

the ability and the commitment to enforcing our Nation's laws, not a President who continually sidesteps Congress and the American people to advance an agenda which appeals exclusively to one side of the aisle.

I urge the President to end the political ploys to go around the laws we have on the books and start working together toward an immigration system that is in the best interest of the U.S.—not one that endangers our citizens, even takes some of their lives and some of the lives of our law enforcement officers, but truly one that secures our borders, respects the rule of law, stops violent criminals at the border, and prevents future illegal immigration.

I call on the President to work with Congress.

### MARCH TOWARD A MORE PERFECT UNION

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2013, the gentleman from New York (Mr. JEFFRIES) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

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

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

There was no objection.

Mr. JEFFRIES. Mr. Speaker, it is an honor and a privilege to once again have this opportunity to stand on the House floor and to anchor the Congressional Black Caucus' Special Order hour, where today we want to discuss some of the issues and challenges confronting this country that we hope this newly constituted Congress will be prepared to take up.

As we move into the 114th Congress, there is still a lot of business that is undone over the remaining few weeks that we have left during this session, but a whole lot of challenges that we have got to confront as we move forward.

□ 1930

One hundred fifty years ago or so, President Abraham Lincoln publicly pondered the question: How do we create a more perfect Union?

President Lincoln asked that question at a time when the country was tearing itself apart in the context of the Civil War. Since the conclusion of that war—since President Lincoln publicly pondered that question—year after year, month after month, century after century, we certainly have made some progress, significant progress, here in America, but we still have a long way to go, and it is still relevant for us to ask the question: How do we create a more perfect Union?

Where do we go from here?

So I am pleased that so many of my distinguished colleagues from the Con-

gressional Black Caucus have come to the floor today to share their thoughts and their insights and their policy prescriptions in our continuing march toward a more perfect Union.

Let me first just yield to the dynamic chairperson of the Congressional Black Caucus, who has provided such great leadership to this caucus, to this Congress, and to this country during her career, the distinguished gentlewoman from Ohio, Chairwoman MARCIA FUDGE.

Ms. FUDGE. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I want to thank my colleagues JEFFRIES and HORSFORD for leading the Congressional Black Caucus Hour. It is an issue that, I think, is important to this entire country, and it should be a priority for all Members, not just members of the Congressional Black Caucus—a discussion on where Congress goes from here in pursuit of a more perfect Union.

Mr. Speaker, even before the final ballots were counted from the midterm elections, conservatives began sharing their priorities for the upcoming Congress.

Instead of promising to improve our health care system, my colleagues on the other side of the aisle began promising to renew their campaign to repeal the Affordable Care Act—a campaign that has wasted millions in taxpayer dollars, with 53 unsuccessful votes.

Instead of searching for common ground, they are still committed to finding a way to impeach President Barack Obama.

Instead of using the next Congress to create more opportunities for the American people, the decision has already been made to continue efforts to obstruct and undermine the President.

None of these actions will move our Nation forward or do what is best for the country. We must do something more than advance a partisan, political agenda. It is irresponsible, Mr. Speaker, and is an insult to the very public that gave us this awesome responsibility in the first place. We were elected to represent the American people—all of the American people. Let's write and pass legislation that will make their lives easier and their futures more promising. It is time for this Congress to unite and move forward together. This is not the time for doubling down on the tactics of distraction, obstruction, and confusion.

We have the opportunity now to lay a foundation for the 114th Congress that is built upon bipartisan cooperation and a shared commitment to doing what is best for all of our citizens. I urge my colleagues to join the CBC in doing the people's work.

Mr. JEFFRIES. I thank the distinguished chair for her observations and, certainly, for pointing out that, while we should be coming together to march toward perfecting our Union, there are some, inexplicably, who want to march toward impeachment before even seeing Presidential action, the same type

of folks who, from the moment that Barack Obama was sworn in as President, believe he exceeded his authority just by raising his right hand and taking the oath of office. So let's just hope that we can hit the refresh button on the partisanship, on the obstruction, on the obfuscation and can come together to do the business of the American people.

Certainly, the gentleman who I would yield to next has been a great patriot. He has helped to bring our Constitution to life. For tens of millions of Americans, he is one of this country's greatest freedom fighters, a civil rights icon, and a distinguished Member of Congress. It is my honor and my privilege to now yield to the distinguished gentleman from Georgia, Congressman JOHN LEWIS.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my friend and my colleague, Congressman JEFFRIES, for organizing this Special Order.

Thank you for all that you do. Thank you for speaking up and speaking out. Thank you for finding a way to get in the way.

Mr. Speaker, our march toward a more perfect Union has been long, hard, and tedious, but we must continue to move forward. I know there are forces that want to stop us, slow us down, and take us back, but as a Nation and as a people, we have made too much progress to turn back now. Through hard work, discipline, and with the blessing of the Almighty, we can—and we will—move to redeem the soul of America and create a more perfect Union.

The American people are ready.

They have grown by leaps and bounds to build bridges of understanding between diverse communities. As their Representatives, will we follow their lead? Can we work together in this body as one people, one family, who live in the same house, one house—the American house? We don't have to be mean to each other. We don't have to put each other down.

My work in the movement taught me—my faith has taught me and many others—to respect the dignity and the worth of every human being. There is some good in the worst of us because everything that is was made by our Creator. That is why we must respect the worth and dignity and that spark of the divine in each one of us.

As A. Philip Randolph—a dean of Black leadership, the visionary who planned the historic March on Washington in 1963 and the founder of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters—once said: “We may have all come here on different ships, but we're all in the same boat now.”

My colleagues, my brothers and sisters, we must keep the faith. We must press toward the mark of the public good and put our personal ambitions aside.

As Mr. JEFFRIES did a few moments ago, let me paraphrase the words of a great Republican President who lived

in a more divisive time even than in our own.

He said:

Brave men, both living and dead, have consecrated the American soil with their tears, their sweat, and their blood. The world will little note nor long remember what we said here, but it will never forget what we did here. We must be dedicated . . . to the great tasks remaining before us . . . and make sure they did not sacrifice in vain, that this Nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom and that the government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the Earth.

Thank you, Mr. JEFFRIES.

Mr. JEFFRIES. Thank you, Congressman LEWIS, for those very eloquent thoughts and for continuing to really function as the conscience of the CBC as our caucus functions as the conscience of the Congress.

Mr. Speaker, it is now my distinct honor and privilege to yield to someone who I served with on the Budget Committee. She is a distinguished Member of the House of Representatives. She is a fighter for the people, for the disenfranchised, and is a voice for the voiceless. It is my honor to yield to the very distinguished gentlewoman from California, Congresswoman BARBARA LEE.

