

Ocasio-Cortez	Sánchez	Thanedar	Fitzpatrick	Kiley (CA)	Pfluger	Moulton	Ross	Sykes
Olszewski	Scanlon	Thompson (CA)	Fleischmann	Kim	Reschenthaler	Mrvan	Ruiz	Takano
Omar	Schakowsky	Thompson (MS)	Flood	Knott	Rogers (AL)	Mullin	Ryan	Thanedar
Pallone	Schneider	Titus	Fong	Kustoff	Rogers (KY)	Nadler	Salinas	Thompson (CA)
Panetta	Scholten	Tlaib	Fox	LaHood	Rose	Neal	Sánchez	Thompson (MS)
Pappas	Schrier	Tokuda	Franklin, Scott	LaLota	Rouzer	Neguse	Scanlon	Titus
Pelosi	Scott (VA)	Tonko	Fry	LaMalfa	Roy	Ocasio-Cortez	Schakowsky	Tlaib
Perez	Scott, David	Torres (CA)	Fulcher	Langworthy	Rulli	Olszewski	Schneider	Tokuda
Peters	Sewell	Torres (NY)	Garbarino	Latta	Rutherford	Omar	Scholten	Tonko
Petersen	Sherman	Trahan	Gill (TX)	Lawler	Salazar	Pallone	Schrier	Torres (CA)
Pingree	Sherrill	Tran	Gimenez	Lee (FL)	Scalise	Panetta	Scott (VA)	Torres (NY)
Pocan	Simon	Underwood	Goldman (TX)	Letlow	Schmidt	Pappas	Scott, David	Trahan
Pou	Smith (WA)	Vargas	Gonzales, Tony	Loudermilk	Schweikert	Pelosi	Sewell	Tran
Pressley	Sorensen	Vasquez	Gooden	Lucas	Scott, Austin	Perez	Sherman	Underwood
Quigley	Soto	Veasey	Gosar	Luna	Self	Peters	Sherrill	Vargas
Ramirez	Stansbury	Velázquez	Graves	Luttrell	Sessions	Petersen	Simon	Vasquez
Randall	Stanton	Vindman	Green (TN)	Mace	Shreve	Pingree	Smith (WA)	Veasey
Raskin	Stevens	Wasserman	Greene (GA)	Malliotakis	Simpson	Pocan	Sorensen	Velázquez
Riley (NY)	Strickland	Schultz	Griffith	Maloy	Smith (MO)	Pou	Soto	Vindman
Rivas	Subramanyam	Waters	Grothman	Mann	Smith (NE)	Pressley	Stansbury	Wasserman
Ross	Snozzi	Watson Coleman	Guest	Massie	Smith (NJ)	Quigley	Stanton	Schultz
Ruiz	Swalwell	Whitesides	Guthrie	McCaull	Smucker	Ramirez	Stevens	Waters
Ryan	Sykes	Williams (GA)	Hageman	McClain	Spartz	Randall	Strickland	Watson Coleman
Salinas	Takano	Wilson (FL)	Hamadeh (AZ)	McClintock	Stauber	Raskin	Subramanyam	Whitesides
			Haridopolos	McCormick	Stefanik	Riley (NY)	Suozi	Williams (GA)
			Harrigan	McDowell	Steil	Rivas	Swalwell	Wilson (FL)
			Harris (MD)	McGuire	Steube			
			Harris (NC)	Messmer	Strong			
			Harshbarger	Meuser	Stutzman			
			Hern (OK)	Miller (IL)	Taylor			
			Higgins (LA)	Miller (OH)	Tenney			
			Hill (AR)	Miller (WV)	Thompson (PA)			
			Hinson	Miller-Meeks	Tiffany			
			Houchin	Mills	Timmons			
			Hudson	Moolenaar	Turner (OH)			
			Huizenga	Moore (AL)	Valadao			
			Hunt	Moore (NC)	Van Drew			
			Hurd (CO)	Moore (UT)	Van Dwyne			
			Issa	Moore (WV)	Van Orden			
			Jack	Moran	Wagner			
			Jackson (TX)	Murphy	Walberg			
			James	Nehls	Weber (TX)			
			Johnson (LA)	Newhouse	Webster (FL)			
			Johnson (SD)	Norman	Westerman			
			Jordan	Nunn (IA)	Wied			
			Joyce (OH)	Oberholte	Wilson (SC)			
			Joyce (PA)	Ogles	Wittman			
			Kean	Onder	Womack			
			Kelly (MS)	Owens	Yakym			
			Kelly (PA)	Patronis	Zinke			
			Kennedy (UT)	Perry				
			Kiggans (VA)					

NOT VOTING—3

Barragán Norcross Smucker

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

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

□ 1617

So the joint resolution was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DISAPPROVING THE RULE SUBMITTED BY THE BUREAU OF CONSUMER FINANCIAL PROTECTION RELATING TO “OVERDRAFT LENDING: VERY LARGE FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS”

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, the unfinished business is the vote on passage of the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 18) disapproving the rule submitted by the Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection relating to “Overdraft Lending: Very Large Financial Institutions”, on which the yeas and nays were ordered.

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the passage of the joint resolution.

This will be a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 217, nays 211, not voting 5, as follows:

[Roll No. 96]

YEAS—217

Aderholt
Alford
Allen
Amodei (NV)
Arrington
Babin
Bacon
Baird
Balderson
Barr
Barrett
Baumgartner
Bean (FL)
Begich
Bentz
Bergman
Bice
Biggs (AZ)
Biggs (SC)
Bilirakis
Boebert

Bost
Brecheen
Bresnahan
Buchanan
Burchett
Burlison
Calvert
Cammack
Carey
Carter (GA)
Carter (TX)
Ciscomani
Cline
Cloud
Clyde
Cole
Collins
Comer
Crane
Crank
Crawford

Crenshaw
Davidson
De La Cruz
DesJarlais
Diaz-Balart
Donalds
Downing
Dunn (FL)
Edwards
Ellzey
Emmer
Estes
Evans (CO)
Ezell
Fallon
Fedorchak
Feenstra
Fine
Finstad
Fischbach
Fitzgerald

NAYS—211

Adams
Aguilar
Amo
Ansari
Auchincloss
Balint
Beatty
Bell
Bera
Beyer
Bishop
Bonamici
Boyle (PA)
Brown
Brownley
Budzinski
Bynum
Carbajal
Carson
Carter (LA)
Casar
Case
Casten
Castor (FL)
Castro (TX)
Cherfilus-McCormick
Chu
Cisneros
Clark (MA)
Clarke (NY)
Cleaver
Clyburn
Cohen
Conaway
Connolly
Correa
Costa
Courtney
Craig
Crockett
Crow
Cuellar
Davids (KS)
Davis (IL)

Davis (NC)
Dean (PA)
DeGette
DeLauro
DelBene
Deluzio
DeSaunier
Dexter
Dingell
Doggett
Elfreth
Escobar
Españillat
Evans (PA)
Fields
Figures
Fletcher
Foster
Foushee
Frankel, Lois
Friedman
Frost
Garamendi
Garcia (CA)
Garcia (IL)
Garcia (TX)
Gillen
Golden (ME)
Goldman (NY)
Gomez
Gonzalez, V.
Goodlander
Gray
Green, Al (TX)
Harder (CA)
Hayes
Himes
Horsford
Houlahan
Hoyer
Hoyle (OR)
Huffman
Ivey
Jackson (IL)
Jacobs

Jayapal
Jeffries
Johnson (GA)
Johnson (TX)
Kamlager-Dove
Kaptur
Keating
Kelly (IL)
Kennedy (NY)
Khanna
Krishnamoorthi
Landsman
Larsen (WA)
Larson (CT)
Latimer
Lee (NV)
Lee (PA)
Leger Fernandez
Levin
Liccardo
Lieu
Lofgren
Lynch
Mackenzie
Magaziner
Mannion
Matsui
McBath
McBride
McClain Delaney
McClellan
McCollum
McDonald Rivet
McGarvey
McGovern
McIver
Meeks
Menendez
Meng
Mfume
Min
Moore (WI)
Morelle
Morrison
Moskowitz

NOT VOTING—5

Barragán Norcross Williams (TX)
Gottheimer Palmer

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

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

□ 1623

So the joint resolution was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Ms. BARRAGÁN. Mr. Speaker, had I been present, I would have voted NAY on Roll Call No. 95 and NAY on Roll Call No. 96.

□ 1630

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION ON THE BUDGET FOR FISCAL YEAR 2025

Mr. ARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 313, I call up the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 14) establishing the congressional budget for the United States Government for fiscal year 2025 and setting forth the appropriate budgetary levels for fiscal years 2026 through 2034, with the Senate amendment thereto, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the concurrent resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ROGERS of Alabama). The Clerk will designate the Senate amendment.

Senate amendment:

Strike all after the resolving clause and insert the following:

SECTION 1. CONCURRENT RESOLUTION ON THE BUDGET FOR FISCAL YEAR 2025.

(a) DECLARATION.—Congress declares that this resolution is the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 2025 and that this resolution sets forth the appropriate budgetary levels for fiscal years 2026 through 2034.

(b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of contents for this concurrent resolution is as follows:

TITLE I—RECOMMENDED LEVELS AND AMOUNTS

Subtitle A—Budgetary Levels in Both Houses
Sec. 1101. Recommended levels and amounts.
Sec. 1102. Major functional categories.

Subtitle B—Levels and Amounts in the Senate
 Sec. 1201. Social Security in the Senate.
 Sec. 1202. Postal Service discretionary administrative expenses in the Senate.

TITLE II—RECONCILIATION

Sec. 2001. Reconciliation in the House of Representatives.
 Sec. 2002. Reconciliation in the Senate.

TITLE III—RESERVE FUNDS

Sec. 3001. Reserve fund for reconciliation legislation.
 Sec. 3002. Deficit-neutral reserve fund relating to government deregulation.
 Sec. 3003. Spending reduction reserve fund to save more than \$2,000,000,000,000.
 Sec. 3004. Spending-neutral reserve fund related to current tax policy baseline.
 Sec. 3005. Deficit-neutral reserve fund relating to protecting Medicare and Medicaid.

TITLE IV—OTHER MATTERS

Sec. 4001. Adjustment for spending cuts of at least \$2 trillion.
 Sec. 4002. Enforcement filing.
 Sec. 4003. Budgetary treatment of administrative expenses.
 Sec. 4004. Application and effect of changes in allocations, aggregates, and other budgetary levels.
 Sec. 4005. Adjustments to reflect changes in concepts and definitions.
 Sec. 4006. Adjustment for changes in the baseline.
 Sec. 4007. Exercise of rulemaking powers.

TITLE V—POLICY STATEMENTS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Sec. 5001. Policy statement on economic growth.
 Sec. 5002. Policy statement on mandatory spending reduction.
 Sec. 5003. Policy statement on Government deregulation.

TITLE I—RECOMMENDED LEVELS AND AMOUNTS

Subtitle A—Budgetary Levels in Both Houses **SEC. 1101. RECOMMENDED LEVELS AND AMOUNTS.**

The following budgetary levels are appropriate for each of fiscal years 2025 through 2034:
 (1) **FEDERAL REVENUES.**—For purposes of the enforcement of this resolution:

(A) The recommended levels of Federal revenues are as follows:

Fiscal year 2025: \$3,699,743,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2026: \$3,850,222,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2027: \$3,935,426,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2028: \$4,064,380,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2029: \$4,187,266,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2030: \$4,388,684,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2031: \$4,600,466,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2032: \$4,800,588,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2033: \$5,020,540,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2034: \$5,242,537,000,000.

(B) The amounts by which the aggregate levels of Federal revenues should be changed are as follows:

Fiscal year 2025: —\$150,000,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2026: —\$150,000,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2027: —\$150,000,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2028: —\$150,000,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2029: —\$150,000,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2030: —\$150,000,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2031: —\$150,000,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2032: —\$150,000,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2033: —\$150,000,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2034: —\$150,000,000,000.

(2) **NEW BUDGET AUTHORITY.**—For purposes of the enforcement of this resolution, the appropriate levels of total new budget authority are as follows:

Fiscal year 2025: \$4,663,769,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2026: \$4,795,798,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2027: \$4,933,048,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2028: \$5,216,255,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2029: \$5,375,045,000,000.

Fiscal year 2030: \$5,667,195,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2031: \$5,915,714,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2032: \$6,191,839,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2033: \$6,530,356,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2034: \$6,736,948,000,000.

(3) **BUDGET OUTLAYS.**—For purposes of the enforcement of this resolution, the appropriate levels of total budget outlays are as follows:

Fiscal year 2025: \$4,636,008,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2026: \$4,811,854,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2027: \$5,009,263,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2028: \$5,304,033,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2029: \$5,364,632,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2030: \$5,654,106,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2031: \$5,882,786,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2032: \$6,121,866,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2033: \$6,487,182,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2034: \$6,647,428,000,000.

(4) **DEFICITS.**—For purposes of the enforcement of this resolution, the amounts of the deficits are as follows:

Fiscal year 2025: \$936,265,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2026: \$961,632,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2027: \$1,073,837,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2028: \$1,239,653,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2029: \$1,177,366,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2030: \$1,265,422,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2031: \$1,282,320,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2032: \$1,321,278,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2033: \$1,466,642,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2034: \$1,404,891,000,000.

(5) **PUBLIC DEBT.**—Pursuant to section 301(a)(5) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 (2 U.S.C. 632(a)(5)), the appropriate levels of the public debt are as follows:

Fiscal year 2025: \$36,525,094,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2026: \$37,838,733,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2027: \$39,140,384,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2028: \$40,566,455,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2029: \$42,102,586,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2030: \$43,583,333,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2031: \$45,068,345,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2032: \$46,595,036,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2033: \$48,382,716,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2034: \$50,481,979,000,000.

(6) **DEBT HELD BY THE PUBLIC.**—The appropriate levels of debt held by the public are as follows:

Fiscal year 2025: \$29,294,843,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2026: \$30,468,366,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2027: \$31,782,489,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2028: \$33,298,095,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2029: \$34,781,086,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2030: \$36,380,984,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2031: \$38,027,730,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2032: \$39,759,791,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2033: \$41,652,745,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2034: \$43,515,483,000,000.

SEC. 1102. MAJOR FUNCTIONAL CATEGORIES.

Congress determines and declares that the appropriate levels of new budget authority and outlays for fiscal years 2025 through 2034 for each major functional category are:

(1) **National Defense (050):**

Fiscal year 2025:
 (A) New budget authority, \$933,484,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$909,629,000,000.

Fiscal year 2026:
 (A) New budget authority, \$901,220,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$904,412,000,000.

Fiscal year 2027:
 (A) New budget authority, \$923,020,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$911,956,000,000.

Fiscal year 2028:
 (A) New budget authority, \$944,111,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$934,660,000,000.

Fiscal year 2029:
 (A) New budget authority, \$966,203,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$942,419,000,000.

Fiscal year 2030:
 (A) New budget authority, \$989,212,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$966,361,000,000.

Fiscal year 2031:
 (A) New budget authority, \$1,012,715,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$984,795,000,000.

Fiscal year 2032:
 (A) New budget authority, \$1,036,723,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$1,003,888,000,000.

Fiscal year 2033:

(A) New budget authority, \$1,062,319,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$1,037,888,000,000.

Fiscal year 2034:

(A) New budget authority, \$1,087,382,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$1,054,430,000,000.

(2) **International Affairs (150):**

Fiscal year 2025:

(A) New budget authority, \$65,962,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$69,206,000,000.

