

Gainesville, Georgia. We currently use Express Scripts mail order pharmacy, or VA mail order when possible. My wife has insurance through her employer which makes her ineligible for Express Scripts mail order. It also means she can only use three pharmacies that accept both insurance. We find—Listen to this, Mr. Speaker. We find ourselves driving 3 hours one way so we do not have to pay \$2,000 out of pocket each month for her medications. Now, with fewer pharmacies accepting TRICARE, we will probably have to make the trip more often.

Wow, what a promise we are keeping to these veterans. We are promising them that we are going to give them quality healthcare for their sacrifice, for their service to our country; and we are making them drive 3 hours, one way, so that they can save on the co-payment and won't have to pay \$2,000 out of pocket. Ridiculous.

Another concerned citizen. I called to have a prescription refilled 2 weeks before I was out of my medication. However, my medication never came. I called Express Scripts to inquire about its status, and they told me that I had no refills. So I currently am out of medication, and per Express Scripts, I cannot get my medication for 2 to 3 weeks. How is this right? I have served my country for 30 years, and I cannot get my medication for 2 to 3 weeks?

What are we supposed to tell these people?

What are we supposed to tell our veterans?

Mr. Speaker, this is not acceptable. You don't want this. I don't want this. No Member of Congress wants to see this.

So why is it that the Department of Defense is not addressing this? Why aren't they responding to my letters? Why aren't they accepting my invitations to come to their office and talk to them about this?

Another concerned citizen. We live across the street from a locally run independent pharmacy. We strongly believe in supporting local businesses and having the choice of where we get our medical needs. Isn't that what America is supposed to be about? Please do whatever possible to keep our local pharmacy in the network. Local businesses, small businesses, are important to our communities.

Another concerned citizen: We live in a small town with only one pharmacy, which Express Scripts has quit doing business with. Our only other alternatives are pharmacies that are either 20 miles away or 10 miles away. With the price of gas, this just adds another expense to the already high cost of medication.

Bob P. writes: They removed our local pharmacy that was walking distance from our home. We now need to travel several miles for the next pharmacy on the very limited list. This was a surprise when they deleted so many pharmacies off the list.

On and on and on; all of these messages sent to our office. Why were they

sent to our office? Because, obviously, they know I am a pharmacist. Obviously, they know I am working on this issue.

Mr. Speaker, this is despicable. No one should—no American should have to suffer through this, but especially our veterans who sacrificed for our country.

You see the comments back here. We depend on the Coast Guard to do search and rescue. They should be able to obtain their medications from their local pharmacy and pharmacist.

It is like the years of service I gave to this country are no longer appreciated. It is like us veterans are unimportant to this Nation.

Is that the message we want to send? No.

They will no longer have access to our free deliver service or access to a live pharmacist in a timely manner. It is sad, it is dishonest, and greedy on the part of Express Scripts for agreeing to this.

One last letter that we received. Our local independent pharmacy has expertly provided for us and have become like family. Our local neighborhood businesses are very important to community strength and solidarity and cutting them out further weakens the ties that help to keep communities strong and viable. Please strengthen families and communities by reinstating local and independent pharmacies.

That is why, currently, as we speak, the FTC, the Federal Trade Commission, is looking into the impact that the PBMs are having on local independent pharmacies; something that I asked them to do 8 years ago when I first entered Congress.

The first thing I did when I got to Washington, D.C., was to call the FTC and ask them to look at the vertical integration that exists in the drug pricing scenario, where the insurance company owns the PBM that owns the pharmacy.

□ 1430

That is right. Aetna owns Caremark, which owns CVS. Cigna owns Express Scripts PBM, which owns Express Scripts mail order. Then you have United—same thing.

Thank goodness, last summer, the FTC agreed to look at this vertical integration that has caused the prices of prescription drugs to go so high. There was a study done by the Berkeley Research Group last year. It showed, Mr. Speaker, that only 37 percent of the price of a medication goes to the pharmacy manufacturer, which begs the question: Where does the other 63 percent go?

