

the stomach during a horrific attack that took the life of her best friend. She survived, endured surgeries, and fought to reclaim her life, eventually earning her way into Brown University.

This past weekend, the nightmare returned. While studying for finals in her dorm, Mia was forced to shelter in place as a shooter roamed the Brown campus. She told reporters no one should ever have to go through one shooting, let alone two.

We are failing our children. It is a national disgrace that a student in America can survive a high school shooting, only to face another one before graduating college. We cannot accept this as normal.

Mr. Speaker, we need commonsense gun safety legislation now, reforms supported by the vast majority of Americans, to end this epidemic.

Mia and her generation deserve to study in peace, not fear.

#### END HUNGER NOW

(Mr. McGOVERN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, the Trump administration is at it again. It is death by a thousand cuts to our Nation's antihunger programs. Nearly \$200 billion stolen from Federal food assistance in the big, ugly bill wasn't enough. Now they are literally trying to bury the data on hunger.

In September, USDA announced that it was canceling its annual "Household Food Security Report" which for 30 years has measured food insecurity data. More recently, we are hearing that USDA is canceling food security questions as part of the Census Bureau's population surveys.

Mr. Speaker, at first blush, these cancellations may sound wonky. This vital data helps researchers, policymakers, and community-based organizations understand the problem of hunger and target resources to those most in need.

Mr. Speaker, it is no surprise that Trump doesn't want USDA to measure how many people go hungry, as his big, ugly bill kicks millions and millions of people off of food assistance and makes hunger worse. Trump is literally burying the data to hide how terrible his policies are. We can and we should do more to end hunger now.

#### HONORING CLAUDIA MOYNE

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

Mr. SUOZZI. Mr. Speaker, today I rise to honor the life and legacy of Claudia Moyne. She served as mayor of Sea Cliff when I was mayor of Glen Cove, and she was a close colleague. Claudia was an extraordinary educator, public servant, and pillar of the Sea Cliff community.

Her life reflected a deep commitment to learning and service. She devoted her professional career to shaping young minds as a social studies teacher and department chair at Wheatley high school where she inspired generations to think critically and believe in their own potential.

Claudia gave tirelessly to her community, most notably as the first woman to serve as the mayor of the village of Sea Cliff. She knew her neighbors personally, cared deeply for the well-being of the village, and remained actively engaged until the very end of her life.

At the center of Claudia's life was her family. She was a devoted wife of John, a loving mother to Nicholas and Parvin, and a proud grandmother and sister.

Those who knew her well will remember her sharp intellect, warmth, and exceptional energy. Her life was a great example of a life well lived.

Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the people of New York's Third Congressional District, I extend my deepest condolences to her family and loved ones. I ask that this recognition and recollection of her remarkable life be entered into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

□ 0920

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 6703, LOWER HEALTH CARE PREMIUMS FOR ALL AMERICANS ACT; PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 498, DO NO HARM IN MEDICAID ACT; PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 3492, PROTECT CHILDREN'S INNOCENCE ACT; AND RELATING TO CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 4776, STANDARDIZING PERMITTING AND EXPEDITING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ACT

MR. GRIFFITH. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 953 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 953

*Resolved*, That upon adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to consider in the House the bill (H.R. 6703) to ensure access to affordable health insurance. All points of order against consideration of the bill are waived. The bill shall be considered as read. All points of order against provisions in the bill are waived. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and on any amendment thereto to final passage without intervening motion except: (1) one hour of debate equally divided among and controlled by the respective chairs and ranking minority members of the Committees on Education and Workforce, Energy and Commerce, and Ways and Means, or their respective designees; and (2) one motion to recommit.

SEC. 2. Upon adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to consider in the House the bill (H.R. 498) to amend title XIX of the Social Security Act to prohibit Federal Medicaid funding for gender transition procedures for minors. All points of order against consideration of the bill are waived. The bill

shall be considered as read. All points of order against provisions in the bill are waived. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and on any amendment thereto to final passage without intervening motion except: (1) one hour of debate equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Energy and Commerce or their respective designees; and (2) one motion to recommit.

SEC. 3. Upon adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to consider in the House the bill (H.R. 3492) to amend section 116 of title 18, United States Code, with respect to genital and bodily mutilation and chemical castration of minors. All points of order against consideration of the bill are waived. The amendment in the nature of a substitute recommended by the Committee on the Judiciary now printed in the bill shall be considered as adopted. The bill, as amended, shall be considered as read. All points of order against provisions in the bill, as amended, are waived. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill, as amended, and on any further amendment thereto, to final passage without intervening motion except: (1) one hour of debate equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Judiciary or their respective designees; (2) the further amendment printed in the report of the Committee on Rules accompanying this resolution, if offered by the Member designated in the report, which shall be in order without intervention of any point of order, shall be considered as read, shall be separately debatable for the time specified in the report equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent, and shall not be subject to a demand for division of the question; and (3) one motion to recommit.

SEC. 4. During consideration of the bill (H.R. 4776) to amend the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 to clarify ambiguous provisions and facilitate a more efficient, effective, and timely environmental review process, pursuant to House Resolution 951, the further amendment specified in section 5 of this resolution shall be considered as adopted in the House and in the Committee of the Whole.

SEC. 5. The amendment referred to in section 4 of this resolution is as follows:

"Page 29, after line 6, insert the following:

SEC. 4. PRESERVATION OF ONGOING ADMINISTRATIVE CORRECTIONS.

This Act, and the amendments made by this Act, shall not apply to any agency action with respect to which a Federal agency has, during the period beginning on January 20, 2025, and ending on the date of enactment of this Act—

(1) filed a motion to voluntarily remand; or  
(2) otherwise reopened, reconsidered, or initiated corrective action under the statutory authority of the Federal agency, regardless of whether the Federal agency has completed such corrective action as of the date of enactment of this Act."

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

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

GENERAL LEAVE

MR. GRIFFITH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members

may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks.

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

There was no objection.

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

Mr. Speaker, the Rules Committee met last night and reported out a rule providing for consideration of three measures: H.R. 6703, Lower Healthcare Premiums for All Americans Act; H.R. 498, Do No Harm in Medicaid Act; and H.R. 3492, Protect Children's Innocence Act.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 953 provides for consideration of H.R. 6703, the Lower Healthcare Premiums for All Americans Act, under a closed rule. The rule provides 1 hour of general debate, equally divided among and controlled by the respective chairs and ranking minority members of the Committees on Education and the Workforce, Energy and Commerce, and Ways and Means, or their respective designees, and one motion to recommit.

The rule also provides for consideration of H.R. 498, the Do No Harm in Medicaid Act, under a closed rule with 1 hour of general debate, equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Energy and Commerce, or their respective designees, and provides one motion to recommit.

The rule further provides for consideration of H.R. 3492, the Protect Children's Innocence Act, under a structured rule with 1 hour of general debate, equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Judiciary, or their respective designees, and provides each one a motion to recommit.

Finally, the rule provides that, during consideration of H.R. 4776, pursuant to House Resolution 951, the further amendment specified in section 5 of this resolution shall be considered as adopted.

Mr. Speaker, this rule deals with several important bills that will lower healthcare costs for Americans and protect children. One of the bills, H.R. 3492, the Protect Children's Innocence Act, is led by the gentlewoman from Georgia (Ms. GREENE).

This bill prohibits genital and bodily mutilation and chemical castration for a minor, which generally is anyone under the age of 18 years, while also preserving the exception for this care if there is a legitimate medical need for certain procedures.

Another bill we are considering in this rule is H.R. 498, the Do No Harm in Medicaid Act, led by the gentleman from Texas (Mr. CRENSHAW).

This is a simple bill that prohibits Federal medical dollars to pay for gender transition procedures for individuals under the age of 18. The bill also includes protections for individuals if some of those treatments are medically necessary.

These are important bills to ensure that Federal taxpayer dollars are not

going toward a minor's gender transition surgery if it is not medically necessary. These bills also put guardrails in place so that minors cannot make permanent life-altering decisions before they are 18 years of age.

Finally, we are considering H.R. 6703, the Lower Healthcare Premiums for All Americans Act, led by the gentlewoman from Iowa (Mrs. MILLER-MEEKS).

This bill lowers premiums for Americans, creates more insurance options, brings greater transparency, and cuts red tape.

