

Mr. DEUTCH, Florida

APPOINTMENT OF MEMBERS TO BOARD OF VISITORS TO THE UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair announces the Speaker's appointment, pursuant to 10 U.S.C. 4355(a), and the order of the House of January 6, 2015, of the following Members on the part of the House to the Board of Visitors to the United States Military Academy:

Mr. ISRAEL, New York

Ms. LORETTA SANCHEZ, California

APPOINTMENT OF MEMBERS TO HOUSE COMMISSION ON CONGRESSIONAL MAILING STANDARDS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair announces the Speaker's appointment, pursuant to 2 U.S.C. 501(b), and the order of the House of January 6, 2015, of the following Members to the House Commission on Congressional Mailing Standards:

Mrs. DAVIS, California

Mr. SHERMAN, California

Mr. RICHMOND, Louisiana

□ 1900

APPOINTMENT OF MEMBERS TO DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER MEMORIAL COMMISSION

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair announces the Speaker's appointment, pursuant to section 8162 of Public Law 106-79, as amended, and the order of the House of January 6, 2015, of the following Members on the part of the House to the Dwight D. Eisenhower Memorial Commission:

Mr. BISHOP, Georgia

Mr. THOMPSON, California

APPOINTMENT OF MEMBERS TO CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair announces the Speaker's appointment, pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 6913, and the order of the House of January 6, 2015, of the following Members on the part of the House to the Congressional-Executive Commission on the People's Republic of China:

Mr. WALZ, Minnesota

Ms. KAPTUR, Ohio

Mr. HONDA, California

Mr. LIEU, California

APPOINTMENT OF MEMBERS TO COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair announces the Speaker's appointment, pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 3003, and the order of the House of January

6, 2015, of the following Members on the part of the House to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe:

Mr. HASTINGS, Florida

Ms. SLAUGHTER, New York

Mr. COHEN, Tennessee

Mr. GRAYSON, Florida

COMMUNICATION FROM THE DEMOCRATIC LEADER

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Honorable NANCY PELOSI, Democratic Leader:

MAY 11, 2015.

Hon. JOHN BOEHNER,
Speaker of the House, United States Capitol, Washington, DC.

DEAR SPEAKER BOEHNER: Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. 2081, I am pleased to reappoint the Honorable Marcy Kaptur of Ohio to the United States Capitol Preservation Commission.

Thank you for your consideration of this appointment.

Sincerely,

NANCY PELOSI,
Democratic Leader.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE DEMOCRATIC LEADER

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Honorable NANCY PELOSI, Democratic Leader:

MAY 11, 2015.

Hon. JOHN BOEHNER,
Speaker of the House, Washington, DC.

DEAR SPEAKER BOEHNER: Pursuant to section 4(c) of House Resolution 5, 114th Congress, I am pleased to reappoint The Honorable James P. McGovern of Massachusetts as Co-Chair of the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission.

Thank you for your attention to this appointment.

Sincerely,

NANCY PELOSI,
Democratic Leader.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE DEMOCRATIC LEADER

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Honorable NANCY PELOSI, Democratic Leader:

MAY 11, 2015.

Hon. JOHN BOEHNER,
Speaker of the House, Washington, DC.

DEAR SPEAKER BOEHNER: Pursuant to the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 955(b) note), I am pleased to reappoint The Honorable Betty McCollum of Minnesota to the National Council on the Arts.

Thank you for your attention to this appointment.

Sincerely,

NANCY PELOSI,
Democratic Leader.

PASSAGE OF THE PAIN-CAPABLE UNBORN CHILD PROTECTION ACT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 2015, the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. FRANKS) is recognized for 60

minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. FRANKS of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, it has been an amazing day. We passed a major bill today, Mr. Speaker, that I think is going to have some significant reverberations in this country for a long time.

I know that whenever the subject has been abortion that, somehow, the rules always change. Somehow, we don't see it the same way that we do other issues. We don't apply the same principles of logic and reason and even compassion. It seems like that gets lost in it all. It seems like we sort of overlook the reality of it all.

The real question with abortion, Mr. Speaker, really is: Does abortion really kill a baby?

If it doesn't, then people like me would be completely satisfied to never bring up the subject again; but, if it really does take the life of a child, then those of us living here in the seat of freedom, in the freest country in the world, are living in the midst of a great human genocide, and it is something that we cannot and must not turn our backs upon.

