

Unfortunately, this Congress is not setting its aim high enough for all of the people who died for our Republic and for future generations. I hope we will have a backbone to do it someday.

SAVING EDUARDO'S LIFE

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

Mr. GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, and still I rise today, and I rise today to express my gratitude and appreciation for Eduardo. Eduardo, Mr. Speaker, is a person who was in an auto accident and hurt severely, and it was discovered that he was at the end stage of severe renal disease. Upon finding this out, he had to be dialyzed three times a week.

Mr. Speaker, this picture shows a press event which Eduardo attended because he was removed from the country. I am here to thank the President, the Vice President, and the Secretary of Homeland Security, as well as the Congressional Black Caucus for getting him back into the country and saving his life.

Mr. Speaker, once he was returned, the question was asked: What would you like to be when you grow up?

He said: I want to go into the military, the United States military, so that I can protect the United States of America.

Mr. Speaker, this is an immigrant who wants to protect our country, and I am grateful to those who saved his life.

END HUNGER NOW

(Ms. JACKSON LEE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, first, I join with my colleague, JIM MCGOVERN, on our constant fight for ending hunger. I thank my colleague, the Honorable Mickey Leland, along with the late Congressman Emerson for beginning the Congressional Hunger Center and starting the Select Committee on Hunger in this Congress.

As I transition to why I stand here today, one would wonder why this is so relevant. In about 24 hours, the State of Texas will take over a majority-minority school district that has been fighting to overcome the pandemic effect, but there are children who do not eat unless they have the programs that our public school system has been able to provide for them. They are hungry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. FLOOD). The time of the gentlewoman has expired.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. If the title I funding and other funding is gone, they are hungry.

The Houston Independent School District should not be taken over because I wonder about the children who will go hungry under the new administration.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentlewoman is no longer recognized.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 3746, FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY ACT OF 2023

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 456 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 456

Resolved, That upon adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to consider in the House the bill (H.R. 3746) to provide for a responsible increase to the debt ceiling. All points of order against consideration of the bill are waived. The amendment printed in the report of the Committee on Rules accompanying this resolution shall be considered as adopted. The bill, as amended, shall be considered as read. All points of order against provisions in the bill, as amended, are waived. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill, as amended, and on any further amendment thereto, to final passage without intervening motion except: (1) one hour of debate equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Ways and Means or their respective designees; and (2) one motion to recommit.

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

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MCGOVERN), my very good friend, the ranking member of the Rules Committee, pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume.

During consideration of this resolution, all time yielded is for the purpose of debate only.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and insert extraneous material on House Resolution 456.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the Rules Committee met and reported out a rule, House Resolution 456, providing for consideration of H.R. 3746, the Fiscal Responsibility Act, under a closed rule. It provides 1 hour of general debate equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking member of the Committee on Ways and Means, and it provides for one motion to recommit.

I rise today in support of the rule and the underlying legislation.

Mr. Speaker, today's legislation has been a long time coming. An agreement like the one we are considering today could and should have been in place much earlier. Instead, President Biden dithered and refused to negotiate with House Republicans, pushing us

right up to the very brink of a catastrophic default.

From day one, Speaker MCCARTHY and House Republicans tried to get President Biden and congressional Democrats to come to the negotiating table, but for months they refused. Over and over again, President Biden refused to meet with Speaker MCCARTHY to discuss the debt limit and the budget. He insisted, over and over again, that it was his way or the highway, and he told us over and over again that the only thing he would accept was a clean debt ceiling increase. It was that or nothing.

Of course, it is easy to understand why President Biden wouldn't want to talk about cutting spending. Just look at the spending record he has amassed. Since he took office, President Biden and congressional Democrats have increased the 10-year spending trajectory by \$10 trillion. They did this by passing a partisan reconciliation bill that spent \$1.9 trillion, and then by passing another partisan reconciliation bill that added up to another \$600 billion in new spending. President Biden himself issued executive orders that added \$1.5 trillion in spending, including his reckless and unconstitutional \$400 billion plan to cancel student loan debt.

When you lay it out like that, it is easy to see how we have reached the statutory debt ceiling so quickly, and it is easy to see why President Biden and congressional Democrats wouldn't want any barriers to spending more and more money. They want the gravy train to keep flowing and the spending to keep increasing, which will ultimately lead the Nation further and further into debt.

However, House Republicans disagreed, and last month we acted. We passed the Limit, Save, Grow Act, a bill that responsibly lifts the debt ceiling and changes the trajectory of future spending downward. We agreed that the United States cannot, should not, and will not default on our national debt, but we also put forward clear, commonsense, and responsible savings that will bring reckless spending under control.

What did Democrats do? Nothing; not a thing. Not a single Democrat in the House voted to lift the debt ceiling. Not a single House Democrat voted to save trillions of dollars over the next 10 years. Our friends in the Senate, which is controlled by the Democrats, refused to take up the Limit, Save, Grow Act; and to this day, the Senate has refused to pass any bill lifting the debt limit. Not one.

However, House Republicans have. For all the posturing on the other side of the aisle, I would remind everyone that House Republicans are the only ones who have taken concrete action to avoid default. President Biden's refusal to negotiate for so long was what brought us so close to the brink of a catastrophic default in the first place.

Having said all that, today we are bringing a bill to the floor that will resolve this crisis. This bill is the result

of negotiations between President Biden and House Republicans. It is not a perfect bill, but it does represent a compromise between the administration and Congress that is necessary in a divided government. Nobody got everything they wanted, but the end result is a truly historic bill.

Consider what the bill does, Mr. Speaker. It responsibly lifts the debt ceiling through January 1, 2025. In exchange, it also puts in place a series of fiscal reforms that will save taxpayers money. For the first time in history, we are pairing a debt ceiling increase with a year-over-year decrease in spending. We will be spending less in fiscal year 2024 than we are in fiscal year 2023, something that has never happened before in conjunction with a debt ceiling increase. We accomplish that goal while preserving funding for our national defense and ensuring our veterans get the care they need and deserve.

We have also clawed back \$28 billion in unspent COVID pandemic relief dollars that are no longer needed, the largest rescission in history. We have cut \$1.4 billion that President Biden and congressional Democrats want to give to the IRS for new agents. We will cap future spending at just 1 percent growth per year for the next 6 years. We accomplish all of this without including any new taxes or new government programs, rejecting President Biden's demands to charge hard-working Americans another \$5 trillion in taxes.

However, that is not all this bill does. It includes real policy victories, Mr. Speaker, that will improve the lives of everyday Americans. The bill includes the first major reforms to work requirements for SNAP and TANF, ensuring that we can help lift people on these programs out of poverty and into the workforce. The bill also includes major permitting reform provisions, reducing approval time for essential infrastructure and energy projects.

None of this would have happened but for President Biden's decision to come to the table and negotiate. Additionally, none of this would have happened but for House Republicans doing the responsible thing and insisting on fiscal reforms. Together, we are doing something good for the Nation. We are avoiding a devastating default on the national debt, and we are enacting needed fiscal reform to put us on a more sustainable spending path.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, let me first thank the gentleman from Oklahoma, the distinguished chairman, for yielding me the customary 30 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, with less than a week from default, we have been rushed back to Washington because Republicans decided they wanted to waste months playing games with the debt limit.

They said if Democrats and President Biden didn't give House Republicans everything they wanted, they were prepared to push the entire economy off a cliff, causing catastrophic, lasting, irreparable damage to America.

Even though the GOP voted three times to prevent default when Donald Trump was President, even though 97 percent of the debt was accumulated before President Biden took office and over a quarter of the debt was accumulated under Donald Trump, even though Republicans had no problem adding trillions to the debt with their giveaways to Big Oil and to Wall Street CEOs and lavish tax cuts for the very rich, now they choose to play Russian roulette with our economy.

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Frankly, we should not be here. We should have taken care of this months ago, but once again, Republicans are demonstrating that they cannot govern.

Let's rewind to the end of 2017. The last time Republicans held the majority, they left our government with the longest shutdown in American history.

Here we are today, dealing with a totally manufactured crisis that jeopardizes the full faith and credit of the United States.