Unlike our Democrat friends' plan, our Republican plan actually lowers premiums by double digits, roughly 11 percent, according to the data.

All the Democrats want to do is throw billions more dollars toward insurance companies. Instead of attempting to lower the premiums of the individuals who are on the insurance plan that the Democrats created, which should be called the unaffordable care act, the Democrats have cried wolf that Republicans are responsible for premiums being unaffordable, but let's get the facts straight.

Every single Democrat voted in support of the so-called Affordable Care Act. They claimed that people's premiums would be lowered; patients would have more choice; and if you like your doctor, you can keep him or her. However, just the opposite has happened. Their so-called Affordable Care Act has caused premiums to skyrocket. Due to this, the Democrats are too afraid to own up to the fact that their health plan has failed to actually lower premiums.

Instead, they have said to themselves: Hey, instead of acknowledging our failure, let's just blame the Republicans for that failure.

Mr. Speaker, I distinctly remember a hearing before the Committee on Energy and Commerce, shortly after I was elected, where most of the witnesses said that the so-called Affordable Care Act was going to make insurance premiums go up for Americans.

Mr. Speaker, that was over a decade ago, but the Democrats on the committee insisted that the witnesses were wrong and that Republicans were merely trying to scare the American people.

Mr. Speaker, unfortunately for the American people, the witnesses were right. The so-called Affordable Care Act has, in fact, negatively impacted the price of health insurance in America. This plan, the so-called Affordable Care Act, is a major reason that your insurance premiums have gone up and have done so repeatedly.

When not blaming Republicans for the failures of this so-called Affordable Care Act, do you know what the Democrats' solution is? Folks watching this debate at home won't be surprised to know it. Democrats want to throw billions of additional dollars to healthcare insurance companies in an attempt to distract the American people from their own policy failures.

I don't know if you all have been following the news closely, but the insurance companies that the Democrats want to give an additional \$85 billion to with their 3-year clean extension of the temporary COVID enhanced premium tax credits have not been knocking on the doors, Mr. Speaker, of the United States bankruptcy courts seeking protection or aid. In fact, they have been making record profits—record profits.

(930)

Further, we know these temporary COVID-enhanced premium tax credits have been riddled with waste, fraud, and abuse.

The independent Government Accountability Office recently came out with a preliminary report that showed one Social Security number was used to receive over 125 different insurance policies in 2023 alone. That is fraud.

There is also a huge amount of waste. Mr. Speaker, my estimate, based on data that I have seen, is that roughly 20 percent of enrollees in the temporary COVID-enhanced premium tax credits don't really exist. They are shadow enrollees.

Let me explain. In most healthcare insurance plans, they generally have about 15 percent of the enrollees who make no claims in a given year. In the arena of the temporary COVID-enhanced premium tax credits, that number for those particular policies that have no claims is closer to 35 percent. There is no reasonable explanation, Mr. Speaker, other than those extra 20 percent of people not making claims don't really exist. Now, I call this waste and not fraud, and that is because I actually believe the insurance companies don't know which enrollees are shadow enrollees.

How does this happen? It is a glitch in the way the bill was written originally. People move around. If an individual signed up for a program in north Florida to receive the enhanced premium tax credit and then moved to south Georgia, or even to another city in Florida, and signed up again, thinking, "Well, I have moved, so I probably need a different plan," the consumer has a right to believe that somebody at their new plan or new company will notify the old carrier that they have switched policies.

The way the program was designed by our friends on the other side of the aisle, that never happens, and because an individual is automatically reenrolled each year, this can go on for years. Thus, over time, it builds up to that 20 percent of shadow enrollees.

We cannot, in good conscience, in defense of the American taxpayers' money, just cleanly extend these temporary COVID-enhanced premium tax credits without addressing the realities behind the waste, the fraud, and the abuse that is occurring in this program.

I also find it interesting that the Democrats voted twice to extend these temporary enhanced premium tax credits but specifically did not make these

premium tax credits permanent. They didn't do it. They had many opportunities to make these permanent if they wanted to do that as much as they say today, but they didn't. They had many opportunities to make these permanent if the enhanced premium tax credits were as imperative to make the system work as they will claim here on the floor today, and have been for several weeks, but they didn't do it.

Whose fault is that? Logic would tell us it is the Democrats' fault, but when it comes to healthcare, the Democrats are never willing to admit their policies failed. What do they do? Blame Republicans.

In the Inflation Reduction Act, Mr. Speaker, the Democrats prioritized giving out around \$1 trillion to Green New Deal initiatives instead of making their temporary premium tax credit program permanent.

The fact is, even they couldn't find the votes when they had control of both Houses and the White House to make the enhanced premium tax credits permanent. Now, they are demanding Republicans do what they could not do and clean up their mess, which was an add-on to the so-called Affordable Care Act.

I can't make that make sense, and, Mr. Speaker, I bet you can't either.

What are they asking for now? You guessed it: another temporary extension that fails to address the underlying causes of the skyrocketing costs; doesn't deal with the waste, fraud, and abuse; and worsens healthcare access caused by their so-called Affordable Care Act. Instead, they just want to blame Republicans, use it as a political issue, and give more money to insurance companies making enormous profits.

What the Republicans have drafted is a plan to address health issues across the board for our people and for our Nation. This bill brings more transparency on the pharmacy benefit manager middlemen, better known as PBMs, for employers. For too long, PBMs have gotten away with operating in a black box and causing drug prices to rise. We are bringing transparency into the commercial market for PBMs under this bill.

The bill also expands access to association health plans, which allow small businesses and self-employed workers to band together and purchase health insurance. One of the biggest complaints we hear from businesses, especially small businesses, is the rising costs of premiums that they have.

In fact, Mr. Speaker, Virginia tried to create these plans, and CMS told them they couldn't do it, that they would penalize them. The Virginia Association of Realtors—let's see if I got the name right—in an article from 2023, the leader said that they would create a plan for 7,000 association members who were uninsured because they don't make enough money to afford the Federal marketplace coverage—that would be the so-called Affordable Care Act—

or to qualify for subsidies in the small group and individual plans.

These small businesses don't have the bargaining power that larger businesses do to help lower their premiums. Allowing these small businesses to join together and have more bargaining power will help lower their health insurance costs.

Another part of the plan codifies a 2019 Trump administration rule that allows employers to give tax-advantaged dollars to their employees, who can then use those dollars to purchase health insurance and for other medical costs. When businesses are planning their financial future, unpredictable health insurance costs and rising premiums make it almost financially unviable in some cases. Allowing businesses to have this option brings them more certainty and will give power to their employees to choose a plan that is best for them.

Another flexibility we grant under this bill is by exempting stop-loss insurance from the definition of health insurance coverage. Stop-loss coverage is a type of coverage an employer can purchase to protect themselves from unexpected catastrophic health claims if that employer has chosen to self-insure their employees' healthcare. This allows an employer to limit the financial risk imposed on them if an employee, or a few of them, have unusually high medical claims that exceed the budgeted amount. Some States have attempted to restrict or prohibit these plans, which makes a self-insured option less attractive.

This bill clarifies that this type of coverage is exempted from the definition of health insurance coverage, which means that these States would be limited in how they can regulate stop-loss coverage while still having to follow the regulations of ERISA.

On top of all of this, I would reiterate that the bill lowers premiums of individuals who are enrolled in the so-called Affordable Care Act plans by roughly 11 percent. It does this by appropriating dollars for cost-sharing reductions. This will stop the practice of silver loading by putting dollars toward lowering beneficiaries' out-of-pocket costs, which in turn lowers premiums for Americans who are on the so-called Affordable Care Act, again, by roughly 11 percent.

Today, Mr. Speaker, you will hear my friends and colleagues on the other side, the Democrats, tell you this plan is not meaningful and that the only way to help individuals is to throw more money at big insurance. Throwing more money at the insurance companies, Mr. Speaker, is not the answer.

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

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Virginia for yielding the customary 30 minutes, and I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, we heard a lot of words from the gentleman from Virginia, but

the reality is that some people's premiums are going up 100 percent. Their big, grand plan is to give people an 11 percent coupon. This is laughable. It is pathetic.

