

They are all whizzing about on high-speed rail. We don't have any; but we spent \$2 billion a week while we were in Iraq. We were willing to spend that, maimed 46,000 young people, killed thousands of them as well, as well as people in those countries—for oil.

What we really do hear this morning and what pleases me so much is we are really showing the difference in this country and what the two sides believe in. We don't believe over here that the richest people should get richer. We don't believe that we need a budget right now that lowers the corporate tax rate.

We believe that all Americans should be paying their fair share, so we can build back up, and maybe we can start to enjoy some of the things that are happening elsewhere in the 21st century.

This budget is a misguided proposal driven by flawed math. At worst, it is a cynical choice to balance our budget on the backs of the most vulnerable Americans in order to protect the incomes of powerful special interests and the wealthiest few, and it does precisely that.

It is not news to anybody in the country that the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer and the unemployed are desperate. Everybody knows that. The issue is: What is the Congress of the United States going to do about that?

Now, with this proposal, the majority gives an average tax cut of \$200,000 to families earning more than \$1 million a year, so they are okay. They earn \$1 million a year, and they are going to get \$200,000; but to pay for it, we have to raise taxes on the middle class.

Let me tell you how we do that. With this proposal, they defend the tax loophole that we have been trying to close

ever since I have been in Congress, the money we give oil companies so they will drill.

The five major oil companies, we pay them \$4 billion a year so they will drill; like they weren't having the biggest profits on the face of the Earth and no one needs to encourage them to drill, but we pay for that, and to do that, they are going to turn Medicare into a voucher program.

We have discussed this before. That means your aged parents and grandparents will go into a marketplace by themselves—or maybe you can go with them—and look for their own insurance policy.

They will be given a government voucher or a stipend or whatever they want to call it to help pay for it, but it may not cover the cost, so the rest of the cost will come from the senior citizen. It will take exactly away what Lyndon Johnson had in mind in 1968. The benefit guaranteed by Medicare will be gone.

To pay for that, again, they want to keep the Medicare plan we have today, and with this proposal, the majority reduces the tax rate paid by corporations. I have said that before, and I want to say it again. Corporation tax rates are reduced, and we already know that most of them put all of their assets in the Cayman Islands or in some other country and pay no taxes whatsoever.

If we just brought some of the tax money back from the Cayman Islands, I bet we could have high-speed rail in the United States. Wouldn't that be wonderful?

So they take \$137 billion in nutrition assistance, the food people live on, out of the mouths of low-income families struggling to get by. The author of this budget said such draconian cuts are necessary because:

We don't want to turn the safety net into a hammock that lulls able-bodied people to lives of dependency and complacency.

If that is his goal, then he and his colleagues have written a budget that badly misses the mark. For the hammock of dependency isn't found in the homes of working Americans, but on the beaches of the Cayman Islands, where powerful special interest and the wealthiest few depend upon policies like this budget to build their own hammock out of the social safety net that used to support the largest middle class on Earth that is fast disappearing.

For more than three decades, the wealthy and the powerful have used money and influence to secure tax cuts, to deregulate industries, and to pass free trade deals that put corporate profits before America's jobs.

In so doing, they have redirected revenue away from the Federal Government and made it virtually impossible to fund the programs that have made our Nation the envy of the world.

With the wealthy and powerful exempted from paying their fair share, our Nation put tens of billions of dol-

lars and two wars on the Nation's credit card and failed to invest in maintaining our roads, modernizing our airports, or building efficient passenger rail here at home.

As a result, highway bridges are literally falling into the water, our airports have become laughably out of date, and our trains travel at speeds half as fast as those found in Germany, China, and Japan.

Far from solving this crisis, the majority's budget doubles down on the failed policies by reducing taxing for the rich and powerful even further. We have already said a millionaire gets a \$200,000 tax cut, so we are going to ask the most vulnerable Americans to pay the price.

Under this budget, 170,000 children will lose Head Start, and 29,000 teachers and aides will be left without jobs. College students, who are already suffering under staggering costs of higher education, would be told that they must repay their loans while they are still in school.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentlewoman has expired.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I yield 1½ minutes to the gentlewoman.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. And \$205 billion would be cut from programs like Pell grants, making it harder than ever to get the education that is needed to succeed in the modern world.

Perhaps, most egregiously, the promise of secure and affordable health care would be broken with the repeal of the Affordable Care Act and the end of the Medicare guarantee. Under the majority's budget, Medicare would be turned into a voucher, as I said before.

On Sunday, the news program "60 Minutes" traveled down the winding roads of the Cumberland Mountains into the heart of Appalachia in a RV called the Health Wagon. The aging vehicle is the only source of health care for thousands of Americans in desperate need of medical attention.