Both then and now, Democrats have had to be the adults in the room to come in and clean up Republicans' self-made mess. Every time Republicans are in charge, Mr. Speaker, they screw things up.

Mr. Speaker, I thank President Biden, Shalanda Young, Steve Ricchetti, Louisa Terrell, Ashley Jones, Alicia Molt-West, and the White House team, as well as Leader JEFFRIES and his staff, for their leadership throughout these negotiations. I am sure it wasn't easy working with our Republican colleagues. I saw reports that White House staff was holed up in a stuffy room late at night and early in the morning, arguing for hours on end with Republicans.

All I can say as a longstanding member of the Rules Committee: Welcome to the club.

Mr. Speaker, because of their efforts, this bill is a lot less awful than it could have been.

That said, I have some very real, very serious reservations about this bill. There are better ways to deal with our deficit than to further burden our Nation's most vulnerable.

We can make sure the wealthy and well connected pay their fair share.

Let's close the tax loopholes that millionaires and billionaires and corporations exploit. This bill does the opposite. It cuts IRS funding that would have kept big corporations and the top 1 percent in check. We have some of the wealthiest corporations on the entire planet, and they pay little to no taxes. They should at least pay the rate their lowest paying workers pay.

What about the military budget? "60 Minutes" covered a story a couple of

weekends ago where a former Pentagon official talked about the insane price gouging taking place at the Pentagon. He told us that the Pentagon overpays for almost everything—in one example, the Pentagon paid \$10,000 for a \$300 oil switch—but we are hearing from the Republicans that we can't find any savings in the bloated Pentagon budget.

Really? Instead, they say, let's continue to take from the most vulnerable in our country. Give me a break.

I know my Republican friends claim that investing less in military expenditures would somehow undercut our national security. Yes, we want a defense budget that ensures we are second to none, but to put everything in perspective here, we spend more on our national defense than the next 10 countries combined, including China and Russia. Defense spending accounts for nearly half of discretionary spending.

Our national security is so much more than bullets and bombs. It is healthcare. It is education and food. It is a clean environment. It is good jobs and safe neighborhoods. It includes adequate support for our veterans, our seniors, and for our children—all the things that strengthen our communities.

Honestly, Mr. Speaker, thank God for Joe Biden. He secured expanded food benefits for some of the most vulnerable individuals, like veterans, kids emerging from the foster care system, and the unhoused.

It is clear the President entered these negotiations trying to protect as many people as possible from the GOP's war on the poor, but at the end of the day, we should not be making tradeoffs between which vulnerable population gets to eat.

I have a hard time understanding why we are kicking up to 700,000 older adults off of SNAP. It is just cruel. Food and hunger should not be a partisan issue. It is a human issue, but Republicans don't care who they hurt.

We have over 30 million people in this country who do not know where their next meal will come from. The current SNAP benefit, on average, is \$6 per person per day. That is \$2 per meal. The majority of people on SNAP who can work do work, and we also know that work requirements do not work.

In a February 2021 report titled: "The Effects of Changing SNAP Work Requirement on the Health and Employment Outcomes of Able-Bodied Adults without Dependents," exactly what we are talking about here today, it was reported that losing SNAP made people less healthy and had no significant change in employment status. Again, work requirements do not work.

By the way, if my Republican colleagues don't believe me, they could have held a hearing. They could have held a hearing in the Agriculture Committee or in the Nutrition, Foreign Agriculture, and Horticulture Subcommittee.

They didn't hold a single hearing on this issue, not one. They have no clue

who this will adversely impact, and I don't even think they care. You would think that we want to go into this knowing exactly how this legislation would affect our constituents, but they didn't even have time for a hearing.

Here is the kicker, Mr. Speaker. You are going to love this. Many of the people in this Chamber who are trying to take food away from struggling Americans are the same people who had their PPP loans forgiven. Some of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle received hundreds of thousands of dollars—some, millions—in taxpayer dollars that were used to forgive some of their loans.

They had no problem with that. They just shrugged that off, but they say we cannot afford to help make sure that families can put food on their tables. It is ridiculous.

I also have issues with the antienvironmental language in the deal. The bill slashes key NEPA protections, approves the Mountain Valley Pipeline, and doesn't include transmission reform.

Look, we all knew there would have to be compromise. No side was going to get everything they wanted out of this deal, but Republicans have used this manufactured crisis to force policy changes that are so unpopular that they could not possibly get them through regular order.

For some on the far, far right—and there are a lot of them over there—this bill isn't mean enough. Let that sink in, everybody.

By weaponizing the debt ceiling, Republicans are establishing a precedent that will haunt us forever, that one party can use the full faith and credit of the United States as a hostage to pass their widely unpopular ideas that they could not get done through the normal legislative process. It is a lousy, lousy way to govern.

Mr. Speaker, let me conclude by saying that in this Republican-led Congress, it has become unfashionable to worry about the poor and the vulnerable, to believe in the principle that we should bring everyone along, that we must meet the needs of the many, not just of the few.

Mr. Speaker, our goal should be to elevate people, not demean them. The policies being advocated and forced upon us by my Republican friends do not reflect my values. It is sad that, for them, solving problems and uplifting all people apparently is not their mission.

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

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

I would quickly respond to my friend's statement about the origins of the national debt.

Let me remind him that much of this debt was accumulated in just the last 2 years as a consequence of President Biden and congressional Democrats' reckless spending spree.

Consider this: In the spring of 2021, congressional Democrats, without a

single Republican vote, pushed through a \$1.9 trillion partisan spending bill.

Last year, they enacted another partisan spending bill, without a single Republican vote, with \$600 billion in new spending, partly offset by budget gimmicks and higher taxes.

President Biden himself put forward the unconstitutional and illegal student debt cancellation, which, if allowed to stand, would add another \$400 billion to the national debt. This is on top of all regular Federal spending and emergency spending for the COVID-19 pandemic.

As for the military budget, my friends call it bloated. Frankly, I think we should be spending more, but I will remind him we are giving the President what he asked for. If this budget is bloated for the Pentagon, they can ask the White House about it because it is the budget that they proposed.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ROY), my very good friend and a distinguished member of the Rules Committee.

Mr. ROY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. COLE), the chairman, for giving me time, despite the fact that I voted against the rule in the Rules Committee.

I respect that. I respect it immensely so that we can have a full and open debate here on the floor of the House.

Mr. Speaker, I listened to the gentleman from Massachusetts wax on, talking about governing. I would say to the gentleman that we don't govern; we represent. That is what we are supposed to do, anyway, represent the people of this country fed up with a government that is now 40 percent bigger since the beginning of COVID, a government barreling toward \$36 trillion of debt, and an absolute devastating burden on the future of this country, on our children and our grandchildren, who are not going to be able to afford homes, not be able to go to school, not be able to afford food, groceries.

Talk about food programs, I don't hear a whole hell of a lot about what we are doing to devastate American families with rampant inflation because we keep spending money we don't have.

To my colleagues on this side of the aisle, my beef isn't that I don't understand the struggle with the negotiators against that kind of reasoning. My beef is that you cut a deal that shouldn't have been cut.

The fact is, at best, we have a 2-year spending freeze that is full of loopholes and gimmicks that would allow for increased funding for the Federal bureaucracy in order to receive a \$4 trillion increase in the debt by January 1, 2025.

Mr. Speaker, we have permitting reform, which might have some good elements in it. The problem is, you have the Biden administration saying it will "accelerate implementation of the historic clean energy and environmental justice investments in the Inflation Reduction Act," the very policies de-

stroying the American way of life and making them unable to afford energy and afford their food.

We have watered-down work requirements that the CBO just said will actually increase the cost of SNAP by \$2 billion, a supposed 1 percent automatic top-line reduction in spending at the end of the year that will actually make a Christmas omnibus more likely, and a 2 percent cut to Biden's \$80 billion IRS expansion.

Administrative paygo, I am told, we are not going to do the REINS Act. We are not going to restrain the regulatory state. We are going to do a waivable administrative paygo.

Great. We will pass a bill next week. Yay us. It will die in the Senate.

Why aren't we using this leverage—a complete punt to SCOTUS on the Biden administration's unfair, half-trillion-dollar student loan bailout; billions in COVID dollars left untouched to fund things like vaccines and COVID-19 testing; and the loss of one of our biggest leverage points to force Biden to actually secure the southern border.