Mr. Speaker, here we are, likely one of the very last floor debates of the year, and Republicans have decided to use it to eliminate healthcare for millions of Americans, not by accident, but because they simply don't care, because they are clueless. They are incompetent, and they are unbelievably out of touch.

This Republican majority has done nothing for working people, nothing to lower costs, nothing to make life more affordable, but, boy, have they delivered for billionaires, corporations, and special interests.

They have spent an entire year screwing over the people they represent. They are betraying the voters who sent them here.

□ 0940

They are pretending like Trump's economy is great, even though they know it sucks. They have showered tax breaks on the ultrarich. They have bent the knee to Big Oil, Big Pharma, and Big Tech. They have handed the Pentagon billions it didn't even ask for, and now they have the nerve to tell working families: Sorry, no money for your healthcare; can't do a thing.

I mean, really? Give me a freaking break.

The American people are begging for action on affordability. They are begging for action to lower the cost of healthcare. What more do they need to do to get Republicans to take action?

Premiums are about to double, triple, and in some cases, quadruple. Families could see their premiums increase as much as \$1,000 a month.

Open enrollment deadlines have already passed. Parents have sat at their kitchen tables and realized that between rent, groceries, childcare, and Trump's tariffs driving up the cost of damn near everything, health insurance is something they could no longer afford.

Instead of a plan on healthcare, last night in the Rules Committee, I heard one Republican excuse after another about why they can't extend these tax credits that help people get insurance coverage.

You guys have been in charge of this place for 3 years, for God's sake. Donald Trump has been President or running for President for like a decade. Where the hell is the Republican plan on healthcare? Where is it?

Republicans keep blaming the ACA. They have spent years and years trying to repeal it, but they haven't repealed it yet because they have no replacement, no alternative.

Mr. Speaker, one of your own Republican Members called this entire charade political malpractice. He was right.

Meanwhile, Democrats have been trying for months to avert this crisis.

Governors, doctors, and patients have been sounding the alarm. Instead of working with us, they decided to shut down the government. Instead of trying to partner with us, Donald Trump is calling affordability a con job. That is unbelievable and so out of touch with reality.

Now, Republicans have slapped together this pathetic bill to provide cover, a bill that is not worth the paper it is printed on, a bill that actually kicks people off of coverage and fails to extend the tax credits that keep healthcare affordable for over 20 million Americans.

I mean, come on. Get real.

Just to make sure that we all know that they aren't serious, Republicans included a poison pill which brings us closer and closer to a nationwide abortion ban. They are going after abortion even in States where it is legal.

I mean, who the hell asked for this? This is like a plot of "The Handmaid's Tale."

Despite Republicans' endless attempts to undermine the ACA, it is popular because it works. After Democrats strengthened people's ability to pay for healthcare by plussing up the premium tax credits, enrollment more than doubled from around 11 million to over 24 million Americans with real health insurance.

Eighty-eight percent of that growth happened in States that Donald Trump won in 2024, by the way. So by choosing to not extend these credits, Republicans are simply hurting their own constituents, hurting the people who trusted them, and hurting the people who voted for them.

More than 20 million Americans will see their healthcare costs explode on January 1. Instead of a fix, we get a stupid, pathetic, last-minute bill designed to let Republicans cover their ass before they flee town for the holidays.

What a lousy, rotten, pathetic thing to do. This is a terrible bill that screws over millions of American families. I urge every Member of this House to vote "hell, no" on this Republican rule.

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

Mr. GRIFFITH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentlewoman from Georgia (Ms. GREENE).

Ms. GREENE of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I am here this morning to urge my colleagues to support the rule which includes H.R. 3492, the Protect Children's Innocence Act.

My bill criminalizes the genital mutilation, such as this young lady right here, and chemical castration of children, imprisoning offenders for up to 10 years.

For far too long, children have been sexually exploited under the malicious falsehood of so-called gender-affirming care.

Mutilating children's bodies and giving them sterilizing drugs is anything but affirming and anything but care, especially given the fact that this is

happening in too many cases before these kids are ever old enough to legally vote, legally get a tattoo, ink printed on their own bodies, and make real adult decisions.

The same drug that has been used to chemically castrate sex offenders has been given to children who have been manipulated into thinking they were born in the wrong body.

Everyone knows that children many times are confused about who they want to be when they grow up or about their identity. The children are not to blame. It is our job as adults to protect these kids and allow them to grow up safely and healthy and not make decisions that last a lifetime, such as this right here that happened to this teenage girl.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to vote "yes" to the rule, and I urge my colleagues to do the most responsible thing any adult can do for a child and protect them while they grow up.

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

The gentleman from Virginia keeps saying that if we really supported premium tax credits that we would have made them permanent.

I think we all know that is kind of ridiculous because I want to point out that their number one floor protocol requires that programs end or sunset by a certain date. I mean, it was part of their ridiculous Pledge to America. I mean, maybe they don't believe all of the garbage that they put out there, but that is their protocol.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT).

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Speaker, in a bill that they call "big" and "beautiful," Republicans have approved the biggest reduction in access to healthcare in American history. They rejected my amendment in committee to maintain the tax credits that make the Affordable Care Act truly affordable.

Now, after shutting down the government for weeks, delaying further weeks, they offer this sorry bill, this loser, wrapped up in a bow for Christmas.

To Andrew and his family down in Austin, this phony bill means zero relief on premiums, premiums that are going to spike for his family by nearly \$2,000 per month. It means nothing for Russell, a prostate cancer survivor just 2 years away from Medicare, wondering how he will afford the screenings and any necessary care.

For a mother in Austin, who contacted me about the stop-loss provision that is reinforced in this bill, it means the possibility that after her 3-year-old child was diagnosed with cancer, they will lose all their coverage.

These are real-life stories from my neighbors who have been forgotten by Republicans in their rush to provide more tax benefits for their billionaire buddies. They forget the struggles of so many working Americans.

Republicans have made over 70 attempts to destroy the Affordable Care

Act, which they all opposed. They peddled junk insurance policies that would deny essential consumer protection benefits under the Affordable Care Act.

They could even make matters worse with one provision in this bill that will allow the reinstituting of preexisting conditions that were used to bar coverage for so many people before the Affordable Care Act.

This is their commitment to deny healthcare, to provide no relief on premiums that are soaring. In short, it means replacing ObamaCare with nothingcare.

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

It gets curiously and curiously.

The gentleman from Massachusetts referenced that our protocol is to have sunsets, but when my colleagues on the other side of the aisle had the opportunity to make permanent the premium enhanced tax credits, we didn't control the floor. They controlled the floor.

They don't have that protocol, as I understand it. They don't have that protocol that they put sunsets on things. They could have and did make other programs in the Green New Deal permanent. They could have made it permanent; they chose not to. They had the Senate, the House, and the Presidency.

It is not House Republican protocol that stopped them. It was a lack of votes or will. If the program is so imperative today, why wasn't it imperative for them 3 years ago?

□ 0950

I submit this is a paper tiger and that there is no substance in their arguments or, if some substance, just a small amount.

Mr. Speaker, they had the chance. They had the power, and they didn't use it to do what they want us to do today to fix their problems with their so-called Affordable Care Act.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I merely point out Republican hypocrisy which we deal with every single day, and we want to have a vote on extending the tax credits, but Republicans denied that in the Rules Committee.

Republicans could be bringing up a bill to make the enhanced premium tax credits permanent, but they are not. Instead, what they did is they brought a bill to the floor to make tax cuts for multimillionaires and billionaires permanent. Every millionaire in this country is going to get an \$80,000 tax break. That is where their priorities are. Every millionaire will get an \$80 million tax credit, and the 25 million people in this country who are relying on enhanced tax credits so they won't lose their health insurance, they are basically saying to them: To hell with you.

That is where their priorities are.

We don't share the same values when it comes to making sure the people in this country have healthcare that is affordable and that is quality. That is the difference. That is the difference.

We are here today to fight to make sure that we have a vote to extend these tax credits so that people do not lose their health insurance and people do not see their healthcare premiums explode.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Ohio (Mrs. SYKES).

Mrs. SYKES. Mr. Speaker, today I rise in support of my proposed amendment to H.R. 6703 and in opposition to the underlying bill.

In 2 weeks, 22 million Americans will see their healthcare premiums double, triple, or quadruple, costing them hundreds of additional dollars a month, and more than 4 million Americans will lose their coverage entirely. This includes 12,300 Ohioans in my district alone.

