

Johnson, Sam  
Jones  
Jordan  
Kaptur  
Kelly  
Kildee  
King (IA)  
King (NY)  
Kingston  
Kinzinger (IL)  
Kissell  
Kline  
Labrador  
Lamborn  
Lance  
Landry  
Langevin  
Lankford  
Larson (CT)  
LaTourette  
Latta  
Lewis (CA)  
Loebach  
Lofgren, Zoe  
Long  
Lowey  
Lucas  
Luetkemeyer  
Lujan  
Lummis  
Lungrén, Daniel E.  
Mack  
Maloney  
Manzullo  
Marchant  
Matheson  
Matsui  
McCarthy (CA)  
McCarthy (NY)  
McCauley  
McClintock  
McCollum  
McCotter  
McHenry  
McIntyre  
McKeon  
McKinley  
McMorris  
Rodgers  
McNerney  
Meehan  
Meeks  
Mica  
Michaud  
Miller (FL)  
Miller (MI)  
Miller, Gary

## NOES—120

Adams  
Andrews  
Baldwin  
Barrow  
Bass (CA)  
Benishke  
Bilbray  
Bishop (NY)  
Brady (PA)  
Braley (IA)  
Burgess  
Capps  
Capuano  
Carnahan  
Carson (IN)  
Castor (FL)  
Clarke (MI)  
Clarke (NY)  
Cleaver  
Clyburn  
Coffman (CO)  
Conaway  
Conyers  
Costa  
Costello  
Courtney  
Cravack  
Crawford  
Cuellar  
Cummings  
Davis (IL)  
DeFazio  
Dent  
Dingell  
Doggett  
Dold  
Donnelly (IN)  
Doyle  
Duffy

Miller, George  
Moran  
Mulaney  
Murphy (CT)  
Murphy (PA)  
Myrick  
Nadler  
Napolitano  
Neugebauer  
Nugent  
Nunes  
Nunnelee  
Olson  
Owens  
Palazzo  
Paul  
Paulsen  
Pearce  
Pence  
Perlmutter  
Petri  
Pingree (ME)  
Pitts  
Platts  
Pompeo  
Posey  
Price (GA)  
Price (NC)  
Quigley  
Rangel  
Rehberg  
Reichert  
Ribble  
Richardson  
Richmond  
Rigell  
Rivera  
Robby  
Roe (TN)  
Rogers (AL)  
Rogers (KY)  
Rogers (MI)  
Rokita  
Ros-Lehtinen  
Roskam  
Ross (AR)  
Ross (FL)  
Roybal-Allard  
Royce  
Runyan  
Ruppersberger  
Ryan (OH)  
Ryan (WI)  
Scalise  
Schiff  
Schilling  
Schmidt  
Schock

Schrader  
Schwartz  
Schweikert  
Scott (SC)  
Scott (VA)  
Scott, Austin  
Scott, David  
Sensenbrenner  
Serrano  
Sessions  
Sewell  
Sherman  
Shimkus  
Shuster  
Simpson  
Sires  
Smith (NE)  
Smith (NJ)  
Smith (TX)  
Smith (WA)  
Southerland  
Stark  
Stearns  
Stutzman  
Sullivan  
Thompson (PA)  
Thornberry  
Tiberi  
Tonko  
Tsongas  
Turner (NY)  
Turner (OH)  
Upton  
Van Hollen  
Walberg  
Walden  
Walz (MN)  
Wasserman  
Schultz  
Waters  
Watt  
Waxman  
Webster  
Welch  
West  
Westmoreland  
Whitfield  
Wilson (FL)  
Wilson (SC)  
Wittman  
Wolf  
Womack  
Woolsey  
Yarmuth  
Young (AK)  
Young (FL)  
Young (IN)

Towns  
Velázquez

## ANSWERED “PRESENT”—1

Amash

## NOT VOTING—20

Bachus  
Berkley  
Campbell  
Cardoza  
Cassidy  
Farr  
Fattah

Filner  
Frank (MA)  
Giffords  
Gohmert  
Heinrich  
Hinchey  
Inslee

Johnson, E. B.  
Marino  
Noem  
Payne  
Reyes  
Speier

## □ 1407

So the Journal was approved.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

Stated for:

Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall 3, I was unable to vote because I was a witness in a redistricting trial. Had I been present, I would have voted “aye.”

Stated against:

Mr. FILNER. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall 3, I was away from the Capitol due to prior commitments to my constituents. Had I been present, I would have voted “no.”

## REMOVAL OF NAME OF MEMBER AS COSPONSOR OF H.R. 3622

Mr. TIBERI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to remove my name as a cosponsor of H.R. 3622.

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

There was no objection.

## PROVIDING FOR A JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS TO RECEIVE A MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

Mr. REED. Madam Speaker, I send to the desk a privileged concurrent resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the concurrent resolution, as follows:

## H. CON. RES. 96

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the two Houses of Congress assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Tuesday, January 24, 2012, at 9 p.m., for the purpose of receiving such communication as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make to them.*

The concurrent resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

## DISAPPROVAL RESOLUTION RELATING TO DEBT LIMIT INCREASE

Mr. REED. Madam Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 515 and as the designee of the majority leader, I have a motion on the desk.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mrs. MILLER of Michigan). The Clerk will report the motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. Reed moves that the House proceed to consider the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 98) relating to the disapproval of the President's exercise of authority to increase the debt

limit, as submitted under section 3101A of title 31, United States Code, on January 12, 2012.

## □ 1410

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to section 3101A(c)(3) of title 31, United States Code, the motion is not debatable.

The question is on the motion.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the title of the joint resolution.

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

The text of the joint resolution is as follows:

## H.J. RES. 98

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Congress disapproves of the President's exercise of authority to increase the debt limit, as exercised pursuant to the certification under section 3101A(a) of title 31, United States Code.*

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to section 3101A(c)(4) of title 31, United States Code, the joint resolution is considered as read, and the previous question is considered as ordered on the joint resolution to its passage without intervening motion except 2 hours of debate, equally divided and controlled by the gentleman from New York (Mr. REED) as the proponent and the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN) as the opponent.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York.

## GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. REED. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume, and I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and to include extraneous material on the subject of the resolution under consideration.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. REED. Madam Speaker, I rise today as the proud primary sponsor of the subject resolution that is before the desk.

Madam Speaker, I'd like to start my conversation with a few numbers: \$15.2 trillion. That is the size of our national debt. We as a Nation are borrowing at the rate of \$58,000 per second. That is approximately \$45,000 for each man, woman, and child in America. This type of debt is not sustainable.

Madam Speaker, this resolution is offered today to send a message to the Nation and to the world that this Chamber is going to lead and not hide. We are going to deal with the issue of the national debt once and for all because it is time. The path that we are on is not sustainable. It is a path of bankruptcy, it is a path that will destroy the American Dream if we do not stand up to the plate and lead us out of this fiscal nightmare that we now find ourselves in.

Now, many people in this town and in this Chamber and in the Chamber on the other side of the Capitol probably would like this issue to go away until after the election. The problem is, is that the issue will not go away. And even though if we don't want to deal with it politically, we need to deal with it substantively. And my resolution that is before this Chamber will send a message that the constant borrowing on the backs of our children and our grandchildren must come to an end.

I quote the words of our own President when he was Senator in the U.S. Senate. The path that we are on is similar to the words he echoed and stated in the U.S. Senate Chamber when he said this constant borrowing, this national debt is a complete failure of leadership in the White House. We need to lead, and that is what we are going to do.

So I ask for support on this resolution from all of my colleagues, to stand with us, make the hard decisions, deal with this issue to stop this insanity that is truly a threat to our very Nation. And also, it is a threat to any economic recovery that our Nation hopes to enjoy in the short term, because if we do not get the debt under control, small business America, our entrepreneurs, the people that are going to put Americans back to work will not have the confidence or the certainty to invest in the American market that is going to lead to real jobs and to deal with the problem of our unemployment once and for all.

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

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

You know, there's a very basic fact—I've listened to the rhetoric—if House Republicans prevailed on this bill, what that would be the result? Chaos. Chaos.

The House Republicans have become the "party of chaos." Six months ago, they took us to the brink of default. No one in this country liked what they saw—or maybe a very few—not the American public at large, surely not the markets, surely not the markets. But apparently House Republicans did, and you're at it again.

Here we are in the first full day in the House when we're in session this year debating a measure that would take us immediately back to the brink of default. House Republicans are once again relying on the votes of others to save them from themselves and to save this country from them.

This is posturing, not legislating. This is rhetoric, not reelection. And we've seen this movie before. 174 House Republicans voted for the Budget Control Act that set out the structure to keep the government functioning and address our long-term debt, but many decided to turn tail. And on September 14, 228 House Republicans voted in favor of the disapproval resolution to end the President's authority to pay our bills. That is what's fiscally responsible, paying bills.

Basically, they were for it before they were against it. It's a rerun of a bad movie when the American people clearly want us to move forward. And unfortunately, House Republicans have turned to Washington with the same confrontational tone they left when they nearly allowed the payroll tax and the unemployment insurance to expire. And I want to emphasize that, the same confrontation; instead of a spirit of seeking common ground, essentially confrontation. And I think the American people have said to you, enough is more than enough.

House Republicans act as if they don't already have a deadline looming, one with vast implications for millions of American families. That's what we should be talking about. In 6 weeks, the payroll tax cut expires for 160 million Americans, Federal unemployment insurance begins to end for more than 3 million people searching for work, and access to health care becomes endangered for 46 million seniors and the disabled.

□ 1420

Well, last month's jobs numbers were encouraging. The private sector created more than 200,000 jobs in December and nearly 3 million since the recovery began. But with 13 million Americans still looking for work, we need to do more. We should be doing everything possible, everything possible to ensure that our recovery doesn't falter. And you are here supporting something, if it prevailed, that would deeply impact our economy and economic growth.

So here we are in the third week of January. And now we have a conference committee on these issues, charged with the payroll tax cut and unemployment insurance. But that hasn't yet happened, not for a lack of wanting on our part. We've been ready and eager to begin. Businesses and families that are trying to plan and budget for the year should not have to wait until the 11th hour, once again, for certainty. For Republicans, brinkmanship has, I'm afraid, as demonstrated today, become the rule.

So I urge we should reject this cynical, this rigidly ideological attempt to take us back to the brink of default. If you prevail, it wouldn't take us back to the brink; it would throw us over.

The resolution, fortunately, is going nowhere. Its only impact will serve to divide and distract from addressing the real needs of the American people. So I assume—it's happened once before—a majority, and maybe a vast majority, of the House Republicans will come down here and essentially contradict what they helped to pass. That contradiction isn't even good politics, and it's terrible policy.

I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. REED. Madam Speaker, what I would like to say is that time has passed since we passed the Balanced Budget Control Act. There has been no action on the debt. We have seen nothing

out of the White House as to a plan to deal with this national crisis. And my colleague on the other side, I will remind, that I am a conferee on that conference committee to deal with the payroll tax rates, to deal with unemployment, and to deal with the doc fix.

We were here at the end of December. I was here over the New Year's break, Thursday, Friday, working on it. We are ready to do the work. And I'm glad to hear my colleague on the other side of the aisle say that now the House Democrats are here to do the work. We do need the Senate to join into that conversation, and my hope is that they will join into that conversation very soon.

But we are capable men and women in this Chamber, Madam Speaker. I am confident that we can walk and chew gum at the same time. We will deal with the issue of the payroll tax rate. We will deal with the issue of the unemployment. We will deal with the issue of the doc fix. But we will not take our eye off of what is becoming one of the fundamental issues of our generation, and that is our national debt. And that's what this resolution speaks to and will constantly remind all of us that we need to be diligent on this issue to get it taken care of once and for all.

And with that, I would like to yield 3 minutes to my colleague from Colorado (Mr. LAMBORN).

Mr. LAMBORN. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York for the time and for his work on this vital issue.

I am opposed to raising the debt ceiling limit. How in the world can we raise the debt limit when the Senate refuses to work with the House to even pass a budget? The Senate hasn't passed one in 3 years. No one would walk into a bank and ask for a loan without a plan on how they would spend that money and pay it back. So why is it okay for the Federal Government to operate that way?

It's not.

The latest increase to the debt ceiling limit allows President Obama to borrow an additional \$1.2 trillion, which brings our national debt to \$16.4 trillion, and he will likely be back at the end of the year asking for another increase. To put that into perspective, after the Revolutionary War, when we became a country in 1776, and after that, many wondered if the young democracy could withstand what many at the time considered a crushing debt. The Nation had borrowed heavily to pay for the Revolutionary War. The debt, when the war was over, was about \$34 per American which, in today's inflation-adjusted dollars, would be about \$653. Today's debt, by contrast, is nearly 68 times that size, or \$45,000 per American. It's bad enough to borrow money like there is no tomorrow, but to do so without even a budget in place is simply wrong.

Today I have introduced a bill to stop this madness. The Budget Before Borrowing Act, H.R. 3778, is a straightforward, no-gimmicks approach to spending money. It very simply says that the Nation cannot raise the debt ceiling limit unless the House and the Senate have agreed on a budget resolution. This can only be waived with a vote of two-thirds of the Members of both houses.

