- 1 {York Stenographic Services, Inc.}
- 2 RPTS MEYERS
- 3 HIF174.000

Committee markup. It has not yet been subject to a review process to ensure that the statements within are appropriately attributed to the witness or member of Congress who made them, to determine whether there are any inconsistencies between the statement within and what was actually said at the proceeding, or to make any other corrections to ensure the accuracy of the record.

This is a preliminary transcript of a

- 4 MARKUP ON H.R. 1938, THE NORTH AMERICAN-MADE ENERGY SECURITY
- 5 ACT; AND THE SEMI-ANNUAL COMMITTEE ACTIVITY REPORT
- 6 THURSDAY, JUNE 23, 2011
- 7 House of Representatives,
- 8 Committee on Energy and Commerce
- 9 Washington, D.C.

- 10 The Committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:15 a.m., in
- 11 Room 2123 of the Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Fred
- 12 Upton [Chairman of the Committee] presiding.
- 13 Members present: Representatives Upton, Barton, Stearns,
- 14 Whitfield, Shimkus, Pitts, Bono Mack, Walden, Terry, Rogers,
- 15 Myrick, Sullivan, Murphy, Burgess, Blackburn, Bilbray, Bass,
- 16 Scalise, Latta, McMorris Rodgers, Harper, Lance, Cassidy,
- 17 Guthrie, Olson, McKinley, Gardner, Pompeo, Kinzinger,
- 18 Griffith, Waxman, Dingell, Markey, Towns, Pallone, Rush,

- 19 Eshoo, Engel, Green, DeGette, Capps, Doyle, Schakowsky,
- 20 Gonzalez, Inslee, Baldwin, Ross, Matheson, Butterfield,
- 21 Barrow, Matsui, Christenson, and Castor.
- 22 Staff present: Clay Alspach, Counsel, Health; Gary
- 23 Andres, Staff Director; Charlotte Baker, Press Secretary; Jim
- 24 Barnette, General Counsel; Ray Baum, Senior Policy Advisor/
- 25 Director of Coalitions; Michael Beckerman, Deputy Staff
- 26 Director; Mike Bloomquist, Deputy General Counsel; Sean
- 27 Bonyun, Deputy Communications Director; Anita Bradley, Senior
- 28 Policy Advisor to Chairman Emeritus; Maryam Brown, Chief
- 29 Counsel, Energy and Power; Paul Cancienne, Policy
- 30 Coordinator, CMT; Howard Cohen, Chief Health Counsel; Andy
- 31 Duberstein, Special Assistant to Chairman Upton; Garrett
- 32 Golding, Legal Analyst, Energy; Julie Goon, Health Policy
- 33 Advisor; Cory Hicks, Policy Coordinator, Energy and Power;
- 34 Peter Kielty, Senior Legislative Analyst; Ben Lieberman,
- 35 Counsel, Energy and Power; Ryan Long, Chief Counsel, Health;
- 36 Carly McWilliams, Legislative Clerk; Jeff Mortier,
- 37 Professional Staff Member; Gib Mullan, Chief Counsel, CMT;
- 38 Mary Neumayr, Counsel, Oversight/Energy; Katie Novaria,
- 39 Legislative Clerk; Monica Popp, Professional Staff Member,
- 40 Health; Andrew Powaleny, Press Assistant; Chris Sarley,
- 41 Policy Coordinator, Environment and Economy; Kristen
- 42 Amerling, Democratic Chief Counsel and Oversight Staff

- 43 Director; Phil Barnett, Democratic Staff Director; Jen
- 44 Berenholz, Democratic Chief Clerk; Alli Corr, Democratic
- 45 Policy Analyst; Greg Dotson, Democratic Energy and
- 46 Environment Staff Director; Tim Gronniger, Democratic Senior
- 47 Professional Staff Member; Jocelyn Gutierrez, DOE Detailee;
- 48 Caitlin Haberman, Democratic Policy Analyst; Purvee Kempf,
- 49 Democratic Senior Counsel; Karen Lightfoot, Democratic
- 50 Communications Director, and Senior Policy Advisor; Karen
- 51 Nelson, Democratic Deputy Committee Staff Director for
- 52 Health; and Lindsay Vidal, Democratic Press Secretary.

- 53 The {Chairman.} We are going to get started. And
- 54 before I give my opening statement, I want to briefly say
- 55 that I, like all of our colleagues, to welcome back Ms.
- 56 Castor from Florida. We look forward to her participation
- 57 and welcome her back to the committee.
- 58 Ms. {Castor.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I look forward
- 59 to working with you.
- The {Chairman.} And to formally welcome you back from
- 61 your side of the aisle, I am going to yield to Mr. Waxman.
- Mr. {Waxman.} Mr. Chairman, we have what we call the
- 63 right of return on the Democratic side and we have two
- 64 members sitting on the front row that have used the right of
- 65 return. We are delighted that both of them are back, and I
- 66 want to especially welcome Kathy Castor. She is an excellent
- 67 member of the committee. She has not served on this
- 68 committee in the minority yet, but it won't be very long.
- 69 And we expect the right of return to be exercised by the
- 70 other Democrats who are waiting in line. Thank you very
- 71 much, Mr. Chairman.
- 72 The {Chairman.} Well, we are delighted to have her back
- 73 and look forward to her participation. And I don't know,
- 74 have you all decided the subcommittees yet that she is going
- 75 to serve on? Okay. All right.

- I am going to start my opening statement.
- We are here this morning to talk about job creation.
- 78 And we are here to talk about energy security and sensible
- 79 regulation. In the first half of 2011, our pursuit of these
- 80 goals has been unwavering, and our successes many. Later
- 81 today, we will vote on the Semiannual Committee Activity
- 82 Report. This document was produced as part of the
- 83 transparency and accountability agenda of Speaker Boehner and
- 84 the Republican majority. It is a public report on the work
- 85 of the committee, and without a doubt, we have a great deal
- 86 to report. The Activity Report is an inherently nonpartisan
- 87 document; it simply chronicles the work of the committee.
- 88 In the first 5 months of the 112th Congress, we held 52
- 89 days of hearings. We reported 12 bills and resolutions to
- 90 the House, and have played a central role in important
- 91 legislation that has gone straight to the House floor. The
- 92 full Committee alone has met for nearly 30 hours, and we have
- 93 spent another 150 hours in subcommittee hearings and markups.
- 94 After spending more than 180 hours in our committee rooms, my
- 95 colleagues can understand as a Michigan Wolverine why I call
- 96 this The Big House and our space upstairs Wrigley Field. I
- 97 was in the bleachers on Friday in the last row for a win. We
- 98 named the rooms after places where I think everyone would
- 99 like to spend a lot of time. This Activity Report, listing

- 100 the hours we have put in and the work we have done, is
- 101 something all of us should be proud of, and I want to thank
- 102 every member for their hard work.
- In addition to the Activities Report, we will continue
- 104 important legislation to strengthen our partnership with an
- 105 important ally and trading partner, simultaneously creating
- 106 jobs, reducing our dependence on Middle East oil, and
- 107 reducing the price at the pump.
- H.R. 1938, the North American-Made Energy Security Act,
- 109 was introduced by Representatives Terry and Ross to expedite
- 110 the Presidential Permit for the Keystone pipeline extension.
- 111 Expanding this pipeline will create the capacity to carry
- 112 more than a million barrels of oil to U.S. refineries every
- 113 day before the end of the decade. It will also create more
- 114 than 100,000 jobs between construction of the pipeline itself
- 115 and all the economic activity that it will create.
- 116 Canada's vast oil sands will be developed. The oil will
- 117 be produced, shipped, refined, and used. The question is
- 118 whether we, the United States, will partner with our northern
- 119 neighbor and use this oil to help eliminate our dependence on
- 120 oil from OPEC nations, or will we encourage, force Canada to
- 121 find other customers like the Chinese, who are hungry for
- 122 energy supplies. This project has been delayed long enough.
- 123 It is time to make a decision, and this bipartisan bill,

- 124 indeed, will make that happen.
- 125 So again I want to thank my colleagues for their hard
- 126 work this year. Our Nation faces urgent challenges. This
- 127 committee can be a place where we find solutions.
- 128 And I yield now to the ranking member of the full
- 129 committee, Mr. Waxman.
- [The prepared statement of Chairman Upton follows:]
- 131 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* COMMITTEE INSERT \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

Mr. {Waxman.} Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Today, we are marking up one bill and a committee

- 134 Activity Report. I will save my remarks about the activity
- 135 report for later and use this statement to discuss H.R. 1938,
- 136 legislation that directs the President to expedite approval
- of the proposed Keystone XL pipeline.
- 138 This pipeline would carry a sludge made from Canadian
- 139 tar sands through the middle of America. It would raise gas
- 140 prices, endanger water supplies, and increase carbon
- 141 emissions, and it should not be approved. Keystone XL is a
- 142 highly controversial project. The State Department received
- 143 nearly 50,000 comments on the draft Environmental Impact
- 144 Statement. Once it is built, we will live with the pipeline
- 145 and its impacts for 50 years or more. This is a decision
- 146 that we need to get right.
- 147 Unfortunately, this bill's approach does not get it
- 148 right. Instead, it says whatever the risks and costs just
- 149 get it done. H.R. 1938 takes the extraordinary step of
- 150 interfering in an ongoing decision-making process by the
- 151 Secretary of State. The Secretary is in the midst of
- 152 determining whether granting the permit requested by
- 153 TransCanada would be in our national interest. The process
- 154 for making these permit decisions was established by

- 155 Executive Orders issued by President Johnson and President
- 156 George W. Bush. This bill overrides the Executive Orders and
- 157 other federal law and it short-circuits the decision-making
- 158 process. It requires the President to make a decision by
- 159 November 1, even if the Environmental Impact Statement has
- 160 not been finalized as required under the National
- 161 Environmental Policy Act.
- 162 It cuts the time for other agencies to provide their
- 163 views by two-thirds. It reduces or eliminates the
- 164 opportunity for public comment on the national interest
- 165 determination. And it essentially determines the outcome.
- 166 The bill finds that the earliest possible construction of
- 167 Keystone XL will serve the national interest, making it
- 168 extremely difficult if not impossible for the State
- 169 Department to decide otherwise.
- 170 I don't think Keystone XL is in the national interest.
- 171 My greatest concern is that Keystone makes us more reliant on
- 172 the dirtiest source of fuel currently available. On a
- 173 lifecycle basis, tar sands emit far more carbon pollution
- 174 than conventional oil, almost 40 percent more by some
- 175 estimates. That is because it takes huge amounts of energy
- 176 to take something the consistency of tar, which they mine,
- 177 and turn it into synthetic oil. We should be reducing our
- 178 oil dependency using cleaner fuels, but Keystone is a big

- 179 step in the opposite direction.
- This project raises many other concerns. At a
- 181 subcommittee hearing last week on pipeline safety, we learned
- 182 about the potential risks associated with tar sands
- 183 pipelines. The Pipeline and Hazardous Materials Safety
- 184 Administration testified that current pipeline regulations
- 185 may not be sufficient. TransCanada, Keystone XL's owner and
- 186 operator has had 12 spills on the first Keystone pipeline,
- 187 and it has been operating for less than a year. Keystone I
- 188 even had to be shut down earlier this month when it was found
- 189 that continued operation without corrective action would be
- 190 hazardous.
- 191 The risks from spills are exacerbated with Keystone XL
- 192 because it is rooted through the Ogallala Aquifer, which
- 193 spans 8 States and provides drinking water for 2 million
- 194 people. The shallow water table and highly porous soils mean
- 195 that a spill can spread rapidly.
- 196 And with all these risks, the benefits are unclear. The
- 197 study commissioned by DOE found that we will have excess
- 198 pipeline capacity from Canada for the next decade or more,
- 199 even without Keystone XL, and Keystone XL will likely raise,
- 200 not lower, gas prices. In its permit application,
- 201 TransCanada told the Canadian Government that by addressing
- 202 the oversupply of crude and raising prices, Keystone XL will

- 203 increase revenue for Canadian producers by 2 to \$4 billion a
- 204 year. If it raises revenues for them, it is coming from our
- 205 American consumers.
- 206 I understand why big oil wants Keystone XL and I know
- 207 why they want to short-circuit the process. The more we
- 208 learn about this project, the worse it looks. What I don't
- 209 know is why we should be weighing in on the side of the oil
- 210 companies when the risks are so high for the American people.
- 211 [The prepared statement of Mr. Waxman follows:]
- 212 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* COMMITTEE INSERT \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

- 213 The {Chairman.} The chair would recognize the chairman
- 214 of the Energy and Power Subcommittee, Mr. Whitfield, for 3
- 215 minutes.
- 216 Mr. {Whitfield.} Thank you very much, Chairman Upton.
- 217 And we are delighted that H.R. 1938 is before the full
- 218 committee.
- It is becoming quite clear that there is a pattern that
- 220 is occurring at EPA, and that happens to be delay, delay,
- 221 delay. Yesterday, we passed a bill on the House floor that
- 222 would require EPA to change the way it does business relating
- 223 to clean air permits for exploratory wells, exploratory
- 224 drilling. The same type of delay is occurring in this
- 225 pipeline case. TransCanada, the developer of this project,
- 226 first submitted its application for a presidential permit in
- 227 September of 2008. The State Department didn't release its
- 228 draft Environmental Impact Statement until April of 2010.
- 229 And at one point in there, Secretary Clinton even made the
- 230 comment that she was inclined to approve it.
- Now, after the State Department issued its draft
- 232 Environmental Impact Statement, EPA rejected the draft
- 233 statement and told the State Department they needed to
- 234 perform more work. After another year, the State Department
- 235 issued a supplemental draft statement that addressed EPA's

- 236 concerns. Even after that had been completed, EPA notified
- 237 that that was not satisfactory and additional work needed to
- 238 be done.
- So we see a clear pattern developing at EPA on a broad
- 240 spectrum of permit requests. And the pattern is delay,
- 241 particularly on projects that they have an adverse view of.
- 242 The great thing about this legislation is we are certainly
- 243 not directing any agency to decide one way or the other. We
- 244 are simply saying it is about time a decision be made and it
- 245 has to be made by day certain.
- 246 And one of the problems that we are having at EPA also
- 247 is that final decisions are not being made so there is no
- 248 final administrative decision and there is no way that you
- 249 can go to a court system to get something resolved. So all
- 250 this legislation will do is set a deadline for making a
- 251 decision and I hope that the entire committee will support
- 252 H.R. 1938.
- 253 [The prepared statement of Mr. Whitfield follows:]
- 254 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* COMMITTEE INSERT \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

255 The {Chairman.} Other members wishing to make an 256 opening statement? The gentlelady from California, Ms. 257 Eshoo. And again, we welcome you back from your surgery. 258 Ms. {Eshoo.} Thank you. Thank you very much, Mr. 259 Chairman, and good morning to all the members. Today, we are marking up H.R. 1938. This legislation 260 261 directs the President to expedite approval of the proposed 262 Keystone XL pipeline, which would carry a sludge made from 263 Canadian tar sands through six States -- Montana, North Dakota, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Kansas, and Texas--into the heart of 264 265 America. The bill would require a final decision on this 266 controversial pipeline by November 1, unnecessarily -- in my 267 view--expediting a process the Obama Administration said they would finish by the end of 2011. This project should not be 268 269 rushed. 270 The State Department received nearly 50,000 comments on 271 the draft Environmental Impact Statement, and once it is 272 built, we will live with the pipeline and its impacts for 273 generations. The tar sand oil that would be carried by this 274 pipeline is very destructive because this oil emits far more 275 carbon pollution than conventional oil, almost 40 percent 276 more by some estimates. The carbon footprint is massive 277 because it takes huge amounts of energy to turn a tar-like

- 278 substance into a synthetic oil. At a time when we must find
- 279 ways to end our dependence on fossil fuels, deepening our
- 280 reliance on the dirtiest form of oil on the planet is simply
- 281 not in the national interest. And this project will not
- 282 solve our energy needs.
- This bill and the Keystone XL pipeline would benefit oil
- 284 companies at the expense of the American people, the public
- 285 interest, and for all of these reasons, I would urge my
- 286 colleagues to vote against it.
- Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I yield back.
- [The prepared statement of Ms. Eshoo follows:]
- 289 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* \*\*\* COMMITTEE INSERT \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

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- 290 The {Chairman.} Gentlelady yields back. The chair
- 291 would recognize the chairman emeritus, Mr. Barton, for a
- 292 minute.
- 293 Mr. {Barton.} How much? Can I have 2? Is it possible?
- The {Chairman.} Unanimous consent?
- 295 Mr. {Barton.} I would ask unanimous consent for 1
- 296 additional minute for a total of 2.
- 297 The {Chairman.} Hearing no objection, the gentleman is
- 298 recognized for 2 minutes.
- 299 Mr. {Barton.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank the
- 300 committee for granting me some extra time.
- 301 I listen to my good friends from California, Mrs. Eshoo
- 302 and Mr. Waxman, and their opening statements. It strikes me
- 303 as somewhat odd. We have had a pipeline application pending
- 304 for almost 3 years on this particular pipeline. And this
- 305 bill before us, as Congresswoman Eshoo just pointed out, says
- 306 you have got to make a decision to accept it or deny it by
- 307 November of this year. So we are basically saying in 3 years
- 308 you ought to be able to make a decision on whether to grant
- 309 the permit to build a state-of-the-art pipeline to bring
- 310 about 700,000 barrels per day of crude oil from Canada into
- 311 the United States.
- The reason that it is a positive for the United States

- 313 to bring this crude oil in is that the refineries that it 314 would come to were set up to process the heavy crudes from 315 Mexico and Venezuela. And for various reasons, those sources 316 are drying up. We don't receive as much crude as we did in 317 the past. The Canadian crude will fit the refinery equipment 318 very well and it will add to the available fuel supply for 319 the United States. That should not be that controversial. 320 And the bill before us doesn't say you have to grant the 321 permit. It just said make it a presidential decision to 322 expedite it and either say yes or say no by November. 323 To the extent we have technical issues, those can be 324 worked out by the technical experts, but surely members on 325 both sides of the aisle can accept the fact that it is in the 326 best interest of the United States to get additional crude 327 supplies from North America into the United States. And so I 328 support the bill.
- And with that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back.
- 330 [The prepared statement of Mr. Barton follows:]
- 331 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* COMMITTEE INSERT \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

332 The {Chairman.} The gentleman yields back. The chair 333 would recognize other members wishing to make an opening 334 statement on the Democratic side. Mr. Ross is recognized for 335 1 minute. 336 Mr. {Ross.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for bringing the 337 committee together today to consider this important 338 legislation. I am proud to help introduce H.R. 1938, the 339 North American-Made Energy Security Act, which directs the 340 President to issue a final order granting or denying a permit 341 for the Keystone XL pipeline project by November 1, 2011. 342 Let me emphasize, all this legislation does is direct the 343 President to make a decision. This has been going on for 3 344 years. Perhaps it would go on for another 3 years, maybe 30 345 It doesn't say approve it. It says make a decision 346 either granting or denying a permit. And I think it is 347 important that everyone understands that point because there 348 has been some comments made this morning already that says it 349 requires the President to approve it, and that is just not 350 true.

I am very involved in this for a lot of reasons. I have got a lot of working families in my district struggling to get by. They are on a rollercoaster with gas prices. They keep going up and up and they simply cannot afford it.

- 355 It especially hits those hard in rural areas. And I think
- 356 the fact the President released oil this morning from the
- 357 Strategic Petroleum Reserve is another example why we need
- 358 this.
- Folks, we are sending a half a trillion dollars a year
- 360 overseas to buy energy. Too much of that money is ending up
- 361 in the hands of the terrorists that want to destroy us. It
- 362 is time to start producing our own energy here at home, not
- only in the areas of oil and natural gas but also in
- 364 investing in alternative and renewable forms of energy so
- 365 that we can get a lot of these promising ideas from the
- 366 science lab to the marketplace.
- 367 And Mr. Chairman, thank you for letting me run over.
- 368 [The prepared statement of Mr. Ross follows:]
- 369 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* COMMITTEE INSERT \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

- The {Chairman.} The gentleman's time has expired. Mr.
- 371 Shimkus is recognized.
- Mr. {Shimkus.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am going to
- 373 take personal privilege. I have been a member of the
- 374 committee for 15 years and for 8 of those, a Tracy has been
- 375 behind my back. Ryan is here. His wife, Mo Tracy, used to
- 376 be Mo Zilly, also served in my office for 8 years, and they
- 377 are leaving my service. They are leaving the services
- 378 committee, and they are leaving Washington, D.C., to go home,
- 379 hopefully raise a family. And I just want to thank them. I
- 380 want to thank Ryan for his service and I want to thank Mo for
- 381 her service. They are going back to God's country and I want
- 382 to take this opportunity to do that.
- The {Chairman.} They are moving to Michigan?
- Mr. {Shimkus.} No, God's country, Central Illinois
- 385 where the living is simple, comfortable, and sweet. So if
- 386 you would help me give them a round of applause. And I yield
- 387 back my time.
- 388 The {Chairman.} Other members on the Democratic side
- 389 wish to make an opening statement. Seeing none other, Mr.
- 390 Terry is recognized for a minute.
- 391 Mr. {Terry.} Thank you.
- The sad part about this bill is that it is even

393 necessary to do this. All other cross-border pipelines have 394 received presidential permits between 18 and 24 months. 395 sit here at 33 months, 998 days with no end in sight with the 396 acts of the EPA in trying to change rules as they go along. 397 There has been an environmental study done. There has been a 398 supplemental environmental study done. PHMSA has made their 399 request, 57 of them, which have been adopted. So it is not 400 like this hasn't gone through the process. 401 But what is also disturbing and equally disturbing is 402 how hard the left is fighting the jobs that are going to be 403 created. According to the building and construction trades --404 which I have a letter here that I would like to submit for

the record along with Eli Union letter, which is other

which these are all good, high-paying union jobs.

unions--20,000 direct jobs from a project labor agreement,

408 [The information follows:]

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409 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* \* COMMITTEE INSERT \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

410	Mr. {Terry.} So let us walk the walk on creating jobs
411	[The prepared statement of Mr. Terry follows:]
412	********

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413 Mr. {Barton.} [Presiding] The gentleman's time has 414 expired. Who seeks time on the minority side? Mr. Green of 415 Texas. Mr. {Green.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for holding a 416 417 markup. And I want to start by saying my strong support for 418 H.R. 1938, the North American-Made Energy Security Act, which 419 was introduced by our colleague, Congressman Terry. 420 TransCanada has agreed to comply with 57 additional 421 special conditions developed by PHMSA for the Keystone XL 422 project. The supplemental environmental impact went so far as to state that ``the incorporation of these conditions will 423 424 result in a project that would have a degree of safety over 425 any other typically constructed domestic oil pipeline system 426 under current code and a degree of safety along the entire 427 length of the pipeline similar to that which is required in 428 the high-consequence areas.'' Additionally, an independent 429 study found that the \$7 billion Keystone project is expected 430 to create more than 20,000 high-wage manufacturing and construction jobs across the U.S., 18,000 person-years of 431 432 employment. So not only would this project help our energy 433 security, but it will also help our recovering economy by

I am constantly hearing from my building trades about

creating thousands of good-paying jobs.

- 436 their support for this pipeline and this bill, and yet none
- 437 of this even matters because the bill very fairly doesn't say
- 438 what the administration's determination should be. Instead
- 439 it just expedites a decision once the final environmental
- 440 review has been complete. The pipeline application process
- 441 to date already has substantially exceeded the duration of
- 442 the two most recent similar cross-border presidential permit
- 443 applications, and I encourage my colleagues to support the
- 444 bill.
- And on a personal note, the pipeline would actually end
- 446 in the eastern part of our district. We had a scoping
- 447 hearing in our district a year ago at the request of the
- 448 Sierra Club, but it still supported so we can have an access
- 449 to that crude oil from some place other than Saudi Arabia or
- 450 Venezuela. I yield back my time.
- 451 [The prepared statement of Mr. Green follows:]
- 452 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* COMMITTEE INSERT \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

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          Mr. {Barton.} That was a Texas minute.
454
          The chair would recognize the gentleman from
455
     Mississippi, Mr. Harper, for 1 minute.
456
          Mr. {Harper.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I thank you for
457
     bringing this bill to full committee for markup.
458
          The North American-Made Energy Security Act will break
459
     bureaucratic red tape and force a decision on the Keystone
460
     pipeline. That is a decision that is long overdue.
                                                           The bill
461
     will increase oil supply 1.3 million barrels per day in the
462
     United States, which you know will have a positive impact on
463
     gas prices in this country at the pump.
464
          And let us talk about the economy and those 20,000 jobs
465
     that will be created are high-paying construction jobs.
     so 3 years of review is long enough. Let us pass this and
466
467
     let us find out if indeed the administration is serious about
468
     creating jobs. I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting
469
     this legislation.
470
          I yield back.
471
          [The prepared statement of Mr. Harper follows:]
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\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* COMMITTEE INSERT \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

473 Mr. {Barton.} The gentleman yields back. Who seeks 474 time on the minority side? Seeing no members seeking 475 recognition, who seeks time on the majority? 476 Mr. Sullivan of Oklahoma is recognized for 1 minute. 477 Mr. {Sullivan.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 478 And it is almost ridiculous that we are even talking about something like this. In the United States we are 479 480 purchasing over a billion dollars every day in foreign oil 481 and we are concerned about something like this? And we talk 482 about jobs in America, too. Like my colleague Lee Terry 483 said, this will create 20,000 jobs. I think it will create 484 even more than that in the United States of America. And 485 with unemployment the way it is and the economy the way it is, why aren't we doing something like this? 486 487 absolutely ridiculous. It is about time that Congress wakes 488 up and smells the coffee that lessening our dependence on 489 foreign oil is a good deal. If you are not for this, you are 490 for more OPEC oil. What is your plan? I hope the President 491 is serious about this and I hope this measure passes through 492 the House, the Senate, and is signed by the President of the 493 United States.