This Republican healthcare crisis is completely and entirely preventable, and House Democrats and even a few Republicans have a solution: Extend the Affordable Care Act enhanced premium tax credits.

Mr. Speaker, what do House Republicans propose instead?

It is a collection of failed policies that would raise prices, leaving an additional 100,000 people without insurance and restricting access to abortion care, setting the stage for a national abortion ban.

However, I believe it is my job to offer solutions to help the American people and, specifically, my constituents in Ohio. That is why I proposed an amendment to remove the section responsible for increasing costs and limiting access to reproductive healthcare.

Right now, any and all abortion coverage provided under marketplace plans are not paid for by Federal dollars. However, this bill would impose unprecedented restrictions on private dollars and is yet another Republican attempt to ban reproductive healthcare coverage across this country.

It is unacceptable that Congress is about to head home having done nothing—nothing—to protect the millions of Americans who will lose coverage on January 1.

I have heard heartbreaking stories from my constituents who have no clue how they are going to make ends meet as we enter into what should be a merry holiday season.

Mr. Speaker, I had a professor in college who was very clear in calling us out when we were unprepared when we showed up for our class. He would call us derelict, negligent, and trifling.

This Congress, Mr. Speaker, is derelict, negligent, and trifling for failing to ensure that Americans have healthcare coverage and we are actually lowering their costs.

Mr. Speaker, this bill is deceptive at best and cruel at worst. I urge my colleagues to extend the enhanced tax credits before it is too late.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, Republicans keep talking about how Democrats want to give more money to insurance companies, which is absolutely absurd, and they all know that. Nothing could be more ridiculous.

Let me correct the record. First of all, ACA tax credits go to our constituents to help them pay for healthcare. Second, it was the Affordable Care Act, you know the bill that the gentleman and a lot of Republicans want to repeal, which mandated that greedy insurance companies have to spend 80 percent to 85 percent of premiums on medical care. It is called the medical loss ratio. The gentleman should look it up. It is in the Affordable Care Act.

When he is talking about repealing the ACA, he is the one who wants to overturn that provision and let insurance companies rip people off even more than they already do.

Let me make one last point. We could easily move away from health insurance companies ripping people off. We could do what the vast majority of developed nations do and move toward a public option so that people don't have to choose a private health insurance company. But to say the Democrats are the ones who want to enrich insurance companies is absurd.

Mr. Speaker, Republicans support big banks. They support Big Tech. They support billionaires, and they support tax breaks for huge, greedy corporations. And they accuse Democrats of being in the pocket of the insurance industry?

Give me a break. Nobody believes this BS.

Mr. Speaker, look at your big, ugly bill. Look at all the tax breaks that go to millionaires and billionaires and big corporations. Every millionaire, as I stated before, because of Republicans, are getting an \$80,000 tax break, every millionaire in this country.

What we are saying here is we want to make sure that health insurance is affordable for every single person in this country, and Republicans are replying by: We can't be bothered with that. That is not where our priorities are.

Maybe they don't write big enough checks for their campaigns.

The bottom line is that we are here arguing that people in this country shouldn't lose their healthcare because they can't afford it. We could do something right this instant to fix that. Republicans are blocking every attempt, and they are bringing this crappy bill to the floor that didn't even go through regular order and it didn't go through committee. They just patched it together and brought it before the Rules Committee.

By the way, CBO says that their terrible bill that they are bringing to the floor will throw another 100,000 people off of health insurance. By just passing

this bill, 100,000 additional people will lose their health insurance. This is ridiculous.

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

Mr. GRIFFITH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 6 minutes to the gentlewoman from North Carolina (Ms. FOXX) who is the chairwoman of the Rules Committee.

Ms. FOXX. Mr. Speaker, I thank the vice chair of the committee for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, the unaffordable care act was born as a lie and continues to be promoted in terms that are lies.

Mr. Speaker, do you remember these promises?

If you like your doctor, you can keep your doctor. If you like your health insurance, you can keep your insurance. Americans will save over \$2,500 per year.

All of those were lies, and now those who continue to support the unaffordable care act are misleading Americans about its current situation.

When the law was first debated, Democrats insisted that only 50 million Americans couldn't afford health insurance. That was exposed as a lie. Many Americans proved simply to be forgoing insurance in many instances. Democrats used this as an excuse to rewrite the entire framework of the individual healthcare insurance marketplace, forcing people onto plans that had their premiums rise by 129 percent since 2014. Indeed, the very first year ObamaCare went into effect, premiums skyrocketed by 47 percent. This is the true record of the unaffordable care act.

Despite the lies that continue to be told in the media to this day, Republicans have always proposed alternatives to the failed unaffordable care act framework that Democrats continue to force onto Americans. We are doing it again with this bill.

Instead of simply enabling the current fraud, waste, and abuse exposed in the unaffordable care act subsidy scheme that Democrats are addicted to, we are offering transformative policies that will root out hidden costs, attack inflationary programs, and increase competition throughout the entire healthcare insurance marketplace, lowering premiums for all Americans.

However, Mr. Speaker, even when all the evidence is presented to them on how rancid of a healthcare scheme the unaffordable care act really is, Democrats leap to their feet and become entirely apoplectic. They do not tell the truth about the current situation or what we are doing.

□ 1000

This is why: They fused themselves to the unaffordable care act to such a point that they outright refuse to seek reasonable reforms that help Americans afford healthcare. They won't do it.

Look at how they have superglued themselves to their temporary COVID subsidies that they themselves concocted and stamped an end date on, as my colleague has said.

I suppose all they know how to do is prop up a failed program that is littered with waste, fraud, and abuse, like cancerous lesions.

Don't take my word for it. Just look at the GAO report: Its estimates show millions of improper enrollments, costing American taxpayers up to \$27 billion annually. One Social Security number used for 26,000 days of coverage, and more than 58,000 deceased people receiving tax credits.

All in all, it is a massive, fraudulent boondoggle for the American people. Meanwhile, Republicans remain committed to rooting out waste, fraud, and abuse in all corners of the Federal Government.

The CBO already confirmed that our efforts to root out waste, fraud, and abuse in the unaffordable care act, by way of H.R. 1, lowered healthcare premiums for enrollees. Imagine that, attacking waste and fraud lowers costs. Yet, Democrats want to embrace the opposite and cement a system of inflation.

Here is the kicker, Mr. Speaker: Only 7 percent of Americans enrolled in an unaffordable care act plan would see a paltry 4 percent decrease in their premiums if these subsidies were extended.

Republicans are advancing real reforms in healthcare. Unlike Democrats, we are not attempting to place a Band-Aid on a ruptured artery and call it a day.

Mr. Speaker, the Lower Health Care Premiums for All Americans Act is our solution. It is the solution that the American people deserve.

It would lower healthcare premiums by 11 percent for all Americans, increase healthcare access, expand choice in healthcare, and bring about greater transparency to the healthcare system in the United States.

Republicans are offering a clear, responsible, and straightforward solution so that all Americans have access to healthcare that is affordable and meets their respective needs.

If our colleagues were serious about making healthcare more affordable for Americans, they would support this bill alongside Republicans. Let's see what they choose to do.

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

Mr. Speaker, the gentlewoman, the chairwoman of the Rules Committee, knows I have great affection for her, but I just want to correct something. She says that the Republicans have always had a plan to deal with healthcare and to lower costs for people, but the truth is they have always said they have a plan, but they have never had a plan.

Let me just go through a list of things here.

In February 2016, then-Presidential candidate Donald Trump said: "We are going to replace ObamaCare with something so much better." Nothing followed.

On February 27, 2017, the President said: "We have a really terrific, I be-

lieve, healthcare plan coming out." Never did.

May 10, 2018, Donald Trump said: "But wait until you see the plans that we have coming out literally over the next 4 weeks. We have great healthcare plans coming out." Nothing happened.

At a press gaggle near Air Force One in May 2019, he said: "We are coming up with a great healthcare plan. We are going to have fantastic healthcare, and the plan is coming out over the next 4 weeks." Nothing ever materialized.

June 16, 2019, the President said: "We are going to produce phenomenal healthcare, and we already have the concept of a plan, and it will be so much better healthcare. Yeah, well, we will be announcing it in about 2 months, maybe less." Nothing happened.