Ms. LEE of California. Thank you very much.

First, let me thank the gentleman from New York, Congressman JEFFRIES, for this very important moment and theme tonight of "Where do we go from here?" But also for your leadership in conducting these Special Orders to make sure that the American people really know the truth about what is taking place here in Washington, D.C., and also to hear the voice of conscience from the Congressional Black Caucus, such as we just heard from our great warrior, Congressman JOHN LEWIS.

Also, I want to thank Congressman HORSFORD for being part of this for the last couple of years in terms of his tremendous leadership.

Mr. Speaker, the other night, I had an event with young people in my district. It is a lecture series that is sponsored by the Martin Luther King Freedom Center. Congressman LEWIS knows these young people. They travel with me every year to Selma-Montgomery-Birmingham. We started the center in the nineties, and these young people's mission in life is to make sure that the new generation of leaders understands, one, that violence is not an option and, secondly, that we all are in this together and that we should be united as a country and fight for the American Dream for all.

The topic of the lecture series of two nights ago was "Where do we go from here?" We had White students in the audience. We had African American, Latino, and Asian Pacific American young people, middle-aged people, and old people. It was held at my alma mater, at Mills College. It was really amazing. We had the cofounder of the United Farm Workers, Dolores Huerta, and former State Senator Art Torres.

We talked about "where do we go from here?" as a community in Oakland and also throughout the country. What we need to do here is, really, to get back to work for the American people, and that is what we heard over and over and over at our lecture series.

Unfortunately, ever since the Republicans took control of the House of Representatives, we see governing through extortion and brinksmanship, including a government shutdown that cost the taxpayers \$24 billion. I hope that is not where we go from here. Now we are looking at—or at least some are saying that they are eyeing—another shutdown and are refusing to act on immigration while planning another series of votes to repeal the Affordable Care Act. They have even gone so far as to threaten impeachment because our President has continued to lead where they have failed.

Where do we go from here, Congressman JEFFRIES? Let's hope not there. I hope we go where the young people in my community talked about the other night.

The threats about a government shutdown over immigration reform are outrageous. My district is a very diverse and dynamic district. That is what makes it, really, a great place for my constituents to live, work, do business, and raise a family. Yet we have many, many pockets of poverty. It is home to a vibrant immigrant community. Families from all over the world, many of them—and they told me again the other night—are feeling the pain each and every day of our broken immigration system. It has been more than 500 days since the Senate passed bipartisan, comprehensive immigration reform.

We need to have an up or down vote. Families deserve that. Time is really running out. We have 3 weeks of session left, so we need to get something done. That is where we need to go from here. If Congress fails to act on immigration reform, our President can—and he should—take action to keep families from being torn apart. Just like every President since Dwight D. Eisenhower, our President should act, but as the President has said, immigration reform should come from Congress. It should come from us. That is what my community said in terms of moving forward. Let's get it done in the next couple of weeks. We have a bipartisan bill. Let's come together and have a vote. Our colleagues across the aisle need to put our economy ahead of partisanship. That means stopping their repeated attempts at eliminating access to affordable, quality health care for millions of Americans.

□ 1945

This past weekend marked the beginning of the second year of open enrollment under the Affordable Care Act. Repealing the Affordable Care Act and its protections for families would hurt all of our constituents. It would make health care less affordable and less ac-

cessible; yet every time Republicans vote to dismantle the Affordable Care Act, they make it perfectly clear that they believe charging women more for being a woman is okay, denying victims of domestic violence coverage is okay, and allowing insurance companies to increase premiums to increase profits is also okay. That is not what the American people need.

Where do we go from here? Let's not go there. Millions have been covered, and let's move forward to make sure our country has universal accessible affordable health care for all. It is a basic human right, so we need to get back to doing the work of the American people, the work of forming a more perfect Union.

Finally, I just want to point out an article. There was a recent editorial in The New York Times from Nicholas Kristof in which he discusses the historical and structural issues that continue to perpetuate racial disparities between Blacks and Whites today, and I would like to submit that article for the RECORD, Mr. Speaker.

[From Op-Ed Columnist, Nov. 15, 2014]

WHEN WHITES JUST DON'T GET IT, PART 4

(By Nicholas Kristof)

When I write about racial inequality in America, one common response from whites is eye-rolling and an emphatic: It's time to move on.

"As whites, are we doomed to an eternity of apology?" Neil tweeted at me. "When does individual responsibility kick in?"

Terry asked on my Facebook page: "Why are we still being held to actions that took place long ago?"

"How long am I supposed to feel guilty about being white? I bust my hump at work and refrain from living a thug life," Bradley chimed in. "America is about personal responsibility. . . . And really, get past the slavery issue."

This is the fourth installment in a series of columns I've written this year, "When Whites Just Don't Get It," and plenty of white readers have responded with anger and frustration at what they see as the "blame game" on race. They acknowledge a horrific history of racial discrimination but also say that we should look forward, not backward. The Supreme Court seems to share this view as it dismantles civil-rights-era rulings on voting rights.

As Dina puts it: "I am tired of the race conversation. It has exasperated me. Just stop. In so many industries, the racial ceiling has been shattered. Our president is black. From that moment on, there were no more excuses."

If only it were so simple!

Of course, personal responsibility is an issue. Orlando Patterson, the eminent black sociologist, notes in a forthcoming book that 92 percent of black youths agree that it is a "big problem" that black males are "not taking education seriously enough." And 88 percent agree that it's a big problem that they are "not being responsible fathers." That's why President Obama started "My Brother's Keeper," to cultivate more prudent behavior among men and boys of color.

But we in white society should be equally ready to shoulder responsibility. In past articles in this series, I've looked at black/white economic inequality that is greater in America today than it was in apartheid South Africa, at ongoing discrimination against African-Americans in the labor market and at

systematic bias in law enforcement. But these conversations run into a wall: the presumption on the part of so many well-meaning white Americans that racism is a historical artifact. They don't appreciate the overwhelming evidence that centuries of racial subjugation still shape inequity in the 21st century.

Indeed, a wave of research over the last 20 years has documented the lingering effects of slavery in the United States and South America alike. For example, counties in America that had a higher proportion of slaves in 1860 are still more unequal today, according to a scholarly paper published in 2010. The authors called this a "persistent effect of slavery."

One reason seems to be that areas with slave labor were ruled for the benefit of elite plantation owners. Public schools, libraries and legal institutions lagged, holding back working-class whites as well as blacks.

Whites often don't realize that slavery didn't truly end until long after the Civil War. Douglas Blackmon won a Pulitzer Prize for his devastating history, "Slavery by Another Name," that recounted how U.S. Steel and other American corporations used black slave labor well into the 20th century, through "convict leasing." Blacks would be arrested for made-up offenses such as "vagrancy" and then would be leased to companies as slave laborers.

