

walked out of prison and into the Presidency in South Africa, and as those foot soldiers walked across this bridge on Bloody Sunday, they helped create a circumstance in which we would have, as a President of the United States, Barack Obama. We cannot separate these issues. They are inextricably intertwined.

Mr. Speaker, I want to say to my colleague from Selma who represents so ably the new South that our Nation is so much better for the struggle in Selma, for the sacrifice, and not just in those who are famous like Dr. King or JOHN LEWIS, but I met at her side Ms. Boynton, a 105-year-old woman who walked across that bridge that day, just in this Capitol less than 20 days ago.

I want to thank her for her leadership on this issue and thank her as we celebrate and commemorate these 50 years and as we dedicate ourselves to fight for the right to vote for every single American without equivocation or compromise.

Mr. HUIZENGA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. SEWELL of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, voting is the most fundamental right that we share as Americans. The foot soldiers who dared to march across the Edmund Pettus Bridge in the face of extreme racial hostility did so in the spirit of equality. We should never forget the sacrifices they made so that this Nation could live up to the ideals of equality and justice for all.

While we can never repay these foot soldiers for the sacrifices that they made, we can offer a down payment by continuing to fight against injustice wherever it exists. For as Dr. King so eloquently noted, "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere."

May we be moved by the valor and determination of these foot soldiers to stomp out modern-day inequities in the name of justice. The foot soldiers of the voting rights movement set forth a powerful precedent for all of us to follow.

Whenever the rights of any one man have been denied, the rights of all are in danger. The price of freedom, as has been said before, is not free. The foot soldiers paid the ultimate price to ensure equal voting rights for all Americans.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud that over 300 of my colleagues in Congress—both Democrats and Republicans—have agreed to cosponsor this bill. I am proud that my colleague from Alabama Senator SESSIONS and Senator BOOKER will introduce this bill on the Senate side today.

I am humbled by the strong bipartisan support of this bill, and I would like to thank Representative MARTHA ROBY and all of the members of the Alabama delegation for standing with me in support of this bill.

Today, I am especially proud to be from Alabama. I invite my colleagues, Republican and Democrat, and all Americans, to come to Selma during the first week of March to witness living history. You, too, can witness living history.

The city of Selma and the jubilee group will be doing a host of activities all week long. Of course, the commemorative march itself will be on Sunday, March 8, as well as our President will be speaking to us in Selma on March 7.

I urge all of my colleagues to vote in favor of H.R. 431. I believe that bestowing the Congressional Gold Medal to the foot soldiers of the voting rights movement is a strong reminder of the power of ordinary Americans to collectively achieve extraordinary, extraordinary social change.

I want to again thank the gentleman from Michigan for sharing with me this wonderful 40 minutes of debate. I want you to know that it is one of the highlights of my life to have the opportunity to bestow this Congressional Gold Medal to the foot soldiers of the voting rights movement.

As a proud daughter of Selma and the Representative of Selma, Montgomery, Birmingham, and Tuscaloosa, I want you to know that those of us who are the direct beneficiaries of the movement, Black and White, we owe a debt of gratitude that we can never repay.

Today goes a long way in acknowledging those unsung and noted heroes like JOHN LEWIS, but there are so many, so many, that are in our midst, in our communities, that gave that sacrifice. Today, we honor them, the foot soldiers of the voting rights movement.

I want to say again to all of my colleagues: I hope that you will take seriously this bill and what its significance is to America.

I want to thank the gentleman from Michigan for sharing this time with me, and I want to thank the leadership of both parties for putting this bill on the floor in such a timely manner, so that we can get it on the President's desk before the March 7 and 8 wonderful, wonderful celebration.

Again, Mr. Speaker, I thank all of you for being here, and I urge my colleagues to vote "yes" on H.R. 431, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. HUIZENGA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

To my friend, it is amazing to me today the irony as we talk about the Edmund Pettus Bridge, a man who served as the grand dragon of the Ku Klux Klan in Alabama, who just 100 years ago was serving in the U.S. Senate, and to have that be a symbol and discussed in the same breath as a man like JOHN LEWIS and Martin Luther King and so many others and in that short 50 years for us, even though we may be of a different political persuasion, for me to be here and witness the first African American to be President

of these United States, what an amazing journey this has been.

Gone are the poll taxes, gone are the reading and history tests, gone are a number of those legal impediments and formal legal impediments that were there both in the North and in the South that dictated to someone where they could or couldn't live.

What has not gone—I am struck by this time and time again—is sin and hatred in human hearts. As C.S. Lewis talks about in his book "Mere Christianity," by means of laws, a man can attempt to change a man's actions, but they will not succeed without a change to those men's hearts.

I think that is our legacy. I think that is our duty as Americans, and I think that is part of what we are doing here today—to honor, to recognize, and to celebrate, knowing that the journey is not done necessarily, knowing that we have other areas where we need to work on this as a society, but knowing that progress has been made.

It is truly an honor to be a part of this with you as well, my friend.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. HUIZENGA) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 431.

The question was taken.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In the opinion of the Chair, two-thirds being in the affirmative, the yeas have it.

Ms. SEWELL of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

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

□ 1330

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF S. 1, KEYSTONE XL PIPELINE APPROVAL ACT, AND PROVIDING FOR PROCEEDINGS DURING THE PERIOD FROM FEBRUARY 16, 2015, THROUGH FEBRUARY 23, 2015

Mr. WOODALL. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 100 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 100

*Resolved*, That upon adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to consider in the House the bill (S. 1) to approve the Keystone XL Pipeline. All points of order against consideration of the bill are waived. The bill shall be considered as read. All points of order against provisions in the bill are waived. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and on any amendment thereto to final passage without intervening motion except: (1) one hour of debate equally divided among and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Energy and Commerce and the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure; and (2) one motion to commit.

SEC. 2. On any legislative day during the period from February 16, 2015, through February 23, 2015—

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker, we are here today to talk about House Resolution 100, which provides a closed rule for consideration of S. 1, the Keystone XL Pipeline Approval Act. Folks might find that a little unusual to talk about a bill that begins with the title S. 1, but there is a new day in Washington, D.C., that excites me, and it is that the "open for business" sign is there on the Senate side. It is not a function of Republicans doing this or Democrats doing that. It is a function of the process working the way that it should.

The first vote I took on the Keystone pipeline, Mr. Speaker, was back in 2011 when I was first elected to Congress. It passed the House by a wide bipartisan margin. It was never given the time of day in the United States Senate.

As we come here today, we are not just talking about approval of the Keystone XL pipeline in S. 1. We are talking about the inclusion of another bill that has passed time and time again, the Better Buildings Act. Mr. MCKINLEY from West Virginia has language that would promote energy conservation across this land, a bill that has passed time and time again in this House but has never been passed by the Senate.

It is an opportunity here today, Mr. Speaker. It is an opportunity to do those things that the American people sent us here to do: bipartisan votes, commonsense legislation for the first time in a long time, Mr. Speaker, and what I hope will be the beginning of a long trend here in the U.S. House of Representatives.

As you listened to the Clerk read, Mr. Speaker, you heard that there are a lot of different points in this bill. It is not just a bill for consideration of S. 1. It is also a bill so that when the House is not in session in D.C. next week, the Speaker will have the ability to call the House back into session to continue to conduct business because the business must continue to go on. I am glad the Rules Committee was able to include that provision as well.

Seven years ago is when the permit process started on the Keystone XL pipeline, Mr. Speaker. Since seven years ago, longer than it took to build the Hoover Dam, we have been trying to approve a small section of pipeline. I say "trying to approve" somewhat loosely. I think if we had been committed to getting it done, we could have absolutely gotten it done. Again, it is a commonsense piece of legislation that decides rather than building a pipeline across Canada to carry oil to Canadian refineries, which will provide lots of jobs for Canadians, if our partner to the north is willing, we will build that pipeline through America to deliver that oil to American refineries to create Americans jobs.

This is not a bill that mandates that, Mr. Speaker. The marketplace is going to control this construction decision. The marketplace is going to control where the oil is refined, and the marketplace is going to control whether or not the oil comes out of the ground to begin with.