Fiscal year 2026:

(A) New budget authority, \$61,716,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$67,669,000,000.

Fiscal year 2027:

(A) New budget authority, \$62,249,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$66,456,000,000.

Fiscal year 2028:

(A) New budget authority, \$63,512,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$62,391,000,000.

Fiscal year 2029:

(A) New budget authority, \$64,944,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$62,832,000,000.

Fiscal year 2030:

(A) New budget authority, \$66,408,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$63,077,000,000.

Fiscal year 2031:

(A) New budget authority, \$67,878,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$64,002,000,000.

Fiscal year 2032:

(A) New budget authority, \$69,343,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$65,176,000,000.

Fiscal year 2033:

(A) New budget authority, \$70,874,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$66,517,000,000.

Fiscal year 2034:

(A) New budget authority, \$72,435,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$67,889,000,000.

(3) **General Science, Space, and Technology (250):**

Fiscal year 2025:

(A) New budget authority, \$42,084,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$41,734,000,000.

Fiscal year 2026:

(A) New budget authority, \$41,345,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$41,844,000,000.

Fiscal year 2027:

(A) New budget authority, \$42,264,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$41,923,000,000.

Fiscal year 2028:

(A) New budget authority, \$43,099,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$42,198,000,000.

Fiscal year 2029:

(A) New budget authority, \$44,017,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$42,887,000,000.

Fiscal year 2030:

(A) New budget authority, \$44,980,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$43,633,000,000.

Fiscal year 2031:

(A) New budget authority, \$45,946,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$44,551,000,000.

Fiscal year 2032:

(A) New budget authority, \$46,922,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$45,486,000,000.

Fiscal year 2033:

(A) New budget authority, \$47,936,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$46,460,000,000.

Fiscal year 2034:

(A) New budget authority, \$48,985,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$47,466,000,000.

(4) **Energy (270):**

Fiscal year 2025:

(A) New budget authority, \$39,842,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$37,587,000,000.

Fiscal year 2026:

(A) New budget authority, \$39,958,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$44,514,000,000.

Fiscal year 2027:

(A) New budget authority, \$34,098,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$52,768,000,000.

Fiscal year 2028:

(A) New budget authority, \$34,825,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$51,623,000,000.

Fiscal year 2029:

(A) New budget authority, \$35,770,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$48,582,000,000.

Fiscal year 2030:

(A) New budget authority, \$33,946,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$42,596,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2031:
 (A) New budget authority, \$35,188,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$40,366,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2032:
 (A) New budget authority, \$39,697,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$41,611,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2033:
 (A) New budget authority, \$24,489,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$25,941,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2034:
 (A) New budget authority, \$16,203,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$17,040,000,000.
 (5) Natural Resources and Environment (300):
 Fiscal year 2025:
 (A) New budget authority, \$88,319,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$89,764,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2026:
 (A) New budget authority, \$67,633,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$80,552,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2027:
 (A) New budget authority, \$45,140,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$75,844,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2028:
 (A) New budget authority, \$45,985,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$71,673,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2029:
 (A) New budget authority, \$46,956,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$67,691,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2030:
 (A) New budget authority, \$47,707,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$63,948,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2031:
 (A) New budget authority, \$48,854,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$60,580,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2032:
 (A) New budget authority, \$49,918,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$56,444,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2033:
 (A) New budget authority, \$51,246,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$55,797,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2034:
 (A) New budget authority, \$52,225,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$55,480,000,000.
 (6) Agriculture (350):
 Fiscal year 2025:
 (A) New budget authority, \$58,457,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$41,846,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2026:
 (A) New budget authority, \$28,163,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$46,212,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2027:
 (A) New budget authority, \$31,716,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$33,686,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2028:
 (A) New budget authority, \$33,008,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$34,426,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2029:
 (A) New budget authority, \$33,334,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$32,441,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2030:
 (A) New budget authority, \$30,857,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$30,098,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2031:
 (A) New budget authority, \$30,468,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$29,609,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2032:
 (A) New budget authority, \$31,239,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$30,163,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2033:
 (A) New budget authority, \$32,276,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$30,893,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2034:
 (A) New budget authority, \$32,912,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$31,721,000,000.
 (7) Commerce and Housing Credit (370):
 Fiscal year 2025:
 (A) New budget authority, \$12,477,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, — \$18,175,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2026:
 (A) New budget authority, \$32,747,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, — \$626,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2027:
 (A) New budget authority, \$28,145,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$7,710,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2028:
 (A) New budget authority, — \$56,796,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, — \$65,194,000,000.

Fiscal year 2029:
 (A) New budget authority, \$25,562,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$15,976,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2030:
 (A) New budget authority, \$25,712,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$12,680,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2031:
 (A) New budget authority, \$25,941,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$7,932,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2032:
 (A) New budget authority, \$26,354,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$5,060,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2033:
 (A) New budget authority, \$20,192,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, — \$4,224,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2034:
 (A) New budget authority, \$29,862,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$2,451,000,000.
 (8) Transportation (400):
 Fiscal year 2025:
 (A) New budget authority, \$173,158,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$144,771,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2026:
 (A) New budget authority, \$167,673,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$152,541,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2027:
 (A) New budget authority, \$132,085,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$158,068,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2028:
 (A) New budget authority, \$133,386,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$162,528,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2029:
 (A) New budget authority, \$134,447,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$160,846,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2030:
 (A) New budget authority, \$129,994,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$150,790,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2031:
 (A) New budget authority, \$130,964,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$147,539,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2032:
 (A) New budget authority, \$138,846,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$150,163,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2033:
 (A) New budget authority, \$140,544,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$149,247,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2034:
 (A) New budget authority, \$142,271,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$149,454,000,000.
 (9) Community and Regional Development (450):
 Fiscal year 2025:
 (A) New budget authority, \$90,242,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$78,592,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2026:
 (A) New budget authority, \$20,135,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$64,267,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2027:
 (A) New budget authority, \$19,259,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$56,506,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2028:
 (A) New budget authority, \$19,462,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$45,101,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2029:
 (A) New budget authority, \$19,888,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$35,976,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2030:
 (A) New budget authority, \$20,326,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$31,026,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2031:
 (A) New budget authority, \$20,727,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$27,543,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2032:
 (A) New budget authority, \$21,007,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$24,658,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2033:
 (A) New budget authority, \$21,462,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$22,754,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2034:
 (A) New budget authority, \$21,864,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$21,733,000,000.
 (10) Education, Training, Employment, and Social Services (500):
 Fiscal year 2025:
 (A) New budget authority, \$149,379,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$171,920,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2026:
 (A) New budget authority, \$152,714,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$151,639,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2027:
 (A) New budget authority, \$155,152,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$151,206,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2028:
 (A) New budget authority, \$157,970,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$152,914,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2029:
 (A) New budget authority, \$160,942,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$155,518,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2030:
 (A) New budget authority, \$163,842,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$158,366,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2031:
 (A) New budget authority, \$166,812,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$161,277,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2032:
 (A) New budget authority, \$170,169,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$164,438,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2033:
 (A) New budget authority, \$173,711,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$167,726,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2034:
 (A) New budget authority, \$176,750,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$170,798,000,000.
 (11) Health (550):
 Fiscal year 2025:
 (A) New budget authority, \$948,957,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$963,482,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2026:
 (A) New budget authority, \$992,092,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$977,707,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2027:
 (A) New budget authority, \$1,020,326,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$1,021,663,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2028:
 (A) New budget authority, \$1,054,949,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$1,051,917,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2029:
 (A) New budget authority, \$1,098,389,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$1,093,560,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2030:
 (A) New budget authority, \$1,142,669,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$1,132,096,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2031:
 (A) New budget authority, \$1,176,497,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$1,175,451,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2032:
 (A) New budget authority, \$1,226,824,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$1,216,998,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2033:
 (A) New budget authority, \$1,276,881,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$1,266,068,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2034:
 (A) New budget authority, \$1,310,000,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$1,298,975,000,000.
 (12) Medicare (570):
 Fiscal year 2025:
 (A) New budget authority, \$952,239,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$951,989,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2026:
 (A) New budget authority, \$1,007,093,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$1,008,459,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2027:
 (A) New budget authority, \$1,066,571,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$1,066,331,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2028:
 (A) New budget authority, \$1,209,735,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$1,208,675,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2029:
 (A) New budget authority, \$1,125,645,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$1,125,301,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2030:
 (A) New budget authority, \$1,275,864,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$1,275,627,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2031:
 (A) New budget authority, \$1,357,791,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$1,357,726,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2032:
 (A) New budget authority, \$1,445,195,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$1,445,191,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2033:
 (A) New budget authority, \$1,659,329,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$1,659,346,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2034:
 (A) New budget authority, \$1,666,492,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$1,666,497,000,000.
 (13) Income Security (600):

Fiscal year 2025:

(A) New budget authority, \$712,538,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$709,200,000,000.

Fiscal year 2026:

(A) New budget authority, \$691,755,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$690,914,000,000.

Fiscal year 2027:

(A) New budget authority, \$708,645,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$703,648,000,000.

Fiscal year 2028:

(A) New budget authority, \$727,434,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$727,234,000,000.

Fiscal year 2029:

(A) New budget authority, \$728,925,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$714,850,000,000.

Fiscal year 2030:

(A) New budget authority, \$748,162,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$739,465,000,000.

Fiscal year 2031:

(A) New budget authority, \$760,737,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$751,498,000,000.

Fiscal year 2032:

(A) New budget authority, \$778,878,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$768,898,000,000.

Fiscal year 2033:

(A) New budget authority, \$800,142,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$796,835,000,000.

Fiscal year 2034:

(A) New budget authority, \$808,455,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$798,159,000,000.

(14) Social Security (650):

Fiscal year 2025:

(A) New budget authority, \$67,259,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$67,259,000,000.

Fiscal year 2026:

(A) New budget authority, \$81,690,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$81,690,000,000.

Fiscal year 2027:

(A) New budget authority, \$89,447,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$89,447,000,000.

Fiscal year 2028:

(A) New budget authority, \$94,419,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$94,419,000,000.

Fiscal year 2029:

(A) New budget authority, \$100,138,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$100,138,000,000.

Fiscal year 2030:

(A) New budget authority, \$106,208,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$106,208,000,000.

Fiscal year 2031:

(A) New budget authority, \$112,114,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$112,114,000,000.

Fiscal year 2032:

(A) New budget authority, \$118,485,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$118,485,000,000.

Fiscal year 2033:

(A) New budget authority, \$125,325,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$125,325,000,000.

Fiscal year 2034:

(A) New budget authority, \$132,539,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$132,539,000,000.

(15) Veterans Benefits and Services (700):

Fiscal year 2025:

(A) New budget authority, \$361,349,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$357,760,000,000.

Fiscal year 2026:

(A) New budget authority, \$382,555,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$378,814,000,000.

Fiscal year 2027:

(A) New budget authority, \$404,594,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$401,319,000,000.

Fiscal year 2028:

(A) New budget authority, \$427,329,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$444,241,000,000.

Fiscal year 2029:

(A) New budget authority, \$447,757,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$422,317,000,000.

Fiscal year 2030:

(A) New budget authority, \$466,616,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$461,720,000,000.

Fiscal year 2031:

(A) New budget authority, \$486,716,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$481,638,000,000.

Fiscal year 2032:

(A) New budget authority, \$507,187,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$502,655,000,000.

Fiscal year 2033:

(A) New budget authority, \$528,733,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$548,734,000,000.

Fiscal year 2034:

(A) New budget authority, \$550,662,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$547,796,000,000.

(16) Administration of Justice (750):

Fiscal year 2025:

(A) New budget authority, \$83,111,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$85,235,000,000.

Fiscal year 2026:

(A) New budget authority, \$88,992,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$87,024,000,000.

Fiscal year 2027:

(A) New budget authority, \$87,701,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$86,420,000,000.

Fiscal year 2028:

(A) New budget authority, \$89,687,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$88,514,000,000.

Fiscal year 2029:

(A) New budget authority, \$92,142,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$90,690,000,000.

Fiscal year 2030:

(A) New budget authority, \$94,574,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$92,986,000,000.

Fiscal year 2031:

(A) New budget authority, \$96,848,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$94,869,000,000.

Fiscal year 2032:

(A) New budget authority, \$104,463,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$101,844,000,000.

Fiscal year 2033:

(A) New budget authority, \$107,160,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$104,339,000,000.

Fiscal year 2034:

(A) New budget authority, \$109,431,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$106,934,000,000.

(17) General Government (800):

Fiscal year 2025:

(A) New budget authority, \$10,089,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$37,960,000,000.

Fiscal year 2026:

(A) New budget authority, \$30,666,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$38,285,000,000.

Fiscal year 2027:

(A) New budget authority, \$32,065,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$38,261,000,000.

Fiscal year 2028:

(A) New budget authority, \$32,994,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$37,957,000,000.

Fiscal year 2029:

(A) New budget authority, \$33,770,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$37,793,000,000.

Fiscal year 2030:

(A) New budget authority, \$34,614,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$37,985,000,000.

Fiscal year 2031:

(A) New budget authority, \$35,247,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$37,024,000,000.

Fiscal year 2032:

(A) New budget authority, \$36,189,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$36,307,000,000.

Fiscal year 2033:

(A) New budget authority, \$36,960,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$36,758,000,000.

Fiscal year 2034:

(A) New budget authority, \$37,681,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$37,266,000,000.

(18) Net Interest (900):

Fiscal year 2025:

(A) New budget authority, \$1,011,643,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$1,011,643,000,000.

Fiscal year 2026:

(A) New budget authority, \$1,031,561,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$1,031,561,000,000.

Fiscal year 2027:

(A) New budget authority, \$1,078,839,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$1,078,839,000,000.

Fiscal year 2028:

(A) New budget authority, \$1,150,343,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$1,150,343,000,000.

Fiscal year 2029:

(A) New budget authority, \$1,213,150,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$1,213,150,000,000.

Fiscal year 2030:

(A) New budget authority, \$1,269,439,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$1,269,439,000,000.

Fiscal year 2031:

(A) New budget authority, \$1,332,808,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$1,332,808,000,000.

Fiscal year 2032:

(A) New budget authority, \$1,398,649,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$1,398,649,000,000.

Fiscal year 2033:

(A) New budget authority, \$1,457,676,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$1,457,676,000,000.

Fiscal year 2034:

(A) New budget authority, \$1,525,604,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$1,525,604,000,000.

(19) Allowances (920):

Fiscal year 2025:

(A) New budget authority, —\$1,009,217,000,000.

(B) Outlays, —\$987,791,000,000.

Fiscal year 2026:

(A) New budget authority, —\$888,800,000,000.

(B) Outlays, —\$900,514,000,000.

Fiscal year 2027:

(A) New budget authority, —\$890,385,000,000.

(B) Outlays, —\$894,905,000,000.

Fiscal year 2028:

(A) New budget authority, —\$848,052,000,000.

(B) Outlays, —\$850,422,000,000.

Fiscal year 2029:

(A) New budget authority, —\$851,534,000,000.

(B) Outlays, —\$852,928,000,000.

Fiscal year 2030:

(A) New budget authority, —\$874,353,000,000.

(B) Outlays, —\$874,414,000,000.

Fiscal year 2031:

(A) New budget authority, —\$874,523,000,000.

(B) Outlays, —\$874,523,000,000.

Fiscal year 2032:

(A) New budget authority, —\$894,135,000,000.

(B) Outlays, —\$894,135,000,000.

Fiscal year 2033:

(A) New budget authority, —\$940,797,000,000.