In a FOX News interview, the President said: "We are signing a healthcare plan within 2 weeks, a full and complete healthcare plan." Nothing happened.

July 2020, the President said: "Well, we are going to be doing a healthcare plan. We are going to be doing a very inclusive healthcare plan. I will be signing it sometime very soon. It might be—it might be Sunday, but it is going to be very soon." Nothing happened.

August 3, 2020, the President said: "We are going to be introducing a tremendous healthcare plan sometime prior—hopefully, prior to the end of the month. It is just about completed now." Nothing.

September 15, 2020, the President says: "You are going to have new healthcare. We have other alternatives to ObamaCare that are 50 percent less expensive, and they are actually better." Nothing. It never happened.

September 10, 2024, ABC News Presidential debate, he says: "I have concepts of a plan. . . . You will be hearing about it in the not-too-distant future." Nothing happened.

December 8, 2024, he said: "Yes, we have concepts of a plan that would be better. You will see it very soon." It produced nothing.

In May 2025, at a White House event, he said: "So we are going to maybe come up with something. I think this gives the Republicans a chance to actually do a healthcare that is much better than ObamaCare." Nothing.

People are sick and tired of the empty rhetoric. They are sick and tired of Republicans saying they have a plan, and they never produce one. All they want to do is undermine healthcare for hardworking, average Americans.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. RIVAS).

Ms. RIVAS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the ranking member for yielding to me.

Republicans have been in the majority and in control for this whole year, yet they have not put forward a bill that helps working families with the rising cost of living or to prevent hardworking Americans' healthcare premiums from skyrocketing in price.

Republicans drove the country into a healthcare crisis, and they continue to have no pathway to get us out of it.

With healthcare premiums set to skyrocket at the end of December, Republicans' solution is an unserious proposal that kicks millions of Americans off their coverage, puts healthcare out of reach, and takes away women's freedom to make their own healthcare decisions.

Under Republicans' concept of a healthcare plan, working Americans will be forced to make tough decisions, such as if they should take their child to the doctor or buy groceries for the week. Republicans' concept of a healthcare plan means bankruptcy will be one medical emergency away for millions of Americans.

If Republicans were serious about helping their constituents and addressing the healthcare crisis that they manufactured with the big, ugly bill, they would join Democrats and vote to extend the ACA tax credits for 3 years. We only need one more Republican to sign, one more to help American families afford healthcare.

I will vote "no" on this rule and the underlying bill to protect my over 31,000 constituents who rely on these ACA tax credits to make their healthcare affordable. I encourage my colleagues to do the same.

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

Mr. Speaker, my colleagues on the other side continually say that we haven't done anything. We just received a message from the Senate on a Republican bill that does something. Now, they may not like it, but I find it fascinating. These debates are always so interesting, Mr. Speaker.

They say we haven't put forward anything at some points, and at other points in their debate, they claim that this bill is terrible, that it does nothing.

Let me remind you, Mr. Speaker, that a part of this bill revives a Democratic plan that was supposed to be short term called cost-sharing reductions. It is fascinating because during the first Trump administration, in May 2017, my Democratic colleagues—and I know some of them weren't here yet—but 196 of them, including the gentleman from Massachusetts, signed a letter asking—because it was not codified—President Trump to use his executive power to continue the cost-sharing reduction plan.

□ 1010

Mr. Speaker, I would love to hear from my colleagues why cost-sharing reduction by them was considered to be so important to be continued to help 7 million hardworking Americans and their families, more than half—I am reading from their letter—of all marketplace enrollees for 2017 afford their out-of-pocket healthcare costs. That is what cost-sharing reduction does.

Today, they claim, as a part of our bill, it is nothing. It is worthless. It is



not worth the paper it is written on, but in 2017, 196 of them, including the gentleman from Massachusetts, asked the President of the United States to continue the program.

Today, we are answering that call, saying we will answer that and put it in our bill, but because it is now proposed as part of a Republican bill, my colleagues, for some reason, don't remember their position in 2017 and call it trash.

Could it be mere political posturing for November elections? I submit it is.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, if we defeat the previous question, I will offer an amendment to the rule to provide for consideration of H.R. 6074, which would extend the Affordable Care Act enhanced premium tax credits for 3 years, through 2028.

Mr. Speaker, this is it. This is the one last chance this year, this session, for this Republican majority to do the right thing and vote to extend the ACA enhanced premium tax credits.

If Republicans allow them to expire, millions of Americans, millions of their constituents, will be faced with rising health insurance costs and, in some cases, by more than \$1,000 per month.

Mr. Speaker, I have an important announcement to make, and if there is anybody in the press gallery listening, I want them to hear this. I have called on Republicans to put country over politics, put country over their party, to do the right thing for their constituents. We have a discharge petition that 214 Democrats have signed on to, to force a bill on a 3-year clean extension. While we have been debating, four Republicans have actually done that.

We are now at 218. What that means is that it sets in place a process that will allow us to vote on a clean extension. We have 218 people who will vote for it, which means we will pass it.

Unfortunately, the procedures on a discharge petition mean that we can't get to it until we come back from our holiday break in January, but we don't need to wait for the discharge petition to ripen. We can actually act today if we want to preserve the tax credits for 20 million working-class Americans that rely on them.

Democrats in this House and in the Senate have acted like adults during our entire monthslong effort to get Republicans to do the right thing. I thank those Republicans who signed the discharge petition because that is actually going to make sure that we have a vote and that we can extend these tax benefits.

Again, we can kind of short-circuit the process. If we defeat the previous question, we could vote on it today. We are offering this to be able to bring it up immediately.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert the text of my amend-

ment into the RECORD, along with any extraneous material, immediately prior to the vote on the previous question.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT) for the purpose of a colloquy.

Mr. DOGGETT. While we are thankful for this belated decision of four Republicans here at the last minute to join the discharge petition, unless they join us in voting in favor of this action on the previous question, there is nothing that can be done this year because the Speaker will continue to obstruct premium relief for Americans.

Mr. MCGOVERN. That is correct. We do thank these Republicans for getting us to 218, but we hope they would join us.

Mr. DOGGETT. This would be the key vote?

Mr. MCGOVERN. This would be the key vote.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from Connecticut (Mrs. HAYES) to discuss our proposal.

Mrs. HAYES. Mr. Speaker, I rise to defeat the previous question and bring up H.R. 6074, which provides for a clean 3-year extension of the Affordable Care Act enhanced tax credits.

Congress has 3 legislative days left to extend the ACA tax credits, or they will expire at the end of the year. The impact of the tax credits expiring is devastating. Expiration of the tax credits will result in health premiums increasing by an average of 114 percent for individuals who rely on the marketplace, forcing 4.2 million people to lose their health insurance.

I hear the fear in the voices of my constituents, Republicans and Democrats, and Americans across the country who talk about healthcare and the looming crisis. Small business owners, independent contractors, retirees, farmers, and constituents in my district continue to call my office or stop me to share how they will be unable to afford healthcare as they continue to experience rising costs for essentials like groceries, insurance, utilities, and housing.

If Republicans can find a way to provide tax cuts for billionaires, Congress can find a way to provide relief for individuals to access healthcare. As I have said, we are under the pressure of time. We have a discharge petition, but that will take 7 days for a ripening through the House procedures. What we can do today is vote to defeat this previous question.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the four Republicans who have joined us, but time is of the essence. They need to go one step further and vote to defeat the previous question, alongside Democrats, so that we can have a vote today in this House before we go on break.

Congress must protect healthcare and lower the costs for all Americans by extending the ACA tax credits.

As my colleague, Mr. MCGOVERN, said, this isn't about Democrats. This is all of our constituents who benefit from the Affordable Care Act. This is all of our constituents who face rising deductibles and premiums. This is all of our constituents who fear that they will lose their healthcare. No reasonable proposal has been introduced. This is what we have today.

Help us defeat the previous question.

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

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire as to the time remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts has 5½ minutes remaining. The gentleman from Virginia has 4½ minutes remaining.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. Speaker, Republicans love to find ways to justify kicking millions of working people off of healthcare. The chairwoman of the Rules Committee talked about fraud. If fraud is your primary concern, how about you start with President Trump, who has pardoned or commuted not one, not two, but 12 people. He pardoned 12 people convicted of healthcare fraud. My Republican friends have been silent, not a word.