To conclude, I am opposed to raising the debt ceiling limit, and I urge my colleagues to support this disapproval resolution. With our current debt load and lack of a budget, the President has no business asking to raise our Nation's debt at this time.

Mr. LEVIN. It's now my pleasure to yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. WASSERMAN SCHULTZ).

Ms. WASSERMAN SCHULTZ. Madam Speaker, I rise today in firm opposition to this resolution, a political stunt that prevents the increase in the debt limit that this Congress has already approved.

This is a dangerous distraction from our efforts to move the country forward, support continued economic growth, and promote job creation, and it flies in the face of the Budget Control Act, which 174 House Republicans voted for last summer.

In 2011, my colleagues across the aisle caused multiple self-inflicted economic crises with the specter of defaulting on our Nation's debt each time they played with fire regarding the debt limit. The Republican majority simply has not learned that these kinds of empty, partisan measures can cause immediate harm to our economy and hurt working families everywhere.

This resolution is nothing but a deeply harmful and dangerous charade: dangerous for Americans still struggling to find work, dangerous for our economy that is depending on a robust and focused recovery, and dangerous for our responsibility as a legislature, tasked not with these grand charades of brinkmanship but of safeguarding the well-being of our Nation.

We have already seen America's credit downgraded and have watched as other nations have faced the worst of default. It is time to stop holding our economy hostage to an ideological agenda. I urge my colleagues to reject this resolution and protect the full faith and credit of the United States of America.

Mr. REED. Madam Speaker, I am happy to yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PAUL).

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

Mr. PAUL. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Madam Speaker, we are here today to try to prevent the national debt from going up another \$1.2 trillion, but in a way, it's a formality because most everybody knows the national debt is going up \$1.2 trillion. This is sad be-

cause this process is a very mixed effort to try to curtail spending. And this power of the President to ask for a debt increase, and then we have to get two-thirds of the Congress to prevent this from going up, this is a creature of Congress. It's also a creature of a mental status here in the Congress of overspending on just everything.

It would be nice if we could blame everything on the current administration or even the previous administration. But the crisis that we're in has been building over a long period of time, and it's very bipartisan. There's been way too much cooperation in this Congress because those who like spending cooperate, and they keep spending. And for a long time, we were able to get away with this because we were a very wealthy country. Now we're non-productive. The good jobs are overseas, and yet the spending is escalating exponentially.

We're really not facing up to the reality that the problem is spending. Yes, we have to deal with the debt. But the debt is a consequence of too much spending. Where do we spend too much money? In two places: overseas and domestically. And we need to stop the spending.

Really, in my mind, it started about 40 years ago when there was a guarantee that you don't have to worry about debt because we always had somebody there to buy the debt. If we would have had a market rate of interest where you didn't have the Federal Reserve buying the debt, interest rates would go up and would force us to live within our means. As long as you have a Federal Reserve there with no linkage to anything of soundness—since 1971, the Congress has been reckless, and the deficits have continued to grow, and the crisis that we're facing today is an inevitable consequence.

□ 1430

I believe we're in denial here in the Congress. If we had the vaguest idea of how serious this crisis is financially, not only for us, but for the world, we'd cut spending because you can't solve the problem of debt by accumulating more debt. It's just impossible to do this.

And one other thing that I think we fail to do on both sides of the aisle is really cut spending overseas. It is considered that if you spend more money overseas you have more defense, and there's no truth to that. Just spending over \$1 trillion a year overseas doesn't necessarily give you more defense. And yet nobody's willing to cut. Some of these automatic cuts that are just supposed to be in line that come out of the supercommittee, everybody's squirming already. How are we going to prevent these cuts?

And this pretense that we might cut \$1 trillion over the next 10 years is total pretense. We're in total denial that it's cutting something. There's a proposed increased baseline budgeting of \$10 trillion. We're going to cut \$1

trillion over 10 years? That's \$100 billion a year.

Our national debt is going up \$100 billion a month. So it's really a charade. But the American people know it's a charade. They're tired of it, and they've heard about this for so long, and we need to make up our minds. Are we going to live within the confines of the Constitution? Cut the spending and balance the budget and get out of this mess.

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

Mr. REED. I yield the gentleman another 30 seconds.

Mr. PAUL. But the crisis that we face, as I said, is not just domestic because it is a worldwide crisis. And if we don't do something, we will be forced, under very dire circumstances, because we cannot bail out the world. We are prepared now through our Federal Reserve to bail out all of Europe. We've been downgraded, France is downgraded, Greece is downgraded, and we believe that all we have to do is spend more money and inflate the currency. Believe me, we ought to face up to reality and live within our limits.

Mr. LEVIN. It's now my privilege to yield 3 minutes to the very distinguished senior member of our committee, Mr. CHARLES RANGEL of New York.

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

Mr. RANGEL. I was awed in listening to my friend, Congressman PAUL. He usually comes up with some farfetched ideas that I have no idea what he's talking about. But the truth of the matter is that he is right. America is walking down a very serious economic path that could not only jeopardize what's left of our fiscal system, but, good or bad, the whole world depends on our system.

And I cannot believe that a group of Americans, especially Members of the Congress, would say that the President of the United States is not authorized to pay off the debts that we already had. We certainly can find a lot of agreement as to how we got there, whether it's President Obama or Bush's tax cuts, or going to wars that the Congress never declared, hey, all you need is a mathematician to add it up. But we got it there and we owe the money.

Who is so less patriotic, who cares so little about our country that you would have, in addition to the falsehoods they tell about us, saying and we don't pay our debts either?

It's a question that you want to talk about what we do in the future as relates to spending, but I know the debate has to deal with people who don't pay taxes. I know the debate has to say that people are taking unfair advantage of a Tax Code with so many loopholes in it that the most conservative Republican has to agree it's time for a reform.

There's a broad area that we can talk about in what we're going to do about

wild, reckless spending. But you just don't do it by saying that I am so angry with the President, I'm so politically involved in opposing him that I would deny him the opportunity to do what every President has always done, and that is to be able to tell the world that can you count on us to pay the money that we have borrowed.

Now, being a politician myself, I know there's extreme things that we go through, but love of our country has to be something that we believe in. And I don't know what Republicans feel such a strong commitment to the Tea Party, or whatever other people having parties on the other side, that they would say that they will stop America from paying its debts.

I don't believe it. You don't believe it. You know this is not going to pass. But my God, I don't think we should be dictated in connection with what foreigners think about us. There should be some dignity and pride in saying if we make mistakes, they are our mistakes. Not European mistakes, not foreign mistakes. And if we borrow money and we don't like how much we borrow, that is our domestic problem.

For God's sake, don't let us fall in such partisan positions that we are going to say that the United States of America, the leader of the free world, we know how to borrow but we won't allow us to pay it back.

Mr. REED. Madam Speaker, I am happy to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. ROONEY).

Mr. ROONEY. Our national debt now stands at more than \$15.2 trillion. That amount exceeds the entire U.S. economy. Washington's reckless spending now burdens every child born in the U.S. with a \$50,000 share of the national debt. If we don't do something about it now, we will be the first generation in American history to leave our children a nation worse than we inherited.

Our skyrocketing debt doesn't just affect our children and their future. It damages our economy and our unemployment rate today. It is a drag on the economy that fuels uncertainty. It hurts our credit rating. It slows economic growth and it prevents job creation.

When President Obama took office, he pledged to cut the deficit in half by 2012. After 3 years in office, has he yet to introduce a credible plan to get our deficits under control? No. Instead, under his watch the country has hit three of the highest deficits on record. That is unacceptable. The national debt has grown by more than 4.6 trillion in his 3 years in office.

We can't solve our debt problems until we address the root cause of this issue, and that is overspending here in Washington, D.C.

In the House, we passed a budget that would put our country on the path to a balanced budget. The Senate didn't pass a budget, they didn't take up our budget. They did nothing.

We passed nearly 1 trillion in spending cuts and we are planning to do

more this year. The Senate, as I said, has not written a budget in nearly 1,000 days.

If your family was trying to get out of the red, you would sit down at the table, figure out how much you're making, how much you're spending and where you should cut back. The Senate refuses to do that. Think about that for a second. How on earth are we supposed to get our fiscal house in order if the Senate won't even write a budget?

Why won't the Senate do their job? One word: Politics. It is no wonder we have a 12 percent approval rating.

It is time to cut up the credit cards here in Washington and stop spending money we don't have. The longer we wait, the harder it will be to fix the mess that we are in. Putting our country on a responsible fiscal path is the only way to restart the economy and ensure our children a prosperous future.

Mr. LEVIN. Madam Speaker, it is my privilege to yield 3 minutes to another distinguished member of our committee, the gentleman from the State of New Jersey (Mr. PASCRELL).

Mr. PASCRELL. I thank the gentleman from Michigan.

Listening to this debate, you're not hearing the same thing you heard 7 months ago I'm told. But when you look away, then you say: Gee, didn't I hear this before. Maybe that is true on both sides.

Bruce Bartlett, who was a former adviser to President Reagan and a Treasury official in George Bush's administration, wrote about the five myths of not paying the debt or not increasing the debt. One of them I think bears witness today of what I have heard, the myth that it is worth risking default on the debt to prevent a tax increase given the weak economy. This is a Republican saying this. I'm just repeating the words.

He says while Republicans' concerns about higher taxes are not unreasonable—and they are not—most economists believe that any fiscal contraction at this time would be dangerous. In fact, they note that a large cut in spending in 1937 brought in another sharp recession.

□ 1440

It's very easy to say that the President is the reason why we had the plague and the tremendous deficit, but if the private sector wasn't spending money, then we would have had 5 million more people out of work.

The government has a responsibility when folks can't do for themselves what we expect. That undermines the recovery of the country, and that's what happened in the Great Depression. Republicans respond that tax increases are especially harmful to growth; however, they made the same argument in 1982 when President Reagan requested the largest peacetime tax increase in American history, and again in 1993 when President Bill Clinton asked for a large tax boost for

deficit reduction. In both cases, conservative economists' predictions of economic disaster were completely wrong and strong economic growth followed.

I wasn't here in '93. Many of you were here in '93. You remember what the dire consequences of the Clinton plan were and what happened. We had the greatest boom in 50 years. Just like the economists who told us we were heading toward nirvana since 2001; and I don't want any part of nirvana if that's it, and none of us do.

We're not talking here about helping the middle class; that's for sure. We've got bailouts for them, for the other side. We know what the results are. All of us know that. It's not a partisan issue, really.

So you're trying to say that you want to protect people's taxes, and we want to say we've got to pay our debts. Well, we're really not 180 degrees apart. I think we need to do both. And if we don't sit down together, we're not going to do both.

Mr. REED. I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. MANZULLO).

Mr. MANZULLO. Madam Speaker, any vote to raise the debt ceiling should be tied to restraints on spending.

This is the voting card, America's most expensive credit card. During my time in Congress, I voted nine times against raising the debt limit because it was not tied to spending controls. This is another time to say "no."

Last August we were hopeful that we could have gone beyond the \$4 trillion mandate in the Budget Control Act, but it did not happen. Unfortunately, the supercommittee could not come to a consensus, and we've been drifting ever since. We are now projected to add \$2.1 trillion to the national debt since August, with the President's most recent request.

I've voted over 700 times against 2.6 trillion in spending over the past 5 years. That's a good place to start to find the savings that we need to get serious on debt reduction.

We need to vote "yes" to disapprove raising the debt limit yet again so we can get to work to cut the spending.

Mr. LEVIN. You know, I was looking over the vote from the 1st of August, and it's interesting to see and hear people coming forth who voted "aye" on August 1 and now essentially want to repudiate that.

I now yield 3 minutes to another very distinguished active member of our committee, JAMES McDERMOTT, Dr. McDERMOTT, from the snowy State of Washington.

Mr. McDERMOTT. Madam Speaker, it's been more than a year since the Tea Party took over the House, 375 days, and in all of that time, the Republicans have not brought one bill to the floor to help the economy—not a single bill.

Today, after a long vacation and on the only day of legislative business in

the month of January, the Republicans are yet again wasting the American people's time putting out press releases. We aren't voting to help Americans get jobs or make education better or investing in roads or bridges, no. Instead, the Republicans have us voting on their top priority: to default on our country's debts. Ain't that some priority?

Today's vote is exactly why the public is disgusted with the Congress. The hypocrisy of this vote boggles your mind. Republicans wage unnecessary wars on our credit cards, they cut taxes on the very rich and blow up the deficit, and now they don't want to pay for the spending binge.

Yesterday, I got the Republican Study Committee's email outlining their agenda for next year. I admit I subscribe. I always want to know what folks on the other side of the aisle have come up with.

We have 14 million people unemployed. We have huge competitive challenges with other countries. There's lots of investing that we need to do at home. But what's the Republican program as they put it out over the email? Nothing. They didn't have one new idea in that agenda. All the Republicans want is more war, more deregulation on Wall Street, and more dirty air—and no help of any kind whatsoever for the middle class.

Madam Speaker, the Republicans are wasting the Americans' time. We need investment, not a Republican default. They're spending their time in South Carolina now selecting their next leader to lead into this same Congress of "no." This is the Congress of "no" we're watching. They don't pay their debts. They don't have any ideas. They don't provide any jobs. It is simply the "no" Congress.