The vehicle is staffed by two incredible nurses and other medical volunteers, including Dr. Joe Smiddy, the Health Wagon's volunteer medical director. After completing medical school, Dr. Smiddy had to enroll in truck driver school so he could drive the Health Wagon's x-ray lab, an 18-wheel truck that provides insight into diseases that were going undiagnosed.

These volunteers have seen the price individual Americans pay when the Chamber puts the priorities of the rich and the powerful ahead of everyone else. Dr. Smiddy said of life in the Cumberland Mountains:

This is a Third World country of diabetes, hypertension, lung cancer, and COPD in the United States.

Madam Speaker, a Third World country.

Though the work of the Health Wagon does every day is heroic, no individual living in the wealthiest Nation on Earth should be relying upon the good will of volunteers to receive modern medical care.

Doctors and nurses of the Health Wagon should not be relying on Federal grants.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentlewoman has again expired.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I yield an additional 30 seconds to the gentlewoman.

□ 1330

Ms. SLAUGHTER. That is why we say this budget is not a reflection of our values, but theirs.

It is through the budget we decide whether we protect tax loopholes for Big Oil or provide our fellow citizens with access to secure and affordable health care, an education, a job, and a place to live. It is through our budget we decide whether kids can go to college or not.

Only by choosing to act and asking every American, including corporations, to pay their fair share—corporations are people, I understand, we have established that in the Supreme Court—we will be able to put every American on a path to prosperity and restore our role as the most advanced nation in the world.

I urge my colleagues to join me in this effort.

Mr. WOODALL. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlelady from North Carolina (Ms. FOXX), the secretary of the Republican Conference.

Ms. FOXX. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Georgia for yielding. I also thank Chairman RYAN and his staff for their hard work in producing this budget. We owe them a debt of gratitude.

Madam Speaker, budget puts a numerical value on the priorities we claim to value, and as such, it is a moral document. This budget will protect and strengthen Medicare, preserve our commitment to veterans, and keep faith with future generations by getting spending under control and fostering economic growth.

This budget controls spending by ending sweetheart deals for favored corporations and returning government to its proper limits. Years of overreach and cronyism have weakened confidence in the Federal Government and damaged our economy.

As Chairman RYAN mentioned in his Rules Committee testimony last night, the CBO has warned that, if we fail to address our lackluster economic growth and rising debt, our children and grandchildren are guaranteed a lower standard of living than what we currently enjoy.

For the first time in American history, we may bequeath to our children and grandchildren a less prosperous country with limited opportunities to pursue their American Dream. As a mother and grandmother, I will do all I can to keep that from happening.

Over the next decade, the U.S. Government will spend \$5.8 trillion servicing debt—\$5 trillion, Madam Speaker—simply to make interest payments to our creditors.

Those dollars could be put to work at home strengthening our military, caring for our veterans, and improving the lives of all Americans; but instead, nearly half of it will go to pay for the inability of those who came before to manage the Nation's Treasury responsibly. We need to stop spending money we don't have.

Unlike the President's budget, this budget actually balances within the budget window. A balanced budget will foster a healthier economy and help create jobs. By reducing the capital the government takes out of the private sector, this budget will foster opportunity.

This budget would keep our children and grandchildren from inheriting an insurmountable debt. If we take action now, we can pass on an America that is free, prosperous, and filled with opportunity.

I hope my colleagues will join me in supporting this bill.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentlewoman from Connecticut (Ms. DELAURO).

Ms. DELAURO. Madam Speaker, I rise in opposition to the previous question.

Defeat of the previous question will allow us to amend the rule to provide for consideration of the Paycheck Fairness Act, an act that addresses the persistent problem of unequal pay in our economy, and would help make the bill before us a real boon for women and their families.

Women are now half of the Nation's workforce and two-thirds of primary or cobreadwinners. The sad fact is they are still only making and being paid 77 cents on the dollar on average compared to men. This holds true across all occupations and education levels. For women of color, the disparities are even worse.

Less pay for women means less pay for an entire family at a time when millions are struggling to enter the middle class. Give their kids a chance at a better life, achieve the American Dream. It affects all of us.

We have seen the Republican budget that is being discussed today already does so much to put that dream out of reach for America's families. It slashes our social safety net, cuts off nutrition support, and denies food to millions of low-income Americans, and our most important anti-hunger program in the Nation.

The Center for Budget and Policy Priorities said 69 percent of the cuts in this Republican budget would come from programs serving low- and moderate-income people.