Mr. Speaker, I know that it has been a long time that we have debated in this country. I remember in 1965 the Governor of Colorado signed a bill that would allow abortion in rare circumstances, and it created a great outcry because people knew that that might lead to more widespread abortion on demand.

At the time, those who were concerned about that were ridiculed and ignored many times; yet that is, in fact, what the Supreme Court did in 1973, when seven Justices decided, for all Americans, that there was a constitutional right to hire someone to take the life of a child.

Mr. Speaker, I sometimes wonder how we miss the reality of it all. I know that there are sincere people on both sides of the issue, but it just seems like that, ultimately, we keep coming back to that central question: Is there another life here?

Because if there is, in order for America to be true to her greatest ideals, then the American people are going to have to precipitate a change, either in their leadership or to convince their leadership to precipitate a change in their own hearts—after all, I believe there are only two ways that we can change public policy in this country, and that is that the people either have to elect the right leaders, or somehow, they have to beg the wrongs ones to do the right thing.

For a long time, our people have tried desperately to get their leaders to do the right thing on this issue, but we have been hamstrung by a Supreme Court decision. Once again, the Supreme Court was never meant to make law for the country. They were meant to decide cases, not issues.

Even though we have put the Supreme Court in the position of deciding those cases and giving us opinions on

constitutional analysis, when each of us as Members of Congress swore to defend and uphold the Constitution of the United States, we put our hand, as we swore to do that, to support and defend the Constitution.

We didn't say that we will support and defend the Constitution if the Supreme Court says it is all right. We said we would do that. The Founding Fathers knew that there had to be this tension between the three branches of government and that each one of those branches had a responsibility and a sworn oath to defend the Constitution the best they knew how on their own.

Certainly, we give deference to opinions of the Court on cases, but if this body says that the Supreme Court is the ultimate arbiter of the Constitution, then we have to quit taking that oath.

If this body says that the Supreme Court is the ultimate arbiter because of their ability and the power that we would ostensibly give them to answer all constitutional questions, if we say that, then, Mr. Speaker, we can go outside here and board these windows shut, and the Congress can go home, and we can finally quit pretending to be that great Republic that the Founding Fathers dreamed of because we will have become, at that time, a judicial oligarchy, where unelected judges have arrogated unto themselves the power to answer really all legal questions, and then this magnificent dream that the Founding Fathers had would be violated completely.

I just, somehow, hope that we understand that the Supreme Court of the United States is a critically important part of our Republic, but it is not the sole arbiter of the Constitution. Again, if it is, the Republic is dead.

Mr. Speaker, today, we debated the Pain-Capable Unborn Child Protection Act, and it kind of occurs to me that we have had to parse this out in ways that the opposition could finally understand.

The Pain-Capable Unborn Child Protection Act doesn't protect any children in the first 5 months, even though I think they should be protected; and, if we don't protect them, then what will we find, in terms of political courage, to protect any kind of liberty for anyone?

This act today only protected children beginning at the sixth month until birth. Now, that shouldn't be a hard question. That it got any dissenting votes is a disgrace that beggars my ability to express.

I truly believe that those who voted against a bill that would simply have protected children in the sixth month, beginning at the sixth month and beyond, that when they lay their head down on that pillow in the nursing home, if there is any conscience remaining, that there will be great regret for such a vote because, in coming years, I believe that we will understand more and more how real and how human these little babies really are.

We will begin to understand, as a people and as a country, that we overlook them, that somehow these little forgotten children of God just escaped our notice.

With all of the new technologies and all the new ways that we do things, Mr. Speaker, I foresee a day when we will be able to have such a clear look into the lives of these little children, and we will see this as we have so many times before in past days, where there was a victim and no one was really paying much attention to them.

I hope that, somehow, we can consider our own history and back up a little bit and say, You know, we don't have to continue to let ourselves be blind.

Mr. Speaker, for too long, a great shadow has loomed over America. More than 42 years ago, the tragedy called *Roe v. Wade* was first handed down. Since then, because of that decision, the very foundation of this Nation has been stained by the blood of more than 55 million of its own little children.

Exactly 2 years ago today, one Kermit Gosnell was convicted of killing a mother and murdering innocent, late-term, pain-capable babies in this grisly torture chamber they called an abortion clinic.

Now, when authorities entered the clinic of Dr. Gosnell, they found a torture chamber for little babies that defies description within the constraints of the English language.

