

beds or low beds for timber sales. In some parts of our country, our sawmills have been decimated. As small businesses, we need to help people with small businesses keep that foothold that we have and regain it.

Those are just a few of the things—all not my ideas. Those all came out of our hearing with the October 8 subcommittee that we had on wildfires.

I very much appreciate the bipartisan participation tonight by my colleagues on this very important issue. I think we have done some really good things with the farm bill to help our forest products industry. Again, this truly is about the health of the forest. It is about revenue for the country, but it is about the prosperity of rural America.

Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the opportunity to have this Special Order.

I yield back the balance of my time.

SONGWRITER EQUITY ACT

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. KELLY of Mississippi). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 2015, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. COLLINS) for 30 minutes.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, it is good to be back on the floor of the House. I am thrilled tonight to be surrounded with my friends and colleagues, and to be part on championing a call that is close to my heart, and should be for every Member of Congress. Because we are dealing with songs and songwriters and the special place that they have in American life, and really in the world.

The amazing thing is how the songs that come from the hearts of many from Nashville, where I have friends tonight, Rob and Lance and Lee Thomas, and the rest, they are watching others across the country are songwriters, who are very interested in what goes on here. Because, amazingly enough, here in Washington, DC, as the tentacles spread out, you come to find out that, even in songwriting, Washington has its grip on it.

□ 1930

I just want to point out for those who may be watching—now, this is a quote. This doesn't come from me. It comes from Kevin Kadish. You may know Kevin. If you like to listen to a little bit of music, he happened to have a little, small hit with Meghan Trainor, "All About That Base," and Miley Cyrus' "Two More Lonely People." He made a comment. He said that no one is trying to put Pandora or Spotify out of business. We just want a fair market value for our blood, sweat, and tears.

This is something that, for me, is very special because, over the next 30 minutes, you are going to hear about a million and a half songwriters, publishers, and composers across the Nation and how the current music licensing regime is causing them to be paid well below market value.

Now, as a conservative, one thing I believe is that the government has a role—it has a limited constitutional role—especially when it comes to the ultimate of the small businesses: the entrepreneurs. Those are some of our songwriters and composers. The Federal Government should not have its thumb on the scale, and that is what we are seeing tonight. So you are going to hear about that as we go along. The government's heavy hand in this industry needs to go.

We have got another issue here of the Songwriter Equity Act. We have got some folks I want to have talk tonight; but I want to introduce this, and they are all cosponsors of this act. It is H.R. 1283.

When I start talking about this tonight, for those watching, there are three ways songwriters get paid. I am going to make it very simple. There are three ways they get paid: Two of which the government has its thumb on and—guess what?—one of which they don't. Does anybody want to take a guess? Raise your hand. Not my colleagues, you know this. Will anyone raise his hand really quickly? Which way is the fairest way? It is when they are able to negotiate on their own. That is the sync license.

So, with the Songwriter Equity Act, it removes the antiquated evidentiary standard; it adopts a fair rate standard for reproduction, or mechanical licenses. Why? To ensure that songwriters, composers, and publishers are appropriately compensated for the use of their intellectual property.

Before I get ready to turn it over to some of my friends who are here with me tonight and who are part of cosponsoring this, the issue before us is: We all can point back to that time. It is a song on the radio. This is the time of year, this holiday season. Or it may be a long drive in the summer. Or it may be sitting outside, but there is that song and that special someone. That song comes on, and you hear it, and the performer is performing it wonderfully. It may have been the performer, or it may have been something else. But a lot of times, there is someone who is sitting in a room or is sitting somewhere, and what comes out of their hand and onto a piece of paper has come out of their heart and their mind and their mouth. It has affected our hearts and our minds, and it has affected us even to this day.

You can think about those songs. That is what makes songwriters special. That is what makes this cause something that we need to fight for.

You have heard them on the radio. Our radio stations have played these songs. For a State trooper's kid, who grew up in northeast Georgia, to listen to the radio, that was my escape. Between that and books, I traveled the world and always longed to see it, and those songwriters took me there. This is why we are fighting today. It is because we believe that what these artists have is intellectual property. What

comes out of the their minds, what comes out and is expressed on paper and is then translated many times through artists' singing across the world, is worth protecting. It is intellectual property. It is as much intellectual property as is this property of my phone in my hand, and we have got to understand that.