494 Thank you.

495 [The prepared statement of Mr. Sullivan follows:]

496 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* COMMITTEE INSERT \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

- Mr. {Barton.} The gentleman yields back. Are there any members on either side that seek recognition for a 1-minute opening statement? The gentleman from Texas, Mr. Olson, is recognized for 1 minute.
- Mr. {Olson.} Mr. Chairman, thank you for scheduling this markup today.
- The bill before us would simply require the President to approve or disapprove the Keystone XL pipeline project within a defined time frame. When completed, the Keystone XL pipeline will transport nearly 1.3 million barrels of North American oil from Canada across the United States and eventually end up in a district I represent in the energy capital of the world, Houston, Texas.
- The benefits of Keystone aren't limited to Southeast
  Texas. Our entire Nation benefits. In addition to helping
  shore up our Nation's energy security, the Keystone XL will
  provide over 20,000 construction and manufacturing jobs at a
  time that our Nation continues to struggle creating jobs.
- 515 The administration wouldn't have to take 30 million barrels 516 from the Strategic Petroleum Reserve to offset the oil 517 purchasing from the Middle East.
- 518 This project is a win-win. Putting America back to work 519 and strengthening American energy security with a trusted

- 520 neighbor in Canada, I strongly support this bill that ends
- 521 unnecessary delays and asks the President for a decision in a
- 522 timely manner on the Keystone XL pipeline.
- 523 I yield back my time.
- [The prepared statement of Mr. Olson follows:]
- 525 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* COMMITTEE INSERT \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

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526 The {Chairman.} The gentleman yields back. 527 gentleman from Louisiana, Mr. Scalise, recognized for 1 528 minute. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 529 Mr. {Scalise.} 530 I rise in strong support of the legislation that would move the Keystone pipeline forward. If you look at just the 531 532 recent announcement by the administration today that they 533 would go and raid another 30 million barrels from the 534 Strategic Petroleum Reserve, that is not an answer to our 535 country's energy needs. It is basically saying, you know, 536 you have got known reserves here both in America and with our 537 friends in Canada, and instead of actually going exploring 538 for energy that we know is right here, they are going to go 539 and raid the rainy day fund with no plan to actually bring 540 down imports. 541 If you look at the Keystone pipeline, you are talking 542 about virtually eliminating Middle Eastern oil just with the 543 reserves that they have there, not to mention the 20,000 jobs 544 that you will create. For every dollar we trade with Canada, 545 we get back about 90 cents of that dollar, and yet the Middle 546 Eastern oil that we could displace, when we send money to the 547 Middle East, we get less than 50 cents of that money back,

and much of that money goes and stays in countries that want

- 549 to use that money to do harm against us.
- 550 So if you look at high gas prices, the fact that the gas
- 551 price has nearly doubled under President Obama, it is no
- 552 surprise when they won't allow us to bring Canadian oil into
- 553 America where you create 20,000 American jobs and you
- 554 eliminate our dependence on Middle Eastern oil.
- 555 This is a no-brainer. We need to pass this legislation,
- 556 create the jobs, and bring down the price at the pump.
- [The prepared statement of Mr. Scalise follows:]
- 558 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* COMMITTEE INSERT \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

559 The {Chairman.} Other members wishing to seek--Mr. 560 Gonzalez from Texas. 561 Mr. {Gonzalez.} Mr. Chairman, I will use this 1 minute 562 and we can have this discussion some other time, I guess, but 563 it is appropriate right now. 564 I will vote for this bill because I think it is 565 important when it comes to the dependence that we have on 566 foreign sources. I would rather be looking to Canada; I 567 would rather be looking to Mexico. As much as I appreciate 568 the Saudis, we may have some issues there, but I surely don't 569 want to look to Hugo Chavez or Angola or Nigeria. But I 570 don't want anyone to truly believe that the price of a gallon 571 of gasoline is truly going to be impacted. And I have said 572 this before. 573 Marvin Odom, President of Shell, testifying before the 574 Senate said, ``simply stated, oil is a global commodity and 575 oil companies are price-takers, not price-makers.'' Until we 576 figure out what is going on with the speculators, don't think 577 for a second that we are really going to impact the price of 578 gasoline. And I have had this discussion with the American

579 Petroleum Institute, and they give you one argument, but to 580 be very honest with you, I think they would agree that we 581 can't promise our constituents that it is going to be

- 582 reducing the price of a gallon of gas, but we can surely tell
- 583 them that it lends to our national security. And that is
- 584 reason enough at this point. It doesn't mean that we are
- 585 going to abandon renewable alternatives to what we had in
- 586 fossil fuels. But we better figure out what are our
- 587 immediate needs in the very near future, and that is why I
- 588 would be voting for this bill.
- Thank you very much. And I yield back.
- [The prepared statement of Mr. Gonzalez follows:]
- 591 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* COMMITTEE INSERT \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

592 The {Chairman.} The chair would recognize Mr. McKinley 593 from West Virginia for a minute. 594 Mr. {McKinley.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 595 In my time here in this committee and also on the floor, 596 I have heard many people say they are waiting for a jobs 597 bill. And so for those who are uncertain as to what constitutes a jobs bill, this is a jobs bill. 20,000 598 599 construction workers, opportunities to put people to work in 600 refineries with this product when they bring it down to the 601 coast and into Illinois, this is a jobs bill. 602 Nearly 3 years after they have filed their application, 603 to be waiting for this decision is unconscionable. 604 time for this administration to either paint or get off the 605 ladder and let us put people to work. 606 Thank you.

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* COMMITTEE INSERT \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

[The prepared statement of Mr. McKinley follows:]

607

609 The {Chairman.} I actually hadn't heard that before but 610 I am going to remember it. We know a different phrase. 611 varies down there, too? The gentleman from Louisiana is 612 recognized, Dr. Cassidy. 613 Dr. {Cassidy.} I am struck that unemployment in our Nation is highest among men 18 to 24. As a side note, it is 614 615 even higher among veterans who are in that age group. 616 as it turns out, these men may or may not have a college 617 education, typically work in mining, manufacturing, or 618 construction. Those are their options for good jobs with 619 good benefits. Those people are hostile to these sorts of 620 initiatives are hostile to these men having good jobs with 621 good benefits. As it turns out, there will be mining, there 622 will be Americans, not just Canadians helping with the 623 mining, there will be construction that brings that down to 624 the petrochemical plants. And at the petrochemical plants--625 many of the people who I represent work in these--again, they 626 have good jobs with good benefits, not government benefits, 627 private sector benefits. 628 So if my Democratic colleagues who oppose this bill 629 really care about employment for these people who are 630 particularly challenged now, I ask them to support this bill.

631 I yield back. Thank you.

632	[The	prepared	statement	of	Dr.	Cassidy	follows:	

633 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* COMMITTEE INSERT \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

The {Chairman.} The gentleman yields back. Are there
other members wishing to make an opening statement? The
gentleman from Colorado, Mr. Gardner.

Mr. {Gardner.} I thank the chairman for the opportunity
to speak this morning. I just wanted to talk a little bit
about the report that was mentioned. If 20 percent of the

640 price is driven by speculation, then even under your own 641 argument, 80 percent is driven by supply. So the fact that 642 we can bring more supplies online through oil sands from our 643 neighbors instead of the Middle East is an important approach 644 that we ought to take. 20 percent, as you are citing, driven 645 by speculation, 80 percent then left for supply. We ought to 646 be delivering more of our own resources in our own backyard 647 into this country.

648 Last night we passed a bill out of the House with 649 bipartisan support to bring a million barrels of oil a day 650 online. But yet today we see that the President has released 651 the emergency reserve. The President says that he supports 652 increased production on our Outer Continental Shelf and other 653 areas yet takes actions to prevent it from happening. I 654 think we have got to allow, you know, work on H.R. 1938, the 655 Keystone XL pipeline, make sure we have an up or down answer, 656 a decision that can actually creates jobs. And this report

657	in	front	of	us,	the	document	in	front	of	us	says	that	the

- 658 Alberta Oil Sands could present opportunities for as many as
- 659 6,000 jobs in Colorado over the next 4 years.
- I believe we ought to pass this bill and start producing
- our own resources here and resources from our neighbors and
- 662 get away from our dependence on Middle East Oil.
- [The prepared statement of Mr. Gardner follows:]
- 664 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* COMMITTEE INSERT \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

- The {Chairman.} Other members wishing to make an
- 666 opening statement? The gentleman from the great State of
- 667 Michigan, Mr. Dingell.
- Mr. {Dingell.} Mr. Chairman, I thank you and I want to
- 669 express my appreciation to you for postponing the markup of
- 670 the Coal Combustion Waste Bill. That is the bill in which I
- 671 believe we can work the matter out and on which I wish to be
- 672 helpful to the chair in this matter, as I know does my good
- 673 friend Mr. Green from Texas.
- I would now focus my thoughts on the other piece of
- 675 legislation, H.R. 1938. This directs the President to
- 676 expedite consideration and approval of the construction and
- 677 operation of the Keystone XL oil pipeline and for other
- 678 purposes. The bill is unclear as to what he is to do under
- 679 that instruction to expedite the approval of this particular
- 680 pipeline. It also leaves us uncertain as to what changes in
- 681 existing law, NEPA and other statutes that will need to be
- 682 done.
- 683 We have had a bad experience with the folks at Keystone.
- 684 You will recall, Mr. Chairman, that we had a magnificent
- 685 spill in Michigan which screwed up our waters and our
- 686 wildlife and our fish, and it made people very unhappy
- 687 because, quite frankly, it gave strong evidence that the

- 688 pipeline company was slovenly in the conducting of its
- 689 business.
- It is also true, Mr. Chairman, that we had a major
- 691 problem with regard to the proper enforcement of the law by
- 692 the pipeline safety people in the Federal Government. They
- 693 have a long history of poor work as they do at the Department
- 694 of Transportation. And this committee has had to be all over
- 695 them like ugly on an ape to try and make them do the job that
- 696 they are supposed to do. And I can recount the history of
- 697 investigations that we have had over the years to try and
- 698 make these people do what they should in terms of assuring
- 699 that pipelines don't explode, don't leak and draw waters,
- 700 don't threaten the lives, health, and safety of our people.
- 701 So we have here, then, Mr. Chairman, a situation where
- 702 what we are seeking to do is somewhat unclear. I am anxious
- 703 to work with you on this matter because I would like to see
- 704 this pipeline built. I would also like to see it expedited,
- 705 but I would also like to know how and why it is going to be
- 706 expedited and what statutes are going to have to be changed
- 707 to meet our concerns about seeing to it the matter is
- 708 expedited.
- I thank you for your courtesy to me, Mr. Chairman. I
- 710 will have a few useful questions which I will direct at staff
- 711 to try and have them help us understand what it is we are

- 712 doing here and how it is we are going to benefit ourselves
- 713 rather than put ourselves at risk by legislating sloppily to
- 714 help somebody who has a bad history to function in the
- 715 construction and operation of a pipeline carelessly and
- 716 sloppily.
- 717 I thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 718 [The prepared statement of Mr. Dingell follows:]
- 719 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* COMMITTEE INSERT \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

720 The  $\{Chairman.\}$  The gentleman's time is expired.

Other members wishing to make an opening statement? Mr.

- 722 Rush is recognized for 3 minutes.
- 723 Mr. {Rush.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman,
- 724 today we are marking up the North American-Made Energy
- 725 Security Act, or the TransCanada Act, which would short-
- 726 circuit the permitting process and require the Secretary of
- 727 Energy to coordinate all of the federal agencies in charge of
- 728 issuing a final decision on the Keystone XL pipeline by what
- 729 is agreed to is an arbitrary timeline.
- 730 Mr. Chairman, only a week ago in a hearing on pipeline
- 731 safety in the Energy and Power Subcommittee, the Nation's
- 732 foremost experts on this subject testified that currently we
- 733 do not have a comprehensive plan for transporting tar sands
- 734 through the heart of our country and we will not even know if
- 735 this substance provides a greater risk than other types of
- 736 crude oil. In fact, the administrator the Pipeline Safety
- 737 and Hazardous Materials Administration, PHMSA, as well as the
- 738 executive director of the Pipeline Safety Trust told the
- 739 subcommittee directly that this issue has not even been
- 740 studied at all.
- So today, we simply do not know how transporting this
- 742 type of bitumen could affect pipeline safety or how a spill

- 743 might impact our environment. Yet, instead of heeding the
- 744 advice of the very experts responsible for overseeing the
- 745 safety of our pipelines and examining this issue more
- 746 carefully before moving forward, here we are marking up a
- 747 bill directing the administration to hurry up and make a
- 748 decision on the pipeline, regardless if the agencies
- 749 responsible for studying this issue have completed their
- 750 vital work or not. It appears the majority's view is let us
- 751 move forward at full speed and we will worry about safety
- 752 after the fact.
- 753 For my constituents, who witnessed the same type of
- 754 reckless behavior on the part of BP executives leading up to
- 755 the Deep Horizon oil spill last spring, this bill is
- 756 incomprehensible, irresponsible, ill-conceived, and
- 757 indefensible. We simply do not have a plan or some would say
- 758 even a clue. And it would be reckless indeed for Congress to
- 759 attempt to rush approval for this pipeline as this bill
- 760 clearly does without first even studying the safety
- 761 precautions associated with moving forward.
- 762 And I urge all my colleagues to support the amendment I
- 763 will offer. And with that, I yield back the balance of my
- 764 time.
- 765 [The prepared statement of Mr. Rush follows:]

766 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* COMMITTEE INSERT \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

- 767 The {Chairman.} The gentleman yields back. Other
- 768 members wishing to make an opening statement? The gentlelady
- 769 from Illinois is recognized for 1 minute.
- 770 Ms. {Schakowsky.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- I am opposed to H.R. 1938. I believe we can meet our
- 772 Nation's energy demands without destroying our environment in
- 773 the process, and unfortunately, this bill fails to meet that
- 774 standard. Forcing the President to rule on TransCanada's XL
- 775 permit request before completing a thorough review is both
- 776 shortsighted and hazardous. TransCanada's Keystone pipeline
- 777 has been in operation for less than a year, has already had
- 778 12 known oil leaks, and was called ``an imminent threat to
- 779 life, property, and the environment' by the Pipeline and
- 780 Hazardous Materials Safety Administration earlier this month.
- 781 The XL pipeline, an extension of the Keystone pipeline
- 782 would run through the Ogallala Aquifer, which provides 30
- 783 percent of our Nation's irrigation water and drinking water
- 784 for 2 million Americans. Contaminating the Ogallala would be
- 785 an irreversible tragedy. The Keystone XL pipeline is clearly
- 786 not a project the President should approve without careful
- 787 consideration. I cannot support this legislation.
- 788 And yield back.
- [The prepared statement of Ms. Schakowsky follows:]

790 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* COMMITTEE INSERT \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

791 H.R. 1938 The {Chairman.} Other members wishing to make an 792 793 opening statement? Seeing none, the chair calls up H.R. 1938 794 and asks the clerk to report. 795 The {Clerk.} H.R. 1938, to direct the President to 796 expedite the consideration and approval of construction and 797 operation of the Keystone XL pipeline and for other purposes. 798 [H.R. 1938 follows:]

799 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* INSERT 1 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

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The {Chairman.} Without objection, the first reading of
800
801
     the bill is dispensed with. So ordered. Are there any
     bipartisan amendments to the bill? Seeing none, if there are
802
803
     none, are there any other amendments to the bill? The
804
     gentleman from California, for what purpose does the
805
     gentleman seek recognition?
806
          Mr. {Waxman.} Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment at the
807
     desk.
808
          The {Chairman.} The gentleman has an amendment at the
809
     desk.
810
          Mr. {Waxman.} Number 3.
811
          The {Chairman.} Number 3. The clerk will report the
812
     title.
813
          The {Clerk.} Amendment to H.R. 1938, offered by Mr.
814
     Waxman.
815
          [The amendment follows:]
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\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* TNSERT 2 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

817 The {Chairman.} And without objection, the reading of 818 the amendment will be dispensed with by unanimous consent. 819 And the gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes in support of 820 his amendment. 821 Mr. {Waxman.} When the Subcommittee on Energy and Power 822 met to markup this bill, Subcommittee Chairman Whitfield 823 portrayed it as the answer to high gas prices. He said that 824 ``more oil means lower prices.'' That sounds logical but oil 825 markets are just not that simple. The Keystone XL pipeline 826 is projected to actually increase gas prices in the Midwest. 827 The owner and operator of the pipeline, TransCanada, told the 828 Canadian Government that this project will increase oil 829 prices in the Midwest because of market conditions specific 830 to Midwest refineries. Therefore, TransCanada said the 831 project will increase the annual revenue to Canadian oil 832 producers by an estimated 2 to \$3.9 billion in 2013. And at 833 the hearing last month on the bill, no one disputed this. 834 Now, I know that my Republican colleagues will say that 835 higher crude prices won't necessarily increase gas prices, 836 but at least one prominent oil market economist doesn't agree 837 with them. Phillip Verleger, who served in both the Carter

and Ford Administrations, says that Midwestern farmers and

consumers will pay billions more at the pump if Keystone XL

838

- 840 is built. And when Mr. Rush asked the TransCanada
- 841 representative at the hearing whether he could assure
- 842 American families in the Midwest that their gas prices
- 843 wouldn't go up with Keystone XL, he couldn't do that. Nor
- 844 will building the Keystone XL pipeline lower gas prices for
- 845 the rest of America. The simple fact is that oil is a global
- 846 commodity and absent unique regional market conditions,
- 847 prices are generally set by the world market. The amount of
- 848 oil transported by Keystone XL is miniscule compared to world
- 849 oil consumption, and the Keystone XL pipeline will do nothing
- 850 to change world oil prices.
- According to the Energy Information Agency, the EIA, the
- 852 United States is producing the most oil it has produced in 20
- 853 years. So are gas prices lower today than they were 20 years
- 854 ago? The answer is no. 20 years ago the average price for a
- 855 gallon of regular gas was \$1.11 according to the EIA. How
- 856 much did you pay for gas this week?
- 857 So my amendment is very simple. It adds a finding that
- 858 states what TransCanada told the Canadian Government about
- 859 oil prices in the Midwest. I offer this amendment during the
- 860 subcommittee markup. It was rejected. I opposed the bill,
- 861 but even those members that support the pipeline shouldn't
- 862 try to sell it to the American people as lowering gas prices
- 863 when, if anything, it will raise them.

- I urge my colleagues to be honest and straightforward
- 865 with the American public and vote for this amendment which
- 866 simply recognizes the oil industry's best projection of how
- 867 this pipeline will affect oil prices.
- I yield back the balance of my time.
- The {Chairman.} The gentleman yields back.
- Mr. {Terry.} In opposition to the amendment.
- The {Chairman.} The gentleman from Nebraska is
- 872 recognized for 5 minutes.
- Mr. {Terry.} Well, I think we do need to be honest and
- 874 straightforward with the American public. What this will do
- 875 is bring 700,000 barrels per day from a trusted neighbor in
- 876 Alberta, Canada. Yes, it is a heavy crude. Heavy crude is a
- 877 discount and it will sell on a world oil market price.
- It is two points here. We had that hearing. We had a
- 879 TransCanadian representative here and a whole panel. And my
- 880 impression from their testimony was that they all--I thought
- 881 very clearly except for the TransCanadian that wouldn't
- 882 answer the question directly because as I interpreted it, he
- 883 wasn't going to counter a fellow employee, but it was pretty
- 884 clear that he wasn't going to agree with that person either.
- 885 But we had economists and industry people here that said the
- 886 same thing that Gene Green said. Oil is going to be set by
- 887 the market price. That is what the refineries in Texas and

- 888 Illinois and Oklahoma will pay for it.
- 889 So to sit here and say that this will be an increase is
- 890 a prediction of world oil prices, which I would disagree that
- 891 putting more oil onto the market would actually lessen world
- 892 oil prices. It would add to supply. It is about equivalent
- 893 to, well, about half of what Libya is producing or not
- 894 producing now. So it makes sense to me that if you are
- 895 putting more oil onto the market that prices will decrease,
- 896 and that is exactly what the testimony will be.
- 897 But I have got to just vent a little bit here. It seems
- 898 so odd to me that the left fights so hard to bring in this
- 899 Canadian oil. Yes, it is a heavier crude. But yet we have
- 900 no statements about the money we are sending Venezuela, a
- 901 communist--well, yeah, once freely elected but now I would
- 902 say a political dictator that is using our oil money to buy
- 903 military equipment from Russia--and we have no concern with
- 904 that. So to me, by bringing in this 700,000 barrels per day
- 905 and the oil security that will be achieved for the United
- 906 States here, the money that we won't send to OPEC, that we
- 907 won't send to Venezuela certainly is important in this
- 908 process. But to sit here and say prices are going to
- 909 increase because of this pipeline is just nonsensical.
- 910 I have a minute left. Does anybody want a minute here?
- 911 I yield to the gentlelady, Cathy McMorris Rodgers, from

- 912 Washington.
- 913 Mrs. {McMorris Rodgers.} I appreciate the gentleman for
- 914 yielding. I was just going to piggyback on your comments
- 915 related to Venezuela, you know, because I am in full support
- 916 of this North American-Made Energy Act. And I want to see us
- 917 getting our oil from friendly neighbors and working together
- 918 with them. And it makes sense to me. It makes a lot more
- 919 sense than importing a million barrels a day from Venezuela,
- 920 sending them \$27 billion annually. Almost a third of their
- 921 GDP in Venezuela is coming from America. And I just wanted
- 922 to reinforce that point and offer my support of this
- 923 legislation.
- 924 Mr. {Terry.} Thank you. I yield back. I am sorry. I
- 925 will yield to the gentleman from Illinois.
- 926 Mr. {Shimkus.} Yeah, and I will just take the last 44
- 927 seconds and, you know, highlight the jobs created. I know
- 928 this is kind of directed to the Midwest. Remember, there are
- 929 two pipelines. There is the Keystone and the Keystone XL.
- 930 The XL is to take this heavy crude to Texas. The Keystone
- 931 goes right to my district, \$4 billion of investment to
- 932 receive this heavy crude, thousands of construction jobs over
- 933 this period of time. And I would just raise the question as
- 934 if more crude doesn't affect prices, why would the President
- 935 release oil from the SPR? And I would say that he is making

- 936 the case more crude will help stabilize and lower prices.
- 937 And I yield back.
- 938 The {Chairman.} The gentleman's time has expired.
- 939 Other members in support of the amendment? The gentlelady
- 940 from Colorado, Ms. DeGette.
- 941 Ms. {DeGette.} Mr. Chairman, I just simply want to
- 942 point out that all this amendment does is reference the
- 943 report that had to be filed with the Canadian Government that
- 944 they found themselves, that access would strengthen Canadian
- 945 crude oil pricing which would ``expected to increase the
- 946 price of heavy crude to the equivalent cost of imported
- 947 crude.'' So in fact the cost of the oil is going to go up.
- 948 And that was the finding that they made that they filed with
- 949 the government.
- Now, I yield to Mr. Dingell if he would like the rest of
- 951 my time.
- 952 Mr. {Dingell.} Well, I thank the distinguished
- 953 gentlewoman.
- 954 Mr. Chairman, I have some questions I would like to ask
- 955 the staff here. I have been looking with some diligence to
- 956 find what the President is instructed to do to expedite the
- 957 consideration. I find that to be at the bottom of page 5,
- 958 line 23 and following. Am I correct on that? That is yes or
- 959 no.

- 960 {Counsel.} Yes.
- 961 Mr. {Dingell.} Okay. Now, I look with some diligence
- 962 to find what it is here that is going to expedite this and
- 963 are there any specific instructions to the President or any
- 964 agency of the U.S. Government to take any steps or actions
- 965 which would, in fact, expedite the process of the application
- 966 of Keystone?
- 967 {Counsel.} Well, yes, because the reference to the--
- 968 Mr. {Dingell.} If there are, please point them to me
- 969 so--where are they?
- 970 {Counsel.} Page 6.
- 971 Mr. {Dingell.} Page 6? All right. What are they?
- 972 {Counsel.} Page 6, line 2 and 3, the requirements are
- 973 that the agencies responsible for making the President's-
- 974 Mr. {Dingell.} If I read that correctly, it says ``the
- 975 agency responsible for coordinator considering an aspect of
- 976 the President's national interest determination in the
- 977 President's permit decision--
- 978 {Counsel.} And those are--
- 979 Mr. {Dingell.} --for the construction and operation of
- 980 the Keystone XL pipeline.'' Now, what statute here is being
- 981 amended? What is the President being instructed to do? What
- 982 is any Cabinet officer or regulatory agency being instructed
- 983 to do here?

