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|-------------|------------------|----------------|
| McClintock | Price (NC) | Smith (NJ) |
| McCollum | Price, Tom | Smith (TX) |
| McDermott | Quigley | Stefanik |
| McGovern | Rangel | Stewart |
| McHenry | Ratcliffe | Stivers |
| McKinley | Reed | Stutzman |
| McMorris | Reichert | Takai |
| Rodgers | Renacci | Takano |
| McNerney | Ribble | Thompson (CA) |
| McSally | Rice (NY) | Thompson (MS) |
| Meadows | Rice (SC) | Thompson (PA) |
| Meehan | Richmond | Thornberry |
| Meeks | Rigell | Tiberi |
| Meng | Roby | Tipton |
| Messer | Roe (TN) | Titus |
| Mica | Rogers (AL) | Tonko |
| Miller (FL) | Rogers (KY) | Torres |
| Miller (MI) | Rohrabacher | Trott |
| Moolenaar | Rokita | Tsongas |
| Mooney (WV) | Rooney (FL) | Turner |
| Moore | Ros-Lehtinen | Upton |
| Moulton | Roskam | Valadao |
| Mullin | Ross | Van Hollen |
| Mulvaney | Rothfus | Vargas |
| Murphy (FL) | Rouzer | Veasey |
| Murphy (PA) | Roybal-Allard | Vela |
| Nadler | Royce | Velázquez |
| Napolitano | Ruiz | Visclosky |
| Neal | Ruppersberger | Wagner |
| Neugebauer | Rush | Walberg |
| Newhouse | Russell | Walden |
| Noem | Ryan (OH) | Walker |
| Nolan | Salmon | Walorski |
| Norcross | Sánchez, Linda | Walters, Mimi |
| Nugent | T. | Walz |
| Nunes | Sanchez, Loretta | Wasserman |
| O'Rourke | Sanford | Schultz |
| Olson | Sarbanes | Waters, Maxine |
| Pallone | Scalise | Watson Coleman |
| Palmer | Schakowsky | Weber (TX) |
| Pascarella | Schiff | Webster (FL) |
| Paulsen | Schrader | Welch |
| Payne | Schweikert | Wenstrup |
| Pearce | Scott (VA) | Westerman |
| Pelosi | Scott, Austin | Whitfield |
| Perlmutter | Scott, David | Wilson (FL) |
| Perry | Sensenbrenner | Wilson (SC) |
| Peters | Serrano | Wittman |
| Peterson | Sessions | Womack |
| Pingree | Sewell (AL) | Woodall |
| Pittenger | Sherman | Yarmuth |
| Pitts | Shuster | Yoder |
| Pocan | Simpson | Yoho |
| Poe (TX) | Sinema | Young (AK) |
| Poliquin | Sires | Young (IA) |
| Polis | Slaughter | Young (IN) |
| Pompeo | Smith (MO) | Zeldin |
| Posey | Smith (NE) | Zinke |

NAYS—2

Amash
Massie

NOT VOTING—13

| | | |
|-------------|------------|---------------|
| Conyers | Kind | Swalwell (CA) |
| Duncan (SC) | Palazzo | Westmoreland |
| Gibson | Shimkus | Williams |
| Hartzler | Smith (WA) | |
| Kennedy | Speier | |

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (during the vote). There are 2 minutes remaining.

□ 1706

So (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. After consultation among the Speaker and the majority and minority leaders, and with their consent, the Chair announces that, when the two Houses meet tonight in joint session to hear an address by the President of the

United States, only the doors immediately opposite the Speaker and those immediately to his left and right will be open.

No one will be allowed on the floor of the House who does not have the privilege of the floor of the House. Due to the large attendance that is anticipated, the rule regarding the privilege of the floor must be strictly enforced. Children of Members will not be permitted on the floor. The cooperation of all Members is requested.

The practice of purporting to reserve seats prior to the joint session by placement of placards or personal items will not be allowed. Chamber Security may remove these items from the seats. Members may reserve their seats only by physical presence following the security sweep of the Chamber.

All Members are reminded to refrain from engaging in still photography or audio or video recording in the Chamber. Taking unofficial photographs detracts from the dignity of the proceedings and presents security and privacy challenges for the House.

RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 12(a) of rule I, the Chair declares the House in recess until approximately 8:35 p.m. for the purpose of receiving in joint session the President of the United States.

Accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 8 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess.

□ 2033

JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS PURSUANT TO HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 102 TO RECEIVE A MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker at 8 o'clock and 33 minutes p.m.

The Assistant to the Sergeant at Arms, Ms. Kathleen Joyce, announced the Vice President and Members of the U.S. Senate, who entered the Hall of the House of Representatives, the Vice President taking the chair at the right of the Speaker, and the Members of the Senate the seats reserved for them.

The SPEAKER. The joint session will come to order.