Mr. Speaker, I encourage my colleagues to vote "no" on the rule and to oppose this legislation.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD a report by The Balance titled: "President Trump's Impact on the National Debt."

[From the balance, Jan. 26, 2022]

PRESIDENT TRUMP'S IMPACT ON THE NATIONAL DEBT

(By Kimberly Amadeo)

The national debt increased by almost 36% during Trump's tenure.

Republican candidate Donald Trump promised during the 2016 presidential campaign that he would eliminate the nation's debt in eight years.

Instead, his budget estimates showed that he would actually add at least \$8.3 trillion, increasing the U.S. debt to \$28.5 trillion by 2025. But the national debt reached that figure much sooner. The national debt stood at \$19.9 trillion when President Trump took office in January 2017, and it reached a high of \$27 trillion in October 2020.

The national debt reached another high of \$28 trillion less than two months after President Trump left office. In December 2021, Congress then increased the debt limit by \$2.5 trillion, to almost \$31.4 trillion, as debt rose again under President Joe Biden.

HOW DID THE NATIONAL DEBT INCREASE?

At first it seemed that Trump was lowering the debt. It fell \$102 billion in the first six months after he took office. The debt was \$19.9 trillion on Jan. 20, the day Trump was inaugurated. It was \$19.8 trillion on July 30, thanks to the federal debt ceiling.

Trump signed a bill increasing the debt ceiling on Sept. 8, 2017. The debt exceeded \$20 trillion for the first time in U.S. history later that day. Trump signed a bill on Feb. 9, 2018, suspending the debt ceiling until March 1, 2019. The total national debt was at \$22 trillion by February 2019. Trump again suspended the debt ceiling in July 2019 until after the 2020 presidential election.

The debt hit a record \$27 trillion on Oct. 1, 2020 before reaching further peaks in 2021 that caused Congress to act again to raise the debt limit in December.

Trump oversaw the fastest increase in the debt of any president, almost 36% from 2017 to 2020.

DID PRESIDENT TRUMP REDUCE THE NATIONAL DEBT?

Trump promised two strategies to reduce U.S. debt before taking office: He would increase growth by 4% to 6%, and he would eliminate wasteful federal spending

INCREASING GROWTH

Trump promised while on the campaign trail to grow the economy by 4% to 6% annually to increase tax revenues. Once in office, he lowered his growth estimates to between 2% and 3%. These more realistic projections are within the 2% to 3% healthy growth rate.

President Trump also promised to achieve between 2% and 4% growth with tax cuts. The Tax Cuts and Jobs Act cut the corporate tax rate from 35% to 21% beginning in 2018. The top individual income tax rate dropped to 37%. The TCJA doubled the standard deduction and eliminated personal exemptions. The corporate cuts are permanent, but the individual changes expire at the end of 2025.

According to the Laffer curve, tax cuts only stimulate the economy enough to make up for lost revenue when the rates are above 50%. It worked during the Reagan administration because the highest tax rate was 70% at that time.

ELIMINATING WASTEFUL FEDERAL SPENDING

Trump's second strategy was to eliminate waste and redundancy in federal spending. He demonstrated this cost-consciousness during his campaign when he used his Twitter account and rallies instead of expensive television ads.

Trump was right that there is waste in federal spending. The problem isn't finding it. The problem is in cutting it. Each program has a constituency that lobbies Congress. Eliminating these benefits may lose voters and contributors. Congressional representatives may agree to cut spending in someone else's district, but they resist doing so on their own.

More than two-thirds of government spending goes to mandatory obligations made by previous acts of Congress. Social Security benefits cost \$1.2 trillion in Fiscal Year 2021. Medicare cost \$722 billion, and Medicaid cost \$448 billion. The interest on the debt was \$378 billion.

Military spending must also be cut to lower the debt because it's such a large portion of the budget. But Trump increased military spending in Fiscal Year (FY) 2021 to \$933 billion. That includes three components: \$636 billion base budget for the Department of Defense

\$69 billion in overseas contingency operations for DoD to fight the Islamic State group

\$229 billion to fund the other agencies that protect our nation, including the Department of Veterans Affairs (\$105 billion), Homeland Security (\$50 billion), the State Department (\$44 billion), the National Nuclear Security Administration in the Department of Energy (\$20 billion), and the FBI and Cybersecurity for the eDepartment of Justice (\$10 billion)

Only \$595 billion was left to pay for everything else budgeted for FY 2021 after mandatory and military spending. That includes agencies that process Social Security and other benefits. It also includes the necessary functions performed by the Department of Justice and the Internal Revenue Service. We'd have to eliminate it all to make a dent in the \$966 billion deficit.

You can't reduce the deficit or debt without major cuts to defense and mandated benefits programs. Cutting waste isn't enough.

DID TRUMP'S BUSINESS DEBT AFFECT HIS APPROACH TO U.S. DEBT?

Trump said in an interview with CNBC during his 2016 campaign that he would "bor-

row, knowing that if the economy crashed, you could make a deal." But sovereign debt is different from personal debt. It can't be handled the same way.

A 2016 Fortune magazine analysis revealed Trump's business was \$1.11 billion in debt. That includes \$846 million owed on five properties. These include Trump Tower, 40 Wall Street, and 1290 Avenue of the Americas in New York. It also includes the Trump Hotel in Washington, D.C., and 555 California Street in San Francisco. But the income generated by these properties easily pays their annual interest payment. Trump's debt is reasonable in the business world.

The U.S. debt-to-GDP ratio was 129% at the end of 2020. That's the \$27.8 trillion U.S. debt as of December 2020, divided by the \$21.5 trillion nominal GDP at the end of the second quarter this year.

The World Bank compares countries based on their total debt-to-gross domestic product ratio. It considers a country to be in trouble if that ratio is greater than 77%.

The high U.S. debt-to-GDP ratio didn't discourage investors. America is one of the safest economies in the world and its currency is the world's reserve currency. Investors purchase U.S. Treasuries in a flight to safety even during a U.S. economic crisis. That's one reason why interest rates plunged to historical lows in March 2020 after the coronavirus outbreak. Those falling interest rates meant that America's debt could increase, but interest payments remain stable.

The U.S. also has a massive fixed pension expense and health insurance costs. A business can renege on these benefits, ask for bankruptcy, and weather the resulting lawsuits, but a president and Congress can't cut back those costs without losing their jobs at the next election. As such, Trump's experience in handling business debt did not transfer to managing the U.S. debt.

HOW THE NATIONAL DEBT AFFECTS YOU

The national debt doesn't affect you directly until it reaches the tipping point. It slows economic growth once the debt-to-GDP ratio exceeds 77% for an extended period of time. Every percentage point of debt above this level costs the country 0.017 percentage points in economic growth, according to a World Bank analysis.

The first sign of trouble is when interest rates start to rise significantly. Investors need a higher return to offset the greater perceived risk. They start to doubt that the debt can be paid off.

The second sign is that the U.S. dollar loses value. You will notice that as inflation rises, imported goods cost more. Gas and grocery prices rise. Travel to other countries also becomes much more expensive.

The cost of providing benefits and paying the interest on the debt will skyrocket as interest rates and inflation rise. That leaves less money for other services. The government will be forced to cut services or raise taxes at that point. This will further slow economic growth. Continued deficit spending will no longer work at that point.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, talk about spending. The national debt increased by almost 36 percent from 2017 to 2020 during Trump's tenure.

I wish the gentleman from Texas was on the floor screaming then as he is now. He has no problem with spending trillions of dollars on tax cuts for rich people and taxpayer subsidies for Big Oil companies, but when it comes to providing people the basics to be able to put food on the table, he has a problem. We just don't share the same values.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. RUIZ).

Mr. RUIZ. Mr. Speaker, let's be clear. This bill is not about fiscal responsibility. It is about the extreme GOP pushing their extreme agenda.

Extreme Republicans demanded to cut veterans' healthcare; to zero out the toxic exposures fund for sick, burn-pit-exposed veterans; to end protections for our environment and allow polluters to expose workers and communities to toxic chemicals for corporate profits; to cut Medicare, childcare, and education; and to repeal efforts to make our air and water cleaner, especially in vulnerable communities.