Let's be in opposition to this previous question because we will have an opportunity to pass the Paycheck Fairness Act.

I urge my colleagues to oppose the previous question because when women succeed, America succeeds. Let's help hardworking families take home the pay that they deserve and ensure that women are being paid the same as men for the same job.

Mr. WOODALL. Madam Speaker, I advise my friend from Massachusetts that we have no further speakers remaining, if he is prepared to close.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Speaker, may I inquire as to how much time I have remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts has 30 seconds remaining.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert the text of the amendment in the RECORD along with extraneous material immediately prior to the vote on the previous question.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Speaker, I insert in the RECORD a report by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities entitled "Ryan Budget Would Slash SNAP by \$137 Billion Over 10 Years, Low-Income Households in all States Would Feel Sharp Effects."

Madam Speaker, I urge my colleagues to vote "no" and defeat the previous question and to vote "no" on the underlying bill.

The Ryan budget will create a government without a conscience. It is cruel. This budget is a rotten thing to do to poor people; it is a rotten thing to do to the middle class. It is an outrage.

So please, again, vote "no" on the previous question, and vote "no" on the underlying bill.

This really is an embarrassment. We could do so much better in this Chamber. The people in this country deserve much better than what we are giving them.

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

[From the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, Apr. 4, 2014]

RYAN BUDGET WOULD SLASH SNAP BY \$137 BILLION OVER TEN YEARS
LOW-INCOME HOUSEHOLDS IN ALL STATES WOULD FEEL SHARP EFFECTS
(By Dorothy Rosenbaum)

House Budget Committee Chairman Paul Ryan's budget plan includes cuts in the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), formerly known as the Food Stamp Program) of \$137 billion—18 percent—over the next ten years (2015-2024), which would necessitate ending food assistance for millions of low-income families, cutting benefits for millions of such households, or some combination of the two. Chairman Ryan proposed similarly deep SNAP cuts in each of his last three budgets. The new Ryan budget specifies two categories of SNAP cuts:

It includes every major benefit cut in a House-passed version of the recent farm bill that Congress ultimately rejected when enacting the final farm bill. The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) has estimated the House cuts, which amount to \$12 billion over the 2015-2018 period, would have terminated benefits to 3.8 million low-income people in 2014. After a difficult two-year process, Congress just two months ago, on a bipartisan basis, passed a farm bill that rejected these House cuts and reauthorized SNAP and other Agriculture programs for five years.

It would convert SNAP into a block grant beginning in 2019 and cut funding steeply—by

\$125 billion (or almost 30 percent) over 2019 to 2024. States would be left to decide whose benefits to reduce or terminate. They would have no good choices—the program already provides an average of only \$1.40 per person per meal, primarily to poor children, working-poor parents, seniors, people with disabilities, and others struggling to make ends meet.

RYAN BLOCK GRANT WOULD FORCE STATES TO CUT FOOD ASSISTANCE DEEPLY

Since 90 percent of SNAP spending goes for food assistance, and most of the rest covers state administrative costs to determine program eligibility and operate SNAP properly, policymakers couldn't achieve cuts of this magnitude without substantially scaling back eligibility or reducing benefits deeply, with serious effects on low-income families and individuals. Table 1 provides state-by-state estimates of the potential impact of the block grant proposal.

Cuts in eligibility. If the cuts came solely from eliminating eligibility for categories of currently eligible households or individuals, states would have to cut an average of 10 million people from the program (relative to SNAP enrollment without the cuts) each year between 2019 and 2024.

Cuts in benefits. If the cuts came solely from across-the-board benefit cuts, states would have to cut more than \$40 per person per month in 2019 to 2024 (in nominal dollars), on average. This would require setting the maximum benefit at about 77 percent of the Thrifty Food Plan, the Agriculture Department's (USDA) estimate of the cost of a bare-bones, nutritionally adequate diet. (Under SNAP rules, the maximum benefit—which goes to households with no disposable income after deductions for certain necessities—is set at 100 percent of the cost of the Thrifty Food Plan.)

The impact of such a change would be pronounced. All families of four—including the poorest—would face benefit cuts of about \$160 a month in fiscal year 2019, or more than \$1,900 per year. All families of three would face cuts of about \$125 per month, or about \$1,500 per year. Of course, policymakers could shield some households from such deep cuts, but then other households would need to bear even larger cuts in order to produce the \$125 billion in block-grant savings.

While states might not seek to hit the Ryan targets through eligibility cuts or benefit cuts alone, these examples illustrate the magnitude of the reductions needed. States would have few other places to achieve the required cuts; as noted, about 90 percent of SNAP expenditures are for food assistance.