Too often, I think we have been treating the Keystone XL pipeline approval process as if it were an environmental decision. There are those who wish the United States would reduce its reliance on fossil fuels. I am one of those. I don't think there is any advantage to be had by putting all your eggs in one energy basket. I am in favor of an all-of-the-above strategy that makes sure that America's energy security—North America's energy security—is based on multiple—multiple—avenues for energy production. But we do not get to decide in this Chamber whether or not the Canadians bring oil out of the ground. We only get to decide whether or not, once that oil comes out of the ground, it is moved with U.S. jobs and U.S. construction to U.S. refineries, or whether or not those jobs go elsewhere.

Mr. Speaker, time and time again folks come to the floor and they say: Where are the jobs? Where is the jobs legislation? I am thrilled to be carrying this rule for the Rules Committee today, Mr. Speaker, because this is one of those jobs bills—bipartisan, common sense. And if we pass it here in the House today, Mr. Speaker, headed to the President's desk, that signature will change the lives of those hardworking Americans looking for jobs today.

I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend, the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. WOODALL), for yielding me the customary 30 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, you are not permitted to sing in the House of Representatives, and I shall not do that; but I will take this opportunity to do as my colleagues in the Rules Committee did yesterday, a little bit in advance of my friend's birthday. Today is the birthday of my friend, Mr. WOODALL. And as one who has had many more birthdays than he, I hope he has as many birthdays as me and many, many more. Happy birthday to you, ROB.

As my friends are already aware, the President has already said that he is going to veto this measure. We introduced last night the statement of the administration with reference thereto. That means that the likelihood that this bill will become law is highly improbable at best. I wish I was standing here under different circumstances. I wish that the House were about to vote on something it knows that the President will sign into law. I wish we were working on something that would actually help our economic recovery instead of hamstringing it.

I listened to my friend very attentively when he pointed out that the marketplace will dictate three different circumstances. One that he did not allude to that I will is that the marketplace will dictate where the oil, once refined if the Keystone pipeline is approved, the marketplace will dictate out there in that neverland where we don't participate, where the oil will go. Therefore, I want to make it very clear that I do not believe that it means that there will be cheaper prices in the United States of America.

I am standing here because House leadership would rather pass purely symbolic measures than work with the President. And I recognize that, as my friend has pointed out, that a long time has passed with reference to this measure. I did a little added research to determine what would Enbridge and the other companies up in Canada do in case there was no Keystone pipeline. In addition to rail, they also have plans to send oil east and west and plans to send it north. And, I might add, for all that same period of time, the resistance inside Canada, based on a number of circumstances having to do with the Beluga whale, all of the way back to farmers, having to do with environmentalists, the same as in our country, the same arguments, whether East, West, or North in Canada, have been going on while our debate has been going on here with reference to the Keystone pipeline.

The 113th Congress is going to be remembered, and I believe everyone now understands, as the least productive Congress ever. That is the one that we just came out of. However, it seems that the current Congress is going to take its best shot at accomplishing even less if we stay on the course that we are on. Virtually every bill that has come before the Rules Committee the House already passed in the 113th Congress. Most have no more hope of becoming law now than the last time around. We have yet to see one really new idea from the Republican leadership of this body, which has shown zero interest in actually doing its job, in my opinion.

How many more times are we going to have to vote to repeal so-called ObamaCare, a program that now unquestionably is improving the lives of some hardworking Americans. Instead, we are voting on bills handpicked for

their ability to demonstrate the Republicans' message of the week, regardless of chance of enactment, regardless of whether it is a good idea, regardless of whether it is something that will help everyday Americans. And because these bills are handpicked for specific purposes, most have come to the floor under a closed rule, which means that Members cannot change the measure in any way, not even to make it better and not even with bipartisan solutions.

A good example is so far this body has voted on 15 rules during this 114th Congress, of which 8 of those 15 have been closed. The closed rules we will pass this week will be numbers 9, 10, and 11. Listen, my friends, on this same measure last week and before, the United States Senate, operating under regular order that is now majority-led by Republicans, considered on this very same measure 18 amendments, six that were approved, and some of them that were offered were bipartisan.

Among the reasons I believe that the Senate majority leader determined that he would operate differently than the previous majority leader is so as to give his membership, smaller than ours, of course, an opportunity to participate in the process. All the more reason, I believe, that we should have open rules. We have new Members, too, as do they. We have Members that have ideas that may be bipartisan with reference to support and opposition to the Keystone pipeline. But no, we continue to operate under closed rules.

Do you know how many rules were closed at this same point in the last Congress? The most closed rules ever, six. The gavel might as well be a brick wall.

Furthermore, much of the legislation this Congress has voted on has evaded regular order, escaping the review, hearings, and markups that ensure appropriate deliberation and consideration. Those of us on the Rules Committee have a wonderful opportunity. We are becoming sort of like the place of first resort for legislation. It isn't coming from hearings. The American public doesn't get an opportunity to see the various committees. It just comes up to the Rules Committee and we massage it back and forth about what our views are, but it does not come under regular order.

□ 1345

Just like the original version of this bill, the House is considering the Senate version of this bill without a hearing or a markup.

These are not just academic procedural disagreements. It matters because Members are not able to represent their constituents. It matters because good ideas are being deliberately kept hidden.

I have been here a long time. I have seen some pretty great Congresses under Republican and Democratic control, and I have seen some pretty lousy ones.

But the last few years, this body has been like a hamster on a wheel, spin-

ning and spinning, but never getting anywhere. You don't have to look farther than a couple of amendments the Senate made to this bill to see my friends spinning their wheels.

Climate change is real. Because a few Senators decided to get cute in parsing a few words, it is in the bill. We are going to vote on it. And then what?

Just yesterday, Agriculture Secretary Tom Vilsack announced that the United States Department of Agriculture is making more than \$280 million available for rural agricultural producers and small business owners to apply for resources to purchase and install renewable energy systems or make energy efficiency improvements.

Once more, those funds were made available in the 2014 farm bill, which shows what Congress can accomplish when we work together. I might add, because farmers in this country have experienced a 37 percent reduction—and I, along with others, represent many of those rural areas—I am delighted that we were able to do that in the farm bill, and I am pleased that Secretary Vilsack made his announcement.

The Senate also included an amendment that finds that Congress should—as opposed to shall—require oil companies to pay an excise tax to fund oil spill cleanups.

While I appreciate this expression, the amendment effectively does nothing to mandate contributions to the oil liability trust fund. I would invite my colleagues on the other side to explain that. Tell us why it is that these oil companies should not be required to contribute in a mandatory manner to the oil liability trust fund. Instead, what is happening is we create the illusion that oil companies will actually be accountable in the event of a spill.

Alternatively, simply closing the tax loophole that allows oil and gas companies to deduct the cost of cleaning up oil spills would discourage oil spills and save hardworking American taxpayers an average of \$1.3 billion per year.

The American people were led to believe that changing control of the Senate would lead to an end of this gridlock. But sadly, this has not been the case.

My friends are not going to be able to, like the hamster, spin their wheels continuously. Even the hamster gets tired. And sooner or later, when that hamster gets tired of the nonsense of spinning going nowhere, he either gets off or he falls off.

I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. WOODALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume to thank my friend for his well wishes and to tell him I am sympathetic to the hamster wheel scenario that he describes.

I don't particularly enjoy these opening weeks of a new Congress, Mr. Speaker, because committees haven't gotten organized, legislation hasn't started to flow, and it puts the com-

mittee in the very unfortunate situation of having to act as the legislator, as the authorizer, to begin moving pieces of legislation to the floor.

That is unfortunate. But that is not the situation we are talking about today, Mr. Speaker. What we are talking about today is a bill that not only passed the floor of the House but went to the Senate, a bill that not just went to the Senate but went through that wonderful open debate process that my friend from Florida described and has now come back to us today.

Four years we have been trying to move this bill forward, Mr. Speaker. It is a closed rule here today so that we can act on the same legislation that the Senate has passed, so we can send this bill to the President's desk, so we can get off the hamster wheel of futility that my friend from Florida describes.

I am optimistic, Mr. Speaker. But it doesn't happen by itself. It happens with years and years of work.

So with that, Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from North Dakota (Mr. CRAMER), whose advocacy and leadership have made having this bill on the floor today possible.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I thank my friends on the other side as well on the Rules Committee. I have been before them twice now on this topic and have enjoyed it immensely.