If they didn't get their way, they held hostage the American economy and threatened to send America into default, raising costs for families, cutting 1 million jobs for workers, and devastating seniors' retirements.

Mr. Speaker, today, under this Republican-manufactured extreme crisis, we will take up the bipartisan budget agreement to prevent a Republican catastrophic default.

President Biden, in this bill, made sure veterans got the care that they needed by funding the toxic exposures fund for burn pit veterans and keeping in place the key provisions of the Inflation Reduction Act's environmental and clean energy protections to stop polluters from harming people. He was able to protect Medicaid, with no changes to Medicaid, and maintain healthcare access for millions of families across the country. He preserved funding for clean energy programs to clean up our air.

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Look, if extreme Republicans were serious about fiscal responsibility, they would have accepted President Biden's budget that would have reduced the deficit by \$3 trillion. Instead, this bill only reduces it by \$1.5 trillion. Nevertheless, today I will vote for the bipartisan agreement.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume for the purpose of a response.

I remind my friend from California that we actually filed a veterans' bill that increased veteran spending, so that canard is just simply not the case. We, from the very beginning, were going to take care of veterans, and we filed legislation to do that.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. BURGESS), my very good friend, my classmate, and the distinguished vice chairman of the Rules Committee.

Mr. BURGESS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to speak in support of the rule and the underlying legislation. Included within the rule measure is H.R. 3746, the Fiscal Responsibility Act. Fortunately, the Fiscal Responsibility Act makes worthwhile reforms that will safeguard America's fiscal solvency.

Mr. Speaker, 100 days, that is how long President Biden flirted with economic calamity because he was too

stubborn to come to terms with the new political reality. The American people did not send a Republican majority to continue business as usual.

Mr. Speaker, the typical business as usual is where elected lawmakers come together in a lameduck session and knock the bottom out of the country's finances.

Well, no more, Mr. Speaker.

With the passage of this legislation, Republicans are putting America back on a sound fiscal footing by reducing nondiscretionary funding, reforming entitlement programs, and adding requirements that Congress pass its 12 appropriations bills on time. That is a massive change from the status quo.

Credit our fellow Rules Committee member, THOMAS MASSIE, for the concept of including this in the debt limit bill, because if the appropriators cannot pass all 12 of their appropriations bills by September 30, it automatically goes to a continuing resolution with a 1 percent reduction. That is the first time that that has ever happened. So we have budget enforcement, in fact, without blowing up the filibuster over in the Senate, and we all know what that could lead to.

While no one can say that they got everything they wanted in this bill, and candidly, I don't think the permitting reforms are nearly enough. The NEPA reform included in this bill is an important first step, but there is no question that we will need to do much more.

The full faith and credit of the United States is preserved with this legislative product. Bear this in mind: If the United States were to default on its debt, there actually is another country, the People's Republic of China, who would like to be the reserve currency of the world. We will not give them that chance when we pass this bill.

I commend PATRICK MCHENRY and GARRET GRAVES for their hard work in bringing us this vital piece of legislation. I commend the Speaker for bringing it to a vote on the floor today after 72 hours for Members to read and understand the bill.

Mr. Speaker, I urge everyone to support the rule and the underlying legislation.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New Mexico (Ms. LEGER FERNANDEZ), a member of the Rules Committee.

Ms. LEGER FERNANDEZ. Mr. Speaker, we are where we are at today, at the precipice of ruin, because extreme Republicans chose to hold Americans hostage by refusing to pay America's bills. Their chaos created fear and stress as Americans worried about a catastrophic recession.

Extreme Republicans' ransom demand was the default on America act, a proposal which targeted rural communities, Head Start, veterans' healthcare, and more, with 22 percent tax cuts—all to pay for the Trump tax

cuts for the wealthiest CEOs that added \$2 trillion to the deficit.

Rather than making the wealthiest pay their fair share, extreme Republicans wanted to balance the budget on American's growling, hungry stomachs.

Democrats proposed amendments to the default on America act to protect programs like rural development and veterans' healthcare programs. Republicans rejected every amendment.

So we went to our communities. We told them the truth about what the Republicans' default on America act would do. Americans listened, and they spoke out against the Republicans' plan.

When Democrats and President Biden's team went into the room to negotiate with Republicans, the voices of veterans, seniors, and working Americans went in, too.

Now, we have H.R. 3746. The bill does save us from economic catastrophe. It rejects the most extreme and cruel proposals contained in the Republicans' default on America act. It allows advanced appropriations for the Indian Health Service, and protects clean energy tax credits and healthcare for veterans.

Is it perfect? Absolutely not.

I do not support many of the changes to our environmental laws and our social safety net programs.

Let's talk fiscal responsibility for a moment. President Trump increased the debt by \$8 trillion. In contrast, President Biden reduced the deficit in his first 2 years alone by \$1.7 trillion, while creating 12 million jobs, bringing manufacturing back, and making the largest investments to address the climate crisis ever.

The bill today reduces the deficit by only \$1.5 trillion. If we had merely passed the President's budget, we would have decreased the deficit by \$3 trillion, without creating the fear and economic insecurity that extreme MAGA Republicans have forced Americans to endure.

Let me repeat this point: This crisis didn't have to happen. Everything in this bill could have been negotiated through the normal process without a debt crisis. Indeed, that is how it has almost always been done, except for in 2011 when the Republicans did this before. The American people need to tell the Republicans: No more hostage taking.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. RESCENTHALER), my very good friend, a distinguished member of both the Appropriations and the Rules Committee.

Mr. RESCENTHALER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman of the Rules Committee for being generous in yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of this rule and in support of the underlying legislation.

Today, the House is taking historic steps to address our Nation's out-of-

control debt. This House Republican win rescinds \$28 billion in unobligated COVID funds. It cuts over \$2 trillion in government spending. It reins in the executive branch, and it rejects the President's extreme \$5 trillion in proposed tax increases.

Further, this legislation will help lift Americans out of poverty and grow our economy by cutting red tape and streamlining energy and infrastructure projects.

H.R. 3746 also includes an important provision championed by House Republicans, and that is to complete the Mountain Valley Pipeline. MVP is near completion, but the last 14 miles—there are just 14 miles left—are being held up by extreme radical, far-left judges.

When completed, this pipeline will help reduce costs for hardworking Americans in South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia. It will simultaneously help the economies of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia with thousands of construction jobs and millions of dollars in royalty payments, just in Pennsylvania alone. It will be \$150 million a year in royalty payments just to Pennsylvania alone, and it will lead to direct investment in rural communities.

Mr. Speaker, I support the rule and the underlying legislation. I urge my colleagues to do the same.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to yield 2 minutes to the very distinguished gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER).

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, there has been a lot of argument about who is responsible for why we are here.

Mr. ROY, the gentleman from Texas, as I was coming in, spoke about keeping leverage.

Now, what do you keep leverage for? You keep it so you can make something that you want to happen happen.

The Speaker of this House has said default is not an option. The leader of the Democratic Party in this House has said default is not an option. But that wasn't good enough that we agreed.

It was, as the gentleman from Texas said, our Republican friends that wanted to keep leverage. They wanted to accomplish, essentially, in the appropriation bill, what they couldn't either accomplish or pass in the Appropriations Committee here because of their extraordinarily devastating bill that they offered and passed, which some of them are going to have to answer for in the next election.

What today is about is whether we are going to hurt 330 million Americans; whether we are going to hurt the global economy. That is what this is about.

From my perspective, there is only one answer: to pass a bill that, in fact, does not have America welch on its debts or, alternatively, to defeat a bill which will devastate our economy and be catastrophic globally. That is why we are here.

Mr. Speaker, I urge every Member to think of those 330 million Americans, all of whom will be hurt if we fail to do our duty.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. MOLINARO), my very good friend.

Mr. MOLINARO. Mr. Speaker, I have only been here for 5 months, but I already have been blamed for things I have and have not done, for actions we did or didn't take.

We are here now. We are here now at a moment where Americans, by design or default, have given us a bipartisan government, and the House Republicans delivered on a promise to hold up the Federal Government for accountability and we have an agreement. That agreement will move this Nation forward.