According to the grand jury report—now, this is a quote from the grand jury report, Mr. Speaker: “Dr. Kermit Gosnell had a simple solution for unwanted babies. He killed them. He didn't call it that. He called it ‘ensuring fetal demise.’ The way he ensured fetal demise was by sticking scissors in the back of the baby's neck and cutting the spinal cord. He called it ‘snipping.’ Over the years, there were hundreds of ‘snippings.’”

Ashley Baldwin, one of Dr. Gosnell's employees, said she saw babies breathing, and she described one as 2 feet long that no longer had eyes or a mouth but, in her words, was making like this “screeching” noise, and it “sounded like a little alien.”

For God's sake, Mr. Speaker, is this who we truly are?

Kermit Gosnell now rightfully sits in prison for killing a mother and murdering innocent children, just like the one I described; yet there was and is no Federal protection for any of them.

If Dr. Gosnell had killed these little pain-capable babies only 5 minutes earlier and before they had passed through the birth canal, it would have all been perfectly legal in many of the United States of America.

□ 1915

Mr. Speaker, we may have sanitized Gosnell's clinic, but we can never sanitize the horror and inhumanity forced upon the tiny little victims. And if there is one thing that we must not miss about this unspeakable episode, it

is that Kermit Gosnell is not an anomaly; he is just the face of this lucrative enterprise of murdering pain-capable unborn children in America.

More than 18,000 very late-term abortions are occurring in America every year. It places the mothers at exponentially greater risk, and it subjects their pain-capable babies to torture and death without anesthesia. This, in the land of the free and the home of the brave.

According to the Bartlett study, a woman seeking an abortion at 20 weeks is 35 times more likely to die from an abortion than she was in the first trimester; at 21 weeks or more, she is 91 times more likely to die than she was in the first trimester.

Regardless of how supporters of abortion on demand might try to suppress it, it is undisputed and universally accepted by every credible expert that the risk to a mother's health from abortion increases as gestation increases. There is no valid debate on that incontrovertible reality.

Supporters of abortion on demand have also tried for decades to deny that unborn children ever feel pain, even those, they say, at the beginning of the sixth month of pregnancy, as if somehow the ability to feel pain magically develops the very second the child is born.

Mr. Speaker, almost every major civilized nation on this Earth protects pain-capable babies at this age, and every credible poll of the American people shows that they are overwhelmingly in support of protecting these children. Yet we have given these little babies less legal protection from unnecessary pain and cruelty than the protection we have given farm animals under the Federal Humane Slaughter Act. It is a tragedy that beggars expression.

But today, Mr. Speaker, I am filled with hope. The winds of change are beginning to blow, and the tide of blindness and blood is finally beginning to turn in America. Because today, Mr. Speaker, we voted to pass the Pain-Capable Unborn Child Protection Act in this Chamber.

And no matter how it is shouted down or what distortions or deceptive what-ifs or distractions or diversions or gotchas, twisting of words, changing the subject, or blatant falsehoods the abortion industry hurls at this bill and its supporters, this bill and its passage today are a deeply sincere effort—beginning at the sixth month of pregnancy—to protect both mothers and their pain-capable unborn babies from the atrocity of late-term abortion on demand; and ultimately, it is a bill that all humane Americans will support when they truly understand it for themselves.

The voices who have hailed the merciless killing of these little ones as freedom of choice will now only grow louder, especially the ones who profit from it most. When we hear those voices, we should all remember the

quote of President Abraham Lincoln, when he said: "Those who deny freedom to others, deserve it not for themselves; and, under a just God, can not long retain it."

Mr. Speaker, for the sake of all of those who founded and built this Nation and dreamed of what America could someday be, and for the sake of all of those since then who have died in darkness so Americans could walk in the light of freedom, it is so very important that those of us who are privileged to be Members of the United States Congress pause from time to time and remind ourselves of why we are really all here. Do we still hold these truths to be self-evident?

You know, Mr. Speaker, I think sometimes we forget the majestic words of the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men."

Oh, I wish so desperately that every Member of Congress could truly absorb those words in their hearts because it is very clear that it is almost a theological statement because it recognizes all of us to be created in the image of God, that we are created. And that makes all the difference, Mr. Speaker, because if we are created, if we have a purpose, if there is something miraculous about this magnificent gift of life, then we all should pay very close attention to what that purpose is. And if our rights don't come from government, if they don't come from the hand of men, if they, indeed, come from the hand of God, then we have a great responsibility to try to protect them from one another and for one another.

Mr. Speaker, the Declaration goes on to say: "That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men." That is why we are here.