(B) Outlays, —\$940,797,000,000.

Fiscal year 2034:

(A) New budget authority, —\$913,790,000,000.

(B) Outlays, —\$913,790,000,000.

(20) Undistributed Offsetting Receipts (950):

Fiscal year 2025:

(A) New budget authority, —\$127,603,000,000.

(B) Outlays, —\$127,603,000,000.

Fiscal year 2026:

(A) New budget authority, —\$135,110,000,000.

(B) Outlays, —\$135,110,000,000.

Fiscal year 2027:

(A) New budget authority, —\$137,883,000,000.

(B) Outlays, —\$137,883,000

Fiscal year 2032: \$1,717,802,000,000.

Fiscal year 2033: \$1,782,046,000,000.

Fiscal year 2034: \$1,848,436,000,000.

(b) **SOCIAL SECURITY OUTLAYS.**—For purposes of Senate enforcement under sections 302 and 311 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 (2 U.S.C. 633 and 642), the amounts of outlays of the Federal Old-Age and Survivors Insurance Trust Fund and the Federal Disability Insurance Trust Fund are as follows:

Fiscal year 2025: \$1,413,704,000,000.

Fiscal year 2026: \$1,496,321,000,000.

Fiscal year 2027: \$1,585,393,000,000.

Fiscal year 2028: \$1,686,625,000,000.

Fiscal year 2029: \$1,786,673,000,000.

Fiscal year 2030: \$1,890,273,000,000.

Fiscal year 2031: \$1,998,509,000,000.

Fiscal year 2032: \$2,111,591,000,000.

Fiscal year 2033: \$2,224,104,000,000.

Fiscal year 2034: \$2,324,902,000,000.

(c) **SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES.**—In the Senate, the amounts of new budget authority and budget outlays of the Federal Old-Age and Survivors Insurance Trust Fund and the Federal Disability Insurance Trust Fund for administrative expenses are as follows:

Fiscal year 2025:

(A) New budget authority, \$6,400,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$6,332,000,000.

Fiscal year 2026:

(A) New budget authority, \$6,268,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$6,287,000,000.

Fiscal year 2027:

(A) New budget authority, \$6,455,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$6,422,000,000.

Fiscal year 2028:

(A) New budget authority, \$6,644,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$6,584,000,000.

Fiscal year 2029:

(A) New budget authority, \$6,832,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$6,765,000,000.

Fiscal year 2030:

(A) New budget authority, \$7,033,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$6,963,000,000.

Fiscal year 2031:

(A) New budget authority, \$7,233,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$7,162,000,000.

Fiscal year 2032:

(A) New budget authority, \$7,437,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$7,365,000,000.

Fiscal year 2033:

(A) New budget authority, \$7,651,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$7,576,000,000.

Fiscal year 2034:

(A) New budget authority, \$7,869,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$7,792,000,000.

SEC. 1202. POSTAL SERVICE DISCRETIONARY ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES IN THE SENATE.

In the Senate, the amounts of new budget authority and budget outlays of the Postal Service for discretionary administrative expenses are as follows:

Fiscal year 2025:

(A) New budget authority, \$268,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$268,000,000.

Fiscal year 2026:

(A) New budget authority, \$279,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$279,000,000.

Fiscal year 2027:

(A) New budget authority, \$289,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$289,000,000.

Fiscal year 2028:

(A) New budget authority, \$299,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$299,000,000.

Fiscal year 2029:

(A) New budget authority, \$309,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$309,000,000.

Fiscal year 2030:

(A) New budget authority, \$319,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$319,000,000.

Fiscal year 2031:

(A) New budget authority, \$330,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$330,000,000.

Fiscal year 2032:

(A) New budget authority, \$341,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$341,000,000.

Fiscal year 2033:

(A) New budget authority, \$352,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$352,000,000.

Fiscal year 2034:

(A) New budget authority, \$364,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$364,000,000.

TITLE II—RECONCILIATION

SEC. 2001. RECONCILIATION IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

(a) **SUBMISSIONS.**—In the House of Representatives, not later than May 9, 2025, the committees named in subsection (b) and subsection (c) shall submit their recommendations on changes in laws within their jurisdictions to the Committee on the Budget of the House of Representatives to carry out this section.

(b) **INSTRUCTIONS.**—

(1) **COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE.**—The Committee on Agriculture shall submit changes in laws within its jurisdiction to reduce the deficit by not less than \$230,000,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

(2) **COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES.**—The Committee on Armed Services shall submit changes in laws within its jurisdiction that increase the deficit by not more than \$100,000,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

(3) **COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND WORKFORCE.**—The Committee on Education and Workforce shall submit changes in laws within its jurisdiction to reduce the deficit by not less than \$330,000,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

(4) **COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND COMMERCE.**—The Committee on Energy and Commerce shall submit changes in laws within its jurisdiction to reduce the deficit by not less than \$880,000,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

(5) **COMMITTEE ON FINANCIAL SERVICES.**—The Committee on Financial Services shall submit changes in laws within its jurisdiction to reduce the deficit by not less than \$1,000,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

(6) **COMMITTEE ON HOMELAND SECURITY.**—The Committee on Homeland Security shall submit changes in laws within its jurisdiction that increase the deficit by not more than \$90,000,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

(7) **COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY.**—The Committee on the Judiciary shall submit changes in laws within its jurisdiction that increase the deficit by not more than \$110,000,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

(8) **COMMITTEE ON NATURAL RESOURCES.**—The Committee on Natural Resources shall submit changes in laws within its jurisdiction to reduce the deficit by not less than \$1,000,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

(9) **COMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT AND GOVERNMENT REFORM.**—The Committee on Oversight and Government Reform shall submit changes in laws within its jurisdiction to reduce the deficit by not less than \$50,000,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

(10) **COMMITTEE ON TRANSPORTATION AND INFRASTRUCTURE.**—The Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure shall submit changes in laws within its jurisdiction to reduce the deficit by not less than \$10,000,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

(11) **COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS.**—The Committee on Ways and Means shall submit changes in laws within its jurisdiction that increase the deficit by not more than \$4,500,000,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

(c) **INCREASE IN STATUTORY DEBT LIMIT.**—The Committee on Ways and Means shall submit changes in laws within its jurisdiction that increase the statutory debt limit by \$4,000,000,000,000.

SEC. 2002. RECONCILIATION IN THE SENATE.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—

(1) **SUBMISSIONS.**—In the Senate, not later than May 9, 2025, the committees named in

paragraph (2) shall submit their recommendations to the Committee on the Budget of the Senate. Upon receiving all such recommendations, the Committee on the Budget of the Senate shall report to the Senate a reconciliation bill carrying out all such recommendations without any substantive revision.

(2) **INSTRUCTIONS.**—

(A) **COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY.**—The Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry of the Senate shall report changes in laws within its jurisdiction that reduce the deficit by not less than \$1,000,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

(B) **COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES.**—The Committee on Armed Services of the Senate shall report changes in laws within its jurisdiction that increase the deficit by not more than \$150,000,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

(C) **COMMITTEE ON BANKING, HOUSING, AND URBAN AFFAIRS.**—The Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs of the Senate shall report changes in laws within its jurisdiction that reduce the deficit by not less than \$1,000,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

(D) **COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND TRANSPORTATION.**—The Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation of the Senate shall report changes in laws within its jurisdiction that increase the deficit by not more than \$20,000,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

(E) **COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES.**—The Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the Senate shall report changes in laws within its jurisdiction that reduce the deficit by not less than \$1,000,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

(F) **COMMITTEE ON ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS.**—The Committee on Environment and Public Works of the Senate shall report changes in laws within its jurisdiction that increase the deficit by not more than \$1,000,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

(G) **COMMITTEE ON FINANCE.**—The Committee on Finance of the Senate shall report changes in laws within its jurisdiction that increase the deficit by not more than \$1,500,000,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

(H) **COMMITTEE ON HEALTH, EDUCATION, LABOR, AND PENSIONS.**—The Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions of the Senate shall report changes in laws within its jurisdiction that reduce the deficit by not less than \$1,000,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

(I) **COMMITTEE ON HOMELAND SECURITY AND GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS.**—The Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs of the Senate shall report changes in laws within its jurisdiction that increase the deficit by not more than \$175,000,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

(J) **COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY.**—The Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate shall report changes in laws within its jurisdiction that increase the deficit by not more than \$175,000,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

(b) **INCREASE IN STATUTORY DEBT LIMIT.**—In the Senate, not later than May 16, 2025, the Committee on Finance of the Senate shall report changes in laws within its jurisdiction that increase the statutory debt limit by not more than \$5,000,000,000,000.

TITLE III—RESERVE FUNDS

SEC. 3001. RESERVE FUND FOR RECONCILIATION LEGISLATION.

(a) **HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—In the House of Representatives, the chair of the Committee on the Budget may revise the allocations of a committee or committees, aggregates, and other appropriate levels in this resolution for any bill or joint resolution considered pursuant to section 2001 containing the recommendations of one or more

committees, or for one or more amendments to, a conference report on, or an amendment between the Houses in relation to such a bill or joint resolution, by the amounts necessary to accommodate the budgetary effects of the legislation, if the budgetary effects of the legislation comply with the reconciliation instructions under this concurrent resolution.

(2) **DETERMINATION OF COMPLIANCE.**—For purposes of this subsection, compliance with the reconciliation instructions under this concurrent resolution shall be determined by the chair of the Committee on the Budget of the House of Representatives.

(b) **SENATE.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—In the Senate, the Chairman of the Committee on the Budget of the Senate may revise the allocations of a committee or committees, aggregates, and other appropriate levels in this resolution, and make adjustments to the pay-as-you-go ledger, for any bill or joint resolution considered pursuant to section 2002 containing the recommendations of one or more committees, or for one or more amendments to, a conference report on, or an amendment between the Houses in relation to such a bill or joint resolution, by the amounts necessary to accommodate the budgetary effects of the legislation, if the budgetary effects of the legislation comply with the reconciliation instructions under this concurrent resolution.

(2) **DETERMINATION OF COMPLIANCE.**—For purposes of this section, compliance with the reconciliation instructions under this concurrent resolution shall be determined by the Chairman of the Committee on the Budget of the Senate.

(3) **EXCEPTIONS FOR LEGISLATION.**—

(A) **SHORT-TERM.**—Section 404 of S. Con. Res. 13 (111th Congress), the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 2010, as amended by section 3201(b)(2) of S. Con. Res. 11 (114th Congress), the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 2016, shall not apply to legislation for which the Chairman of the Committee on the Budget of the Senate has exercised the authority under paragraph (1).

(B) **LONG-TERM.**—Section 3101 of S. Con. Res. 11 (114th Congress), the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 2016, shall not apply to legislation for which the Chairman of the Committee on the Budget of the Senate has exercised the authority under paragraph (1).

SEC. 3002. DEFICIT-NEUTRAL RESERVE FUND RELATING TO GOVERNMENT DEREGULATION.

The Chairman of the Committee on the Budget of the Senate may revise the allocations of a committee or committees, aggregates, and other appropriate levels in this resolution, and make adjustments to the pay-as-you-go ledger, for one or more bills, joint resolutions, amendments, amendments between the Houses, motions, or conference reports relating to reducing burdensome and costly Federal Government regulations by passing legislation focused on government deregulation that will decrease new spending arising from such regulations and reassert the proper constitutional role of Congress in the law-making process by the amounts provided in such legislation for those purposes, provided that such legislation would not increase the deficit over either the period of the total of fiscal years 2025 through 2029 or the period of the total of fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

SEC. 3003. SPENDING REDUCTION RESERVE FUND TO SAVE MORE THAN \$2,000,000,000,000.

The Chairman of the Committee on the Budget of the Senate may revise the allocations of a committee or committees, aggregates, and other appropriate levels in this resolution for one or more bills, joint resolutions, amendments, amendments between the Houses, motions, or conference reports relating to spending reforms that will—

(1) scrutinize line item expenditures, especially non-defense spending that did not exist prior to or has grown significantly since the start of the COVID-19 pandemic;

(2) fulfill the President's promise to protect the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance benefits program under title II of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 401 et seq.), the Medicare program under title XVIII of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395 et seq.), or the Medicaid program under title XIX of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396 et seq.), including from waste, fraud, and abuse; and

(3) include policy changes that reduce the deficit through reconciliation, executive action, or rescissions by Congress and the President by more than \$2,000,000,000,000 over 10 years, by the amounts provided in such legislation for those purposes, provided that such legislation would reduce outlays and the deficit over the period of the total of fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

SEC. 3004. SPENDING-NEUTRAL RESERVE FUND RELATED TO CURRENT TAX POLICY BASELINE.

The Chairman of the Committee on the Budget of the Senate may revise the allocations of a committee or committees, aggregates, and other appropriate levels in this resolution for one or more bills, joint resolutions, amendments, amendments between the Houses, motions, or conference reports relating to using more realistic assumptions regarding current tax policy, which may include extending provisions under Public Law 115-97 (131 Stat. 2054) (commonly known as the “Tax Cuts and Jobs Act of 2017”) in the baseline in order to prevent massive tax increases on working families and small businesses, and to align treatment of tax policy with major Federal spending programs, without raising revenue, by the amounts provided in such legislation for those purposes, provided that such legislation would not increase the deficit over the period of the total of fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

SEC. 3005. DEFICIT-NEUTRAL RESERVE FUND RELATING TO PROTECTING MEDICARE AND MEDICAID.

The Chairman of the Committee on the Budget of the Senate may revise the allocations of a committee or committees, aggregates, and other appropriate levels in this resolution, and make adjustments to the pay-as-you-go ledger, for one or more bills, joint resolutions, amendments, amendments between the Houses, motions, or conference reports relating to protecting the Medicaid program under title XIX of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396 et seq.), which may include strengthening and improving Medicaid for the most vulnerable populations, and extending the life of the Federal Hospital Insurance Trust Fund, by the amounts provided in such legislation for those purposes, provided that such legislation would not increase the deficit over the period of the total of fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

TITLE IV—OTHER MATTERS

SEC. 4001. ADJUSTMENT FOR SPENDING CUTS OF AT LEAST \$2 TRILLION.

(a) **ADJUSTMENT IF DEFICIT REDUCTION TARGET NOT ACHIEVED.**—In the House of Representatives, if one or more committees of the House of Representatives submit reconciliation recommendations pursuant to paragraphs (1), (3), (4), (5), (8), (9), or (10) of section 2001(b) and such recommendations do not, in total, achieve at least \$2,000,000,000,000 in net deficit reduction over the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034, the chair of the Committee on the Budget of the House shall reduce—

(1) the \$4,500,000,000,000 reconciliation instruction for the Committee on Ways and Means under section 2001(b)(11);

(2) the allocations to the Committee on Ways and Means under section 302(a) of the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974 (2 U.S.C. 633(a));

(3) the aggregates of budget authority, outlays, and revenues; and

(4) any other appropriate level in this concurrent resolution,

by an amount equal to the difference between \$2,000,000,000,000 and the total dollar amount of such recommendations.

(b) **ADJUSTMENT IF DEFICIT REDUCTION TARGET EXCEEDED.**—In the House of Representatives, if one or more committees of the House of Representatives submit reconciliation recommendations pursuant to paragraphs (1), (3), (4), (5), (8), (9), or (10) of section 2001(b) and such recommendations, in total, achieve at least \$2,000,000,000,000 in net deficit reduction over the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034, the chair of the Committee on the Budget of the House shall increase the levels described in paragraphs (1) through (4) of subsection (a) by an amount equal to the difference between the total dollar amount of such recommendations and \$2,000,000,000,000.