I will speak very specifically about one component. I, Mr. Speaker, grew up on food stamps. My mother, diagnosed with depression, would not have survived without that assistance. She was encouraged and worked hard and got on her feet and ultimately achieved independence.

For the last 12 years, I have administered a social service agency in the State of New York.

The Fiscal Responsibility Act takes important action, not to punish our most vulnerable at all. In fact, takes real steps to ensure those most vulnerable among us are protected and served and have access to the support that they deserve and, by the way, find their way to work.

This bill holds States like New York and others accountable. It holds them accountable for waiving restrictions, expanding access, not to help the most vulnerable, but to bloat and to grow and to increase State government.

Because of action States have taken, the most vulnerable are left to fend for themselves, demoralized, dehumanized, and feeling worthless, while States like New York increase their infrastructure, their government, and leverage Federal taxpayer dollars, not to benefit those who need the help the most, but to benefit State government.

This bill starts a very important step of holding States accountable and assisting those who are most vulnerable among us.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues not only to support the rule, but to support the underlying bill. We have an opportunity here to make a measurable difference in the lives of those who struggle the most, and this is an effort to ensure that happens.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I would just remind the gentleman that under the new standards in this bill, 700,000 older Americans, vulnerable Americans, will lose their food benefits. If that is his idea of protecting the vulnerable, we don't want your help.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. COHEN).

□ 1515

Mr. COHEN. Mr. Speaker, before us today, we have a difficult vote. Like many of my Democratic colleagues, I would have preferred to vote on a clean debt ceiling bill. I signed a discharge petition, along with all of my Democratic colleagues to bring a debt ceiling bill to the House floor, but we couldn't get just five Republicans to join us to force that vote.

That is why we are here today because not just five Republicans could do that. I don't like the language in the bill to bypass environmental reviews and approve the Mountain Valley Pipeline. There are pipelines that have leaked and there are pipelines that have leaked.

I joined Representatives McClellan, Beyer, and others in the Virginia delegation in support of an amendment offered to remove that language, but it wasn't allowed to be voted upon. I don't like the permitting reform that strips NEPA of its authorities.

Instead of rolling back regulations, we should be adequately funding the agency so that staff can help projects be built in a timely and responsible manner. I don't like that tax cuts for the wealthiest Americans are protected. The Trump tax scam, which was not funded, raised the debt by \$2 trillion, and not an effort was made to put more duty and responsibility on those individuals.

I sponsored a bill to make billionaires pay their fair share. They should. Despite all the things we don't like about this bill, including the addition of work requirements for SNAP recipients in their 50s, as Members of Congress, we have tough decisions to make and ultimately do what is best for our constituents and our country.

In my district, in particular, we have to protect the progress we have made in the last 2 years that is providing a boost to Memphis; for instance, in healthcare and energy savings we have secured for seniors and others throughout the district under the Inflation Reduction Act and the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act.

These investments are funding improvements and smart development in my district now, but Republicans have tried to defund them. We need to protect Medicaid, Medicare, and Social Security, but the Republican majority was trying to take away those benefits from over 20 million Americans.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ROGERS of Alabama). The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 30 seconds to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. COHEN. Mr. Speaker, we protected Social Security, Medicaid, and Medicare in these bills. We needed a clean debt ceiling. We didn't get it. The fact is, the Republicans brought us to this brink because they wanted to extract political damage on President Biden, and if the American people were there as collateral damage, so be it.

When Trump was President, they approved every extension of the debt relief, and yet when Biden is here, no. This is extortion, but we have to deal with it. It is for the benefit of our country and the world's economy, and I will vote "yes."

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

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON LEE).

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, I am going to say my good friend, Mr. COLE—because he is my good friend—Mr. COLE had the facts very much incorrect.

The President of the United States was protecting the American people, protecting their future, and being, in essence, the great protector, while my friends on the other side of the aisle were passing legislation that was taking away H.R. 1, 30 million medical appointments for veterans, and throwing millions of Americans off of Medicaid. That is why the President was trying to get a clean debt ceiling, so we could come back as a House, Democrats working to get a fair budget bill.

That did not happen as he waited over and over again to see whether or not the Republicans would do what was done in the last administration and raise the debt ceiling not for debt, but to pay America's bills.

Now, this picture depicts the Speaker Emeritus and Good Hope Baptist Church with the children in daycare. Under the leadership of my friends, without the work that we are doing now to pay our bills, nondiscretionary funding, which takes care of Head Starts and childcare, would have been literally thrown out and families would be standing in line looking for an empty chair for their child to go in so they could go to work. In actuality, that is what Democrats did to ensure that did not happen.

Today, we stand on this floor to say that we will not allow the cruelty of default. We will not allow hostage taking. We will stand for the American people. We will ensure that the expansion of veterans and homeless persons and children in foster care that are now able to get SNAP, that is because we continue to fight, even though we could not get the Republicans to come to the table for 4 or 5 months.

I offered amendments to provide an increase or provision for those students who are still in their families' homes.

Mr. Speaker, I am here today to speak on the Rule offered here today in consideration of H.R. 3746, the Fiscal Responsibility Act of 2023.

It is important to highlight and discuss how we got here and what is at stake with this critical and momentous measure.

I know I am not alone in the disappointment at what steps have been taken to hold our nation's economy hostage and put American lives at risk.

It is shameful that, while we have a bipartisan agreement here today, we have taken painful compromises to get here.

And although arduous efforts on both sides of the aisle allowed for us to move forward with this agreement, and some critical protections for the American people have been preserved—it must be stated that this agreement is not one that entirely reflects what we in Congress should be united on—namely, our most basic and fundamental truths that hold us together as a democracy.

We are a nation that upholds the ability for all to prosper, as well as one that upholds the ability for all Americans to be protected and cared for in our times of greatest need.

It is important to understand that the foundations of a society do not extend only to its political and economic system; they must extend to its social and moral system as well.

Taking all of these in balance there is no other comparable governmental system that has raised the standard of living of millions of people, created vast new wealth and resources, or inspired so many beneficial innovations and technologies.

Governmental structures providing for protections and safety nets for all Americans is what makes us all successful as a nation united.

Creating and preserving such structure is the critical investment in our government, our nation, our security, and our development and growth for current and future generations to benefit from.

Yet, instead of investing in America, many of my Republican colleagues would rather focus on holding our economy hostage to advance unpopular and dangerous priorities.

Holding our nation's debt ceiling as collateral to inflict painful cuts that will impact the lives of millions of Americans and knowing that breaching the debt limit would provoke unprecedented economic damage and instability in the U.S. and around the world is a sad state that we have found ourselves in.

Yes, it is evident that my Republican colleagues will not prioritize the wellbeing, safety, health, and prosperity of the American people when looking at what we have had to give up in this bill.

While much is unknown about the devastating impact this bill will have, we do know that some immediate changes will inevitably cause harm to many American families, children and vulnerable individuals.

That is why I offered several amendments during the Rules Committee that will make additional exemptions and elimination of disqualifications for several additional special populations in which we must protect and continue to support when they are in their most desperate and fragile times of need.

Ensuring that we are not taking critical resources and money for food away from children and families living in poverty is not only the right thing to do, but also the economically smart thing to do.

The Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) is the nation's most important and effective anti-hunger program.

Any changes in SNAP will have an incredible impact on millions of Americans and Texans.

As of 2020, there were 18.66 million households relying on SNAP and 7.11 million SNAP households with children.

Texas holds the second highest number of households using the SNAP program in 2023 at 1,167,720, making up 11.5 percent of Texas households.

As of April 2023, there were 284,794 SNAP cases and 615,463 eligible individuals in Harris County, my district's biggest county.

This included 92,214 individuals aged less than 5 and 228,519 individuals between the ages of 5–17.

My first amendment for H.R. 3746, listed on the Rules Committee roster as Amendment #56, would have added a provision to extend exemption regarding current work requirement exemptions in the Food and Nutrition Act for a parent or person responsible for dependent child up to age 24 in SNAP household.

In Texas, 79 percent of SNAP participants are families with children. That's more than the national rate of 69 percent of SNAP participants across the country being families with children.

Further, the SNAP participation rate in Texas for working poor people is 72 percent which is also more than the national rate of 41 percent of SNAP participants nationwide being in working families.