Tonight, I have some friends with me. We will have a lot of time to talk about this. I want to start off up north a little bit. My friend from North Dakota, KEVIN CRAMER, is here. We have talked about this issue, and I am glad he has joined me here tonight.

One of the things that we talked about, Kevin, as you came on the floor, you said, You know, it is just about fairness. I think that is a great way to put it. It is just about fairness. So I am happy to yield to the gentleman to talk about this.

Mr. CRAMER. I thank the gentleman, my friend from Georgia, and others who have carried the ball on this issue for some time.

A special thanks to our friend from Tennessee, MARSHA BLACKBURN. I serve on the same committee with her, and I have learned a great deal about this and other things from Representative BLACKBURN.

Mr. Speaker, I was reminded of a quote by the songwriting and song performing phenom Taylor Swift, who said: I think songwriting is the ultimate form of being able to make anything that happens in your life productive.

Certainly, with whatever happens in your life, whether it is sad or glorious or joyful or heavy, you can write a song. It could be productive, but that doesn't mean it is profitable. If something is not profitable, the productivity of it will certainly wane over time, and we will be robbed of that very important piece of the music value chain: Where the product begins, which is in the heart and mind of the songwriter.

One of the things I love so much about this job—and I am happy to admit it to my friends in the Chamber tonight—is all of the things that you are forced to learn that you never thought were important before you learned about them. It is kind of amazing. Here we are, 435 colleagues, representing, roughly, 700,000 people. In my case, I represent the entire State of North Dakota. We think about things like agriculture and coal and oil. We think about things like highway bills, but we don't necessarily think a lot about songwriting. We think a lot about markets. We think a lot about fairness. We think a lot about regulation.

I was a regulator for nearly 10 years before becoming a Member of Congress. I regulated monopoly industries, and I was a rate regulator. When I was a rate regulator, setting the rates for electricity rates or natural gas, I had a lot of tools at my disposal, not the least of which was all of the evidence that the

record could be filled with. In some cases, it was piles of evidence and lots of testimony. Everything was on the record. It is how you make good decisions. In the case where regulation was required and free markets weren't as free as they would be in other products, you tried to apply as a regulator the evidence to a circumstance that best reflected the market.

Tonight, we are talking about something—and I appreciate Representative COLLINS' illustration of the government's thumb on the scale—where there has been a gross inequity, a gross injustice. It is where technology has certainly flourished, where innovation has flourished to the point at which opportunity to distribute and to enjoy music is unlike at any other time; but the songwriters have been left out of the innovation piece of it. They have been really biased against them.

As I have studied this issue as it has been brought to my attention, I have looked at it, and I have thought. This just isn't fair. This just isn't fair. Frankly, the ultimate conclusion of this kind of antiquated regulatory policy would lead to a very important loss because people wouldn't be able to do this, not unless you think that Georgia and Tennessee are the only places there are songwriters. I was surprised to find out there were several hundred of them in my little State of North Dakota. It is amazing.

One thing that all of us can agree on is that small business is the heart of our economy and that there is no smaller business than the single genius that writes music, right? That is the smallest of small businesses. We ought to get the government, to the degree we can, out of the way; but to the degree it requires regulation—and we understand it does require regulation as we are talking about copyright and as we are talking about broadcasting and as we are talking about things that are under the legitimate jurisdiction of the Federal Government's—we ought to at least be fair in how we do it, and we ought to be modern in how we carry it out.

In addition to my friends, Representative COLLINS, Representative BLACKBURN, and others who have taught me so much about this important issue, I also want to thank a new friend who approached me at a concert that I attended just because I love him so much and love his music. I have loved it for decades. This is, I think, an important lesson of advocacy and an important lesson of stick-to-itiveness. I had the opportunity to meet B.J. Thomas, who was a hero of mine while I was growing up. Do you know what he did with the time that we had together? He advocated not on his own behalf but on behalf of his friends, who provided the fuel for his success. He did so with a heavy heart based on the fact that his friends weren't treated as fairly and as equitably as he has been as a performer.