(c) **CERTIFICATION REQUIRED FOR ADJUSTMENT.**—No adjustment may be made under subsection (a) or subsection (b) unless the chair of the Committee on the Budget of the House, using cost estimates provided by the Congressional Budget Office and the Joint Committee on Taxation (as appropriate), certifies in writing that the applicable reconciliation recommendations—

(1) with respect to subsection (a), do not achieve net deficit reduction of at least \$2,000,000,000,000 over the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034; or

(2) with respect to subsection (b), achieve net deficit reduction of at least \$2,000,000,000,000 over the period of such fiscal years.

(d) **RECONCILIATION INSTRUCTION FOR WAYS AND MEANS.**—In the House of Representatives, the dollar amount resulting from any adjustment made under this section to the reconciliation instruction for the Committee on Ways and Means under paragraph (11) of section 2001(b) shall be substituted for “\$4,500,000,000,000” in such section and shall be deemed the reconciliation instructions for such Committee under such section. Any recommendations on changes in law within the jurisdiction of the Committee shall be consistent with the goals of this concurrent resolution, including with respect to spending reduction, tax policy changes, reforms, or other measures deemed appropriate by the chair of the Committee on the Budget of the House.

(e) **CONSISTENCY WITH THE RESOLUTION.**—Any reconciliation recommendations receiving an allocation adjustment under this section shall not be considered in violation of the budgetary levels established by this concurrent resolution.

SEC. 4002. ENFORCEMENT FILING.

(a) **IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.**—In the House of Representatives, if a concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 2025 is adopted without the appointment of a committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses with respect to this concurrent resolution on the budget, for the purpose of enforcing the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 (2 U.S.C. 621 et seq.) and applicable rules and requirements set forth in the concurrent resolution on the budget, the allocations provided for in this subsection shall apply in the House of Representatives in the same manner as if such allocations were in a joint explanatory statement accompanying a conference report on the budget for fiscal year 2025. The chair of the Committee on the Budget of the House of Representatives shall submit a statement for publication in the Congressional Record containing—

(1) for the Committee on Appropriations, committee allocations for fiscal year 2025 consistent with title I for the purpose of enforcing section 302 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 (2 U.S.C. 633); and

(2) for all committees other than the Committee on Appropriations, committee allocations consistent with title I for fiscal year 2025 and for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034 for the purpose of enforcing section 302 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 (2 U.S.C. 633).

(b) *IN THE SENATE.*—If this concurrent resolution on the budget is agreed to by the Senate and House of Representatives without the appointment of a committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses, the Chairman of the Committee on the Budget of the Senate may submit a statement for publication in the Congressional Record containing—

(1) for the Committee on Appropriations, committee allocations for fiscal year 2025 consistent with the levels in title I for the purpose of enforcing section 302 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 (2 U.S.C. 633); and

(2) for all committees other than the Committee on Appropriations, committee allocations for fiscal years 2025, 2025 through 2029, and 2025 through 2034 consistent with the levels in title I for the purpose of enforcing section 302 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 (2 U.S.C. 633).

SEC. 4003. BUDGETARY TREATMENT OF ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES.

(a) *SENATE.*—

(1) *IN GENERAL.*—In the Senate, notwithstanding section 302(a)(1) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 (2 U.S.C. 633(a)(1)), section 13301 of the Budget Enforcement Act of 1990 (2 U.S.C. 632 note), and section 2009a of title 39, United States Code, the report or the joint explanatory statement accompanying this concurrent resolution on the budget or the statement filed pursuant to section 4002(b), as applicable, shall include in an allocation under section 302(a) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 (2 U.S.C. 633(a)) to the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate of amounts for the discretionary administrative expenses of the Social Security Administration and the United States Postal Service.

(2) *SPECIAL RULE.*—In the Senate, for purposes of enforcing section 302(f) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 (2 U.S.C. 633(f)), estimates of the level of total new budget authority and total outlays provided by a measure shall include any discretionary amounts described in paragraph (1).

(b) *HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.*—

(1) *IN GENERAL.*—In the House of Representatives, notwithstanding section 302(a)(1) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 (2 U.S.C. 633(a)(1)), section 13301 of the Budget Enforcement Act of 1990 (2 U.S.C. 632 note), and section 2009a of title 39, United States Code, the report or the joint explanatory statement accompanying this concurrent resolution on the budget or the statement filed pursuant to section 4002(a), as applicable, shall include in an allocation under section 302(a) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 (2 U.S.C. 633(a)) to the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives of amounts for the discretionary administrative expenses of the Social Security Administration and the United States Postal Service.

(2) *SPECIAL RULE.*—In the House of Representatives, for purposes of enforcing section 302(f) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 (2 U.S.C. 633(f)), estimates of the level of total new budget authority and total outlays provided by a measure shall include any discretionary amounts described in paragraph (1).

SEC. 4004. APPLICATION AND EFFECT OF CHANGES IN ALLOCATIONS, AGGREGATES, AND OTHER BUDGETARY LEVELS.

(a) *APPLICATION.*—Any adjustments of allocations, aggregates, and other budgetary levels made pursuant to this concurrent resolution shall—

(1) apply while that measure is under consideration;

(2) take effect upon the enactment of that measure; and

(3) be published in the Congressional Record as soon as practicable.

(b) *EFFECT OF CHANGED ALLOCATIONS, AGGREGATES, AND OTHER BUDGETARY LEVELS.*—Revised allocations, aggregates, and other budgetary levels resulting from these adjustments

shall be considered for the purposes of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 (2 U.S.C. 621 et seq.) as the allocations, aggregates, and other budgetary levels contained in this concurrent resolution.

(c) *BUDGET COMMITTEE DETERMINATIONS.*—For purposes of this concurrent resolution, the levels of new budget authority, outlays, direct spending, new entitlement authority, revenues, deficits, and surpluses for a fiscal year or period of fiscal years shall be determined on the basis of estimates made by the chair of the Committee on the Budget of the applicable House of Congress.

(d) *AGGREGATES, ALLOCATIONS AND APPLICATION.*—In the House of Representatives, for purposes of this concurrent resolution and budget enforcement, the consideration of any bill or joint resolution, or amendment thereto or conference report thereon, for which the chair of the Committee on the Budget makes adjustments or revisions in the allocations, aggregates, and other budgetary levels of this concurrent resolution shall not be subject to the point of order set forth in clause 10 of rule XXI of the Rules of the House of Representatives.

SEC. 4005. ADJUSTMENTS TO REFLECT CHANGES IN CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS.

(a) *HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.*—In the House of Representatives, the chair of the Committee on the Budget may adjust the appropriate aggregates, allocations, and other budgetary levels in this concurrent resolution for any change in budgetary concepts and definitions consistent with section 251(b)(1) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 (2 U.S.C. 901(b)(1)).

(b) *SENATE.*—In the Senate, upon the enactment of a bill or joint resolution providing for a change in concepts or definitions, the Chairman of the Committee on the Budget of the Senate may make adjustments to the levels and allocations in this concurrent resolution in accordance with section 251(b) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 (2 U.S.C. 901(b)).

SEC. 4006. ADJUSTMENT FOR CHANGES IN THE BASELINE.

The chair of the Committee on the Budget of the House of Representatives and the Chairman of the Committee on the Budget of the Senate may adjust the allocations, aggregates, and other appropriate budgetary levels in this concurrent resolution to reflect changes resulting from the Congressional Budget Office's updates to its baseline for fiscal years 2025 through 2034, including the effects of legislation enacted before the date on which this concurrent resolution is agreed to.

SEC. 4007. EXERCISE OF RULEMAKING POWERS.

Congress adopts the provisions of this title—

(1) as an exercise of the rulemaking power of the Senate and the House of Representatives, respectively, and as such they shall be considered as part of the rules of each House or of that House to which they specifically apply, and such rules shall supersede other rules only to the extent that they are inconsistent with such other rules; and

(2) with full recognition of the constitutional right of either the Senate or the House of Representatives to change those rules (insofar as they relate to that House) at any time, in the same manner, and to the same extent as is the case of any other rule of the Senate or House of Representatives.

TITLE V—POLICY STATEMENTS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEC. 5001. POLICY STATEMENT ON ECONOMIC GROWTH.

(a) *FINDINGS.*—The House finds the following:

(1) The rate of economic growth has a significant impact on budget deficits. When the rate of gross domestic product (GDP) increases, projected revenue grows with it and deficits decline. Conversely, slower GDP growth can lead to lagging revenues and mounting deficits.

(2) Federal policies affect the economy's potential to grow and impact economic performance, influencing budgetary outcomes. Consequently, fiscally responsible policies that improve the economy's long-term growth prospects help reduce the size of budget deficits over a given period.

(3) The free market, where individuals pursue their own self-interests, has been responsible for greater advancements in quality of life and generation of wealth than any other form of economic system. Federal policies designed to grow the economy should thus allow market forces to operate unhindered rather than pick "winners" and "losers".

(b) *POLICY ON ECONOMIC GROWTH.*—In the House of Representatives, it is the policy of this concurrent resolution to pursue policies that embrace the free market and promote economic growth policies that—

- (1) reduce Federal spending;
- (2) expand American energy production;
- (3) lower taxes that discourage work, savings, and investment;
- (4) deregulate the economy and enact reforms to diminish bureaucratic red tape; and
- (5) eliminate barriers to work so more Americans enter (or reenter) the job market.

SEC. 5002. POLICY STATEMENT ON MANDATORY SPENDING REDUCTION.

(a) *FINDINGS.*—The House finds the following:

(1) The United States faces a significant debt crisis, with the national debt currently exceeding \$36 trillion, or 123 percent of GDP.

(2) Since 2019, mandatory spending has increased by 59 percent.

(3) This debt poses a significant risk to the country's long-term fiscal sustainability, with implications for future generations.

(4) Mandatory spending currently accounts for over 70 percent of the entire Federal budget.

(5) The deficit for fiscal year 2025 is projected to be \$1.9 trillion, or 6.2 percent of GDP.

(6) This fiscal year, net interest will total \$952 billion, or 3.2 percent of GDP.

(b) *POLICY ON MANDATORY SPENDING REDUCTION.*—In the House of Representatives, the goal of this concurrent resolution is to reduce mandatory spending by \$2 trillion over the budget window. If the combined deficit reduction provided by authorizing committees is below this target, it is the policy of the Committee on the Budget of the House that the instruction provided to the Committee on Ways and Means of the House should be reduced by a commensurate amount to offset the difference.

SEC. 5003. POLICY STATEMENT ON GOVERNMENT DEREGULATION.

(a) *FINDINGS.*—The House finds the following:

(1) Regulations throughout the Federal Government have been a major issue for decades, continuously growing while negatively impacting the nation's economic and fiscal standing.

(2) Overregulation has consistently hurt small businesses, strangled domestic energy production, weakened labor market conditions, and expanded government overreach and costs on taxpayers.

(3) Real (inflation-adjusted) spending on regulatory agencies has increased exponentially since 1960. The total number of pages in the Code of Federal Regulations (CFR) has increased from 22,877 pages in 1960 to nearly 200,000 today. When compared to 1950, the CFR contained only 9,745 pages in 1950, making the size of the CFR today 95% larger than it was in 1950.

(b) *POLICY STATEMENT ON GOVERNMENT DEREGULATION.*—In this House of Representatives, it is the policy of this concurrent resolution—

(1) that Congress continues to examine ways to relieve the burdens of overregulation throughout the Federal Government;

(2) that Congress is ready to promote initiatives that will reduce government bureaucracy, enhance Federalism, and increase economic prosperity through deregulation;

(3) to not only reduce burdensome, costly regulations, but to also reassert the role of Congress; and

(4) to enact legislation through reconciliation that strengthens Congress, scales back Federal regulations, limits future bureaucratic red tape, and unleashes economic growth, such as the Regulations from the Executive in Need of Scrutiny (REINS) Act.

MOTION TO CONCUR

Mr. ARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I have a motion at the desk.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will designate the motion.

The text of the motion is as follows:

Mr. Arrington of Texas moves that the House concur in the Senate amendment to House Concurrent Resolution 14.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 313, the motion shall be debatable for 1 hour equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Budget.

The gentleman from Texas (Mr. ARRINGTON) and the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. BOYLE) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. ARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and to include extraneous material on Senate amendment to H. Con. Res. 14.

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

There was no objection.

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

Mr. Speaker, in the most historic election of our lifetime, Americans resoundingly elected President Trump and a Republican-led Congress to reverse course on the failed policies and the string of self-inflicted disasters of the past 4 years.

Unbridled spending and bad economic policies have weakened our economy, created a cost-of-living disaster for working families, and pushed our Nation ever closer to the precipice of the sovereign debt crisis.

Today, our national debt is at war-time levels, Mr. Speaker. Our deficit is \$2 trillion more than our annual appropriations budget. Half of that is interest. Interest on the debt is greater than we spend, Mr. Speaker, on all of Defense and, respectively, it is more than we spend on all of Medicare services to our seniors.

It is completely and utterly unsustainable. We are at a critical inflection point. We have a generational opportunity to rein in wasteful spending, reignite growth, and put our Nation on a responsible and sustainable path.

Members of this Chamber did just that. The Republicans of the House fashioned a fiscal framework that was responsible, that put pro-growth policies in place to incent growth and job creation, move our country forward,

strengthen our economic base, which is our power base that gives us our global leadership influence.

We also give tools and resources to our Commander in Chief to provide for a common defense. We bend the curve on mandatory spending, which is 75 percent of the budget, 90 percent of the increase in spending, and it is the spending that is bankrupting the United States of America.

For the next hour, the Democrats will have rhetorical arguments that are tired, old, and completely false. They will prey on the fears of our most vulnerable Americans and they will try to intimidate my Republican colleagues into inaction.

They will try to convince our seniors and those families and individuals who struggle that we will somehow steal their safety net or cut their program, which couldn't be further from the truth.

Mr. Speaker, my Democrat colleagues in the Rules Committee said, listen, if you are just talking about cutting waste, you know we are there. You know we will meet you half way. We want to ensure that the taxpayer dollars are stewarded, and yet they take out their baseball bat when we talk about the hundreds of billions of dollars in waste, fraud, and abuse, and they politicize it.

However, when they had full control of the House and Senate and the White House, they jammed through their Inflation Reduction Act or the American Rescue Plan, there wasn't a jot or tittle, not a single measure of fiscal control or a measure of rooting out waste and fraud, but they say they are with us.

Mr. Speaker, instead, there was \$2 trillion in wasted tax dollars opening up healthcare and welfare to illegals, waived work requirements to able-bodied Americans, trapping more people in dependence on the government. Of course, they also had bailouts for student loans and expansion of the IRS by \$80 billion, mandating electric vehicles for every American, tax breaks for green energy corporations, and the list goes on and on.

They will also dust off an old playbook where they say that the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act was simply a tax cut for the rich.

Just to dispel that with a few points, The Washington Post gave four Pinocchios to their claim that it went to the rich and to the corporations. Mr. Speaker, \$3 out of \$4 went to individuals, and the lower 10 percent of our income brackets received the highest tax break. The top 1 percent actually had to pay a higher share of taxes.

In addition, we saw 25-year wage increases for American families with a median household income able to put \$5,000 back into their pockets and 6 million people were raised out of poverty, so all boats rose on the tide of prosperity.

Yet, my Democrat colleagues are trying to stop us from simply extending

the tax relief to our small businesses and tax breaks to our families after a 21 percent inflation tax that they suffered through for the last few years.