Job and housing discrimination also systematically prevented blacks from accumulating wealth. The Federal Housing Administration and other initiatives greatly expanded home ownership and the middle class but deliberately excluded blacks.

That's one reason why black families have, on average, only about 6 percent as much wealth as white households, why only 44 percent of black families own a home compared with 73 percent for white households.

The inequality continues, particularly in education. De jure segregated schools have been replaced in some areas by de facto segregation.

Those of us who are white have a remarkable capacity for delusions. A majority of whites have said in opinion polls that blacks earn as much as whites and are as healthy as whites. In fact, black median household income is \$34,598, compared with \$58,270 for non-Hispanic whites, according to census data. Black life expectancy is four years shorter than that of whites.

Granted, race is just one thread in a tapestry. The daughters of President and Michelle Obama shouldn't enjoy affirmative action preference (as their dad has acknowledged), while disadvantaged white kids should.

Yet one element of white privilege today is obliviousness to privilege, including a blithe disregard of the way past subjugation shapes present disadvantage.

I've been on a book tour lately. By coincidence, so has one of my Times Op-Ed columnist colleagues, Charles Blow, who is African-American and the author of a powerful memoir, "Fire Shut Up in My Bones." I grew up in a solid middle-class household; Charles was primarily raised by a single mom who initially worked plucking poultry in a factory, and also, for a while, by a grandma in a house with no plumbing.

That Charles has become a New York Times columnist does not mean that blacks and whites today have equal access to opportunity, just that some talented and driven blacks manage to overcome the long odds against them. Make no mistake: Charles had to climb a higher mountain than I did.

We all stand on the shoulders of our ancestors. We're in a relay race, relying on the financial and human capital of our parents and grandparents. Blacks were shackled for

the early part of that relay race, and although many of the fetters have come off, whites have developed a huge lead. Do we ignore this long head start—a facet of white privilege—and pretend that the competition is now fair?

Of course not. If we whites are ahead in the relay race of life, shouldn't we acknowledge that we got this lead in part by generations of oppression? Aren't we big enough to make amends by trying to spread opportunity, by providing disadvantaged black kids an education as good as the one afforded privileged white kids?

Can't we at least acknowledge that in the case of race, William Faulkner was right: "The past is never dead. It's not even past."

Ms. LEE of California. Kristof states that he has "looked at Black-White economic inequality that is greater in America today than it was in apartheid South Africa, at ongoing discrimination against African Americans in the labor market, and at systematic bias in law enforcement."

So young people of color, especially young men, have been left behind in the economic recovery. It is leaving them behind, and far too often, they are marginalized and forgotten. The poverty rate for African Americans is 27.2 percent, more than two-and-a-half times the rate of poverty of White Americans. Nobody in our country should have to live below the poverty line. We are the wealthiest and most powerful country in the world.

The African American unemployment rate is 10.9 percent, nearly twice the national average. Young men of color are stopped and frisked at will. They are more incarcerated than any other group. The jobs that are available don't pay enough to get by while our safety net and nutrition programs continue to be hacked and slashed by House Republicans.

Beyond the lack of opportunity, police misconduct and the criminal justice system are constant reminders of the tragic inequality which is still persistent in the daily life of Black America.

Where do we go from here? Let's move forward, but we have got to remember that the deaths of Michael Brown and Trayvon Martin and Eric Garner and Oscar Grant—one of my constituents—their deaths are tragic examples of the senseless murder of young Black men.

As the mother of two Black men and two Black grandsons, I have to have many uncomfortable conversations with them, how to walk, how to talk, how to interact with the police.

This is not just my reality, but the reality of millions of other Black mothers and grandmothers and fathers and grandfathers. This is something no parent should have to do. No one should be afraid of the police who are sworn to protect and serve them. These are issues that Members of Congress must take leadership in addressing. This is where we must go from here.

Finally, let me just say the work of building a more perfect Union is not just rhetorical. As Members of Congress, we really do have a unique opportunity to do just that.

To quote our drum major for justice—who Congressman LEWIS had the privilege and honor to work with—Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., he said, "A genuine leader is not a searcher for consensus but a molder of consensus." We have the privilege tonight to remind this body that we are the molder of consensus.

Thank you again, Congressman JEFFRIES, for the opportunity to speak with you this evening.

Mr. JEFFRIES. Thank you, Congresswoman LEE, for your very eloquent observations and for laying out a clear pathway as it relates to many of the challenges that we have got to confront here in America and certainly amongst those challenges that you spoke to, the notion that we have got a broken criminal justice system that in far too many communities has placed a target on the back of young African American and Latino men in a way inconsistent with the democratic values of this country and the notion that we were all created equally, and so I look forward to partnering with you on many of these issues, as we all collectively move forward in this wonderful body.

We have also been joined here today by another civil rights champion, someone who has fought for the disenfranchised and to make sure that everyone has equal opportunity under the law, the distinguished gentleman from the Lone Star State of Texas, and I am pleased now to yield to Congressman AL GREEN.

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. Thank you very much, Congressman JEFFRIES. I also thank in his absence the gentleman from Nevada, Congressman HORSFORD. The two of you have been almost inseparable when it comes to these Special Order hours. I want to compliment you on the outstanding job that you have done.

I would also like to compliment Congressman HORSFORD for the outstanding job that he has done on the Financial Services Committee. He brought his talents. He brought his brilliance, and he has represented his constituents exceedingly well, and I know that in the annals of history, when they look back through the vista of time, it will be said that he served us well in the Congress of the United States of America.

With reference to the relevant question of the hour, as it relates to a more perfect Union, as we ponder and query where we go from here, it was appropriate, I think, that you introduced this topic by referencing President Lincoln.

It was appropriate because you are eminently correct. It was a time of great turmoil when he announced that he would issue the Emancipation Proclamation, and in January of 1863, when he issued the Emancipation Proclamation, the country was in the midst of a Civil War, being torn apart.

There was much to be said about his announcement that he would issue the

Emancipation Proclamation. There was great debate, and there were many people who said that it should not be done, that it was not worth the paper it would be written on, to be quite candid with you, it was said, because it would only free the slaves in the States that had left the Union, States that, quite candidly, at the time, he had no control over.

But he issued the Emancipation Proclamation, and I thank God that he did, because by issuing the Emancipation Proclamation, he laid the foundation for the 13th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America that was in fact executed in December 1865.

But for the Emancipation Proclamation, I don't know that I would be standing here in the Congress of the United States of America tonight. By issuing that Emancipation Proclamation, he changed the course of history.