Mr. REED. I'd just like to remind my colleagues on the other side of the aisle that last time we took a vote on this issue back on the Budget Control Act in August was a much different time than today. Since August, we've been waiting for a plan from the other side to deal with our national debt. We've been waiting for a plan from the White House to deal with our national debt. Nothing has occurred.

So, Madam Speaker, there is no repudiation of our vote from August. This is consistent with what the American people are telling us, that we have to get our act together in Washington.

I join my colleagues on the other side. My hand is open to work hand in hand to deal with these problems once and for all. I'm willing to sacrifice my political life to do what needs to be done for the American people. I just hope my friends and colleagues on the other side of the aisle will join in that same sentiment.

Let's put politics aside. Let's deal with the substance of the day. Let's deal with this underlying national crisis that is represented in our national debt. You have many friends over here that are looking to reach out hand to

hand, join arm in arm to deal with this problem and deal with the economy of our Nation once and for all. I just ask you to jump and join us rather than fight us.

With that, I'm happy to yield to my colleague from Arizona (Mr. FLAKE) for 2 minutes.

Mr. FLAKE. This vote has been called a charade. That is true; it is. Let's face it. The President will veto this. The Senate will sustain the veto.

Having said that, for years and years we raised the debt limit without a discussion, let alone a vote sometimes. It would just happen procedurally. That's wrong. At least this time we've had a discussion back in August. I didn't favor the budget agreement that we had there. I did not vote for it because I think, if we're going to raise the debt ceiling, then boy, we ought to have a plan to pay down the debt or actually deal with the deficit.

But I think we have to admit that even if the Senate had passed the House-passed budget, the so-called Ryan budget, we would still have to raise the debt ceiling. I don't think anybody really disputes that. We're going to have to raise the debt ceiling again and again. But at least let's put together a plan to deal with our deficit, and we haven't done that.

Now, in our candid moments over here on the Republican side of the aisle, we have to admit that we were headed toward this fiscal cliff long before the current President took the wheel. He stepped on the accelerator a bit, and we're going to get there a lot faster.

Having said that, this Congress seems to only take action when we're right at that cliff, right staring off into the abyss. We can't do that anymore. We don't know where that next cliff is. It could happen when we have a treasury auction and have no buyers for our debt. That could happen sooner than we might want to realize. So it behooves us now to actually put together a plan to deal with our debt and deficit. That plan does not exist today.

□ 1450

So I think, for that reason, we ought to vote for this resolution and then actually put a plan in place to deal with it rather than just letting future generations inherit this debt.

Mr. LEVIN. I yield myself 15 seconds. Mr. FLAKE, the problem is, if you prevailed, you'd create an abyss.

Madam Speaker, I now yield 2 minutes to the very distinguished gentleman from Georgia, another active member of our committee, Mr. LEWIS.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. I want to thank the gentleman for yielding.

Here we go again, Madam Speaker. Instead of working on legislation to help create jobs, House Republicans have gathered us here for political games. This bill is not constructive. Madam Speaker, it is destructive. It is disruptive to the most important task we face—helping struggling Americans

get back to work and getting our economy moving again.

We've been down this road before. We fought this so-called "battle" last year. The debt limit is America's credit card bill, and just because we don't like the balance doesn't mean we don't have to pay it. It's just that simple. When you get a balance on your credit card, you pay it. We all do it. This exercise is a waste of time and taxpayer dollars.

I urge all of my colleagues to vote "no" on this bill. Let's come together and work for the good of this Nation and not partisan dissent. The time is always right to do right.

Mr. REED. Madam Speaker, I would just like to remind my colleague on the other side of the aisle that when you get a credit card bill that you can no longer afford, you do pay it, but you cut it up, and you stop the spending so you don't exacerbate the problem.

With that, I would like to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. GINGREY).

Mr. GINGREY of Georgia. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I stand in strong support of this resolution of disapproval of increasing the debt ceiling another \$1.2 trillion.

You've heard colleagues on both sides of the aisle, members of the Ways and Means Committee, the distinguished former chairman, Mr. RANGEL, and others speak about why we have to raise the debt ceiling and that it's something that has been done over the years. Certainly, that's true. In the 9 years that I've been a Member—this being my 10th year—I've seen it happen many times. A lot of times it has passed, as Mr. FLAKE said, procedurally, and the public doesn't even know it.

Now, I rarely disagree with my friend from Arizona, but I take a little bit of exception to what he said. He said the President has just stepped on the accelerator a bit. I would say \$4.5 trillion in 3½ years is not stepping on the accelerator just a bit, Madam Speaker; that's putting the pedal to the metal. This has gotten so totally out of hand that it has got to stop.

So, on our side, this is not a waste of time as the gentleman from Washington said. We're not just pandering to the Tea Party. Listen, we're paying attention to the conservatives in this country, who first got my attention in 1964, and to the conscience of a conservative: to just quit all this spending and get our fiscal house in order. We need to do that with the cooperation on both sides of the aisle.

This resolution of disapproval, yes, it's going to fail—we understand that—but the American people need to know that there are Members of this Congress who are going to stand with them. Whether you call them Tea Party or whatever and try to denigrate them, we're going to stand with them and do the right thing. That's why I'm proud to take the time today. Yes, it is important. It may be the most important thing we do to finally say that

we're not going to overspend; and then we say we're going to cut over the next 10 years but we'll borrow over the next year \$1.2 trillion. It has got to end.

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

Mr. REED. I yield the gentleman an additional 30 seconds.

Mr. GINGREY of Georgia. My colleague has yielded to me a little bit of additional time, but I'm pretty much ready to wrap up, Madam Speaker.

Honestly, this is what we need to do. This is what the American public wants us to do. It's time for us to get together in a bipartisan way to solve this, to solve Medicare, to solve Social Security.

As former Speaker Newt Gingrich said on the campaign trail just yesterday: It's time to take Social Security off budget and have it stand alone, not let the Congress raid the trust fund. We now owe it \$2.5 trillion. Then for the Secretary of the Treasury to say if we don't increase the debt ceiling that seniors are not going to get their Social Security checks, that's baloney.

Mr. LEVIN. It is now my privilege to yield 3 minutes to another distinguished member of our committee, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. NEAL).

Mr. NEAL. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Let me call attention to some of the statements that have been offered here.

Mr. REED, the reason you were invited to the floor to manage this time as a freshman Member of Congress is very simple. You weren't here for the reckless ride that the Republican Party took during the 8 years of the Bush administration. That's why you're here and the other freshmen who have come to the floor. You weren't here for this tirade of spending.

You said you'd cut up the credit card. So we're going to cut up the credit card for the VA hospitals after 35,000 men and women have been wounded serving us honorably in Iraq and Afghanistan?

Now, look. I voted against the war in Iraq, and I voted against the Bush tax cuts in 2001 and 2003. Now a fact, not opinion: Bill Clinton says goodbye, and there is a \$5.7 trillion surplus. He balanced budgets four times in 5 years. It has only happened five times since the end of World War II.

The gentleman from Arizona (Mr. FLAKE) is one of the few Republicans who will come to the House with a straight face and say, Let me tell you how we got here. He knows how we got here. Mr. GINGREY is a friend, and he knows how we got here. You can't cut taxes by \$2.3 trillion and fight two wars and honor the commitment we have to those men and women who have served us honorably in Iraq and Afghanistan. While I was against the tax cuts and while I was against the war in Iraq, I'm going to vote for those appropriations to take care of those veterans' hospitals. You don't cut up the credit card when they come back. You use good judgment before you send them off.

What happened here during those 8 years with the prescription drug benefit? What happened during those 8 years with weapons of mass destruction? What happened with tax cuts? By the way, the corresponding argument on those tax cuts is: Tax cuts pay for themselves? Well, guess what. We're staring at a \$15 trillion deficit and debt because of those reckless fiscal practices that took place.

For the Republican Party to make these arguments today about this issue—which, by the way, Mr. FLAKE is correct about again—is but a charade. You meet your obligations. You pay your bills. That's what the credit card is about and not to pontificate in front of this Chamber today about reckless spending when, for 8 years, nobody had the courage on that side to stand up and say enough is enough.

Mr. REED. Madam Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee (Mrs. BLACKBURN).

Mrs. BLACKBURN. I thank the gentleman for the time.

Every time I go back home to Tennessee and as I hold town hall meetings, I do hear from my constituents: Enough is enough. Stop the madness. Let's get the Nation's fiscal house in order.

That is what the American people are demanding that we do. Just so we all realize what the debt is, you're talking \$15.2 trillion. Nearly \$5 trillion, or one-third, of that debt has come onto the books in the past 3½ years. That is the rate of acceleration by which this administration is pushing this Nation to the brink, and that is why our constituents are saying, "Stop it." It's the reason for this vote today: to pass a resolution of disapproval and to send our message to the President that, look, time has long passed for you to bring forward a plan to deal with this debt. It is your responsibility to do so for this country, and it is your responsibility to do so for future generations in order to make certain that our children and our grandchildren, like my two grandchildren, don't have an increasing share of this.

□ 1500

This past year, a family's share of our national debt grew by \$30,000. It is time for us to realize that we have to stop the out-of-control spending, we have to freeze this spending, and then we have to begin to cut and remove and eliminate items that are unnecessary to the budget. Let's reiterate our commitment to getting back on the right track, getting our fiscal house in order, and let's reiterate this commitment to the American people that we have hit the high-water mark in spending, and we are going to join together in a bipartisan fashion to make certain that we get the Federal Government's fiscal house in order.

Mr. LEVIN. I yield 3 minutes to another distinguished member of our committee, the gentleman from the

great State of Oregon (Mr. BLUMENAUER).

Mr. BLUMENAUER. I appreciate the gentleman's courtesy in permitting me to speak on this measure. What we are dealing with today is a smokescreen to obscure the self-inflicted crisis of confidence that has been unfolding with our friends on the other side of the aisle over the course of this last year.

Everybody knew that we would honor our debts that had already been incurred, but they fogged the issue, created doubt, pushed to the brink. And this charade today is a result of what was required to help them get off the ledge onto which they had climbed, that risk, damaging the credibility and creditworthiness of the United States.

The issue should be how we spend money. We need to change how we do business, and I think, with all due respect, there are things that we could be working on now to make some progress.

There is an opportunity to reform our tax system that is complex and unfair. We're just finding out that Mr. Romney, worth hundreds of millions of dollars, pays less in tax than probably the undocumented workers who worked in his yard.

There are opportunities to deal with carried interest, with unnecessary tax breaks that are permanent for oil and gas while important emerging technologies like wind are in a state of limbo. And the public agrees that the most fortunate among us should be paying a little more. It's only fair, they can do it, it makes a difference.

We could be working together on agricultural reform to spend less money, but target on farmers and ranchers, rather than large agribusiness.

We should accelerate the health care reforms that started out bipartisan and relatively noncontroversial that actually would help us no longer spend twice as much as other developed countries for results that aren't as good.

Instead of getting down to brass tacks, my Republican friends are playing games like this measure. Luckily the game that they are playing today won't crash the global economy, but it will further erode confidence in Congress, and it delays the day that we work together on the elements that I just described where we could get bipartisan support, change how we do business, reduce the deficit, and give the taxpayers more value for their dollars.

Mr. REED. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. SCALISE).

Mr. SCALISE. I thank the gentleman from New York for yielding.

Let's look at President Obama's record after his first 3 years. President Obama has left us a record of debt, despair, and downgrades, and here we are today debating whether or not President Obama is able to go grab another \$1.2 trillion that he adds to the debt of our Nation that our children and grandchildren are going to have to pay.



The reason we were downgraded is because President Obama himself has still refused to put a plan forward to balance the Federal budget, his budget that he purported and pushed forth doubles the national debt in his first 5 years. And then, of course, he becomes the first President in the history of our Nation to have our debt rating, the debt rating of the United States, downgraded.

You know, you look at the despair as Americans are trying to get jobs. We're getting reports today that President Obama is going to reject the Keystone pipeline, turning his back on 20,000 American families who were looking for those good jobs here in America, making us more dependent on Middle Eastern countries who don't like us.

You know, the Canadians, who are a good friend of ours, wanted to send oil down to America. That's oil we don't have to be buying from Middle Eastern countries. Instead, the President is going to, as we're hearing reports of today, is going to turn his back on those 20,000 jobs. And he's going to send that oil and those jobs to China.

Now how preposterous is that? As the President is trying to rack up more debt on the Nation's credit card, which we're debating here today, at the same time he's turning his back and running 20,000 more jobs out of this country. That's the record of this administration. That's what President Obama has given us, and you wonder why we've had over 8 percent unemployment for almost every single month he's been President.

We can't afford the Obama economy. It's time for a change. We need to reject this increase in the debt ceiling. Stop spending money that we don't have.

Mr. LEVIN. I yield 3 minutes to a former active member of our committee, the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. YARMUTH).

Mr. YARMUTH. I thank my good friend.

Madam Speaker, I understand the Republican majority will vote today against the President's request to raise the debt limit. To borrow a phrase from the former Speaker of the House, can we please drop the pious baloney?