If they were successful in opposing the extension of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, an average American will have a tax hike of 22 percent, \$1,700 would be the extra expense for families of four, 26 million small businesses would lose their comparable tax break through the 20 percent 199A deduction, child tax credit would be cut in half for 40 million families, the standard deduction for 91 percent of all Americans would be cut in half.

Mr. Speaker, as we unlock the reconciliation process, I am encouraging my colleagues to hold fast to the principles established in the House's budget resolution. If we do that, we will preserve the blessings of liberty and prosperity for our children and grandchildren for generations to come. If we don't, if we shrink back in this monumental moment and this historic opportunity, then we will be the first generation of Americans who have left our country worse than we found it.

If we are to usher in that golden age of America that President Trump is fond of talking about, we must advance a budget resolution bill that doesn't just include tax cuts or deregulation or good energy policies. All that is good, but also, admittedly, the most difficult part but the most necessary, is reining in the runaway spending that is driving the greatest country in human history off of a fiscal cliff.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to reverse the curse, and I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BOYLE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I have to say it is like *deja vu* all over again because we were on the House floor about a month ago to have a debate about the House Republican budget reconciliation resolution, which included trillions of dollars in big giveaways that mostly benefit the top 1 percent, paid for, in part, by the biggest Medicaid cuts in American history, combined with trillions of dollars in new debt.

Here we are again a month later and after the Senate Republicans made their changes, we have even more in tax-cut giveaways. Instead of \$4.5 trillion, it is now \$7 trillion, most of which one penny doesn't even pay for it, except, again, for cuts to Medicaid, as well as cuts to other programs.

Now, there is a little bit of confusion here on a couple aspects, and I will quickly address them.

First, on tax cuts, there is no question that there will not be a tax increase on working Americans. There is widespread agreement, on both sides of the aisle, when it comes to tax cuts on those making under a million dollars a year.

In fact, in the Rules Committee a few weeks ago, a Democratic Member offered an amendment to say we agree.

Where the disagreement lies is in those who make more than a million dollars a year. The top 1 percent, in fact, the top one-half of 1 percent.

Every Democratic Member voted in favor of that amendment that would make clear we would be extending the tax cuts for everyone who makes up to \$1 million. That is a massive amount of money. Every Democrat voted for it. Every Republican voted against it.

Don't be confused and don't be scared by this scare tactic. If you are a middle-class American, if you are in the 99 percent, you will not see your taxes go up next year. There is no question about that. What is at issue is the tax cuts for multimillionaires, billionaires, and big corporations.

Now, there is another part that has gotten confused or obscured, and that is with respect to the Medicaid cuts. As CBO confirmed in a letter they sent to Mr. PALLONE and to me, there is no question that this piece of legislation before us calls for hundreds of billions of dollars in Medicaid cuts, the largest in American history.

There are some on the other side who have said the word "Medicaid" technically doesn't exist in the bill, therefore, these cuts don't exist. Give me a break.

The instruction in this piece of legislation directs the Energy and Commerce Committee to identify at least \$880 billion of cuts in those programs where they have jurisdiction.

Guess what. Mr. Speaker, 93 percent of their jurisdiction is Medicare and Medicaid. You can literally cut everything else that they have jurisdiction over and that only gets you about \$380 billion, so at least \$500 billion, by definition, in order to follow and carry out these instructions, have to come from Medicaid.

Now, finally, because I know we have a lot of speakers on this side, there is something additional in this new version of the reconciliation resolution. It is called current policy baseline. It is a fraud, and to House Republicans' credit, actually, in their proposal, they didn't rely on this fraud.

Current policy baseline, with a straight face, wants you to believe that permanent extension of the tax cuts won't cost one dime. This would establish a dangerous new precedent here.

For 51 years, we have operated under the Budget and Impoundment Control Act. For 51 years, we have had the Congressional Budget Office and we have had these rules, as imperfect as they may be, that we have to follow, that things have to be paid for within a 10-year window.

Current policy baseline means that rule goes out the window. If we think that, in establishing this new precedent, this will be the only time it is ever used, that is crazy. If we think that we have a national debt issue right now, which we both agree on, it will get far, far worse if the new standard becomes this phony fraud of current policy baseline.

Mr. Speaker, I look forward to the rest of the debate, and I reserve the balance of my time.

□ 1645

Mr. ARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. SMUCKER), a dear friend from the Keystone State and vice chair of the Budget Committee.

Mr. SMUCKER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding.

I would first say it has been a great pleasure of mine to work with the chairman over the past few months. He has done an incredible job leading the Budget Committee and leading our Conference to a resolution passed out of the House that not only extended the tax cuts but secured the border. It unleashes American energy. It funds our military. All the priorities, all the mandates that the American people have given us and have given the President in this past election, it makes good on.

I will say first that it is, I think, important to every Member of the Republican Conference in the House and, I believe, every Republican Member in the Senate, as well, to extend those tax cuts, drive an economy that is working for Americans, and drive additional growth in the economy.

That is what came out of the House, and so I was very disappointed to see very different instructions to the Senate that I think are not serious.

I believe that we have to do these tax cuts. What I think is also important to every Member of the House—we know the fiscal trajectory that we are on, and we know this won't end well if we don't restrain our runaway spending. I think this is our opportunity to do it.

The \$4 billion floor in spending savings in that Senate resolution just simply is not acceptable. There are those who argue that we will be working on this and will still come up with a good resolution, but to me, it is important we have the guardrails in the initial resolution.

I think there is a reason for the initial resolution. It is to set up the framework for what this reconciliation will look like.

Unfortunately, today—unusual for me—I will not be able to support this resolution on the floor. I will be voting "no" on this resolution.

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

Mr. ARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 15 seconds to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SMUCKER. Mr. Speaker, again, with what I started with, it is very important we get this resolution done. There is a better path forward. We have an amendment that could be passed in this resolution that would satisfy where the Senate is, where the House is. As I said, I can't vote for this resolution as it is, but there is a pathway forward here that is very important.

Mr. BOYLE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gen-

tleman from New York (Mr. JEFFRIES), the Democratic leader.

Mr. JEFFRIES. Mr. Speaker, let me also thank the distinguished gentleman from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Representative BOYLE, who is doing a tremendous job leading House Democrats on the Budget Committee.

Yesterday, I urged the Speaker to join me on the House floor to debate this reckless budget one-on-one so we would have an opportunity to fully air, in a transparent way before the American people, Democratic values and Republican values, the Democratic perspective on this budget and the Republican perspective.

I am on the House floor right now. I am ready to debate one-on-one, prepared to yield to the Speaker for colloquy at any time so we can discuss the Democratic vision for building an affordable economy that lowers costs and makes life better for the American people and the Republican budget proposal that would enact the largest Medicaid cut in American history in order to pass massive tax breaks for Republicans' billionaire donors like Elon Musk.

Mr. Speaker, I am ready to yield. I am ready to debate one-on-one on this House floor. I promise not to rebuke him in the name of Jesus.

Here in America, we were told by Donald Trump and House Republicans, that they were going to lower the high cost of living for everyday Americans. In fact, we were told that Republicans were going to do it on day one, and it hasn't happened.

President Trump and House Republicans told us that they were going to deliver the golden age of America. Over the last several months, we haven't witnessed the golden age of America. We have witnessed a rotten age.

They are crashing the economy in real time, driving us toward a Republican recession that is going to hurt children, hurt families, hurt seniors, hurt everyday Americans, hurt veterans, and hurt people across the land.

Republicans haven't done anything to address the high cost of living. As Democrats, we recognize that America is too expensive. The cost of living in this great country is far too high. Housing costs are too high. Grocery costs are too high. Insurance costs are too high. Utility costs are too high. Childcare costs are too high. America is too expensive. We should be working to lower the high cost of living.

Far too many people in this country can't get ahead, and they can barely get by, struggling to make ends meet, living paycheck to paycheck. We should be acting decisively to address the high cost of living.

President Trump promised costs would go down on day one. Costs aren't going down. They are going up. Inflation is going up. Consumer confidence is coming down.

These reckless policies, including the Trump tariffs, are driving us toward a

recession. On top of it all, Republicans are presenting a budget that is going to make things worse.

I stand here today in strong opposition to this reckless Republican budget. It is a cruel budget. It is a budget that will have catastrophic consequences on everyday Americans.

It is an assault on the economy. It is an assault on Medicaid, an assault on healthcare, and an assault on nutritional assistance to children and families. It is an assault on older Americans and an assault on hospitals, nursing homes, and community health centers. It is an assault on veterans. That is why we reject it, because we are going to stand on the side of the American people.

Now, there are so many different problems with this budget resolution, but let's begin with the fact that Republicans are setting in motion the largest Medicaid cut in American history. That is going to hurt people all across this country. In small-town America, in urban America, in rural America, in the heartland of America, in Appalachia, all across this country, people will be hurt.

Healthcare will be taken away from children, pregnant women, everyday Americans with disabilities, older Americans, people in nursing homes, and people who are receiving long-term care. Nursing homes will close. That will impact everybody in a given community. Hospitals will shut down in rural America and small-town America all across America. The largest Medicaid cut in American history is completely and totally unacceptable.

In the same period of time, targeting nutritional assistance for children, infants, women, families, veterans, and older Americans, literally taking food out of the mouths of babies in the United States of America, the wealthiest country in the history of the world, this is why we say it is a cruel budget. It is a callous budget. It is a budget that will have catastrophic consequences.

Veterans will be hurt, people who have served this country admirably. They stood up for us. We should always stand up for them, not target them, as will be the case in this reckless Republican budget.

Democrats are here to make it clear: Hands off Medicaid. Hands off the healthcare of the United States of America. Hands off nutritional assistance. Hands off veterans. Hands off everyday Americans struggling to make ends meet.

Republicans do nothing to lower the high cost of living. In fact, they are making the affordability crisis in America worse, not better. Then, they target earned benefits and things that are important to the American people, like Medicaid, to visit upon it such an extreme cut. What are they doing it for? What is it in service of? All to pass massive tax breaks for their billionaire donors like Elon Musk. The President himself has made that clear. At the end

of the day, that is what this is all about. How extraordinary is that?

As Democrats, we support tax cuts for everyday Americans, tax cuts for small businesses, tax cuts for family farmers, and tax cuts for those who need relief, not tax cuts for the wealthy, the well-off, and the well-connected.

I stand in strong opposition to this GOP tax scam. The reason why, Mr. Speaker, I have said let's debate this on the House floor directly through a colloquy, transparently, is to make it clear to the American people where we stand and where Republicans stand at such a fragile moment with so many people in this country struggling to make ends meet.

House Democrats are going to continue to stand on the side of the American people. We are going to stand on the side of our children, of our families, of our veterans, of older Americans, of everyone aspiring to achieve the American Dream, stand up in defense of Medicaid, stand up in defense of veterans' benefits, stand up in defense of nutritional assistance, stand up in defense of economic opportunity and a fair tax code that is designed to build an economy that actually works for everyday Americans as opposed to an economy of the billionaires, by the billionaires, and for the billionaires.

That is why Democrats strongly oppose this reckless Republican budget resolution and will not rest until we bury it in the ground, never to rise again.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, after the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, the wages for the bottom 10 percent grew at twice the amount of the top 10 percent and wealth three times the top 1 percent. If Leader JEFFRIES is successful at killing the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act extension, he will raise taxes by \$1,739 for families in his district.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. MCCLINTOCK), my good friend.

□ 1700

Mr. MCCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, Benjamin Franklin told of a French woman who once confided to her sister: "I don't know how it happens, sister, but I meet with nobody but myself that is always in the right." He was reminding his colleagues that democracies were never designed to make perfect decisions, only the most acceptable ones to the most people.

My disappointment in the Senate version before us is vast, but it has one redeeming quality: It is within reach. No, it doesn't begin to address the dangerous debt that threatens our Nation's solvency, but it does open up a process that is absolutely critical if we are going to stop a \$4.5 trillion tax increase that would devastate our economy, provide the funds to secure our borders, and provide for our defense in a dangerous world.

I am frustrated with the Senate numbers, but in DOGE we trust. I think we

can achieve a trillion dollars of savings as a result of its work. The mass repatriation of millions of illegal aliens should save another \$150 billion. Restoring the work requirement for able-bodied welfare recipients will save hundreds of billions of dollars more without touching a single service for the truly needy. The economic rebound from the regulatory and fiscal reforms and from the bilateral free trade agreements the President intends to negotiate are potentially explosive.

None of these reforms are in this resolution, but all of them depend on this resolution. If anybody has a better alternative, they need to bring it to a vote in both Houses this week. Otherwise, let us take a little of Benjamin Franklin's advice, doubt a little of our own infallibility, and get on with the work we were elected to do and upon which the prosperity of our people and the future of our Nation depends.

Mr. BOYLE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chair, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PALLONE), the ranking member of the Energy and Commerce Committee.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, I have heard my Republican colleagues today admit that they were extending the tax cut for the rich and the large corporations. I have heard them say they are worried about the debt. Certainly, this resolution would also increase the debt.

What I have not heard the majority admit is that they are cutting Medicaid to pay for all this. They will not admit that. This is the second time now the budget resolution passed the House, and the budget resolution came over from the Senate. They are going to vote today on instructing my committee, the Energy and Commerce Committee, to cut \$880 billion at least.

Mr. BOYLE, our ranking member, pointed out that the CBO got back to us and said that most, if not all, of that has to come from Medicaid cuts.

My Republican colleagues should please admit that they are voting today on Medicaid cuts. Do not deny it. Do not try to put it aside. That is what this is all about.

What does that mean? It means there is less money to the States, so they are going to cut back on nursing home care and on the money that goes to hospitals. Hospitals and nursing homes will close, or they will have such terrible quality of service or, in the case of the hospitals, will pass on those extra costs to other people who have insurance, and their insurance premiums go up.

What about people with disabilities? Most of them are dependent on Medicaid. Their services will be eliminated or cut back, as well.

Please, understand that a vote for this by the Republicans today is a vote to cut people's healthcare, to reduce their services, to kick people out of nursing homes, and to make hospitals unavailable.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, interestingly enough, the Democrats' expansion of ObamaCare actually put 90 cents on the dollar for able-bodied adults. They robbed our most vulnerable—our disabled, blind, and pregnant fellow Americans—of having access to healthcare, reducing the quality of outcomes over the years. That was a policy of the Democrats, and there are many others that need to be reversed.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. HERN), my friend.

Mr. HERN of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this legislation that will unlock the critical work the American people elected us to do.

Let's not forget that the only reason we are in this position to be working on such important legislation is because of President Donald Trump. President Trump's message resonated with the American people, and they elected him in historic numbers. They delivered Republican majorities in the House and the Senate because they want Congress to deliver on the promises we made.

Today, it is time for us to act so that we can get on with the real work in our committees. In passing this budget framework, we are unlocking the process to deliver on unleashing American energy production, permanently securing our southern and northern borders, and making tax cuts permanent for small businesses and working families.

If we fail, every American will see the largest tax increase in American history. Just days away from tax day, this is as important a time as any to put the American people first. We cannot fail the hardworking Americans who are trusting us to get this done or the small businesses that rely on consistency in our tax code.

President Trump has fully secured our border and eliminated over \$100 billion in government spending on waste, fraud, and abuse.

My Democratic colleagues speak of confusion, as we have heard today. Let me remove some of that confusion. President Trump's new proposal on tax cuts is for those making tips, not the wealthy; those on overtime, not the wealthy; and reducing the tax burden on those receiving Social Security, our seniors, not the wealthy.