One guy was convicted of \$1.3 billion in a Medicare fraud scheme, the largest healthcare fraud scheme charged by the Department of Justice. We had another woman convicted of orchestrating \$205 million in a Medicare fraud scheme involving assisted living facilities. We had another guy convicted of 67 counts of healthcare fraud and related charges relating to Medicare and other healthcare programs.

I could go on and on, Mr. Speaker. I am not sure what they did to earn those pardons, but maybe they promised to say nice things about Trump.

When Republicans come to the floor and talk about fraud, just remember that they are the ones who pardoned over and over and over again healthcare fraudsters while at the same time screwing over the American people by taking away their healthcare.

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker, let's be honest about what is happening here because this really is not that complicated, and the American people aren't stupid.

This Republican bill does not fix the healthcare crisis facing this country. It doesn't even try. Instead, Republicans are going to raise costs, weaken coverage, and deliberately allow the Affordable Care Act tax credits to expire, knowing full well that millions of families will lose affordable coverage as a result.

That outcome is not a side effect. It is the point. For more than a decade,

Republicans have promised a better healthcare system, a replacement for the ACA, something, anything that would justify taking coverage away from people who need it.

Ten years later, there is still no plan, no replacement, no solution. Why? Because they are totally fine with a system of the haves and have-nots. They want a system where those at the top have affordable care, and everyone else is left in the dust.

□ 1020

Mr. Speaker, Republicans have controlled the House of Representatives for 3 long years. During that time, the priorities of this majority have been crystal clear.

When billionaires, CEOs, and corporate special interests need something, Republicans move with lightning speed. Loopholes appear out of nowhere. Regulations vanish into thin air while Big Oil, Big Tech, and big banks get what they want.

Republicans have no problem handing out massive tax giveaways to donors who write big campaign checks. They have no problem padding the profits of greedy corporations. They have no problem voting to give the Pentagon \$8 billion more than it even asked for without so much as a shrug.

When it comes to working people, when they need affordable healthcare, suddenly the story changes. Suddenly, there is hand-wringing. Suddenly, there is paralysis. Suddenly, the money is gone. Suddenly, America can't pay for it.

If my friends on the other side of the aisle are okay with that, we do not share the same values. If they think it is fine to give handouts to billionaires, while stealing healthcare from regular people, we do not have the same moral compass.

The bottom line is this country has a Republican Congress that works just fine for the rich and powerful, while telling everybody else to tighten their belts.

There is always money for giveaways to CEOs and corporate stock buybacks. There is always money for billionaire tax shelters. When a working family needs help staying insured, Republicans say it is too expensive. This is a question of our priorities as a Nation.

What makes this even more infuriating is that Democrats have already put forward a responsible and reasonable solution that would help stop this crisis in its tracks. We have 218 people who have signed this discharge petition. Mr. Speaker, four Republicans signed this discharge petition. I hope they will vote to bring this same bill up today.

To the moderates who didn't get the opportunity to sign it, I say this. This is their chance to go on record and show their constituents that they are serious about getting this done. Imagine what that would mean. It would mean lower costs, stable coverage, and a Congress that proves it still answers

to working families instead of to the billionaire class. Instead, we get this GOP inaction and incompetence.

Mr. Speaker, at the end of the day, healthcare coverage should not depend on how much money someone makes. We live in the richest country on Earth. Healthcare should be a human right available to every person and every community without exception.

The United States remains the only major developed Nation that does not guarantee healthcare for everyone. That is not because we can't afford it. It is because powerful interests make too much money from the status quo.

To any Republican who knows this bill is wrong, who understands what this will do back home, and who still believes that this institution should work for the people it represents, this is the moment. Extend the tax credits. Protect the coverage of our constituents. Stand with us to say that it is time for Congress to put patients ahead of profits and working families ahead of billionaires.

Mr. Speaker, I urge a "no" vote on this rule, and I yield back the balance of my time.

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

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman is absolutely correct on this one point. If what they want is socialized medicine, yes, I am against it and so are most of the Republicans in this House. We are not for socialized medicine.

When I was a student, I remember being in Edinburgh in 1979. Mr. Finch across the hall with socialized medicine had to wait 10 months to get surgery for a blockage in his heart.

When I came home, I discovered that in the United States it would have been 3 days before he would have had that surgery. He died a couple of years later because socialized medicine warehouses people until they have time to get to them. That is not what our system does nor should it.

Further, I would say that the Democrats come here today, and it is their healthcare system. They created it. When they created the Affordable Care Act, there were no Republican votes. When they extended it or changed it a little bit and eventually renewed it again in the Inflation Reduction Act, there were no Republican votes for that.

Today, they want to blame Republicans for their policy failures. The American people will eventually see through that. I know they have done a great job of convincing the American people that is the case, but it isn't true.

They talk about the fact that, as costs are going up and they want this new plan to throw \$85 billion at the insurance companies, 85 percent has to be spent on healthcare. That is true.

Mr. Speaker, 15 percent of \$500 that the insurance companies get to put in their pockets is a whole lot less than 15 percent of \$2,000. If we throw more money at the insurance companies, the

big insurance executives get more money to put in their pockets. They are smiling like Cheshire cats as the costs go up and they pocket larger profits.

Perhaps my Democratic colleagues don't want to admit it or don't realize that they are the front men for big insurance, but that is what they are. They are the front men for big insurance. Instead of facing reality, their answer is to blame the Republicans and throw more taxpayer money at the big insurance companies.

Mr. Speaker, giving the insurance companies more money will not solve our healthcare problems.

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

AN AMENDMENT TO H. RES. 953 OFFERED BY  
MR. MCGOVERN OF MASSACHUSETTS

At the end of the resolution, add the following:

SEC. 6. Immediately upon adoption of this resolution, the House shall proceed to the consideration in the House of the bill (H.R. 6074) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to extend the enhancement of the health care premium tax credit. All points of order against consideration of the bill are waived. The bill shall be considered as read. All points of order against provisions in the bill are waived. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and on any amendment thereto to final passage without intervening motion except: (1) one hour of debate equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Ways and Means or their respective designees; and (2) one motion to recommit.

SEC. 7. Clause 1(c) of the rule XIX shall not apply to the consideration of H.R. 6074.

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

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

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

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

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 9 of rule XX, the Chair will reduce to 5 minutes the minimum time for any electronic vote on the question of adoption of the resolution.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 204, nays 203, not voting 26, as follows:

[Roll No. 343]

YEAS—204

Aderholt	Bilirakis	Clyde
Alford	Boebert	Cole
Allen	Bost	Collins
Amodei (NV)	Brecheen	Comer
Babin	Bresnahan	Crane
Bacon	Buchanan	Crank
Baird	Burchett	Crawford
Balderson	Burlison	Davidson
Barrett	Calvert	De La Cruz
Bean (FL)	Cammack	DesJarlais
Begich	Carey	Donalds
Bentz	Carter (GA)	Downing
Bergman	Carter (TX)	Dunn (FL)
Bice	Ciscomani	Edwards
Biggs (AZ)	Cline	Ellzey
Biggs (SC)	Cloud	Emmer



Estes  
Evans (CO)  
Ezell  
Fallon  
Fedorchak  
Fine  
Finstad  
Fischbach  
Fitzgerald  
Fleischmann  
Flood  
Fong  
Foxy  
Franklin, Scott  
Fry  
Fulcher  
Garbarino  
Gill (TX)  
Gimenez  
Goldman (TX)  
Gonzales, Tony  
Gooden  
Gosar  
Graves  
Greene (GA)  
Griffith  
Grothman  
Guest  
Guthrie  
Hageman  
Hamadeh (AZ)  
Haridopolos  
Harrigan  
Harris (MD)  
Harris (NC)  
Harshbarger  
Hern (OK)  
Higgins (LA)  
Hill (AR)  
Houchin  
Hudson  
Huizenga  
Hunt  
Hurd (CO)  
Issa  
Jack  
Jackson (TX)  
James  
Johnson (LA)  
Johnson (SD)  
Joyce (OH)  
Joyce (PA)