- 984 {Counsel.} The requirements for the Presidential permit
- 985 decision and national interest determination are embedded in
- 986 Executive Order 13337, and in that--
- 987 Mr. {Dingell.} Where is that mentioned here?
- 988 {Counsel.} The executive order is not but the President
- 989 has been executing his authority under--
- 990 Mr. {Dingell.} Now, remember, we are told here that
- 991 this is going to expedite the processing. And I am asking
- 992 what steps is the pipeline company going to be instructed to
- 993 do? What will the pipeline safety agency, Department of
- 994 Transportation or any of them be instructed to do? I find
- 995 nothing.
- 996 {Counsel.} The process for the presidential permit
- 997 decision is made pursuant to Executive Order 13337, and it
- 998 sets out--the Agency set--the Secretary of State--
- 999 Mr. {Dingell.} That is not mentioned here, is it?
- 1000 {Counsel.} The presidential permit is and the President
- 1001 executes that under Executive Order 13337.
- 1002 Mr. {Dingell.} All right. Let us say for 15 minutes my
- 1003 name is Obama and I am sitting in the Oval Office and this
- 1004 thing comes into me. And I am going to say what did my dear
- 1005 friend Mr. Upton and my friends at the Energy and Commerce
- 1006 Committee instruct me to do? I am probably going to say,
- 1007 well, I am a bald-headed liar if I know because I find

- 1008 nothing here that tells me what it is I am to do to expedite
- 1009 this. It is some fine language and it sounds good and I am
- 1010 sure it will look good in campaign brochures. But I don't
- 1011 find anything that is mandated to the President or to any
- 1012 Cabinet officer or federal regulatory agency to take any
- 1013 steps here to move the process forward faster than they would
- 1014 do under existing law.
- 1015 {Counsel.} In general, it is the case that the
- 1016 President has been issuing these presidential permits since
- 1017 the '60s under an implied authority for foreign affairs and
- 1018 as Commander-in-Chief. And then to actually execute that
- 1019 implied authority, he has been conducting it under an
- 1020 Executive Order, the most recent of them being issued April
- 1021 30, 2004.
- 1022 Mr. {Dingell.} With all respect, young lady, you are a
- 1023 fine worder. I got to say you can make a very, very good
- 1024 pleading on behalf of a very, very bad case. And I do salute
- 1025 you for that. I will observe, however, that I find myself,
- 1026 as I leave office here--no longer being named Obama--still
- 1027 confused as to what it is I am supposed to do about this
- 1028 thing. And I really am not in a position to say how any of
- 1029 this is going to expedite my decision-making process or any
- 1030 decision-making process inside the administration.
- 1031 And I have been praying that you would tell me but I am

- 1032 27 seconds over and I guess we just have to wait for another
- 1033 time. Thank you, ma'am.
- The {Chairman.} The gentlelady's time has expired. The
- 1035 chair would recognize Mr. Barton for 5 minutes.
- 1036 Mr. {Barton.} Thank you. I would certainly prefer a
- 1037 Barack Dingell in the Oval Office to Barack Obama. I think
- 1038 watching Mr. Dingell be president would be quite the treat.
- 1039 And I also enjoy watching Dingell be Dingell in committee.
- 1040 He said almost nothing but he said it in such an enjoyable
- 1041 way that it was entertaining.
- 1042 The key phrases there are ``the President shall
- 1043 expedite''--and on page 6--``take all necessary actions.''
- 1044 Necessary. So there is specific language in the bill to meet
- 1045 the gentleman from Michigan's objections, but sometimes it is
- 1046 fun just to watch Chairman Dingell be Chairman Dingell. And
- 1047 I enjoyed that.
- 1048 On the pending amendment--
- 1049 Mr. {Dingell.} If the gentleman will yield back to me?
- 1050 Mr. {Barton.} Very briefly.
- 1051 Mr. {Dingell.} You have been most gracious and kind to
- 1052 me this morning. Thank you.
- 1053 Mr. {Barton.} You are a true treasure of the entire
- 1054 Congress, not just this committee.
- The amendment before us is somewhat odd in that it is an

amendment to the findings, first of all. I guess I could
offer an amendment if I were on the minority side. I am in a
grumpy mood, I don't like the bill, and I am against it--and
put that in the findings section if our counsel would have

1060

said that was germane.

- 1061 What Mr. Waxman is attempting to do is take something 1062 out of the permit application which was really talking about 1063 enhanced revenues for the Canadian producers and put it in 1064 the findings. Well, if you go back and look at the 1065 application which our excellent majority staff has done, this 1066 part of the application that Mr. Waxman is referring to was 1067 simply pointing out the fact that because of limiting 1068 marketing opportunities because of delivery options, the 1069 Canadian oil that results from the tar sands sells at a 1070 discount on the world market to Saudi like right now of 1071 approximately \$20 a barrel. But if you give an additional 1072 outlet for markets, which the pipeline would do, there is a 1073 distinct possibility that that discount would shrink because 1074 there would be more competition for that particular product--1075 in this case, oil that is derived from the Canadian oil 1076 sands.
- But that does not mean that the price that consumers

  1078 would pay, you know, in the Gulf Coast at the end of the

  1079 pipeline would rise. It would give consumers an additional

1080 option. They could take oil from the pipeline. They could 1081 take West Texas Intermediate coming over from the Permian 1082 They could take imported oil from Mexico and 1083 Venezuela, or they could continue to even import oil perhaps 1084 as far away as from Saudi Arabia. It would be an additional 1085 source of supply. And that is not going to raise prices. 1086 Mr. Waxman was absolutely correct when he pointed out 1087 that oil is fungible and it is a world commodity, and on 1088 average, there is an average price that is set every day in 1089 the marketplace. Different people try to manipulate it. 1090 OPEC tries to tighten supply and raise the price. Various 1091 producers -- and as has been pointed out by Mr. Shimkus -- the 1092 President of the United States is trying to influence the 1093 price as his election prospects dim by releasing 30 million 1094 barrels of oil hopefully to lower prices during the peak 1095 driving season this summer. 1096 So various factors every day in the world market try to 1097 influence the average price, but each specific type of crude 1098 oil sells at a premium or at a discount to the world price. 1099 And the Keystone pipeline if it is approved and if it is 1100 built is going to provide 700,000 barrels of oil today to the 1101 chief area of the United States that has our refinery

complexes, and that additional supply will provide

competition for the existing supplies, and that should--all

1102

- 1104 things being equal, if the world oil situation is in balance-
- 1105 -tend to lower prices to the consumers in the United States--
- 1106 I mean the market areas served by the refineries.
- 1107 Mr. {Waxman.} Will the gentleman yield?
- 1108 Mr. {Barton.} I would be happy to yield.
- 1109 Mr. {Waxman.} You have given us a very erudite
- 1110 explanation of markets, but TransCanada submitted a claim
- 1111 that they are going to get a 2 to 4 billion increase in
- 1112 revenues and--
- 1113 Mr. {Barton.} Million.
- 1114 Mr. {Waxman.} --under your argument, no one is paying
- 1115 that. It is obviously 2 to \$4 billion that somebody is going
- 1116 to pay, and it is going to be the people in the Midwest
- 1117 because of the unique conditions of the supply of oil in that
- 1118 region.
- 1119 Mr. {Barton.} Well, reclaiming my 2 seconds, the
- 1120 Canadians are saying if they have an increased outlet, that
- 1121 \$20 a barrel discount might decline because there is another
- 1122 outlet for the oil. But it still has to compete on the Gulf
- 1123 Coast with other sources of supply. And if it doesn't
- 1124 compete economically, it will not be taken. So overall, as
- 1125 we put more oil into the American market, you are going to
- 1126 tend to drive the average price down.
- 1127 And with that, I oppose the amendment and yield back.

- The {Chairman.} The gentleman's time has expired.
- 1129 Other members wishing to speak on the amendment?
- The gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. Markey, recognized
- 1131 for 5 minutes.
- 1132 Mr. {Markey.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And this is
- 1133 just to, you know, reinforce the point that Mr. Waxman was
- 1134 just making and that is that in a document provided by
- 1135 Keystone to the Canadian Government--so this is an official
- 1136 document from the company to the Canadian Government--it says
- 1137 that it will actually increase revenues for tar sands
- 1138 producers by 2 to \$4 billion a year by raising crude oil
- 1139 prices in the Midwest. So, you know, we just have to
- 1140 basically take them at their word that that is what the
- 1141 impact will be of, you know, the approval of this project.
- 1142 And maybe the majority doesn't want to acknowledge the
- 1143 business model that TransCanada has for this pipeline, but it
- 1144 does intend to make additional billions of dollars off of
- 1145 Midwestern families and Midwestern farmers.
- 1146 Mr. {Barton.} Will the gentleman yield?
- 1147 Mr. {Markey.} Let me just finish here for a second.
- 1148 And by saying that it will reduce gasoline prices over
- 1149 and over again just doesn't make it so because that is not
- 1150 what this pipeline project, according to their own documents,
- 1151 is intended to achieve.

- So if the permit application is inaccurate, then
- 1153 Keystone, you know, TransCanada should correct this. But the
- 1154 fact is that there is no need for the pipeline right now. A
- 1155 report commissioned by the Department of Energy states that
- 1156 for the next decade there is excess pipeline capacity, even
- 1157 without the Keystone XL. This pipeline is being touted as a
- 1158 way to help Americans at the pump. Instead, like so many
- other Republican bills, it is just helping the oil industry
- 1160 at the expense of the American public.
- I would be glad to yield to my friend from Texas.
- 1162 Mr. {Barton.} Well, thank you.
- In an earlier life, you sold ice cream at Fenway Park,
- 1164 is that not correct.
- 1165 Mr. {Markey.} That is correct.
- 1166 Mr. {Barton.} On a day--and there never was such a day,
- 1167 but assume there was a day that there was only one fan at
- 1168 Fenway Park. Did that decrease your revenue potential or did
- 1169 it increase your revenue potential for your ice cream sales?
- 1170 Mr. {Markey.} That would be a rainy day. That would be
- 1171 a rainout.
- 1172 Mr. {Barton.} But on a day when there was standing room
- 1173 only and it was hot, it tended to increase your revenue
- 1174 potential, is that not correct?
- 1175 Mr. {Markey.} You definitely want thirsty children

- 1176 begging their parents to buy ice cream at Fenway Park. Tha
- 1177 definitely enhances you--
- 1178 Mr. {Barton.} Now, you know markets because you
- 1179 probably were the premier ice cream seller at Fenway Park.
- 1180 If you were in charge of marketing for the Canadian oil
- 1181 sands, you would want more potential customers rather than
- 1182 less and you would want a delivery system that it got it to
- 1183 them sooner rather than later. And that is all this study
- 1184 that the permit application that you are referring to is
- 1185 saying is that it gives them an additional outlet, and by
- 1186 giving them an additional outlet, they can sell more oil than
- 1187 they would otherwise. And number two, by creating more
- 1188 competition for it, they might get a higher price. Wouldn't
- 1189 you agree with that?
- 1190 Mr. {Markey.} I would say in response that you are
- 1191 correct, but the price was--
- 1192 Mr. {Barton.} Let the record show Mr. Markey finally
- 1193 admitted that I was correct about something.
- 1194 Mr. {Markey.} And I can reclaim my time. Here is the
- 1195 way it works.
- 1196 Mr. {Barton.} It is your time.
- 1197 Mr. {Markey.} When I was selling in a blue collar
- 1198 community, a Popsicle cost 7 cents. When I moved to an
- 1199 affluent community, I raised the price of a Popsicle to 10

- 1200 cents. I am driving around in my ice cream truck and I am
- 1201 18, I am 19, I am 20, I am 21--
- 1202 Mr. {Barton.} I didn't know you had your own truck. I
- 1203 am impressed.
- 1204 Mr. {Markey.} Oh, yeah, it was a family truck. And it
- 1205 was a huge truck and you are going out the window. But when
- 1206 I went over to Fenway Park at night, I raised my prices to 25
- 1207 cents. Now, since the Popsicle only cost a penny at 9:00
- 1208 a.m. in the morning at the warehouse and I am out retail, it
- 1209 is true that I did raise my prices. And the hotter the night
- 1210 is the higher the price. And by the way, you can get it
- 1211 because there was no competition. You know, there were no
- 1212 Connor stores, Mr. Frosty wasn't there with his truck and I
- 1213 was all alone.
- 1214 So what I learned about markets, in fact, was that you
- 1215 are kind of looking to control the market and to charge
- 1216 whatever you can get away with in that market. And what we
- 1217 are learning here from this filing by Keystone, by
- 1218 TransCanada, is that they intend on taking 2 to \$4 billion a
- 1219 year by raising crude oil prices in the Midwest. And I do
- 1220 understand that because I had a temptation to do that when I
- 1221 was 18, 19, and 20 because I understand the insight, you
- 1222 know, that you have to have into markets. There really is no
- 1223 control over what a producer, a sales operative can extract

- 1224 from consumers. And here it just doesn't seem as though it
- 1225 makes a lot of sense from a market perspective for the U.S.
- 1226 at this time.
- 1227 I yield back the balance of my time.
- 1228 The {Chairman.} The gentleman's time has expired.
- 1229 Other members wishing to speak on the amendment?
- 1230 The gentleman from Ohio is recognized for 5 minutes.
- 1231 Mr. {Latta.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I would like
- 1232 to speak in opposition to the amendment.
- 1233 Canada is Ohio's largest trading partner when we are
- 1234 looking at foreign countries, and if we didn't have Canada
- 1235 out there, we would be in trouble in the State of Ohio. And
- 1236 we need Canadian oil and has already been said from my
- 1237 colleagues that it is very, very important that we trade with
- 1238 our friends and also send our money to our friends. We don't
- 1239 want to keep sending money to people that don't like us and
- 1240 we don't know where that money then ends up. But we know
- 1241 that it goes up to Canada. It is used by them and we get
- 1242 about a 90 percent return on what we send up there.
- 1243 And as we are talking about needing more oil, I am not
- 1244 sure how many people when they go home on the weekends--
- 1245 because I am home every weekend and I put a lot of miles on
- 1246 my car across the district--have noticed the things going on.
- 1247 When I go up to the gas pump and buy my gas, I am noticing

- 1248 that people are buying three, four, five gallons at a time
- 1249 now. They are not out filling up those tanks. So we have
- 1250 got a lot of folks out there that are, you know, really
- 1251 living paycheck to paycheck and they have got to have more
- 1252 oil and we have got to have it at a better price.
- 1253 And one of the things also that we need to have in the
- 1254 Midwest are more jobs. And it is kind of interesting in one
- 1255 of these reports that are right before us here showing that
- 1256 an increase in jobs by the impact of Alberta oil sands on the
- 1257 development on U.S. state economies from '09 to '25 shows
- 1258 that in Ohio alone that we will have an increase from 2011 to
- 1259 2015 of about 13,200 jobs, an increase in jobs from '09 to
- 1260 '25, 23,500. It also shows up in Michigan that there will be
- 1261 an increase of over 18,900 jobs.
- 1262 And again, you know, we are close proximity to our
- 1263 Canadian friends, and when I used to be in the Ohio
- 1264 legislature, I was closer to Windsor, Ontario than I was to
- 1265 Columbus, Ohio, and so we have a lot of trading going back
- 1266 and forth up and down I-75 with our Canadian friends.
- 1267 Also, I would like to point out that just the number of
- 1268 firms--by this report--showing that how much more jobs we can
- 1269 create out of this because of the number of suppliers from
- 1270 the State of Ohio that supply manufacturing products up into
- 1271 Alberta and into the Canadians. It is 39 suppliers.

- 1272 Michigan is 21. Pennsylvania is 67. These are all jobs that
- 1273 we have to have in the States. We need them in Ohio. We
- 1274 need them in Michigan.
- 1275 And with that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back.
- 1276 The {Chairman.} The gentleman yields back.
- 1277 Are there other members wishing to speak on the
- 1278 amendment? Seeing none, I think we are ready to vote on the
- 1279 amendment. All those in favor of the amendment will vote
- 1280 aye. Those opposed, say no. Noes appear to have it. Noes
- 1281 have it. The amendment is not agreed to.
- Other members wishing to offer an amendment to the bill?
- 1283 The gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. Markey.
- 1284 Mr. {Markey.} Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment at the
- 1285 desk, Number 9.
- 1286 The {Chairman.} The clerk will report the title of the
- 1287 amendment.
- 1288 The {Clerk.} An amendment offered by Mr. Markey of
- 1289 Massachusetts.
- 1290 [The amendment follows:]
- 1291 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* INSERT 3 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

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The {Chairman.} And the amendment will be considered as read. The staff will circulate the amendment and the gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes in support of his amendment.

1296 Mr. {Markey.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman, very much.

1297 During our hearing on this bill, we were repeatedly told

1298 that approving this pipeline would lower gas prices at the

1299 pump despite the fact that TransCanada's initial assessment

1300 projected that oil prices would rise in the Midwest as a

1301 result of the construction of the Keystone pipeline.

1302 TransCanada also projected that its profits would 1303 dramatically increase because it could charge more for oil on 1304 the Gulf Coast than it can in the Midwest. We were also 1305 repeatedly told that the oil coming from Canada would enable 1306 us to reduce our dependence on oil imported from unfriendly 1307 Middle Eastern nations. In fact, TransCanada's application 1308 for its permit even states that the proposed pipeline will 1309 serve the national interest of the United States by providing 1310 a secure and reliable source of Canadian crude oil to meet 1311 the growing demand by refineries and markets in the United 1312 States.

1313 And despite 12 spills from the existing Keystone 1314 pipeline in the past year, we were repeatedly told that 1315 cutting short the environmental safety review of the Keystone 1316 pipeline would be fine because of all the benefits that will 1317 accrue to the American people from lower gas prices, 1318 increased jobs and greater energy security once this pipeline 1319 is approved. But we were not repeatedly assured that once 1320 all of this oil is shipped from the tar sands of Canada all 1321 the way to the Gulf of Mexico that at the end of the day, 1322 none of it will be simply placed on oil tankers and be re-1323 exported to be sold within the larger global oil market. 1324 My amendment simply ensures that all of the purported 1325 benefits from the approval of the Keystone pipeline go to the 1326 American consumer and not to big oil by requiring the 1327 Department of Energy to ensure that the oil stays here in the 1328 United States and that benefits refiners and the consumers in 1329 the United States and not in countries around the world. 1330 does this through a requirement that the Department of Energy 1331 ensure that the oil and refined petroleum products that will 1332 be transported by this new pipeline enter domestic commerce 1333 for final disposition. 1334 The President may waive this requirement if he finds 1335 that such a waiver is in the national interest, which in my 1336 language means that three conditions must be met. First, 1337 before waiving the requirement that oil stay in this country,

the President must find that a waiver would not lead to an

1339 increase in imports of crude oil or refined petroleum 1340 products from countries hostile to the United States with 1341 political or economic instability that compromises supply 1342 security. Second, the President will also be required to 1343 determine that a waiver will not lead to higher costs for oil 1344 refiners. And finally, and most importantly, the President 1345 will be required to determine that a waiver will not lead to 1346 higher prices at the pump for the American consumer. 1347 This amendment is consistent with a longstanding U.S. 1348 policy on oil exports. There are already similar provisions 1349 in place to restrict oil exports from the Trans-Alaska 1350 pipeline and other domestically produced oil that is 1351 transported by way of pipelines across the public lands. 1352 This amendment continues to allow for oil swaps between 1353 the United States and other countries in which equivalent 1354 amounts of crude oil and refined product moves between the 1355 U.S. and friendly foreign nations and it continues to 1356 preserve other bilateral agreements and existing authorities. 1357 At our hearing, one of our witnesses asked the question 1358 do they want secure, stable oil from a friendly neighboring 1359 Canada or do they want to continue importing even more high-1360 priced foreign oil from volatile regions such as Venezuela or 1361 the Middle East? We should not pass legislation that 1362 expedites the approval of such a complex and controversial

- 1363 project without at least making sure that the secure, stable
- 1364 oil from friendly neighboring Canada stays here in the United
- 1365 States to protect our consumers, our economy, our people from
- 1366 being tipped upside down at the pumps by actions that are
- 1367 taken by other countries around the world. I urge an aye
- 1368 vote on this amendment.
- 1369 And I yield back the balance of my time.
- 1370 Mr. {Barton.} Mr. Chairman?
- 1371 The {Chairman.} The gentleman from Texas first
- 1372 recognized for 5 minutes.
- 1373 Mr. {Barton.} And I don't think I will take 5 minutes,
- 1374 Mr. Chairman.
- 1375 It pains me that my friend from Massachusetts who
- 1376 started off with such promise as an ice cream seller and
- 1377 understood markets so perfectly that he was even capable of
- 1378 manipulating the market by deciding where best to maximize
- 1379 his profits, and I didn't even know he had a mobile supply
- 1380 outlet, i.e. an ice cream truck that he could move around--to
- 1381 see how far he has fallen as he has gotten, you know, wise
- 1382 and seniority in Congress. Either you trust markets or you
- 1383 don't.
- Now, I will stipulate that probably 95 percent of the
- 1385 time, every bit of oil that comes through this pipeline if it
- 1386 is built that is refined into products is going to be sold in

- 1387 the United States simply because we are the largest market,
- 1388 we tend to have the best prices, and it just makes economic
- 1389 sense. However, having said that, there will be occasion, a
- 1390 hurricane in the Gulf of Mexico, something happened perhaps
- 1391 in one of the Caribbean Islands, in Mexico, that it makes
- 1392 economic sense a product that is produced to be shipped
- 1393 overseas. I don't think that will happen very often, but it
- 1394 on occasion may happen.
- 1395 If you trust markets, the market will determine the best
- 1396 way to maximize the profit from the products that are refined
- 1397 just like Mr. Markey maximized his popsicle profits by he
- 1398 knew he could get the best price at Fenway Park where he had
- 1399 a monopoly, but during the day when there were no games, he
- 1400 would go out into the neighborhoods and sell popsicles for
- 1401 less but he still made a profit because it only cost him a
- 1402 penny. And knowing the golden heart of Mr. Markey, while he
- 1403 won't admit it, I bet there were occasions where he went into
- 1404 the poorer neighborhoods of Boston and gave popsicles away
- 1405 because he is just that kind of a guy.
- 1406 Mr. {Green.} Mr. Chairman, does the gentleman yield?
- 1407 Mr. {Barton.} I will be happy to yield.
- 1408 Mr. {Green.} First of all, I did not know our colleague
- 1409 from Massachusetts sold ice cream at Fenway Park. I was
- 1410 proud of my time I sold Cokes. Here in the South we call it

- 1411 soda water, Colt 45s.
- 1412 Mr. {Barton.} Yeah, I probably bought some. You
- 1413 probably ripped me off.
- 1414 Mr. {Green.} Before we had the Astros, we had our Colt
- 1415 45s. But I just wanted to engage you because I am familiar
- 1416 with imported oil. I have five refineries actually, but two
- 1417 of them have contracts, one with Mexico. The Shell refinery
- 1418 has a contract with Pemex to bring in heavier Mexican crude.
- 1419 And part of that agreement is they have to ship back refined
- 1420 product to Mexico because Mexico does not refine enough in
- 1421 their own country. But that is part of the contract. Now, I
- 1422 have aligned L refinery that for years has brought in heavier
- 1423 crude from Venezuela. Now, there is no agreement to send
- 1424 back to Venezuela refined product. CITGO probably takes care
- 1425 of that.
- But, you know, this would be the first time we would put
- 1427 that on a requirement because we do import oil from other
- 1428 countries, and part of that agreement is to send back refined
- 1429 product. So why would we do this?
- 1430 Mr. {Barton.} Reclaiming my time. The agreement that
- 1431 you just alluded to is a market-based approach. They send
- 1432 the product where it makes the most sense at that time to
- 1433 send them. And I will stipulate that for this particular
- 1434 product, a market-based approach will always be best. We

- 1435 don't need the Markey amendment, as well-intentioned as it
- 1436 is, because it will distort the market. And with all due
- 1437 respect, the President of the United States is not the best
- 1438 person to decide market outcomes, regardless of who is in the
- 1439 White House, whether it is President Dingell or President
- 1440 Obama or maybe my governor, you know, President Perry or my
- 1441 former speaker, President Gingrich, whoever. They are not in
- 1442 the best position to determine how to allocate output.
- So I would respectfully oppose Mr. Markey's amendment.
- 1444 And I yield back.
- 1445 The {Chairman.} The gentleman yields back. Other
- 1446 members wishing to speak in support of the amendment? Mr.
- 1447 Waxman is recognized for 5 minutes.
- 1448 Mr. {Waxman.} Mr. Chairman and my colleagues, I support
- 1449 the Markey amendment. We hear over and over that the State
- 1450 Department must approve the Keystone XL pipeline to enhance
- 1451 our energy security. As one of the witnesses at the hearing
- 1452 pointed out, shipping Canadian oil across America doesn't
- 1453 make it a domestic product. And if that Canadian oil is then
- 1454 exported to China, we will have gained nothing, absolutely
- 1455 nothing from this pipeline except for the higher gas prices
- 1456 in the Midwest, more profits for Gulf Coast oil refineries,
- 1457 and the risk of oil spills in the Ogallala Aquifer. Well,
- 1458 that is a pretty bad deal.