The President has talked about giving tax credits or deductibility for interest on automobiles made in America so our great union workers in America can have better jobs and continue to see jobs grow in America, not the wealthy.

My Democratic colleagues want to talk about fear over facts, as we have heard from their leaders today. Let me remind them of what happened. They inherited a government in January 2021 with 1.4 percent inflation, and they delivered 9.1 percent inflation just 5 months later. That was almost a sevenfold, 700 percent, increase in inflation on the American people.

When they talk about being good stewards of the American taxpayers'

tax dollars, this is an outright abuse of the facts. The facts are they are the ones who increased inflation, as my colleague said, over 20 percent over a 4-year period.

The reason the American people are suffering today is not because of the 70 days that President Trump has been in office. It is because of the 4 years of the Biden administration and the Democratic Party.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to support this budget, and I am proud to fight for President Trump's legislative agenda. I urge every one of my colleagues here to vote so we can get on to the debate that the leader on the other side of the aisle talked about.

Mr. BOYLE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentlewoman from Minnesota (Ms. CRAIG), the ranking member of the Agriculture Committee.

Ms. CRAIG. Mr. Speaker, I am actually stunned as we stand here today because, as my colleagues talk about their plan, what they are doing, in reality, is giving billionaires the national credit card and telling them to go hog wild, racking up \$14 trillion in national debt over the next 10 years so that large corporations can pay less in taxes. That doesn't lower costs for middle-class families in this country.

If this were a bill that we were talking about that would lower taxes for the middle class, I would be all for it.

To make matters worse, part of how they want to pay for this resolution is to cut the supplemental nutrition assistance program, or SNAP, by \$230 billion. This cut would force the average SNAP household of four to spend over \$2,000 more on food.

Who are the majority of SNAP recipients? They are seniors living on fixed incomes, children, and disabled people. SNAP helps American families buy American-grown food. This cut takes a chunk out of the farm economy as well when they can least afford it because of the whiplash of this administration and Donald Trump's tariffs. This resolution would mean that farmers growing our food would make \$30 billion less than anticipated in farm income, placing family farmers at risk.

This Republican budget only stands to make America hungrier and poorer so the rich can get richer. It is shameful, and I urge my colleagues to vote "no."

Mr. ARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, the inflation tax that my colleague put on her constituents with unbridled spending and failed economic policies actually took \$1,100 out of the pockets of our fellow Americans, but the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act put \$5,000 back into the pockets of our fellow Americans in every district.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Kansas (Mr. ESTES), my friend and a fellow Budget Committee member.

Mr. ESTES. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of advancing President Trump's America First agenda.

It was less than 2 months ago that I stood on this House floor as Republicans passed our budget resolution, putting a marker in the ground to restore and secure our country both physically and financially.

While I don't think this resolution goes far enough, the resolution that we are about to pass today is a positive step forward, and it is what Americans demanded 5 months ago.

Yesterday, I had the opportunity to talk directly with President Trump in the West Wing. He is asking Republicans to support this budget resolution to move the process forward. This resolution is only one more step in the process to obtain these positive results.

Voting "yes" means voting for a secure border and economic growth. By voting "yes," we are voting for a path to make the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act permanent. It means making economic growth provisions like research and development, the small business pass-through, interest deductibility, and immediate expensing permanent parts of our tax code. A "yes" vote prevents the largest tax increase for Americans in history.

As a fiscal hawk who will continue to work with the administration to rein in reckless spending, I am voting "yes" for the American people.

Mr. BOYLE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. PETERS), a distinguished member of the Budget Committee.

Mr. PETERS. Mr. Speaker, there are a lot of difficult things about this, but one thing I want to say is that the Republicans are actually trying to change the rules of the game to say that this tax cut doesn't cost any money. The Senate is ignoring the rules we have observed for decades, ruling out the Parliamentarian, just declaring that extending these tax cuts doesn't cost any money, and that is a falsehood. We are just changing our accounting rules to do this.

The other fault with this is the chairman, Mr. ARRINGTON, rightly pointed out we are borrowing \$2 trillion every year, but this does nothing about that. All this does is take money from important programs to fund the extension of tax cuts, many of which are for the wealthy. Some may be for the non-wealthy, but much of it is for the wealthy. It is the wrong thing to do.

Every independent analysis says this will not lower the budget deficit but will increase it. Mr. Speaker, if you don't believe me, look at when we vote for the debt ceiling increase; \$5 trillion to \$18 trillion. What are we going to vote for? This is the wrong direction.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, after the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, the top 1 percent of earners in this country, who pay 40 percent of the light bills and the expenses of this growing, massive Federal Government, paid more of a share of taxes than they did less. The code got more progressive.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. CAREY), my friend.

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, today's vote really marks an essential step toward fulfilling the promise to the American people to extend the 2017 Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, to enshrine border security into law, and to move forward toward American energy independence.

After enduring years of high inflation, American families and small businesses urgently need tax relief in order to thrive. We must pass our budget resolution today to start the budget reconciliation process and advance the policies that our American families expect from us.

It includes much-needed deficit reduction, as was mentioned earlier, which will secure a healthy financial future for our children and grandchildren. It will allow us to extend the successful tax cuts from 2017 that produced the unprecedented job growth and higher wages for American workers. I urge everyone to support the resolution.

Mr. BOYLE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. PANETTA), a distinguished member of the Budget Committee.

Mr. PANETTA. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this disastrous, debt-inflating budget resolution. Despite what the majority is saying today, it is a resolution that inflates our debt and deficit. It will hide the cost of tax cuts for billionaires, and it threatens our economy.

□ 1715

Mr. Speaker, it is a resolution that gives the majority a green light to selectively choose the score of a Republican tax cuts bill. It is a resolution that pretends that tax costs nothing. It is a resolution that would do damage to our Nation's finances and add \$4.6 trillion to our Nation's debt.

Experts across this political spectrum have called this dishonest, fabricated scorekeeping, and it undermines the point of budget rules.

That is why I introduced an amendment to this resolution so that the Senate uses real estimates to determine its cost.

Instead, they are going to write themselves a blank check to be paid by the American people and to be paid by our children. That is why I oppose this and I ask my colleagues to oppose this resolution, as well.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I say to Mr. PANETTA that if we do current policy and don't offset the impact of the deficit, that would be a dangerous precedent.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BERGMAN).

Mr. BERGMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this Senate amendment to the fiscal year 2025 budget resolution.

Let's be clear about what we are voting on today. We are not voting on the

budget. We are not voting on the numbers. We are voting on the framework, a starting point for building a budget that delivers on President Trump's priorities.

Those priorities are securing our border, strengthening national security, energy independence, and preventing a tax hike of \$4 trillion set to hit at the end of the year if we don't act.

Think of the reconciliation process as a baseball scrimmage. The House and Senate can't take the field and start crafting the budget until we step out of the dugout. Approving this framework gets us into the game.

Yes, there are concerns about how we achieve the spending cuts and reduce the deficit. That is a critical conversation, but it starts here.

In the last 100 years, Republicans have had just four chances to do a reconciliation bill. We were given a mandate by the American people. Let's not waste it. I urge my colleagues to support it.

Mr. BOYLE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mrs. WATSON COLEMAN), a distinguished member of the House Committee on the Budget.

Mrs. WATSON COLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague for yielding time.

Mr. Speaker, this budget is a bad deal. It takes billions of dollars from programs that working families rely on and gives that money to the very wealthiest Americans in the form of \$7 trillion in tax breaks.

It slashes funding for programs like Medicaid. Nearly 2 million people in my State of New Jersey rely on Medicaid for healthcare. It raises the healthcare costs for folks who get their coverage through the Affordable Care Act. In my district, folks could see their premiums go up by \$1,400 per year under this budget.

Though I know my colleagues across the aisle are very concerned with the Federal debt, this budget adds more than \$5 trillion to the deficit. This is a rip-off for working families, and I strongly encourage my colleagues to oppose this measure.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Arkansas (Mr. HILL), the chairman of the House Financial Services Committee.

Mr. HILL of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for kindly yielding to me.

Mr. Speaker, the policies of the Biden-Harris administration crushed the spirit of the American people under the weight of rising costs from a 40-year high inflation, open borders, uncertain futures, and spending an avalanche on Biden's Big Government spending priorities that have saddled us with an annual deficit of \$2 trillion.

The resolution before us today offers a path forward to rein in wasteful spending and put our Nation on a responsible and sustainable fiscal path. It reflects the commitment to the Amer-

ican people that would secure a better future for all of us.

This resolution secures the opportunity for tax cuts for hardworking American families and small businesses. It reins in the regulatory overreach that has long stifled our economic growth. It roots out waste, fraud, and abuse in the Federal budget.

It is simply common sense that we focus on fiscal responsibility and rein in wasteful spending to which Washington has become so addicted.

Mr. Speaker, I look forward to working with my House colleagues, Chairman ARRINGTON, and the Members of this body to accomplish the President's goals by way of this reconciliation measure.

Mr. BOYLE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from the Virgin Islands (Ms. PLASKETT), a distinguished member of the House Committee on the Budget.

Ms. PLASKETT. Mr. Speaker, I stand here appalled and terribly disappointed at the actions of the Republican majority and the brazen cruelty and flagrant deceit with which Republicans in Congress and the Trump-Musk administration are trying to shove this fallacy down the throats of everyday American people.

Nearly one in three Americans count on Medicaid. Yet Republicans are pushing a cut of at least \$880 billion in Medicaid. What is the purpose?

This is the purpose. As I sit on the Committee on Ways and Means, I know that they must add \$7 trillion, trillion with a t, in giveaways to billionaire donors and big corporations, while ripping healthcare and food away from veterans, seniors, and children.

Mr. Speaker, yes, Americans are fed up with the chaos. They are also fed up with the cruelty, the lack of humanity, and the willingness to help everyday Americans who are being exploited by this.

They are exposed.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I take that it we don't have the support of our Democrat colleague for the hundreds of billions of dollars in waste, fraud, and abuse in Medicaid.

Quite frankly, it is pervasive throughout the Federal Government and threatens that program, threatens the benefits to our most vulnerable, and threatens the sustainability of that program for future Americans.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. SCALISE), my dear friend and our fearless majority leader.

Mr. SCALISE. Mr. Speaker, I thank my dear friend from the great State of Texas, the chairman of the House Committee on the Budget, for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution and in moving this process forward. Let's keep in mind that we worked incredibly hard, especially here in the House, for months to negotiate all the details of what needs to happen in this budget reconciliation. It is all laid out in this House budget.

We also need to get started with the reconciliation process.

The process is where eleven of our committees in the House will go to work to start making improvements in so many areas to get America back on track. Ultimately, Mr. Speaker, that is why we all come here. We come here to solve big problems.

We deal with small issues, too. It is not often, but every now and then we deal with a big issue that can actually improve the lives of families all across this country. We can solve problems that have been going unanswered for years and decades. Mr. Speaker, we can address that in this resolution.

Let's go through some of the things that this resolution allows us to do because this resolution doesn't do any of those things, it just opens the door to start that reconciliation process.

The product front and center that most people talk about and that is a big piece, but surely not the only piece, is to make sure that Americans don't face a massive tax increase.

Mr. Speaker, if we listen to our friends on the other side of the aisle, they brag that they want these tax rates to go up. They want the 2017 tax cuts we passed with President Trump to expire. They don't mince any words about that. In fact, it was even talked about during the campaign.

The voters surely had a say on what they wanted when President Trump said he wanted to keep tax rates low on hardworking families and his opponent said she wanted those cuts to expire so those tax rates would go up on those hardworking families.

The hardworking families of America said where they wanted to go. In fact, the majority of all Americans said they don't want their taxes to go up.

Think about which tax rates will go up. On the other side of the aisle, Mr. Speaker, my colleagues love to talk about class warfare as if that is something Americans should celebrate. I think it is insulting to any American who believes in the promise of the American Dream to try to insult and separate our country based on how much money they make.

Whatever a person makes today, the greatest thing about America, the greatest country in the history of the world, is that whatever someone is today, however much they make today, wherever they came from today, they can be anything they want to be if they work hard, play by the rules, and follow their dreams, whatever that dream is, even if that person wants to be a billionaire.

Mr. Speaker, frankly, talk to most billionaires. They didn't start off chasing wealth because that is not what gets them there. They chased the idea of something bigger than themselves. It usually involves bringing a lot of other people along with them. It involves creating a lot of wealth for a lot of other people along the way, too.

I guess the people on the other side of the aisle want to crush that ability.

Mr. Speaker, go to Marxist countries, which is the utopia of some of the people on the left. Those Marxist countries don't have any billionaires to beat up on because they don't allow anyone to have that opportunity. They tell people what they can do, how much they can make, what kind of job they can have, and what their potential is. That is not America, and that never should be America.

Mr. Speaker, Americans can be whatever they want to be because of what is great about this country. If a person happens to get success, however it is defined—and it doesn't even have to be financial—if someone gets success, why should the government want to punish them for achieving it?

Again, there are great examples all over the world of how failed that approach is and every one of those countries has experimented with that, and it has been a dismal failure. I don't see any of the people, that want to change America to that, going to those other countries, because those other countries are so failed.

Let's start with that. Look at the individual income tax rates. We want to keep them where they are. We would like to make them lower, but we surely don't want them to go up as the other side of the aisle wants to do.

If these tax cuts are allowed to expire, which a "no" vote today would ensure, if the tax rates expire, it is not millionaires and the billionaires they keep talking about; it is 95 percent of all families in America who would see their taxes go up.

Unless a person makes \$70,000 a year and thinks they are a billionaire, their taxes are going to go up. If they make \$50,000 a year, their taxes will go up. The alternative minimum tax comes back. A lot of people don't know what that is because we got rid of it in 2017. Every member of the Democratic Party voted "no" because they didn't want those taxes to go away, but, luckily, we got the votes without them and passed it.

For the middle class of this country, that was a kick to the gut. We got rid of that. That would come back 100 percent, and all of those people in the middle class would see a massive tax hike.

Think about small businesses. People love to come here and talk about small businesses. We should do everything we can to help the creation of more small businesses and to help the growth of our existing small businesses.

Mr. Speaker, what happens if there is a "no" vote on this resolution?

There is a tax provision called 199A. Very few people might be able to explain it if they were asked to explain it.

Let me tell you what it is. 199A, that would expire if we keep going with this resolution, is the equalizer for small businesses to be able to compete on the same level playing field as a large business, a massive, multinational corporation.

The massive, multinational corporations already have their tax rates set

at 21 percent. Think of the small business down the street, the mom-and-pop store, the business that is hiring three people, that is allowing that person to maybe be the next billionaire. They are not there today, but they might want to get there. If 199A goes away, all of a sudden that small business and every small business in America goes from paying a 21 percent equivalent to almost 43 percent.

Mr. Speaker, the small businesses will get crushed because they won't be able to compete with the big, multinational corporations.

□ 1730

I don't know why the Democrats who oppose this resolution want multinational corporations to get a two-times advantage over every small business in America, but that is what a "no" vote means.

The Democrats can hide behind billionaires all day long. The billionaires will benefit from that. We want to allow those small businesses to keep thriving. Yes, maybe some of them will become billionaires, and I am not going to attack them if they do. We ought to celebrate it if they do.

Some of them actually don't make it. A lot of them won't make it if this resolution fails, Mr. Speaker. We protect that as well so they can have their shot at the American Dream; so the single mom who has maybe never had a family that was able to afford their own house can go own their own business and one day buy their own house, maybe get a nice car, and maybe get the nice things in life. They don't have that opportunity if this resolution fails. That is what is at stake.