I might say as a word of encouragement with regard to the hamster wheel, because I share the same concerns, but I am also encouraged by the fact that we are actually passing the Senate bill today. As many times as we have tried to pass this, we have never been able to get it to the President's desk. That will happen soon. That is progress, and I think we ought to celebrate the progress of that.

With regard to being the least productive Congress, veto threats before voting on important things sort of leads to gridlock, I suppose. But I don't think that should stop us from doing our job and forwarding the ideas that our constituents have asked for. My constituents want the Keystone XL pipeline built.

What we are doing today, as was teed up by the gentleman from Georgia, is, of course, talking about a Senate bill. We passed H.R. 3 when I introduced it the first week in the House, a closed rule, as the gentleman from Florida said, a simple bill. We have passed similar bills in previous Congresses, well vetted. And my colleague from North Dakota, Senator HOEVEN, who is really the originator of this whole concept, introduced S. 1.

The other reason I think we should be encouraged is not only did the Senate have an open process, they voted on 47—at least 47—amendments. That is more than three times as many amendments on S. 1 as the Senate voted on in all of the bills last year. That is progress. That is not hamsters on the wheel.

I want to take a few minutes to describe the amendments that came over from the Senate and why I suggest to leadership—and I am pleased leadership accepted—that we just simply accept the Senate amendments and move this forward rather than going to conference, although I think that would have been a good exercise for a lot of us as well.

But there were a couple of amendments introduced that deal with energy efficiency programs, as the gentleman from Georgia pointed out, dealing with federally leased and owned property, as well as schools. It sets up programs and processes and gives authority to the Department of Energy to sort of coordinate energy efficiency issues in programs and projects, which I think is a noble goal.

There is that sense of the Senate that climate change is real and not a hoax. Now, we can throw that out as sort of meaningless. But the reality is that a statement like that passed 98-1 by the Senate is a pretty strong statement. I think the President ought to view that as currency—as currency. He argues that Keystone, because oil sands are somehow supposed to emit more greenhouse gas emissions than other production—I am here to tell you it is not true, and I will point out the very specific facts on that.

But in the spirit of compromise, he has this statement that I think provides currency for him to go to Paris next December and say: This is the sense of the Congress of the United States. I hope he views it as a positive.

Senator MIKULSKI has that amendment—which the gentleman from Florida spoke to—the sense of the Senate that all forms of unrefined and unprocessed petroleum should be subject to the nominal per-barrel excise tax associated with the spill fund.

While it says it is the sense of the Senate and it isn't put into law, I think it is important to note that we are talking about a tax, an excise tax that is placed on domestic crude, for sure, not placed on—if you can imagine this now—bitumen. Bitumen is the product that comes from the oil sands, and because bitumen is not in the Tax Code, it is not subject to the excise tax. That should be corrected. We should do that in the proper order, probably through the Ways and Means Committee.

That said, it is important to note that TransCanada is 100 percent responsible for spills and cleaning them up. I sited the first Keystone pipeline through the State of North Dakota, 600 landowners' land. They had some issues in the early going at one of the pumping stations. They did clean it up. It didn't contaminate water or the surrounding area. All of the tools worked properly.

My point is that they are responsible, and that is as per each State's law. This line will be permitted in each State, and they have to be responsible for cleanup.

Another one, Senator CORNYN had an amendment: Land or interest in land

for the pipeline may only be acquired through constitutionally appropriate means. That only makes sense. Maybe it doesn't need to be stated, but it is important to state, similar to the Barrasso amendment that clarifies that treaties with Indian tribes must remain in effect. That should be obvious as well, but it doesn't help to restate those important points.

I think that these amendments are important amendments, they are good amendments, and they help broaden the appeal of the bill.

I want to take this map down and I want to speak to just a few of the merits of the Keystone pipeline bill because I know them very well, the extraordinary benefits of Keystone XL.

Employment opportunities—Mr. Speaker, according to the U.S. State Department, 42,000 jobs will be supported by the construction. I can assure you, having been on the construction site of the original Keystone bill, it is true. These are real jobs. These are good jobs. Some people refer to them as temporary jobs. Referring to a pipeline project as temporary is like referring to a wind farm as only temporary construction.

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

Mr. WOODALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman an additional 5 minutes.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the generosity of the gentleman from Georgia. Thank you.

But all construction jobs are temporary until the construction is done and you move on to the next project. There are thousands of miles of pipeline under the ground in the United States. The steel workers, the truck drivers, the backhoe operators, the welders, and the local hotels and restaurants and retailers benefit tremendously. This is the make-or-break in many cases for some of these smaller businesses that benefit from the construction of this dynamic economy.

Energy security—we can't overstate energy security. We are talking about displacing Venezuelan oil. We are talking about displacing Middle East oil. In fact, the 830,000 barrels per day that will run through the Keystone pipeline into U.S. refineries is equal to about 50 percent of what we import from the Middle East. That is security.

When we talk about energy independence, that is one thing. Security means that we have our security in our own hands, and we are not subject to bad guys from other parts of the world; that, in fact, we are part of the security solution. And it relates directly to national security, I might add.

Enhanced safety—I was a pipeline regulator for years. There is no safer way to move crude oil than by a pipeline. It is the most efficient and it is the safest by far.

We have seen some of the things that happened when we cluttered our highways. In fact, the Department of Transportation in North Dakota anticipates the saving of three to six fa-

talities on the roads in North Dakota if this pipeline is built because, remember, it is not all Canadian oil sands. About a quarter of this capacity is reserved for Bakken crude oil as well. That removes a lot of trucks from our roads. That is much safer for the traveling public.

Trains—another issue we have. We have a lot of trains. This would represent 10 trains a week that could be hauling food to hungry people rather than oil to the marketplace.

Environmental protection—we hear a lot about the environment and the issues pertaining to it, and rightfully so. The good news is that after 6½ years of study, this is the most environmentally studied pipeline and the most sophisticated and highest-tech pipeline in the history of the world.

In fact, moving oil by rail actually emits 1.8 times more CO<sub>2</sub> into the air than moving it by pipeline. Moving it by truck emits 2.9 times more CO<sub>2</sub> than does moving it by pipeline. Moving it by barge to China, where it will be refined with far lower environmental standards than the United States, that is priceless.

Exchange with Canada—I don't think we should understate the importance of our relationship. Our number one trading partner, \$2 billion a day of goods and services travels between our two countries—our top trading partner and best friend, Canada.

If we were doing this to Canadians and to Canadian companies, or if they were doing this to us, I can't imagine how we would respond. I have worked closely with the Embassy. I have worked closely with the new Premier, Premier Jim Prentice, from Alberta, who, by the way, just won the election this last fall on the pro-environmental stewardship platform.

Exchange with Canada is so important. We need to restore and care for that important relationship. I would rather enhance that relationship, quite frankly—and it gets right back to this energy security issue—than be fighting over oil or fighting to protect the transportation of oil in other places.

□ 1400

At the end of the day, with everything else that has gone on and with these other important issues, to me, the final thing is this, and it is what I would say to the President, Mr. Speaker:

You have asked for bipartisan bills. You have asked for us to work together. Here we have a bipartisan, bicameral solution, one that the American public supports in a big way, one that would create jobs, one that would lift up the middle class, Mr. President.

I would just beg, Mr. Speaker, that the President would reconsider his veto threat on this important bipartisan jobs bill and sign it when it goes to his desk so that we can get people back to work, can become less dependent on foreign sources of oil from across the sea, and can become more interdependent with our neighbors in Canada.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, would you be kind enough to tell both of us the remaining amount of time on both sides.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Florida has 18 minutes remaining, and the gentleman from Georgia has 15 minutes remaining.

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

Here we are, only 17 days before the Republican Homeland Security shutdown and with just 6 legislative days left until the Department of Homeland Security shuts down on February 28, closing down many of the crucial Department of Homeland Security operations that have kept our country safe from terrorist attacks.

If we defeat the previous question, I am going to offer an amendment to the rule to bring up a clean version of the Department of Homeland Security funding bill. With such serious consequences, it is time to put politics aside in order to strengthen our homeland and protect American families.

To discuss our proposal, I am very pleased to yield 5 minutes to the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY), my good friend, the ranking member of the Appropriations Committee.