The Chair appoints as members of the committee on the part of the House to escort the President of the United States into the Chamber:

The gentleman from California (Mr. MCCARTHY);

The gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. SCALISE);

The gentlewoman from Washington (Mrs. McMORRIS RODGERS);

The gentleman from Oregon (Mr. WALDEN);

The gentleman from Indiana (Mr. MESSER);

The gentlewoman from Kansas (Ms. JENKINS);

The gentlewoman from North Carolina (Ms. FOXX);

The gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI);

The gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER);

The gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. CLYBURN);

The gentleman from California (Mr. BECERRA);

The gentleman from New York (Mr. CROWLEY);

The gentleman from New York (Mr. ISRAEL); and

The gentlewoman from Connecticut (Ms. DELAURO).

The VICE PRESIDENT. The President of the Senate, at the direction of that body, appoints the following Senators as members of the committee on the part of the Senate to escort the President of the United States into the House Chamber:

The Senator from Kentucky (Mr. MCCONNELL);

The Senator from Texas (Mr. CORNYN);

The Senator from South Dakota (Mr. THUNE);

The Senator from Wyoming (Mr. BARRASSO);

The Senator from Missouri (Mr. BLUNT);

The Senator from Mississippi (Mr. WICKER);

The Senator from Nevada (Mr. REID);

The Senator from Illinois (Mr. DURBIN);

The Senator from New York (Mr. SCHUMER);

The Senator from Washington (Mrs. MURRAY);

The Senator from Vermont (Mr. LEAHY);

The Senator from Montana (Mr. TESTER);

The Senator from Michigan (Ms. STABENOW); and

The Senator from Minnesota (Ms. KLOBUCHAR).

The Assistant to the Sergeant at Arms announced the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, His Excellency Hersey Kyota, the Ambassador of the Republic of Palau.

The Dean of the Diplomatic Corps entered the Hall of the House of Representatives and took the seat reserved for him.

The Assistant to the Sergeant at Arms announced the Chief Justice of the United States and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court.

The Chief Justice of the United States and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court entered the Hall of the House of Representatives and took the seats reserved for them in front of the Speaker's rostrum.

The Assistant to the Sergeant at Arms announced the Cabinet of the President of the United States.

The members of the Cabinet of the President of the United States entered the Hall of the House of Representatives and took the seats reserved for them in front of the Speaker's rostrum.

At 9 o'clock and 5 minutes p.m., the Sergeant at Arms, the Honorable Paul

D. Irving, announced the President of the United States.

The President of the United States, escorted by the committee of Senators and Representatives, entered the Hall of the House of Representatives and stood at the Clerk's desk.

(Applause, the Members rising.)

The SPEAKER. Members of Congress, I have the high privilege and the distinct honor of presenting to you the President of the United States.

(Applause, the Members rising.)

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, Members of Congress, my fellow Americans:

Tonight marks the eighth year I have come here to report on the State of the Union, and for this final one, I am going to try to make it a little shorter. I know some of you are antsy to get back to Iowa. I have been there. I will be shaking hands afterwards if you want some tips.

I understand that because it is an election season, expectations for what we will achieve this year are low. But, Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the constructive approach that you and other leaders took at the end of last year to pass a budget and make tax cuts permanent for working families. So I hope we can work together this year on some bipartisan priorities like criminal justice reform and helping people who are battling prescription drug abuse and heroin abuse. So who knows, we might surprise the cynics again.

But tonight, I want to go easy on the traditional list of proposals for the year ahead. Don't worry, I have got plenty, from helping students learn to write computer code to personalizing medical treatments for patients. And I will keep pushing for progress on the work that I believe still needs to be done: fixing a broken immigration system, protecting our kids from gun violence, equal pay for equal work, paid leave, and raising the minimum wage. All these things still matter to hardworking families. They are still the right thing to do, and I won't let up until they get done.

But for my final address to this Chamber, I don't want to just talk about next year. I want to focus on the next 5 years, the next 10 years, and beyond. I want to focus on our future.

We live in a time of extraordinary change—change that is reshaping the way we live, the way we work, our planet, and our place in the world. It is change that promises amazing medical breakthroughs, but also economic disruptions that strain working families. It promises education for girls in the most remote villages, but also connects terrorists plotting an ocean away. It is change that can broaden opportunity or widen inequality. And whether we like it or not, the pace of this change will only accelerate.

America has been through big changes before: wars and depression, the influx of new immigrants, workers fighting for a fair deal, and movements to expand civil rights. Each time, there

have been those who told us to fear the future, who claimed we could slam the brakes on change, who promised to restore past glory if we just got some group or idea that was threatening America under control; and each time, we overcame those fears. We did not, in the words of Lincoln, adhere to the “dogmas of the quiet past.” Instead, we thought anew and acted anew. We made change work for us, always extending America's promise outward to the next frontier, to more people. Because we did, because we saw opportunity where others saw peril, we emerged stronger and better than before.