Guess where it goes? It goes to the PBM, the middleman, to Express Scripts, those types of companies. That is where it goes.

Now, look, I am not opposed to anybody making money, but at the same time, tell me the value they are bringing to healthcare. They are not bringing any value to healthcare.

The egregious policies of the PBMs are what are causing prescription drug prices to go up, and now they are cutting out the local independent pharmacies, and now they are penalizing our veterans, causing them to have to drive miles and miles and do without their medication and pay higher prices all to make more profit.

Mr. Speaker, this is why we are here today. It is because of the patients. It is because of our veterans and their families. They are the ones that are suffering. They are the ones that need the Biden administration, who can do something about this and who should do something about this. They are the ones who need them to step up.

These stories should not be our brave servicemembers' reality. We can and must do better.

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

#### REMEMBERING THE LIFE AND LEGACY OF HANS "HARRY" FRISCH

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 9, 2023, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Florida (Mr. RUTHERFORD) for 30 minutes.

Mr. RUTHERFORD. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor the life and legacy of a giant of a man in Jacksonville and in northeast Florida, Mr. Harry Frisch.

Many knew Harry as a very savvy businessman and compassionate philanthropist, but I had the great privilege of getting to know him as a true friend. Harry was the epitome of the American Dream.

He was born July 5, 1923, in Vienna, Austria, and at age 14, he fled the Nazi takeover, traveling to Czechoslovakia and then later fleeing to Israel, where he worked as an auto mechanic and met his loving wife of 68 years, Lilo.

Harry and Lilo then relocated to Jacksonville—with their two sons, Ben and Karl—where Harry began working at his mother's fish business to make ends meet.

Through his diligent work ethic and his warm personality, Harry grew Beaver Street Fisheries into one of the largest seafood processors and distributors in the United States.

Harry's joy was contagious. He felt a deep sense of appreciation for all those who had helped him along the way and made a point of being authentic with everyone that he interacted with.

That is the attitude that helped him develop deep roots across northeast Florida and led him to give back wherever and whenever he could. Harry supported many local nonprofits, like the River Garden Hebrew Home, and several local hospitals, including the Mayo Clinic, St. Vincent's Hospital, and Baptist Hospital.

His reputation earned him a multitude of awards, including a place in the First Coast Business Hall of Fame.

Above all, Harry was a devoted son, brother, husband, father, grandfather,

and great-grandfather, and he was known to treat his Beaver Street Fisheries family as part of his very own family. He loved them, and they loved him.

At 99 years old, Harry lived a life of purpose and faith that sets an example for us all. His philosophy in life and business was: "If you can't handle the business, you don't need to be in the business."

Ralph Waldo Emerson once wrote: The purpose in life is not to be happy. It is to be useful, to be honorable, to be compassionate, to have and make some difference that you have lived and lived well.

To the entire Frisch family, I will use Harry's favorite line, "Let me put it to you this way": Harry Frisch lived a life of immense and positive impact for an unmeasurable number of people. As Ralph Waldo Emerson would say, he lived well.

On behalf of Florida's Fifth Congressional District, I offer my prayers and sympathies to the Frisch family and his Beaver Street Fisheries family. Harry's life and legacy will not be forgotten.

A NATION WITHOUT BORDERS IS NOT A NATION

Mr. RUTHERFORD. Mr. Speaker, a nation without borders is not a nation.

Since President Biden took office, we have seen a record number of illegal border crossings at our southern border. This has led to more drugs and fentanyl entering the United States, increased crime, and a demoralized Border Patrol.

Instead of solving this crisis, the President and House Democrats have turned a blind eye. They continue to double down on their radical open borders policy that focuses on processing illegals faster and moving them throughout the country.

To this President, there is no crisis at the southern border. This is his policy—until now. We saw the President visit the border for the first time this month, and now the Biden administration wants to be focused on solving the issues at the border. Well, he is about 2 years too late.

Instead of taking responsibility for this national security crisis, the President is shifting blame to us here in Congress, claiming House Republicans have failed to take the necessary steps to defend our border.