Dr. King was right, "The arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends towards justice." However, it doesn't do it on its own accord. It takes the hand of man and women to bend it, so I am pleased that he did so.

I am also pleased that there was another opportunity for a President to forge a more perfect Union. President Harry Truman had the opportunity in 1948 to issue an executive order, as was the case with Lincoln and the executive order for the Emancipation Proclamation. He issued an executive order to desegregate the military.

There was much to be said about it. In fact, that executive order led to the birth of the Dixiecrats. There was a split in the Democratic Party because the Honorable Harry Truman decided that he would issue Executive Order 9981, to desegregate the military.

He issued it, the military was desegregated, and I contend that this was also one of the many reasons why the country itself moved along to desegregation and integration.

These were two outstanding and well-noted executive orders issued by Presidents of the United States. If President Lincoln could issue an executive order—an Emancipation Proclamation—if Harry Truman could issue an executive order—to desegregate the military—surely, President Barack Obama can issue an executive order to liberate many people who are living in the shadows of life, an immigration declaration, if you will. I believe the President should issue this order, notwithstanding all that is being said.

There was much being said and much being done when Lincoln issued his executive order, much said and much being done when Truman issued his, much said and much being done now, but I think the President should do this, and I think he should be bold when he does it because he will be lifting people out of the shadows of life.

I am confident that while many will be angry with him, God will not. I think God will smile on the President for issuing this executive order.

More than 15,000 executive orders have been issued. Not one President has ever been impeached for issuing an executive order, not one. There is talk of impeaching President Obama.

If we didn't impeach Lincoln and we didn't impeach Truman and we didn't impeach Reagan and we didn't impeach many of the other Presidents who have signed the more than 15,000 executive orders, I don't think that we ought to impeach President Obama.

Finally this, as an aside: there is much talk about the President's legacy and what he has done to form a more perfect Union while being President, if you will, but all of this talk about his legacy misses the mark, in my opinion, because there are many who think that the Affordable Care Act will be the centerpiece of his legacy.

I think it is a great piece of legislation. I supported it. I still support it. There are many who think that saving the auto industry would be his legacy. I think this is significant, exceedingly so. I supported what he did.

There are others who believe that his work in human rights and human dignity, especially as it relates for equal pay for equal work for women, will be his legacy. I think it is a great piece of work, and I commend him for what he has done.

But the President's legacy in the eons to come will be that he became President of the United States of America. The mere fact that the Honorable Barack Obama was elected not once, but twice, speaks to our efforts to form a more perfect Union.

I think that his greatest legacy will be his having served as President of the United States of America. That fact alone will be something that we will never, ever erase from history.

I thank you for the opportunity to visit with you, and I pray that the President will be bold and sign the executive order, will lead with the executive order that may lead to comprehensive immigration reform and a pathway to citizenship for those who are living in the shadows of life. God bless you.

Mr. JEFFRIES. I thank the distinguished gentleman from Texas for his very thoughtful and eloquent observations.

I think it is so important that you pointed out the President's place in the context of his legacy relating to his election because I believe that also ties into his legitimacy in moving forward with executive action on immigration.

This is the first Democratic President since FDR to be elected to consecutive terms having secured a majority of the vote from the American people, and so he has all of the legitimacy, all of the electoral mandate to act in a bold fashion.

We know that President George W. Bush came into the Presidency under questionable circumstances. He didn't receive a majority of the vote of the American people, and I am not sure what took place down in Florida, but

certainly, there were significant questions as to the authenticity of the final result.

He came into office under questionable circumstances; yet there was no talk of impeachment, even as he proceeded to get us into not one but two wars and jam a reckless tax cut to benefit the wealthy and the well-off down the throats of the American people.

If you just take Iraq, for example, his administration lied their way into a conflict that has cost the American people thousands of lives, billions of dollars; international legitimacy has been jeopardized. No one from this side of the aisle talked about bringing forth Articles of Impeachment in any meaningful way against George W. Bush.

□ 2000

You have a democratically elected President, Barack Obama, overwhelming electoral college landslide. He has got a mandate to act, and there are some Members on the other side of the aisle who just can't help themselves, who are itching to try and delegitimize this President. Shame on you. Let's just hope that we can move forward in a more productive fashion as it relates to how we interact with the executive branch. The whole world is watching, and they expect us to behave responsibly as we move forward.

Now, in terms of how do we move forward, how do we create a more perfect Union, and how do we act potentially in a bipartisan fashion, I think there are at least four areas where there should be opportunity to find common ground. I think we should be able to find common ground as it relates to immigration reform and dealing with our broken immigration system. We should be able to find common ground as it relates to giving America a raise. We should be able to find common ground as it relates to criminal justice reform.

I have been encouraged as a member of the House Judiciary Committee bipartisan task force on over-criminalization by the willingness of Democrats and Republicans, conservatives and progressives, to try to work together to solve this issue of a broken criminal justice system that we have got in America.

There are areas where we should be able to find some common ground. Let me start by dealing with this question of the executive order on immigration, because there is a lot of hysteria in this town now about how some people in the Congress are going to react to the President if he decides to issue some form of executive order on immigration, as if this President would be doing something extraordinary.

The history, in fact, tells us that since President Eisenhower, every single occupant at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue has issued executive orders related to immigration. In fact, there have been 39 such orders from Eisenhower all the way through to President George W. Bush related to the topic

and subject matter of immigration. In fact, if you look at some of the executive orders that were issued by President Ronald Reagan and President George H.W. Bush related to undocumented immigrants from Central America and the need in their view to try to keep families together, they were some of the broadest executive orders issued by any President in the area of immigration.

Where was the impeachment talk back then? Why are we subjecting this President to such reckless conversations? I thought that we were trying to come together in the aftermath of these elections to see if we can have a productive 114th Congress, because certainly we know that the 113th Congress was or is on track, I should say, to go down as the least productive Congress in the history of the Republic. That is quite a designation. I mean, the least productive Congress?

If we go down memory lane and think about some of the highlights, this is a Congress that brought us a reckless, irresponsible government shutdown that cost the economy \$24 billion in lost economic productivity all because of this clinical obsession with the Affordable Care Act. We flirted with a default on our debt for the first time in our Nation's history, threatening the full faith and credit of the United States of America. It is a Congress that brought us sequestration, \$85 billion in randomly spread out cuts across the government in a way that put hundreds of thousands of jobs in jeopardy. We failed to renew unemployment insurance, leaving millions of Americans on the battlefield of the Great Recession. These are the highlights of the 113th Congress. I don't think that is a record to be proud of as we move forward.