PROPOSED CUTS REST ON INACCURATE CLAIMS

Chairman Ryan bases his proposed SNAP cuts on a series of inaccurate claims about SNAP program growth, work disincentives, and waste, fraud, and abuse.

Spending growth. Chairman Ryan justifies deep SNAP cuts in part by claiming that the "explosive growth [of SNAP and other low-income programs] is threatening the overall strength of the safety net" and "SNAP spending is forecast to be permanently higher than previous estimates even after the recession is long past." While SNAP spending did grow substantially during the recession, it has begun to decline as a share of the economy and is expected to continue shrinking over the coming decade.

SNAP grew because of three factors: the depth of the recent recession, which made more people eligible; improvements in reaching eligible households (particularly working-poor families); and the 2009 Recovery Act's temporary benefit boost (which ended in November 2013). As Figure 1 indicates, CBO projects that SNAP will return to pre-recession levels as a share of the economy

(gross domestic product) once the economy fully recovers. The program does not contribute to the nation's long-term budget problem because it is projected to grow no faster than the economy over time.

Work and dependency. Chairman Ryan also justifies cutting SNAP and turning it over to the states by implying that SNAP doesn't encourage recipients to work. Yet the number of SNAP recipients who work while receiving SNAP has more than tripled over the past decade. Furthermore, CBPP analysis finds that the large majority of SNAP recipients who can work do so, and many more rely on SNAP when they are between jobs or looking for work.

Among SNAP households with at least one working-age, non-disabled adult, more than half work while receiving SNAP and more than 80 percent work in the year prior to or the year after receiving SNAP. The rates are even higher for families with children: more than 60 percent work while receiving SNAP, and almost 90 percent work in the prior or subsequent year. Only 4 percent of households that worked in the year before receiving SNAP did not work the following year.

Moreover, SNAP already has work requirements. Adults without children face a harsh three-month time limit if they are unemployed and not participating in a qualifying employment and training program. States can apply for a waiver from this requirement during a weak economy when jobs are not available by submitting detailed Department of Labor data showing high unemployment in local areas or statewide, but the number of areas qualifying for a waiver is falling as the economy recovers, and CBO expects the number of such areas to shrink markedly over the next few years. (The Ryan budget would eliminate these waivers immediately, even for areas with double-digit unemployment.) In addition, states have broad authority to operate employment and training programs, and the recent farm bill includes a major demonstration program for states to test innovative approaches to providing employment and training services that raise recipients' earnings and reduce their reliance on public assistance.

Waste, fraud, and abuse. Finally, Chairman Ryan justifies his SNAP proposals based on charges that SNAP is rife with waste, fraud, and abuse. The reality is that SNAP has one of the most rigorous quality control systems of any public benefit program and a very low error rate. Despite the recent growth in caseloads, the share of total SNAP payments that represent overpayments or payments to ineligible households fell to a record low of 2.77 percent in fiscal year 2012. In addition, USDA has cut "trafficking"—the sale of SNAP benefits for cash, which violates federal law—by three-quarters over the past 15 years. Only 1.3 percent of SNAP benefits are trafficked. USDA has also permanently disqualified thousands of retail stores from the program for not following strict federal requirements. When cases of SNAP fraud are reported in the news, it is because the offenders have been caught, evidence that states and USDA are aggressively combating fraud.

BENEFIT CUTS WOULD PRIMARILY AFFECT LOW-INCOME FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN, SENIORS, AND PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES

The Ryan budget documents assert that Congress could achieve the required savings by capping federal SNAP funding and "allow[ing] states to customize SNAP to the needs of their citizens" through a block grant. That description leaves the mistaken impression that the program is not serving a population that is overwhelmingly poor and that savings could be achieved without significantly harming millions of vulnerable Americans.

Unlike most means-tested benefit programs, which are restricted to particular categories of low-income individuals, SNAP is broadly available to almost all households with very low incomes. Cutting SNAP thus would affect broad swaths of the low-income population. Currently, 46.8 million people receive SNAP to help them feed their families. Census data show that in 2012 (the latest year for which these data are available), 46.5 million Americans lived below the poverty line, and 64.8 million lived below 130 percent of the poverty line, SNAP's gross income limit.

The overwhelming majority of SNAP households are families with children, seniors, or people with disabilities. Seventy percent of SNAP participants are in families with children; more than one-quarter are in households that include senior citizens or people with disabilities.

SNAP households have very low incomes. Eighty-three percent of SNAP households have incomes below the poverty line while they are receiving SNAP assistance (about \$19,800 for a family of three in 2014). Such households receive 91 percent of SNAP benefits. Two of every five SNAP households have incomes below half of the poverty line. Such individuals and families have little flexibility in their monthly budgets to cope with deep reductions in food assistance.