Mr. Speaker, that is absolutely astounding. Since President Biden took office, CBP has recorded 4.5 million illegal border crossings. That doesn't include their estimated 1.2 million got-aways.

Under one-party Democratic leadership, ICE removed, last year, only 72,000 migrants, down from 186,000 removals in the final year of the Trump administration.

In December, under Speaker PELOSI's leadership, we saw a record for the most illegal crossings in a month, ever. The tenth month in a row, more than 200,000 immigrants were apprehended at the southern border.

How did the administration respond? By releasing more than 1 million people into the country's interior last year, only a third of which are under ICE supervision; by building an app for immigrants to schedule their illegal entry into the country; they responded by creating parole programs that bring tens of thousands of migrants into the country without a pathway to legal status; finally, by cutting ICE detention beds last budgetary cycle.

Eleven thousand beds were cut by ICE, decreasing our capacity to detain migrants, not because border crossings are down, but because, with this administration, negligence is preferable to accountability.

Make no mistake, we are in the middle of a historic border crisis because of President Biden and House Democrats.

During my trip to the border last spring, I met with discouraged Border Patrol agents overwhelmed by the influx of migrants attempting to cross our border, with absolutely no relief in sight.

While these agents do their best to handle groups of hundreds and sometimes thousands of people, the cartels are taking advantage of the holes in our border to smuggle in dangerous drugs like fentanyl and dangerous people. Hundreds of terrorists, known terrorists, on the watch list have come into this country.

Every State has now become a border State under this administration. By failing to enforce our laws and secure the border, this administration is incentivizing illegal entry and encouraging more people to come here and then overstay their visas.

This national security and humanitarian crisis has gone on long enough. Since I came to Congress, I have been fighting to secure our border, working with my colleagues on the Appropriations Committee to help secure over \$5.8 billion for a border wall since fiscal year 2017.

This Congress, House Republicans are committed to securing the border, ending catch and release, reinstating the remain in Mexico policy, requiring proof of legal status for employment, and eliminating welfare incentives.

We owe it to the communities that we represent to take these issues seriously and to hold this administration accountable. House Republicans will take the necessary steps to ensure America is a nation that is safe.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from California (Mr. KILEY).

CELEBRATING SCHOOL CHOICE WEEK

Mr. KILEY. Mr. Speaker, this week, we celebrate School Choice Week, and it certainly is something to be celebrated.

Across the country, school choice has been an abundant source of opportunity and force for good, lifting the life prospects of millions of students.

It is important to recognize at the outset that for a particular group of people across this country, school choice exists to the fullest extent.

Those are the families who are fortunate enough to have the financial means to create choices for themselves by moving into a community that has good public schools or by sending their kids to private schools. This form of school choice exists in all 50 States.

When it comes to everyone else, there is a stark difference among the 50 States. You see, there are some States that have decided that school choice should be available not just for some but for everyone.

For example, you have States like Florida that have offered a variety of different school choice options. In fact, Florida is ranked number one in the country when it comes to educational freedom and, not coincidentally, also ranks near the top when it comes to the performance of their kids ranked among the States across the country.

□ 1445

But then there are other States that have opted to have a two-tier education system, where they say we will have school choice for those that can afford it, but everyone else, they say, we are going to tell you where you will send your child to school. You will have one option, and they will go to that school whether your child is learning or not; whether they are learning how to do math or not; whether they are learning how to read or not; whether they are being prepared for success in life or not.

This is the two-tiered education system that prevails in far too many States in this country, and perhaps nowhere more so than in my home State of California, where it has become a business model—a perverse business model of keeping kids trapped in failing schools, which each year is further entrenched by politicians and the special interests that support them.

No individual personifies this two-tiered education system more than the Governor of California, Gavin Newsom. Soon after taking office, Governor Newsom enacted an aggressive, anti-school choice, anti-parent, anti-student agenda that went after charter schools, and was condemned by civil rights groups like the NAACP and the Urban League.

After the COVID-19 shutdown began, Newsom and the California legislature went even further trying to reduce the number of options that parents had from one to zero.