So I think we could all benefit from a reduction in the rhetoric in an effort to try and find common ground. If you don't like what the President may do on the issue of immigration, you are going to control the House of Representatives and you are going to control the Senate. Just act. Do something. Stop talking. Fix our broken immigration system. You have the power to do so.

The Senate acted in a bipartisan fashion last year passing a comprehensive immigration reform bill that was not perfect but certainly was a good faith attempt to try and address the problem. There were 52 Democrats, 2 Independents, and 14 Republicans, if my recollection serves me correctly. They partnered together to pass a bipartisan piece of legislation.

So I am just hopeful that the House will come together and legitimately try to tackle an issue and just stop throwing out the word "amnesty" to apply to everything that you don't like. I mean, in this country's greatest tradition, we have never had dual citizenship, and we shouldn't have dual citizenship moving forward. We should just try to find a way to bring these 11 million undocumented people out of

the shadows in a fashion that independent economists have said will be beneficial to the American taxpayer and result in dramatic reductions in our Nation's deficit. That is immigration reform. I am hopeful we can find some common ground in that area.

The second area where I think we should come together in our march toward a more perfect Union has to do with giving America a raise. Right now, the Federal minimum wage is \$7.25 an hour. In other words, in the wealthiest country in the world, in our great Republic, under that Federal minimum wage, you can have somebody who works full-time, 40 hours a week, 52 weeks a year, and at the end of the day, with a family of three, find themselves below the Federal poverty line. That is the classic definition of "working poor." Why would we cement that into law?

So I think that the responsible thing to do is for us to try to figure out how we can come together and raise the minimum wage. We couldn't get a vote in the House of Representatives on H.R. 1010—this Congress—that would have raised the minimum wage to \$10.10 an hour over the next year or so. Let's hit the refresh button and try to get something done next Congress. And this is not just something that Democrats embrace. This is not simply something that blue States embrace. This is not something that progressives simply embrace. If we are going to take a message from the outcome of the election earlier in November, we can't pick and choose what message we want to take.

How about we draw some lessons from the fact that the voters of Alaska came to the polls and overwhelmingly supported an increase in the minimum wage in that State; the voters in Arkansas came to the polls and overwhelmingly supported an increase in the minimum wage in that State; the voters of Nebraska came to the polls and overwhelmingly supported an increase in the minimum wage in that State; and the voters of South Dakota came to the polls and overwhelmingly supported an increase in the minimum wage in that State. Those are four deeply conservative, deeply red States.

America wants a raise. If we are looking for issues where we can find common ground beyond immigration reform, perhaps we can start there. One of the reasons why I think we should start there is because, if you look at what the minimum wage really means in real terms right now, we are falling behind in terms of where we once were and also in terms of making sure that we are giving the people who are working for the minimum wage a fair shot to pursue the American Dream.

If you were to look at this chart that is before us, you will see that in 1968 only 17 percent of the people who fall or fell into the category of a low-wage worker had some college experience, but in 2012 that number has shot way up: 46 percent of the people falling into

the category of a low-wage worker with some college experience. No wonder there is a lot of anxiety and uncertainty about the future of America amongst the people we represent all across the country when you have got folks with some college experience falling into the category of a low-wage worker.

In 1968, about 48 percent of the people, low-wage workers, had a high school diploma or GED. That number has shot up. In 2012, 79 percent of low-wage workers had completed high school or obtained their GED. Americans are more educated now than we were 45 or so plus years ago in terms of the workforce but earning less. That is a fundamental problem that we have got to confront in this country, and raising the minimum wage is one way in which to do it.

The other thing that we should take a look at related to the minimum wage is the fact that the people who are on it in large measure are actually trying to support themselves on a full-time basis or support their families. One of the most popular myths put forward by those who are determined to do everything possible to stop America from getting a raise like to say, well, people who work for the minimum wage are teenagers, or they work part-time after school and live with their parents. All they are really doing is trying to earn some extra spending money. It is a cute argument, but when you actually evaluate it using some objective factual analysis, you see that these are simply myths designed to undermine the effort to raise the minimum wage for people who are actually struggling to support their families.

□ 2015

Unlike the popular mythology that is put forward that these are teenagers or afterschool workers or people who are trying to get some spending change to go to the movies, the reality is the average age of people who are working for minimum wage numbers in America is 35 years old. Eighty-eight percent of the people working for minimum wage right now are not teenagers, they are 20 years or older. More than a quarter actually have children, and 55 percent of these individuals, as this chart illustrates, work full time. So let's have an evidence-based discussion about the need to increase the minimum wage that is rooted in objective, factual analysis and not hysteria or mythology designed simply to evade the discussion.

And the fact that the minimum wage increase has been embraced by deeply conservative voters in Arkansas and Alaska and Nebraska and South Dakota I think provides us with a starting point to move forward and attempt to find common ground in doing something that makes sense simply for America.

So I have mentioned immigration reform as a possible avenue of trying to identify common ground. I have mentioned the minimum wage. I think we

also have to try to deal with the issue of our broken criminal justice system. If you think about the fact that in America there are more than 2 million people incarcerated in our country, that is a tremendous waste of human capital. It is a tremendous waste of our economic resources and results in a dramatic loss of human productivity.

So I have actually been pleased over the last several years that people on the left and on the right, progressives and conservatives, are finding their way toward common ground to deal with a criminal justice system that clearly is broken, and starting perhaps with the notion that we have had a failed war on drugs that has resulted in putting people behind bars far too often, and disproportionately African Americans and Latino men, but putting nonviolent drug abusers behind bars—a dramatic waste of taxpayer dollars in a manner that has proven to be ineffective from a criminal justice standpoint.

As a member of the bipartisanship task force on overcriminalization chaired by the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. SENSENBRENNER)—the Democratic leader of the effort was the distinguished gentleman from Virginia (Mr. SCOTT), one of the things that was striking as we moved forward with our exploration was the fact that in the Federal system more than 50 percent of the people who are currently incarcerated—more than 50 percent—are there for drug or substance abuse crimes. Only about 8 percent of the current occupants of Federal prisons across America were convicted of violent crimes. Something is wrong with that picture.

I am thankful, actually, that States, particularly in the deep South, conservative States with Republican Governors and Republican-held State legislative bodies, have recognized the failure of the excessive law and order policies brought to us in the late 1980s and the early 1990s, the fact that it was costing their taxpayers dollars, wasting resources, and they have come together to reform the criminal justice system. It has happened in Texas. It has happened in South Carolina. It has happened in Alabama. It has happened in Kentucky. It has happened in Louisiana. It has happened in Georgia. Again, these aren't blue States. These are not traditionally Democratic States, these are traditionally conservative States recognizing the need for criminal justice reform.