Low-wage workers rely on SNAP to boost their monthly income. Millions of Americans live in working households with earnings that are not sufficient to meet basic needs. In 2012, some 39 million people (1 in 8 Americans) lived in a working family with cash income below 130 percent of the poverty line. Low incomes like these—which typically reflect low wages or limited work hours—can leave families unable to afford necessities like food and housing on a regular basis. SNAP benefits play a crucial role in boosting such families' monthly resources: in 2012, a typical working mother with two children on SNAP earned \$1,148 per month (\$13,700 on an annual basis) and received \$307 per month in SNAP benefits. If the Ryan proposal had been in place in 2012 and was implemented via across-the-board cuts, this family's monthly benefits would have been cut by \$110 per month—or about 36 percent.

SNAP BENEFIT CUTS WOULD INCREASE HUNGER AND POVERTY

SNAP cuts of the magnitude that the Ryan budget proposes would almost certainly lead to increases in hunger and poverty. Emergency food providers report that more people ask for help in the latter half of the month, after their SNAP benefits run out. Under the Ryan budget's steep funding cuts, a typical household's SNAP benefits would run out many days earlier, placing greater strain on household finances (and on emergency food providers) and significantly increasing the risk of hunger.

Deep SNAP cuts also would cause more families and individuals to fall into poverty and push poor families deeper into poverty. Currently, SNAP helps lessen the extent and severity of poverty; Census Bureau data on disposable family income that include the value of SNAP and other non-cash benefits and taxes show that:

SNAP lifted 4.9 million Americans above the poverty line in 2012, including 2.2 million children.

SNAP kept more children—1.4 million—from falling below half of the poverty line in 2012, more than any other program.

The Ryan SNAP cuts would thus have a sharp, adverse effect on millions of the lowest-income Americans. Moreover, they would not occur in isolation. The Ryan budget contains steep cuts in other low-income assistance programs, compounding the effects of

the SNAP cuts. Many vulnerable families would lose health coverage, housing assistance, and other important supports such as child care at the same time they faced SNAP cuts.

CUTS COULD BE EVEN LARGER UNDER A BLOCK GRANT

Block-granting SNAP, as Chairman Ryan proposes, would eliminate its ability to respond automatically to the increased need that results from rising poverty and unemployment during economic downturns. Annual federal funding would remain fixed, regardless of whether the economy was in a recession or how severe a downturn was. As a result, the House Budget Committee staff's estimate that the Ryan plan would cut SNAP by \$137 billion over ten years may understate the magnitude of the cut—the cuts would be still more severe if the economy performs less well over the coming decade than CBO projects.

If a SNAP block grant had been in effect in 2013 at funding levels set in 2007, before the recession, federal funding in 2013 would have been about 50 percent below actual funding that year (excluding the Recovery Act benefit boost).

Furthermore, under a block grant, SNAP would not be able to respond to natural disasters. Hurricane Sandy victims in New York and New Jersey obtained temporary food aid through SNAP in 2013, as did victims of disasters in five other states.

Also, under a block grant, many states would likely shift funds away from food assistance to other purposes when they faced large state budget shortfalls. SNAP includes several non-food components, such as job training and related child care; a block grant structure would enable states to divert funds away from food to these purposes and withdraw state funds currently spent on these services.

Finally, because of its capped funding structure, a block grant like the one Chairman Ryan proposes would reverse the recent progress made, on a bipartisan basis, to improve SNAP participation among eligible low-income households. Viewing SNAP as an important work support and health and nutrition benefit, the last three Administrations, as well as governors from across the political spectrum, have sought to boost participation rates—especially among working-poor families and low-income elderly people, the two groups with the lowest participation rates. Overall, the efforts have paid off. SNAP reached 79 percent of all eligible individuals in a typical month in 2011 (the most recent year for which these data are available), a significant improvement from 2002, when the participation rate bottomed out at 54 percent. Participation among eligible low-income working families rose from 43 percent in 2002 to about 67 percent in 2011. For the elderly, it improved more modestly—from 26 percent in 2002 to about 39 percent in 2011.

Mr. WOODALL. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

You couldn't tell it from the acrimony that has been expressed over the last hour, but this is a good day. There are so many opportunities we have to come to this House and be disappointed with the bills that are here before us.

Why? Because we have different ideas, we have different ideas. My constituency, different from the constituencies of so many of my other colleagues, I don't question that they do their best to serve their constituencies, but in serving their voters, they harm mine and sometimes vice versa.