We need to understand that parents continue to support children beyond the age of adolescence impacting financial resources for families well into a child's early twenties.

Across the country there 5.134 million, and 528,000 in Texas aged 18–24 in poverty as of 2021.

Nearly 1 in 3 parents (31 percent) have made a significant financial sacrifice to help their adult children financially.

Over two-thirds (68 percent) of parents of adult children have made or are currently making a financial sacrifice to help their kids financially.

Parents say they sacrificed retirement savings (43 percent), emergency savings (51 percent), paying down their own debt (49 percent) or reaching a financial milestone (55 percent).

Over 40 percent of American children rely primarily on their mothers' earnings for financial support in cross-sectional surveys.

In July 2022, half of adults ages 18 to 29 were living with one or both of their parents.

Significantly higher than the share who were living with their parents in 2010 (44 percent on average that year) or 2000 (38 percent on average).

What this means is that we need to understand that support for families with dependent children under the age of 24 and who are living in poverty need to be protected and extended the grace of an exemption in this bill.

My second amendment for H.R. 3746, listed on the Rules Committee roster as Amendment #59, would have extended the former foster care exemption to all individuals 24 or younger under state custody and aging out of critical support services.

More than 23,000 children will age out of the US foster care system every year.

Every year in Texas, more than 1,200 young adults age out of the foster care system without being adopted.

Less than half of Texas foster care alumni (46.9 percent) were currently employed at least ten hours per week.

Only half of alumni (51.6 percent) reported having a household income that was greater than the poverty line.

By 24 years old, 50 percent of former foster kids had been "couch surfing" since leaving care.

One in ten interviewed alumni (11.1 percent) was currently incarcerated; nearly seven in ten males (68.0 percent) had been arrested since

leaving care, 55.2 percent had been convicted of a crime, and 62.3 percent had spent at least one night incarcerated.

Over 90 percent of foster youth who move more than four times will end up in juvenile justice.

Many youth in the juvenile and criminal justice system are not deemed to be indigent but have also had contact with the foster care system and have been removed from their homes even if they have not been formerly adjudicated as a foster child.

Far too often children in state custody are taken from their homes for significant periods of times during their adolescence and at a time when they are most vulnerable to recidivating upon their return to their homes due to gaps and lack of resources to help them get jobs, education, mental health care, substance abuse and housing.

It is important that we continue to provide necessary resources for all children and youth aging out of state custody where they have been removed from their homes during critical times of development and growth—and often are left to survive on their own and/or cannot return to their homes upon their release.

We need to do more to support youth aging out of state custody.

Despite no Democratic common-sense amendments being accepted at this posture, we have no choice but to continue to move forward and still try to make a better way for our nation. And to stop a devastating default where all Americans would suffer.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentlewoman has expired. The gentlewoman is no longer recognized.

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

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. GREEN).

Mr. GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise today with a testimony, the genesis of which is, I believe that President Biden did the best that he could in developing this legislation. I support him. I thank him for what he has done. I believe that Leader JEFFRIES did an outstanding job in making it perspicuously clear that default was not an option, but here is the essence of my testimony: I had the preeminent privilege of serving in Congress in 2008 September, I believe it was, when we had the downturn in the economy and there was a clarion call for help to do what was called bail out the banks.

I was adamantly, totally, completely opposed to bailing out the banks because I thought it was not the thing to do, given that the banks did not ask for our help in getting into the position that they were in.

I stood in the rear of this Chamber, and I could see the votes as they were being tallied. I could also see the stock market reacting to the votes as they were being tallied. The stock market went down as the bill went down—777 points, a 7 percent drop in the stock market.

My constituents had told me not to vote for that bill, and I concurred with them. The next day my constituents called, Why didn't you vote for that

bill? Why did you let the market go down?

I learned a lesson: Votes like this are votes of conscience, and you have to vote your conscience knowing what the consequences are.

Mr. Speaker, I will vote for this bill because I understand the consequences of the market tanking. I was here, and I saw it. I understand we have to take care of our people.

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend from Texas for his remarks. I actually voted for that bill in 2008 twice, and I am glad that he is here today. The reality is the bill we are dealing with—it is hard to tell by listening to the debate—is a compromise between House Republicans and the President of the United States.

In that compromise, nobody got everything they wanted. We certainly didn't get everything we wanted, but I think we are acting together, as my friend from Texas suggested, to try and make sure that we don't default; that we don't have a day like we had in 2008. That, at least, is something we can agree on together and celebrate together, and we will continue to try to work together.

However, the preeminent problem we have is my friends on the other side think we can spend forever. President Obama never introduced a budget that balanced—ever—not in 10 years, 20, or 100.

Frankly, President Biden has never introduced a budget that comes into balance at any point. You can't sustain that indefinitely. This effort is to both, one, to responsibly raise our debt ceiling, but to begin to address the underlying spending problem.

I wish we could have done more in that regard, but I am glad we got done what we did, and we will continue to work at this.

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

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, the last time I checked, the Republican Conference hasn't provided us with a budget.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. LANDSMAN).

Mr. LANDSMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to encourage my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to support tonight's vote, a vote on the Bipartisan Budget Act.

There are three aspects of this bill, a bill that will avoid default and a bill that protects Social Security and Medicare that I hope my colleagues and fellow citizens take into account. One, we can't keep doing this. The brinkmanship around this question of default and paying our bills has to end. It is a terrible process.

Folks have been calling our offices. They are worried about their Social Se-

curity checks. They are worried about their healthcare. They are worried about whether or not the economy will crash. We cannot keep normalizing this behavior.

Two, the bill does represent the fact that Congress is divided. The President negotiated with Speaker McCARTHY, and even though a majority of Americans want Congress to balance this budget by fixing the tax code, the majority has said—

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

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 30 seconds to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. LANDSMAN. Mr. Speaker, the majority has said that is off the table. What I needed to see from this bill was that no veterans would lose their benefits and folks would continue to receive Social Security checks and no child would lose access to food through the SNAP program.

This bill does that, so I am voting "yes." We need more bipartisan, pragmatic leaders to stand up and pass this bill tonight and to continue to work on behalf of the American people.

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

Mr. Speaker, just to quickly make a point to my friend, the Democratic Congress didn't produce a budget in 4 years—4 years while they were in the majority, not out of Budget Committee, let alone across the floor of the House. So Democrats left things in quite a mess and it is going to take a while to fix it, but we are working on a budget. I hope we get one.

The reality is, though, the country has allowed itself, primarily under Democratic leadership, to get so deeply in debt, it is pretty tough to write a budget that gets us out of debt in any reasonable time.

This bill is, at least, a step in the right direction. We would have liked to have taken a bigger step. We weren't able to do that given the fact that we have a Democratic Senate and a Democratic President, both of whom seem to think they can spend endlessly, recklessly, and without end indefinitely.

That is not going to happen. Sooner or later that reckoning will come. This is an effort to forestall that and buy some time. I am glad we worked together. I am glad the President came to the negotiating table, despite wasting months saying he wasn't going to. I am glad we made the minimal progress that we did.

Let's not kid ourselves. This is the first step in the right direction, and it is not as big a step as anybody on my side of the aisle would have liked to take.

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

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, if we want to talk about messes, let me just remind everybody that the last time my Republican friends were in charge, they left us with the longest government shutdown in U.S. history.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. WASSERMAN SCHULTZ).

Ms. WASSERMAN SCHULTZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the bipartisan budget agreement and thank President Biden and his team, particularly OMB Director Shalanda Young, for putting people over politics, defending our values, and protecting the full faith and credit of the United States.

My colleagues across the aisle were prepared to force a disastrous default and crash the economy into the side of a cliff, but Democrats will always put people over politics and our economy's durability over default.

My friend from Oklahoma knows well that Republicans' VA appropriations bill zeroed out guaranteed funding for our toxic-exposed veterans in fiscal year 2025. It is in the bill in black and white. It is why they were afraid to vote on it and pulled the bill from consideration.

Democrats protected toxic-exposed veterans' healthcare, expanded SNAP benefits to more food insecure people, and stopped Republicans' dangerous budget cuts in the default on America act.