- 1459 And in fact the finding in the legislation, Finding
- 1460 number 7, says ``the principle choice for Canadian oil
- 1461 exporters is between moving increasing crude oil volumes
- 1462 through the United States or Asia led by China. Increased
- 1463 Canadian oil exports to China will result in increased United
- 1464 States crude oil imports from other foreign sources,
- 1465 especially the Mideast.'' Well, that would be a bad deal.
- 1466 But the Republican response to these concerns is this won't
- 1467 happen. The oil companies won't send the tar sands crude oil
- 1468 or refined products to China or other countries. Maybe not.
- 1469 Or maybe not right now. There is a market. And maybe if the
- 1470 market conditions are right, we better not count on the oil
- 1471 companies not to export.
- Does anyone here really think that out of the goodness
- 1473 of their hearts the oil companies will forgo profits if they
- 1474 can get a better price for their oil elsewhere? After all,
- 1475 the CEO of Valero, which is pushing for Keystone XL says that
- 1476 `the future of refining in the U.S. is in exports.'' The
- 1477 future of refining in the U.S. is in exports. Now, we hear
- 1478 from people representing those areas where there is going to
- 1479 be increased refining and their oil companies' constituents
- 1480 are going to make a lot of money, but that doesn't mean the
- 1481 oil is going to stay here.
- 1482 Patriotism sure hasn't stopped many manufacturers from

- 1483 relocating overseas. All we have to do is pick up the
- 1484 newspaper any day of the week to hear about all of the
- 1485 profits for which no taxes are paid in the United States
- 1486 because the companies go through these extravagant ways of
- 1487 trying to make sure they didn't make the money here for tax
- 1488 purposes. And they would claim they are patriots for sure.
- 1489 This amendment simply provides that if the State
- 1490 Department approves Keystone XL to enhance energy security,
- 1491 we should have some assurance that the oil will be used here
- 1492 rather than being shipped to China.
- The amendment doesn't bar exports. Instead, it provides
- 1494 reasonable leeway for the President to allow for exports when
- 1495 it is in the national interest. I think that is the minimum
- 1496 we should ask, and I urge my colleagues to support this
- 1497 amendment. And I want to yield to Mr. Markey.
- 1498 Mr. {Markey.} I thank the gentleman very much.
- In the amendment itself, we make it possible for the
- 1500 President to provide waivers for such requirements if the
- 1501 crude oil is refined in an adjacent foreign country and
- 1502 consumed therein in exchange for the same quantity of crude
- 1503 oil being consumed in the United States. So that helps to
- 1504 provide for some constancy in terms of the international
- 1505 agreements that are reached, but it keeps an equivalent
- 1506 amount of oil here in the United States for our consumers and

- 1507 it also gives the President the ability to issue a waiver if
- 1508 there is an international agreement that has to be met as
- 1509 well.
- So I think that it is important to understand that
- 1511 ultimately we should only do this if it is helping our
- 1512 country. You know, we should do it in order to protect our
- 1513 consumers. For every \$10 a barrel that the price of oil goes
- 1514 up, it is 2/10 of a point off the GDP growth in our country.
- 1515 And one of the key factors since World War II has been that
- 1516 11 out of 13 recessions that have occurred since World War II
- 1517 have been related to increase in the price of oil. One of
- 1518 the best ways to ensure that that does not occur here is to
- 1519 make sure that any oil that we have stays here and is used in
- 1520 order to reduce the likelihood of an increase in economic
- 1521 activity being harmed.
- 1522 Mr. {Waxman.} We know, Mr. Chairman and my colleagues,
- 1523 that the Canadian crude oil companies are going to make an
- 1524 extra 2 to \$4 billion at the expense of the Midwestern
- 1525 ratepayers. We also know that the oil company refineries are
- 1526 going to make money when this crude oil is brought down into
- 1527 Louisiana. What we don't know is whether the Koch brothers
- 1528 are going to make money because they wouldn't even answer our
- 1529 questions nor did we get any cooperation to get answers to
- 1530 our questions. But, presumably, they may make some money out

- 1531 of all of this as well. But we are not going to get the
- 1532 benefit for the American people because they make more money
- 1533 at the refineries and at the oil companies and in Canada.
- The {Chairman.} The gentleman's time has expired.
- 1535 Mr. {Terry.} Move to strike the last word.
- 1536 The {Chairman.} The gentleman from Nebraska, Mr. Terry.
- 1537 Mr. {Terry.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- This is almost comical. Yes, if we buy more oil from
- 1539 OPEC, Venezuela, they are going to make more money from it.
- 1540 That is how markets work. I would encourage my colleagues to
- 1541 vote no on this. Not only is it requiring now several new
- 1542 hurdles to jump through that aren't already in statute, this
- 1543 is a way of trying to kill the pipeline here in reality,
- 1544 which is the ultimate goal here is to kill the pipeline
- 1545 because they don't want this new oil coming in because it is
- 1546 all about being against fossil fuels. That has been
- 1547 confirmed by some of the environmentalist comments and the
- 1548 political article today.
- 1549 Mr. {Whitfield.} Will the gentleman yield?
- 1550 Mr. {Terry.} I want to in just a second.
- 1551 But not only is this impossible, it is impossible for
- 1552 the President to even make those determinations and
- 1553 guarantees unless the President has total control of the
- 1554 markets. Now, Chavez has done that in Venezuela, but I am

- 1555 not sure the American people are willing to give the
- 1556 President total control of the markets in the United States

- 1557 so that he would become a dictator that could manipulate the
- 1558 markets and make those type of dictates.
- But the practical problem here, or answer, is that if we
- 1560 send this oil to the refineries, they are going to use that
- 1561 because it is a heck of a lot cheaper, easier, accessible
- 1562 than bringing it in on the ships. But here is just one
- 1563 little statistic. Alberta to Houston to Shanghai, 11,500
- 1564 miles. Alberta to Vancouver to Shanghai, 5,900 miles.
- 1565 I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.
- 1566 Mr. {Whitfield.} Well, thanks very much for yielding.
- 1567 You know, listening to this debate reminds me of the
- 1568 article in the New York Times recently where a spokesman for
- 1569 the Natural Resources Defense Council, which is the leading
- 1570 critic of this pipeline, make the comment ``this is really a
- 1571 campaign against tar sands expansion rather than this
- 1572 particular pipeline.'' And I think that is exactly the case
- 1573 here. But if we are going to be less dependent, it is
- 1574 important that we take product from wherever we can. And I
- 1575 think the gentleman made a great point that it will be going
- 1576 to China if it does not go here.
- 1577 And I will yield back to the gentleman.
- 1578 Mr. {Terry.} Thank you. I yield to the gentleman from

- 1579 Pennsylvania.
- 1580 Mr. {Murphy.} I thank the gentleman from Nebraska.
- 1581 A couple other points to add to this. We currently have
- 1582 a large amount of foreign aid to OPEC countries. And any of
- 1583 my colleagues who have traveled to these countries and see
- 1584 how beautiful their roads are, their new buildings, they are
- 1585 building islands with our money to the tune of \$129 billion a
- 1586 year. We don't get much say in that because we also know the
- 1587 OPEC countries meet and they have talked in the past about
- 1588 raising oil prices to the cost of \$200 a barrel. We are not
- 1589 at that table because we are dependent upon them.
- 1590 And also world oil prices are affected by how much oil
- 1591 is in the market. Now, we may not be able to control where
- 1592 all that oil is sold. Will some of it go to foreign nations?
- 1593 Maybe. I know that that is part of what happens. But when
- 1594 oil comes from Canada and through the United States, that is
- 1595 things that OPEC cannot control. And when OPEC cannot
- 1596 control it, we have leverage against some of those oil prices
- 1597 and when we have leverage against it, there you don't have
- 1598 their hands around our throat squeezing more out of us and
- 1599 then building beautiful things in their country. That is the
- 1600 way the world markets work and that is why I believe we
- 1601 should be doing all we can to make sure that we have more of
- 1602 this oil coming through the United States.

- One other point about this, too, is there is also a large amount of gasoline we import because we don't have the capacity to do several things. I say use more of our oil, drill more for our oil, use more North American oil, and help
- 1607 bring prices down under our control.
- 1608 I yield back to the gentleman.
- 1609 Mr. {Terry.} Reclaiming my time. I just want to read
- 1610 from the EPA's own letter of July 16, page three. ``Based on
- 1611 our review, there is a reasonable close causal relationship
- 1612 between issuing a cost border permit for the Keystone XL
- 1613 Project and the increased extraction of oil sands crude in
- 1614 Canada intended to supply that pipeline. Not only will this
- 1615 pipeline transport large volume of oil sands crude for at
- 1616 least 50 years from a known dedicated source in Canada to
- 1617 refineries in the Gulf Coast, there are no significant export
- 1618 markets for this crude oil other than the United States.''
- 1619 The {Chairman.} Gentleman's time has expired. Other
- 1620 members wishing to speak on the amendment? I see one more
- 1621 and then we will--gentleman from Louisiana.
- Dr. {Cassidy.} Yeah, thank you. I am not sure if the--
- 1623 maybe I just don't understand the amendment, but I am not
- 1624 sure that the author of the amendment understands what they
- 1625 do with oil. Now only a portion of the oil goes to gasoline.
- 1626 There are different fractions, some of which is used for jet

- 1627 fuel. Some of which ultimately serves as feed stock for the
- 1628 production of plastic.
- 1629 The {Chairman.} Is the gentleman using his mic?
- 1630 Dr. {Cassidy.} It is on. So some of it is used as feed
- 1631 stock for plastics. Now, as it turns out, Exxon Mobile is in
- 1632 my district, and I know the left hates Exxon Mobile. But
- 1633 they recently did an expansion in my district. 9,000 people
- 1634 were employed constructing the expansion. Now, another--I
- 1635 don't know--few thousand are going to be employed producing
- 1636 the plastics that are exported across the world. Now, that
- 1637 is in export from a fraction of the oil.
- 1638 When I asked the folks there why did they choose to
- 1639 expand in Louisiana as opposed to China, India, or elsewhere,
- 1640 they said, one, we have rule of law. That is good. Two, we
- 1641 have great workers. That is also good. And three, they said
- 1642 they have reliable feedstock. Now, it is the reliable
- 1643 feedstock, which is a portion of this oil, a refined
- 1644 petroleum product, that our workers are actually turning into
- 1645 something that we export across the world.
- 1646 Now, I don't think the author of this bill understands
- 1647 that it is not the whole thing that goes into gasoline. It
- 1648 is only a fraction, and that that other fraction employs
- 1649 thousands of American workers making products that we then
- 1650 export, high-value-added products. Now, do I think that the

- 1651 president--
- 1652 Mr. {Markey.} Will the gentleman yield?
- Dr. {Cassidy.} --would understand this? Absolutely
- 1654 not. The President has shown minimal understanding of oil
- 1655 and gas market.
- 1656 Mr. {Markey.} Will the gentleman yield?
- 1657 Dr. {Cassidy.} I will yield.
- 1658 Mr. {Markey.} I thank you. It is on line seven of my
- 1659 amendment. It says very clearly that if the oil is entered
- 1660 into domestic commerce, then it is fine, and domestic
- 1661 commerce, I will say this--
- Dr. {Cassidy.} Reclaiming my time.
- 1663 Mr. {Markey.} --that that would include the industry
- 1664 that the gentleman was just--
- Dr. {Cassidy.} Reclaiming my time. If they make a
- 1666 high-value-added product and they ship it to you-name-it-
- 1667 where--
- 1668 Mr. {Markey.} That would be fine under my amendment.
- 1669 Dr. {Cassidy.} I don't see where--
- 1670 Mr. {Markey.} I say that for the congressional record
- 1671 for congressional intent. That would be fine.
- 1672 Mr. {Kinzinger.} Will the gentleman yield?
- 1673 Dr. {Cassidy.} Yes, glad to.
- 1674 Mr. {Kinzinger.} You know as a fellow--I have an Exxon

- 1675 refinery in my district as well, and I can tell you the
- 1676 number of jobs it provides refining oil from Canada frankly
- 1677 is incredible. And, you know, the folks that work there
- 1678 appreciate that every day. I think this amendment--you know,
- 1679 and we say no, it is intended to--the whole intention of this
- 1680 amendment is to kill this pipeline. We know that. I mean
- 1681 that is what all these amendments are intended to do is to
- 1682 kill this pipeline.
- 1683 And so when we talk about where we are in the energy
- 1684 crisis, we talk about where we are in the jobs crisis, these
- 1685 are the basic things that we should be doing to help our
- 1686 economy recover and to get un-addicted to foreign oil. And
- 1687 it is one of the most impossible things we can do to even get
- 1688 a pipeline. And I will yield back to the gentleman.
- 1689 Dr. {Cassidy.} That is just the point we are making. I
- 1690 yield back.
- 1691 The {Chairman.} Gentleman yields back. Are there other
- 1692 members wishing to speak on the amendment? Seeing none--the
- 1693 gentleman is recognized for one minute.
- 1694 Mr. {Waxman.} I just want to point out that the bill
- 1695 expedites the approval of this pipeline without the usual
- 1696 process for reviewing it. Many of us want that review to
- 1697 take place. That doesn't mean we don't want the pipeline to
- 1698 go into effect if it meets all the standards. So on one say,

- 1699 you say standards, we don't need standards. Let us waive
- 1700 them all. And our side, let us review them, and some of us
- 1701 may think we shouldn't have the pipeline at all.
- 1702 But let us not attribute these motives to us that--
- 1703 Mr. {Shimkus.} Will the gentleman yield?
- 1704 Mr. {Waxman.} --you need to recognize that there are
- 1705 motives on your side as well.
- 1706 Mr. {Shimkus.} Will the gentleman yield?
- 1707 Mr. {Waxman.} Be happy to.
- 1708 Mr. {Shimkus.} The intent of the bill is to come to a
- 1709 decision. The decision could be no pipeline, so this bill
- 1710 says--
- 1711 Mr. {Waxman.} Highly unlikely the way the bill is
- 1712 drafted.
- 1713 Mr. {Shimkus.} It says make a decision. It has already
- 1714 been delayed. So to say that one side or the other--we are
- 1715 not saying making a yes decision. We are saying a make a
- 1716 decision.
- 1717 Mr. {Waxman.} Well, if I could just--reclaiming my
- 1718 time. There has to be a decision made whether it is in our
- 1719 national interest. The finding in the bill says it is in our
- 1720 national interest. That is one issue that doesn't have to be
- 1721 resolved anymore. Without any further review, we have
- 1722 decided it legislatively.

- 1723 Mr. {Terry.} Will the gentleman yield?
- Mr. {Waxman.} I would be happy to, but I only asked for
- 1725 one minute. It is up to the chairman to decide when that
- 1726 minute is up, but as long as I have time, I will yield to
- 1727 you.
- 1728 The {Chairman.} Why don't we continue the discussion on
- 1729 the next amendment and vote on this one?
- 1730 Mr. {Waxman.} Yield back my time.
- 1731 The {Chairman.} Gentleman yields back. Seeing no other
- 1732 member wishing to speak on the amendment.
- 1733 Mr. {Markey.} If I may, just very--one minute. If I
- 1734 may just be recognized for 1 minute, and I need no more than
- 1735 1 minute, Mr. Chairman.
- 1736 The {Chairman.} Gentleman is recognized for 1 minute.
- 1737 Mr. {Markey.} I thank you. The gentleman from
- 1738 Louisiana, the gentleman from Illinois, they seem to raise
- 1739 concerns about whether or not this oil can be used in the
- 1740 domestic plastics industry based down in the Gulf states, and
- 1741 the answer is no, there is no restriction upon that. If the
- 1742 product that is then created is sent into the global
- 1743 marketplace using this oil, then there is no problem with
- 1744 that.
- 1745 The issue would be if the oil was then put in tankers
- 1746 and sent to other countries and then used by other countries

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1747 for their purposes. That is what we are objecting to. If we
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- 1748 are going to allow for all of these environmental and other
- 1749 issues to be compromised, then the beneficiaries should be
- 1750 the American plastics industry. The beneficiaries should be
- 1751 American consumers. That is all I am saying with this
- 1752 amendment.
- 1753 And so I understand what the intent is, and it is to
- 1754 help the American plastics industry to have this stream of
- 1755 oil coming to help them. That is really the goal, and I
- 1756 urge--and I vote on the Markey amendment. And I yield back
- 1757 the balance of my time.
- 1758 The {Chairman.} I think we are ready to vote on the
- 1759 amendment. All those in favor of the amendment say aye. All
- 1760 those say no. No's appear to have it. The gentleman asks
- 1761 for a recorded vote. The clerk will read the--
- The {Clerk.} Mr. Barton?
- 1763 Mr. {Barton.} No.
- The {Clerk.} Mr. Barton, nay.
- 1765 Mr. Stearns?
- 1766 [No response.]
- 1767 The {Clerk.} Mr. Whitfield?
- 1768 Mr. {Whitfield.} No.
- 1769 The {Clerk.} Mr. Whitfield, nay.
- 1770 Mr. Shimkus?

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1771
           Mr. {Shimkus.} No.
1772
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Shimkus, nay.
1773
           Mr. Pitts?
1774
           Mr. {Pitts.} No.
1775
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Pitts, no. Mrs. Bono Mack?
1776
           [No response.]
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Walden?
1777
1778
           Mr. {Walden.} No.
1779
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Walden, nay.
           Mr. Terry?
1780
           Mr. {Terry.} Nay.
1781
1782
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Terry, nay.
1783
           Mr. Rogers?
1784
           Mr. {Rogers.} No.
1785
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Rogers, nay.
1786
           Mrs. Myrick?
1787
           [No response.]
1788
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Sullivan?
1789
           [No response.]
1790
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Murphy?
1791
           [No response.]
1792
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Burgess?
1793
           [No response.]
1794
           The {Clerk.} Mrs. Blackburn?
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1795
           [No response.]
1796
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Bilbray?
1797
           Mr. {Bilbray.} No.
1798
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Bilbray, nay.
1799
           Mr. Bass?
1800
           [No response.]
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Gingrey?
1801
1802
           [No response.]
1803
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Scalise?
1804
           Mr. {Scalise.} No.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Scalise, nay.
1805
1806
           Mr. Latta?
1807
           Mr. {Latta.} Nay.
1808
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Latta, nay.
1809
           Mrs. McMorris Rodgers?
1810
           [No response.]
1811
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Harper?
1812
           Mr. {Harper.} No.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Harper, nay.
1813
1814
           Mr. Lance?
1815
           Mr. {Lance.} No.
1816
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Lance, nay.
          Mr. Cassidy?
1817
1818
           Dr. {Cassidy.} No.
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1819
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Cassidy, nay.
1820
           Mr. Guthrie?
1821
           Mr. {Guthrie.} No.
1822
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Guthrie, nay.
1823
           Mr. Olson?
           Mr. {Olson.} No.
1824
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Olson, nay.
1825
1826
           Mr. McKinley?
1827
           Mr. {McKinley.} No.
1828
           The {Clerk.} Mr. McKinley, nay.
           Mr. Gardner?
1829
1830
           Mr. {Gardner.} No.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Gardner, nay.
1831
1832
           Mr. Pompeo?
1833
           Mr. {Pompeo.} No.
1834
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Pompeo, nay.
1835
           Mr. Kinzinger?
           Mr. {Kinzinger.} No.
1836
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Kinzinger, nay.
1837
           Mr. Griffith?
1838
1839
           Mr. {Griffith.} No.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Griffith, nay.
1840
1841
          Mr. Waxman?
1842
           Mr. {Waxman.} Aye.
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1843
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Waxman, aye.
1844
           Mr. Dingell?
1845
           Mr. {Dingell.} No.
1846
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Dingell, nay.
1847
           Mr. Markey?
1848
           Mr. {Markey.} Aye.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Markey, aye.
1849
1850
           Mr. Towns?
1851
           [No response.]
1852
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Pallone?
           Mr. {Pallone.} Yes.
1853
1854
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Pallone, aye.
1855
           Mr. Rush?
1856
           Mr. {Rush.} Aye.
1857
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Rush, aye.
          Ms. Eshoo?
1858
1859
           Ms. {Eshoo.} Aye.
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Eshoo, aye.
1860
1861
           Mr. Engel?
1862
           Mr. {Engel.} Aye.
1863
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Engel, aye.
1864
           Mr. Green?
           Mr. {Green.} No.
1865
1866
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Green, no.
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Ms. DeGette?
1867
1868
           Ms. {DeGette.} Aye.
1869
           The {Clerk.} Ms. DeGette, aye.
1870
           Mrs. Capps?
1871
           Mrs. {Capps.} Aye.
           The {Clerk.} Mrs. Capps, aye.
1872
1873
           Mr. Doyle?
1874
           Mr. {Doyle.} Aye.
1875
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Doyle, aye.
           Ms. Schakowsky?
1876
1877
           Ms. {Schakowsky.} Aye.
1878
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Schakowsky, aye.
           Mr. Gonzalez?
1879
1880
           [No response.]
1881
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Inslee?
1882
           [No response.]
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Baldwin?
1883
           Ms. {Baldwin.} Aye.
1884
1885
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Baldwin, aye.
1886
           Mr. Ross?
1887
           [No response.]
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Matheson?
1888
           Mr. {Matheson.} No.
1889
1890
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Matheson, nay.
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1891
           Mr. Butterfield?
1892
           Mr. {Butterfield.} Aye.
1893
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Butterfield, aye.
1894
          Mr. Barrow?
1895
           Mr. {Barrow.} Aye.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Barrow, aye.
1896
           Ms. Matsui?
1897
1898
           Ms. {Matsui.} Aye.
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Matsui, aye.
1899
1900
          Ms. Christensen?
1901
           Dr. {Christensen.} Aye.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Christensen, aye.
1902
          Ms. Castor?
1903
1904
           Ms. {Castor.} Aye.
1905
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Castor, aye.
1906
          Mr. Upton.
1907
           The {Chairman.} I was waiting. The vote is no.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Upton, nay.
1908
           The {Chairman.} Other members wishing to vote? Mr.
1909
1910
     Bass?
1911
          Mr. {Bass.} Nay.
1912
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Bass, nay.
           The {Chairman.} Mr. Sullivan?
1913
1914
          Mr. {Sullivan.} Nay.
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- 1915 The {Clerk.} Mr. Sullivan, nay.
- 1916 The {Chairman.} Ms. Bono Mack?
- 1917 Mrs. {Bono Mack.} Nay.
- 1918 The {Clerk.} Ms. Bono Mack, nay.
- 1919 The {Chairman.} Mr. Rush? Excuse me, Mr. Towns.
- 1920 Mr. {Towns.} Aye.
- 1921 The {Clerk.} Mr. Towns, aye.
- 1922 The {Chairman.} Other members wishing to cast a vote?
- 1923 Seeing none, the clerk will report the tally.
- The {Clerk.} Mr. Chairman, on that, there were 17 ayes,
- 1925 27 nays.
- 1926 The {Chairman.} Seventeen ayes, 27 nos. The amendment
- 1927 is not agreed to.
- 1928 Mr. {Rush.} Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment at the
- 1929 desk.
- 1930 Mr. {Dingell.} Mr. Chairman.
- 1931 The {Chairman.} Let me go to Mr. Dingell first. Mr.
- 1932 Dingell, do you have an amendment at the desk?
- 1933 Mr. {Dingell.} I will wait my turn, but I will be happy
- 1934 to be recognized.
- 1935 The {Chairman.} Okay.
- 1936 Mr. {Rush.} I yield to Mr. Dingell.
- 1937 The {Chairman.} Mr. Dingell.
- 1938 Mr. {Dingell.} Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment at the

- 1939 clerk's desk at page 6 after line 16.
- 1940 The {Chairman.} The clerk will read the title of the
- 1941 amendment.
- 1942 The {Clerk.} An amendment offered by Mr. Dingell of
- 1943 Michigan.
- 1944 [The amendment follows:]
- 1945 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* INSERT 4 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

1946 The {Chairman.} The amendment will be considered as 1947 read, and the gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes in 1948 support of his amendment.

1949 Mr. {Dingell.} Mr. Chairman, I thank you. This is a
1950 very simple amendment. It says no action by the secretary of
1951 energy pursuant to this section shall affect any duty or any
1952 responsibility to comply with any requirement to conduct
1953 environmental review.