It touched me deeply that this man, who had nothing, really, to gain by this

advocacy, except, I suppose, the affection of his friends, cared enough to tell this lone Congressman from the little State of North Dakota about this really important issue. I am grateful he brought it to my attention.

I am grateful for your leadership on it, and I am grateful to be here tonight to help shed some light on it and, hopefully, move the ball forward a little bit further.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Representative CRAMER, that is such a great story.

For those of us with many problems and dysfunction—you hear that up here all the time—to actually understand that we still believe this is the greatest country in the world and that Washington, D.C., and this Capitol, still represent a shining beacon that goes throughout the world and stands for freedom, hope, and opportunity, the story that you just told about B.J. Thomas, an artist who has profited off of songwriting, and his taking time to talk to his Representative, that is what makes this country great.

That is exactly what we are talking about here, letting things be known that we may not have known and seeing them in amazing places.

You talked about your never knowing that your State of North Dakota is where you might meet a songwriter. As my friends are down here tonight, I just want to share one thing that came to my attention right as we were walking on the floor. You never know where songwriting comes from. Tonight, we have a special honor because, just outside these doors, protecting us here on Capitol Hill, is one of our aspiring songwriters—Capitol Hill Police Officer Kevin Reumont. I hope I pronounced that right. He is protecting Congress, and he also writes the soundtrack of our lives. Can you imagine a better way to think about that even in this building?

Mr. CRAMER. I just have to say, since you brought it up, there is nothing that makes me much more emotional than a really good song; but the men and women who protect us in this Chamber make me as emotional as anything. I am grateful. It is a great story.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Thank you tonight for being a part of it.

It moves along. We mentioned the great State of Tennessee, with Mrs. BLACKBURN and others who have been a part of this; but my friend just across the border in Chattanooga, Mr. FLEISCHMANN, is here tonight, and he has a lot to share about Tennessee and Georgia and all across the country.

We are just glad to have you here tonight to be a part of promoting as just was said, the ultimate entrepreneur, the person who is there, writing the song, the small business. So I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Tennessee to talk about that.

Mr. FLEISCHMANN. I thank my colleague, Mr. COLLINS from the great State of Georgia—our sister State right to the south of us.

Mr. Speaker, I represent the great State of Tennessee, as the gentleman alluded to—the great city of Chattanooga and the "Chattanooga Choo Choo," a great song.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. There we go.

Mr. FLEISCHMANN. I came to Congress, and some very creative people came to see me. We get a lot of visits up here in Congress. Folks from all over the country come to see us. I got a knock at the door one day, and there were some songwriters. They were very talented men and women. What do they do? They write and perform songs. I was just so impressed. These are creative entrepreneurs, and some of the stories are outstanding.

One gentleman came to see me, and he said: One day years ago, a long time ago, I wrote a song and went in and saw the great Johnny Cash. He liked my song, and he played my song. It went well, and that was his claim to fame.

Another gentleman came in, and he mentioned a song. He said: I wrote that and played it for a fellow by the name of Frank Sinatra.

Now, I remember those two great performers, but these were the folks who wrote the songs. This songwriter actually got to go and hear that recorded. Sinatra invited him, and it became a classic.

I was surprised to learn, as my colleague from Georgia alluded to, of the Songwriter Equity Act, but there is some fundamental unfairness involved in the process, and I wanted to talk about that.

Before I came to this great House, I practiced law for about 24 years in the city of Chattanooga. I loved practicing law, but when I was not practicing law, every once in a while, the judge wanted to go fishing, and he would let me preside as special judge. I really liked presiding over cases. As a matter of fact, I probably presided over several hundred cases over my legal career. I still keep a law license. But, as a judge, what did I hear? I heard evidence many times, and I want to refer to something that is very important in this whole debate.

Right now, the way that the rates are set—and I want everyone who is watching this to understand this—fundamentally, the evidence cannot be considered by the judge in setting the rates for these performers.

What I mean by that specifically is that these judges are not allowed by Federal law to consider sound recording royalty rates as relevant benchmarks when setting performance royalty rates for songwriters and composers. It is analogous to a judge who is hearing a case and saying: Well, I am not going to let you decide this, and that is not a good thing. These men and women come up every year. They play their songs, and they work very hard, and they want their share of the American Dream.