We do a lot of other things that we will open up the door to go do in reconciliation by passing this resolution. We secure America's border. Now, again, this was a major issue on the campaign, and I know the folks on the other side want an open border. Thank God President Trump won and followed through on his promise to secure the border. We now have a 95-percent reduction in illegal crossings at our border. However, that doesn't solve the problem, Mr. Speaker.

President Trump wants to continue to give our Border Patrol agents the tools they need to do their job effectively. Why the previous administration denied them these tools we can all debate, but the voters of this country made a decision in November. They said: We don't want our Border Patrol agents to be at a disadvantage with the drug cartels in Mexico, which they are.

Drug cartels have better technology today than America's Border Patrol agents. That is a disgrace. Mr. Speaker, you can see drones, and you can see night vision goggles not with our Border Patrol agents. Do you know who has got them? It is the Mexican drug cartels. Our Border Patrol agents who risk their lives to keep our families safe don't have that same ability. Shame on anybody who wants to deny

them that ability to have at minimum the same technology, if not more and better, than the drug cartels. We give them that better technology in this resolution.

We also do something, Mr. Speaker, that we used to all agree on in this Chamber, and now, unfortunately, it has become a partisan issue. We still believe in strengthening America's defense. Believe it or not, the bad guys are still out there. There are not necessarily more of them, but it is the same people who have been bad for generations, and if we sit back and stay complacent and don't keep up, go look at China's military right now, how much they are advancing their naval fleet that we are not.

We can look at all the other countries, Iran and Russia, those countries still intend bad things on our friends, but one day they want to have those bad things apply to us too, Mr. Speaker.

How do we stop it? It is by having a strong national defense. We bolster our national defense in this resolution.

Why does President Trump call it one big, beautiful bill? It is because it does a lot of critically important things all in one resolution that helps get this country back on a strong footing.

What else it does is it produces incredibly needed savings, Mr. Speaker, savings that the American taxpayers want, as well. They want their tax dollars being spent better. They want to see this Congress find a way to get back to balanced Federal budgets.

Why don't we all work together to do that? We are here working together to do that. Unfortunately, the other side of the aisle doesn't want to achieve that. They want to vote against any attempt to save money. They criticize DOGE when they identify hundreds of billions of dollars of tax dollars being wasted in foreign countries and here on American soil wasted.

People who work two and three jobs and are working their tails off to help provide for their family are incensed when they hear about this waste.

They say: When is somebody going to do something about it? President Trump said: I am going to do something about it. He actually campaigned about that too, Mr. Speaker. He said what he would do, and he is doing it. There should be a parade applauding a President who actually ran on saying I am going to do things and then he is actually following through on the promises.

The other side can still be upset that they lost the election, and they will keep losing elections as long as they stay in denial about what this country wants, but this country, the American people, 77 million of them, went to the polls and said: These are the things we want our President to do, and their President whom they voted for is doing those things. He needs help from this Congress to continue to follow through on that.

That is what passing this resolution today does. It starts that process.

There will be more time to debate every one of these items I talked about, and the people who are against all the things I laid out can still talk about why they are against them. They can make up fake bogeymen: Oh, it is the billionaires, it is this, it is that the disabled people are going to lose benefits.

Do you know what we do, Mr. Speaker? We strengthen benefits for people that are truly needed, Mr. Speaker, because so many of these programs that once used to be so great and talked about and lofty have been abused.

How many illegals are here, people who are here in this country illegally, are on some of these programs that are going bust? Yes, they are going bankrupt. Those aren't my numbers, Mr. Speaker. You can go look at Biden's own actuaries on those programs. Biden's actuaries said that those programs are going bankrupt, and the other side just wants to demagogue and say: Leave them alone; leave them be.

To let them go bankrupt would be irresponsible. We can make them work better for the people who are actually here in America who pay into those programs and who have earned those programs or who had something bad happen in their life where they have to be on one of those programs, instead of people who are stealing from those programs. As far as the waste, fraud, and abuse alone, government agencies have given reports on \$60 billion a year in waste just in Medicaid, and they want that waste to continue on the other side.

That is what a "no" gets us. It is allowing the \$60 billion a year in waste in Medicaid and fraud in Medicaid to continue. That is the theft of hardworking taxpayers' money. That is taking healthcare away from the disabled who need it.

Let's actually get back to having these programs work for the people who funded them, who paid into them, who deserve to be on them, and who need to be on them. That is what we do with this resolution.

Let the other side keep demagoguing and keep making up stories, false stories, and personality fights with a person they don't like who won an election and they are still angry about that result.

They should look in the mirror, and maybe one day they will say: Why? Why did all those people, 77 million of them, go to the polls and say: We want President Trump to be in the White House to go do those things he said he would do?

He is doing them. Let's help him do it. Everybody should be supporting this. Whoever is not can still try to be roadblocks. We are going to keep moving forward, Mr. Speaker, because the future direction of this country demands it. The people in this country demand that we keep moving forward and fixing the problems that are holding them back and holding more greatness for this country back.

Mr. Speaker, I urge everybody to vote "no," but anybody who doesn't want to vote "no" needs to understand what they are blocking and understand what they are voting "no" on.

The rest of us are going to keep going to work for those hardworking people who are tired of struggling, Mr. Speaker. They are tired of waiting for the right kind of things to happen in Washington. We can finally make those right things happen. We do it by voting for this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I urge approval of the resolution.

Mr. BOYLE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the majority leader just said something absolutely remarkable. He said that there should be a parade for President Trump.

I have very good news for him. There is going to be a parade for President Trump thrown by Donald Trump in honor of himself paid for by taxpayers to the tune of \$92 million.

Oh, but to the 72 million Americans watching at home and are on Medicaid: You are still going to get your Medicaid cut.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT), who is a distinguished member of the Budget Committee.

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Speaker, Speaker Johnson calls our soaring national debt the "number one threat" to our Nation. The Republican Senate leader says that it is a "ticking time bomb" just before he lights the fuse with this sorry resolution that hikes the debt by \$6 trillion.

The independent Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget urges us to reject this "unprecedented level of fiscal recklessness."

Republicans are borrowing trillions more so Elon and his billionaire buddies can get more.

Already a wrecking ball to our democracy, Trump, the self-described "king of debt," is king today with his schemes to spike the debt as the Musk DOGE charade wrecks public services and Trump's "beautiful" tariff wrecks our economy and heads us straight toward a recession.

With soaring debt, plummeting markets, and a measles outbreak, I have to give the Republicans credit for turning America red, but not the way we expected.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BOYLE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. ESCOBAR), who is a distinguished member of the Budget Committee.

Ms. ESCOBAR. Mr. Speaker, Republicans spent the last 4 years telling Americans to trust them on the economy, and Donald Trump promised to lower costs for Americans on day one.

Months into this administration, with Republicans in complete control, prices are up, inflation is up, joblessness is up, the stock market is all over the place with American retirees losing

trillions of dollars in just 72 hours, and a recession is looming.

Let's be clear: Republicans have no plan to prioritize hardworking Americans, but they have a \$7 trillion plan to help billionaires. They will do that by cutting Medicaid and nutrition programs and exploding the national debt by \$6 trillion.

This budget resolution makes Americans sicker and poorer, and it will make the rich richer.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to have some common sense and work with Democratic colleagues. Together we can address all of this. I will be voting "no" on this resolution.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BOYLE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Ohio (Ms. KAPTUR), who is a distinguished member of the Budget Committee.

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, I thank Ranking Member BOYLE for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today to stand against the GOP's billionaire bonanza. It cashes out precious healthcare dollars and enriches ultrawealthy billionaires and leaves ordinary Americans to pick up the tab.

My colleagues across the aisle proposed to add an astounding \$14 trillion more to our debt over the next decade.

Why? It is to fund more tax cuts for billionaires.

How? Speaker JOHNSON cuts hundreds of billions of dollars from Medicaid, a lifeline for millions of our citizens, including more than 200,000 in the district I represent. Every hospital I represent sustains itself with Medicaid and Medicare.

This debate isn't just about the numbers on a balance sheet. It is about the health of the American people. How will we keep our hospitals open and our nursing homes open? How do we take care of the American people's health?

This Republican resolution is totally irresponsible. It is an abdication of our duty to serve all the American people, not just those at the top.

Mr. Speaker, the top 1 percent of earners in this Nation control more wealth than the bottom 50 percent. It is time for economic fairness. Vote "no" on this resolution.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Arkansas (Mr. WESTERMAN), who is chairman of the Natural Resources Committee.

Mr. WESTERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the Senate amendment. The American people gave Congress a clear mandate to lower costs, reduce burdensome regulations, and unlock American resources.

Passing the resolution before us will allow committees to thoughtfully craft and debate legislation to extend the 2017 Trump tax cuts, averting a \$4 trillion to \$5 trillion tax increase on the American people, and to use our resources to generate more revenue and to cut wasteful spending.

The resolution in itself is not the solution, but it unleashes committees to put pen to paper and craft reconciliation legislation that fully delivers on the promises the President and House Republicans have made the American people.

Mr. Speaker, if we look in this beautiful Chamber, I have only located one quote from our past that is displayed here, and it is up above you up close to the ceiling. We are getting close to celebrating the 200-year anniversary of those words that Daniel Webster spoke in 1825 when he said: "Let us develop the resources of our land, call forth our powers, build up its institutions, promote all its great interests, and see whether we also, in our day and generation, may not perform something worthy to be remembered."

Mr. Speaker, the House Committee on Natural Resources looks forward to taking action to develop our Nation's resources and to do that responsibly. Our resources are among our Nation's greatest assets and revenue generators.

This resolution starts the process to do something worthy to be remembered in our day and generation, a process to keep taxes low for working Americans, to unlock the full potential of our natural resources, and to deliver on Speaker JOHNSON's directive to have the resolution on the President's desk by Memorial Day.

Mr. Speaker, I support it, and I urge my colleagues to do the same.

□ 1745

Mr. BOYLE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. SCOTT), the distinguished ranking member of the Education and Workforce Committee and also a member of the Budget Committee.

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this resolution, yet again.

I hear speech after speech from the other side about the deficit and debt, and here I see this resolution, which increases the deficit.

Let's start with some facts. Every single Democratic Presidential administration since Kennedy has left for their Republican successor a better deficit situation than they inherited, and every Republican President since Nixon has left for the Democrats a worse deficit situation than they inherited, all without exception.

Here we are again. A Republican President following a Democratic President and, once again, a budget that would explode the deficit and national debt, just like clockwork, with their tax cuts for corporations and the top 1 percent.

Trump's first term added over \$7 trillion to the national debt, and he wants to double down and do it all over again.

As the ranking member of the Committee on Education and Workforce, I am particularly outraged that Republicans want to partially fund these tax cuts for corporations and billionaires

by making cuts to education programs and child nutrition programs. This resolution will direct them to cut Medicaid, ripping healthcare away from millions of Americans.

There is nothing fiscally responsible about this budget. It will add to the deficit, and the resolution wants to further inflict pain on working families and the middle class.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to oppose this resolution for the damage it will do to the economy and to the deficit.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. MEUSER), my friend.

Mr. MEUSER. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend from Texas for his leadership.

Mr. Speaker, in order for us to deliver one big, beautiful reconciliation bill, one that extends the provisions of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, reins in regulations of wasteful spending, unleashes American energy, secures the border, curbs inflation, and restores American growth and competitiveness, we first must pass the budget resolution.

This resolution, Mr. Speaker, is no more than a bridge to reconciliation and to the golden era of the American economy. Frankly, what that bridge is made of really makes no difference, so long as we cross it. Delaying this vote in a symbolic protest only weakens our ability to act.

Every day we wait, we put our economy, our national security, and our momentum at risk.

The American people voted for bold action, Mr. Speaker, and President Trump and we in Congress intend to deliver.

The reconciliation process begins with this resolution. Let's not protest the bridge that gets us there. Let's cross it and achieve the results the American people expect from the Republican majority.

Let's pass this and deliver a new golden age in America.

Mr. BOYLE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. NEAL), the ranking member of the Ways and Means Committee.

(Mr. NEAL asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, the proposal that we are hearing from the other side is reckless and irresponsible.

What they are saying is what they usually say: Let's complain about the size of the national debt and then borrow the money for tax cuts to go to people at the very top.

I defy anybody on this side to say right now that that is not what happened in 2017. They borrowed \$2.3 trillion, gave a tax cut to the wealthiest amongst us, and then complained about Biden running up the national debt.

The arithmetic doesn't work on this. The messaging might remain consistent, but what I have just said is entirely accurate. The money was borrowed in 2017. Then, when you look at tax distribution tables, just take a look at who got the money. The tax cut for the person at the top was 288 times what it was for the person making less than \$50,000 a year.

These are the numbers. They don't lie. The messaging that comes from the other side would have you believe that they are on top of defending Medicare, Social Security, and Medicaid. They are threatening all three with these proposals.

I have not seen anything in my time like this, making massive cuts to Medicaid, closing Social Security offices, threatening Medicare, laying off veterans at veteran services offices, and then providing a tax cut to those in billionaire heaven down in the Cabinet.

Let's have an honest discussion between the two parties about fiscal policy.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ROY), a fellow Budget Committee member.

Mr. ROY. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend from Texas for yielding. I appreciate the able job that he has done in ushering through a responsible budget on the House side of the Capitol. Unfortunately, we are here debating an irresponsible budget sent over to us from the Senate.

First, before my colleagues on the other side of the aisle applaud me for my opposition to the Senate bill, my colleagues on the other side of the aisle refuse to acknowledge any program that they don't think they can just continue to shovel money out from, despite the fact it has terrible outcomes.

Medicaid is debilitating the vulnerable, not helping them. We are shoveling money out to the able-bodied on the back of expansion of ObamaCare. We are crippling the very program they say they want to uphold while we allow money laundering to California, which they brag about openly, to give money to those who are here illegally and to destroy the program with an FMAP rate that is higher than the vulnerable, giving out more money than we even give to Medicare.

To my friends on this side of the aisle: When are we going to get serious about spending?

The House budget actually does a job of trying to get to budget neutrality, balancing tax policy and spending policy. The Senate sent over a joke, and we are going to capitulate to the Senate, knowing full well that the Senate instructions carry the day.

We are going to be sitting there in a reconciliation debate where we are going to end up on the short end of the stick. Worse, the American people are going to end up on the short end of the stick because it absolutely increases deficits. No one can deny it.

Anyone who wants to get in a room and come debate me with a whiteboard,

show me the math. At some point, if you are in Congress, pass a math test because the Senate bill doesn't add up. It will destroy this country with more deficits and the inflation tax that is crippling the average American family.

Mr. Speaker, I will not vote for the Senate bill.

Mr. BOYLE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Ms. CHU), a distinguished member of the Budget Committee.

Ms. CHU. Mr. Speaker, I once again rise in opposition to the Republican rip-off.

Let's be crystal clear about what Senate Republicans did to this budget resolution. They made a terrible bill that rips off middle-class Americans even worse.

They are telling you that two plus two equals zero in this budget resolution to obfuscate the truth. It will explode our national debt. It will make the Trump tax scam permanent. It will make devastating and inhumane cuts to lifesaving services for working Americans to fund tax giveaways to the ultrarich.

Instead of standing up for their constituents, Republicans bend the knee to their wannabe emperor and his court of jesters and lackeys in the White House.

This budget resolution tells us exactly who the Republicans are working for and who they want to help, and it is not the American people.