Mrs. LOWEY. Madam Speaker, I rise today to urge this House to immediately take up and pass a clean funding bill for the Department of Homeland Security. By defeating the previous question on the pending rule, we can immediately make in order a clean Homeland Security bill and stop the theatrics over the President's use of executive orders.

Madam Speaker, as of today, we are 134 days into what should have been the start of this fiscal year. The situation this House has caused is completely unacceptable. We simply cannot wait one more day to do the right thing, the responsible thing, and fund these critical agencies tasked with protecting this Nation.

As the ranking minority member of the Appropriations Committee, I was involved in the bipartisan, bicameral negotiations on the omnibus spending bill that passed the House and the Senate and was signed by the President last December. That package could have contained all 12 annual spending bills because all 12 were negotiated in conference, and every one of them was ready to go.

An unfortunate decision was made by the leadership of this body to omit the Homeland Security bill, not because there were outstanding issues or continued disputes. That bill, negotiated by my good friend from North Carolina (Mr. PRICE), was stripped from the omnibus because some in this body were upset by the President's executive order on immigration. They even admitted the President's actions had little to do with the Homeland Security appropriations bill. Yet that was the choice that was made on how to proceed, so the Homeland Security appro-

priations bill was forced to operate under a continuing resolution instead of having a full-year bill. Ironically, it meant Customs and Border Protection and Immigration and Customs Enforcement—two of the agencies tasked with defending our borders and enforcing our immigration laws—had to do without the nearly \$1 billion increase they would have gotten under the full-year bill.

Delaying the full-year bill, my colleagues: limits the Department's ability to advance the Secretary's Unity of Effort initiative, designed to improve coordination in our security missions; limits the ability of the Secretary to move ahead with the Southern Border and Approaches Campaign; creates uncertainty regarding ICE's capacity to detain and deport dangerous criminals; complicates the Department's ability to deal with another influx of unaccompanied children at our border stations; delays the implementation of the new security upgrades at the White House and of the hiring increases of the U.S. Secret Service; and delays terrorism preparedness and response grants for State and local public safety personnel.

I understand that many of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle feel quite strongly about the President's use of executive orders on immigration policy, but I am compelled to remind those colleagues that they have every tool at their disposal to pass legislation changing the President's proposal.

This stunt, my friends, has gone on too long. It is time to admit these immigration policy decisions have little to nothing to do with the appropriations process. The Homeland Security bill should never have been held hostage in this fight.

Madam Speaker, just this week, Secretary of Homeland Security Jeh Johnson issued a sobering statement about the consequences of operating under a continuing resolution. Quite simply, "Border security is not free."

I couldn't agree more.

Madam Speaker, I would like to enter Secretary Johnson's statement in the RECORD.

[Department of Homeland Security Press Release, Feb. 10, 2015]

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY JEH C. JOHNSON ON THE CONSEQUENCES TO BORDER SECURITY WITHOUT A DHS APPROPRIATIONS BILL

I continue to stress the need for a DHS appropriations bill for FY 2015, unburdened by politically charged amendments that attempt to defund our executive actions on immigration reform. The President has made plain that he will veto a bill that includes such language.

At present, the Department of Homeland Security is operating on a continuing resolution that expires on February 27. As long as this Department is funded by a continuing resolution, there are a whole series of activities vital to homeland security and public safety that cannot be undertaken. The public must be aware of the real impacts to homeland security as long as DHS is funded by a continuing resolution, or, still worse, if Congress were to permit our funding to lapse al-

together and the Department of Homeland Security goes into government shutdown.

Last week I issued a statement noting the impact on DHS's grant-making activity to states, local and tribal governments as long as we are on a CR. Basically, we are prevented from funding all new non-disaster assistance grants.

The public must also be aware of the impact on our ability to secure the borders as long as we operate on a CR. As part of our executive actions to reform the immigration system, the President and I have emphasized increased border security. Added border security is also a key component of the President's FY 2015 and FY 2016 budget submissions to Congress. But, as long as this Department is on a CR, and not a full-year appropriations bill, our ability to strengthen border security, to include maintaining the resources we put in place to respond to the surge in illegal migration into south Texas last summer, is constrained.

Here are some concrete examples of things we need to do, but cannot, without a full-year DHS appropriations bill for FY 2015:

Important investments in border security technology cannot be initiated, including additional resources to upgrade obsolete remote video surveillance systems and mobile video surveillance systems in the Rio Grande Valley;

Investments to increase our ability to analyze geospatial intelligence cannot be made. This is a capability critical to enhancing situational awareness of illegal border crossings and prioritizing frontline personnel and capability deployments;

Non-intrusive inspection technology at ports of entry cannot be enhanced. This technology reduces inspection times while facilitating trade and travel, and is necessary to detect illegal goods and materials, such as potential nuclear and radiological threats;

Critical enhancements to the CBP National Targeting Center's operational and analytical systems cannot be made. These support our daily operations against transnational criminal organizations by identifying terrorist and criminal threats attempting to cross our borders via land, air and sea; and

More aggressive investigations by ICE of transnational criminal organizations responsible for human smuggling and trafficking, narcotics smuggling, and cybercrime involving child exploitation and intellectual property rights violations.

Border security is not free. The men and women of DHS need a partner in Congress to fund their efforts. Time is running out. I urge Congress to act responsibly and pass a clean appropriations bill for this Department.

For more information, visit [www.dhs.gov](http://www.dhs.gov).

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Ms. ROSELEHTINEN). The time of the gentlewoman has expired.

Mr. HASTINGS. I yield the gentlewoman another 30 seconds.

Mrs. LOWEY. If my colleagues are finally serious about these programs and priorities, I urge them to join with me today. Defeat the previous question so that my colleague, Mr. HASTINGS, can offer an amendment to provide a clean, full-year appropriations bill for the Department of Homeland Security.

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

I was just reading an article from the AP, which is doing a fact check on whether or not a conversation about

the Department of Homeland Security is a fair and honest conversation. They say, in reality, most people will see little change if the Department's flow is halted, and some of the warnings of doom are as exaggerated as they are striking. They go on to list word after word of folks announcing those warnings.

What is striking to me, Madam Speaker, is that, if we had the same open process going on in the Senate right now that the gentleman from Florida described—the great process that brought S. 1 to the floor—we would be bringing the Department of Homeland Security bill to the floor of the Senate as well; but, as you know, the Senate minority leader today is filibustering any effort to even bring this conversation to the floor, going back to the hamster wheel my friend from Florida described earlier.

How often do we hear that? How often do we hear about the procedural stunts that get in the way of doing the business that every single one of us knows our constituents sent us here to do?

This bill, though, is one about which we can be proud. This bill, though, is one that gets to the heart of what our constituents have asked us to do. This bill, though, has been done right from the start in a bipartisan way, in an open way, and it can make a difference for people tomorrow if we pass it on the floor of the House today and send it on to the President.

I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. HASTINGS. Madam Speaker, my colleague just said to me, as my friend was looking at the Associated Press' fact check, that it would seem that the Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security would know a little bit more about what he is doing than would a reporter. I would hope that that is the case.

I am very pleased to yield 6 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD), my classmate and good friend.

Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD. Madam Speaker, I rise to urge my colleagues to defeat the previous question on the rule, to amend it, and to make in order the House consideration of the clean, bipartisan Homeland Security Appropriations Act for fiscal year 2015, negotiated in good faith last November.

Today is February 11, 134 days into fiscal year 2015. With only 17 days remaining until the current CR expires, the House is scheduled to be in session only 6 more days. Yet this Congress is no closer than it was last December to carrying out its basic responsibility to appropriately fund the Department of Homeland Security, whose primary mission is to protect us from terrorist attacks.

Secretary Johnson has warned us over and over again that the Republican leadership's refusal to allow a vote on the clean, bipartisan funding bill is threatening the national security of our country. He tells us that,

without a full-year budget, he is unable to move forward on key homeland security priorities, including new investments in border security technology; more aggressive investigations by ICE, related to drug smuggling, human smuggling, and trafficking; preparedness for responding to surges in illegal migration; security upgrades at the White House complex; and grants for State and local terrorism prevention and response capabilities; and the list goes on.