Today, that is not the question. We don't have a choice between the lesser of two evils. We don't have a choice against my way or their way. We have a rule that allows for absolutely every Member of this Congress to write their own budget. Think about that, Madam Speaker. We are talking about the budget of the United States of America, \$3.5 trillion.

Now, everybody doesn't write their own budget. It turns out we have more in common than we have that divides us around this institution, Madam Speaker. We have six budgets that we are going to be voting on.

That is every single budget that was submitted, but it is only six budgets. One came out of the House Budget Committee, one came out of the Republican Study Committee, one came out of the Congressional Black Caucus, one came from the Progressive Caucus, one came from the ranking member of the Budget Committee, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, and one came from Mr. MULVANEY representing the President's budget.

By golly, Madam Speaker, if you can't find something that you believe in, in that continuum of budgets, you are not looking hard enough.

Here is the thing: budgets are about choices; budgets are about priorities. The budgets of previous Congresses and previous Presidents have run up a debt the size of which servicing, even at these lowest teaser interest rates in American history, will suck out 18 months of productivity over the next 10 years.

I do not question my friend's commitment to the SNAP program, but understand that decisions of the past, paying the interest alone, require the SNAP program be closed completely for 18 months.

I do not question my friend's commitment to national security, but the budgets and the priorities of past Congresses have borrowed us into such a state that paying interest alone would require us to close our military for 18 months over the next 10 years.

We could not agree more that this budget week is about choices and priorities, and I tell you the choices and priorities of past Congresses and past Presidents are trading away hope for the next generation of Americans. They are trading away opportunities to serve Americans who need to be served today.

They are trading away security that folks should be able to have in a land as great as America; but because of decisions that this body, the Senate, and the White House have made over the past decades, that security is no more.

Not the budget-passed budget, Madam Speaker, the Budget Committee budget brings us to balance. We will begin to pay down that debt. We will reclaim those opportunities for those future generations.

Don't we owe it to them, Madam Speaker, not to advance ourselves at their expense? I think I know what the answer to that question is. We are

going to be debating it over the next 3 days here on the House floor, and I hope my colleagues will agree with me, at the end of that process, that we owe it to them to do better today.

Mr. HASTINGS of Florida. Madam Speaker, this budget is not about reducing deficit or establishing a regime of fiscal responsibility. This is a budget to dismantle the national safety net system and to transfer those savings to the wealthiest individuals and corporations. Even the Appropriations Chairman, Chairman HAL ROGERS, thinks that this budget is "Draconian."

If you want a perfect example of Republican ideology and book cooking, look no further than H.R. 1874, the Pro-Growth Budgeting Act of 2013.

Republicans want to force the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) to use their discredited models to help them mask the true effect of their slash and burn agenda, while at the same time, denying the use of their pseudo-math to the one committee where it would hurt them, the Appropriations Committee. They want to pretend all day long that the discredited "tax-cuts = revenue growth" model will do wonders for America, while denying the fact that the economically proven model of "investment = growth" will bring the much needed prosperity and equality that our citizens desperately want and need.

Defense spending is certainly important, but this budget is a complete failure of imagination when it comes to defending this country. Defense is not simply about bullets, bombs and brigades. We also defend this country militarily and economically through making sure we have an educated citizenry. At the very least, please tell me that you understand that our war materiel is the most sophisticated in the world. Please tell me that you understand that we, at the very least, need educated men and women to operate this equipment. Well, this education does not miraculously appear overnight. Indeed, their journey to where they are today started many years ago. And sure, some of them did not come from wealthy families and yes, some of our men and women in uniform had to rely on federal programs like Head Start, but that is never anything to be ashamed of and is certainly not something we should now turn our backs on. To defend a country as large and complex as ours is a multifaceted endeavor, an endeavor this budget utterly fails to meet.

Can "general welfare," a constitutional obligation of Congress, be defined as a budget that places the heaviest burden on the vast majority of Americans, while bestowing the greatest benefits on the wealthiest?

What is the appropriate level of shared sacrifice that ought to be required? One percent of Americans take home over one quarter of all income every year, and have seen those incomes rise 18 percent in the last decade. But those in the middle have seen their incomes fall. Why do you think that those who have suffered most severely under this recession should bear the greatest burden of hardship? What does this budget do to help those people, as opposed to the wealthy who will be fine no matter what we do with this budget?

In your budget you say, "The first job of the federal government is securing the safety and liberty of its citizens from threats at home and abroad." Why is the only threat to the American Dream that the Republicans deem worthy

of funding the one that comes from abroad? While this budget increases defense spending above pre-sequester levels over the next decade, it ignores the very real threat to the American dream at home, by increasing inequality, and removing any hope for struggling families to move up to or stay in the middle class.