At the beginning of the shutdown, with schools not operating at all, many lacked even a distance learning option. Parents started enrolling their students in charter schools that already had well-developed, personalized learning models.

Newsom and the California legislature passed a bill to stop this: to defund these charters, to deny them funding for any new students so that kids would remain trapped in schools that weren't even offering Zoom school at the time.

In the months ahead, Newsom, and his allies in California realized that the

COVID shutdown presented an opportunity to further entrench their business model of keeping kids trapped in failing schools without even having to run schools at all, all the while taking in billions and billions of extra dollars in funding.

California would have the longest school shutdown of any State in the country. Newsom as Governor assured California was 50 out of the 50 States in resuming in-person instruction.

He claimed again and again that it was necessary to keep schools closed for the safety of students, but he knew that wasn't true. The reason we know that he knew it wasn't true is that at the same time he was sending his own kids to in-person private school.

This, by the way, is a pattern across the country, where some of the most strident, anti-school choice politicians embrace school choice for themselves: President Biden, Vice President HARRIS, former Speaker NANCY PELOSI, Kentucky Governor Andy Beshear, North Carolina Governor Roy Cooper, New Jersey Governor Phil Murphy, Illinois Governor J. B. Pritzker, as well as, of course, Newsom. They all fight against education options for families while enrolling their own students in private schools.

The consequences of California's school shutdown, as well as other States that kept their kids out of school for far too long, are starting to come into focus. The National Assessment of Education Progress, a test administered by the Department of Education, released scores in the fall of 2022, showing that students in California had a five-point drop in reading and a seven-point drop in math.

California already had among the worst education outcomes in the country. Before COVID, we ranked 49 out of 50 when it came to education outcomes for kids in low-income communities. Now, thanks to the longest school shutdowns in the country, those achievement gaps have been widened significantly.

This doesn't even account for all of the other dimensions of harm that were done to kids in terms of their mental health and in terms of their social development and so much more.

We have so much work to do now to try, as much as we can, to help students recover from learning loss and get them back on the road they need to pursue their goals and to have success in life.

The good news, though, is that the experience of the last few years has catalyzed a movement of parents across the country that is starting to develop into a Renaissance in school choice, as we are seeing more and more pro-school choice, pro-kid, pro-parent legislation pass in States all across the country.

California has been an exception. If anything, there has been a retrenchment, as those who are currently in power see the threat that this movement of parents proposes or presents to their business model.

As we pause for a moment this week to celebrate and commemorate School Choice Week, I would want to offer a few ideas for the forms of school choice that this movement of parents can be channeled into.

The first is choice within the traditional public education system, which isn't discussed as much in the context of school choice, but which is very important and very powerful.

So this means, number one, allowing schools within a district to have the freedom to present different types of offerings, different types of schools, such as vocational schools, or emergent schools, in order to serve different types of students and to cater to the learning modalities of different types of students.

Allowing enrollment freedom within the district so parents can choose a school within the school district which is right for them, as well as offering the option of transferring to another school district if there is a school in that district that serves their child better.

Even in California, where we have among the worst school choice offerings in the country, one of the few options that does exist is called the District of Choice program, which enables families to transfer into a neighboring school district.

A study by the State's nonpartisan legislation analysts showed that for students who participated in the District of Choice program and transferred to a neighboring school district, their education outcomes improved. But not only that, the districts that they were transferring out of realized they needed to take action to prevent students from leaving. They started offering new courses. They started offering AP courses, and the level of achievement in their schools improved as well.

That is the beauty of school choice, it lifts all boats. As we develop more programs for choice within the traditional public education system, it should be coupled with ease of enrollment, transparency to parents as far as what options are available, and easy websites where you can see the schools that exist within a district and can see your enrollment options. There are many districts across the country that develop these platforms that serve students and families very well.

The second form of choice that is continuing to expand across this country are charter schools, which are about 30 years old now in the United States.

What charters do is they essentially flip the typical education paradigm on its head. They enable a great degree of freedom to school leaders to run the school however they see fit, and free the charter school from the constraints of the State's education code. They are far less regulated and have far fewer mandates.