Less than 6 months ago, 174 Republicans voted for precisely what they are voting against today. This Republican leadership created a national crisis and walked us to the brink of default. Then they voted for a bill to end the crisis, but slipped in a provision allowing them to attack the President for the decision that they now don't have the guts to stand by.

This is not leadership, and it certainly is not governing. It's an ideological game that has ventured well beyond the absurd.

Now, Mr. FLAKE, I think in a very important moment of candor, talked about the fact that the very budget that the Republicans passed this last year would, in fact, raise the national debt by more than \$6 trillion over the

next 10 years. You cannot square logically an opposition to raising the debt ceiling when you have then voted for a budget that does exactly that. It raises the national debt.

And with all due respect to the gentleman from New York, when he says nothing's changed in the last 7 months—nothing has changed in the last 7 months. We agreed on something, we knew what the debt was going to be, the deficit. We agreed to accommodate it in this way.

The only thing that has changed in the last 7 months is that the Republicans are now trying to renege on the agreement that they made 7 months ago. That's the only thing that's changed.

The American people have been loud and clear on what they need from this Congress: responsible investments and infrastructure; education; and job creation. And they want everyone to share in the sacrifice for our economic recovery, including billionaires and big oil companies.

Madam Speaker, it's time to do the work the American people have asked us to do. They don't have time for more pious baloney.

Mr. REED. Madam Speaker, I would just remind the gentleman that what we have done on our side of the aisle is at least we have put a plan in writing by adopting and approving the budget. We're just looking. In the last 7 months we've been waiting for a plan in black and white from the White House on how we are going to get out of this national debt crisis. Not political speeches, but in black and white so that we can take it back to the American people and have an open and honest debate with them as to where we're going to prioritize our spending and how we're going to get out of this hole.

That's what we're looking for, and that's what my colleague from Arizona (Mr. FLAKE) is talking about. We are at the point on this side of the aisle, ladies and gentlemen, of saying we don't care who's at fault. I'm at the point—Democrat, Republican, we're at \$15.2 trillion, whoever is responsible for it, I could care less.

□ 1510

What I care about are my kids—and my grandkids, who aren't even born, who aren't even on the face of this Earth—and getting our act together in Washington and getting a national plan put together so we can join arm in arm and stand with each other to deal with this issue.

With that, Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Kansas (Mr. HUELSKAMP).

Mr. HUELSKAMP. Madam Speaker, I rise today in opposition to raising the debt limit again and again and again.

Last week, I traveled across the First Congressional District of Kansas to host seven town hall meetings. Kansans reiterated the same thing I heard in 70 town halls last year—overspending, over-regulation, and yes, overtaxing must end now.

Kansans are not concerned about the next election, like most in Washington seem to be. They are worried about the next generation.

Between the first day this President took office and today, debt has grown by \$4.6 trillion. As a comparison, it took from George Washington to Bill Clinton to build up that much debt. And now the President wants another \$1.2 trillion. But unfortunately, the real battle to prohibit this \$1.2 trillion mortgage on our children's future was lost 5 months ago when the House passed the Budget Control Act. Since the Budget Control Act passed, the Congress has failed to produce any cuts from the supercommittee. We have failed to pass a balanced budget amendment. And Senator REID not only refuses to pass but even to consider a budget.

However, those recent failures don't paint the picture. The culture of overspending in Washington for the past half century has led us to where we are today. Every President has refused to balance the budget. Every Member of Congress who advocated for their pet projects, every bureaucrat who practiced a use-it-or-lose-it mentality, every special interest who came to us, everyone, they are all to blame for where we stand today.

Our national debt is equal to our GDP. When this debt limit is reached, every man, woman, and child in America will have their own debt to pay to Washington of \$50,000, and this doesn't take into account the mountains of debt we face for future runaway entitlement programs.

I look around this body, this is not about us. This is about our children and grandchildren who will have to pay this back. Unless and until Washington can get its grip on reckless spending and borrowing, the future of our country will remain on the line.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will advise the gentleman from New York that he has 34 minutes remaining on his side. The gentleman from Michigan has 35½ minutes.

Mr. LEVIN. Madam Speaker, it is now my privilege to yield 5 minutes to our distinguished whip, Mr. HOYER from the great State of Maryland.

Mr. HOYER. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Madam Speaker, according to a new poll by The Washington Post and ABC News, 84 percent of Americans disapprove of the way Congress is doing its job. I don't know that the other 16 percent are paying attention, because we're not doing our job well. And this certainly is not doing our job well. The reason it is not doing our job well is because it is a pretense, a sham. This legislation is to pay bills that we've already incurred. Whether, as the gentleman said, it was incurred with your votes or whether it was incurred with our votes, we have incurred those expenses. This is about whether America is going to pay its bills. Nothing more, nothing less.

Now, the previous gentleman said nobody had done anything about the debt. In point of fact, we did do something about the debt. We put revenue at levels commensurate with our spending. As a result, in 1997, 1998, 1999, and 2000 and 2001—in 1997 we brought the deficit down to \$25 billion, and for the next 4 years, we had a surplus. Now a couple of those years were not real surpluses because we counted on Social Security revenue. But two of those years were real surpluses.

This is about whether we pay our bills that we have incurred. Not doing this would be irresponsible, and would lead, I think, to further disrespect by the public, and properly so. One of the reasons for this feeling by the public is that Americans are tired of political games. This is a political game. This is a game that will say, see, I voted against debt.

Now, let me tell you how you can vote against debt. When you cut taxes in 2001 and 2003—and I agree with my friend, it's not about blame. It is about learning, however. When we cut taxes in 2001 and 2003 under George Bush, we didn't pay for them. We pretended they would pay for themselves. They didn't. Alan Greenspan says they won't. We ought to learn from that.

Learning from that, we ought to say yes, we'll pay our debts. The President doesn't want this money. It's not for the President; it's for bills that we incurred in fighting two wars, in giving tax cuts primarily to the wealthiest in America, to passing a prescription drug program that frankly all of us now support, but we didn't pay for it. And as a result, we got deeply into debt. And we have to get out of that debt, and we have to show courage, wisdom, and hopefully intellectual honesty in getting that.

The American public is tired of seeing Republicans spending time on votes simply because of electoral positioning. And, frankly, they'd be tired of us doing the same thing. But that's all this is. It's so we can say: Look what we voted for. This is not our debt, we voted against it. But that's not responsible, and it's not honest. And I think most of you know that.

The resolution before us today is simply another waste of time. More than that, it undermines confidence here and around the world. Some of that debt, of course, we owe to people around the world. It is the essence of political gamesmanship, and does nothing to reduce the debt or create jobs. And we spend a whole day on it. As a matter of fact, this is the only full day we are going to spend in January debating any issue.

Americans know that we ought to pay our bills. They know we reached a deal in August that said both parties will work together to address our deficits in a way that will provide certainty to our businesses, markets, and families around the dinner table.

Agreeing to this resolution would only provide more uncertainty at a

time when our people need to see us working together on a big, balanced deal to meet our fiscal challenges. My friend and I are both for that effort. I am very much for that effort. But I don't pretend that not paying the bills that we have incurred is going to solve that problem. The only thing that's going to solve that problem is we're going to ask everybody to contribute their fair share. Yes, we're going to have to make some cuts. And we're going to have to make some cuts that neither side will like, and we're going to have to raise revenues that neither side will like.

But I will tell my friend who is waiting for his grandchildren, I have three grandchildren now, and I have two great grandchildren, and he's right; they are the ones who are going to have to pay this bill.

And I saw my young friend, a new Member from South Carolina, and I can't recall his name right this second.

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

Mr. LEVIN. I yield the gentleman an additional 3 minutes.

Mr. HOYER. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I saw my young friend passionate about not passing these bills along to his children. I thought to myself, I could give that speech. But, very frankly, I voted against cutting taxes without paying for them. I voted against the AMT without paying for it. We paid for it when we set the AMT. I think it needs to be fixed, and we paid for it.

I will vote "no" on this resolution, which comes as no surprise after you've heard me talk, and I strongly encourage my colleagues to do the same. Why? America is disheartened because they do not believe we are honest in dealing with them. They believe we play political games. They believe that we are not addressing the issues they know are of importance and they know do not have easy, simplistic answers.

I hope Democrats who vote "no" are joined by a large number of Republicans, not because you like debt, not because any of us like debt. And, very frankly, I voted for the Clinton revenue increases in 1993, and the prediction on your side of the aisle was that it would destroy the economy, unemployment would spike, and the deficit would explode. None of that happened. You were wrong. All of us are wrong from time to time. Dead wrong.

□ 1520

As a matter of fact, we enjoyed the best economy I have seen in my adult life in the 1990s. And we have seen the worst recession in my life after pursuing the Bush policies for 8 years. Yes, we were in charge for the last 2, but we couldn't change policies because the President had the veto and a majority of the votes to sustain that veto on this floor.

So ladies and gentlemen, let's be honest with the American people. We've all

incurred a debt. We all spent the money. We drove on the roads, we were defended abroad, we invested in health care, research. We all incurred these debts. We know we need to solve it. We know that medicine will be tough. But honesty will make it easier, honesty between ourselves, honesty with the American people, and honesty, integrity and courage.

I hear around this country talk about Greece has a real problem. They are 128 percent, I think, in debt; we're only at about 100 percent. If you count our internal debt, it's less than that. But the problem that Greece has is they don't have the resources to solve their problem. America, the good news for us is we have the resources to solve our problems if we have the courage and political will to do so. This vote is a small token of showing that we have the courage, the wisdom and the political will to do so.

We need to pay our bills. Vote "no" on this resolution. Show the American people that we have courage, that we have wisdom, and we can have the political will to make America the continuing strongest country on the face of the Earth.

Mr. REED. Madam Speaker, I would like to say to Mr. HOYER that I have a tremendous amount of respect for him as a Member of this body. And I have joined him to support the "Go Big" effort.

And what I would say is, by this resolution, look at what we have done on our side of the aisle. We have brought this conversation out of the back rooms. We have brought the ideas and proposals that we've heard from Mr. BLUMENAUER from Oregon, I believe, who talked about comprehensive tax reform, agriculture reform on the floor of this House, in front of the American people, in an open and honest manner. And what we have done on our side of the aisle is to stress that these conversations will no longer happen behind closed doors, but they will happen on the floor of this Chamber. And I'm confident, I am confident that when we come together like we are, like the foundation that we are setting in our conversations, that we are going to solve this problem. But until that solution is enacted, I will get up every day as a Member of this House to champion the cause of getting the fiscal house of Washington, DC in order, to get our reckless spending under control, and get this economy going.

Mr. HOYER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REED. I yield to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. HOYER. I thank the gentleman for his comments. And I want to thank him for his participation in addressing this issue. And frankly, in my opinion, he was one of the 100 signatories that we had saying let's get a big deal, we have to get a handle on this debt. I want to thank him. But I want to assure him as well, I've been here just a little longer than he has, this debate



has been going on for some period of time. This is not a new debate. With all due respect, it's been on this floor—I've been raising this issue for some 20 years, very frankly, others have as well on both sides of the aisle. The debate has been going on, but as I said, we need to summon the courage and political will to not just debate it, but to address it and address it effectively. And I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. REED. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. PALAZZO).

Mr. PALAZZO. I thank the gentleman for my time.

It's a new year, and we have a new chance to tackle some real problems in this session of the 112th Congress, but real problems need real solutions. We saw what was possible when the House came together last year to pass conservative, job-creating bills and a plan to cut \$6.2 trillion in government spending and reduce deficits by \$4.2 trillion over the next decade. We also saw how little got done when Democrats in the Senate and the Obama administration consistently ignored the wishes of the American people.

This administration has said it will continue to wage its 2012 campaign against this Congress. So instead of working with us and encouraging the Senate to consider the numerous jobs bills we have passed in the House, the President has chosen once again to try to divide us and the American people.

Make no mistake, the issue of spending will be as important in this second session of Congress as it was in the first. It remains so because our economy has not stabilized. Government is still too large and too many people are still looking for work. Yes, the President inherited a bad economy, but his destructive policies have made it much worse.

I support this resolution of disapproval of the President's debt limit increase because shouldering future generations with trillions of dollars in debt is not leading, it is following. So I say to the President and leaders in the Senate, if you're ready to work together on some very real solutions to real problems in 2012, so are we. We've been ready.

America deserves and demands better than the short-term, drive-the-car-off-the-cliff mentality and policies our President has given us over this past year. And we in the House will continue to bring forth real leadership and real solutions to the real problems facing us for this generation and for those to come.

Before I yield, one of our colleagues mentioned something about the Path to Prosperity, the Republican budget. He said, yes, it does include running deficits and increasing the debt. But what he failed to mention was it would also repeal job-killing regulations, simplify the Tax Code, repeal the government takeover of health care, and address the number one driver of our def-

icit, and that's Medicare. We call that plan the Path to Prosperity. The President and Democrats' only alternative has been a path to despair.

Mr. LEVIN. Madam Speaker, I yield myself 15 seconds.

Mr. REED, Mr. HOYER mentioned this. You know, on Ways and Means for years, once the Republicans gained the majority, we protested they weren't paying for anything. So this isn't a new issue. It isn't a new issue.