What was true then can be true now. Our unique strengths as a nation—our optimism and work ethic, our spirit of discovery, our diversity, and our commitment to rule of law—these things give us everything we need to ensure prosperity and security for generations to come.

In fact, it is in that spirit that we have made progress these past 7 years. That is how we recovered from the worst economic crisis in generations. That is how we reformed our healthcare system and reinvented our energy sector. That is how we delivered more care and benefits to our troops coming home and our veterans, and that is how we how we secured the freedom in every State to marry the person we love.

But such progress is not inevitable. It is the result of choices we make together, and we face such choices right now. Will we respond to the changes of our time with fear, turning inward as a nation and turning against each other as a people? Or will we face the future with confidence in who we are, in what we stand for, and the incredible things that we can do together?

So let's talk about the future and four big questions that I believe we as a country have to answer, regardless of who the next President is or who controls the next Congress.

First, how do we give everyone a fair shot at opportunity and security in this new economy?

Second, how do we make technology work for us and not against us, especially when it comes to solving urgent challenges like climate change?

Third, how do we keep America safe and lead the world without becoming its policeman?

And finally, how can we make our politics reflect what is best in us and not what is worst?

Let me start with the economy and a basic fact: the United States of America, right now, has the strongest, most durable economy in the world.

We are in the middle of the longest streak of private sector job creation in history: more than 14 million new jobs, the strongest 2 years of job growth since the 1990s, an unemployment rate cut in half. Our auto industry just had its best year ever. That is just part of a manufacturing surge that has created nearly 900,000 new jobs in the past 6

years. We have done all this while cutting our deficits by almost three-quarters.

Anyone claiming that America's economy is in decline is peddling fiction. Now, what is true and the reason that a lot of Americans feel anxious is that the economy has been changing in profound ways, changes that started long before the Great Recession hit and changes that have not let up. Today technology doesn't just replace jobs on the assembly line, but any job where work can be automated. Companies in a global economy can locate anywhere, and they face tougher competition. As a result, workers have less leverage for a raise, companies have less loyalty to their communities, and more and more wealth and income is concentrated at the very top.

All these trends have squeezed workers, even when they have jobs, even when the economy is growing. It has made it harder for a hardworking family to pull itself out of poverty, harder for young people to start their careers, and tougher for workers to retire when they want to. Although none of these trends are unique to America, they do offend our uniquely American belief that everybody who works hard should get a fair shot.

For the past 7 years, our goal has been a growing economy that also works better for everybody. We have made progress. But we need to make more. Despite all the political arguments that we have had these past few years, there are actually some areas where Americans broadly agree.

We agree that real opportunity requires every American to get the education and training they need to land a good-paying job. The bipartisan reform of No Child Left Behind was an important start, and together we have increased early childhood education, lifted high school graduation rates to new highs, and boosted graduates in fields like engineering.

In the coming years, we should build on that progress by providing pre-K for all, offering every student the hands-on computer science and math classes that make them job-ready on day one, and we should recruit and support more great teachers for our kids.

We have to make college affordable for every American because no hardworking student should be stuck in the red. We have already reduced student loan payments to 10 percent of a borrower's income, and that is good. But now we have actually got to cut the cost of college.

Providing 2 years of community college at no cost for every responsible student is one of the best ways to do that, and I am going to keep fighting to get that started this year. It is the right thing to do.

But a great education isn't all we need in this new economy. We also need benefits and protections that provide a basic measure of security. It is not too much of a stretch to say that some of the only people in America

who are going to work the same job in the same place with a health and retirement package for 30 years are sitting in this Chamber.

For everyone else, especially folks in their 40s and 50s, saving for retirement or bouncing back from job loss has gotten a lot tougher. Americans understand that, at some point in their careers in this new economy, they may have to retool and they may have to retrain. But they shouldn't lose what they have already worked so hard to build in the process.

That is why Social Security and Medicare are more important than ever. We shouldn't weaken them. We should strengthen them. For Americans short of retirement, basic benefits should be just as mobile as everything else is today.

That, by the way, is what the Affordable Care Act is all about. It is about filling the gaps in employer-based care so that, when you lose a job or you go back to school or you strike out and launch that new business, you will still have coverage.

Nearly 18 million people have gained coverage so far. In the process, healthcare inflation is slow. Our businesses have created jobs every single month since it became law.

Now, I am guessing we won't agree on health care anytime soon. But there should be other ways parties can work together to improve economic security. Say a hardworking American loses his job. We shouldn't just make sure that he can get unemployment insurance; we should make sure that program encourages him to retrain for a business that is ready to hire him. If that new job doesn't pay as much, there should be a system of wage insurance in place so that he can still pay his bills. Even if he is going from job to job, he should still be able to save for retirement and take his savings with him. That is the way we make the new economy work better for everybody.