Nashville is a great city. It is our capital city in the great State of Tennessee, and I love all of our State. I

represent the Third District in east Tennessee: Chattanooga and Oak Ridge. Yet, when I travel to Nashville and when I see these men and women coming there, and there are literally hundreds of thousands of songwriters, what do they want? They want that one special song, or hopefully more, to click, for somebody to perform that.

□ 1945

And when they do, they ought to be rewarded. We ought to be incentivizing this because these are creative people, these are entrepreneurs.

So it is my privilege to join the distinguished gentleman from Georgia who has this Songwriter Equity Act with, I believe, all of my colleagues from Tennessee. I want the American people to take a look at this.

I urge Congress to take a look at this. This shouldn't be an issue about Republican or Democrat. This is an issue about giving these songwriters a fair shake.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, Representative FLEISCHMANN just made a great point. I don't hear a song that comes out on a platform—and I think that one of the things we forget here is that this is not a discussion of how we get music, *per se*, and how innovators have decided that—you know, through wonderful things—Pandora, Spotify, Apple Music, traditional radio, and the Internet—there are so many platforms, and those are wonderful. What we don't want to forget is the very system that has allowed them to begin is something that is taking away from the heart of the very songwriter issue.

One of the reasons that we were talking about this is that music is the most regulated sector. Seventy-five percent of a songwriter's income is regulated, some of which go back, the mechanical right, to 1909. They are still governed by player pianos. That is something that has got to change, and I think this is where we are at.

What Representative FLEISCHMANN brings is such a wonderful experience in what he has heard, and I appreciate him being a part of this. This highlights, again, that specialness.

Whatever song may come out on a platform, I don't hear it come out saying it is Republican, Democrat, Independent, Libertarian, or whatever. It just comes out as a song that comes from the heart and mind of someone that touches the soul of others, and I think that is a wonderful thing to be a part of.

Sometimes you make friends and you come together, and the great State of Georgia and the Big Apple come together. I was just recently there. It is amazing how you find commonality in music and how you find commonality in songs and songwriters.

I am just very honored to have as my lead sponsor on the Songwriter Equity Act Representative HAKEEM JEFFRIES from New York. We share some background, but we also share a love of music.

HAKEEM, I think—as we talk about this, there is a passion that shows this is not a regional issue and it is not a genre issue. It is a fairness issue. I think that is something we can come around and reach across the aisle and say let's look and work at how we best can do this.

Mr. Speaker, I am so glad to have Representative JEFFRIES as a part of this. He is a wonderful spokesman to be a part of fairness and what he does for his district, especially with the songwriting community in New York, with Atlanta, with LA, with Nashville, and all over. This has been something that has brought us all together.

I yield to the gentleman from New York (Mr. JEFFRIES).

Mr. JEFFRIES. Mr. Speaker, I thank my good friend, the distinguished gentleman from Georgia, for convening us here today on this incredibly important issue on the House floor and, of course, for his extraordinary leadership on behalf of the songwriters in America.

Over the years, I have gotten to know some very good country lawyers. I have also gotten to know some very good country preachers. My good friend from Georgia is the best of both worlds. We appreciate the tremendous skill set that he has brought to bear here in the United States Congress. We are members, of course, of the class of 2012. It has been wonderful to work closely with you in your capacity as the lead sponsor of this very important piece of legislation.

Article I, section 8, clause 8, of the United States Constitution gives Congress, both the House and the Senate, the power to create a robust intellectual property system, in the words of our Founders, in order “to promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries.”

The Founders of this great country understood that it was important to create a robust intellectual property system in order to allow creators and innovators to be able to benefit from the fruits of their labor.

Songwriters, of course, are at the heart of the music ecosystem, a music ecosystem that produces a variety of different forms of music.

We know that there is country. There is pop. There is rock and roll. There is blues. There is bluegrass. There is jazz. There is Motown. There is hip-hop. There is R&B, which we tend to be partial to in the Eighth Congressional District.

What all of them have in common is that someone had to create this music. At the heart of that creation, at the heart of the ecosystem, of course, is the songwriter.