How will deep spending cuts in service-oriented Federal programs help citizens weather the economic crisis? How will huge tax breaks for the wealthiest enable the poor and middle class to obtain jobs? With individual income and payroll taxes comprising 82 percent of revenue resources, and corporate taxes making up only 9 percent, how does this budget anticipate growing the economy when the burden falls disproportionately on those who need the most help right now?

Which specific tax provisions will you target in order to make the "broadening" savings claimed in this budget? The biggest four are (1) the home mortgage interest deduction, (2) the exclusion of employer-provided health benefits, (3) charitable deductions, and (4) state and local tax deductions. What specific tax loopholes do you propose to close?

Where, specifically, does all the projected revenue come from? This budget cuts the top marginal income tax rate to 25 percent, the lowest the rate has been since Herbert Hoover. Yet the budget also predicts that federal tax revenues will increase by nearly \$600 billion by 2021. President Reagan used a similar model which has since been discredited as unworkable, and which, on his watch, drastically increased the deficit and national debt.

How will Americans receive the health care they need if their Medicare premium and out-of-pocket costs become unaffordable under this proposed privatized system? Is the value of the vouchers linked to health care cost growth?

Americans already pay more than twice as much per persons for health care as other wealthy countries with the same or longer life expectancies.

Since the government pays for about half of this country's health care, almost all of which is actually provided by the private sector, future health care costs are increasing because of private sector costs, not the government.

Is it your contention that eliminating government support will suddenly render health care affordable? Or does this budget foresee the government washing its hands of the need to ensure quality health care for its citizens?

How does converting Medicaid into a block grant bear relation to the actual need for Medicaid services? When two-thirds of participants are seniors and persons with disabilities, when half of long-term care is covered by Medicaid, and when 70 percent of people over the age of 65 will require long-term care services at some point, how will cutting \$732 billion benefit these Americans?

Is the goal to control costs or to shift costs? The CBO says that privatizing Medicare will shift costs onto seniors. In 2030, traditional Medicare costs would be less than the private costs envisioned by the GOP budget. Under this plan seniors will be out of pocket for about two-thirds the cost of privatized care, as opposed to about one-quarter under traditional Medicare.

Isn't it true that rising costs and financial risk simply would migrate from the Federal budget to seniors' household budgets? Wouldn't that

mean seniors would face higher premiums, eroding coverage, or both?

How do you propose to provide relief to millions of homeowners in this housing crisis? This budget dramatically cuts funding for public housing assistance, foreclosure mitigation programs, and neighborhood development activities. How do you anticipate that communities will be able to meet the housing needs of their most disadvantaged residents?

The Republican budget resolution will cut housing aid to 10,000 veterans each year, approximately one-third of the total number of homeless vets. How does the Republican budget plan on taking care of newly homeless veterans? Is cutting these services a fair reward for those who risked their lives in service to our country?

If students can no longer rely on Pell grants and other Federal assistance for their college education, how do you propose to increase the number of students going to college and improve America's system of education? This budget reduces Pell grants to the 2008 level and eliminates the grant increases that Democrats achieved previously, bringing the maximum grant award back down to \$5,000. But the budget does not seem to provide even enough funding for that amount.

In this budget, Republicans slash transportation investment in 2015 by \$52 billion. Do Republicans think that our infrastructure will magically fix itself, like they apparently do the rising inequality that this budget perpetuates? How many bridges have to collapse, and how many schools have to remain un-built so that we can provide another increase to our already bloated defense budget?

Madam Speaker, I am asking a lot of questions, because this budget does nothing but raise them, and provides no answers. It provides no answer for how we will help middle class families as they continue to struggle on Chairman RYAN's road to ruin. It provides no answer for how we will help low income families send their children to college. It provides no answer for how we will provide quality healthcare to our seniors and those who are one medical emergency away from bankruptcy. It provides no answer for how we will provide housing assistance to those who have served their country and need a helping hand getting back on their feet. The fact that we have to even debate these measures is outrageous.

Madam Speaker, we can do better. Not only can we do better, we have an obligation to the American people to do better. This budget utterly fails to meet that obligation.