I also know Speaker RYAN has talked about his interest in tackling poverty. America is about giving everybody willing to work a chance, a hand up. I would welcome a serious discussion about strategies we can all support, like expanding tax cuts for low-income workers who don't have children.

But there are some areas where we just have to be honest. It has been difficult to find agreement over the last 7 years. A lot of them fall under the category of what role the government should play in making sure the system is not rigged in favor of the wealthiest and biggest corporations. It is an honest disagreement, and the American people have a choice to make.

I believe a thriving private sector is the lifeblood of our economy. I think there are outdated regulations that need to be changed and there is red tape that needs to be cut.

But, after years now of record corporate profits, working families won't get more opportunity or bigger paychecks just by letting big banks or Big

Oil or hedge funds make their own rules at everybody else's expense. Middle class families are not going to feel more secure because we allow attacks on collective bargaining to go unanswered.

Food stamp recipients did not cause the financial crisis. Recklessness on Wall Street did. Immigrants aren't the principal reason wages haven't gone up. Those decisions were made in the boardrooms that, all too often, put quarterly earnings over long-term returns. It is sure not the average family watching tonight that avoids paying taxes through offshore accounts.

The point is, I believe that in this new economy workers and startups and small businesses need more of a voice, not less. The rules should work for them. I am not alone in this. This year, I plan to lift up the many businesses which have figured out that doing right by their workers or their customers or their communities ends up being good for their shareholders, and I want to spread those best practices across America. That is a part of a brighter future.

In fact, it turns out many of our best corporate citizens are also our most creative. This brings me to the second big question we as a country have to answer: How do we reignite that spirit of innovation to meet our biggest challenges?

Sixty years ago, when the Russians beat us into space, we didn't deny Sputnik was up there. We didn't argue about the science or shrink our research and development budget. We built a space program almost overnight, and, 12 years later, we were walking on the Moon.

That spirit of discovery is in our DNA. America is Thomas Edison and the Wright Brothers and George Washington Carver. America is Grace Hopper and Katherine Johnson and Sally Ride. America is every immigrant and entrepreneur from Boston to Austin to Silicon Valley, racing to shape a better future. That is who we are, and over the past 7 years we have nurtured that spirit.

We have protected an open Internet and have taken bold new steps to get more students and low-income Americans online. We have launched next-generation manufacturing hubs and online tools that give an entrepreneur everything that he or she needs to start a business in a single day.

But we can do so much more. Last year, Vice President BIDEN said that with a new moonshot, America can cure cancer. Last month, he worked with this Congress to give scientists at the National Institutes of Health the strongest resources that they have had in over a decade.

So, tonight, I am announcing a new national effort to get it done; and because he has gone to the mat for all of us on so many issues over the past 40 years, I am putting JOE in charge of mission control. For the loved ones we have all lost, for the families that we

can still save, let's make America the country that cures cancer once and for all.

What do you say, JOE? Let's make it happen.

Medical research is critical. We need the same level of commitment when it comes to developing clean energy sources. Look, if anybody still wants to dispute the science around climate change, have at it. You will be pretty lonely because you will be debating our military, most of America's business leaders, the majority of the American people, almost the entire scientific community, and 200 nations around the world which agree it is a problem and intend to solve it.

But even if the planet wasn't at stake, even if 2014 wasn't the warmest year on record—until 2015 turned out to be even hotter—why would we want to pass up the chance for American businesses to produce and sell the energy of the future?

Listen, 7 years ago, we made the single biggest investment in clean energy in our history. Here are the results: in fields from Iowa to Texas, wind power is now cheaper than dirtier conventional power. On rooftops from Arizona to New York, solar is saving Americans tens of millions of dollars a year on their energy bills and employs more Americans than coal in jobs that pay better than average.

We are taking steps to give homeowners the freedom to generate and store their own energy, something, by the way, that environmentalists and tea partiers have teamed up to support. Meanwhile, we have cut our imports of foreign oil by nearly 60 percent and cut carbon pollution more than any other country on Earth.

Gas under two bucks a gallon ain't bad either.

Now we have got to accelerate the transition away from old, dirtier energy sources. Rather than subsidize the past, we should invest in the future, especially in communities that rely on fossil fuels. We do them no favor when we don't show them where the trends are going.

That is why I am going to push to change the way we manage our oil and coal resources, so that they better reflect the costs they impose on taxpayers and our planet. That way, we put money back into those communities and put tens of thousands of Americans to work in building a 21st century transportation system.

None of this is going to happen overnight, and, yes, there are plenty of entrenched interests who want to protect the status quo. But the jobs we will create, the money we will save, and the planet we will preserve, that is the kind of future our kids and our grandkids deserve, and it is within our grasp.