I now yield 5 minutes to the ranking member of the Budget Committee and a distinguished former member of the Ways and Means Committee, the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. VAN HOLLEN).

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. I thank my colleague, Mr. LEVIN.

You know, day after day, month after month, we hear Members of Congress—Republicans and Democrats alike—come to the floor of this House and say we've got to do more on jobs, we've got to make sure that we get this fragile economy moving again. Unfortunately, while we say those things in this body, we haven't yet taken up the President's jobs initiative that he presented to this Congress last September. We've taken little bits and pieces here and there. We've had 2 months now in the payroll tax cut—that's good news, I hope we can get the rest of it—but the rest of it has been absolutely ignored. But at least people said they wanted to focus on job creation and getting the economy moving again.

And what's incredible about today is we have our Republican colleagues advocating a course of action which, if we took them seriously, would wreak absolute havoc on the economy. It would destroy jobs throughout the economy. That's not just me saying it, that's Republican economists, independent economists, Democratic economists. If the United States, for the first time in its history, refused to pay its debts, if the United States, for the first time in its history, refused to make good on the full faith and credit of the United States, the economy would fall to pieces, millions of people would lose their jobs.

You know, if we want to be taken seriously we have to be serious about the consequences of our actions. And if we take the course of action being presented, we'd have a fiasco on our hands.

Look, the American people I think understand full well what's going on here, but I do think it's important to make clear what the debt ceiling does. You raise the debt ceiling in order to cover obligations already made. If we don't lift the debt ceiling, it's as if we woke up one morning and said, you know, we're not going to pay our mortgage, or if you went out and purchased goods and services with a credit card and said, hey, you know what, we're not going to pay our credit card today. Well, you know what happens? You lose your house if you do that. The credit card company comes after you

for that. If the United States of America was to renege on the full faith and credit of its obligations, it would be a disaster in the international economy, and yet that is apparently the course of action being advocated by our Republican colleagues today.

□ 1530

Now, what makes this really political theater is everybody knows that more responsible Members of Congress and certainly the President of the United States are not going to let that happen. They are not going to allow that reckless outcome to happen. And that's why, in so many ways, this is unfortunately just political theater; and it's one of the things, frankly, that contributes to the American people's low view of the Congress, this kind of political game playing.

Another thing that contributes to that is Members of Congress' refusal to take responsibility for their own actions. Last year, we had the Republican budget on the floor of the House. There are major differences in the priorities between the Republican budgets and the Democratic budgets. But the reality is the Republican budget that was overwhelmingly voted for by our Republican colleagues would require us to lift the debt ceiling of the United States, the very debt ceiling that our Republican colleagues are now telling us they don't want to increase. It would require us. It would have added \$7 trillion to the debt over the next 10 years.

How is it that people can come down and vote for a budget that says we're going to ask the United States to take on these additional obligations and then vote for a motion, a resolution, that refuses to take responsibility for those very actions? And I think that's why the American people are understandably losing much of the confidence certainly in this House of Representatives.

Obviously, we have big challenges with respect to the deficit. Let's get together and solve them. But as my colleague from Maryland (Mr. HOYER) said, in order to do that, we have to come to the table in the spirit of compromise.

And we have before the country a number of approaches. We've had a number of bipartisan commissions. We have Simpson-Bowles, Rivlin-Domenici. They have established a framework for resolving the deficit issue. All of their frameworks say, yes, we have to make some tough decisions on making cuts, but we also have to deal with the revenue side of the equation. And the major obstacle—let's just be clear—to dealing with the revenue side of the equation is we have a lot of folks who have taken the position that you can't close one corporate tax loophole for the purpose of deficit reduction.

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

Mr. LEVIN. I yield the gentleman from Maryland an additional 2 minutes.

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. I thank my colleague from Michigan.

We have our colleagues on the Republican side taking the position of the so-called Grover Norquist pledge, a pledge to Grover Norquist's organization as opposed to the pledge we all take to do our best to uphold the Constitution of the United States. And under that pledge, if you close a corporate tax loophole for the purpose of deficit reduction, you have violated your pledge. If you say, "You know what? Gas prices are doing really well. Oil companies are doing just great. We don't think they need a taxpayer subsidy. We are going to get rid of it," you can't get rid of that if you are going to use some of that money for deficit reduction. It's a violation of the pledge.

So, yes, let's get serious about deficit reduction. Let's take a balanced approach. We have a bipartisan model—at least a framework—in Simpson-Bowles. Let's be serious about that. But the reason this process on the floor of the House today is not serious is because everybody recognizes the United States can't afford to default on its full faith and credit—everybody, that is, except for the folks who are apparently going to vote to say we can't raise the debt ceiling, that we are not going to take responsibility for paying for obligations already due and owing, budgets already passed. What kind of message is that to our children?

You've got to pay for your debts. But you know what? You don't really have to; wink, wink, nod, nod. Go ahead and buy those things on your credit card and then decide the next day you are not going to pay for them. What a terrible message that is.

So let's take responsibility, I will say to our colleagues, for our actions. Let's not play political games. And most of all, let's not follow the advice that our Republican colleagues today are recommending which would undoubtedly, if taken seriously, result in economic chaos and a huge loss of jobs.

Mr. REED. Madam Speaker, I'm happy to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Ms. BUEKLE).

Ms. BUEKLE. I thank my colleague from New York.

You know, we prepare our remarks to come down here and speak, but as I listen to my colleagues across the aisle, I just have to comment on a couple of things here today. First and foremost, this is not a Democratic or a Republican issue. The debt that this Nation faces is not partisan. It's an American issue. We need to join together and figure out a path forward. And to hear my colleagues across the aisle demagogue our Republican budget—well, I challenge the Senate to put forth a budget, and let's put a spending plan in place.

This debate about the debt ceiling is critical to this country because we can't get the Senate to the table to debate a budget, so we've got to somehow get their comments out and get to the American people how very important it is to stop the spending.

The United States of America doesn't have a taxing problem; we have a spending problem. And until and unless we get our spending under control, we cannot move forward as a Nation. It isn't about taxing the American people anymore. They are taxed enough. We need a fairer and a flatter income tax. We need to revise our Tax Code. But, most importantly, we need to stop the spending.

This past week, our President came out, Madam Speaker, and he talked to us about consolidating Departments within the Federal Government, about decreasing government, making it more efficient, and yet he comes to us and he asks us to increase the debt ceiling. That's talking out of both sides of your mouth, Madam Speaker. This President, I believe, thinks that government has the answers, and he wants to give the bureaucrats a blank check to move forward and to spend this country into oblivion.

I came here as the mother of six children and a grandmother of 12 because I believe the best thing we can do for this country is to get our spending under control, stop spending money that we don't have so that the country that we give to our kids and our grandchildren is a better place with more opportunity to achieve the American Dream.

Mr. LEVIN. I now yield 3 minutes to the very active gentleman from Vermont (Mr. WELCH).

Mr. WELCH. I thank the gentleman. Madam Speaker, the course of action that is being proposed by the Republican majority is two things: One, it's reckless and irresponsible; and, two, it's cynical and very political.

First of all, why is it reckless and irresponsible? It is because this country has never seriously considered defaulting on its obligations, saying "no" to paying its bills. What great country would ever seriously suggest to its citizens that it will stiff its creditors, with all of the economic chaos that would ensue?

Also, the reason that we have to raise the debt ceiling is not so we have permission to spend more money. It's to meet obligations that have been incurred. Many of those obligations, incidentally, are for expenditures that I opposed but you supported: the war in Iraq; the extension of the Bush tax cuts; the Medicare prescription drug part D that was never paid for; the extension of the Bush tax cuts a year ago December when it was going to add \$800 billion to the 10-year deficit, but even then, in order to accommodate that, you wouldn't raise the debt ceiling. So that's the irresponsible part of this proposal.

Obligations incurred are obligations that must be paid. I was against the Iraq war. I didn't want to spend that money. Had I been here, I would have voted against the Bush tax cuts because I thought it was bad policy. But, as a Member of Congress, those were congressional obligations, I believe,

that we and I have an obligation to stand behind.

But secondly, the reason I believe this is cynical and political is two things: First, these budget requirements are ones that were incurred, in many cases, at the advocacy of our Republican majority. Secondly, this process that we're now doing is one that was designed to allow people who wanted to stand up and vote "no" against extending the debt ceiling the opportunity to do so so that they could claim they were against it, even though it was designed as well to guarantee that the debt ceiling would be raised, just putting the full burden of making that happen on the President of the United States.

□ 1540

I'm glad that he's willing to bear that responsibility. But I question whether the American people are fooled by a congressional maneuver whereby the majority is saying that we want to say no, that we're against raising the debt ceiling, even though we've guaranteed a process by which it will happen.

Mr. REED. Madam Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. DESJARLAIS).

Mr. DESJARLAIS. Madam Speaker, our Nation is over \$15 trillion in debt. But what does 15 trillion in debt really mean?

Well, it means that every American's share of the debt is roughly \$48,000. It means that our debt is more than our Nation's yearly Gross Domestic Product. It means we must borrow 40 cents on every dollar we spend. And it means that China can purchase a new F-35 Joint Strike Fighter every 2 days with the interest we pay them.

While these facts alone should cause concern, the truly frightening part is that there is no plan in place to prevent our debt from continuing to grow. Increasing the debt limit by another \$1.2 trillion will mean by the end of 2012 our national debt will be in excess of \$16 trillion. But worse than that, raising the debt limit sends the message to job creators that we are still not serious about making the necessary spending cuts and reforms to pay down this unsustainable debt.

My constituents have given me a clear message: Make the Federal Government live within its means. That will require us to prioritize our spending and make tough spending decisions. But there's no other choice. It is simply impossible to continue to run yearly trillion dollar deficits, yet that is exactly what some in Washington want to continue to do.

There is absolutely no doubt that if we don't change this course, this reckless spending binge will ruin our economy and bankrupt our Nation. That is not fair to our future generations.

We have an opportunity here today to say, enough is enough. We can be the Congress that acts to put this great Nation back on the right track.

I urge my colleagues to join me in voting in favor of this disapproval resolution.

Mr. LEVIN. I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. REED. Madam Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. ROSS).

Mr. ROSS of Florida. I thank my colleague for yielding.

Madam Speaker, today I rise against the debt ceiling, and I rise in favor of reality.

Madam Speaker, my freshman colleagues and I arrived in Washington, D.C. from various backgrounds. Many, like me, owned their own businesses. Others include auto dealers, funeral home directors, a dentist, doctors, soldiers, a pilot, law enforcement officers, a football player, a roofing contractor and others. The point is, Madam Speaker, people who lived and worked in the real world came in as freshman as my colleagues.

Many of that same group have been told, "We just don't understand how Washington works." The fact is, Washington doesn't work. Only in Washington is slowing the rate of growth in spending called a cut. Only in Washington are job creators called a myth, but bailouts are called a stimulus.

Madam Speaker, the sad reality is that Washington doesn't work. But what is more saddening is that it can. Our founders, in their enduring wisdom, crafted a system of government with checks and balances.

Just because we have a President that is willing to spend our way into further debt does not mean that this branch of government has to go along with it. We have the ability, right here, right now, to stop repeating the fiscal insanity that has led us to trillions in debts and deficits.

The fact that we're even talking about raising the debt limit without any realistic credible plan to pay off our debts shows just how ingrained in our thinking this irresponsible spending has become. The fact that this President wants to spend 23 to 25 percent of GDP, when over the last 80 years this government has never come close to matching that in revenues, regardless of tax rates, is a travesty to the American people, our children and our grandchildren.

The fact that our friends across the Capitol can't pass a budget for more than 1,000 days is unacceptable. The fact that we are printing money to buy our own debt makes sense only if you got your economics degree by passing go and collecting \$200.

Madam Speaker, the entire government has a choice. We can make a government work for the betterment of the American people.

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

Mr. REED. I yield an additional 1 minute to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. ROSS of Florida. We can make Washington work for the betterment of the American people. Will we live in

the real world, prioritize spending and yes, go without, or will we continue to play in Congressional Candyland, the place where some say the sky is blue while others say the sky is red, and at the last minute, a deal is declared saying it's purple, and it's called progress.

Madam Speaker, the sky is blue, and at this time, I ask Congress and the President to join the rest of America in the real world.

Mr. LEVIN. How many more speakers do you have, Mr. REED?

Mr. REED. We believe we have about three or four.

Mr. LEVIN. I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. REED. Madam Speaker, could I inquire as to the amount of time we have left?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York has 23½ minutes remaining. The gentleman from Michigan has 17¼.

Mr. REED. Madam Speaker, at this time I am happy to yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. FITZPATRICK).

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I thank the gentleman.

Madam Speaker, I rise today to state the obvious, that the Federal Government still spends too much and it borrows too much.

President Obama has asked the Congress to raise the debt limit by \$1.2 trillion. Let's put this number into perspective. There are 83 million families in the United States. So what the President is really asking is for every hardworking American family to mortgage an additional \$14,450. While middle-class Americans are struggling, the President has requested to pile more and more debt on top of hardworking taxpayers.