Mr. Lincoln called upon all of us, Mr. Speaker, to remember that magnificent Declaration of America's Founding Fathers and "their enlightened belief that nothing stamped with the divine image and likeness was sent into the world to be trodden on or degraded and imbruted by its fellows."

He reminded those he called posterity that when in the distant future some man, some faction, some interest, should set up the doctrine that some were not entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness that "their posterity"—that is us, Mr. Speaker—"their posterity might look up again to the Declaration of Independence and take courage to renew the battle which their Fathers began."

Wow.

Thomas Jefferson, whose words marked the beginning of this Nation, said, "The care of human life and its happiness, and not its destruction, is the chief and only object of good government."

The phrase in the Fifth Amendment capsulizes our entire Constitution. It says, no person shall "be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law."

And the 14th amendment says no State "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Mr. Speaker, protecting the lives of all Americans and their constitutional rights, especially those who cannot protect themselves, is why we are all here. It is why we came to Congress.

You know, not long ago, I heard Barack Obama speak very noble and poignant words that, whether he realizes it or not, so profoundly apply to this subject. Let me quote excerpted portions of his comments.

He said: "This is our first task, caring for our children. It's our first job. If we don't get that right, we don't get anything right. That's how, as a society, we will be judged."

President Obama asked: "Are we really prepared to say that we're powerless in the face of such carnage, that the politics are too hard? Are we prepared to say that such violence visited on our children year after year after year is somehow the price of our freedom?"

The President also said: "Our journey is not complete until all our children . . . are cared for and cherished and always safe from harm."

"That is our generation's task," he said, "to make these words, these rights, these values of life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness real for every American."

Mr. Speaker, never have I so deeply agreed with any words ever spoken by President Barack Obama as those I have just quoted. And how I wish—how I wish with all of my heart—that Mr. Obama and all of us could somehow open our hearts and our ears to this incontrovertible statement and ask ourselves in the core of our souls why his words that should apply to all children cannot include the most helpless and vulnerable of all children. Are there any children more vulnerable than these little pain-capable unborn babies we are discussing today?

You know, Mr. Speaker, it seems like we are never quite so eloquent as when we decry the crimes of a past generation. But, oh, how we often become so staggeringly blind when it comes to facing and rejecting the worst of atrocities in our own time.

What we are doing to these little babies is real, and the President and all of us here know that in our hearts. Medical science regarding the development of unborn babies beginning at the sixth month of pregnancy now demonstrates irrefutably that they do, in fact, experience pain. Many of them cry and scream as they are killed, but because it's amniotic fluid going over the vocal cords instead of air, we don't hear them.

Again, Mr. Speaker, it is the greatest human rights atrocity in the United States of America today.

So, Mr. Speaker, let me close with a final contribution and wise counsel from Abraham Lincoln that I believe so desperately applies to all of this in this moment. He said: "Fellow citizens, we cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this administration will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation."

Mr. Speaker, the passage of H.R. 36 will be remembered. It will be considered in the annals of history and, I believe, in the counsels of eternity.

Protecting little pain-capable unborn children and their mothers is not a Republican issue. It is not a Democrat issue. It is a basic test of our humanity and who we are as a human family.

Today we began to open our eyes and allow our consciences to catch up with our technology. Today Members of the United States Congress began to open their hearts and their souls to remind themselves that protecting those who cannot protect themselves is why we are really all here.

I hope, Mr. Speaker, that it sparks a little thought in the minds of all Americans so that we might all open our eyes and our hearts to the humanity of these little unborn children of God and the inhumanity of what is being done to them.

I don't know if that will happen or not. But, Mr. Speaker, as of today, when we passed the Pain-Capable Unborn Child Protection Act, we have come a step closer, and for that, I am grateful.

I yield back the balance of my time.

FUTURE FORUM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 2015, the gentleman from California (Mr. SWALWELL) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. SWALWELL of California. Mr. Speaker, tonight we are back with the Future Forum, a group of young Members of Congress here to discuss an issue that is near and dear to our hearts and one that is on the minds of each of us on a daily basis, and that is the issue of our veterans.

We are joined tonight by some Future Forum members. And we are going to start by asking everyone who is watching across the country to tweet at us or find us on Instagram or Facebook under #futureforum to give us your suggestions and your ideas about challenges facing veterans and what we can do here to address it—#futureforum.

The first person we are going to hear from tonight is a veteran himself from the Boston area. He is a first-term Member of Congress who served four tours of duty in Iraq, is a Marine infantryman. So I am going to have SETH MOULTON of the Boston area talk about