Kean  
Kelly (MS)  
Kelly (PA)  
Kennedy (UT)  
Kiggans (VA)  
Kiley (CA)  
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Loudermilk  
Lucas  
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Reschenthaler  
Rogers (AL)  
Rogers (KY)  
Rose  
Rouzer  
Roy  
Rulli  
Rutherford  
Salazar  
Scalise  
Schmidt  
Schweikert  
Scott, Austin  
Self  
Sessions  
Shreve  
Simpson  
Smith (MO)  
Smith (NE)  
Smith (NJ)  
Smucker  
Stauber  
Stefanik  
Steil  
Steube  
Strong  
Stutzman  
Taylor  
Tenney  
Thompson (PA)  
Tiffany  
Timmons  
Turner (OH)  
Van Drew  
Van Duyn  
Van Epps  
Van Orden  
Wagner  
Walberg  
Weber (TX)  
Webster (FL)  
Wied  
Williams (TX)  
Wilson (SC)  
Wittman  
Womack  
Yakym  
Zinke

NAYS—203

Adams  
Aguilar  
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Auchincloss  
Balint  
Barragan  
Beatty  
Bell  
Bera  
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  
Correa  
Costa  
Craig  
Crockett  
Crow  
Cuellar  
Davids (KS)  
Davis (IL)  
Davis (NC)  
Dean (PA)

DeGette  
DeLauro  
DelBene  
Deluzio  
DeSaulnier  
Dexter  
Dingell  
Doggett  
Elfreth  
Escobar  
Evans (PA)  
Fields  
Figures  
Fletcher  
Foster  
Foushee  
Frankel, Lois  
Friedman  
Frost  
Garamendi  
Garcia (CA)  
Garcia (IL)  
Gillen  
Golden (ME)  
Gomez  
Gonzalez, V.  
Goodlander  
Gottheimer  
Gray  
Green, Al (TX)  
Grijalva  
Harder (CA)  
Hayes  
Himes  
Horsford  
Houlihan  
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  
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Lynch  
Magaziner  
Mannion  
Matsui  
McBride  
McClain Delaney  
McClellan  
McCollum  
McDonald Rivet  
McGarvey  
McGovern  
McIver  
Meeks  
Menendez  
Meng  
Mfume  
Min  
Morelle  
Morrison  
Moskowitz  
Moulton  
Mrvan  
Mullin  
Neal  
Neguse  
Norcross

Ocasio-Cortez  
Olszewski  
Omar  
Pallone  
Panetta  
Pappas  
Pelosi  
Perez  
Peters  
Pettersen  
Pingree  
Pocan  
Pou  
Pressley  
Quigley  
Ramirez  
Randall  
Raskin  
Riley (NY)  
Rivas  
Ross  
Ryan  
Salinas  
Sanchez

Scanlon  
Schakowsky  
Schneider  
Scholten  
Schrier  
Scott (VA)  
Scott, David  
Sewell  
Sherman  
Simon  
Smith (WA)  
Sorensen  
Soto  
Stansbury  
Stanton  
Stevens  
Strickland  
Subramanyam  
Suozi  
Sykes  
Takano  
Thanedar  
Thompson (CA)  
Thompson (MS)

Titus  
Tlaib  
Tokuda  
Tonko  
Torres (CA)  
Torres (NY)  
Trahan  
Tran  
Underwood  
Vargas  
Vasquez  
Veasey  
Velazquez  
Vindman  
Walkinshaw  
Wasserman  
Schultz  
Waters  
Watson Coleman  
Whitesides  
Williams (GA)  
Wilson (FL)

NOT VOTING—26

Arrington  
Barr  
Baumgartner  
Beyer  
Courtney  
Crenshaw  
Diaz-Balart  
Espallat  
Feenstra

Fitzpatrick  
Garcia (TX)  
Goldman (NY)  
Hinson  
Jordan  
McBath  
Miller-Meeks  
Moore (WI)  
Murphy

Nadler  
Nehls  
Nunn (IA)  
Ruiz  
Spartz  
Swalwell  
Valadao  
Westerman

□ 1052

Ms. DEGETTE and Mr. SCHNEIDER changed their vote from “yea” to “nay.”

Mr. ZINKE changed his vote from “nay” to “yea.”

So the previous question was ordered. The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

Stated for:

Mrs. SPARTZ. Mr. Speaker, had I been present, I would have voted YEA on Roll Call No. 343.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, had I been present, I would have voted YEA on Roll Call No. 343.

Mrs. MILLER-MEEKS. Mr. Speaker, had I been present, I would have voted YEA on Roll Call No. 343.

Stated against:

Mr. GOLDMAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I was unable to vote today because the vote was closed despite my being present in the well and attempting to vote. Had I been present, I would have voted NAY on Roll Call No. 343.

Mr. RUIZ. Mr. Speaker, had I been present, I would have voted NAY on Roll Call No. 343.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MOORE of West Virginia). The question is on the resolution.

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

RECORDED VOTE

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

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

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 213, noes 209, not voting 11, as follows:

[Roll No. 344]

AYES—213

Aderholt  
Alford  
Allen  
Amodei (NV)

Arrington  
Babin  
Bacon  
Baird

Balderson  
Barr  
Barrett  
Baumgartner

Bean (FL)  
Begich  
Bentz  
Bergman  
Bice  
Biggs (AZ)  
Biggs (SC)  
Billakis  
Boebert  
Bost  
Brecht  
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  
Elizy  
Emmer  
Estes  
Evans (CO)  
Ezell  
Fallon  
Fedorchak  
Fine  
Finstad  
Fischbach  
Fitzgerald  
Fitzpatrick  
Fleischmann  
Flood  
Fong  
Foxy  
Franklin, Scott  
Fry  
Fulcher  
Garbarino  
Gill (TX)  
Gimenez  
Goldman (TX)  
Gonzales, Tony  
Gooden  
Gosar  
Graves  
Greene (GA)

Griffith  
Grothman  
Guest  
Guthrie  
Hageman  
Hamadeh (AZ)  
Haridopolos  
Harrigan  
Harris (MD)  
Harris (NC)  
Harshbarger  
Hern (OK)  
Higgins (LA)  
Hill (AR)  
Houchin  
Hudson  
Huizenga  
Hunt  
Hurd (CO)  
Issa  
Jack  
Jackson (TX)  
James  
Johnson (LA)  
Johnson (SD)  
Jordan  
Joyce (OH)  
Joyce (PA)  
Kean  
Kelly (MS)  
Kelly (PA)  
Kennedy (UT)  
Kiley (CA)  
Kim  
Knott  
Kustoff  
LaHood  
LaMalfa  
Langworthy  
Latta  
Lawler  
Lee (FL)  
Letlow  
Loudermilk  
Lucas  
Luna  
Luttrell  
Mace  
Mackenzie  
Malliotakis  
Maloy  
Mann  
Massie  
Mast  
McCaul  
McClain  
McClintock  
McCormick  
McDowell  
McGuire  
Messmer  
Meuser  
Miller (IL)  
Miller (OH)  
Miller (WV)  
Miller-Meeks  
Mills

Moolenaar  
Moore (AL)  
Moore (NC)  
Moore (UT)  
Moore (WV)  
Moran  
Nehls  
Newhouse  
Norman  
Oberholte  
Ogles  
Onder  
Owens  
Palmer  
Patronis  
Perry  
Pfluger  
Reschenthaler  
Rogers (AL)  
Rogers (KY)  
Rose  
Rouzer  
Roy  
Rulli  
Rutherford  
Salazar  
Scalise  
Schmidt  
Schweikert  
Scott, Austin  
Self  
Sessions  
Shreve  
Simpson  
Smith (MO)  
Smith (NE)  
Smith (NJ)  
Smucker  
Spartz  
Stauber  
Stefanik  
Steil  
Steube  
Strong  
Stutzman  
Taylor  
Tenney  
Thompson (PA)  
Tiffany  
Timmons  
Turner (OH)  
Valadao  
Van Drew  
Van Duyn  
Van Epps  
Van Orden  
Wagner  
Walberg  
Weber (TX)  
Webster (FL)  
Westerman  
Wied  
Williams (TX)  
Wilson (SC)  
Wittman  
Womack  
Yakym  
Zinke