So I am hopeful that as we move into the 114th Congress, we can find our way toward dealing with this issue. We have got Senators from the other side of the aisle who have expressed an interest in tackling this issue. And we have Democratic and Republican members of the House Judiciary Committee and beyond who have indicated a willingness to try to fix our broken criminal justice system: to eradicate mandatory minimums; to restore discretion to judges; to focus less on punishment as

it relates to nonviolent drug abusers; and to provide treatment and rehabilitation so we can help people successfully reenter our society.

We have to finish the job as it relates to the disparity between crack and cocaine. It was 100 to 1. This Congress acted; it is now 18 to 1, but there is still no pharmaceutical reason for there to be any disparity between crack and cocaine. And we should make our reforms retroactive so we can free thousands of people unnecessarily behind bars right now for a law that this Congress has deemed to be unjust. So criminal justice reform, a third area where perhaps we can work together.

And lastly, as we prepare to wind down this Congressional Black Caucus Special Order, I also want to express my thanks to my good friend and colleague, the distinguished gentleman from Nevada (Mr. HORSFORD) who throughout the last 2 years courageously stood on the floor of the House of Representatives coanchoring the CBC Special Order, and we know that the best is yet to come for Congressman HORSFORD, but the last issue that we have to perhaps tackle in a bipartisan fashion is fixing the damage that was done to the Voting Rights Act by the Supreme Court.

We all should want to encourage Americans to vote and participate in our great democracy. It is that participation that preserves the integrity of the democratic Republic that has been created in this great country. Why anyone would want to suppress the vote is beyond me, with the exception of noting that some view it as a partisan means of maintaining power, a Pyrrhic victory perhaps, because at the end of the day, these efforts to disenfranchise people are bad for America.

This is a chart that illustrates the fact that in the aftermath of the 2010 election, some people interpreted that midterm election as a mandate to suppress the vote. And so in 41 States, 180 voter suppression-type bills were introduced all across America. In every State that is represented with a red color, laws were introduced to suppress the vote. That is how the 2010 elections seem to have been interpreted by some.

I am hopeful that coming out of the 2014 midterm elections that we will actually come together. There is a bill in the House of Representatives—it has Republican support and it has Democratic support—to help Americans who want to vote and undo the damage that was done to the Voting Rights Act by the Supreme Court.

Now, the Voting Rights Act has a great bipartisan history. It was enacted into law in 1965. We are going to celebrate its 50th anniversary next year. It was signed and championed by Lyndon Baines Johnson, with the support of civil rights leaders, Dr. King, and of course our own Congressman JOHN LEWIS. But every time the Voting Rights Act was reauthorized, it was reauthorized by a Republican President. It was reauthorized in 1970, signed into

law by President Richard Nixon. And then it was reauthorized again in 1975, signed into law by President Gerald Ford. And then the Voting Rights Act was reauthorized again in 1982, signed into law by President Ronald Reagan. And then it was reauthorized again in 2006 and signed into law by President George W. Bush. It has a great bipartisan history.

If we are looking for areas where we can find common ground, where there is an opportunity for Democrats and Republicans, for conservatives and progressives to work together, we have got a lot of options. We can fix our broken immigration system. We can deal with criminal justice reform. We can give America a raise, and we can fix the Voting Rights Act on the occasion of our celebrating the 50th anniversary of its passage.

And so I am hopeful that we can put the dysfunction and the obfuscation and the government shutdown and the impeachment talk and the sequestration and the serial flirtation with the debt ceiling and defaulting behind us and come together, find common ground, and march toward a more perfect union in the 114th Congress.

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

Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to highlight our Nation's struggle to achieve a more perfect Union. As we look upon the political landscape this fall, it is impossible to ignore the backward steps we have taken.

In years past, elections signaled a time of hope and renewal: Hope that partisan politics would be put aside and renewal of our working relationships across the aisle and across the Capitol.

However, even as election results were being tallied earlier this month the new Republican majority was already highlighting the divisive actions they planned to undertake in the next Congress. Among these plans are efforts to undermine the Affordable Care Act, and to shutdown the federal government or impeach President Obama over his immigration reforms.

Mr. Speaker, I see nothing but divisiveness and partisanship in these plans. In fact, investigations into the creation of the Affordable Care Act or the President's immigration policy do nothing to advance the needs of everyday Americans who continue to struggle making ends meet.

I urge my Republican Colleagues to abandon these frivolous efforts and instead focus on expanding opportunities for every American and creating a more perfect Union.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join my colleagues of the Congressional Black Caucus to speak to the issues that members of the 113th Congress must address.

I thank my colleagues Representatives STEVEN HORSFORD and HAKEEM JEFFRIES for leading this evening's Congressional Black Caucus Special Order on "The March toward a More Perfect Union: Where Do We Go from Here?"

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general



Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

These words are powerful and unforgettable—they are the preamble of the Constitution of the United States of America.

What is most striking about these words are the first 3, “We the People.” They remind us that we are here in the “People’s House” to do the people’s business.

The Supreme Courts over the centuries looked to these words for guidance or evidence of what the founding fathers intended for the Constitution’s meaning and its ultimate purpose.

This places the preamble in a unique role as time has separated us from the words and thoughts of those who drafted the document, which governs our form of government today.

The Supreme Court, in its decision in *Ellis v. City of Grand Rapids*, looked to the preamble in reaching its decision in this eminent domain case. The Court decided that the use of land to provide additional land for the expansion of a hospital would be in the interest of the people and should be allowed under the constitution.

We the People, two years ago re-elected President Obama to the Presidency of the United States with 57.5 of all eligible voters voting for him to serve a second term in 2012.

He ran on the issues of retaining the Affordable Health Care Act, infrastructure investments, and rebuilding the middle class.

His re-election was no fluke; it was an affirmation by the people of the United States of a decision they made nearly 4 years earlier when he defeated his Republican opponent and become President.

In 2008, President Obama won 53% of the votes in the election that saw voter turnout at 62.3 percent of eligible citizens voting.

During the hard fought campaign then Democratic Presidential Candidate Obama said that he would focus on health care reform, repairing the economy, which was in shambles, and ending the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and bring our troops home.

Once President Obama entered office in January 2009, he was given the full picture of how bad the economy really was and how much work would be needed to repair the damage and restore economic vitality.

Since 2008, the economy has made tremendous progress, but more work needs to be done and I invite my colleague to commit in earnest to doing the work held to help the people of this nation.

On March 23, 2010, with the stroke of President Obama’s pen, the American people received this part of the “Fair Deal.” This bill did not become law in the dead of night, but in the full process this body affords serious consideration of legislation. There were committee hearings, staff and member meetings, amendments and a final vote in both the House and the Senate before it was sent to the President’s desk.