Americans are tired of hoping that their lawmakers will come together and find commonsense solutions to a very serious problem facing our Nation. Our national debt stands at over \$15 trillion. Our outstanding debt totals 100 percent of our Gross Domestic Product. Our credit rating has been downgraded. Medicare will be bankrupt in 9 years, and Social Security faces insolvency.

The time for hope is past. We must act. America simply cannot wait. We got into this mess because of a decade of budget tricks, accounting gimmicks and empty promises. We did not get into this situation overnight, and we certainly cannot get out of it overnight.

But the fact is, we need a commonsense budget and a Federal Government that is efficient and effective, not one that wastes money of hardworking taxpayers.

If we do nothing, American prosperity will drown in debt, as we are currently on an unsustainable path of trillion per year deficits. But if we make the hard decisions today, we can avoid the unacceptable consequences that we will surely face.

We're all in this together, and we must find a solution together. America

never backs down from a challenge. We can and we will make the right decisions today so that we can restore the American dream and give our children and our grandchildren a future full of opportunity.

Therefore, I support the resolution, and call on the President to work with the House and the Senate to put in place a budget that guarantees a more stable and secure future for America.

Mr. LEVIN. Let me reserve so I don't have to do this each time until, Mr. REED, you finish, and then I'll close and then you'll close.

Mr. REED. Madam Speaker, I am pleased to yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. KINZINGER).

Mr. KINZINGER. Madam Speaker, you know, I'm a military pilot, and I've been overseas and executed this Nation's wars. And I'll tell you, one of the things I've seen firsthand is that the biggest threat to our national security is our national debt.

This debt ceiling increase is a symptom of overspending that has consumed Washington for far too long. President Obama's request for a \$1.2 trillion increase in the debt limit points to the serious fiscal challenges we have found ourselves in due to decades of irresponsible and reckless spending.

For decades, Members of Congress who continue to serve, voted to simply raise the debt ceiling without ever offering a plan to stop the bleeding. It wasn't until the new House majority arrived with my freshman class when we turned the focus of conversation from how much more to spend to how much we can cut, and we turned the conversation to how to cut spending in Washington, D.C. We demanded that Washington stop doing business as usual and include spending cuts greater than the amounts raised.

□ 1550

In June, I told President Obama head on in the weekly address that under no circumstances will Republicans support irresponsible legislation which increases the Federal Government's credit limit without any spending cuts or budgetary reforms.

It's high time that we cut up the government's credit cards and draw a hard line to stop the government from overspending, which is hampering our economy's ability to grow and thrive.

Currently, every man, woman, and child has a share of the public debt that exceeds \$46,000 a piece. Unemployment rates are through the roof, and the irresponsible spending habits of prior Congresses and administrations have racked up trillions in national debt.

The culture of Washington must be reformed from the ground up. The future of our Nation depends on it.

Mr. LEVIN. I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. REED. I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Nevada (Mr. AMODEI).

Mr. AMODEI. I want to thank my colleague from the Empire State.

Recently a leader in the other House said, "I hope this Congress has had a very good learning experience, especially those newer to this body." Essentially saying that you new people need to learn how we do things here in Washington.

Well, as the newest Member of "how we do things here in Washington" for about 122 days, I can assure you that the people who gave me this job know how we do things here, and they're tired of it.

They understand that Washington has a fatal spending problem. They understand that the answer to every question is not more Federal spending. That is the problem—more Federal spending. I find it interesting to hear my colleagues from both sides of the aisle talk about, we need to pay our bills. We need to talk about what we incur as bills before we take more money from others.

This is not a problem that we got here by ourselves in a partisan manner. It was in fact a bipartisan problem. But to treat the solution as one that requires only a one-sided solution or another gets us to this point that I find it incredible that people would talk about wreaking havoc on the economy and also about sending the wrong message for confidence.

For the first time in the history of this Nation, we've had our credit rating downgraded because of what we're doing here. This is not about whether we will pay our bills in the near future or not. This is about having the courage to start talking about how the problem is spending. Yes, there are loopholes, and yes there are others who may be able to pay more. But why on Earth would you ask them to pay more into this system of spending that we have created which is in no way accountable to any of those folks who are paying?

So I can tell you this for those folks that are new and perhaps need to understand how things are done here in Washington: the people who gave me this job understand very well how things are done here in Washington, and they're tired of it. And you know what? They're right.

Mr. LEVIN. I yield myself such time as I shall consume.

It will take me just I think 30 seconds, maybe a minute.

You know, in a few words what the Republicans in the House are doing, they're playing with fire. And that's reckless. They know that others will put out the fire. And we'll vote, many of us, to do that today. And if we don't succeed, the Senate will do so.

This, I think, is worse than a charade because it really assumes that the agenda of this Congress should essentially be a kind of a plaything.

A number of the people who came to speak for this resolution voted in August for the resolution that brings us here today, including, I think, Mr. REED.

So I think what's changed is not our responsibility, but the ability of some

to kind of have it both ways, to vote "yes" on the resolution knowing that as it goes to the Senate, this potential damage to the economy will be saved.

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

I thank my colleague on the other side of the aisle, Mr. LEVIN, for engaging in this debate today that is so important, in my opinion, to the future of this Nation, to the future of the world, in the sense that we need to get this issue under control once and for all.

The national debt is a serious threat to our very existence as a nation. You don't have to take my word for it. You can take the word of the former joint chief of staff, Admiral Mullen, who, when he was asked by the President what is the biggest threat to our national security, responded: Not a military threat, but the national debt. A fiscal threat is what jeopardizes us most in regards to our national security.

When I hear that type of opinion and advice coming out of our military leaders, I am very concerned. It should send a message across the nation that this debt needs to be addressed. It doesn't necessarily just need to be addressed for the purposes of the threat it represents to our national security, but also the threat that it represents to the economic recovery that we are trying to kindle in this city across America.

The national debt represents a threat to that American recovery when it comes to putting our men and women back to work because it is the cancer that is causing concern across all of small-business America and all across the private sector when they express that they don't have the confidence or certainty that Washington will take care of the problems that threaten us most. So it is time that we come up with a hard plan.

My colleagues during this debate referenced the House budget as the plan that was adopted here, that somehow by voting for this resolution we contradict ourselves because we voted for that House budget because it called for an increase in the debt ceiling. I would remind my colleagues on the other side of the aisle, that budget only passed this House. The Senate has yet to enact a budget.

It will soon be 1,000 days that the Senate of the United States of America has not passed a budget. If we don't have a U.S. House and a U.S. Senate committed budget that we can rely upon to solve this issue, how can we only rely on the House budget to see us through?

This resolution today sends a message to the Senate and to the Nation that the House of Representatives will remain committed to finding a solution on this issue.

The second threat that it represents to our American recovery and putting men and women back to work is if our interest rates in the private sector, which are keyed upon the national debt

and the interest rates that are charged for our borrowing costs as a governmental entity, if those interest rates in the private sector increase, you're not going to have the capital to invest in small-business America or in the private sector that is going to lead us out of this economic turmoil that we find ourselves in, because they won't be able to afford that capital that will build the next plant, that will build the next assembly line or build the next retail operation that will put people back to work.

The bottom line is this debt touches everything across America. What we are doing with this resolution is saying we are going to deal with it, and we are going to continue to deal with it until we get a plan in place from the White House, from the U.S. Senate, and from the U.S. House that deals with it once and for all and brings certainty and competence back to the American market.

Madam Speaker, it is time to lead this Nation, not hide. It is time to put our ideas in writing, debate them with the American people in an open and honest fashion, and once and for all even be willing to sacrifice our political lives to do what is right for the American people. I am committed to doing that if it means that we will save my children's generation and the generations yet to come. That's what needs to be done.

□ 1600

That's what needs to be done, and I think my colleagues on the other side of the aisle know that. We know it on our side of the aisle, and our hand is open to work in a bipartisan fashion. So I am glad that I heard many comments today on the other side of the aisle showing they are committed to that also. I am confident that when we join hands, when we come together, we will solve this issue and that we will solve the economic problems we face as a Nation, because together the history of our Nation has shown that we can overcome any obstacle in America, any threat to our existence once we unite, not divide, and put forth a common-sense solution to our problems.

With that, Madam Speaker, I ask all of my colleagues to support this resolution, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. DINGELL. Madam Speaker, I rise in opposition to H.J. Res. 98, a resolution disapproving of President Obama's exercise of authority to increase the debt limit. We have been through this song and dance several times before, and we have reached the same conclusion every time. Failing to raise the debt ceiling would do irreparable damage to our economy, our financial markets and our credit rating. We know we must raise the debt ceiling to prevent a default on our nation's obligations, avert an international economic crisis, and prevent further harm from being visited upon middle class families. Why are some around here so hopelessly slow—or is it malevolent?

With the coming of the new year, most of us hoped that Congress would reconvene with a

real dedication to getting our economy on track and putting Americans back to work. Yet here we are, rehashing the same tired debate for the third time and continuing to play the same sorry old political blame games. It is no surprise that the approval ratings of this institution are at record lows when the American people see us engaged in political posturing instead of trying to deal with the problems average Americans face every day. People across this country are hurting and are sick of the inaction in Washington.

Instead of passing a full-year extension of the payroll tax cut, reauthorizing our Nation's surface transportation programs or federal aviation programs, we are faced with another symbolic vote which has no chance of being signed into law. Why would leadership even schedule this vote? Is it to pander to their base and score cheap political points? Congress has plenty of items to consider which could provide a real benefit to the American people and our country. It is time to stop playing games and get to work, and we might just do something good for America.

Mr. MACK. Madam Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution to stop the President from increasing Washington's borrowing authority once again. How many times do we have to say "Enough is enough" before President Obama and his liberal allies in Congress get the message?

Do we have to be in a debt crisis like Europe's before we make the necessary spending cuts? Does our country's credit rating have to be downgraded further? Do we have to be pushed into a corner with no other option but to eliminate programs altogether before we do what's right for America's economic well-being? The answer is clearly "no." We can act now to avoid more painful decisions down the road. America's freedom, security, and prosperity depend on our courage and what we do now to restore fiscal discipline.

America can't afford to let this President continue to borrow and spend on our nation's credit card to advance his failed liberal policies. We need to adopt this resolution. And we need to enact the Penny Plan—legislation I introduced to cut spending by just one penny out of every federal dollar spent and to balance our nation's budget.

Madam Speaker, if families and businesses throughout the United States have to make the tough decisions and cut their budgets so their families and businesses won't be buried in debt, why can't the government do the same for the American people? After all, tax dollars don't belong to the government—they belong to the people who work hard to pay their bills and make their payrolls. We, as elected officials, must be responsible stewards of the people's money. We have been entrusted by those who have put us here.

If we allow Washington to continue its reckless spending habits, we will continue to lose the people's trust—and justifiably so. This is the "People's House." If we don't stand for the American people, who do we stand for? Deficit spending must stop. Enough is enough. Let's restore the America we know and love by getting—and keeping—our fiscal house in order.

Madam Speaker, I am encouraged by every effort to restrain federal spending, and I urge my colleagues to support this important resolution.

Mr. HOLT. Madam Speaker, from the beginning of this debt debate last summer, I re-

jected the notion that America's creditworthiness should be used as a bargaining chip. Americans from all walks of life are wondering why Congress can't do the job that they sent us here to do: putting Americans back to work and revitalizing our economy. Now, here we are again, only two days into the new session of Congress, and the Republican majority is still playing political games and still trying to have us default on our debts. This resolution may have no chance of becoming law, but those who vote for it are nonetheless voting for default.

I urge my colleagues to make the responsible choice: pay our bills, and pay them on time. Instead of engaging in partisanship and manufacturing crises, we should be coming together to fashion effective and bipartisan solutions to the jobs crisis.

Ms. JACKSON LEE of Texas. Madam Speaker, I rise today in opposition to H.J. Res. 98, "Relating to the disapproval of the President's exercise of authority to increase the debt limit, as submitted under section 3101A of title 31, United States Code." This Joint Resolution is designed to prevent President Obama from raising the debt ceiling by \$1.2 trillion. Under the agreement reached last summer, which Republicans supported, the President was given the authority to raise the debt ceiling. Republicans are now putting forth a resolution that is a direct contradiction to the agreement which we all felt was the right decision for our country.

Today we are here pursuant to the Budget Control Act of 2011 that this body passed last summer. In the course of our efforts numerous concessions were made to placate Republicans just to do the business of the American people; to pay our bills and ensure that essential services were taken care of for the infirm, the elderly, our children—in short: the most vulnerable in our society. This Republican led resolution is nothing more than an attempt to obstruct the government; the measure is expected to fail in the Senate. In the end, this measure will be a tremendous waste of both Congressional resources and time.

The words to the resolution read as follows: "Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Congress disapproves of the President's exercise of authority to increase the debt limit, as exercised pursuant to the certification."

These words, less than forty by my count, are an unabashed attempt to throw cold water on the mere prospect of an economic recovery. It is notable that some jobs have been created; however, our economy continues to gradually recover. You would think that Congress would be acting in a bipartisan manner, and not acting as poseurs in the legislative picture.