One of the things that has been troublesome is we have gone through this business of permitting drilling, pipeline construction, and other things has been that we have done a poor job of reviewing the environmental impacts of that action.

If you look back at the recent events in the Gulf, you will find that there was a hideous mess. Some five billion barrels of oil were deposited in the Gulf, caused no end to difficulties because a lot of the environmental requirements were disregarded as matters went forward down there. As a result, the people of the whole Gulf area found themselves thoroughly abused by that result.

1966 Keystone, if those of you will remember, has been active 1967 in running pipelines in Michigan. They did it in such a 1968 slovenly fashion that we have a very fine mess up there near 1969 the district of the Chairman and near the district of Mr. 1970 Rogers and a number of others of us who have had to live with 1971 the consequence of the incompetence of Keystone. And in 1972 fact, the permitting was done poorly by the state. 1973 amendment simply says that although the matters of issuing 1974 the permit will be expedited, they will not allow for there 1975 to be slovenly handling of the environmental reviews that 1976 would be necessary under the National Environmental Policy 1977 Act or any of the other statutes including the Pipeline 1978 Safety Act, which relate to how the permitting of the 1979 pipeline or the drilling or other acts would be considered. 1980 In my discussion with the staff, you will recall that 1981 the staff indicated that there was nothing in here which 1982 would impair the different environmental laws that relate to 1983 pipelines and drilling and other issues of this kind. 1984 just to sort of keep everybody on their toes down there at 1985 Department of Transportation and the other federal regulatory 1986 agencies that would address the permitting that we have here 1987 before us, out of an exercise of caution, I offer this 1988 amendment which simply says that the requirements to conduct environmental review and the duty therefore will not be 1989 1990 adversely affected by the legislation which we have before 1991 us.

1992 It is quite possible that the legislation, that that is

- redundant, but having dealt with pipeline spills and the
  consequences of it and some of the other spills that we have
  seen associated with these matters, I feel that the greatest
  care in ensuring that proper review of these matters is
- 1996 care in ensuring that proper review of these matters is 1997 taken.
- 1998 So I would urge my colleagues to vote for the amendment.
- 1999 It is not going to slow anything down. It will simply
- 2000 encourage the people who are doing the reviews to do the
- 2001 reviews as they would and as they should and as will best
- 2002 ensure the safety of all persons concerned which means so
- 2003 much.
- 2004 Mr. {Waxman.} Will the gentleman yield?
- 2005 Mr. {Dingell.} Yes, I will yield to the gentleman.
- 2006 Mr. {Waxman.} I want to speak in support of your
- 2007 amendment. It ensures that this legislation does not
- 2008 interfere with the National Environmental Policy Act or other
- 2009 required environmental reviews. This is an amendment. It is
- 2010 important because it makes clear that if a state department
- 2011 needs additional time to comply with NEPA, then they will be-
- 2012 -not beat down by the November 1 deadline in the Act. This
- 2013 is just common sense, and the State Department has received
- 2014 more than 230,000 public comments on the supplemental
- 2015 environmental impact statement for this project.
- 2016 It is highly controversial. It only makes sense for

- 2017 them to take the time they need to comply with the law, and I
- 2018 urge support for this amendment.
- 2019 Mr. {Dingell.} I thank the gentleman for his support.
- 2020 I would note way back when I was a young fellow in this place
- 2021 and had hair, I was the author of the National Environmental
- 2022 Policy Act. It has worked well to see to it we know what we
- 2023 are doing. It has not slowed down things, but it has made
- 2024 sure that we have been safe, correct, wise, and proper in
- 2025 what we have done. I yield back the balance of the time.
- 2026 The {Chairman.} The gentleman yields back his time. I
- 2027 yield myself 5 minutes. I just want to say the gentleman
- 2028 from the great State of Michigan has had a very convincing
- 2029 argument. We see no reason not to accept this amendment as
- 2030 part of the bill H.R. 1938, and we recognize its positive
- 2031 impact, and we will accept it. Gentleman from Nebraska.
- 2032 Mr. {Terry.} Yeah, will the gentleman yield? I agree
- 2033 with your decision, Mr. Chairman. I think that making sure
- 2034 that there is clarity in here, that the environmental process
- 2035 and Department of Energy will continue as it is supposed to.
- 2036 I would like to point out that these are not my prepared
- 2037 notes here sitting in front of me. This is the environmental
- 2038 impact study, the supplemental impact environmental impact
- 2039 study.
- The EPA has, in its first one, make 57 recommendation

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2041 that--
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- 2042 Mr. {Dingell.} Point of order. I would like to hear
- 2043 the remarks of the gentleman from Nebraska.
- 2044 Mr. {Terry.} The gentleman is correct. He should hear
- 2045 me. And so 57 recommendations were already adopted. Another
- 2046 set of recommendations from the supplemental are in the
- 2047 process of being adopted and hearing set on those. So
- 2048 nothing in this bill as we wrote it, Mr. Chairman and
- 2049 Chairman Emeritus, were ever intended to interfere with the
- 2050 occurring process. So yield back.
- 2051 The {Chairman.} Gentleman yields back. I yield back my
- 2052 time. All those in favor of the amendment will signal by
- 2053 saying aye. Aye. Opposed say no. The ayes have it. The
- 2054 amendment is adopted. Other members to the bill? Mr. Rush
- 2055 from Illinois.
- 2056 Mr. {Rush.} Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment at the
- 2057 desk, Amendment number 37.
- 2058 The {Chairman.} Clerk will read the title of the
- amendment.
- 2060 The {Clerk.} An amendment offered by Mr. Rush of
- 2061 Illinois.
- [The amendment follows:]
- 2063 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* INSERT 5 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

2064 The {Chairman.} And the amendment will be considered as 2065 read. Staff will circulate the amendment, and the gentleman 2066 is recognized for 5 minutes in support of his amendment. 2067 Mr. {Rush.} Mr. Chairman, I really think that we can 2068 just deal with this amendment if you just -- I will rename this 2069 amendment the Dingell Amendments if you just want to move 2070 into the committee with that caveat, we will save a lot of 2071 time. 2072 Mr. Chairman, during the Energy and Power Subcommittee 2073 markup, I offered my amendment to delete a finding that I 2074 thought was particularly misleading. Finding number 15 states ``analysis using the Environmental Protection Agency 2075 2076 models shows that the Keystone XL Pipeline will result in no 2077 significant change in total United States or global 2078 greenhouse gas emissions.'' 2079 My amendment was defeated on a party line vote after my 2080 colleagues on the other side insisted that the statement was 2081 indeed true. Well, Mr. Chairman, this past week, I wrote a 2082 letter to EPA asking they agency to weigh in on the accuracy 2083 of this finding, and this was the agency's reply. ``EPA has 2084 conducted no modeling nor provided any models to analysis the 2085 likely effect of the Keystone XL Pipeline on U.S. or global 2086 greenhouse gas emissions. The language in the above finding

- 2087 is therefore incorrect.''
- 2088 The official EPA statement went on to say again ``as
- 2089 detailed in the supplemental draft Environmental Impact
- 2090 Statement for the Keystone XL Project issued by the
- 2091 Department of State, the Department of Energy directed a
- 2092 contractor to conduct modeling or potential impact of the
- 2093 project. EPA provided some data to be used in that effort,
- 2094 but--and this is highlighted--EPA models were not used, and
- 2095 the EPA did not model any projected emissions effects of the
- 2096 project.''
- 2097 Mr. Chairman, there is some who believe that the
- 2098 majority does not care about the facts or truth or science,
- 2099 and they can get in the way of the industry moving forward
- 2100 unfettered. So today, we have an opportunity to set the
- 2101 record straight and prove to the American people that when a
- 2102 statement has been demonstrably shown to be false, then
- 2103 members of the Congress, Democrats or Republican, are to put
- 2104 their partisan differences aside and stand on the side of the
- 2105 truth. Scripture tell us ``know ye the truth, and the truth
- 2106 shall set you free.'' So in order to correct this misleading
- 2107 statement contained in the bill, I urge all of my colleagues
- 2108 to support my amendment. And I will reserve the balance of
- 2109 my time.
- The {Chairman.} Yield back the time?

- 2111 Mr. {Rush.} I yield back. I yield the remaining of my
- 2112 time to the ranking member.
- 2113 Mr. {Waxman.} Thank you very much. I want to support
- 2114 your amendment to strike finding 15 in the legislation which
- 2115 says that analysis using EPA models shows that Keystone XL
- 2116 Pipeline will result in no significant change in total U.S.
- 2117 or global greenhouse gas emissions. This finding is just not
- 2118 supported by the facts. Nothing in the record for this
- 2119 decision shows any analysis of the greenhouse gas emissions
- 2120 based on an EPA model, nor does the record indicate that
- 2121 under.
- 2122 Nor does the record indicate that under no circumstances
- 2123 would the Keystone XL Pipeline result in higher greenhouse
- 2124 gas emissions. Supporters of the bill point to a study done
- 2125 by the consulting firm ENSUS that claim that this finding is
- 2126 accurate, but this argument is a red herring. The ENSUS
- 2127 report does not use EPA models. It doesn't even claim to.
- 2128 Instead, it simply says that some of the data it used is
- 2129 consistent with some of the data the EPA has used in the
- 2130 past. And the report specifically says that it does not
- 2131 reflect the views of any government agency.
- 2132 Tar sands crude is more polluting than conventional oil,
- 2133 and the supplement draft Environmental Impact Statement
- 2134 recognizes that tar sands crude has substantially higher life

- 2135 cycle greenhouse gas emissions compared to the average U.S.
- 2136 crude supply. The supplemental data Environmental Impact
- 2137 Statement also includes an analysis by DOE that shows that
- 2138 there will be an increased total gas emissions compared to
- 2139 the base case under at least one of the scenarios.
- 2140 So I would urge that we support the Rush amendment and
- 2141 not put a finding in legislation that is not accurate and not
- 2142 based on correct information.
- 2143 Mr. {Terry.} Mr. Chairman.
- The {Chairman.} Gentleman from Nebraska, Mr. Terry.
- 2145 Mr. {Terry.} I rise in opposition to this amendment. I
- 2146 think probably the best way to argue against this amendment
- 2147 is simply to read what is in the Environmental Impact
- 2148 Statement. There has been a study done on life cycle
- 2149 greenhouse gases, and I encourage my colleagues on a
- 2150 supplemental Environmental Impact Study, page 35.
- Now, technically correct that the EPA did not do this
- 2152 study. A study was done on behalf of the EPA. That study on
- 2153 page 35 says `changes in life cycle greenhouse gas emissions
- 2154 were calculated with the models and methodology used in
- 2155 deriving indirect impacts of petroleum consumption for the
- 2156 RFS-2 program. Petroleum indirect impact analysis February
- 2157 2010.''
- 2158 Here is a copy of the rules for doing the impact

2159 statement from the EPA. This is the EPA's standards that 2160 were followed in this greenhouse gas emissions. 2161 conclusion -- let me see if I can get to the right chart here. 2162 But on page 41, global life cycle greenhouse gas emissions, 2163 now this is all part of the environmental record. The chart 2164 Global Life Cycle Greenhouse Gas Emissions, No XL Pipeline, 2165 Versus Keystone XL Pipeline, concludes that there is 2166 negligible difference in the life cycle greenhouse gases. 2167 Now, this leads us to why--the argument that we just 2168 heard in favor of the argument leads us to why we have to 2169 have a bill because all of the standards and procedures in 2170 developing the Environmental Impact Study that the state 2171 department will rely on to determine if it is in our national 2172 interests to approve this pipeline are now being changed by 2173 the EPA. 2174 In their recent July letter, the old standard of doing 2175 it is this, EPA's own rules and regulations, but now the EPA, 2176 in a letter, suggests a different method. Well, they are 2177 just saying well, that didn't work out for us in trying to 2178 delay this. So let us come up with something new. You can't 2179 compared heavy crude to heavy crude. Remember we are

displacing heavy crude with heavy crude from a friendly

is compare it to Texas sweet crude. Now, come on.

country, not Venezuela. And so, they say what you have to do

That is

2180

2181

- 2183 not the standard. The standard is right here.
- 2184 EPA, follow your own dang rules. We are onto your game.
- 2185 We understand you are against this pipeline, and you are
- 2186 doing everything you can to change the rules just like you
- 2187 did in the Chukchi Sea and everything else in regarding to
- 2188 fossil fuels. We understand your game. That is why we have
- 2189 this bill.
- 2190 Mr. {Rush.} Will the gentleman yield?
- 2191 Mr. {Terry.} I will yield to the gentleman from
- 2192 Illinois.
- 2193 Mr. {Rush.} Mr. Chairman, I am amused by the arguments,
- 2194 and I really think that my friend from Nebraska might make an
- 2195 argument for a number of other different issues that may
- 2196 surround this particular issue. And he certainly made some
- 2197 assertions about this pipeline that I don't share. But let
- 2198 us face a few facts in this. This bill, it has some
- 2199 allegations. This bill has some assertions that are totally
- 2200 false, and that is really underlined by the statement or
- 2201 letter from the assistant administrator, Ms. Gina McCarthy,
- 2202 dated June 22, where it says here that, in the second
- 2203 paragraph, EPA provided some data to be used in the effort,
- 2204 but EPA models were not used. And EPA did not model any
- 2205 projected emission effects of the project.
- Now, that is real clear. You can say whatever you want.

- 2207 You can get a whole library of papers.
- 2208 Mr. {Terry.} I am just reading--I reclaim my time.
- 2209 Mr. {Rush.} But the facts are--
- 2210 Mr. {Terry.} I am just reading these studies. I am
- 2211 reading the studies, not--
- The {Chairman.} Gentlemen.
- 2213 Mr. {Terry.} -- the EPA trying to kill this project for
- 2214 you. I am just reading the studies.
- 2215 The {Chairman.} Gentleman's time has expired. Other
- 2216 members wishing to speak on the amendment? On the Democratic
- 2217 side, any members? Mr. Gardner recognized for 5 minutes.
- 2218 Mr. {Gardner.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. In light of
- 2219 this amendment, I just want to submit for the record an
- 2220 article that says ``Oil sands project in Canada will go on if
- 2221 pipeline is blocked.'' The entire argument that we are
- 2222 hearing is about we can stop this so we can--strike this
- 2223 language, and we will prevent this from happening.
- 2224 Well, here is what it talks about. Environmentalists
- 2225 are using the project as a proxy for their general antagonism
- 2226 toward oil sands projections, which consumes large amounts of
- 2227 water and energy. This is a quote. ``This is really a
- 2228 campaign against tar sands expansion rather than a single
- 2229 pipeline, said Susan Casey Lefkowitz, the director of the
- 2230 International Program at the Natural Resources Defense

- 2231 Counsel.''
- 2232 It is going to continue, as the article says, by rail or
- 2233 ship or network or pipelines. It is going to happen. That
- 2234 is coming somewhere.
- 2235 Mr. {Rush.} Will the gentleman yield?
- 2236 Mr. {Gardner.} And yet we are sitting here talking
- 2237 about trying to--
- 2238 Mr. {Rush.} Will the gentleman yield?
- 2239 Mr. {Gardner.} No, I will yield back my time.
- 2240 Mr. {Rush.} Thank you.
- 2241 The {Chairman.} Gentleman yields back. Are there other
- 2242 members wishing to speak on the amendment?
- 2243 Mr. {Waxman.} Yeah, I do.
- The {Chairman.} Mr. Waxman.
- 2245 Mr. {Waxman.} I have not been recognized on this
- 2246 amendment, and I just think it is the right thing to yield to
- 2247 Mr. Rush, and I would like to--
- 2248 Mr. {Rush.} Yeah, it seems as though the other side is
- 2249 trying to make a record that this side is against the
- 2250 pipeline. I don't think that anyone over here has made that
- 2251 decision yet. The administration hasn't made that decision
- 2252 yet, and it seems as though when we are attempting to help
- 2253 bring some clarity to this bill, to help bring some truth
- 2254 into this bill, then we are accused of being opposed to the

- 2255 pipeline or trying to kill the pipeline. That is not true.
- 2256 I have some suspicions. I am sure that most of us who
- 2257 represent Midwestern States, we are concerned about whether
- 2258 or not this is going to increase already skyrocketing
- 2259 gasoline prices in the Midwest region and in our district.
- 2260 Of course we have some concerns about that.
- 2261 But we have not made--I know I have not made a final
- 2262 determining, so I think that the other side is really trying
- 2263 to again bamboozle this process in using those kind of
- 2264 arguments. The fact remains that what we are doing is we are
- 2265 not standing for the truth in this legislation in this
- 2266 committee. And I have been on this committee for many, many
- 2267 years, and I have never, ever during Democratic reign or
- 2268 during Republican reign, I have never, ever been a part of a
- 2269 process where there was a blatant lie in a bill that came out
- 2270 of this committee, whether it was on the Republican side or
- 2271 the Democratic side, that we didn't try to correct.
- 2272 And all members of this committee know that this is an
- 2273 erroneous assertion that the EPA modeled and conducted this
- 2274 study. You know it, and I know it. No matter what you say,
- 2275 no matter how many papers you bring forth--
- 2276 Mr. {Terry.} Will the gentleman yield?
- 2277 Mr. {Rush.} --how many studies, we all know that this
- 2278 is an untruth. It is a lie.

- 2279 Mr. {Terry.} Would the gentleman yield?
- 2280 Mr. {Waxman.} I would be happy to yield to you.
- 2281 Mr. {Terry.} Thank you. I appreciate that, Mr. Waxman.
- 2282 I am feeling a little bit like I am being called a liar here.
- 2283 Mr. {Waxman.} Reclaiming my time.
- 2284 Mr. {Terry.} The study was done, I did say, for the
- 2285 EPA. I misspoke. It was done for the State Department, and
- 2286 the EPA then used and the Stated Department used Brookhaven
- 2287 National Laboratory, using Department of Energy's global
- 2288 energy model. I am just reading the report. So those are
- 2289 the facts that are before me. And that is right.
- 2290 Mr. {Waxman.} If I might reclaim my time.
- 2291 Mr. {Terry.} So I yield back.
- 2292 Mr. {Waxman.} Look, there is truth and there is
- 2293 fiction. The statement of the finding that Mr. Rush seeks to
- 2294 strike is that EPA did a report. EPA did not do a report.
- 2295 Some other company did a report, and it is not EPA's. So why
- 2296 not correct the finding?
- 2297 Mr. {Terry.} Can--
- 2298 Mr. {Waxman.} No, I still got time for myself here. If
- 2299 it is not accurate, just say it. But it just seems we are
- 2300 seeing over and over again in this committee truth doesn't
- 2301 make a lot of difference. We can state things as facts even
- 2302 if they are not. We can deny that there is global warming

- and climate change even if it is going on. We can say there
  is no impact on the climate around this country even though
  every day in the news, the first story is about a flood or a
  drought or something unexpected. We can put our heads in the
  sand and say we are right, we are right, we are right, and
  everybody else is wrong. We know that everybody else wants
- 2309 to stop this pipeline. 2310 Well, the truth is that this pipeline without this bill 2311 is probably going to be approved because Secretary Clinton 2312 seems inclined to support it. The State Department, which 2313 has jurisdiction, seems inclined to be for it. I wish they 2314 would have more time to review the input from other agencies, 2315 but under existing law, they have the power to do it. Your 2316 bill is to try to ram that project through without letting 2317 the rules be observed because you are convinced it is right. 2318 Well, sometimes you are convinced things are right when 2319 you are wrong. It is true for us too. But don't make a 2320 finding in law something that is not accurate, and I 2321 appreciate Mr. Rush pointing that out. And I don't know why 2322 you should be so exercised. If he points something out that 2323 is inaccurate, you should just say you are right. Let us
- 2326 The {Chairman.} Gentleman's time has expired. The

same results. Yield back the balance of my time.

drop it out, and then go on with your bill. You will get the

2324

- 2327 gentleman from Illinois.
- 2328 Mr. {Shimkus.} Speak in opposition to the amendment. I
- 2329 would like to yield the time to Mr. Terry for as much time as
- 2330 he may consume.
- 2331 Mr. {Terry.} Thank you, John. I do get exercised when
- 2332 there is a mischaracterization. So the findings says in the
- 2333 bill that this amendment is going to change the language. I
- 2334 am reading the bill now. ``Analysis using the Environmental
- 2335 Protection Agency models shows that Keystone XL Pipeline will
- 2336 result in no significant change in the United States or
- 2337 global greenhouse gas emissions.'' That is a fact.
- 2338 The greenhouse gasses, according to the draft in
- 2339 Supplemental Environment Impact Study, makes that conclusion.
- 2340 The EPA standards set forth and footnoted throughout the
- 2341 environmental study says that the EPA's modeling was used.
- 2342 So I think that is the facts, and I will yield back to John.
- 2343 Mr. {Shimkus.} And just a reminder that the first
- 2344 Keystone Pipeline has helped create thousands of jobs in my
- 2345 district because the refinery changed and expanded to process
- 2346 this heavy crude. So my district has already benefited from
- 2347 the first pipeline in jobs. That is why we have numerous
- 2348 letters. Here is one from the Building Trades, friends of
- 2349 mine even though I am Republican.
- 2350 We have a letter here from the International Brotherhood

- 2351 of Teamsters supporting this legislation, the Labors
- 2352 International supporting this legislation, the International
- 2353 Union of Operating Engineers, also good friends of mine,
- 2354 supporting this legislation, the United Association of
- 2355 Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipefitting
- 2356 Industry of the United States and Canada supporting this
- 2357 legislation.
- 2358 They are supporting this legislation because it is going
- 2359 to create jobs. It is going to keep our workers employed in
- 2360 good--I will in a minute--in good high-paying jobs. How do I
- 2361 know that? In this downturn of this economy, really in my
- 2362 colleague Jerry Costello's district, but right next to my
- 2363 district, we have undergone a \$4 billion refinery expansion.
- 2364 \$4 billion have been put at risk by corporate America to
- 2365 receive this heavy crude. In this expansion, thousands of
- 2366 workers of organized labor have been working for 2 and a half
- 2367 years expanding this refinery. We had the biggest crane in
- 2368 the world in our district building this refinery.
- 2369 Mr. {Waxman.} Mr. Chairman, will you yield since you
- 2370 have the time?
- 2371 Mr. {Shimkus.} It is my time.
- 2372 Mr. {Waxman.} It is your time? Excuse me.
- 2373 Mr. {Shimkus.} And I will yield, Mr. Waxman, but I will
- 2374 just finish this point. This is, as we said in other

- 2375 amendments, this is a jobs bill. Why would we not move to
- 2376 create and preserve and expand American jobs? And with that,
- 2377 I will yield.
- 2378 Mr. {Waxman.} Thank you for yielding. Look, I could
- 2379 see your argument, why you support the bill. But the
- 2380 amendment before us is to strike the finding that says
- 2381 `analysis using the Environmental Protection Agency models
- 2382 shows that the Keystone XL Pipeline will result in no
- 2383 significant change in total U.S. or global greenhouse gas
- 2384 emissions.'' That is a finding we are going to put into law,
- 2385 yet we have a letter from the EPA that says that EPA has
- 2386 conducted no modeling. We ask unanimous consent the letter
- 2387 be put into the record. ``EPA has conducted no modeling nor
- 2388 provided any models to analyze the likely effect of Keystone
- 2389 XL Pipeline on U.S. and global greenhouse gas emissions.
- The language in the above, which is the finding,
- 2391 therefore is incorrect. So look, the argument for the
- 2392 finding is well, maybe it is not technically correct, but one
- 2393 could think it might be correct because the analysis was done
- 2394 the way EPA would have suggested we do it. But EPA says they
- 2395 never suggested it. It would not harm what you are trying to
- 2396 accomplish to adopt the Rush amendment.
- 2397 Mr. {Shimkus.} Henry, just so I can reclaim my time for
- 2398 the last 5 seconds.

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2399 Mr. {Waxman.} Yes.
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- 2400 Mr. {Shimkus.} Reclaiming my last 5 seconds. The
- 2401 finding says analysis using the Environmental Protection
- 2402 Agency models. We are not asserting that the EPA--we are
- 2403 saying that the models were used, and that is why the
- 2404 statement of finding is correct. My time has expired.
- 2405 Mr. {Waxman.} The EPA says it is not true.
- 2406 The {Chairman.} Are there other members wishing to
- 2407 speak on the amendment? Seeing none, the vote occurs on the
- 2408 amendment. All those in favor, say aye. All those opposed,
- 2409 say no. The nos appear to have it.
- 2410 Mr. {Rush.} Mr. Chairman.
- 2411 The {Chairman.} Gentleman asks for a roll call vote.
- 2412 The clerk will call the roll.
- 2413 The {Clerk.} Mr. Barton?
- [No response.]
- 2415 The {Clerk.} Mr. Stearns?
- [No response.]
- 2417 The {Clerk.} Mr. Whitfield?
- 2418 Mr. {Whitfield.} No.
- 2419 The {Clerk.} Mr. Whitfield, nay.
- 2420 Mr. Shimkus?
- 2421 Mr. {Shimkus.} No.
- The {Clerk.} Mr. Shimkus, nay.