In turn, charters are not assigned students like your typical neighborhood school is, they have to attract

students to proactively enroll, and then not only that, but they also get reviewed every few years and assessed on the bases of their learning outcomes, and that determines whether the school will continue to operate.

Now, this combination of innovation and accountability has a tremendous track record after just a few decades in existence. For example, one study by Stanford's Center for Research on Education Outcomes showed that after 4 years in a charter, urban students learn about 50 percent more than demographically similar students in traditional public schools.

New Orleans, in the wake of Hurricane Katrina, became a 100 percent charter district. You saw test scores, graduation dropout rates, college-going rates, independent studies, all showing that the city schools have doubled or tripled their effectiveness over the course of a decade.

Charter schools are another key tool in the school choice toolkit, and should continue to be encouraged as an option for parents and families outside of the traditional public education system. Although, it is important to note that charters are public schools, they are free. They have to have a blind admission system that is non-preferential, where if they are oversubscribed then they are subject to a lottery.

A third form of choice then is opting out of the public education system altogether. It should be noted again that this right does exist in every State across the country, but the means to do so only exist for a certain segment of society.

Again, it is the Gavin Newsom's of the world that have the ability to withdraw their kids if they so choose from the public education system. But a lot of families just don't have the financial resources to do that, even if they believe that that is the option that is right for their kids.

So what you are seeing to solve this problem and to tear down this two-tiered education system and have one where school choice is open to all is many States are passing legislation to create education savings accounts or other mechanisms where funding follows the child.

You take the amount of State-funding that is given per pupil—and in some California districts this is over \$24,000 per pupil—and at least give a portion of that to the parent to send their child to a private school or to hire a tutor or to find the option that is right for them.

It should also be noted, by the way, that protecting homeschooling is now more important than ever. We have a wonderful homeschool community in the district that I represent. Given the experience of public education in California and across this country in recent years you have seen, by some estimates, homeschooling doubled just over the last few years.

This is an option that needs to be available to every family in this country as a matter of right and as a matter of giving parents the ability to control the education of their child.

Those are just a few of the exciting things that we see going on across this country in at least some States when it comes to expanding school choice, to having not a two-tiered education system, but one where opportunities are available for all.

I actually worked as a high school teacher in inner city Los Angeles where I worked on a direct level on a small scale to try to close the achievement gap for my students. I am now honored to have been appointed to the Education and Workforce Committee here in the House of Representatives, where I am going to be working to do that on a larger scale to expand school choice as much as we can, and to pursue the goal of assuring that every child in this country has the opportunity for the education they deserve.

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

#### ADJOURNMENT FROM FRIDAY, JANUARY 27, 2023, TO MONDAY, JANUARY 30, 2023

Mr. RUTHERFORD. I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today, it adjourn to meet on Monday next, when it shall convene at noon for morning-hour debate and 2 p.m. for legislative business.

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

There was no objection.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Ms. JACKSON LEE (at the request of Mr. JEFFRIES) for today after 11:30 a.m. on account of official business in the district.

#### ADJOURNMENT

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

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 58 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Monday, January 30, 2023, at noon for morning-hour debate.

#### OATH OF OFFICE MEMBERS, RESIDENT COMMISSIONER, AND DELEGATES

The oath of office required by the sixth article of the Constitution of the United States, and as provided by section 2 of the act of May 13, 1884 (23 Stat. 22), to be administered to Members, Resident Commissioner, and Delegates of the House of Representatives, the text of which is carried in 5 U.S.C. 3331:

“I, AB, do solemnly swear (or Affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter. So help me God.”

has been subscribed to in person and filed in duplicate with the Clerk of the House of Representatives by the following Members of the 118th Congress, pursuant to the provisions of 2 U.S.C. 25:

#### ALABAMA

1 Jerry L. Carl  
2 Barry Moore  
3 Mike Rogers  
4 Robert B. Aderholt  
5 Dale W. Strong  
6 Gary J. Palmer  
7 Terri A. Sewell