Yesterday, CBO officially scored the bill and found that participation rates in SNAP will increase because of this compromise. President Biden negotiated a deal that gets us through the short-term and puts us in a good position to work through the appropriations process.

As an appropriator, I look forward to working with my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to efficiently finish this year's budget.

Furthermore, I will remind my friend from Oklahoma that under the Trump administration, Republicans blew a hole in the deficit with a \$1.5 trillion tax cut package that was unpaid for, so that is on them.

Mr. Speaker, I encourage my colleagues to vote in favor of the underlying legislation.

□ 1530

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

To my good friend from Florida, what unbalanced the budget was COVID. We all know that. We worked, actually, together on that. That is what spent billions of dollars in a relatively short period of time.

Quite frankly, in terms of where we are today, my friends have never submitted a budget that comes into balance. President Obama didn't. The last President to do that who was a Democrat was President Clinton. We disagreed over how to get to balance, but he actually submitted budgets that came to balance in 10 years. President Obama didn't do that. President Biden hasn't done that.

Until you return to the Clinton era, where we actually did believe in balanced budgets but disagreed on how to get there, I think we are going to have a hard time getting on top of our fiscal problem.

On this bill, we do agree that we don't like every part of it. We would have liked to have done more. My friends would have liked to have spent more. The reality is it does move us in the right direction.

I am happy for the bipartisanship, but I do note it took us a long time.

I also note, for my Democratic friends, remember, so far, to this point, the only people who voted to raise the debt ceiling are on this side of the aisle. My friends have not yet provided a single vote to raise the debt ceiling. The body they control, the United States Senate, has not presented a bill, let alone moved one across the floor. We did.

My friends didn't like that bill. We sat down and negotiated and came to something different, but at least we voted to raise the debt ceiling. My friends who are concerned about it have neither presented a plan to deal with it nor have voted to act upon the problem.

I am hopeful today that many of them will actually join us in that effort because the President of the United States has come to the negotiating table, and we will move forward together.

Rest assured, we are not moving forward as fast as we should; we are not going as far as we should; and we have had to bring you to this point kicking and screaming every step of the way.

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

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

The gentleman is absolutely right that COVID did add to the deficit, but he neglected to mention the multitrillion-dollar tax cut for the rich that was unpaid for.

Mr. Speaker, I think there is a difference between Democrats and Republicans. I think that Democrats have proven that we can govern and that Republicans have proven they cannot.

We have seen the great things that government is capable of doing.

In the last Congress, with Democrats in charge of the House, we invested to rebuild our neglected infrastructure: airports, roads, bridges, and ports in all of our communities. We will see the benefits of that infrastructure bill for years and years to come. We brought manufacturing back to the United States. We passed the CHIPS and Science Act to drive innovation and create good-paying jobs. We made the largest investment in climate, protecting our water and our air. We strengthened our supply chains and set up new programs to support minority businesses. We lifted a record number of kids out of poverty in this country. We ensured that our veterans get the healthcare they earned.

It is possible for us to deliver for the American people, though I haven't seen much of it this year. Instead, Republicans spent a week in January trying to elect a Speaker. Republicans spent the last 5 months trying to destroy ev-

erything that we built over the last 2 years. They have only enacted three laws in 5 months, and those laws don't do much.

The bill we are debating today may become their fourth law. It will be their biggest legislative accomplishment of the year. Think about that. The biggest accomplishment will be ending a crisis that they created.

We have wasted time going back and forth on how to pay our bills. The fact that we have had to bend and contort ourselves to get this done, to prevent our economy from falling off a cliff because Republicans wanted to play games, is unconscionable and doesn't bode well for the future.

Finally, let me say, I plead with my colleagues on the Republican side to stop this assault against the poor. Every concession in this bill, every demand that Republicans made in this bill, hurts somebody. It hurts the most vulnerable in our country. Going after SNAP for older people, a measly \$6 a day benefit, shame on you for doing that.

We are here to help people. We are here to uplift people. We are not here to demean people. We are not here to try to punish people.

Quite frankly, the narrative that the Republicans have been utilizing in this whole debate doesn't reflect the reality. Talk to the people in your district who are struggling. Let them tell you how difficult it is to make ends meet and how maddening it is to not know whether you can put food on the table.

We can do so much better, but you have to stop this assault against the poor, against the vulnerable in this country.

We need to do better, and I urge all my colleagues, as we move forward in the coming months, to keep that in mind. We are here to bring everybody forward, not just a select few. We are here to represent everybody, not just the rich and powerful and well-connected and people who give to our campaigns.

Again, the contrast here is that we have Members of Congress who accepted government-subsidized loan forgiveness for PPP who are the ones out here demanding that we nickel and dime programs like SNAP and TANF. It is disgusting, quite frankly, that we are even having this debate. We should be able to do so much better.

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

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time for closing.

My friend ticked through the impressive list of accomplishments in the last Congress. He forgot to mention Democrats also added \$10 trillion to the projected debt the United States will have to deal with over the next 10 years.

Mr. Speaker, \$10 trillion is a lot of money, but worse than the money was the inflation that they unleashed by their reckless spending. If you care about Americans, you don't push up

the price of gasoline, home heating, and interest rates on any purchase they make and what they pay at the grocery store.

My friends managed to unleash the worst bout of inflation in 40 years. I look around this Chamber, and I am probably the only guy on the floor, Mr. Speaker, who can actually remember that. This was an unprecedented disaster that they unleashed on the country.

Everything in the bill that we fought for, the things that are there and the things that aren't there, were to lower the excess spending and to try to tame inflation. My friends act as if it doesn't exist.

I guarantee you, just go to the grocery store and ask any American who hasn't gotten a 15 or 20 percent raise what their life has been like in the last 2 years.

Mr. Speaker, in closing, I urge all my colleagues to support this resolution. With today's bill, we are putting forward commonsense reforms that will save taxpayers money while also preventing an economic crisis.

The reforms included in this bill are historic: the first year-over-year cut in spending in a debt ceiling bill; the large rescission of appropriated but unspent funds in history; the first real reforms to requirements for SNAP and TANF, which will help lift people out of poverty; and real reforms to the permitting process, which will streamline major infrastructure and energy projects and cut the red tape that is holding them back.

Those are reforms, by the way, that my friends did not support. Those were things that were put in the bill by Republicans and negotiated for. Sadly, they weren't willing to work with us on those, and it was only the threat of the debt ceiling that actually brought them to the table.

It is the responsible thing to do to pass this legislation. In the end, the American people will be better off for it.

I do want to be clear on something, Mr. Speaker. This is not the end of House Republicans' fight for necessary fiscal reforms. We have more than \$31 trillion in debt. Programs like Medicare and Social Security, which are the bedrock of our safety net, are growing in an unsustainable manner.

For too long, this Congress has seen fit to just allow mandatory programs to eat up more and more of our budget. Indeed, the President himself refused to talk about those programs. Mandatory programs are now more than two-thirds of what we spend in any given year. Without real reforms to those programs, we will have no chance to right the fiscal imbalance the country finds itself in.

Republicans are committed to preserving America's status as the greatest Nation in the world. To do that, we must get serious about the national debt. At the end of the day, the journey

of a thousand miles begins with a single step. This bill, Mr. Speaker, is that first step.

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

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on adoption of the resolution.