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2423
          Mr. Pitts?
2424
          Mr. {Pitts.} No.
2425
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Pitts, nay.
2426
          Mrs. Bono Mack?
2427
          Mrs. {Bono Mack.} No.
          The {Clerk.} Mrs. Bono Mack, nay.
2428
          Mr. Walden?
2429
2430
          Mr. {Walden.} No.
2431
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Walden, nay.
2432
          Mr. Terry?
          Mr. {Terry.} No.
2433
2434
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Terry, nay.
          Mr. Rogers?
2435
2436
          Mr. {Rogers.} No.
2437
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Rogers, nay.
2438
          Mrs. Myrick?
2439
          [No response.]
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Sullivan?
2440
2441
          Mr. {Sullivan.} No.
2442
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Sullivan, nay.
2443
          Mr. Murphy?
2444
          [No response.]
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Burgess?
2445
2446
          [No response.]
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2447
           The {Clerk.} Mrs. Blackburn?
           [No response.]
2448
2449
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Bilbray?
2450
           [No response.]
2451
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Bass?
2452
           [No response.]
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Gingrey?
2453
2454
           [No response.]
2455
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Scalise?
2456
           Mr. {Scalise.} No.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Scalise, nay.
2457
2458
           Mr. Latta?
2459
           Mr. {Latta.} No.
2460
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Latta, nay.
2461
           Mrs. McMorris Rodgers?
2462
           [No response.]
2463
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Harper?
           Mr. {Harper.} No.
2464
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Harper, nay.
2465
2466
           Mr. Lance?
2467
           Mr. {Lance.} No.
2468
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Lance, nay.
           Mr. Cassidy?
2469
2470
           Dr. {Cassidy.} No.
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2471
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Cassidy, nay.
2472
          Mr. Guthrie?
2473
           Mr. {Guthrie.} No.
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Guthrie, nay.
2474
2475
          Mr. Olson?
          Mr. {Olson.} No.
2476
2477
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Olson, nay.
2478
          Mr. McKinley?
2479
          Mr. {McKinley.} No.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. McKinley, nay.
2480
          Mr. Gardner?
2481
2482
          Mr. {Gardner.} No.
2483
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Gardner, nay.
2484
          Mr. Pompeo?
2485
          Mr. {Pompeo.} No.
2486
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Pompeo, nay.
2487
          Mr. Kinzinger?
2488
          Mr. {Kinzinger.} No.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Kinzinger, nay.
2489
          Mr. Griffith?
2490
2491
          Mr. {Griffith.} No.
2492
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Griffith, nay.
          Mr. Waxman?
2493
2494
          Mr. {Waxman.} Aye.
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2495
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Waxman, aye.
2496
           Mr. Dingell?
2497
           Mr. {Dingell.} Aye.
2498
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Dingell, aye.
2499
           Mr. Markey?
2500
           [No response.]
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Towns?
2501
2502
           [No response.]
2503
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Pallone?
2504
           Mr. {Pallone.} Aye.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Pallone, aye.
2505
2506
           Mr. Rush?
2507
           Mr. {Rush.} Aye.
2508
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Rush, aye.
2509
           Ms. Eshoo?
           Ms. {Eshoo.} Aye.
2510
2511
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Eshoo, aye.
2512
           Mr. Engel?
2513
           Mr. {Engel.} Aye.
2514
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Engel, aye.
2515
           Mr. Green?
2516
          Mr. {Green.} No.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Green, nay.
2517
2518
           Ms. DeGette?
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2519
          Ms. {DeGette.} Aye.
2520
           The {Clerk.} Ms. DeGette, aye.
2521
           Mrs. Capps?
2522
          Mrs. {Capps.} Aye.
2523
           The {Clerk.} Mrs. Capps, aye.
          Mr. Doyle?
2524
          Mr. {Doyle.} Yes.
2525
2526
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Doyle, aye.
2527
          Ms. Schakowsky?
2528
          [No response.]
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Gonzalez?
2529
2530
          [No response.]
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Inslee?
2531
2532
          Mr. {Inslee.} Aye.
2533
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Inslee, aye.
          Ms. Baldwin?
2534
2535
          Ms. {Baldwin.} Aye.
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Baldwin, aye.
2536
          Mr. Ross?
2537
2538
          Mr. {Ross.} No.
2539
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Ross, nay.
2540
          Mr. Matheson?
          Mr. {Matheson.} No.
2541
2542
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Matheson, nay.
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2543
          Mr. Butterfield?
2544
          Mr. {Butterfield.} Aye.
2545
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Butterfield, aye.
2546
          Mr. Barrow?
2547
           Mr. {Barrow.} Aye.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Barrow, aye.
2548
           Ms. Matsui?
2549
2550
           Ms. {Matsui.} Aye.
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Matsui, aye.
2551
          Ms. Christensen?
2552
2553
          Dr. {Christensen.} Aye.
2554
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Christensen, aye.
2555
          Ms. Castor?
2556
          Ms. {Castor.} Aye.
2557
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Castor, aye.
2558
          Mr. Upton?
2559
           The {Chairman.} Votes no.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Upton, nay.
2560
           The {Chairman.} Other members wishing to vote? Mr.
2561
2562
     Stearns?
2563
          Mr. {Stearns.} No.
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Stearns, nay.
2564
          The {Chairman.} Mr. Bass?
2565
2566
          Mr. {Bass.} No.
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2567
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Bass, nay.
2568
           The {Chairman.} Mr. Gardner?
2569
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Gardner is already recorded.
2570
          The {Chairman.} Okay.
2571
           The {Clerk.} The gentleman is no.
2572
          The {Chairman.} He is okay. Other members wishing to
2573
     cast a vote? Seeing none, the clerk will report the tally.
2574
     Is there one down here? Mr. Doyle?
2575
           The {Clerk.} He is recorded.
2576
          The {Chairman.} He is lifting his finger up, all right.
2577
     Clerk will report the tally.
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Chairman, on that, there were 16 ayes,
2578
2579
      26 nays.
2580
           The {Chairman.} Sixteen ayes, 26 nos. The amendment is
2581
     not agreed to. Are there other members wishing to--
2582
          Mr. {Rush.} Mr. Chairman.
2583
          The {Chairman.} Mr. Rush had already asked me.
2584
          Mr. {Rush.} Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment at the
2585
     desk, number 36.
2586
           The {Clerk.} An amendment offered by Mr. Rush of
2587
     Illinois.
           [The amendment follows:]
2588
```

2589 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* INSERT 6 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

The {Chairman.} The amendment will be considered as
read. The clerk will distribute the amendment, and the
gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. {Rush.} Mr. Chairman, I am going to say this.

During the last Congress, I copiloted and chaired a Jobs Now

2595

of jobs. And I am looking forward to a time when my district can enjoy even more jobs, and so I am pro-jobs in this
Congress, and I have been in most Congresses. But my

conference, and I represent a district that is in dire needs

amendment will allow for 120 days after a final environmental impact or no later than January 1, 2012 for the President to issue a decision on the Keystone XL Pipeline.

2602 Mr. Chairman, a week ago in a hearing on pipeline safety 2603 in the Energy and Power Subcommittee, we heard testimony from 2604 the nation's foremost authorities warning us that we simply 2605 do not know the environmental impact of transporting diluted 2606 vitamin to the heart of the country or how this substance 2607 differs from other types of crude. Yet, this bill would 2608 force the administration to issue the presidential permit for 2609 the pipeline within 30 days of the final Environmental Impact 2610 Study and no later than November 1st, 2011. This arbitrary timeline will reduce the allocated time that federal agencies 2611 2612 should have to determine the national interest in citing this

- 2613 proposal by almost two-thirds, while also reducing or
- 2614 eliminating the 30-day public comment period.
- 2615 I believe public input is a vital and a necessary part
- 2616 of the determination process, especially for the local
- 2617 community that would be most affected by a decision to move
- 2618 forward.
- 2619 I also believe that it is important for the various
- 2620 departments to weigh in with their national interest
- 2621 determinations, which this bill will severely curtail if not
- 2622 completely eliminate. In fact, in conversations that my
- 2623 office has held with the State Department as well as the EPA,
- 2624 we were informed that it would be close to impossible for the
- 2625 responsible agencies to do their due diligence and reply to
- 2626 the arbitrary timeline of November the 1st, as this bill
- 2627 would mandate.
- 2628 Additionally, the State Department has already
- 2629 publically stated that it expects to have a decision on
- 2630 Keystone out by the end of the year. Mr. Chairman, my
- 2631 amendment will allow for the appropriate time period for the
- 2632 public and the different agencies to weigh in while also
- 2633 mandating that a decision is made within a timely manner.
- 2634 Pushing the deadline back by just a mere two months will
- 2635 avoid short-circuiting the review process and also make sure
- 2636 that a decision is made in a reasonable time period. So I

- 2637 urge all of my colleagues to support this amendment, and with
- 2638 that, I yield back the balance of my time.
- 2639 Mr. {Whitfield.} [Presiding] Does anyone seek
- 2640 recognition?
- 2641 Mr. {Terry.} Yes, Mr. Chairman. I seek--
- 2642 Mr. {Whitfield.} Mr. Terry is recognized for 5 minutes.
- 2643 Mr. {Terry.} --time in opposition. Just a couple of
- 2644 points here. First, I want to clarify that what this bill
- 2645 does is says a decision needs to be made. It doesn't say yes
- 2646 or no. It just says that here is the timeline. Now, it
- doesn't, Bobby.
- 2648 Mr. {Rush.} You are good, man. You are good. You are
- 2649 good.
- 2650 Mr. {Terry.} It doesn't. It says make a decision. It
- 2651 doesn't say yes. The other part of this that I would say is
- 2652 maybe you have had conversations with the State Department,
- 2653 but we asked them to come up here and provide us testimony,
- 2654 and they refused. So I don't have any evidence that they
- 2655 need any more than the five months that they have to follow
- 2656 up on the EPA's recommendation or setting hearings. If they
- 2657 come here and say they can't do that in five months, we would
- 2658 probably be open to changing their date.
- 2659 But we have no evidence that they can't do their
- 2660 hearings, that they want to do a second round of, can't be

- 2661 done in 5 months. So without any evidence saying they can't
- 2662 do it, I just don't see any reason to agree with that. I
- 2663 yield back to the Chairman.
- 2664 Mr. {Whitfield.} Well, I would just like to comment
- 2665 that EPA had a 60-day comment period for its proposed
- 2666 regulation of Utility MACT, which had a financial cost to
- 2667 this economy of over \$14 billion, estimated to increase
- 2668 electricity costs by 8 or 9 percent, and they had a 60-day
- 2669 comment period.
- 2670 So if they can complete a gigantic, 1,000-page
- 2671 regulation with a 60-day comment period, you would think that
- 2672 they would be able to do this within five months.
- 2673 Mr. {Rush.} Would the gentleman yield? Mr. Chairman?
- 2674 Mr. {Terry.} It is my time, and I will--yeah, they seem
- 2675 to have enough time to be able to do this as you just pointed
- 2676 out. And keep in mind, this is the second round of doing
- 2677 this. This isn't the first time of going out for public
- 2678 comment. There has already been two others in the time. The
- 2679 other part, before I yield to the gentleman from Illinois, is
- 2680 I am kind of offended that the State Department won't talk to
- 2681 us, but you get to call them up, and they give you
- 2682 information. I am kind of offended at that right now, and I
- 2683 will yield to you.
- 2684 Mr. {Rush.} Well, I think we might clarify this. I

- 2685 called the State Department, and they answered the phone.
- 2686 You called them and told them to get up here within a matter
- 2687 of a few hours, and they said that they could not make it
- 2688 during that time period that you gave them to get up--to be
- 2689 here to appear before the committee.
- 2690 So I am sure they would answer your phone call and give
- 2691 you the same information that they shared with me if you
- 2692 would just call them. You know, dial first and call them,
- 2693 and they will answer the phone and give you the same
- 2694 information.
- 2695 Mr. {Terry.} Well, reclaiming my time on that. I
- 2696 respect the gentleman's comment there. We gave them 2 weeks.
- 2697 We have also made comments to them. We would like to hear
- 2698 from you, and they haven't. So it has been difficulty.
- 2699 Mr. {Rush.} If you will yield just for a second, I
- 2700 don't recall that invitation going to the State Department
- 2701 with a 2-week period that they were supposed to respond. I
- 2702 don't recall that. What I do recall is the fact that they
- 2703 were asked to be here within a totally unreasonable period of
- 2704 time, and they couldn't make it. They said they couldn't
- 2705 make it. And they also stated that if you would give them an
- 2706 appropriate timeline--
- 2707 Mr. {Terry.} They didn't--reclaiming my time.
- 2708 Mr. {Rush.} --they would try to be here.

- 2709 Mr. {Terry.} Reclaiming my time. Not to keep dickering
- 2710 on little points here that are side tracking us, but we
- 2711 invited--they declined. They didn't say that there was a
- 2712 scheduling conflict. They said they would not come. There
- 2713 is a difference between not being able to come and refusing
- 2714 to come. And the hearing was noticed a week in advance, and
- 2715 the invitation made the week before that. I am going to
- 2716 yield back to the Chairman of the Subcommittee, if he has
- 2717 anything to add to this, but otherwise--
- 2718 Mr. {Rush.} Mr. Chairman, if you will yield a minute to
- 2719 me.
- 2720 Mr. {Whitfield.} Well, there is--do you want to yield
- 2721 to Mr. Rush?
- 2722 Mr. {Terry.} I will yield my remaining 14 seconds to
- 2723 the gentleman, my friend from Illinois.
- 2724 Mr. {Rush.} Mr. Chairman, also the EPA indicated that
- 2725 they didn't want to appear before the committee because they
- 2726 were in the middle of determination. They were deliberating
- 2727 on this particular project. And I might add, you know, 60
- 2728 days, we are asking for 60 days, and I think that its not
- 2729 something that is unreasonable. We want an additional 60
- 2730 days so that they can have the time to go through their--
- 2731 perform their due diligence so that they would be able to
- 2732 reach a decision that is in the best interest of the American

- 2733 people.
- 2734 And I don't think jobs are going to be adversely
- 2735 affected in 60 days. We are all for jobs. Let the jobs come
- 2736 if they are going to come. But give this agency, give the
- 2737 affected agency, give the public, the ones who are going to
- 2738 be most affected by this. We are not talking about plumbing
- 2739 in a building or home. We are talking about a pipeline with
- 2740 thousands and thousands of miles. There should be due
- 2741 diligence.
- 2742 Mr. {Whitfield.} Gentleman's time has expired. Does
- 2743 anyone seek recognition? The question now occurs on the
- 2744 amendment. Those in favor, say aye. Those opposed, nay. In
- 2745 the opinion of the chair, the nos have it. The nos have it.
- 2746 Are there further amendments? The gentlelady, Ms.
- 2747 Christensen. For what purpose does the gentlelady seek
- 2748 recognition?
- 2749 Dr. {Christensen.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have an
- amendment at the desk.
- 2751 Mr. {Whitfield.} Clerk will report the amendment.
- The {Clerk.} What is the number at the top?
- 2753 Dr. {Christensen.} It is 5, 005.
- 2754 The {Clerk.} An amendment offered by Ms. Christensen of
- 2755 the Virgin Islands.
- 2756 [The amendment follows:]

2757 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* INSERT 7 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

2758 Mr. {Whitfield.} The gentlelady is recognized for 5 2759 minutes to explain her amendment. 2760 Dr. {Christensen.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I agree 2761 that we must reduce our alliance on oil from high conflict 2762 resolutions, but H.R. 1938 attempts to set a very high cost. 2763 And it makes a series of findings, as has been discussed, 2764 related to the Keystone XL Pipeline. Some of these findings 2765 are a matter of opinion, and some are just flat-out wrong. 2766 But all of these findings share one characteristic: they all 2767 support the pipeline and inconvenient facts are not included. In fact, there are a lot of inconvenient facts about 2768 2769 this pipeline, as we have heard, that the American people 2770 should know. This project has many potentially significant 2771 adverse environmental impacts. Tar sands require far more 2772 energy to extract and process than the conventional crude 2773 oil. The result is that the lifecycle greenhouse gas 2774 emissions from using tar sands fuel are estimated to be from 2775 9 to 37 percent higher than from our baseline fuel mix. 2776 Overall, fuel from tar sands pipelines could erase 2777 roughly two-thirds or more of the greenhouse gas emission reductions that the President's vehicle standards would 2778 2779 achieve in 2020. This pipeline would almost double our

current use of tar sands fuel. At a time when we are trying

- 2781 to curb carbon emissions and stop global warming, Keystone XL
- 2782 makes us more reliant on one of the dirtiest sources of fuels
- 2783 currently available. And the jobs it is said it would create
- 2784 would be better off being created from expanding renewable
- 2785 and clean sources of energy.
- 2786 This amendment adds a finding. It adds a finding that
- 2787 simply recognizes that Keystone XL will increase carbon
- 2788 emissions and make it harder to address global warming. The
- 2789 finding states that the State Department Supplemental Draft
- 2790 Environmental Impact statement estimates that the Keystone XL
- 2791 Pipeline would increase carbon pollution associated with U.S.
- 2792 fuel use by up to 23 million metric tons of carbon dioxide
- 2793 equivalent per year, which is equivalent to the annual
- 2794 emissions from an extra 4.5 million passenger vehicles.
- 2795 It is important, as has been said, that we are truthful
- 2796 with the American people about the true costs of the Keystone
- 2797 XL Pipeline. It would have devastating effects on the
- 2798 environment, and we need to be up front with the American
- 2799 people about those effects.
- 2800 I ask my colleagues to support this amendment, and I
- 2801 yield back my time.
- 2802 Mr. {Whitfield.} Gentlelady yields back the balance of
- 2803 her time. Does anyone seek--the gentleman, Mr. Terry, is
- 2804 recognized for 5 minutes.

2805 Mr. {Terry.} I rise in opposition to the gentlelady's--2806 that a substantial amendment that is substantially similar to 2807 one we debated just a little bit ago. And I will reiterate 2808 from the record that the EPA has been provided State 2809 Department requested, modeled after EPA or using the EPA 2810 modeling. That it concludes that global life cycle 2811 greenhouse gas emissions, comparing the pipeline to no 2812 pipeline is negligible. We have established that. That is 2813 the record, and I would like to read from the supplemental as well. Saying ``despite the differences in study, design, and 2814 2815 input, it is clear that western Canada crude oils would 2816 likely be transported through the proposed project are on 2817 average somewhat more greenhouse green intensive. Although 2818 the study shows that there would be no substantive change in 2819 global greenhouse gas emissions as a result of the 2820 construction of the proposed project and no substantive 2821 change in western Canada SBU WCSB crude oil imports into the 2822 United States, whether the project is implemented or not.'' 2823 So I am going to yield to the gentlelady because I don't 2824 know where in the record it shows that there will be an 2825 increase, and I would appreciate if she could give me the 2826 reference. I am referencing the study that is in the record 2827 right now saying that it is negligible. So I yield to the 2828 gentlelady.

- 2829 Dr. {Christensen.} And I don't have the report right
- 2830 with me, but--
- 2831 Mr. {Terry.} All right, reclaiming my time. I will go
- 2832 ahead and yield back my time. We have debated this.
- 2833 Mr. {Whitfield.} The gentleman yields back the balance
- 2834 of his time. Is there further discussion on this amendment?
- 2835 The gentleman from California, Mr. Waxman, is recognized for
- 2836 5 minutes.
- 2837 Mr. {Waxman.} Mr. Chairman and my colleagues, I support
- 2838 the Christensen amendment. On May 12, 2011, the National
- 2839 Academy of Sciences, our nation's preeminent scientific
- 2840 organization released a new report entitled ``America's
- 2841 Climate Choices' and the Academy charged the writing of a
- 2842 consensus report to provide authoritative analysis to inform
- 2843 and guide our response to climate change.
- 2844 And they found ``climate change is occurring, is very
- 2845 likely caused primarily by human activities, and poses
- 2846 significant risk to humans and to the environment.'' The
- 2847 Academy called delaying action imprudent and urged that the
- 2848 U.S. should begin ramping down emissions as soon as possible.
- Similarly, the Vatican has recently weighed in on
- 2850 climate change. On May 11, 2011, a report by the Pontifical
- 2851 Academy of Sciences emphasized the dangers associated with
- 2852 climate change. This legislation takes us in exactly the

- 2853 wrong direction. Rather than listening to the experts and
- 2854 cutting carbon pollution, this legislation says full steam
- 2855 ahead for pollution control.
- The Christensen amendment simply recognizes the facts,
- 2857 and if we approve this pipeline, our carbon pollution will
- 2858 increase. Let us not deny reality, and let us approve the
- 2859 Christensen amendment.
- 2860 Mr. {Inslee.} Gentleman yield?
- 2861 Mr. {Waxman.} I would be happy to yield to the
- 2862 gentleman from Washington.
- 2863 Mr. {Inslee.} I just am looking forward to the day
- 2864 where we start getting together on this issue, not just about
- 2865 this pipeline but this larger issue whether we got a problem.
- 2866 And I just am going to ask my colleagues across the aisle. I
- 2867 am going to send you all a report that was issued two days
- 2868 ago by a consortium of Marine scientists, and this is
- 2869 probably the most esteemed Marine science conclave people
- 2870 have ever had.
- 2871 And they issued a report 2 days ago that basically said
- 2872 we are heading for major extinction events in the oceans
- 2873 because of a combination of ocean acidification caused by
- 2874 carbon dioxide, temperature changes, and pollution. And the
- 2875 thing that was stunning about it is they basically said we
- 2876 are not looking at little tiny changes in the oceans. We are

- 2877 looking at mass extinction events that have never happened in
- 2878 human history and will be equal to the previous six
- 2879 extinction events the planet has had.
- This amendment is not going to solve that problem, but I
- 2881 am going to send my Republican colleagues this report. And I
- 2882 hope that you will just take a look at it because this isn't
- 2883 a global warming issue. It is a global collapse issue of
- 2884 major life forms in the ocean upon which we get about 16 or
- 2885 20 percent of our protein.
- 2886 And I just hope you will take a look at it because I
- 2887 hope the day will come when we can get together and figure
- 2888 out how we are going to skin this cat. Thank you.
- 2889 Mr. {Whitfield.} Thank you, Mr. Inslee. Question will
- 2890 now occur on the amendment. Those in favor, say aye. Those
- 2891 opposed, no. In the opinion of the chair, the nos have it.
- 2892 Are there further amendments to the bill? Are there any
- 2893 further amendments to the legislation?
- 2894 Ms. {Eshoo.} Yes.
- 2895 Mr. {Whitfield.} The gentlelady from California, Ms.
- 2896 Eshoo, is recognized for 5 minutes for explanation of her
- amendment.
- 2898 Ms. {Eshoo.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have an
- 2899 amendment at the desk.
- 2900 Mr. {Whitfield.} The clerk will--just let me have the

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2901 clerk report the amendment.
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2902 The  $\{Clerk.\}$  An amendment offered by Ms. Eshoo of

2903 California.

2904 [The amendment follows:]

2905 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* INSERT 8, 9 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

Mr. {Whitfield.} The gentlelady is recognized for 5 2906 2907 minutes. 2908 Ms. {Eshoo.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I would like 2909 to ask unanimous consent that as the copy of the amendment is 2910 being passed out to members, that a September 11, 2010 2911 article from the San Francisco Chronicle accompany the 2912 amendment as well. 2913 Mr. {Whitfield.} Without objection. 2914 Ms. {Eshoo.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Public pipeline 2915 safety is not a subject I take likely. On September 10, 2916 2010, there was a natural gas explosion in San Bruno, 2917 California. As a result of that, eight people were killed, 2918 dozens were injured, and there was the destruction of 55 2919 homes. 2920 To put this into geographic context, San Bruno, California is very close to San Francisco International 2921 2922 Airport in San Mateo County, the county that I live in. 2923 While San Bruno is not in my congressional district, it is in 2924 Congresswoman Speier's. This is one of the most shocking

2924 Congresswoman Speier's. This is one of the most shocking
2925 events that has taken place in the Bay area, in northern
2926 California, in California, and in our country. We have been
2927 regulating natural gas pipelines, and I would urge you just-2928 you may not have time to read the article, but when you see

- 2929 this picture, you can understand the devastation.
- 2930 We have been regulating natural gas pipelines since
- 2931 1968, and we are still seeing horrific explosions like the
- 2932 one in San Bruno, California. I think it is dangerous to
- 2933 move forward with a tar sands oil pipeline, which we have
- 2934 little to no experience regulating before we have the proper
- 2935 safety knowledge and procedures in place.
- 2936 And that is what my amendment is about. We are hearing
- 2937 strong concerns that pipelines carrying tar sands and the
- 2938 chemical bitmutin may pose greater safety risks--I may not be
- 2939 pronouncing that correctly--than pipelines carrying
- 2940 conventional or synthetic crude.
- 2941 At a June 16, 2011 hearing on pipeline safety held by
- 2942 the Subcommittee on Energy and Power, Cynthia Quarterman, who
- 2943 is the administrator of the Pipeline and Hazardous Material
- 2944 Safety Administration, PHMSA, testified that her agency,
- 2945 which is specifically designed for researching and
- 2946 administering pipeline safety, had not done a study analyzing
- 2947 the risks associated with transporting diluted bitmutin but
- 2948 would be happy to do such a study if required by Congress.
- 2949 So my amendment would require PHMSA to complete a
- 2950 comprehensive review of the properties and characteristics of
- 2951 this and the hazardous liquid pipeline regulations before the
- 2952 final presidential permit is issued on the Keystone Tar Sands

- 2953 Pipeline. This study, I think, is important for the safety
- 2954 of all Americans and will determine whether current
- 2955 regulations are sufficient to regulate pipelines used for the
- 2956 transportation of tar sands crude oil.
- 2957 I think that this approach makes sense because it is far
- 2958 less costly to build pipelines correctly than to try to fix
- 2959 or replace a line that is already built. And I think that
- 2960 the San Bruno explosion speaks to that.
- So, Mr. Chairman and members, we all realize that we
- 2962 have a profound responsibility to protect lives. Certainly
- 2963 we have to take into consideration money and property and
- 2964 take the proper precautions now. So for these reasons, I
- 2965 urge all of my colleagues to support this amendment, and I
- 2966 will reserve the balance of my time if I have any. Yeah, I
- 2967 do.
- The {Chairman.} The gentlelady's time has expired. I
- 2969 am going to recognize myself for 5 minutes. I just want to
- 2970 say to the gentlelady that this next month in July, we are
- 2971 intending to start moving the Pipeline Safety Bill, which, as
- 2972 you know, expires in September. And I intend to have a
- 2973 conversation with Chairman Mica later today as our two
- 2974 committees have joint jurisdiction. And the Transportation
- 2975 Committee actually has certainly a big say in terms of
- 2976 jurisdiction on this bill itself, and we are working on

- 2977 details between the two.
- 2978 But I want to say I do support a study on this, and, as
- 2979 you know, the Pipeline Safety Bill, because it expires in the
- 2980 end of September, we need to deal with that in both the House
- 2981 and the Senate. And that study, I would support a study as
- 2982 part of the Pipeline Safety Bill, which we deal again with in
- 2983 subcommittee next month. And I have just seen the amendment,
- 2984 so I am not as certain as to where I would be as it relates
- 2985 to the finding that is here.
- 2986 But I wonder if the gentlelady might withdraw her
- 2987 amendment now. We will absolutely commit to working as a
- 2988 study for sure maybe beyond that in the couple weeks that we
- 2989 have before it would go to markup in subcommittee next month.
- 2990 I would rather do that--
- 2991 Dr. {Christensen.} Well, Mr. Chairman, thank you for
- 2992 what you have said, and I have--
- 2993 The {Chairman.} I mean it is--
- 2994 Dr. {Christensen.} --you know, really respect for what
- 2995 you have said. I think that your intentions are absolutely
- 2996 sincere. I am worried, and I do want to work with both you
- 2997 and Chairman Mica because this is what is coming up in the--
- 2998 relative to the pipeline bill is an essential moment for us
- 2999 to visit the issues that I just outlined in this amendment.
- Having said that, I don't think we should go forward

- 3001 with this unless we have something that speaks to the
- 3002 pipeline issue because this is really--it is dangerous. This
- 3003 is something, I think, that needs to be included so I have a
- 3004 dilemma.
- The {Chairman.} Yeah, well I want to ensure that--you
- 3006 know, and again, you know, Hillary Clinton, Secretary of
- 3007 State, has indicated that she is inclined to move forward on
- 3008 this bill or on the Keystone XL Pipeline. She said that
- 3009 nearly a year ago. We want to make sure that all of our
- 3010 pipelines are safe no matter what it carries, natural gas,
- 3011 whatever in that.
- 3012 And it is appropriate that as we look at this as well as
- 3013 the Pipeline Safety, and they are somewhat compatible, the
- 3014 two bills together. And I just want to say that I want to
- 3015 work with you to make sure that the bottom line at the end of
- 3016 the day, in fact, all of the pipelines will be safe for
- 3017 carrying this type of material and--
- 3018 Dr. {Christensen.} Well, let me ask you this, if I
- 3019 might, Mr. Chairman. Can you make a commitment that as this
- 3020 moves on, that this is not the last discussion about--
- 3021 The {Chairman.} Absolutely.
- 3022 Dr. {Christensen.} --pipeline regulation in this bill
- 3023 as well?
- 3024 Mr. {Waxman.} Mr. Chairman, will you yield to me?

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3025
           The {Chairman.} My time for the moment, but absolutely
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      I will make that commitment. This is not something that is
3027
     going to go away. We have time to work on this again
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     because, as we are looking at the schedule, we are looking
3029
      for a subcommittee markup before the August break. And I
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     know that the Senate is moving as well, and I look forward to
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     working with the gentlelady in that regard and want to
3032
     underscore my support to make sure that the pipeline no
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     matter--again no matter what it carries, is going to be safe
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      for every community that it may pass through.
3035
          Mr. {Waxman.} Gentleman yield?
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           The {Chairman.} Yield to the gentleman from California.
3037
          Mr. {Waxman.} Well, it seems to me the logical thing to
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     do is to do the Pipeline Safety Bill and not do this one
3039
     until we have done that legislation because we want to be
3040
      sure that the pipeline is safe, and we do have a particularly
3041
     high corrosive in these tar sands that will be traveling
3042
      through this pipeline.
3043
           So rather than just say you will work with her later on
3044
     pipeline safety, would the Chairman be willing to agree to
     hold back on this bill, even if it passes the committee,
3045
3046
     before you move it beyond this committee until we have
3047
     resolved the issues on pipeline safety?
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The {Chairman.} I just want to say we have a couple

- 3049 committees that are involved. They are all beginning to move
- 3050 that process forward. This is more specific in terms of a
- 3051 rifle shot bill, but pipeline safety is not going to go away.
- 3052 We are committed to having a markup in subcommittee before
- 3053 the August break.
- 3054 Transportation Committee--and I don't know that you were
- 3055 in the room when I talked about the discussion that I intend
- 3056 to have--staffs have talked already, and I intend to talk
- 3057 with Chairman Mica later today as it relates to that. And I
- 3058 know that they are planning to move on somewhat of an
- 3059 expedited basis as well.
- 3060 Mr. {Waxman.} Gentleman yield to me further?
- The {Chairman.} I will ask to stop the clock for a
- 3062 moment. Yes.
- 3063 Mr. {Waxman.} Look, it just seems to me that it makes
- 3064 more sense to build a pipeline right than to have to go and
- 3065 change it after it is already built, and the Eshoo amendment
- 3066 simply says that we should understand the risk before we
- 3067 approve this pipeline and before the State Department makes a
- 3068 final decision, the Pipeline Hazardous Materials Safety
- 3069 Administration, or PHMSA, should do a study of the hazards
- 3070 and evaluate whether pipeline safety regulations are
- 3071 sufficient to ensure that pipelines carrying tar sands crude
- 3072 oil don't leak. So let us do that first and then go with

- 3073 this pipeline to be sure we are doing it safely rather than
- 3074 go ahead with this pipeline from Canada, find out that it
- 3075 wasn't reviewed by the responsible agency, and they didn't do
- 3076 what they should have done for pipeline safety. Let us put
- 3077 the horse before the cart.
- 3078 Mr. {Terry.} Would the gentleman yield?
- 3079 The {Chairman.} My time is expired, so I am going to
- 3080 yield.
- 3081 Mr. {Terry.} May I be recognized?
- 3082 The {Chairman.} It is going to be on this side first.
- 3083 Mr. {Terry.} Okay.
- 3084 The {Chairman.} Are the Democrats asking for--let me go
- 3085 to Mr. Terry.
- 3086 Mr. {Terry.} Appreciate it. Move to strike the last
- 3087 word. The 57 recommendations for this pipeline came from the
- 3088 PHMSA review of the safety. They looked at bitmutin as one
- 3089 of the chemicals in there. It has already been reviewed. I
- 3090 don't want to leave an impression here that this already
- 3091 hasn't been reviewed by the agency in charge of making
- 3092 review.
- 3093 In fact, one of the recommendations was on the steel
- 3094 itself and the thickness of the steel. And so those type of
- 3095 things have already been resolved. So really what we are
- 3096 saying is let us do another PHMSA total review of this.

- 3097 There was kind of an impression that nobody--
- 3098 Ms. {Eshoo.} Would the gentleman yield?
- 3099 Mr. {Terry.} --had looked at these things, and it has
- 3100 already been.
- 3101 Ms. {Eshoo.} Would the gentleman yield?
- 3102 Mr. {Terry.} I would proudly yield to the gentlelady
- 3103 from California.
- 3104 Ms. {Eshoo.} Thank you. Now, my staff has advised me--
- 3105 I am not a member of our Energy and Power Subcommittee, but
- 3106 they advised me that when Cynthia Quarterman, the
- 3107 administrator of PHMSA, testified before that subcommittee,
- 3108 that they had not done a study analyzing the risks associated
- 3109 with transporting the diluted bitmutin. And she said that
- 3110 she would be happy to do the study if required by Congress.
- 3111 So maybe--
- 3112 Mr. {Terry.} I think what she was saying--
- 3113 Ms. {Eshoo.} Have I not been advised correctly?
- 3114 Mr. {Terry.} Reclaiming my time. I think she was
- 3115 talking about the chemical itself and the totality, but they
- 3116 have looked at it in a sense of this pipeline. And based on
- 3117 their review of all of the environmental data and all that
- 3118 was provided to them, the PHMSA came up with 57.
- 3119 But the chemical that they used to help the heavy crude
- 3120 move through is part of what was provided to PHMSA, and PHMSA

- 3121 then based their recommendations on this particular--
- 3122 Mr. {Green.} Would the gentleman yield?
- 3123 Mr. {Terry.} And I would yield to the gentleman from
- 3124 Texas.
- 3125 Mr. {Green.} Thank you for yielding to me. There has
- 3126 been experience by running this particular substance into the
- 3127 Midwest. All this bill talks about is the extension of this
- 3128 pipeline down to the Gulf Coast, so we do have a history, and
- 3129 there have been some problems with that pipeline.
- 3130 But again I think my colleague for California's
- 3131 amendment is concerned, it was a natural gas pipeline.
- 3132 Whereas this is not natural gas. This is actually a
- 3133 substance that will be flowing, and there is experience in
- 3134 the Midwest. Granted, I would like to have better pipeline
- 3135 safety laws. I live and work along every pipeline you can
- 3136 imagine in our area. And that is why we have the
- 3137 reauthorization coming up. This will be my third pipeline
- 3138 reauthorization on our committee, and every time, we try and
- 3139 make it tougher. But it is still safer in a pipeline than is
- 3140 running down our highways in a tanker truck.
- 3141 And so whether it is natural gas LNG on a truck or
- 3142 whether it is this substance on trucks, it is still safer in
- 3143 a pipeline, and we need to do better. But this amendment,
- 3144 there have been studies of it because there has been hard

- 3145 experience, and I think--
- 3146 Mr. {Terry.} Okay, well reclaiming. That is good
- 3147 information for all of us. Yield to the gentleman from
- 3148 Illinois, Mr. Shimkus.
- 3149 Mr. {Shimkus.} Yeah, and Anna is a great friend. There
- 3150 is a huge difference--and my friend from Texas--a huge
- 3151 difference between natural gas and crude oil pipelines. One
- 3152 is explosive. One makes a mess, and we do not want to delay
- 3153 this project when there is really no natural gas applications
- 3154 in this project.
- 3155 And the other part of the debate that my colleague
- 3156 mentioned, I want to make sure that we understood that the
- 3157 Vancouver that he mentioned was not Vancouver, Washington
- 3158 State. It was Vancouver, Canada. This pipeline will be
- 3159 built, and it will either be built to go to our refineries,
- 3160 or it will be built to go to terminals that will ship this to
- 3161 China.
- 3162 That is our debate, and that is why we need a decision
- 3163 because capital will flow where there is certainty. And
- 3164 until there is continued delay, no capital will go to this.
- 3165 And it has already been delayed 15 months. And I yield back
- 3166 to my colleague.
- 3167 Mr. {Terry.} Yield back.
- The {Chairman.} Gentleman's time has expired. Does the

3169 gentlelady wish to withdraw her amendment, or do we vote? 3170 Ms. {Eshoo.} Well, I feel like I am between a rock and 3171 a hard place. I don't think that the majority is going to 3172 support this amendment, and so while I am not totally 3173 comfortable withdrawing it, I want to use the opportunity to 3174 see what we can do together. 3175 I am not convinced that there has been any study of the transport of diluted bitmutin. And the risks really need to 3176 3177 be calculated. So I will withdraw the amendment, trusting, 3178 Mr. Chairman, that we are going to work closely with both you 3179 and Chairman Mica because this is a serious issue. And I 3180 don't want any community to have to go through what happened 3181 in San Bruno, California. It just is total devastation. 3182 will withdraw my amendment in the spirit in which you have 3183 described the cooperative work that we are going to do 3184 together on an important and serious issue, Mr. Chairman. 3185 The {Chairman.} Thank you. I look forward to working 3186 with the lady. The amendment is withdrawn. Are there 3187 further amendments to the bill? Seeing none, the vote occurs 3188 on the bill H.R. 1938 as amended. And we will have a roll 3189 call vote on that. So the clerk will call the roll. And let 3190 me say then when we finish the recorded vote, we will adjourn 3191 for an hour and come back. So the clerk will call the roll

3192

on final passage.

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3193
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Barton?
3194
           [No response.]
3195
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Stearns?
3196
           [No response.]
3197
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Whitfield?
          Mr. {Whitfield.} Aye.
3198
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Whitfield, aye.
3199
3200
          Mr. Shimkus?
3201
           Mr. {Shimkus.} Aye.
3202
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Shimkus, aye.
          Mr. Pitts?
3203
           Mr. {Pitts.} Aye.
3204
3205
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Pitts, aye. Mrs. Bono Mack?
3206
           Mrs. {Bono Mack.} Aye.
3207
           The {Clerk.} Mrs. Bono Mack, aye.
3208
          Mr. Walden?
3209
          Mr. {Walden.} Aye.
3210
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Walden, aye.
3211
          Mr. Terry?
3212
          Mr. {Terry.} Aye.
3213
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Terry, aye.
3214
          Mr. Rogers?
          Mr. {Rogers.} Aye.
3215
3216
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Rogers, aye.
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3217
           Mrs. Myrick?
3218
           Mrs. {Myrick.} Aye.
3219
           The {Clerk.} Mrs. Myrick, aye.
3220
           Mr. Sullivan?
3221
           Mr. {Sullivan.} Aye.
3222
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Sullivan, aye.
3223
           Mr. Murphy?
3224
           Mr. {Murphy.} Aye.
3225
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Murphy, aye.
           Mr. Burgess?
3226
3227
           Dr. {Burgess.} Aye.
3228
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Burgess, aye.
3229
           Mrs. Blackburn?
3230
           Mrs. {Blackburn.} Aye.
3231
           The {Clerk.} Mrs. Blackburn, aye.
3232
           Mr. Bilbray?
3233
           [No response.]
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Bass?
3234
3235
           [No response.]
3236
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Gingrey?
3237
           [No response.]
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Scalise?
3238
           Mr. {Scalise.} Aye.
3239
3240
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Scalise, aye.
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3241
          Mr. Latta?
3242
          Mr. {Latta.} Aye.
3243
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Latta, aye.
3244
          Mrs. McMorris Rodgers?
3245
           Mrs. {McMorris Rodgers.} Aye.
3246
          The {Clerk.} Mrs. McMorris Rodgers, aye.
3247
          Mr. Harper?
3248
          Mr. {Harper.} Aye.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Harper, aye.
3249
3250
          Mr. Lance?
3251
          Mr. {Lance.} Aye.
3252
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Lance, aye.
3253
          Mr. Cassidy?
3254
          Dr. {Cassidy.} Aye.
3255
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Cassidy, aye.
3256
          Mr. Guthrie?
3257
          Mr. {Guthrie.} Aye.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Guthrie, aye.
3258
          Mr. Olson?
3259
3260
          Mr. {Olson.} Aye.
3261
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Olson, aye.
3262
          Mr. McKinley?
          Mr. {McKinley.} Aye.
3263
3264
           The {Clerk.} Mr. McKinley, aye.
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3265
           Mr. Gardner?
3266
           Mr. {Gardner.} Aye.
3267
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Gardner, aye.
           Mr. Pompeo?
3268
3269
           Mr. {Pompeo.} Aye.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Pompeo, aye.
3270
3271
           Mr. Kinzinger?
3272
           Mr. {Kinzinger.} Aye.
3273
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Kinzinger, aye.
           Mr. Griffith?
3274
3275
           Mr. {Griffith.} Aye.
3276
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Griffith, aye.
3277
           Mr. Waxman?
3278
           [No response.]
3279
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Dingell?
3280
           Mr. {Dingell.} Aye.
3281
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Dingell, aye.
           Mr. Towns?
3282
3283
           [No response.]
3284
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Markey?
3285
           [No response.]
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Pallone?
3286
           Mr. {Pallone.} No.
3287
3288
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Pallone, nay.
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3289
           Mr. Rush?
3290
           [No response.]
3291
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Eshoo?
3292
           Ms. {Eshoo.} No.
3293
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Eshoo, nay.
           Mr. Engel?
3294
3295
           Mr. {Engel.} No.
3296
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Engel, nay.
3297
           Mr. Green?
3298
           Mr. {Green.} Yes.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Green, aye.
3299
3300
           Ms. DeGette?
3301
           Ms. {DeGette.} No.
3302
           The {Clerk.} Ms. DeGette, nay.
3303
           Mrs. Capps?
3304
           Mrs. {Capps.} No.
3305
           The {Clerk.} Mrs. Capps, nay.
           Mr. Doyle?
3306
3307
           Mr. {Doyle.} Yes.
3308
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Doyle, aye.
3309
           Ms. Schakowsky?
3310
           [No response.]
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Gonzalez?
3311
3312
           [No response.]
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3313
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Inslee?
3314
          Mr. {Inslee.} No.
3315
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Inslee, nay.
3316
          Ms. Baldwin?
3317
           Ms. {Baldwin.} No.
3318
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Baldwin, nay.
3319
          Mr. Ross?
3320
          Mr. {Ross.} Aye.
3321
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Ross, aye.
          Mr. Matheson?
3322
3323
          Mr. {Matheson.} Yes.
3324
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Matheson, aye.
          Mr. Butterfield?
3325
3326
          Mr. {Butterfield.} Nay.
3327
           The {Clerk.} What did he say? I am sorry, he passed.
3328
     Mr. Butterfield, nay. Mr. Barrow?
3329
          Mr. {Barrow.} Aye.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Barrow, aye.
3330
3331
          Ms. Matsui?
3332
          Ms. {Matsui.} No.
3333
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Matsui, nay.
3334
          Ms. Christensen?
         Dr. {Christensen.} No.
3335
3336
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Christensen, nay.
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3337
           Ms. Castor?
3338
          Ms. {Castor.} No.
3339
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Castor, nay.
          Mr. Upton?
3340
3341
           The {Chairman.} Aye.
3342
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Upton, aye.
3343
           The {Chairman.} Other members wishing to vote? Mr.
3344
     Stearns?
3345
           Mr. {Stearns.} Aye.
3346
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Stearns, aye.
3347
           The {Chairman.} Mr. Towns?
          Mr. {Towns.} No.
3348
3349
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Towns, nay.
3350
           The {Chairman.} Mr. Bass?
3351
          Mr. {Bass.} No.
3352
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Bass, nay.
3353
           The {Chairman.} Other members wishing to vote? Seeing
3354
     none, the clerk will report the ballot.
3355
           The {Clerk.} On that, there were 33 ayes, 13 nays.
3356
           The {Chairman.} Thirty-three ayes, 13 nays. The bill
      is passed as amended, and recognize the gentlelady from
3357
3358
     Colorado.
           Ms. {DeGette.} Mr. Chairman, the minority requests that
3359
3360
     the appropriate time we can file the minority view.
```