Climate change is just one of many issues where our security is linked to the rest of the world. That is why the third big question that we have to answer together is how to keep America

safe and strong without either isolating ourselves or trying to nation-build everywhere there is a problem.

I told you earlier all of the talk of America's economic decline is political hot air. Well, so is all the rhetoric you hear about our enemies getting stronger and America getting weaker. Let me tell you something. The United States of America is the most powerful nation on Earth—period. It is not even close. We spend more on our military than the next eight nations combined.

Our troops are the finest fighting force in the history of the world. No nation attacks us directly or our allies because they know that is the path to ruin. Surveys show our standing around the world is higher than when I was elected to this office; and when it comes to every important international issue, people of the world do not look to Beijing or Moscow to lead. They call us. So it is useful to level set here, because when we don't, we don't make good decisions.

Now, as someone who begins every day with an intelligence briefing, I know this is a dangerous time, but that is not primarily because of some looming superpower out there, and it is certainly not because of diminished American strength. In today's world, we are threatened less by evil empires and more by failing states.

The Middle East is going through a transformation that will play out for a generation, rooted in conflicts that date back millennia. Economic headwinds are blowing in from a Chinese economy that is in significant transition. Even as their economy severely contracts, Russia is pouring resources in to prop up Ukraine and Syria, client states that they saw slipping away from their orbit. The international system we built after World War II is now struggling to keep pace with this new reality.

It is up to us, the United States of America, to help remake that system. And to do that well, it means that we have got to set priorities.

Priority number one is protecting the American people and going after terrorist networks. Both al Qaeda and, now, ISIL pose a direct threat to our people because in today's world, even a handful of terrorists who place no value on human life, including their own, can do a lot of damage. They use the Internet to poison the minds of individuals inside our country. Their actions undermine and destabilize our allies. We have to take them out.

But as we focus on destroying ISIL, over-the-top claims that this is world war III just play into their hands. Masses of fighters on the back of pickup trucks, twisted souls plotting in apartments or garages, they pose an enormous danger to civilians. They have to be stopped, but they do not threaten our national existence. That is the story ISIL wants to tell. That is the kind of propaganda they use to recruit. We don't need to build them up to show that we are serious, and we

sure don't need to push away vital allies in this fight by echoing the lie that ISIL is somehow representative of one of the world's largest religions. We just need to call them what they are: killers and fanatics who have to be rooted out, hunted down, and destroyed. That is exactly what we are doing.

For more than a year, America has led a coalition of more than 60 countries to cut off ISIL's financing, disrupt their plots, stop the flow of terrorist fighters, and stamp out their vicious ideology. With nearly 10,000 airstrikes, we are taking out their leadership, their oil, their training camps, and their weapons. We are training, arming, and supporting forces who are steadily reclaiming territory in Iraq and Syria.

If this Congress is serious about winning this war and wants to send a message to our troops and the world, authorize the use of military force against ISIL. Take a vote.

But the American people should know that, with or without congressional action, ISIL will learn the same lessons as terrorists before them. If you doubt America's commitment—or mine—to see that justice is done, just ask Osama bin Laden. Ask the leader of al Qaeda in Yemen who was taken out last year, or the perpetrator of the Benghazi attacks who sits in a prison cell. When you come after Americans, we go after you. It may take time, but we have long memories, and our reach has no limit.

Our foreign policy has to be focused on the threat from ISIL and al Qaeda, but it can't stop there. For even without ISIL, even without al Qaeda, instability will continue for decades in many parts of the world: in the Middle East, in Afghanistan, in parts of Pakistan, in parts of Central America, in Africa and Asia. Some of these places may become safe havens for new terrorist networks. Others will just fall victim to ethnic conflict or famine, feeding the next wave of refugees.

The world will look to us to help solve these problems, and our answer needs to be more than tough talk or calls to carpet bomb civilians. That may work as a TV sound bite, but it doesn't pass muster on the world stage.

We also can't try to take over and rebuild every country that falls into crisis, even if it is done with the best of intentions. That is not leadership. That is a recipe for quagmire, spilling American blood and treasure that ultimately will weaken us. It is the lesson of Vietnam; it is the lesson of Iraq; and we should have learned it by now.

Fortunately, there is a smarter approach, a patient and disciplined strategy that uses every element of our national power. It says America will always act—alone, if necessary—to protect our people and our allies.

But on issues of global concern, we will mobilize the world to work with us and make sure other countries pull their own weight. That is our approach to conflicts like Syria, where we are

partnering with local forces and leading international efforts to help that broken society pursue a lasting peace.

That is why we built a global coalition with sanctions and principled diplomacy to prevent a nuclear-armed Iran. As we speak, Iran has rolled back its nuclear program, shipped out its uranium stockpile, and the world has avoided another war.