The Affordable Care Act has been affirmed to be law by every means provided by our nation’s constitution:

On June 28, 2012, the United States Supreme Court upheld the ACA, affirming the constitutionality of the law—leaving intact the majority of the incentives to expand healthcare coverage to millions of Americans.

The Affordable Care Act was a central issue in the Presidential election of 2012. President

Obama who signed the Affordable Care Act into law won the election by 51.1 percent of the popular vote and 62 percent of the electoral vote.

#### REPUBLICAN VICTORY ON NOVEMBER 4, 2014 WAS NO MANDATE

The voter turnout on November 4 was lowest voter turnout in 72 years according to the *New York Times*. National voter participation was 33.9% for the 2014 mid-term elections.

Although some are trying to call the election a mandate, that argument cannot be made if these same people refused to treat as a mandate the victories of Present Obama in two elections with a vote well over 50% and voter participation of 60% or more.

The Affordable Health Care Act is the law of the land; we have 10 million people with health care, who otherwise would not have the financial security that brings to them and their families.

November 15, 2014–December 15, 2014 is open season for the Affordable Care Act, which allows those without health insurance the opportunity to purchase insurance for themselves and their children.

The Affordable Care Act is not going anywhere and if the Republicans want to use taxpayers dollars on continuing to argue over it that is a waste of precious legislative days that the people of this nation cannot afford.

#### REPUBLICAN THREATS OF SHUTDOWN OVER IMMIGRATION REFORM

The Republicans shut down the government a year ago in October and the consequences were devastating to the American workers and seriously damaged the financial recovery the nation was experiencing.

The Shutdown of 2011 cost the nation \$24 billion.

A CNN poll found that 69 percent of Americans—including 52 percent of Tea Party supporters—thought the Congressional Republicans were “acting like spoiled children,” and 46 percent said they would blame Congressional Republicans for a shutdown.

Sixty-eight percent of the American public said the shutdown of a few days would be a bad thing for the country; that number rose to nearly 80 percent for a shutdown lasting a few weeks.

Sixty percent say it is more important for Congress to avoid a shutdown than to make major changes to the new health care law. [9/30]

According to the Office of Management and Budget, the last Republican Government Shutdown hurt the American people.

Hundreds of thousands of federal employees immediately and indefinitely furloughed, and many Federal employees and contractors that continued to work were not paid during the shutdown.

Housing loans to low and middle income families in rural communities were put on hold, as would start-up business loans for farmers and ranchers.

SBA stopped approving applications for small businesses to obtain loans and loan guarantees. In a typical month, SBA approves over \$1 billion in loan assistance to small businesses.

All facilities and services in our national parks were closed, along with the Smithsonian, impacting the hundreds of thousands of people that were on or heading to vacations. This had a severe negative impact on the surrounding local communities that rely on the

revenue generated by travel and tourism to these destinations.

Important government research into life-threatening diseases, environmental protection, and other areas were halted.

The government stopped issuing permits to conduct drilling operations on Federal lands, and would stop or delay environmental reviews of planned transportation and energy-related projects, keeping companies from working on these projects.

Hundreds of thousands of federal employees suddenly did not have a pay-check coming and had no idea when the shutdown would end.

Veterans were left without access to vital services.

It was irresponsible then and it would be far worse knowing what the reality was then for this Congress to do this to the American people again in less than 2 years.

#### IMMIGRATION REFORM LONG OVERDUE

The immigration reform bill that came out of the Senate does much to improve family immigration, but I am concerned that the bill contains some fundamental changes to our immigration system that move us away from the principle of family reunification.

In my role as a Senior Member of both the House Judiciary Immigration Subcommittee and Homeland Security Committee, I will continue working to strengthen the provisions in the bill that impact families and work to restore other important provisions which help families, particularly those immigrants of limited means—every immigrant cannot be a millionaire tech entrepreneur or bear the lineage of some landed gentry—America is the ultimate egalitarian society where opportunity waits for those rich and poor who seek it.

Nearly everyone agrees that our immigration system is badly broken and in dire need of fixing, and the bill that came out of the Senate is a step in the right direction.

What we need is immigration legislation that establishes a path to citizenship for the 11 million undocumented immigrants in this country. We must address the lengthy backlogs in our current immigration system—backlogs that have kept families apart sometimes for decades.

We must grant a faster track to the ‘Dreamers’ brought to this country as children through no fault of their own, and to agricultural workers who are an essential part of our communities and work so hard to provide our nation’s food supply.

We need immigration legislation that will make important changes to the visas used by dairy farmers and the tourism industry and by immigrant investors who are making investments in our communities.

Dreamers grew up in the United States, but were brought here illegally through no fault of their own. Nearly 300,000 Dreamers have been granted legal status in the past year, giving them the ability to live their lives in our communities by working and going to college without fear of deportation.

Most Americans agree that we need a comprehensive immigration reform plan that includes a pathway to citizenship. Nearly 9 out of 10 Americans (87%) believe that it would be better to offer undocumented workers an opportunity to earn citizenship after they have met the necessary requirements than to deport them.

If the House had seriously considered comprehensive immigration reform it would not be

necessary for the President to use his legitimate and lawful Executive authority by the end of this year to minimize the damage caused by Congress' failure to act.

Providing legal status to the undocumented immigrants currently in our country would grow our GDP by a cumulative increase of \$832 billion over 10 years. According to the Center for American Progress, immigration reform would create 121,000 new jobs each year in the next decade. Legalization would increase immigrants' income, an additional boost to our economy.

We must also do something to protect our borders. I am an original cosponsor of H.R. 1417—the Border Security Results Act of 2013. This bill has received accolades from the Wall Street Journal and The Los Angeles Times as a commonsense approach to protect our borders.

I believe the border security legislation that we put forward can be the solution that allows real immigration reform to move forward because it will provide the security at the border that the American people are demanding and deserve.

The Border Security Results Act would require a comprehensive outcome-based strategy that includes deployment of more surveillance technology for gaining full situational awareness of the border, use of that data to allocate manpower and other resources along the border and the creation of metrics to set progress in achieving border security. Those metrics may be based on the number of apprehensions of illegal aliens relative to the number of illegal crossings.

Over the years I have introduced the Save America Comprehensive Immigration Act and much of the Senate passed bill was included in my immigration bill; the Senate bill would address some of the toughest issues on immigration reform and would offer many innovative and considerate solutions that will help to repair some of the most broken parts of our immigration system.

So the passage of the Senate bill is a major leap forward in human rights in America. Now is the time for the House of Representatives to continue this crucial fight for immigration reform and a secure America.