3361 The {Chairman.} She requests the appropriate time to 3362 file minority views. Without objection, so ordered. 3363 Committee stands adjourned until 2:15. 3364 [Recess.] 3365 The {Chairman.} The committee will come back to order, 3366 and now call up the activity report and ask the clerk to 3367 report. 3368 The {Clerk.} Activity report of the Committee on Energy 3369 and Commerce, U.S. House of Representatives, January 5 3370 through May 31, 2011. 3371 [The activity report follows:]

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* INSERT 10 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

3373 The {Chairman.} And without objection, the first 3374 reading of the report is dispensed with. So ordered. The 3375 chair will recognize himself very briefly. 3376 Under a new House rule, our committee is required to 3377 file a semiannual activity report. It is an important part 3378 of the Republican leadership's transparency and 3379 accountability efforts. That said, this should not be a 3380 partisan exercise. We are reporting to the House on what the 3381 committee has done. 3382 The activity report that I have circulated does just 3383 that. There is no soaring partisan rhetoric. There is no 3384 grandstanding about our accomplishments, and I would note 3385 that the minority has filed 10 amendments to the activity 3386 report. I further note that all 10 of those amendments seek 3387 to amend the oversight plan that this committee approved over 3388 4 months ago by a voice vote and obviously on a partisan 3389 basis. Apparently we are accused of operating on a partisan 3390 basis at almost every turn. I dispute that, and may discuss 3391 that topic more later on. What is abundantly clear today, 3392 though, is that the minority is turning perhaps what should 3393 be almost a perfunctory, nonpartisan event into something

I would yield back at this time and ask if there are--I

more than that, i.e., partisan.

- 3396 will recognize the chairman for what purpose?
- 3397 Mr. {Waxman.} Opening statement.
- 3398 The {Chairman.} Opening statement? The chair is
- 3399 recognized for 5 minutes. Strike the last word.
- 3400 Mr. {Waxman.} Strike the last word, yes. Mr. Chairman,
- 3401 I will try to be brief as well.
- We have found the committee activity report generally
- 3403 accurate in chronicling the meetings and hearings and
- 3404 markups. We have some technical corrections for accuracy,
- 3405 and we hope they can be accepted. And we will have
- 3406 amendments to offer to ensure that the committee is
- 3407 protecting the health care of seniors, the disabled and
- 3408 children.
- 3409 The fact of the matter is that this committee has
- 3410 accomplished virtually nothing since January. It is there on
- 3411 page 9 of the report: total bills and resolutions referred
- 3412 to the committee, 417; bills and resolutions reported to the
- 3413 House, 12; number of public laws, zero.
- For all of its labors, this committee has decisively
- 3415 failed to meet some of the most urgent needs of the American
- 3416 people today: to pass into law legislation that will promote
- 3417 jobs and job growth for the country. Instead, the committee
- 3418 leadership has followed an extreme agenda across the
- 3419 committee's jurisdiction.

3420 On health care, this committee has voted to strip benefits from seniors, the disabled and children. It has 3421 3422 passed legislation that repeals basic consumer protections 3423 and would allow insurance companies to discriminate against 3424 individuals with preexisting illnesses. The Republican 3425 agenda has been to end Medicare and Medicaid as we know it. 3426 This is not a record for which we ought to be proud. 3427 On energy and the environment, the record is no better. 3428 This committee room has become an alternative universe where 3429 the laws of nature cease to exist. It is an embarrassment 3430 that the committee voted that climate change is not 3431 occurring, is not caused by man, and is not a threat to 3432 health and the environment. 3433 I have offered to work with my Republican colleagues on 3434 a bipartisan basis on many bills, including the chemical 3435 security bill, the OCS bill and the coal ash bill, but these 3436 overtures have been rejected again and again. 3437 We can continue down the path we are on, or we try to 3438 find some common ground. We can end up with no major 3439 legislation emanating from this committee enacted into law, 3440 or we can forge bipartisan consensus and achieve something 3441 for the American people. There are areas where I hope we can 3442 find a bipartisan solution. One is toy safety, another is 3443 privacy, and a third is spectrum allocation and public

- 3444 safety. I hope we seize these opportunities.
- 3445 So I believe this should be a moment for reflection and
- 3446 reassessment of the course we are on and of what we truly
- 3447 want to accomplish in this Congress. Our country needs
- 3448 leadership from Congress from both parties, not divisiveness
- 3449 and partisanship, and I yield back the balance of my time.
- 3450 The {Chairman.} Are there other members wishing to
- 3451 strike the last word? If not, we will open the bill up for
- 3452 amendment. Are there any--
- 3453 Mr. {Waxman.} Just a point of information. Is the
- 3454 committee report considered as read and open for amendment at
- 3455 any point?
- 3456 The {Chairman.} Yes, it is. I did that. I recognized
- 3457 myself briefly, as you did, and it is open to amendment.
- 3458 Are there any bipartisan amendments? Seeing none, are
- 3459 there any other amendments? The gentleman from New Jersey,
- 3460 Mr. Pallone, has an amendment at the desk.
- 3461 Mr. {Pallone.} I believe so. Amendment number 3,
- 3462 health.
- 3463 The {Chairman.} The clerk will report the title of the
- 3464 amendment.
- 3465 Mr. {Pallone.} It is about SCHIP and Medicaid.
- 3466 The {Clerk.} An amendment offered by Mr. Pallone of New
- 3467 Jersey.