Now, if the songwriter were to disappear or to be diminished in number, then the whole system of music creation collapses. In many ways, that is what the Songwriter Equity Act is all

about because of the inherent fundamental unfairness in the current system by which songwriters are compensated.

Congressman COLLINS and I have been able to work closely with a variety of different stakeholders from throughout the Nation. Certainly, Nashville, Atlanta, and New York have wonderful songwriting communities.

The chairman of ASCAP, Paul Williams, who has been a tremendous advocate, often has said before the Judiciary Committee and in other contexts that songwriters may be the most heavily regulated small-business people in America.

Unfortunately, that heavy regulation, as is often the case, is not benefiting them. In fact, in many ways, it is suffocating the songwriting community. It is not working to their benefit. It is not consistent with the DNA of our Constitution as it relates to intellectual property, which is to enable creators to benefit from the fruits of their labor.

That is why the Songwriter Equity Act is such an important piece of legislation in order to allow those songwriters, who are spread out in all 435 congressional districts in every great State in the Union, to be able to participate fairly in the music ecosystem that is so central to the genres that we all know and love throughout our land.

Music, of course, is universal in nature. It crosses all boundaries of race and religion, socioeconomic, region, cultural boundaries in this incredibly diverse Nation of more than 320 million people. That is why it has been so wonderful to participate in this journey as it relates to trying to do the right thing for the songwriters in this country.

As has been pointed out by my colleague from Georgia and the other participants here, there are really two fundamental things that the Songwriter Equity Act attempts to correct.

First, it is important to make sure that the rate courts, who often decide the compensation for songwriters in certain contexts, have an opportunity to consider all of the evidence so that they can arrive at an informed decision as to what makes the most sense.

It is just illogical to believe that a rate court that is walled off from certain forms of evidence, such as the compensation received by recording artists, can arrive at a fair and equitable decision.

In fact, what we have seen is that, over time, because this wall has existed, the compensation for recording artists has increased significantly. The compensation for songwriters has remained at an artificially low level. That is one of the things that we are trying to correct. Let all of the evidence be considered by the courts that are determining these rates.

Lastly, the Songwriter Equity Act is designed to bring some notion of market fairness to the compensation of songwriters who create the music that

we love. Right now, we have got artificially imposed regulatory rates on these songwriters in a manner that is not fair, that is not just, not consistent with a market-based approach that has made the United States so prosperous for so many other folks.

That is why songwriters rightfully can say that this overregulation is not working for us. We would just like to be able to get the fair market value of our creations. That is what the Songwriter Equity Act is designed to do.

So I am looking forward to working closely with my good friend from Georgia. He has been a tremendous leader in this regard. I am hopeful that we will be able to soon advance this legislation before the Judiciary Committee.

It has tremendous bipartisan support from Republicans and Democrats, Progressives and Conservatives. Let's advance this legislation out of Judiciary and onto the House floor and eventually get it to a place where it can be signed into law by the President.

Thank you for your extraordinary leadership.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I thank Mr. JEFFRIES. I think one thing you and I both would point out in this is this is not one against another. It is not playing off. It is just being fair for all involved.

You have artists who enjoy a very good living based on songs that were written by others. In this process and this ecosystem, we are not minding the platform. We are just saying to be fair in the use of it.

We want to see every opportunity for every songwriter to be a part, but also be equally compensated, fairly compensated, not more, not less, just fairly compensated.

I think that is the one thing I want to make sure that our songwriters and composers out there understand, that they are all in this together. They have advocated and continue to advocate, but know that we all come together. We are the beneficiaries of their genius. I think that is the thing. I appreciate you so much.

Tonight, as we are coming sort of to an end, many people have asked me: DOUG, how did you get involved in this? How did a kid from north Georgia get involved with songwriters?

Well, the amazing thing is Georgia has almost 50,000 songwriters registered with many—BMI is one of the groups that is registered. ASCAP's Paul Williams is a dear friend.

Of course, he has a real connection to Georgia, for all the folks who are watching, Smokey and the Bandit. Paul has connections to so many things in songwriting. This is a multi-million-dollar business, and these are all small entrepreneurs.

I wanted to highlight that, for me, it came personal. It comes from listening to my mother-in-law and her husband as they sing and they just go back to the old Shape note singing books of the churches in northeast Georgia.