If we let the immigration reform debate focus primarily on minute elements we lose sight of the broader picture—many other important things we need to do to fix our broken immigration system. It has been estimated that approximately 11 million undocumented immigrants live in the United States.

The vast majority of them are hard-working and law-abiding persons who have become productive members of our society. It serves no purpose to keep them in the shadows of our society praying for lawful status. It is not good for them, and is not in the best interests of the United States. Comprehensive immigration reform will require leadership from the Administration, the Senate, both parties in Congress with a willingness on everyone's part to work together.

The American people will hold accountable those that stand in the way of making comprehensive immigration reform.

When the House and the Senate passes comprehensive immigration reform the President will sign it into law. This is something that would be permanent and provide the stability America needs as we move toward a more prosperous future.

This special order is an opportunity to make the case for continuing on the course set by the Obama Administration and the need to not

take the recent election as a mandate for major changes.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Ms. Curtis, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate agrees to the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 1086) "An Act to reauthorize and improve the Child Care and Development Block Grant Act of 1990, and for other purposes."

The message also announced that pursuant to Public Law 110-315, the Chair, on behalf of the President pro tempore, announces the appointment of the following individual to be a member of the National Advisory Committee on Institutional Quality and Integrity:

Dr. Paul LeBlanc of New Hampshire, vice Larry Vanderhoef of California.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. GARRETT (at the request of Mr. MCCARTHY of California) for today on account of attending a funeral.

Mr. BISHOP of Georgia (at the request of Ms. PELOSI) for today on account of a flight delay due to weather conditions.

#### PUBLICATION OF BUDGETARY MATERIAL

STATUS REPORT ON CURRENT SPENDING LEVELS OF ON-BUDGET SPENDING AND REVENUES FOR FY 2015, AND THE 10-YEAR PERIOD FY 2015 THROUGH FY 2024

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON THE BUDGET,  
Washington, DC, November 17, 2014.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin: Mr. Speaker, to facilitate application of sections 302 and 311 of the Congressional Budget Act, I am transmitting an updated status report on the current levels of on-budget spending and revenues for fiscal years 2014, 2015, and for the 10-year period of fiscal year 2015 through fiscal year 2024. The report is current through November 12, 2014. The term "current level" refers to the amounts of spending and revenues estimated for each fiscal year based on laws enacted or awaiting the President's signature.

Table 1 in the report compares the current levels of total budget authority, outlays, and revenues for fiscal years 2014, 2015, and the 10-year period of fiscal year 2015 through 2024 to the overall limits filed in the Congressional Record on January 27, 2014 for fiscal year 2014 and on April 29, 2014 for fiscal years 2015 and 2015–2024 as required by the Bipartisan Budget Act of 2013. This comparison is needed to implement section 311(a) of the Budget Act, which creates a point of order against measures that would breach the budget resolution's aggregate levels. The table does not show budget authority and outlays for years after fiscal year 2015 because appropriations for those years have not yet been considered.

Table 2 compares the current levels of budget authority and outlays for action completed by each authorizing committee with the "section 302(a)" allocations filed on January 27, 2014 for fiscal year 2014 and the allocations filed on April 29, 2014 for fiscal years 2015 and the 10-year period 2015 through 2024 as required by the Bipartisan Budget Act of 2013. For fiscal year 2014, "action" refers to

legislation enacted after the adoption of the levels set forth on January 27, 2014. For fiscal years 2015 and the 10-year period 2015–2024, "action" refers to legislation enacted after the adoption of the levels set forth on April 29, 2014.

This comparison is needed to enforce section 302(f) of the Budget Act, which creates a point of order against measures that would breach the section 302(a) allocation of new budget authority for the committee that reported the measure. It is also needed to implement section 311(b), which exempts committees that comply with their allocations from the point of order under section 311(a).

Tables 3 and 4 compare the current status of discretionary appropriations for fiscal year 2014 and 2015 with the "section 302(b)" sub-allocations of discretionary budget authority and outlays among Appropriations subcommittees. The comparison is needed to enforce section 302(f) of the Budget Act because the point of order under that section equally applies to measures that would breach the applicable section 302(b) sub-allocation. The table also provides supplementary information on spending in excess of the base discretionary spending caps allowed under section 251(b) of the Budget Control Act.

Tables 5 and 6 give the current level for fiscal year 2015 and 2016, respectively, of accounts identified for advance appropriations under section 601 of H. Con. Res. 25. This list is needed to enforce section 601 of the budget resolution, which creates a point of order against appropriation bills that contain advance appropriations that are: (i) not identified in the statement of managers or (ii) would cause the aggregate amount of such appropriations to exceed the level specified in the resolution.

In addition, letters from the Congressional Budget Office are attached that summarize and compare the budget impact of enacted legislation that occurred after adoption of the budget resolution against the budget resolution aggregates in force.

If you have any questions, please contact Paul Restuccia at (202) 226-7270.

Sincerely,

PAUL RYAN,  
Chairman.

TABLE 1—REPORT TO THE SPEAKER FROM THE COMMITTEE ON THE BUDGET—STATUS OF THE FISCAL YEAR 2014 AND 2015 CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET AS PROVIDED FOR BY THE BIPARTISAN BUDGET ACT OF 2013

(Reflecting action completed as of November 12, 2014—On-budget amounts, in millions of dollars)

	Fiscal Year 2014 <sup>1</sup>	Fiscal Year 2015 <sup>2</sup>	Fiscal Years 2015–2024
Appropriate Level:			
Budget Authority	2,924,837	3,031,744	n.a.
Outlays	2,937,044	3,026,369	n.a.
Revenues	2,311,026	2,535,978	31,206,399
Current Level:			
Budget Authority	2,943,968	3,037,383	n.a.
Outlays	2,955,423	3,041,694	n.a.
Revenues	2,311,761	2,535,984	31,206,465
Current Level over (+) / under (–) Appropriate Level:			
Budget Authority	+19,131	+5,639	n.a.
Outlays	+18,379	+15,325	n.a.
Revenues	+735	+6	+66

n.a. = Not applicable because annual appropriations Acts for fiscal years 2016 through 2024 will not be considered until future sessions of Congress.

<sup>1</sup> Section 111(b) of the Bipartisan Budget Act of 2013 required the Chairman of the Committee on the Budget in the House of Representatives to file aggregate budgetary levels for fiscal year 2014 for purposes of enforcing section 311 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974. The spending and revenue aggregates for fiscal year 2014 were subsequently filed on January 27, 2014. The current level for this report begins with the budgetary levels filed on January 27, 2014 and makes changes to those levels for enacted legislation.