I am disappointed to see that my colleagues on the other side of the aisle are more interested in playing political games than improving the economy. Congressional Republicans are attempting to constrain the ability of Congress to deal effectively with America's economic, fiscal, and job creation troubles instead of working towards a bipartisan job creation bill.

My Republican colleagues have put forth a measure that will impact the President's ability to raise the debt limit. This is a dangerous stunt and amounts to political theatrics that could result in our nation defaulting on its obligations. We are a nation that pays our bills.

We are a nation that will provide for those among us who are unable to provide for themselves.

To address our ever-growing and complex needs, the first debt ceiling was established in 1917, allowing the federal government to borrow money to meet its obligations without prior Congressional approval, so long as in the aggregate, the amount borrowed did not eclipse a specified limit.

Since the debt limit was first put in place, Congress has increased it over 100 times; in fact, it was raised 10 times within the past decade, under both Democrat and Republican presidents; and last year, we were able to negotiate another compromise, and keep the country from default. I urge my colleagues not to undermine the agreement that was reached by attempting to block the President's ability to raise the debt ceiling.

This Republican Congress has asked for a balanced budget amendment. It has codified the Joint Select Committee on Deficit Reduction, which is possibly unconstitutional, and has had no impact on jobs and the unemployment problem. This illustrates what happens when Congress does not work together in a bipartisan manner, laboring for the American people. We must work together and compromise.

At a time when our citizens need legislation that will fuel the economy and drive the engine of job growth, before us is a measure that will take us on the road to nowhere.

Our country cannot afford to take the issue of raising our nation's debt limit lightly. It is reckless for Republicans to send confusing signals to international markets that could jeopardize our own fragile economic recovery.

This country has made tremendous progress, even in the face of a cavalier attitude towards job creation and unemployment eradication on the part of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle. Housing starts are improving; the economy is adding jobs at a gradual, steadied, yet consistent pace. Retail sales were up during the recent holiday season. The American people are out there living their lives, going about their business, and hoping that we get our act together here in Congress.

#### REPUBLICAN ACCORD: BUDGET CONTROL ACT

This Joint Resolution is nothing more than a gimmick that has been implemented by Republican leadership to divert serious discussions about our debt limit and instead inspire partisan vitriol.

#### BUDGET CONTROL ACT LANGUAGE

"(a) IN GENERAL.—

"(1) \$900 billion.—

"(A) certification.—If, not later than December 31, 2011, the President submits a written certification to Congress that the President has determined that the debt subject to limit is within \$100,000,000,000 of the limit in section 3101(b) and that further borrowing is required to meet existing commitments, the Secretary of the Treasury may exercise authority to borrow an additional \$900,000,000,000, subject to the enactment of a joint resolution of disapproval enacted pursuant to this section. Upon submission of such certification, the limit on debt provided in section 3101(b) (referred to in this section as the 'debt limit') is increased by \$400,000,000,000.

"(B) RESOLUTION OF DISAPPROVAL.—Congress may consider a joint resolution of disapproval of the authority under subparagraph

(A) as provided in subsections (b) through (f). The joint resolution of disapproval considered under this section shall contain only the language provided in subsection (b)(2). If the time for disapproval has lapsed without enactment of a joint resolution of disapproval under this section, the debt limit is increased by an additional \$500,000,000,000.

“(b) JOINT RESOLUTION OF DISAPPROVAL.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Except for the \$400,000,000,000 increase in the debt limit provided by subsection (a)(1)(A), the debt limit may not be raised under this section if, within 50 calendar days after the date on which Congress receives a certification described in subsection (a)(1) or within 15 calendar days after Congress receives the certification described in subsection (a)(2) (regardless of whether Congress is in session), there is enacted into law a joint resolution disapproving the President’s exercise of authority with respect to such additional amount.

#### AMENDMENT NOT IN ORDER

“(e) AMENDMENT NOT IN ORDER.—A joint resolution of disapproval considered pursuant to this section shall not be subject to amendment in either the House of Representatives or the Senate.

#### PAYROLL TAX CUT FACTS

For more than 360 days, the GOP House majority has failed to offer a clear jobs agenda. Congress left Washington for the holidays without extending the payroll tax cut and unemployment benefits, for the entire year, an act that could have put money into the economy and promote jobs, by providing certainty to the American people and American businesses.

The GOP is risking tax relief for 1.60 million Americans while protecting massive tax cuts for 300,000 people making more than a million dollars per year.

Extending and expanding payroll tax cuts until the end of the year would put \$1,500 into the pockets of the typical middle class family, and relieve them of the uncertainty.

At least 400,000 jobs would be lost if Republicans block the payroll tax cut from being extended until the end of the year.

In November, Senate Democrats proposed reducing it to 3.1 percent for 2012, and cutting employers’ taxes on the first \$5 million in taxable payroll to the same level, which helps small businesses. To pay for the cut, the bill called for a 3.25 percent tax on gross income over \$1 million for single filers and married couples filing jointly, the so-called “Millionaire’s Tax.” This was a reasonable compromise, then, and now.

There are other ideas floating around this Chamber that touch on tax, such as repatriation. Lowering taxes for the American people and American businesses is always a good idea, but piecemeal, scattershot approaches to tax reform can lead to undesirable outcomes.

#### TARGETED TAX RELIEF FOR AMERICAN WORKERS

The 2% payroll tax cut in effect for 2011 provided \$110 billion of tax relief to 159 million American workers.

If the payroll tax cut is not extended until the end of the year, a family struggling through the economic recovery making \$50,000 will see its taxes go up by approximately \$800.

Expanding the 2% payroll tax holiday to 3.1% will cut Social Security taxes in half for 160 million American workers next year.

Republicans targeted the unemployed by slashing 40 weeks of unemployment insur-

ance. Such an action would have negatively impacted the lives of millions of families.

These are the very families who are still struggling under the weight of the worst economic downturn since the Great Depression. The Senate rejected this assault on families and the elderly. When we come back to the table in the coming weeks, let’s focus on what matters: the American people.

It was clear that our failure to act to support the Senate amendment to H.R. 3630 late last year would have resulted in twenty-two jurisdictions with the highest unemployment rates being the hardest hit these states are: My home state of Texas, Alabama, California, Connecticut, DC, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Idaho, Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri, Nevada, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee and Washington.

According to report released by the Department of Labor just weeks ago, 3.3 million Americans would lose unemployment benefits as a result of H.R. 3630 compared to a continuation of current law. In my home state of Texas alone, 227,381 people were in danger of losing their sole source of income by the end of January.

There is nothing normal about this recession. Republicans seem to want to blame the unemployed for their unemployment. Until it was clear that the American people would not stand behind Republican efforts, House Republicans continued to put in jeopardy tax cuts for the middle class and aid for the unemployed. In this economy the unemployed are not to blame; it is the failure of Republican leadership to bring forth any job creating measures before this house. Currently, there are over four unemployed workers for every available job, and there are nearly 1 million fewer jobs in the economy today compared to when the recession started in December 2007. In our nation’s history there has never been so many unemployed Americans without work for such a long period of time. But the other side wants to send messages to their base by requiring drug testing of unemployed applicants? Really? Republicans are clearly out of touch.

I stand with my fellow Congressional Democrats and remain committed to responsible deficit reduction. We must protect our citizens. By threatening to prevent an increase in the debt ceiling threatens our ability to pay for Medicare. Protecting Medicare represents the basic values of fairness and respect for our seniors that all Americans cherish, including the 2.9 million Texans who received Medicare in 2010. I am committed to addressing the budget deficit by putting America’s working families first. We should not be cutting programs that protect the everyday lives of Americans.

Repeated attacks against Medicaid by Republicans, this Congress, are additional examples of wrong priorities that are poor choices for seniors and middle class families.

#### FACTS ABOUT MEDICARE

Medicare covers a population with diverse needs and circumstances. Most people with Medicare live on modest incomes.

Today, 43% of all Medicare beneficiaries are between 65 and 74 years old and 12% are 85 or older. Those who are 85 or older are the fastest-growing age group among elderly Medicare beneficiaries.

With the aging and growth of the population, the number of Medicare beneficiaries more

than doubled between 1966 and 2000 and is projected to grow from 45 million today to 79 million in 2030.

60% of nursing home residents are not on Medicaid at the time of their admittance into a facility. With the average annual cost of nursing home care being \$60,000, the longer an individual remains in a facility, the more likely they are to deplete their financial resources and qualify for Medicaid coverage. Even after individuals deplete their assets, they are still required to apply their income, including Social Security and pension checks, towards their care costs, except for an average monthly \$30 personal needs allowance.

#### POVERTY

Madam Speaker not only will allowing America to default on its debt wreak havoc and chaos on financial markets around the world, but it will also be damaging to the most vulnerable members of our society. In essence it takes a hatchet to the programs Americans truly care about.

In my district in Houston, Texas, there are 190,035 people living under the poverty line as well as 82,272 seniors and over 58,500 seniors. In addition, children represent a disproportionate amount of the United States poor population. In 2008, there were 15.45 million impoverished children in the nation, 20.7% of America’s youth.

The Kaiser Family Foundation estimates that there are currently 5.6 million Texans living in poverty, 2.2 million of them children, and that 17.4% of households in the state struggle with food insecurity.

If House Republicans’ self destructive economic policies are allowed to play out it will threaten the viability of the programs that our Nation’s seniors, children, and poor depend on for health and well being.

Despite countless warnings from economists, business leaders, and Wall Street executives about the economic consequences, House Republicans are still holding the economy hostage by threatening to default on our debt and are putting the economy at risk by suggesting America might not pay its bills.

Federal Reserve Chairman Ben Bernanke said defaulting on our debt would “at minimum” lead to “an increase in interest rates, which would actually worsen our deficit and would hurt all borrowers in the economy.”

Additionally, a coalition of 62 of the nation’s largest business groups urged Congress to raise the debt limit: “With economic growth slowly picking up we cannot afford to jeopardize that growth with the massive spike in borrowing costs that would result if we defaulted on our obligations.”

According to a well respected moderate think tank, released a report outlining the consequences of not paying America’s bills:

642,500 jobs lost

GDP would decrease by 1%

Every mortgage would increase by \$19,175

Stocks would fall, the S&P dropping 6.3%

And every 401(k) holder would lose \$8,816

The House Republican majority needs to stop threatening the American people and get to work to increase the debt ceiling so that our country can pay its bills.

We must begin to focus on the real plights faced by our nation. We must find ways to raise revenues while also reducing spending. They must complement each other. Congressional Republicans must be prepared to allow everything to be on the table, including ending



the tax cuts to the top 2% of the wealthiest people in our country.

We need a serious measure that will discuss reasonably and responsible ways to increase the debt ceiling. A measure that will allow us to have a deliberative discussion on how to cut spending without cutting Medicare and Medicaid.

If not, the failure to extend our Nation's debt limit would have harmful effects on job creation and the programs necessary to ensure the health and safety of our constituents.

Perhaps my friends on the other side of the aisle are content to conclude that life simply is not fair, equality is not accessible to everyone, and the less advantaged among us are condemned to remain as they are, but I do not accept that. That kind of complacency is not fitting for America.

Prior to the existence of the debt ceiling, Congress had to approve borrowing each time the federal government wished to borrow money in order to carry out its functions. With the onset of World War I, more flexibility was needed to expand the government's capability to borrow money expeditiously in order to meet the rapidly changing requirements of funding a major war in the modern era.

To address this need, the first debt ceiling was established in 1917, allowing the federal government to borrow money to meet its obligations without prior Congressional approval, so long as in the aggregate, the amount borrowed did not eclipse a specified limit.

Since the debt limit was first put in place, Congress has increased it over 100 times; in fact, it was raised 10 times within the past decade, and last year, we were able to negotiate another compromise, and keep the country from default. I urge my colleagues not to undermine the agreement that was reached by attempting to block the President's ability to raise the debt ceiling.

Once again, the American economy hangs in the balance as the act of the President raising the debt ceiling becomes an irrelevant spending debate that is as unnecessary as it is perilous, as increasing the debt ceiling does not obligate the undertaking of any new spending by the federal government. Rather, raising the debt limit simply allows the government to pay existing legal obligations promised to debt holders that were already agreed to by Presidents and Congresses, both past and present.

This resolution is a petulant attempt to undermine President Obama. The bill itself says it is a joint resolution "relating to the disapproval of the President's exercise of authority to increase the debt limit." Exercise of authority, or unconstitutional exercise of authority. The language of the bill itself makes it clear the President has the authority to raise the debt ceiling as indicated in the agreement reached on August 2.

#### PAYROLL TAX AND STOCK OPTION AMENDMENTS

I attempted to offer in the Rules Committee meeting last night an amendment extending the payroll tax credit until the end of 2012, and to help reduce the budget deficit by closing a tax loophole that bridges the gap between book and tax accounting when stock options are awarded.

The amendment closes a loophole that allows corporations to take a deduction for the fair market value of an exercised corporate stock option, over-and-above the value of the

deduction that they receive when the option is issued. It does two significant things: raises money and shuts down an egregious loophole.

But we were unfortunately subject to a closed rule, which is undemocratic.