It goes to when my beautiful bride, Lisa, and I first started dating. One of

the first things we did was went to a hootenanny, and this is where everybody just brought music. They brought their instruments, they brought everything, and they just began to sing. It came from the heart.

In my office, I keep a file full—and I actually have some framed—of just words put to paper. Songs are simply expressions of the heart that are yielded from the mind through the heart that come out of the mouth that touch the souls of others.

Then there is my dad and my mom. My dad went to school with a young man who went on to become known as Whispering Bill Anderson. He started his songwriting in my district, the Ninth District, living in Commerce, Georgia, at the time, at WWJC. The radio station is still there.

My understanding of the story from Bill was he was on top of the building and he wrote this song, "City Lights," which was performed by Ray Price. He has transcended the decades because one of his last songs was "Whiskey Lullaby" that was performed by Brad Paisley and Alison Krauss.

You see, this is about stories. Neo is one of our Georgia folks. Streaming companies are making a lot of money off of an outdated system in which they are able to pay songwriters less than the fair market value for the right to use their work. This is Neo.

It is time for Congress to stand with songwriters, #standwithsongwriters. I know there are many out there watching, on Twitter, Facebook. There are a lot of places where we can get this message out. This is simply about fairness.

As I come to a close tonight, I am reminded even today of when I was in Iraq just a few years ago. There were songs that I would hear as I was driving around and I was meeting with some servicemembers out on the gate post. We would talk about a lot of things: family, love, life, problems.

It would always come around and something would be on the radio and a song would come across. To this day, if a certain song is played—it could be "Chicken Fried" by the Zac Brown Band—I can still believe that I am still in Iraq. I still go back to those times and I see those young men and young women who are protecting us and are protecting us all over the world.

You see, that is what the songwriter does. The songwriter takes the moment, crystallizes it, forms it, just as they would any product that they make that comes out of their mind, flowing straight from the heart, out of the mouth, onto a pad, through their hand, and touches lives around the world.

It is time for Congress to look. It is time for Congress to understand that this is about small business and small entrepreneurs. It is time for Congress to stand with songwriters.

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

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TERROR WATCH LIST ISSUES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 2015, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GOHMERT) for 30 minutes.

Mr. GOHMERT. Mr. Speaker, I always appreciate my friend from Georgia's thoughts and observations.

Mr. Speaker, it is really intriguing that our friends across the aisle have been joining with the President in demanding that we in Congress give this administration, with its abuses and unaccountability of the IRS, using it as a political weapon to help win an election, that used the ATF to sell weapons, 2,000 or so, to get them in the hands of criminals, and then tried to use that violence that came from the weapons they forced into the hands of people that shouldn't have had them as a reason to try to take away Second Amendment rights of law-abiding Americans.

This administration is one of the most arbitrary and capricious administrations in history. Executive orders have been used for things that, from the top to the bottom of this administration, they have said they could not use executive orders for, including forms of amnesty. I think, over 20 times, the President himself said he did not have authority to just grant amnesty, and yet he turned around and did it anyway.

This administration, with that kind of history over the last 7 years, of being so arbitrary and in some cases being very intentional in going after enemies, far beyond anything Nixon might have ever dreamed he might be able to do, the thought of giving this administration the power to just make a list of all the people that you don't want to ever fly or have a gun, just make a list, we don't know exactly how you are making this list. There is no due process in creating the no-fly list. There is no due process in getting oneself off the no-fly list once the name is on the no-fly list.

Katie Pavlich with townhall.com, talking of the President's speech, said:

"President Obama called on Congress to pass legislation stripping anyone, including American citizens, on the terrorism no-fly list of the ability to purchase a firearm in the United States. Sounds pretty reasonable, right? Nobody wants terrorists to have easy access to guns, and it certainly sounds bad when the argument is made that those currently on the terror watch list have the ability to do so. But here's the problem: The terror no-fly list is a mangled, bureaucratic mess of over 700,000 names. Yes, there are names on the list that are connected to terrorism, but nearly half of those names belong to people who have zero links" to terrorism.

Further down she said:

"That list, which contained 47,000 names at the end of George W. Bush's