That is how we stopped the spread of Ebola in West Africa. Our military, our doctors, our development workers, they were heroic. They set up the platform that then allowed other countries to join in behind us and stamp out that epidemic. Hundreds of thousands, maybe a couple million, lives were saved.

That is how we forged a Trans-Pacific Partnership to open markets, protect workers and the environment, and advance American leadership in Asia. It cuts 18,000 taxes on products made in America, which will then support more good jobs here in America.

With TPP, China does not set the rules in that region. We do. You want to show our strength in this new century? Approve this agreement. Give us the tools to enforce it. It is the right thing to do.

Let me give you another example. Fifty years of isolating Cuba had failed to promote democracy. It set us back in Latin America. That is why we restored diplomatic relations, opened the door to travel and commerce, and positioned ourselves to improve the lives of the Cuban people. So if you want to consolidate our leadership and credibility in the hemisphere, recognize that the cold war is over. Lift the embargo.

The point is American leadership in the 21st century is not a choice between ignoring the rest of the world, except when we kill terrorists, or occupying and rebuilding whatever society is unraveling. Leadership means a wise application of military power and rallying the world behind causes that are right. It means seeing our foreign assistance as a part of our national security, not something separate, not charity.

When we lead nearly 200 nations to the most ambitious agreement in history to fight climate change, yes, that helps vulnerable countries, but it also protects our kids. When we help Ukraine defend its democracy or Colombia resolve a decades-long war, that strengthens the international order we depend on. When we help African countries feed their people and care for the sick, it is the right thing to do, and it prevents the next pandemic from reaching our shores.

Right now we are on track to end the scourge of HIV/AIDS. That is within our grasp. And we have the chance to accomplish the same thing with malaria, something I will be pushing this Congress to fund this year.

That is American strength. That is American leadership. That kind of leadership depends on the power of our

example. That is why I will keep working to shut down the prison at Guantánamo. It is expensive. It is unnecessary. It only serves as a recruitment brochure for our enemies. There is a better way.

That is why we need to reject any politics that targets people because of race or religion. Let me just say this: This is not a matter of political correctness. This is a matter of understanding just what it is that makes us strong. The world respects us not just for our arsenal. It respects us for our diversity and our openness and the way we respect every faith.

His Holiness, Pope Francis, told this body from the very spot that I am standing tonight that “to imitate the hatred and violence of tyrants and murderers is the best way to take their place.”

When politicians insult Muslims, whether abroad or our fellow citizens, when a mosque is vandalized, or a kid is called names, that doesn't make us safer. That is not telling it like it is. It is just wrong. It diminishes us in the eyes of the world. It makes it harder to achieve our goals. It betrays who we are as a country.

“We the People.” Our Constitution begins with those three simple words, words we have come to recognize mean all the people, not just some, words that insist we rise and fall together, that that is how we might perfect our Union.

That brings me to the fourth, and maybe the most important, thing I want to say tonight. The future we want, all of us want—opportunity and security for our families; a rising standard of living; a sustainable, peaceful planet for our kids—all that is within our reach. But it will only happen if we work together. It will only happen if we can have rational, constructive debates. It will only happen if we fix our politics.

A better politics doesn't mean we have to agree on everything. This is a big country with different regions, different attitudes, different interests. That is one of our strengths, too.

Our Founders distributed power between States and branches of government and expected us to argue, just as they did, fiercely over the size and shape of government, over commerce and foreign relations, over the meaning of liberty and the imperatives of security.

But democracy does require basic bonds of trust between its citizens. It doesn't work if we think the people who disagree with us are all motivated by malice. It doesn't work if we think that our political opponents are unpatriotic or are trying to weaken America. Democracy grinds to a halt without a willingness to compromise or when even basic facts are contested or when we listen only to those who agree with us.

Our public life withers when only the most extreme voices get all the attention. Most of all, democracy breaks

down when the average person feels their voice doesn't matter, that the system is rigged in favor of the rich or the powerful or some special interest.

Too many Americans feel that way right now. It is one of the few regrets of my Presidency, that the rancor and suspicion between the parties has gotten worse instead of better. I have no doubt a President with the gifts of Lincoln or Roosevelt might have better bridged the divide, and I guarantee I will keep trying to be better so long as I hold this office.

But, my fellow Americans, this cannot be my task—or any President's—alone. There are a whole lot of folks in this Chamber, good people who would like to see more cooperation, would like to see a more elevated debate in Washington, but feel trapped by the imperatives of getting elected, by the noise coming out of your base.

I know. You have told me. It is the worst kept secret in Washington. And a lot of you aren't enjoying being trapped in that kind of rancor. But that means, if we want a better politics—and I am addressing the American people now—it is not enough to just change a Congressman or change a Senator or even change a President. We have to change the system to reflect our better selves.

We have got to end the practice of drawing our congressional districts so that politicians can pick their voters, and not the other way around. Let a bipartisan group do it.