Mr. Speaker, it is a betrayal, and I won't stand for it.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BOYLE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. MCGARVEY), a distinguished member of the Budget Committee.

Mr. MCGARVEY. Mr. Speaker, I can tell you exactly what is going on in Louisville, Kentucky, right now. Grocery prices are up, and retirement savings are in chaos.

Republicans could put an end to this crisis, but instead, they are going to make things worse.

Republicans are about to hand billionaires like Elon Musk \$5.3 trillion in tax cuts, the biggest billionaire tax cut in American history. To pay for it, Republicans are cutting health insurance for families; ripping away food from kids, seniors, and veterans; and cutting public education, all while increasing the national debt by \$5 trillion.

I don't ever want to hear a Republican complain about the debt again because no matter how they try to cook the books—believe me, they are doing that, too—they cannot hide from the negative impact this budget will have.

Seniors will lose healthcare coverage. Veterans will lose coverage for the medications they need. Kids will go hungry. For what? So Elon Musk pays even less in taxes? It is reckless and it is wrong.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BOYLE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Rhode Island (Mr. AMO), a distinguished member of the Budget Committee.

Mr. AMO. Mr. Speaker, Republicans refuse to listen. They refused in February when they spiked my amendments to support Medicaid and SNAP, and they refused again today. This is despite the pleas of Americans protesting Donald Trump and Republicans' plan to steal their healthcare and let kids go hungry and despite the overwhelming majority crying out for everyday Americans over the whims of billionaires.

Clearly, Republicans don't care about the facts or figures. Maybe they will listen to my constituent Al. Al is a 74-year-old resident of an assisted living facility in East Providence. He is petrified of Republican cuts that will force him onto the street. Al needs Medicare and Medicaid to make ends meet. Even with assistance, he lives on \$120 a month. That is \$30 a week.

It is not fear-mongering to say that Republicans' plans would hurt Al to prop up billionaires.

I will be voting "no" for the middle class, for families, for seniors, and for folks like Al.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BOYLE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Minnesota (Ms. OMAR), a distinguished member of the Budget Committee.

Ms. OMAR. Mr. Speaker, this budget resolution isn't about fiscal responsibility. It is about enriching the ultrawealthy and betraying working people. It is about gutting Medicaid and SNAP so that the rich can continue to hoard more tax breaks.

These cuts do not make our country stronger. They make it sicker, hungrier, and more unfair.

This time, Republicans are not even pretending to pay for it. Senate Republicans are rewriting the rules and inventing fake budget math to claim that these tax cuts will not cost us anything.

In truth, they cost the American people \$7 trillion in total. All of this is being done to pave the way for a Trump term built on fear, lawlessness, and vengeance.

President Trump is firing public servants, slashing critical programs, and enacting chaotic tariffs that will raise costs. This chaotic administration is trying to drag us into a recession. Instead of stopping it, congressional Republicans are acting as willing accomplices.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BOYLE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Vermont (Ms. BALINT), a distinguished member of the Budget Committee.

Ms. BALINT. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to the Republican budget.

Let's lay out where we are. Republicans control the House, the Senate, and the White House, and they could be passing legislation right now to actually lower costs for families on groceries, prescription drugs, and housing.

Instead, they are attacking the very programs that working people and middle-class people across this country rely on. They have proposed a budget that gives massive tax cuts to the wealthiest and the corporations.

How will they pay for it? They will pay for it by making cuts to Medicaid to the tune of \$880 billion and deep cuts to SNAP benefits, food assistance to families. On top of that, they will add to the deficit.

□ 1800

When I vote against this Republican budget, I will be thinking about all of the working families back in Vermont, thinking of the families who aren't going to be able to drop their kids off at a Head Start program, and thinking about the small businesses who tell me that the Trump on-again, off-again global tariffs are crushing them.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to reject this reckless budget.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BOYLE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Washington (Ms. JAYAPAL), a distinguished member of the Budget Committee.

Ms. JAYAPAL. Mr. Speaker, the Republican majority leader said: You can be what you want in America.

That is what he said, but you can't be what you want in Republicans' America. Factually, the top 1 percent of billionaires and millionaires in America are worth more than 291 million Americans, 90 percent of the country, because we are rigging the economy against them. That is what Republicans are doing.

There are 801 U.S. billionaires who have \$6 trillion of wealth, and Republicans now want to give a \$4.5 trillion tax cut to the wealthiest billionaires.

That is what Donald Trump said: "You're rich as hell." "We're going to give you tax cuts." This is on the backs of working Americans because voting "yes" for this resolution is voting for a minimum of \$880 billion in cuts to Medicaid.

That is healthcare taken away from 72 million Americans. That is nursing homes taken away for five out of eight seniors, and that is healthcare taken away for 38 million kids. Vote "no" on this disastrous Republican resolution.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I wonder how my colleagues justified the \$800 billion tax break for multibillion dollar, multinational green energy corporations.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. MOORE), my friend and former speaker of the house from the Tar Heel State.

Mr. MOORE of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, this is an opportunity this evening to vote for a budget resolution that extends tax relief for working families.

If Members want to support working families in America, vote for this. It makes the Trump tax cuts permanent. It also provides security for our southern border. It unleashes American energy, and it sets the stage for generational spending reform. This is an opportunity today to move this resolution forward.

There is a lot of fear-mongering on the other side. As has been said before, the words "Medicaid" and "Medicare" are not in there. It is simply wrong. "Medicaid" is not in there.

It keeps getting said, and I guess if you don't have the facts on your side, sometimes you make up facts, and that is what is happening from the other side. Yet, the American people know, which is why they elected Donald Trump this year. They know what a responsible budget means, and that is why we need to pass this.

Mr. BOYLE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from the Commonwealth of Virginia (Mr. BEYER), the distinguished senior Democrat on the Joint Economic Committee.

Mr. BEYER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong opposition to this budget resolution, which is a recipe for economic disaster for our country.

Americans have been clear. They want lower prices and an economy that works for them. Yet, at every turn, this administration and my Republican colleagues are doubling down on policies that raise prices, undermine our economy, and make our wealth inequality even worse.

Mr. Speaker, I spent much of today with U.S. Trade Ambassador Greer, and it is clear that the administration's myth that tariffs will reshape the economy by bullying our closest allies is nothing more than a fantasy.

The Trump tariffs represent the largest tax hike in American history. They have caused chaos in the markets and stripped millions from Americans' retirement plans. Consumer confidence is plummeting, reaching its lowest level in 12 years, and economists are increasingly convinced that we are heading for a recession.

This budget will balloon our deficit, leading to higher interest rates. It will slash critical investments and will decimate essential programs that support the people who we represent, all of this to help billionaires and corporations get tax cuts that they do not need and that our country cannot afford.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BOYLE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire as to how much time is remaining.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. RUTHERFORD). The gentleman from Pennsylvania has 3½ minutes remain-

ing. The gentleman from Texas has 2 minutes remaining.

Mr. BOYLE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New Mexico (Ms. STANSBURY), distinguished member of the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform.

Ms. STANSBURY. Mr. Speaker, the amount of gaslighting in this Chamber this afternoon has been absolutely stunning, truly, as I sat here this afternoon.

What the GOP is doing is they are introducing a budget resolution that takes the worst of the House and the worst of the Senate and puts it in one big, beautiful bill that is going to blow a hole through the national debt. It will do that by raising the debt ceiling by \$4 trillion, cutting \$1.5 trillion in vital programs, giving \$7 trillion in permanent tax breaks to billionaires, and raising the debt by \$37 trillion over the next 30 years.

How are Republicans going to pay for it? On the backs of the American people with cuts to Medicaid, food assistance, housing, school meals, clean energy, and selling your public lands.

Mr. Speaker, the craziest thing is the majority said that Republicans wouldn't vote for it if it would raise the debt and the debt ceiling, and here they are.

Bravo to my friends. My Republican colleagues are blowing a hole through the debt ceiling, and we will vote "no."

Mr. ARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BOYLE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. COHEN), distinguished member of the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. COHEN. Mr. Speaker, this is about the billionaires. It is not about the middle class. It is not about a budget deficit because the majority wouldn't have to give the money to the billionaires if my colleagues on the other side of the aisle gave it to decreasing the deficit.

This is the party that is trying to kill Social Security through the DOGE boys, who are cutting out services for people who use the phone to deal with their Social Security and eliminating employees from Social Security. The majority is trying to kill Social Security. That is who it is, and Republicans want to help the billionaires and hurt the folks who live on Social Security.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I am prepared to close and I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BOYLE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, I think it has been a good debate that has brought out a couple of clear facts. Even though President Trump directed House Republicans last night to "close your eyes" and just pass the resolution, I believe the speakers on this side have opened the eyes of the American people.

These are indisputable facts: the largest cut to Medicaid in American history in order to help pay for a tax cut, 83 percent of which goes to the richest 1 percent of Americans.

Indeed, this is a big, beautiful bill for billionaires. Vote “no.”

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I am obsessed with the threat of a looming debt crisis and the irreparable harm it would do to our great economy, our national security, our leadership in the world, and our children's future.

We have an opportunity. It is a historic generational opportunity to right this ship, but we have to grow the economy. We have to have progrowth policies in place that will unleash growth and prosperity, and we have to get serious about the first and most important job of the Federal Government, which is providing for the common defense.

We did that in the House bill, but what we did in the House bill that the Senate fell far short in doing is to have a balanced budget resolution, to have a commitment to enforceable spending reduction targets that would bring the debt to GDP down and put our Nation on good fiscal footing and a sustainable path.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues today to demand that the House budget resolution and that our fiscal framework with our budget targets guide the final reconciliation bill.

Mr. Speaker, again, this may be the last best opportunity to save our country from fiscal ruin. The formula is all there in the House budget resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to demand that that is what drives the bill at the end of the day. God bless America, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. BISHOP. Mr. Speaker, the House will vote on the Senate revised budget resolution this evening.

The budget resolution requires seven House committees to cut a minimum of \$1.5 trillion in mandatory spending combined over the next decade. Of that amount, at least \$880 billion is directed to come from the House Energy and Commerce Committee. Most budget experts have agreed that it would require deep cuts in Medicaid to produce these savings.

In my home state of Georgia, Medicaid is a lifeline for its low-income populations, seniors, disabled individuals, and children. It is the primary source of long-term care, the single largest payer in the country for behavioral health services, and a principal source of insurance for pregnant women and children with disabilities.

One of the proposals that is now being discussed in Congress to achieve Medicaid savings is adding work requirements. In fact, Georgia added work requirements to its Medicaid program in July 2023 through its Pathways to Coverage program. It is currently the only state to offer Medicaid coverage to low-income adults that is contingent on work and other qualifying activities.

According to the Georgia Budget and Policy Institute, however, there have been significant problems since this experiment in Medicaid reform was established two years ago. It is failing to achieve its two primary objectives of enrolling people in health care and getting them to work.

Georgia's Pathways to Coverage program is supposed to cover nearly a quarter-million low-income Georgians who can prove they are working, studying or volunteering. Only about 6,500 of them, however have been able to gain and maintain coverage.

In Georgia's Second Congressional District, which I represent, some of the poorest counties have fewer than 10 enrollees despite having high percentages of uninsured populations.

The Georgia Budget and Policy Institute also found that Georgia's Pathways to Coverage program created burdensome red tape and paperwork for state agencies and Medicaid recipients.

Georgia's experience offers a stark warning for the Nation as Republicans consider steep Medicaid cuts and work requirements for low-income Americans. The focus must be on increasing enrollment in health insurance for people who need it. The focus should not be on wasting taxpayer dollars and creating more administrative burdens.

We want people to be healthy so that they can work. It shouldn't be the other way around.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. WOMACK). All time for debate has expired. Pursuant to House Resolution 313, the previous question is ordered.

Pursuant to clause 1(c) of Rule XIX, further consideration of H. Con. Res. 14 is postponed.

NO ROGUE RULINGS ACT OF 2025

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 1(c) of rule XIX, further consideration of the bill (H.R. 1526) to amend title 28, United States Code, to limit the authority of district courts to provide injunctive relief, and for other purposes, will now resume.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT

Ms. ROSS. Mr. Speaker, I have a motion to recommit at the desk.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Ms. Ross of North Carolina moves to recommit the bill H.R. 1526 to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The material previously referred to by Ms. Ross is as follows:

Ms. Ross moves to recommit the bill H.R. 1526 to the Committee on the Judiciary with instructions to report the same back to the House forthwith, with the following amendment:

Page 3, strike line 3 and all that follows and insert the following:

SECTION 1. FINDINGS.

Congress finds the following:

(1) The Chief Justice has warned of a “significant uptick” in violence and threats against Federal judges, noting that, according to the United States Marshals Service, “the volume of hostile threats and communications directed at judges has more than tripled over the past decade” and that “[i]n

the past five years alone, the Marshals report that they have investigated more than 1,000 serious threats against federal judges”.

(2) The President of the American Bar Association President has likewise sounded the alarm, reporting that “[s]erious threats against [federal] judges have doubled since 2019, with 457 serious threats targeting federal judges across the country in 2023” alone.

(3) Federal judges have been forced to speak out in their own defense, pleading with public officials to realize that “there are lives at stake”, that they “feel like people are playing Russian roulette with our lives”, and that “[t]hreats against judges are threats against constitutional government” and that “[e]veryone should be taking this seriously”.

(4) Threats against Federal judges have grown so severe that some have been issued bulletproof vests, assigned full-time security details, and forced to install home security systems to protect themselves and their families.

(5) These threats have included doxing of judges and their families' personal information, anonymous deliveries to their homes intended to intimidate, bomb threats targeting the families of Supreme Court justices, online calls for judges to be “hanged” or “beheaded”, as well as the 2020 murder of the 20-year-old son of a Federal judge by an armed assailant who targeted her family.

(6) Chief Justice John G. Roberts, Jr. has explicitly warned that “violence, intimidation, and defiance directed at judges because of their work undermine our Republic, and are wholly unacceptable”, and further cautioned that “public officials... have engaged in recent attempts to intimidate judges—for example, suggesting political bias in the judge's adverse rulings without a credible basis for such allegations”, and that “intemperance in their statements when it comes to judges may prompt dangerous reactions by others”.

(7) The American Bar Association has condemned these attacks, warning that such rhetoric “threatens the very fabric of our democracy—judicial independence and the rule of law”, and further noting that high-ranking government officials have “made repeated calls for the impeachment of judges who issue opinions with which the government does not agree”, turning partisan grievance into dangerous attempts to undermine the courts.

(8) This escalating climate of intimidation has been fueled by public officials and political figures who irresponsibly target judges for partisan purposes.

(9) Former President Donald Trump has repeatedly attacked the legitimacy of federal judges, publicly calling for their impeachment simply because he disagreed with their rulings, referring to one as a “Radical Left Lunatic of a Judge”, and a “troublemaker and agitator”, and calling others “Crooked Judges” and prompting an online wave of threats and harassment against judges and their families.

(10) Tech billionaire and political ally of President Trump, Elon Musk, has engaged in a sustained public campaign to delegitimize the federal judiciary, describing judges as “corrupt”, “radical”, and “evil”, accusing them of “TYRANNY of the JUDICIARY”, and declaring that “the only way to restore rule of the people in America is to impeach judges”.

(11) Members of Congress have escalated hostile rhetoric toward Federal judges, introducing multiple resolutions to impeach judges based solely on their rulings and publicly accusing them of being “radical activists”, “corrupt political operatives”, and “partisan activists weaponizing our judicial system”, rhetoric that the Chief Justice has