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

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

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 9 of rule XX, this 15-minute vote on adoption of the resolution will be followed by a 5-minute vote on the motion to suspend the rules and agree to H. Res. 382.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 241, nays 187, not voting 7, as follows:

[Roll No. 241]

YEAS—241

Aderholt	Fitzpatrick	Lawler
Alford	Fleischmann	Lee (FL)
Allen	Flood	Lee (NV)
Amodei	Foster	Lesko
Armstrong	Fox	Letlow
Arrington	Franklin, C.	Loudermilk
Babin	Scott	Lucas
Bacon	Fry	Luetkemeyer
Baird	Fulcher	Luttrell
Balderson	Gallagher	Mace
Banks	Gallego	Malliotakis
Barr	Garbarino	Mann
Bean (FL)	Garcia, Mike	Manning
Bentz	Jimenez	Massie
Bergman	Gonzalez,	Mast
Bice	Vicente	McCarthy
Billirakis	Gooden (TX)	McCaul
Bishop (GA)	Gottheimer	McClain
Bost	Granger	McClintock
Buchanan	Graves (LA)	McCormick
Bucshon	Graves (MO)	McHenry
Burgess	Green (TN)	Meeks
Calvert	Greene (GA)	Meuser
Cammack	Grothman	Mfume
Caraveo	Guest	Miller (OH)
Carbajal	Guthrie	Miller (WV)
Carey	Hageman	Miller-Meeks
Carl	Harder (CA)	Mills
Carter (GA)	Hern	Molinaro
Carter (TX)	Hill	Moolenaar
Case	Himes	Moore (UT)
Chavez-DeRemer	Hinson	Moran
Ciscomani	Horsford	Morrell
Cole	Houchin	Moskowitz
Collins	Hoyer	Moulton
Comer	Hudson	Mrvan
Correa	Huizenga	Murphy
Costa	Hunt	Nehls
Courtney	Issa	Newhouse
Crawford	Jackson Lee	Nickel
Crenshaw	James	Norcross
Cuellar	Johnson (LA)	Nunn (IA)
Curtis	Johnson (OH)	Oberholte
D'Esposito	Johnson (SD)	Ogles
Davids (KS)	Jordan	Owens
Davidson	Joyce (OH)	Palmer
Davis (NC)	Joyce (PA)	Panetta
De La Cruz	Kean (NJ)	Pappas
Diaz-Balart	Keating	Pascrell
Donalds	Kelly (MS)	Peltola
Duarte	Kelly (PA)	Pence
Duncan	Kiggans (VA)	Peters
Dunn (FL)	Kildee	Pettersen
Edwards	Kiley	Pfuger
Elizy	Kim (CA)	Phillips
Emmer	Kustoff	Quigley
Estes	LaHood	Reschenthaler
Ezell	LaLota	Rodgers (WA)
Fallon	LaMalfa	Rogers (AL)
Feenstra	Lamborn	Rogers (KY)
Ferguson	Landsman	Rose
Finstad	Langworthy	Rouzer
Fischbach	Latta	Rutherford
Fitzgerald	LaTurner	Ryan

Salazar
Santos
Scalise
Schneider
Scholten
Schweikert
Scott, Austin
Sessions
Sherrill
Simpson
Slotkin
Smith (MO)
Smith (NE)
Smith (NJ)
Smucker
Sorensen
Soto

Spanberger
Stanton
Stauber
Steel
Stefanik
Steil
Steube
Stevens
Stewart
Strong
Sykes
Tenney
Thompson (PA)
Timmons
Turner
Valadao
Van Drew

Van Duyne
Van Orden
Vasquez
Wagner
Walberg
Waltz
Weber (TX)
Webster (FL)
Wenstrup
Westerman
Williams (NY)
Williams (TX)
Wilson (SC)
Wittman
Womack
Yakym
Zinke

NAYS—187

Adams
Aguilar
Allred
Auchincloss
Balint
Barragán
Beatty
Bera
Beyer
Biggs
Bishop (NC)
Blumenauer
Blunt Rochester
Boebert
Bonamici
Bowman
Boyle (PA)
Brecheen
Brown
Brownley
Buck
Budzinski
Burchett
Burlison
Bush
Cárdenas
Carson
Carter (LA)
Cartwright
Casar
Casten
Castor (FL)
Castro (TX)
Cherfilus-
McCormick

Foushee
Frankel, Lois
Frost
Gaetz
Garamendi
García (IL)
García (TX)
García, Robert
Golden (ME)
Goldman (NY)
Gomez
Good (VA)
Gosar
Green, Al (TX)
Griffith
Grijalva
Harris
Harshbarger
Hayes
Higgins (LA)
Higgins (NY)
Hoyle (OR)
Huffman
Ivey
Jackson (IL)
Jackson (NC)
Jacobs
Jayapal
Jeffries
Johnson (GA)
Kamlager-Dove
Kaptur
Kelly (IL)
Khanna
Kilmer
Kim (NJ)
Krishnamoorthi
Kuster
Larsen (WA)
Larson (CT)
Lee (CA)
Lee (PA)
Leger Fernandez
Levin
Lieu
Lofgren
Luna
Lynch
Magaziner
Matsui
McBath
McClellan
McCollum
McGarvey
McGovern
Menendez
Meng
Miller (IL)
Moore (AL)
Moore (WI)
Mullin
Nadler
Napolitano

Neal
Neguse
Norman
Ocasio-Cortez
Omar
Pallone
Payne
Pelosi
Perez
Perry
Pingree
Pocan
Porter
Posey
Pressley
Ramirez
Raskin
Rosendale
Roy
Ruiz
Ruppersberger
Salinas
Sánchez
Sarbanes
Scanlon
Schakowsky
Schiff
Schrier
Scott (VA)
Scott, David
Self
Sewell
Sherman
Smith (WA)
Spartz
Stansbury
Strickland
Swalwell
Takano
Thanedar
Thompson (CA)
Thompson (MS)
Tiffany
Titus
Tlaib
Tokuda
Tonko
Torres (CA)
Torres (NY)
Trahan
Trone
Underwood
Vargas
Veasey
Velázquez
Wasserman
Schultz
Waters
Watson Coleman
Wexton
Wild
Williams (GA)
Wilson (FL)

JACKSON LEE, Messrs. CORREA, MFUME, FOSTER, MRVAN, and KEATING changed their vote from “nay” to “yea.”

So the resolution was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CONDEMNING THE RISE OF ANTI-SEMITISM AND CALLING ON ELECTED OFFICIALS TO IDENTIFY AND EDUCATE OTHERS ON THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE JEWISH AMERICAN COMMUNITY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, the unfinished business is the vote on the motion to suspend the rules and agree to the resolution (H. Res. 382) condemning the rise of antisemitism and calling on elected officials to identify and educate others on the contributions of the Jewish American community, as amended, on which the yeas and nays were ordered.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. Issa) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, as amended.

This is a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 429, nays 0, not voting 6, as follows:

[Roll No. 242]

YEAS—429

Adams	Burgess	Crockett
Aderholt	Burlison	Crow
Aguilar	Bush	Cuellar
Alford	Calvert	Curtis
Allen	Cammack	D'Esposito
Allred	Caraveo	Davids (KS)
Amodei	Carbajal	Davidson
Armstrong	Cárdenas	Davis (IL)
Arrington	Carey	Davis (NC)
Auchincloss	Carl	De La Cruz
Babin	Carson	Dean (PA)
Bacon	Carter (GA)	DeGette
Baird	Carter (LA)	DeLauro
Balderson	Carter (TX)	DelBene
Balint	Cartwright	Deluzio
Banks	Casar	DeSaulnier
Barr	Case	Diaz-Balart
Barragán	Casten	Dingell
Bean (FL)	Castor (FL)	Doggett
Beatty	Castro (TX)	Donalds
Bentz	Chavez-DeRemer	Duarte
Bera	Cherfilus-	Duncan
Bergman	McCormick	Dunn (FL)
Beyer	Chu	Edwards
Bice	Cicilline	Elizy
Biggs	Ciscomani	Emmer
Billirakis	Clark (MA)	Escobar
Bishop (GA)	Clarke (NY)	Eshoo
Bishop (NC)	Cleaver	Espallat
Blumenauer	Cline	Estes
Blunt Rochester	Cloud	Evans
Boebert	Clyburn	Ezell
Bonamici	Clyde	Fallon
Bost	Cohen	Feenstra
Bowman	Cole	Ferguson
Boyle (PA)	Collins	Finstad
Brecheen	Comer	Fischbach
Brown	Connolly	Fitzgerald
Brownley	Correa	Fitzpatrick
Buchanan	Costa	Fleischmann
Buck	Courtney	Fletcher
Bucshon	Crane	Flood
Budzinski	Crawford	Foster
Burchett	Crenshaw	Foushee

NOT VOTING—7

□ 1625

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

Ms. STEVENS, Messrs. BISHOP of Georgia, MORELLE, Mses. SCHOLTEN, MANNING, Messrs. MEEKS, QUIGLEY, HIMES, STANTON, GALLEGO, MOULTON, PASCRELL, SORENSEN, RYAN, Ms.