I am truly perplexed as to what it will take to convince the Republican leadership to do the right thing. Surely, before taking appropriate action, we don't need to experience attacks like those in Paris.

If my colleagues on the other side of the aisle believe the President has overreached, the answer is not to jeopardize our national security by delaying the 2015 funding for Homeland Security. If Republicans wish to circumscribe the President's discretion on immigration policy, the Constitution provides a clear path of action that runs through the authorizing committees, not through an appropriations bill.

Last week, the Senate definitively demonstrated three times that there are insufficient votes to bring up the DHS funding bill with the House-passed poison pill riders. Even if the Senate were to take up the bill, it would be vulnerable to a budget point of order because the poison pill riders have been scored by the Congressional Budget Office as having a net cost of \$7.5 billion.

Republicans control majorities in both the House and the Senate, and they control the agenda. By allowing a vote on the clean, full-year, bipartisan DHS funding bill, the leadership today has the opportunity to make clear that the Nation's security takes priority over unrelated policy debates over immigration enforcement strategy. This bill addresses the most pressing needs of the Department of Homeland Security's to protect our country from harm. It would pass both Houses and would be signed by the President today, and we should send it to him.

I urge my colleagues to defeat the previous question to make in order the consideration of a clean Homeland Security funding bill.

□ 1415

Mr. WOODALL. Madam Speaker, at this time I would like to take the gentleman from Florida's advice and yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HARRIS), an expert on the appropriations process.

Mr. HARRIS. I want to thank the floor leader for yielding the time.

Madam Speaker, there is no amendment necessary to this rule. Three weeks ago, we passed a fully funded Department of Homeland Security. Except for the President's illegal actions, the entire rest of the Department is funded: TSA, the Coast Guard; all these critical things.

Let's review how Congress really works. The House takes an action—we did 3 weeks ago—and then the Senate is supposed to take an action. What action did they take? HARRY REID and the Democrats have blocked three efforts to even debate the bill. They know if they didn't take that action, the Senate could debate the bill and they could strike those amendments. The Democrats are free to strike the amendments that we put on the bill that limit the President's illegal actions with regards to amnesty. They know they can.

Madam Speaker, let's be honest. The last time the President shut down the government, 87 percent of DHS was fully funded. TSA was there. The Coast Guard was on the job. Yeah, there were some administrators who didn't go to work for a few days, but let me tell you, after the unemployment problem we have had in this country, there are a lot of people outside the Federal Government who don't go to work for a lot more days. That is not what the American people expect from us.

The fact is that this bill is sitting over in the Senate. The President said 22 times he didn't have the authority to do what he did on amnesty. All we did is just made it quite clear the House position is he doesn't have the authority.

So, we are not going to spend the money. We take article I seriously. We have the authority over spending, and if we think the President is taking an illegal action, we have the authority to withhold that funding—and that is what we did, fund the entire Department except for that one illegal activity the President is doing in violation of article I of the Constitution. It gives us the authority over the law.

The President said he can't rewrite the law 22 times—and he did. We are just going to keep him to his word. He can't rewrite the law.

The previous speaker said you can't do authorizations on appropriations. That is nonsense. We do it all the time. We can correct the President's mistake in the bill. We did. That is the bottom line.

The Democrat leadership in the Senate has blocked even debate on the bill. What kind of country are we when one party, the party that is really holding this bill hostage in the Senate—not the Republicans; it is the Democrats—refuses to even debate the bill? I am shocked.

Americans expect the Senate to debate. That is what we are asking them to do. That is what they are not doing. I don't understand that. Why don't they want the Homeland Security bill to be funded? I don't get it.

Madam Speaker, I will close by saying we just need to move the motion on the previous question, pass the rule, and build the Keystone pipeline.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will remind Members to refrain from engaging in personalities toward the President.



Mr. HASTINGS. Madam Speaker, I would also take the opportunity to encourage the previous speaker to read Jefferson's Manual because some of the things he talked about on rules are not, at least, my understanding. So I accept his expertise on certain matters, but his ideas about what we can do in the minority strike me as strange.

Madam Speaker, I am very pleased to yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. VEASEY).

Mr. VEASEY. I thank the gentleman from Florida for yielding me the time.

Madam Speaker, I want to talk about the rule. I am rising today against the rule. And although I believe that a pipeline is absolutely the most safest and environmentally conscious way that we can transport natural resources through North America—and natural resources, for that matter, that are going to be developed. It doesn't matter what the carrier ultimately is; these are resources that will be developed. But the underlying rule, much like the prior rules we have seen on any of the Keystone pipeline votes, does not allow for Member debate. It doesn't. It doesn't allow for Member debate, and that is not how we can best move forward. Only by having an open discussion can this body fully engage in creating sound public policy.

I want to give you an example of what I am talking about. I offered an amendment in the Rules Committee which said that if the Keystone pipeline is built, we would maximize the amount of American jobs that are created or sustained in this process.

My amendment would ensure that the iron, steel, and manufactured goods made in the construction of the Keystone pipeline and facilities are made here in America. If we are going to build the pipeline in America, let's make the materials in America. That will create more jobs. That will give people more opportunity.

There has been much discussion about how we have lost so many manufacturing jobs in this country, about how we have lost ground in that area, about how people can't take care of their families because these opportunities are no longer here. If we are going to build this pipeline, let's give people the opportunity to go back to work, roll up their sleeves, and let's build these in America. There is no reason to have materials made in China to build this pipeline.

Therefore, I believe that if Republicans want to follow a jobs-focused agenda, the amendment that I am offering will make sure that we keep Americans working and not workers in China.

Mr. WOODALL. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume to say to the gentleman from Texas, my heart sits where his hearts sits—with American workers and American products. We build the best products in the world. There is absolutely no reason not to purchase the

best products in the world to build something particularly as important as our pipeline.

The box we find ourselves in is that, candidly, some of us—in fact, I dare say all of us—are a little surprised the Senate was even able to move through this bill. I have not seen the Senate move like it has moved in this open process, in this expedient process. In the entire 4 years I have served in this institution, I have never seen it happen before.

It is a good bill. I don't take issue with the work the Senate did. It looks substantially similar to what we passed here in the House. We may never get a chance to send this bill to the desk.

Again, we are just trying to debate a small part of the appropriations process and the Senate right now can't even move into debate because of filibusters in the Senate.

So I say to my friend from Texas, I am absolutely sympathetic to his amendment. I would like to have an opportunity to debate more amendments on the floor of this House.

I think back to my early days here 4 years ago. We had a 3½-day what I call festival of democracy. We came down here and worked night and day on H.R. 1 until every Member had a chance to be heard. That is the way it ought to be done. And I regret that in this situation we did not have a chance to make the gentleman's amendment in order because it was a good amendment and it would absolutely be worthy of debate and consideration here on the floor of the House.

Madam Speaker, with that, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. HASTINGS. Madam Speaker, may I ask how much time is remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Florida (Mr. HASTINGS) has 4½ minutes remaining, and the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. WOODALL) has 9 minutes remaining.

Mr. HASTINGS. Thank you, Madam Speaker.

I would also advise my friend from Georgia that I have no further speakers. I don't know whether my friend from Georgia does or not.

Mr. WOODALL. I also have no further speakers.

Mr. HASTINGS. Madam Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

I earlier asked several questions. I believe Mr. CRAMER addressed one of them. I have yet another that I did not ask, and I am not asking him to respond.

I might add, I think those of us here in the body—and I said this to him when he was in the Rules Committee—I do believe Mr. CRAMER from North Dakota really does have a comprehensive understanding of this matter.

While I disagreed with him about many matters, I do believe that he points out something that we need to pay attention to, in that there are already, without Keystone, a lot of pipe-

lines in the United States of America, and in the period of time of this recent debate, there have been a lot of pipelines that have had spills and have caused major damage. Without getting into them, three of them have really been substantial. Shutoff valves become important.

We haven't discussed many of the things regarding the technology that has improved over time, but I keep hearing my colleagues talk about this being a jobs measure. Indisputably, if there were to be a pipeline built, there would be jobs.

I agree with my friends on the other side that most, if not all, construction jobs are temporary jobs, and there are those in labor unions who are very supportive of this matter for the reason that it would create jobs.