NOES—209

Adams  
Aguilar  
Amo  
Ansari  
Auchincloss  
Balint  
Barragan  
Beatty  
Bell  
Bera  
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  
Correa  
Costa  
Craig  
Crockett  
Crow  
Cuellar  
Davids (KS)  
Davis (IL)  
Davis (NC)  
Dean (PA)  
DeGette  
DeLauro  
DelBene  
Deluzio  
DeSaulnier  
Dexter  
Dingell  
Doggett  
Elfreth  
Escobar  
Espallat  
Evans (PA)  
Fields  
Figures

Fletcher  
Foster  
Foushee  
Frankel, Lois  
Friedman  
Frost  
Garamendi  
Garcia (CA)  
Garcia (IL)  
Gillen  
Golden (ME)  
Goldman (NY)  
Gomez  
Gonzalez, V.  
Goodlander  
Gottheimer  
Gray  
Green, Al (TX)  
Grijalva  
Harder (CA)  
Hayes  
Himes  
Horsford  
Houlihan  
Hoyer  
Hoyle (OR)  
Huffman  
Ivey  
Jackson (IL)  
Jacobs

Jayapal	Morelle	Sewell
Jeffries	Morrison	Sherman
Johnson (GA)	Moskowitz	Simon
Johnson (TX)	Moulton	Smith (WA)
Kamllager-Dove	Mrvan	Sorensen
Kaptur	Mullin	Soto
Keating	Neal	Stansbury
Kelly (IL)	Neguse	Stanton
Kennedy (NY)	Norcross	Stevens
Khanna	Ocasio-Cortez	Strickland
Kiggans (VA)	Olshewski	Subramanyam
Krishnamoorthi	Omar	Suozi
Landsman	Pallone	Sykes
Larsen (WA)	Panetta	Takano
Larson (CT)	Pappas	Thanedar
Latimer	Pelosi	Thompson (CA)
Lee (NV)	Perez	Thompson (MS)
Lee (PA)	Peters	Titus
Leger Fernandez	Petterson	Tlaib
Levin	Pingree	Tokuda
Liccardo	Pocan	Tonko
Lieu	Pou	Torres (CA)
Lofgren	Pressley	Torres (NY)
Lynch	Quigley	Trahan
Magaziner	Ramirez	Tran
Mannion	Randall	Underwood
Matsui	Raskin	Vargas
McBride	Riley (NY)	Vasquez
McClain Delaney	Rivas	Veasey
McClellan	Ross	Velázquez
McCollum	Ruiz	Vindman
McDonald Rivet	Ryan	Walkinshaw
McGarvey	Salinas	Wasserman
McGovern	Sánchez	Schultz
McIver	Scanlon	Waters
Meeks	Schakowsky	Watson Coleman
Menendez	Schneider	Whitesides
Meng	Scholten	Schrier
Mfume	Schrier	Williams (GA)
Min	Scott (VA)	Wilson (FL)
Moore (WI)	Scott, David	

## NOT VOTING—11

Courtney	LaLota	Nunn (IA)
Feenstra	McBath	Rogers (KY)
Garcia (TX)	Murphy	Swalwell
Hinson	Nadler	

□ 1106

So the resolution was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

## PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Ms. GARCIA of Texas. Mr. Speaker, due to illness, I was unable to vote today. Had I been able to vote, I would have voted NAY on Roll Call No. 343, Ordering the Previous Question on H. Res. 953; NO on Roll Call No. 344, H. Res. 953.

## PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, today, I missed votes due to a personal matter. Had I been present, I would have voted NAY on Roll Call No. 343 and NO on Roll Call No. 344.

## MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Ferrari, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate has passed without amendment bills of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 131. An act to make certain modifications to the repayment for the Arkansas Valley Conduit in the State of Colorado.

H.R. 187. An act to provide for the standardization, consolidation, and publication of data relating to public outdoor recreational use of Federal waterway among Federal land and water management agencies, and for other purposes.

H.R. 410. An act to extend the Alaska Native Vietnam era veterans land allotment program, and for other purposes.

H.R. 1043. An act to direct the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain Federal land in Arizona to La Paz County, Arizona, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate has passed bills of the following titles in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 355. An act to require the secretary of Health and Human Services, acting through the Commissioner of Food and Drugs, to publish a final rule relating to nonclinical testing methods.

S. 594. An act to amend the Post-Katrina Management Reform Act of 2006 to repeal certain obsolete requirements, and for other purposes.

S. 612. An act to amend the Native American Tourism and Improving Visitor Experience Act to authorize grants to Indian tribes, tribal organizations, and Native Hawaiian organizations, and for other purposes.

S. 727. An act to correct the inequitable denial of enhanced retirement and annuity benefits to certain U.S. Customs and Border Protection Officers.

S. 856. An act to amend the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 to clarify a provision relating to certain contents of registrations under that Act.

S. 861. An act to streamline the sharing of information among Federal disaster assistance agencies, to expedite the delivery of life-saving assistance to disaster survivors, to speed the recovery of communities from disasters, to protect the security and privacy of information provided by disaster survivors, and for other purposes.

S. 865. An act to amend the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 to require certain disclosures by registrants regarding exemptions under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended.

S. 1049. An act to direct the Office of Victims of Crime of the Department of Justice to continue implementing the anti-trafficking recommendations of the Government Accountability Office and to report to Congress regarding such implementation.

S. 3021. An act to amend title 18, United States Code, to enhance enforcement with respect to material depicting obscene child sexual abuse or constituting child pornography, and for other purposes.

S. 3490. An act to establish the Fort Ontario Holocaust Refugee Shelter National Historical Park, to designate the American's National Churchill Museum National Historic Landmark, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 106-398, as amended by Public Law 108-7, the Chair, on behalf of the Democratic Leader, and in consultation with the Ranking Members of the Senate Committee on Armed Services and the Senate Committee on Finance, appoints the following individual to serve as a member of the United States-China Economic and Security Review Commission:

Michael Kuiken of the District of Columbia for a term beginning January 1, 2026 and expiring December 31, 2027.

## ELECTING A MEMBER TO A CERTAIN STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. AGUILAR. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Democratic Caucus, I offer a privileged resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 954

*Resolved*, That the following named Member be, and is hereby, elected to the fol-

lowing standing committee of the House of Representatives:

COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE, SPACE, AND TECHNOLOGY: Mr. Beyer.

Mr. AGUILAR (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be considered as read.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SIMPSON). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

□ 1110

## LOWER HEALTH CARE PREMIUMS FOR ALL AMERICANS ACT

Mr. GUTHRIE. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 953, I call up the bill (H.R. 6703) to ensure access to affordable health insurance, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GUEST). Pursuant to House Resolution 953, the bill is considered read.

The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 6703

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

## SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Lower Health Care Premiums for All Americans Act".

## TITLE I—IMPROVING HEALTH CARE OPTIONS FOR WORKERS

## SEC. 101. ASSOCIATION HEALTH PLANS.

(a) TREATMENT OF GROUP OR ASSOCIATION OF EMPLOYERS.—Section 3(5) of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 (29 U.S.C. 1002(5)) is amended by inserting after "capacity" the following: "(including, for the purpose of establishing or maintaining a group health plan, a group or association of employers that satisfies the requirements of section 736(a))".

(b) RULES APPLICABLE TO GROUP HEALTH PLANS ESTABLISHED AND MAINTAINED BY A GROUP OR ASSOCIATION OF EMPLOYERS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Part 7 of subtitle B of title I of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 (29 U.S.C. 1181, et seq.) is amended by adding at the end the following:

**"SEC. 736. RULES APPLICABLE TO GROUP HEALTH PLANS ESTABLISHED AND MAINTAINED BY A GROUP OR ASSOCIATION OF EMPLOYERS.**

"(a) ASSOCIATION HEALTH PLANS.—A group or association of employers may maintain a group health plan, regardless of whether the employers composing such group or association are in the same industry, trade, or profession, if such group or association satisfies the following requirements:

"(1) GROUP OR ASSOCIATION REQUIREMENTS.—The group or association of employers—

"(A) shall—

"(i) have been formed and maintained in good faith for purposes other than providing health insurance coverage through a group health plan;

"(ii) establish a governing board or another indicator of formality as described in paragraph (2); and

"(iii) have existed for at least 2 years prior to offering a group health plan to the employees of such group or association; and