#### ALASKA

At Large

Mary Sattler Peltola

#### ARIZONA

1 David Schweikert  
2 Elijah Crane  
3 Ruben Gallego  
4 Greg Stanton  
5 Andy Biggs  
6 Juan Ciscomani  
7 Raúl M. Grijalva  
8 Debbie Lesko  
9 Paul A. Gosar

#### ARKANSAS

1 Eric A. “Rick” Crawford  
2 J. French Hill  
3 Steve Womack  
4 Bruce Westerman

#### CALIFORNIA

1 Doug LaMalfa  
2 Jared Huffman  
3 Kevin Kiley  
4 Mike Thompson  
5 Tom McClintock  
6 Ami Bera  
7 Doris O. Matsui  
8 John Garamendi  
9 Josh Harder  
10 Mark DeSaulnier  
11 Nancy Pelosi  
12 Barbara Lee  
13 John S. Duarte  
14 Eric Swalwell  
15 Kevin Mullin  
16 Anna G. Eshoo  
17 Ro Khanna  
18 Zoe Lofgren  
19 Jimmy Panetta  
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21 Jim Costa  
22 David G. Valadao  
23 Jay Obernolte  
24 Salud O. Carbajal  
25 Raul Ruiz  
26 Julia Brownley  
27 Mike Garcia  
28 Judy Chu  
29 Tony Cárdenas  
30 Adam B. Schiff  
31 Grace F. Napolitano  
32 Brad Sherman  
33 Pete Aguilar  
34 Jimmy Gomez  
35 Norma J. Torres  
36 Ted Lieu  
37 Sydney Kamlager-Dove  
38 Linda T. Sánchez

39 Mark Takano  
40 Young Kim  
41 Ken Calvert  
42 Robert Garcia  
43 Maxine Waters  
44 Nanette Diaz Barragán  
45 Michelle Steel  
46 J. Luis Correa  
47 Katie Porter  
48 Darrell Issa  
49 Mike Levin  
50 Scott H. Peters  
51 Sara Jacobs  
52 Juan Vargas

#### COLORADO

1 Diana DeGette  
2 Joe Neguse  
3 Lauren Boebert  
4 Ken Buck  
5 Doug Lamborn  
6 Jason Crow  
7 Brittany Pettersen  
8 Yadira Caraveo

#### CONNECTICUT

1 John B. Larson  
2 Joe Courtney  
3 Rosa L. DeLauro  
4 James A. Himes  
5 Jahana Hayes

#### DELAWARE

At Large

Lisa Blunt Rochester

#### FLORIDA

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2 Neal P. Dunn  
3 Kat Cammack  
4 Aaron Bean  
5 John H. Rutherford  
6 Michael Waltz  
7 Cory Mills  
8 Bill Posey  
9 Darren Soto  
10 Maxwell Frost  
11 Daniel Webster  
12 Gus M. Bilirakis  
13 Anna Paulina Luna  
14 Kathy Castor  
15 Laurel M. Lee  
16 Vern Buchanan  
17 W. Gregory Steube  
18 C. Scott Franklin  
19 Byron Donalds  
20 Sheila Cherfilus-McCormick  
21 Brian J. Mast  
22 Lois Frankel  
23 Jared Moskowitz  
24 Frederica S. Wilson  
25 Debbie Wasserman Schultz  
26 Mario Diaz-Balart  
27 Maria Elvira Salazar  
28 Carlos A. Gimenez

#### GEORGIA

1 Earl L. “Buddy” Carter  
2 Sanford D. Bishop, Jr.  
3 A. Drew Ferguson IV  
4 Henry C. “Hank” Johnson, Jr.  
5 Nikema Williams  
6 Richard McCormick  
7 Lucy McBath  
8 Austin Scott  
9 Andrew S. Clyde  
10 Mike Collins  
11 Barry Loudermilk  
12 Rick W. Allen  
13 David Scott  
14 Marjorie Taylor Greene

#### HAWAII

1 Ed Case  
2 Jill N. Tokuda

#### IDAHO

1 Russ Fulcher  
2 Michael K. Simpson

#### ILLINOIS

1 Jonathan L. Jackson