But I have in mind something that many of us have advocated for years. The greatest reminder occurred the night before last right here close to us, in Maryland, when a piece of concrete from a big, old bridge fell off and, fortunately, when I saw the lady on television, her car was damaged and she was frightened out of her wits. But she is alive and was unharmed. That is concrete off of a bridge.

There are thousands of bridges in this country, and all of us know that we could be about the business of dealing with our infrastructure, which would create a whole lot of jobs and not leave us to these ideological debates.

I might add, if we approve this matter, in order for people to litigate, they have to come here to the Federal Circuit in the District of Columbia. That does not make sense to me, and it precludes those who would want to bring actions from being able to do so. This legislation allows that as the only vehicle.

I might add, the litigation isn't concluded yet in many of the places where there may continue to be concerns—in South Dakota, where Mr. CRAMER is close to—Wyoming, Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Texas, and certainly in Nebraska.

In the midst of trying to combat all of the problems that we have here in this country, attaching conditions and ultimatums to fundamental legislation is not the way to go about addressing the policy that was earlier raised and that I will raise in the previous question with reference to immigration.

If my friends really want to debate immigration issues, they should work with us and the President to reach a comprehensive and bipartisan consensus. Perpetuating the Department of Homeland Security stalemate is as dangerous to our country's security as it is corrosive to our democratic process.

Please, let's stop the pointless politicking. Let's end these games of chicken with our national security. Pass a clean DHS funding bill, and let's get back to the business of the American people.

I didn't know that this was in the drawer in front of me. It kind of looks like a hamster. The wheel just keeps on spinning. But my little friend here is still with us and has, in many respects, like my friends, stopped, by virtue of his being inanimate, his spinning. And that is what the Republicans need to do: stop spinning like the hamster on the wheel and get on with the business of the United States of America.

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

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

There was no objection.

Mr. HASTINGS. Madam Speaker I urge my colleagues to vote "no" and defeat the previous question. I urge a "no" vote on the rule, and I yield back the balance of my time.

GENERAL LEAVE

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

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

There was no objection.

Mr. WOODALL. Madam Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

I may be an unnatural optimist, but I believe these 2 years that we are about to have in this institution are going to be the finest that I have seen in my lifetime. The reason I believe that is exactly because we are responding to the plea that my friend from Florida has made to get on about the business of the people.

It is hard being in the minority around here. It is hard. My friends on the other side of the aisle may feel like they are in the minority today. For the last 4 years, we had the Speakership in this Chamber, but I sure felt like I was in the minority.

□ 1430

The Senate, held by the party on the other side; the White House, the party on the other side—and things got to be about party, day in and day out, and it wore on me, wore on me.

That is not why I ran for Congress, Madam Speaker. It is not why you ran for Congress. It is not why any of my colleagues here ran for Congress. They ran for Congress to get about the business of the people.

We are 1 month and a week into this new session of Congress, and the Senate has already managed to do what it hasn't been able to do for 4 years, and that is hold an open debate and move legislation where Members had a chance to have their voice heard.

We have that measure in front of us today. The only thing standing between us and considering that measure,

Madam Speaker, is passing this rule. I am excited about it. I am excited about it.

I am proud of what is in this underlying legislation. I am proud of the process that produced this legislation. I am proud of the leadership of folks like Mr. CRAMER who moved it through the House first.

Now, this is the Senate version, but this is the process that folks have worked in tandem. This is a process that folks back home can be proud of.

Now, that is not to say every Member of this Chamber supports this legislation, Madam Speaker. They don't, and they have myriad reasons for choosing not to support this legislation, but the majority is going to work its will.

I don't mean the majority, the Republican majority. I mean the majority—let's have a show of hands, see where people stand—and Republicans and Democrats are going to stand together and say, I support these American jobs. They are going to say, I support our largest trading partner, which is Canada. They are going to say, I support finality on a process that began 7 years ago.

I long for the debate we will have on this House floor, and I hope the gentleman from Florida and I get to manage the rule when we bring the surface transportation bill to the floor of this House because America needs that surface transportation bill. We need to build America, Madam Speaker.

What does it say when getting approval for this pipeline consumed more time than the entire construction of the Hoover Dam? Have we so hamstrung ourselves with bureaucracy that we can no longer do those great building projects as a Nation?

I hope that the answer is no, but if the answer is yes, we have the ability in this Chamber to change it to no. We are a society that does great, great things. We do have responsibilities that are great, great responsibilities, and we cannot accomplish those in a partisan way. We cannot accomplish those without partnership and cooperation.

For the next 2 years, Madam Speaker, we have an opportunity to move bills out of a Republican-led Congress that get signed by a Democratic-led White House. That is kind of the way the Founding Fathers envisioned it, and I am pleased to be a small part of it today.

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

AN AMENDMENT TO H. RES. 100 OFFERED BY  
MR. HASTINGS OF FLORIDA

At the end of the resolution, add the following new sections:

SEC. 4. Immediately upon adoption of this resolution the Speaker shall, pursuant to clause 2(b) of rule XVIII, declare the House resolved into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for consideration of the bill (H.R. 861) making appropriations for the Department of Homeland Security for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2015, and for other purposes. General debate shall be confined to the bill and shall not exceed one hour equally divided and controlled

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

SEC. 5. Clause 1(c) of rule XIX shall not apply to the consideration of H.R. 861.

THE VOTE ON THE PREVIOUS QUESTION: WHAT IT REALLY MEANS

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

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

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

In Deschler's Procedure in the U.S. House of Representatives, the subchapter titled "Amending Special Rules" states: "a refusal



to order the previous question on such a rule [a special rule reported from the Committee on Rules] opens the resolution to amendment and further debate.” (Chapter 21, section 21.2) Section 21.3 continues: “Upon rejection of the motion for the previous question on a resolution reported from the Committee on Rules, control shifts to the Member leading the opposition to the previous question, who may offer a proper amendment or motion and who controls the time for debate thereon.”

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

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

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

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

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

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clauses 8 and 9 of rule XX, this 15-minute vote on the previous question will be followed by 5-minute votes on adoption of House Resolution 100, if ordered, and approval of the Journal.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 242, nays 183, not voting 7, as follows:

## [Roll No. 71]

## YEAS—242

Abraham	Culberson	Hensarling
Aderholt	Curbelo (FL)	Herrera Beutler
Allen	Davis, Rodney	Hice (GA)
Amash	Denham	Hill
Amodei	Dent	Holding
Babin	DeSantis	Hudson
Barletta	DesJarlais	Huelskamp
Barr	Diaz-Balart	Huizenga (MI)
Barton	Dold	Hultgren
Benishek	Duffy	Hunter
Bilirakis	Duncan (SC)	Hurd (TX)
Bishop (MI)	Duncan (TN)	Hurt (VA)
Bishop (UT)	Ellmers	Issa
Black	Emmer	Jenkins (KS)
Blackburn	Farenthold	Jenkins (WV)
Blum	Fincher	Johnson (OH)
Bost	Fleischmann	Johnson, Sam
Boustany	Fleming	Jolly
Brady (TX)	Flores	Jones
Brat	Forbes	Jordan
Bridenstine	Fortenberry	Joyce
Brooks (AL)	Fox	Katko
Brooks (IN)	Franks (AZ)	Kelly (PA)
Buchanan	Frelinghuysen	King (IA)
Buck	Garrett	King (NY)
Bucshon	Gibbs	Kinzinger (IL)
Burgess	Gibson	Kline
Byrne	Gohmert	Knight
Calvert	Goodlatte	Labrador
Carter (GA)	Gosar	LaMalfa
Carter (TX)	Gowdy	Lamborn
Chabot	Granger	Lance
Chaffetz	Graves (GA)	Latta
Clawson (FL)	Graves (LA)	LoBiondo
Coffman	Graves (MO)	Long
Cole	Griffith	Loudermilk
Collins (GA)	Grothman	Love
Collins (NY)	Guinta	Lucas
Comstock	Guthrie	Luetkemeyer
Conaway	Hanna	Lummis
Cook	Hardy	MacArthur
Costello (PA)	Harper	Marchant
Cramer	Harris	Marino
Crawford	Hartzler	Massie
Crenshaw	Heck (NV)	McCarthy