I believe we have got to reduce the influence of money in our politics so that a handful of families and hidden interests can't bankroll our elections. If our existing approach to campaign finance reform can't pass muster in the courts, we need to work together to find a real solution, because it is a problem. And most of you don't like raising money. I know. I have done it.

We have got to make it easier to vote, not harder. We need to modernize it for the way we live now. This is America. We want to make it easier for people to participate. Over the course of this year, I intend to travel the country to push for reforms that do just that.

But I can't do these things on my own. Changes in our political process, in not just who gets elected, but how they get elected, that will only happen when the American people demand it. It depends on you. That is what is meant by a government of, by, and for the people.

What I am suggesting is hard. It is a lot easier to be cynical, to accept that change is not possible and politics is hopeless and the problem is all the folks who are elected don't care, and to believe that our voices and our actions don't matter.

But if we give up now, then we forsake a better future. Those with money and power will gain greater control over the decisions that could send a young soldier to war, allow another economic disaster, or roll back the

equal rights and voting rights that generations of Americans have fought, even died, to secure.

And then, as frustration grows, there will be voices urging us to fall back into our respective tribes, to scapegoat fellow citizens who don't look like us, pray like us, vote like we do, or share the same background. We can't afford to go down that path. It won't deliver the economy we want, it will not produce the security we want, but most of all, it contradicts everything that makes us the envy of the world.

So, my fellow Americans, whatever you may believe, whether you prefer one party or no party, whether you supported my agenda or fought as hard as you could against it, our collective future depends on your willingness to uphold your duties as a citizen. To vote. To speak out. To stand up for others, especially the weak, especially the vulnerable, knowing that each of us is only here because somebody, somewhere stood up for us.

We need every American to stay active in our public life, and not just during election time, so that our public life reflects the goodness and the decency that I see in the American people every single day.

It is not easy. Our brand of democracy is hard. But I can promise that a little over a year from now, when I no longer hold this office, I will be right there with you as a citizen, inspired by those voices of fairness and vision, of grit and good humor and kindness that have helped America travel so far, voices that help us see ourselves not first and foremost as Black or White or Asian or Latino, not as gay or straight, immigrant or native born, not Democrat or Republican, but as Americans first, bound by a common creed, voices Dr. King believed would have the final word, voices of unarmed truth and unconditional love.

And they are out there, those voices. They don't get a lot of attention. They don't seek a lot of fanfare. But they are busy doing the work this country needs doing.

I see them everywhere I travel in this incredible country of ours. I see you, the American people. And in your daily acts of citizenship, I see our future unfolding.

I see it in the worker on the assembly line who clocked extra shifts to keep his company open and the boss who pays him higher wages instead of laying him off.

I see it in the DREAMer who stays up late at night to finish her science project, and the teacher who comes in early, maybe with some extra supplies that she bought, because she knows that that young girl might someday cure a disease.

I see it in the American who served his time and made bad mistakes as a child, but now is dreaming of starting over, and I see it in the business owner who gives him that second chance; the protester determined to prove that justice matters, and the young cop walking the beat, treating everybody with

respect, doing the brave, quiet work of keeping us safe.

I see it in the soldier who gives almost everything to save his brothers, the nurse who tends to him till he can run a marathon, and the community that lines up to cheer him on.

It is the son who finds the courage to come out as who he is, and the father whose love for that son overrides everything he has been taught.

I see it in the elderly woman who will wait in line to cast her vote as long as she has to, the new citizen who casts his vote for the first time, the volunteers at the polls who believe every vote should count, because each of them, in different ways, knows how much that precious right is worth.

That is the America I know. That is the country we love. Clear-eyed. Big-hearted. Undaunted by challenge. Optimistic that unarmed truth and unconditional love will have the final word.

That is what makes me so hopeful about our future. I believe in change because I believe in you, the American people. And that is why I stand here as confident as I have ever been that the state of our Union is strong.

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless the United States of America.

(Applause, the Members rising.)

At 10 o'clock and 10 minutes p.m., the President of the United States, accompanied by the committee of escort, retired from the Hall of the House of Representatives.

The Assistant to the Sergeant at Arms escorted the invited guests from the Chamber in the following order:

The members of the President's Cabinet; the Chief Justice of the United States and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court; the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps.

The SPEAKER. The Chair declares the joint session of the two Houses now dissolved.

Accordingly, at 10 o'clock and 17 minutes p.m., the joint session of the two Houses was dissolved.

The Members of the Senate retired to their Chamber.

MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT REFERRED TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE ON THE STATE OF THE UNION

Mr. MCCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the message of the President be referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and ordered printed.