#### STUDENT LOANS

I would note that in completing this bill, which was, perhaps a Hobson's choice for some Members, it should be stated that we took aim at education funding via Pell Grants, Direct, and Stafford Loans, which are a lifeline to many of our most disadvantaged citizens.

How will we compete for the new factories when we are offshoring education. I take some consolation in the fact that we did it to save the country.

#### ADOPTION TAX CREDIT FACTS

Last night in the Rules Committee, I also attempted to offer an amendment yesterday evening to encourage and promote adoption, and if you take a look at the statistics on adoption and foster care, it really speaks for itself. Yet, we dither in this body while children out there need us, and we are failing them.

The most recent data on all types of adoption, collected by the National Center for State Courts (NCSC) based right down the road in Charlottesville, indicate that an estimated 127,000 children were adopted in 2001. According to NCSC data, of adoptions in 2001, an estimated 46% were private (including tribal and kinship, such as stepparent), 39% were intercountry, and 15% were public agency adoptions.

Today, in the United States there are an estimated 500,000 children in the foster care system and of those children, there are 130,000 waiting for families to adopt them. The number of youth who "age out" of the foster care system by reaching adulthood without being placed in a permanent home has increased by more than 58 percent since 1998, as nearly 28,000 foster youth "aged out" of foster care during 2007 which is appalling and unacceptable.

In addition, 3 in 10 people in the United States have considered adoption; a majority of them have misconceptions about the process of adopting children from foster care. Approximately 45% believe that children enter the foster care system because of juvenile delinquency.

And, I offer up forlornly the tale of the little baby who was found on the stairs of a house blocks away in South East Washington, DC, just this past weekend. A sad and heart-breaking story that serves to remind us how critical something like the Adoption Tax Credit can be. It is also a reminder that time is of the essence.

Passing this resolution will not decrease spending; it will merely compromise our ability to pay for spending already authorized. This bill does nothing to reduce the deficit, or address the budget, it only risks our economic standing and ability to pay our nation's bills, while simultaneously hurting the nation toward another debt ceiling crisis.

Instead of spending time on Resolutions designed to cast the President in a negative light, it is time for this Congress to come together, and pass meaningful legislation that will benefit the American people. In his address to a joint session of Congress last September, President Obama gave this body a great opportunity to achieve bipartisan, job creating legislation that will invest in small business, help families that have been strug-

gling with chronic unemployment, assist veterans in finding jobs, and invest in our infrastructure.

It is time for a new sense of bipartisanship. It is time for Congress to work together to aggressively take on job creation. It is time to end these divisive tactics and compromise to encourage the rapid job growth the American people deserve. I urge my colleagues, Democrats and Republicans alike, to stand up and vote no on this partisan resolution; we can, and we must take this opportunity to declare our intent to do what is right, face what is hard, and achieve what is great.

Instead of attempting to embarrass the President, I urge my friends on both sides of the aisle to come together, and focus on passing legislation that will help the American people by improving the economy and creating jobs. Now is not the time for partisan malice, now is not the time for H.J. Res. 98; now is the time for this Congress to do all it can to usher in a new age of American ingenuity and prosperity. H.J. Res. 98 is simply a way to engage in past battles, and I am voting against it in order to focus on the future.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All time for debate has expired.

Pursuant to the statute, the previous question is ordered.

The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

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

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

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

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 239, nays 176, answered "present" 2, not voting 16, as follows:

[Roll No. 4]

YEAS—239

Adams	Burton (IN)	Fleischmann
Aderholt	Calvert	Fleming
Akin	Camp	Flores
Alexander	Canseco	Forbes
Altmire	Cantor	Portenberry
Amash	Capito	Foxo
Amodel	Carter	Franks (AZ)
Austria	Cassidy	Frelinghuysen
Bachmann	Chabot	Galleghy
Bachus	Chaffetz	Gardner
Barletta	Coble	Garrett
Barrow	Coffman (CO)	Gerlach
Barton (TX)	Cole	Gibbs
Bass (NH)	Conaway	Gibson
Benishek	Cravaack	Gingrey (GA)
Berg	Crawford	Gohmert
Biggart	Crenshaw	Goodlatte
Bilbray	Culberson	Gosar
Bilirakis	Davis (KY)	Gowdy
Bishop (UT)	Denham	Granger
Black	Dent	Graves (GA)
Blackburn	DesJarlais	Graves (MO)
Bonner	Diaz-Balart	Griffin (AR)
Bono Mack	Dold	Griffith (VA)
Boren	Duffy	Grimm
Boustany	Duncan (SC)	Guinta
Brady (TX)	Duncan (TN)	Guthrie
Brooks	Ellmers	Hall
Broun (GA)	Emerson	Hanna
Buchanan	Farenthold	Harper
Bucshon	Fincher	Harris
Buerkle	Fitzpatrick	Hartzler
Burgess	Flake	Hastings (WA)

Hayworth  
Heck  
Hensarling  
Herger  
Herrera Beutler  
Huelskamp  
Huizenga (MI)  
Hultgren  
Hunter  
Hurt  
Issa  
Jenkins  
Johnson (IL)  
Johnson (OH)  
Johnson, Sam  
Jones  
Jordan  
Kelly  
King (IA)  
King (NY)  
Kingston  
Kinzinger (IL)  
Kissell  
Kline  
Labrador  
Lamborn  
Lance  
Lankford  
Latham  
LaTourette  
Latta  
Lewis (CA)  
LoBiondo  
Long  
Lucas  
Luetkemeyer  
Lummis  
Lungren, Daniel  
E.  
Mack  
Manzullo  
Marchant  
Matheson  
McCarthy (CA)  
McCaul  
McClintock  
McCotter  
McHenry

McIntyre  
McKeon  
McKinley  
McMorris  
Rodgers  
Meehan  
Mica  
Miller (FL)  
Miller (MI)  
Miller, Gary  
Mulvaney  
Murphy (PA)  
Myrick  
Neugebauer  
Nugent  
Nunes  
Nunnelee  
Olson  
Palazzo  
Paul  
Paulsen  
Pearce  
Pence  
Petri  
Pitts  
Platts  
Poe (TX)  
Pompeo  
Posey  
Price (GA)  
Quayle  
Reed  
Rehberg  
Reichert  
Renacci  
Ribble  
Rigell  
Rivera  
Robby  
Roe (TN)  
Rogers (AL)  
Rogers (KY)  
Rogers (MI)  
Rohrabacher  
Rokita  
Rooney  
Ros-Lehtinen  
Roskam

Ross (FL)  
Royce  
Runyan  
Ryan (WI)  
Scalise  
Schilling  
Schmidt  
Schock  
Schweikert  
Scott (SC)  
Scott, Austin  
Sensenbrenner  
Sessions  
Shimkus  
Shuster  
Smith (NE)  
Smith (NJ)  
Smith (TX)  
Southerland  
Stearns  
Stivers  
Stutzman  
Sullivan  
Terry  
Thompson (PA)  
Thornberry  
Tiberi  
Tipton  
Turner (NY)  
Turner (OH)  
Upton  
Walberg  
Walden  
Webster  
West  
Westmoreland  
Whitfield  
Wilson (SC)  
Wittman  
Wolf  
Womack  
Woodall  
Yoder  
Young (AK)  
Young (FL)  
Young (IN)

Schrader  
Schwartz  
Scott (VA)  
Scott, David  
Serrano  
Sewell  
Sherman  
Shuler  
Sires  
Slaughter  
Smith (WA)

Stark  
Sutton  
Thompson (CA)  
Thompson (MS)  
Tierney  
Tonko  
Towns  
Tsongas  
Van Hollen  
Velázquez  
Visclosky

Walz (MN)  
Wasserman  
Schultz  
Waters  
Watt  
Waxman  
Welch  
Wilson (FL)  
Woolsey  
Yarmuth

## ANSWERED "PRESENT"—2

Landry Walsh (IL)

## NOT VOTING—16

Bartlett  
Berkley  
Brown (FL)  
Campbell  
Cardoza  
Farr  
Filner  
Giffords  
Heinrich  
Hinchey  
Insole  
Marino

Noem  
Reyes  
Simpson  
Speier

□ 1626

Mr. RUSH changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

Mr. McHENRY changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

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.

Stated for:

Mrs. NOEM. Madam Speaker, because I was attending the funeral service of Governor Bill Anklow today, I was unable to be present for the vote on H.J. Res. 98. If present, I would have voted "yea" in favor of the resolution.

Stated against:

Mr. FILNER. Madam Speaker, on rollcall 4, I was away from the Capitol due to prior commitments to my constituents. Had I been present, I would have voted "nay."

# 

Mr. TERRY. Madam Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today, it adjourn to meet at 10 a.m. tomorrow; and further, when the House adjourns on that day, it adjourn to meet at noon on Monday, January 23, 2012, for morning-hour debate and 2 p.m. for legislative business.

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

There was no objection.

## 

Mr. TERRY. Madam Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to remove my name as a cosponsor of the Stop Online Piracy Act, H.R. 3261.

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

There was no objection.

## 

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

Mr. CRAWFORD. Madam Speaker, permanent structural reforms are need-

ed in Washington. The Nation's debt is now greater than the value of the entire U.S. economy. Nonpartisan economists have noted that a debt to GDP ratio above 90 percent results in a reduction of economic growth. That means that the Obama administration's own economic model could be preventing the creation of nearly 1 million jobs.

Over the last 2 weeks, I have talked to many of my constituents in Arkansas' First District, and nearly every person I spoke with told me that we must get our Nation's debt under control.

The Federal Government has a spending addiction that is paralyzing our economy. We cannot keep spending money that we simply don't have. We must start living within our means, and we must stop growing our Nation's debt.

Fundamental change must come to Washington to force this and future Congresses to live within our means. Both Republicans and Democrats are to blame for the poor fiscal health we find ourselves in, and whether the change is a balanced budget amendment or some other permanent binding measure, both parties must take the steps to prove that this Congress understands that our government cannot continue on its current path.

## 

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

Mr. CRAVAACK. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in regards to our most pressing threat to our national security—our staggering and ever-increasing national debt.

The message from my constituents in Minnesota's Eighth Congressional District is loud and clear: We cannot continue to saddle the soaring debt onto the backs of our children and our grandchildren. This is irresponsible, and quite frankly unacceptable.

Mr. Speaker, this epidemic is the reason that I jumped into this fight. Our national debt will increase to over \$23 trillion in the next 10 years. Currently, our debt is now over \$15.2 trillion; 47 percent of that debt is foreign owned; 30 percent is owned by China.

It is past time to alter course, Mr. Speaker, or this generation will be the first generation of this great Nation to leave our children less well off.

□ 1630

## 

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

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Less debt and more jobs, Mr. Speaker. This remains our priority as we begin

Ackerman  
Andrews  
Baca  
Baldwin  
Bass (CA)  
Becerra  
Berman  
Bishop (GA)  
Bishop (NY)  
Blumenauer  
Boswell  
Brady (PA)  
Braley (IA)  
Butterfield  
Capps  
Capuano  
Carnahan  
Carney  
Carson (IN)  
Castor (FL)  
Chandler  
Chu  
Cicilline  
Clarke (MI)  
Clarke (NY)  
Clay  
Cleaver  
Clyburn  
Cohen  
Connolly (VA)  
Conyers  
Cooper  
Costa  
Costello  
Courtney  
Critz  
Crowley  
Cuellar  
Cummings  
Davis (CA)  
Davis (IL)  
DeFazio  
DeGette  
DeLauro  
Deutch  
Dicks  
Dingell  
Doggett  
Donnelly (IN)

## 

Doyle  
Dreier  
Edwards  
Ellison  
Engel  
Eshoo  
Fattah  
Frank (MA)  
Fudge  
Garamendi  
Gonzalez  
Green, Al  
Green, Gene  
Grijalva  
Gutierrez  
Hahn  
Hanabusa  
Hastings (FL)  
Higgins  
Himes  
Hinojosa  
Hirono  
Hochul  
Holden  
Holt  
Honda  
Hoyer  
Israel  
Jackson (IL)  
Jackson Lee  
(TX)  
Johnson (GA)  
Johnson, E. B.  
Kaptur  
Keating  
Kildee  
Kind  
Kucinich  
Langevin  
Larsen (WA)  
Larson (CT)  
Lee (CA)  
Levin  
Lewis (GA)  
Lipinski  
Loebach  
Lofgren, Zoe  
Lowey  
Lujan

Lynch  
Maloney  
Markley  
Matsui  
McCarthy (NY)  
McCollum  
McDermott  
McGovern  
McNerney  
Meeks  
Michaud  
Miller (NC)  
Miller, George  
Moore  
Moran  
Murphy (CT)  
Nadler  
Napolitano  
Neal  
Olver  
Owens  
Pallone  
Pascarelli  
Pastor (AZ)  
Payne  
Pelosi  
Perlmutter  
Peters  
Peterson  
Pingree (ME)  
Polis  
Price (NC)  
Quigley  
Rahall  
Rangel  
Richardson  
Richmond  
Ross (AR)  
Rothman (NJ)  
Roybal-Allard  
Ruppersberger  
Rush  
Ryan (OH)  
Sanchez, Linda  
T.  
Sanchez, Loretta  
Sarbanes  
Schakowsky  
Schiff