McCauley	Ratcliffe	Stefanik
McClintock	Reed	Stewart
McHenry	Reichert	Stivers
McKinley	Renacci	Stutzman
McMorris	Ribble	Thompson (PA)
Rodgers	Rice (SC)	Thornberry
McSally	Rigell	Tiberi
Meadows	Roby	Tipton
Meehan	Rogers (AL)	Trott
Messer	Rogers (KY)	Turner
Mica	Rohrabacher	Upton
Miller (FL)	Rokita	Valadao
Miller (MI)	Rooney (FL)	Wagner
Moolenaar	Ros-Lehtinen	Walberg
Mooney (WV)	Roskam	Walden
Mullin	Ross	Walker
Mulvaney	Rothfus	Walorski
Murphy (PA)	Rouzer	Walters, Mimi
Neugebauer	Royce	Weber (TX)
Newhouse	Russell	Webster (FL)
Noem	Ryan (WI)	Wenstrup
Nugent	Salmon	Westerman
Nunes	Sanford	Westmoreland
Olson	Scalise	Whitfield
Palazzo	Schock	Williams
Palmer	Schweikert	Wilson (SC)
Paulsen	Scott, Austin	Wittman
Pearce	Sensenbrenner	Womack
Perry	Sessions	Woodall
Pittenger	Shimkus	Yoder
Pitts	Shuster	Yoho
Poe (TX)	Simpson	Young (AK)
Poliquin	Smith (MO)	Young (IA)
Pompeo	Smith (NE)	Young (IN)
Posey	Smith (NJ)	Zeldin
Price (GA)	Smith (TX)	Zinke

## NAYS—183

Adams	Fudge	Moulton
Agullar	Gabbard	Murphy (FL)
Ashford	Gallo	Nadler
Bass	Garamendi	Napolitano
Beatty	Graham	Neal
Becerra	Grayson	Nolan
Bera	Green, Al	Norcross
Beyer	Green, Gene	O'Rourke
Bishop (GA)	Grijalva	Pallone
Blumenauer	Gutiérrez	Pascarell
Bonamici	Hahn	Payne
Boyle (PA)	Hastings	Pelosi
Brady (PA)	Heck (WA)	Perlmutter
Brown (FL)	Higgins	Peters
Brownley (CA)	Himes	Peterson
Bustos	Hinojosa	Pingree
Butterfield	Honda	Pocan
Capps	Hoyer	Polis
Capuano	Huffman	Price (NC)
Cárdenas	Israel	Quigley
Carney	Jackson Lee	Rangel
Carson (IN)	Jeffries	Rice (NY)
Castor (FL)	Johnson (GA)	Richmond
Castro (TX)	Johnson, E. B.	Roybal-Allard
Chu (CA)	Kaptur	Ruppersberger
Cicilline	Keating	Rush
Clark (MA)	Kelly (IL)	Ryan (OH)
Clarke (NY)	Kennedy	Sánchez, Linda T.
Clay	Kildee	Sarbanes
Cleaver	Kilmer	Schakowsky
Clyburn	Kind	Schiff
Cohen	Kirkpatrick	Schrader
Connolly	Kuster	Scott (VA)
Conyers	Langevin	Scott, David
Cooper	Larsen (WA)	Serrano
Costa	Larson (CT)	Sewell (AL)
Courtney	Lawrence	Sherman
Crowley	Levin	Sinema
Cuellar	Lewis	Sires
Cummings	Lieu (CA)	Slaughter
Davis (CA)	Lipinski	Smith (WA)
Davis, Danny	Loebach	Speier
DeFazio	Lofgren	Swalwell (CA)
DeGette	Lowenthal	Takai
Delaney	Lowe	Takano
DeLauro	Lujan Grisham (NM)	Thompson (CA)
DelBene	Luján, Ben Ray (NM)	Thompson (MS)
DeSaulnier	Maloney	Titus
Deutsch	Maloney, Sean	Tonko
Dingell	Matsui	Torres
Doggett	McCollum	Tsongas
Doyle (PA)	McDermott	Van Hollen
Edwards	McGovern	Vargas
Ellison	McNerney	Veasey
Engel	Meeks	Vela
Eshoo	Meng	Velázquez
Eshoo	Moore	Visclosky
Esty		Walz
Farr		
Fattah		
Foster		
Frankel (FL)		

Wasserman	Watson Coleman	Yarmuth
Schultz	Welch	
Waters, Maxine	Wilson (FL)	

## NOT VOTING—7

Cartwright	Lee	Sanchez, Loretta
Duckworth	Roe (TN)	
Fitzpatrick	Ruiz	

## □ 1500

Mrs. CAPPS and Mr. DESAULNIER changed their votes from “yea” to “nay.”

Messrs. JONES and COFFMAN changed their vote from “nay” to “yea.”

So the previous question was ordered.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the resolution.

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

## RECORDED VOTE

Mr. HASTINGS. Madam Speaker, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. This is a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—aye 248, noes 177, not voting 7, as follows:

## [Roll No. 72]

## AYES—248

Abraham	Duffy	Jordan
Aderholt	Duncan (SC)	Joyce
Allen	Duncan (TN)	Katko
Amash	Ellmers	Kelly (PA)
Amodei	Emmer	King (IA)
Babin	Farenthold	King (NY)
Barletta	Fincher	Kinzinger (IL)
Barr	Fleischmann	Kline
Barton	Fleming	Knight
Benishek	Flores	Labrador
Bilirakis	Forbes	LaMalfa
Bishop (MI)	Fortenberry	Lamborn
Bishop (UT)	Fox	Lance
Black	Franks (AZ)	Latta
Blackburn	Frelinghuysen	LoBiondo
Blum	Garrett	Long
Bost	Gibbs	Loudermilk
Boustany	Gibson	Love
Brady (TX)	Gohmert	Lucas
Brat	Goodlatte	Luetkemeyer
Bridenstine	Gosar	Lummis
Brooks (AL)	Gowdy	MacArthur
Brooks (IN)	Granger	Marchant
Buchanan	Graves (GA)	Marino
Buck	Graves (LA)	Massie
Bucshon	Graves (MO)	McCarthy
Burgess	Green, Gene	McCauley
Byrne	Griffith	McClintock
Calvert	Grothman	McHenry
Carter (GA)	Guinta	McKinley
Carter (TX)	Guthrie	McMorris
Chabot	Hanna	Rodgers
Chaffetz	Hardy	McSally
Clawson (FL)	Harper	Meadows
Coffman	Harris	Meehan
Cole	Hartzler	Messer
Collins (GA)	Heck (NV)	Mica
Collins (NY)	Hensarling	Miller (FL)
Comstock	Herrera Beutler	Miller (MI)
Conaway	Hice (GA)	Moolenaar
Cook	Hill	Mooney (WV)
Cooper	Holding	Mullin
Costa	Hudson	Mulvaney
Costello (PA)	Huelskamp	Murphy (PA)
Cramer	Huizenga (MI)	Neugebauer
Crawford	Hultgren	Newhouse
Crenshaw	Hunter	Noem
Culberson	Hurd (TX)	Nugent
Curbelo (FL)	Hurt (VA)	Nunes
Davis, Rodney	Issa	Olson
Denham	Jenkins (KS)	Palazzo
Dent	Jenkins (WV)	Palmer
DeSantis	Johnson (OH)	Paulsen
DesJarlais	Johnson, Sam	Pearce
Diaz-Balart	Jolly	Perry
Dold	Jones	Peterson

Pittenger  
Pitts  
Poe (TX)  
Poliquin  
Pompeo  
Posey  
Price (GA)  
Ratcliffe  
Reed  
Reichert  
Renacci  
Ribble  
Rice (SC)  
Rigell  
Roby  
Rogers (AL)  
Rogers (KY)  
Rohrabacher  
Rokita  
Rooney (FL)  
Ros-Lehtinen  
Roskam  
Ross  
Rothfus  
Rouzer  
Royce  
Russell