The motion was agreed to.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. MCCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 10 o'clock and 18 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, January 13, 2016, at 9 a.m.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

4001. A letter from the Regulatory Review Group, Commodity Credit Corporation, Department of Agriculture, transmitting the Department's final rule — Payment Limitation and Payment Eligibility; Actively Engaged in Farming (RIN: 0560-AI31) received January 5, 2016, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Added by Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Agriculture.

4002. A letter from the Director, Defense Procurement and Acquisition Policy, Department of Defense, transmitting the Department's final rule — Defense Federal Acquisition Regulation Supplement: Taxes-Foreign Contracts in Afghanistan (DFARS Case 2014-D003) [Docket No.: DARS-2014-0046] (RIN: 0750-AI26) received January 5, 2016, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Added by Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Armed Services.

4003. A letter from the Director, Defense Procurement and Acquisition Policy, Department of Defense, transmitting the Department's final rule — Defense Federal Acquisition Regulation Supplement: Trade Agreements Thresholds (DFARS Case 2016-D003) [Docket No.: DARS-2015-0066] (RIN: 0750-AI79) received January 5, 2016, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Added by Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Armed Services.

4004. A letter from the Director, Defense Procurement and Acquisition Policy, Department of Defense, transmitting the Department's interim rule — Defense Federal Acquisition Regulation Supplement: Network Penetration Reporting and Contracting for Cloud Services (DFARS Case 2013-D018) [Docket No.: DARS-2015-0039] (RIN: 0750-AI61) received January 5, 2016, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Added by Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Armed Services.

4005. A letter from the Senior Counsel, Legal Division, Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection, transmitting the Bureau's final rule — Truth in Lending Act (Regulation Z) Adjustment to Asset-Size Exemption Threshold received December 30, 2015, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Added by Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Financial Services.

4006. A letter from the Counsel, Legal Division, Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection, transmitting the Bureau's final rule — Home Mortgage Disclosure (Regulation C) Amendment Adjustment to Asset-Size Exemption Threshold received December 30, 2015, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Added by Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Financial Services.

4007. A letter from the Director, Office of Legislative Affairs, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, transmitting the Corporation's final rule — Treatment of Financial Assets Transferred in Connection With a Securitization or Participation (RIN: 3064-AE32) received December 29, 2015, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Added by Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Financial Services.

4008. A letter from the General Counsel, Federal Housing Finance Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule — Technical Amendments: FHFA Address and Zip Code Change (RIN: 2590-AA79) received January 5, 2016, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Added by Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Financial Services.

4009. A letter from the General Counsel, Federal Housing Finance Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule — Suspended Counterparty Program (RIN: 2590-AA60) received January 5, 2016, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Added by Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Financial Services.

4010. A letter from the Program Specialist (Paperwork Reduction Act), Legislative and Regulatory Activities Division, Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, Department of the Treasury, transmitting the Department's joint final rule — Community Reinvestment Act Regulations [Docket ID: OCC-2015-0025] (RIN: 1557-AE01) received January 6, 2016, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Added by Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Financial Services.

4011. A letter from the Assistant General Counsel for Legislation, Regulation and Energy Efficiency, Office of Energy Efficiency and Renewable Energy, Department of Energy, transmitting the Department's final rule — Energy Conservation Program: Test Procedures for Commercial Prein Spray Valves [Docket No.: EERE-2014-BT-TP-0055] (RIN: 1904-AD41) received January 6, 2016, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Added by Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

4012. A letter from the Assistant General Counsel for Legislation, Regulation and Energy Efficiency, Office of Energy Efficiency and Renewable Energy, Department of Energy, transmitting the Department's final rule — Energy Conservation Program: Test Procedures for Small, Large, and Very Large Air-Cooled Commercial Package Air Conditioning and Heating Equipment [Docket No.: EERE-2015-BT-TP-0015] (RIN: 1904-AD54) received January 6, 2016, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Added by Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

4013. A letter from the Deputy Director, Office for Civil Rights, Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting the Department's final rule — Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act (HIPAA) Privacy Rule and the National Instant Criminal Background Check System (NICS) received January 6, 2016, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Added by Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

4014. A letter from the Director, Regulations Policy and Management Staff, Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting the Department's final rule — Hepatitis C Virus "Lookback" Requirements Based on Review of Historical Testing Records; Technical Amendment [Docket No.: FDA-1999-N-0114 (formerly 1999N-2337)] (RIN: 0910-AB76) received January 7, 2016, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Added by Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

4015. A letter from the Director, Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule — Air Plan Approval: Alabama: Nonattainment New Source Review [EPA-R04-OAR-2012-0079; FRL-9940-89-Region 4] received January 6, 2016, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Added by Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

4016. A letter from the Director, Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule — Approval and Promulgation of Implementation Plans; Infrastructure and Interstate Transport State Implementation Plan for the 2010 Sulfur Dioxide National Ambient Air Quality Standards [EPA-R06-OAR-2013-0388; FRL-9940-86-Region 6] received January 6, 2016, pursuant to 5 U.S.C.