The material previously referred to by Mr. MCGOVERN is as follows:

AN AMENDMENT TO H. RES. 544 OFFERED BY
MR. MCGOVERN OF MASSACHUSETTS

Strike all after the resolved clause and insert:

That immediately upon adoption of this resolution the Speaker shall, pursuant to clause 2(b) of rule XVIII, declare the House resolved into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for consideration of the bill (H.R. 4415) to provide for the extension of certain unemployment benefits, and for other purposes. The first reading of the bill shall be dispensed with. All points of order against consideration of the bill are waived. General debate shall be confined to the bill and shall not exceed one hour equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Ways and Means. After general debate the

bill shall be considered for amendment under the five-minute rule. All points of order against provisions in the bill are waived. At the conclusion of consideration of the bill for amendment the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit with or without instructions. If the Committee of the Whole rises and reports that it has come to no resolution on the bill, then on the next legislative day the House shall, immediately after the third daily order of business under clause 1 of rule XIV, resolve into the Committee of the Whole for further consideration of the bill.

SEC. 2. Immediately upon disposition of H.R. 4415 the Speaker shall, pursuant to clause 2(b) of rule XVIII, declare the House resolved into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for consideration of the bill (H.R. 377) to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to provide more effective remedies to victims of discrimination in the payment of wages on the basis of sex, and for other purposes. The first reading of the bill shall be dispensed with. All points of order against consideration of the bill are waived. General debate shall be confined to the bill and shall not exceed one hour equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Education and the Workforce. After general debate the bill shall be considered for amendment under the five-minute rule. All points of order against provisions in the bill are waived. At the conclusion of consideration of the bill for amendment the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit with or without instructions. If the Committee of the Whole rises and reports that it has come to no resolution on the bill, then on the next legislative day the House shall, immediately after the third daily order of business under clause 1 of rule XIV, resolve into the Committee of the Whole for further consideration of the bill.

SEC. 3. Clause 1(c) of rule XIX shall not apply to the consideration of H.R. 4415 or H.R. 377.

THE VOTE ON THE PREVIOUS QUESTION: WHAT IT REALLY MEANS

This vote, the vote on whether to order the previous question on a special rule, is not merely a procedural vote. A vote against ordering the previous question is a vote against the Republican majority agenda and a vote to allow the Democratic minority to offer an alternative plan. It is a vote about what the House should be debating.

Mr. Clarence Cannon's Precedents of the House of Representatives (VI, 308-311), describes the vote on the previous question on the rule as "a motion to direct or control the consideration of the subject before the House being made by the Member in charge." To defeat the previous question is to give the opposition a chance to decide the subject before the House. Cannon cites the Speaker's ruling of January 13, 1920, to the effect that "the refusal of the House to sustain the demand for the previous question passes the control of the resolution to the opposition" in order to offer an amendment. On March 15, 1909, a member of the majority party offered a rule resolution. The House defeated the previous question and a member of the opposition rose to a parliamentary inquiry, asking who was entitled to recognition.

Speaker Joseph G. Cannon (R-Illinois) said: "The previous question having been refused, the gentleman from New York, Mr. Fitzgerald, who had asked the gentleman to yield to him for an amendment, is entitled to the first recognition."

The Republican majority may say "the vote on the previous question is simply a vote on whether to proceed to an immediate vote on adopting the resolution . . . [and] has no substantive legislative or policy implications whatsoever." But that is not what they have always said. Listen to the Republican Leadership Manual on the Legislative Process in the United States House of Representatives, (6th edition, page 135). Here's how the Republicans describe the previous question vote in their own manual: "Although it is generally not possible to amend the rule because the majority Member controlling the time will not yield for the purpose of offering an amendment, the same result may be achieved by voting down the previous question on the rule . . . When the motion for the previous question is defeated, control of the time passes to the Member who led the opposition to ordering the previous question. That Member, because he then controls the time, may offer an amendment to the rule, or yield for the purpose of amendment."

In Deschler's Procedure in the U.S. House of Representatives, the subchapter titled "Amending Special Rules" states: "a refusal to order the previous question on such a rule [a special rule reported from the Committee on Rules] opens the resolution to amendment and further debate." (Chapter 21, section 21.2) Section 21.3 continues: "Upon rejection of the motion for the previous question on a resolution reported from the Committee on Rules, control shifts to the Member leading the opposition to the previous question, who may offer a proper amendment or motion and who controls the time for debate thereon."

Clearly, the vote on the previous question on a rule does have substantive policy implications. It is one of the only available tools for those who oppose the Republican majority's agenda and allows those with alternative views the opportunity to offer an alternative plan.

Mr. MCGOVERN. With that, Madam Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time, and I move the previous question on the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on ordering the previous question.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, further proceedings on this question will be postponed.

BASELINE REFORM ACT OF 2013

Mr. WOODALL. Madam Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 539, I call up the bill (H.R. 1871) to amend the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 to reform the budget baseline, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mrs. MILLER of Michigan). Pursuant to