## NOES—177

Adams  
Aguilar  
Ashford  
Bass  
Beatty  
Becerra  
Bera  
Beyer  
Bishop (GA)  
Blumenauer  
Bonamici  
Boyle (PA)  
Brady (PA)  
Brown (FL)  
Brownley (CA)  
Bustos  
Butterfield  
Capps  
Capuano  
Cárdenas  
Carney  
Carson (IN)  
Castor (FL)  
Castro (TX)  
Chu (CA)  
Ciilline  
Clark (MA)  
Clarke (NY)  
Clay  
Cleaver  
Clyburn  
Cohen  
Connolly  
Conyers  
Courtney  
Crowley  
Cuellar  
Cummings  
Davis (CA)  
Davis, Danny  
DeFazio  
DeGette  
Delaney  
DeLauro  
DeBene  
DeSaulnier  
Deutch  
Dingell  
Doggett  
Doyle (PA)  
Edwards  
Ellison  
Engel  
Eshoo  
Esty  
Farr  
Fattah  
Foster  
Frankel (FL)  
Fudge  
Gabbard

## NOT VOTING—7

Cartwright  
Duckworth  
Fitzpatrick

Lee  
Roe (TN)  
Ruiz

Upton  
Valadao  
Vela  
Wagner  
Walberg  
Walden  
Walker  
Walorski  
Walters, Mimi  
Weber (TX)  
Webster (FL)  
Wenstrup  
Westerman  
Westmoreland  
Whitfield  
Williams  
Wilson (SC)  
Wittman  
Womack  
Woodall  
Yoder  
Yoho  
Young (AK)  
Young (IA)  
Young (IN)  
Zeldin  
Zinke

Napolitano  
Neal  
Nolan  
Norcross  
O'Rourke  
Pallone  
Pascrell  
Payne  
Pelosi  
Perlmutter  
Peters  
Pingree  
Pocan  
Polis  
Price (NC)  
Quigley  
Rangel  
Rice (NY)  
Richmond  
Roybal-Allard  
Ruppersberger  
Rush  
Ryan (OH)  
Sánchez, Linda  
T.  
Sarbanes  
Schakowsky  
Schiff  
Schrader  
Scott (VA)  
Serrano  
Sewell (AL)  
Sherman  
Sinema  
Sires  
Slaughter  
Smith (WA)  
Speier  
Swalwell (CA)  
Takai  
Takano  
Thompson (CA)  
Thompson (MS)  
Titus  
Tonko  
Torres  
Tsongas  
Van Hollen  
Vargas  
Veasey  
Velázquez  
Visclosky  
Walz  
Wasserman  
Schultz  
Waters, Maxine  
Watson Coleman  
Welch  
Wilson (FL)  
Yarmuth

Sanchez, Loretta

So the resolution was agreed to.  
The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.  
A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

## IN MEMORY OF KAYLA JEAN MUELLER

(Mr. GOSAR asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. GOSAR. Madam Speaker, we, the Arizona delegation, rise today to honor the life of one of our own, one of our young, and one of our very best.

Kayla Jean Mueller of Prescott, Arizona, was a young woman full of youthful exuberance, optimism about peace and humanity, and was willing to put her life on the line to help others halfway around the world. Kayla stood as a beacon of light and hope in a time that is too often filled with darkness. She was a beautiful soul, and I know she is with God now.

While all of our hearts are heavy with the sadness of Kayla's passing, we stand here unified and strengthened to carry on her spirit, courage, and compassion that has touched millions. We must endeavor to remain brave and strong in the face of those who wish to terrify, just as Kayla did.

No parent should ever have to endure the pain and suffering of losing a child so early, but now, let us look back fondly upon her life and the many ways she made our lives better by the words she spoke: "I find God in the suffering eyes reflected in mine. If this is how you are revealed to me, this is how I will forever seek you."

I now yield to the gentlewoman from Arizona (Mrs. KIRKPATRICK).

Mrs. KIRKPATRICK. Madam Speaker, we are here today to honor Kayla Mueller, her courage, and her undying spirit and determination; and we are here to offer our hearts and prayers in comfort to her grieving family and friends.

In Arizona, in Flagstaff and in Prescott, we are all neighbors, and we are all friends. Kayla went to Northern Arizona University, which is in my hometown, Flagstaff. In talking to her friends and her professors, everyone talked about her dedication to serving others. Even if it meant going to faraway places that were dangerous, she was driven by a compassion to help the suffering.

We know that her short life is proof that one dedicated soul can touch a thousand others. Let us all keep Kayla's family in our prayers and her legacy in our hearts.

Mr. GOSAR. Madam Speaker, I now ask the House to join my colleagues and me for a moment of silence to honor the immortal spirit of Kayla Mueller.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The unfinished business is the question on agreeing to the Speaker's approval of the Journal, on which the yeas and nays were ordered.

The question is on the Speaker's approval of the Journal.

This is a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 263, nays 156, answered "present" 1, not voting 12, as follows:

[Roll No. 73]

## YEAS—263

Abraham	Fortenberry	McMorris
Aderholt	Foster	Rodgers
Allen	Frankel (FL)	McNerney
Amodei	Franks (AZ)	McSally
Barletta	Frelinghuysen	Meadows
Barr	Gabbard	Meeks
Barton	Gibbs	Meng
Beatty	Goodlatte	Mica
Becerra	Gosar	Miller (FL)
Bilirakis	Gowdy	Miller (MI)
Bishop (GA)	Graham	Moolenaar
Bishop (MI)	Granger	Mooney (WV)
Bishop (UT)	Graves (LA)	Moore
Black	Grayson	Mullin
Blackburn	Green, Al	Murphy (PA)
Blum	Griffith	Nadler
Blumenauer	Grothman	Napolitano
Bonamici	Guinta	Neugebauer
Boustany	Guthrie	Newhouse
Brady (TX)	Hahn	Noem
Brat	Hardy	Nugent
Bridenstine	Harper	Nunes
Brooks (AL)	Harris	O'Rourke
Brooks (IN)	Heck (WA)	Olson
Brown (FL)	Hensarling	Pascrell
Buchanan	Higgins	Payne
Buck	Himes	Pelosi
Bucshon	Hinojosa	Perlmutter
Bustos	Huelskamp	Pingree
Butterfield	Huffman	Pitts
Byrne	Hultgren	Pocan
Calvert	Hurd (TX)	Polis
Capps	Hurt (VA)	Pompeo
Cárdenas	Issa	Posey
Carney	Jeffries	Price (NC)
Carson (IN)	Johnson (GA)	Quigley
Carter (GA)	Johnson, E. B.	Rangel
Carter (TX)	Johnson, Sam	Ribble
Castro (TX)	Jolly	Rice (SC)
Chabot	Kaptur	Richmond
Chu (CA)	Katko	Roby
Ciilline	Keating	Rogers (KY)
Clark (MA)	Kelly (IL)	Rohrabacher
Clay	Kelly (PA)	Rokita
Cole	Kennedy	Rooney (FL)
Collins (NY)	Kildee	Ross
Comstock	King (IA)	Rothfus
Conaway	King (NY)	Royce
Cook	Kline	Ruppersberger
Cooper	Knight	Russell
Courtney	Kuster	Ryan (WI)
Cramer	Labrador	Salmon
Crawford	LaMalfa	Sanford
Crenshaw	Lamborn	Scalise
Cuellar	Larsen (WA)	Schiff
Culberson	Larson (CT)	Schweikert
Davis (CA)	Latta	Scott (VA)
DeGette	Lieu (CA)	Scott, Austin
DeLauro	Lipinski	Sensenbrenner
DeBene	Loeb sack	Serrano
Dent	Lofgren	Sessions
DeSaulnier	Long	Sherman
DesJarlais	Loudermilk	Shimkus
Deutch	Lowe	Shuster
Diaz-Balart	Lucas	Simpson
Doyle (PA)	Luetkemeyer	Sinema
Duncan (SC)	Lujan Grisham	Smith (MO)
Duncan (TN)	(NM)	Smith (NE)
Edwards	Lummis	Smith (NJ)
Ellison	Marchant	Smith (TX)
Ellmers	Marino	Smith (WA)
Emmer	Massie	Speier
Engel	Matsui	Stefanik
Eshoo	McCarthy	Stewart
Esty	McCaul	Stivers
Farr	McClintock	Stutzman
Fattah	McCollum	Takai
Fleischmann	McHenry	Takano
Forbes		Thornberry

## THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, 5-minute voting will continue.

□ 1508

Ms. JACKSON LEE changed her vote from "aye" to "no."