3470 The {Chairman.} The amendment will be considered as 3471 read. The staff will circulate the amendment. And the 3472 gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes in support of his 3473 amendment. 3474 Mr. {Pallone.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 3475 I am concerned about the harms of the Republican budget 3476 on children in Medicaid and CHIP, so my amendment would 3477 require the committee to examine these issues closely. 3478 Republican budget proposal, which passed the House in April, 3479 proposes devastating cuts to programs of importance to our 3480 Nation's most vulnerable children and families, failing to 3481 promise a brighter future for the next generation. 3482 Medicaid and the Children's Health Insurance Program, or 3483 CHIP, cover nearly 30 million, or one-third of all America's 3484 children, and over half of low-income children. Medicaid and 3485 CHIP provide children with comprehensive medical services to 3486 address physical, mental and developmental health needs. 3487 Children represent half of all Medicaid enrollees yet they 3488 account for only 20 percent of the spending. Through 3489 Medicaid and CHIP, the country has successfully reached the 3490 highest rate of insured children on record: 90 percent of 3491 children in the United States have health coverage.

In the Republican budget outline for fiscal year 2012,

3493 they have proposed to end the Medicaid entitlement, instead 3494 providing fixed dollar amount funding to States through block 3495 grants. Specifically, it proposes to slash \$771 billion out of current Medicaid and another \$627 billion out of Medicaid 3496 3497 as part of health care reform for a total of \$1.4 trillion in 3498 federal Medicaid cuts. With these types of cuts, it is near 3499 certain that funding for States will be far lower than under 3500 the current financing system, jeopardizing coverage and 3501 protections currently guaranteed for children and other 3502 vulnerable populations.

3503 In fact, what is even worse, by eliminating the 3504 Affordable Care Act, the Republican proposal would 3505 effectively repeal funding for CHIP, a program which provides 3506 health coverage for more than 7 million children and has the 3507 support of 82 percent of the American public. The proposal 3508 appears to anticipate the expiration of the CHIP in 2013, 6 3509 years sooner than currently scheduled, and creates a \$150 3510 billion shortfall, which would cause all covered children to 3511 have their health care coverage threatened.

Now, I think obviously that children are the single
largest group of beneficiaries that would be at risk even
though they are the least expensive population to coverage.

Such potential loss of health insurance has dire consequences
for the health of children. Uninsured children are 20 to 30

- 3517 percent more likely to lack immunizations, prescription
- 3518 medications, asthma care and basic dental care. Uninsured
- 3519 children with conditions requiring ongoing medical attention
- 3520 such as asthma or diabetes are six to eight times more likely
- 3521 to have unmet health care needs, and uninsured children are
- 3522 also more likely than insured children to miss school due to
- 3523 health problems and to experience preventable
- 3524 hospitalizations.
- 3525 If the Republican budget were to be adopted, all
- 3526 progress on children's health care coverage would come to a
- 3527 halt and the uninsured rate for America's children would
- 3528 likely double or triple in a matter of just a few years.
- 3529 While tackling the national debt is a critically important
- 3530 matter, it must not be done in a way that slashes the basic
- 3531 investments in our Nation's children. We must not balance
- 3532 budgets on the backs of kids.
- 3533 So I urge my colleagues to allow this committee to do
- 3534 its job and examine the effects of this budget, and I would
- 3535 ask for an aye vote on my amendment.
- 3536 I don't know if any of my colleagues would like me to
- 3537 yield time, and if not, I will yield back the balance of my
- 3538 time, Mr. Chairman.
- 3539 The {Chairman.} The gentleman yields back his time.
- 3540 The chair would recognize Dr. Burgess.

- 3541 Dr. {Burgess.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have a
  3542 secondary amendment at the desk.
  3543 The {Chairman.} The clerk will read the amendment.
  3544 Mr. {Waxman.} Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order
  3545 on that amendment.
  3546 The {Chairman.} Point of order is reserved.
  3547 The {Clerk.} A second-degree amendment to the activity
- 3549 [The amendment follows:]

3550 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* INSERT 12 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

report offered by Mr. Burgess of Texas.

3551 Mr. {Waxman.} Mr. Chairman, I insist on the reading. 3552 The {Chairman.} The clerk will read the amendment. The {Clerk.} Strike all and replace with ``The 3553 3554 committee will examine how many children would lose their 3555 private health care coverage''--3556 Mr. {Waxman.} Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent it 3557 be considered as read, now that I have had a chance to look 3558 at it. 3559 The {Chairman.} The amendment is considered as read. 3560 The gentleman will have 5 minutes in support of his 3561 amendment, and the staff will circulate the amendment. 3562 Dr. {Burgess.} I thank the chairman for the 3563 recognition. 3564 This amendment would ensure that this committee reviews 3565 how the President's health care reform law repeatedly violated his campaign pledge to ensure Americans are able to 3566 3567 keep their health care coverage. In addition, the amendment 3568 would ensure that the Medicaid program continues to serve the 3569 Nation's poorest and sickest individuals. 3570 Earlier this week, the Associated Press reported that 3571 the President's health care reform law could expand the 3572 Medicaid program to include middle-class Americans with

incomes around \$64,000. If such a dramatic expansion of

3574 Medicaid is implemented by this Administration, one in four 3575 Americans will become a Medicaid recipient. It doesn't sound 3576 like health care reform. This dramatic expansion will not 3577 only cost the federal and State government billions, it could 3578 also have effects on access to care for the nearly 60 million 3579 existing Medicaid beneficiaries who already face tremendous 3580 challenges in finding someone to actually see them when they 3581 are ill. We are all well aware of the provider shortage 3582 created by the lack of satisfactory reimbursement in 3583 Medicaid. 3584 In addition, because of not even the potential crowd-3585 out, the very real phenomenon of crowd-out resulting from the 3586 overexpansion of entitlement programs in the Patient 3587 Protection and Affordable Care Act, Americans, mostly 3588 children, could lose their private health insurance and be 3589 forced into Medicaid or the Children's Health Insurance 3590 Program. 3591 During the campaign as a candidate, the President 3592 promised reform. In reality, his reform plan is an 3593 overexpansion of already strained entitlement programs and a 3594 path toward really what is going to amount to a government 3595 takeover of our health care system. So I ask my colleagues 3596 on both sides to look at this critically and support the 3597 secondary amendment that ensures that the Medicaid program is

- 3598 preserved for those for whom it was designed, the most
- 3599 vulnerable citizens, and individuals with private health care
- 3600 insurance could indeed take the President's promise to the
- 3601 bank, if you like what you have, you can keep it.
- I will be happy to yield to anyone else on either side.
- 3603 If not, Mr. Chairman, I will yield back the balance of my
- 3604 time.
- 3605 The {Chairman.} The gentleman yields back.
- 3606 Does the gentleman from California insist on his point
- of order?
- 3608 Mr. {Waxman.} Mr. Chairman, I do have a point of order,
- 3609 that the text of the amendment offered by the gentleman from
- 3610 Texas is in effect a substitute amendment that should be
- 3611 subject to further amendment. According to the House
- 3612 Practice Manual chapter 2, section 14, ``a perfecting
- 3613 amendment should retain some portion of the substitute so as
- 3614 not to be in effect a substitute in the third degree.''
- 3615 We have talked with the parliamentarians about this
- 3616 principle, and what this means is that when text of an
- 3617 amendment does not retain some part of the underlying
- 3618 amendment, it is in effect a substitute. The amendment
- 3619 offered by the gentleman strikes out the entirety of the
- 3620 underlying amendment and is therefore in effect a substitute,
- 3621 not a perfecting amendment. Therefore, my point of order is

- 3622 not to rule the proposal out of order but to recognize that
- 3623 the amendment that is now being offered is a substitute and
- 3624 would be open to further amendment.
- 3625 The {Chairman.} So does the gentleman withdraw his
- 3626 point of order that it is not germane?
- Mr. {Waxman.} Well, I withdraw my point of order in
- 3628 terms of germaneness, which I never intended to make. I just
- 3629 wanted an understanding that the amendment is not a
- 3630 perfecting amendment but a substitute amendment.
- 3631 The {Chairman.} So this amendment then is germane as a
- 3632 substitute to the amendment that was offered.
- 3633 Mr. {Waxman.} Well, the other part of the statement was
- 3634 that the amendment is germane, and while the chair would not
- 3635 make a declaratory judgment on a parliamentary matter, we
- 3636 will proceed.
- 3637 The {Chairman.} So--
- 3638 Mr. {Waxman.} I withdraw a point of order at this
- 3639 point.
- The {Chairman.} The gentleman withdraws his point of
- 3641 order, and discussion now is on the Burgess amendment.
- 3642 Mr. {Pallone.} Mr. Chairman.
- 3643 Mr. {Barton.} Mr. Chairman.
- 3644 Mr. {Pallone.} I have an amendment to the Burgess
- 3645 amendment, a substitute.

```
3646 Mr. {Barton.} I want to reserve a point of order.
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- 3647 The {Chairman.} The gentleman from Texas, Mr. Barton,
- 3648 reserves a point of order.
- 3649 Mr. {Barton.} On Mr. Pallone's amendment to the
- 3650 amendment to the amendment.
- 3651 The {Chairman.} Is it at the desk?
- 3652 Mr. {Pallone.} Well, I have to read it. Is it at the
- 3653 desk?
- 3654 Mr. {Barton.} Mr. Chairman, my understanding of the
- 3655 rules, if the amendments are not at the desk at least 2 hours
- 3656 before, they can't be offered.
- 3657 Mr. {Pallone.} Yes, but how do we know what you were
- 3658 doing. Burgess's wasn't there either.
- 3659 Mr. {Barton.} His was there at the beginning of the
- 3660 markup.
- 3661 Mr. {Waxman.} That is not a rule. That was a rule of
- 3662 recognition only.
- 3663 The {Chairman.} Mr. Pallone's amendment is allowed, so
- 3664 the clerk will report the title of the amendment.
- 3665 The {Clerk.} An amendment to the Burgess substitute
- 3666 offered by Mr. Pallone.
- 3667 [The amendment follows:]
- 3668 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* INSERT 13 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

3669 The {Chairman.} Without objection, the amendment will 3670 be considered as read. The staff will circulate the amendment. And the gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes. 3671 3672 Mr. {Pallone.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 3673 The amendment is very simple. It simply says that the 3674 committee will examine how many young children would lose 3675 Medicaid and the Children's Health Insurance Program under 3676 the Republican budget, so basically this goes back to the 3677 concern that I expressed in my original amendment, which is 3678 that -- and I am not going to repeat the same thing again --3679 which is that because of what is proposed in the Republican 3680 budget, my fear is that many children, young children who are 3681 now Medicaid eligible under the current law and under the 3682 CHIP program, would simply lose their eligibility and would 3683 go into the ranks of the uninsured. 3684 Unless someone else wants my time, Mr. Chairman, I will 3685 yield back. 3686 The {Chairman.} Is there further discussion on the--3687 Mr. {Pallone.} I yield to the gentlewoman from Florida. Ms. {Castor.} I thank the distinguished gentleman, and 3688 3689 I just want to speak in favor of your amendment and say well, 3690 thank goodness for Medicaid and how important it will be that

the GOP budget relating to Medicaid be defeated because we

3692 have families all across America who rely on Medicaid for 3693 their basic health care needs, and when you hear Medicaid, we 3694 are talking primarily about children, children in foster 3695 care, pregnant women, and even seniors in nursing homes, and 3696 I am afraid this GOP budget comes at such a difficult time 3697 for our children. We have many families, mostly children and 3698 pregnant women, that have had to come onto Medicaid at a time 3699 when we are in the middle of this huge economic recession, 3700 maybe someone in the family has lost a job and that has 3701 resulted in a decline in the family income. Many of these 3702 families, the kids come on to Medicaid on a temporary basis 3703 or CHIP on a temporary basis. This is a very important 3704 safety net, and this GOP budget needs to be examined for the 3705 impact it is going to have on American families. 3706 Families USA also released a report this week that shows 3707 what a double whammy this will be because under the GOP budget and the cuts to Medicaid and health services for 3708 3709 children, we are also going to lose thousands and thousands 3710 and thousands of jobs all across the country, and just ask 3711 your local hospitals, doctors, nurses. They know what the 3712 resulting cuts from the GOP budget will do to jobs. 3713 State of Florida alone, this Families USA report said simply 3714 thousands and thousands of jobs are going to be put at risk 3715 by the GOP budget because of cuts to health services under

- 3716 Medicaid.
- 3717 So I think this is a very important topic for the
- 3718 committee to examine and I salute Mr. Pallone for encouraging
- 3719 us to examine how many children will lose their health care.
- 3720 Maybe we should say how many Americans will lose their jobs
- 3721 as a result of the GOP budget relating to Medicaid as well.
- 3722 Yield back.
- 3723 Ms. {Schakowsky.} And will the gentleman yield, further
- 3724 yield?
- 3725 Mr. {Pallone.} Yes, I yield to the gentlewoman from
- 3726 Illinois.
- 3727 Ms. {Schakowsky.} Thank you. Let us see what we are
- 3728 actually talking about here that is in jeopardy because of
- 3729 the Republican budget and that is why we should examine it.
- 3730 Medicaid and the Children's Health Insurance Program
- 3731 cover nearly 30 million, or one-third of all American
- 3732 children and over half of all low-income children. Medicaid
- 3733 and CHIP provide children with comprehensive medical services
- 3734 to address physical, mental and development health needs.
- 3735 Children represent half of all Medicaid enrollees. They
- 3736 account only for 20 percent of the spending. Through
- 3737 Medicaid and CHIP, the country has successfully reached the
- 3738 highest rate of insured children on record. 90 percent of
- 3739 children in the United States have health coverage. That is

- 3740 now at risk because of the Republican budget.
- 3741 According to the Center for Children and Families, there
- 3742 are an estimated 14.1 million children covered at State
- 3743 option through CHIP or Medicaid, all of whom will be at risk
- 3744 of losing coverage. So we need to be fully aware when we
- 3745 pass legislation of exactly what the impact will be on the
- 3746 children of our children, on the people of our country, and I
- 3747 want to speak in favor of this Pallone amendment that
- 3748 requires that we do just that in the amendment, and I urge
- 3749 support for the Pallone amendment to the amendment to the
- amendment, or something.
- The {Chairman.} Do you yield back your time? Are there
- 3752 other members wishing to speak on the amendment? Dr. Burgess
- 3753 is recognized for 5 minutes.
- 3754 Dr. {Burgess.} Mr. Chairman, thank you for the
- 3755 recognition.
- 3756 This is not a clash of ideologies. This is the
- 3757 application and not the theory. The Republican budget is an
- 3758 aspirational document. It still sits over in the Senate
- 3759 awaiting Senate action. The Senate is likely going to take
- 3760 no action because they never do. As a consequence, a unified
- 3761 budget resolution is not likely to come before the House of
- 3762 Representatives in this year or next, but we do have the
- 3763 Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, 2,700 pages of

- 3764 detailed instructions to the federal agencies that even as we 3765 speak are grinding out rule after rule after rule, and what 3766 did we find yesterday? Sixty-four thousand dollars. A 3767 couple that earns \$64,000, if there is an income adjustment 3768 because they happen to receive their income off Social 3769 Security, not only are they eligible for Medicaid, they are 3770 required to take Medicaid. The numbers of people on 3771 Medicaid, middle-class individuals pushed onto Medicaid in 3772 this country, is going to be unlike anything we have ever 3773 seen. 3774 What do you think is the practical effect of that when 3775 you do not have enough providers today to see the Medicaid 3776 patients that want to go to the doctor's office because we 3777 are not paying our doctors to see our Medicaid patients, and
- you do not have enough providers today to see the Medicaid
  patients that want to go to the doctor's office because we
  are not paying our doctors to see our Medicaid patients, and
  then we double-down and vastly expand the system. How do you
  think that is going to work out? You are of necessity going
  to be driving off the poorest and the most vulnerable
  citizens off of those rolls.
- 3782 This amendment, my amendment, prior to its subsequent
  3783 amendment by Mr. Pallone, was merely to preserve the access
  3784 for that vulnerable segment of the population. Now, later
  3785 on, if you want to talk ideology, we can do that. We do that
  3786 on this committee all the time, but we have got a very harsh
  3787 reality staring us in the face, and that is the Affordable

- 3788 Care Act. That is an act that violated every pledge the
- 3789 President made to the people of the United States when he was
- 3790 running for the highest office in the land, and we did not
- 3791 properly vet that in this committee in the last Congress and
- 3792 as a consequence we are struck with those consequences now.
- 3793 And again, I must reiterate, even as we speak, at every
- 3794 federal agency at every level, some bureaucrat is cranking
- 3795 out a rule or a regulation. You talk about job killing.
- 3796 Look, Medicaid was never intended to be an economic
- 3797 development program. I know some people believe that it was.
- 3798 But you talk about a job-killing activity, that is the
- 3799 Affordable Care Act. That is the Affordable Care Act
- 3800 rulemaking process that is going on right now. That is the
- 3801 deference to go to final proposed rules without even
- 3802 appearing for public comment. That is what this committee
- 3803 has been evaluating all year long.
- 3804 I think this amendment to the amendment needs to be
- 3805 struck down. I would like to see a vote on my substitute
- 3806 amendment to the original amendment. I think that is the
- 3807 appropriate place for us to go. And I will yield back the
- 3808 balance of my time.
- 3809 Mr. {Waxman.} I would like to be recognized. First of
- 3810 all, let us look at the Burgess amendment. The Burgess
- 3811 amendment says we are going to look at how many children

- 3812 would lose their current private health care coverage and be
- 3813 forced to enroll in Medicaid and the Children's Health
- 3814 Insurance Program under the President's Patient Protection
- 3815 and Affordable Care Act. Well, I can tell you the answer to
- 3816 that right now: none. There is nothing in that law that
- 3817 says that a child that has private insurance has to give it
- 3818 up to go into CHIP or Medicaid. The only ones who are going
- 3819 to be in CHIP or Medicaid are kids who before now have no
- 3820 coverage at all.
- The second part of your amendment, I don't find
- 3822 offensive except for what the implications are. It says
- 3823 `the committee should examine the negative implications
- 3824 expanding Medicaid to the middle class will have on the
- 3825 ability of low-income children to access care in the Medicaid
- 3826 program.'' Well, I assume you are talking about the middle-
- 3827 class seniors. Are you talking about the middle-class
- 3828 seniors?
- 3829 Dr. {Burgess.} Well, in fact, under provisions of
- 3830 PPACA, anyone who falls into those income levels has to, they
- 3831 don't have an option to get a subsidy in the exchange, they
- 3832 have to go into Medicaid.
- 3833 Mr. {Waxman.} That is up to 133 percent of poverty.
- 3834 Dr. {Burgess.} It is 138 percent of poverty.
- 3835 Mr. {Waxman.} How much is that? Fourteen thousand

3836 dollars a year. If you are worried about somebody who has 3837 \$14,000 a year income being called middle class and crowding 3838 out low-income children, I think there are other things to 3839 worry about. But that is the Burgess amendment. 3840 Now, what Mr. Pallone would have us look at is the kids 3841 who are going to lose their Medicaid and CHIP benefits under 3842 the Republican budget. Well, that is worth looking at 3843 because the Republican budget would take Medicaid and make it 3844 into a block grant and then cut it severely and then the 3845 States would have the ability to decide they don't want to 3846 cover kids any longer. They could say the kids that are now 3847 covered under Medicaid or would be covered under Medicaid 3848 under the Affordable Care Act will no longer be eligible for 3849 So I think we ought to look at that because I believe 3850 that if the Republican budget became law, we would have many, 3851 many more uninsured people than if we left the law as it is. 3852 Now, why do I say that? Because we have 45,000 to 3853 50,000 uninsured now, and the purpose of adopting the 3854 Affordable Care Act was to give these people a chance to get 3855 health insurance. Some of them didn't have health insurance 3856 because of previous medical conditions, and even if they 3857 could afford to buy it, they were denied it for the 3858 individual policies. The Republican answer for that was:

nothing. There was no answer. There has never been a

- 3860 proposal. Maybe a high-risk group and insurance would cost
- 3861 more and then maybe these people could afford it, and if they
- 3862 couldn't, they are out of luck. There are a lot of people
- 3863 who have no insurance because their employees don't offer it.
- 3864 Well, the Republican proposal doesn't do anything to help
- 3865 them, and there are a lot of people who can't afford it.
- 3866 They could buy a health insurance policy but it is
- 3867 unaffordable and so the Affordable Care Act would try to make
- 3868 it affordable by giving some tax credits. Well, the fact of
- 3869 the matter is that if you are going to repeal the Affordable
- 3870 Care Act, which is what this committee voted to do, and if
- 3871 you are going to pass a Republican budget that turns Medicaid
- 3872 on its head and makes it a block grant, then we ought to be
- 3873 able to find out what the consequences are, and that is what
- 3874 the Pallone amendment would have us do.
- 3875 I urge support for the Pallone substitute to the Burgess
- 3876 substitute.
- 3877 The {Chairman.} The gentleman's time has expired.
- 3878 Are there other members wishing to speak on the
- 3879 amendment? The gentleman from Michigan, the good Mike
- 3880 Rogers, is recognized for 5 minutes.
- 3881 Mr. {Rogers.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I would
- 3882 yield my time to Dr. Burgess.
- 3883 Dr. {Burgess.} Thank you, Mr. Rogers.

3884 Now, do remember what a budget is. A budget is an 3885 outline. If the Senate were to take up and pass a budget, if 3886 the House were to pass the unified budget resolution, the proposals for Medicaid as well as Medicare would be sent back 3887 3888 to this committee. The budgetary instructions would come to 3889 this committee and we would fill out the details of that 3890 legislation. But make no mistake about it: the details of 3891 the Affordable Care Act are well spelled out in 2,700 pages. 3892 Those details are being poured over right now by bureaucrats 3893 over in the agencies, and if there are adjusted gross income 3894 figures that are to be determined, they are making those 3895 determinations. That is where the \$64,000 question 3896 yesterday, that is where that occurred. 3897 And I would also point out that under current law, no 3898 one knows what the effect is going to be on the private, the employer-sponsored insurance market. We hear figures that 3899 3900 vary considerably but none of us really knows. Part of that 3901 is because we never really held those investigatory hearings 3902 in the Congress last year but fortunately this year we are. 3903 If the Republican budget were to pass the Senate and be 3904 enacted as a unified budget resolution, the instructions for 3905 legislation would come back to the committees of jurisdiction 3906 where we would write that legislation, and as opposed to the 3907 legislative language of the Affordable Care Act, it would be

- 3908 written in the committee. There would be a chance for input
- 3909 from everyone on both sides of the dais, unlike 2009 and 2010
- 3910 when one side was completely shut out of the legislative
- 3911 process, both sides would have an opportunity.
- 3912 So the gentleman will have his chance to have those
- 3913 issues fully vetted but honestly, what we have to deal with
- 3914 now are the effects of a very bad law that got passed by a
- 3915 very bad process last year and it will, despite the
- 3916 entreaties of the ranking member, it will affect the ability
- 3917 of people to receive care in both the Medicaid system, the
- 3918 Medicare system and every private insurer across the country.
- 3919 I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I will yield
- 3920 back to the gentleman from Michigan.
- The {Chairman.} Does the gentleman yield back his time?
- 3922 Mr. {Rogers.} I yield back my time.
- 3923 The {Chairman.} The gentleman's time is yielded back.
- 3924 The gentlelady from Florida.
- 3925 Ms. {Castor.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 3926 On the second-degree amendment, I wanted to make another
- 3927 important point when it comes to the Affordable Care Act
- 3928 because that amendment starts with `The committee will
- 3929 examine how many children would lost their current private
- 3930 health care coverage.'' Well, remember, one of the most
- 3931 important consumer protections in the Affordable Care Act was

- 3932 that new consumer protection, that new requirement that 3933 insurance companies cover young people, young adults up to 3934 the age of 26, that they are going to be covered by their 3935 parents' policies. I wonder if the staff has any data. 3936 far it hasn't been in effect long but it is one of the most 3937 popular new requirements under the Affordable Care Act. 3938 many thousands of young people now have affordable health 3939 care coverage under the Affordable Care Act because of that 3940 new provision that says young adults up to the age of 26 can 3941 now stay on their parents' policy. Does anyone have that 3942 handy? Well, I can tell you anecdotally at home, I hear from 3943 families all of the time about what a godsend it has been to 3944 have their young people at home be able to stay on their 3945 parents' coverage until the age of 26. Oftentimes when they 3946 finished college, they are in that period and it is very 3947 difficult. It is very expensive for a young person, whether 3948 they were not yet able to find a job or they found a job to 3949 afford individual coverage. So it has made a lot of sense. 3950 This is one of the most important consumer protections under 3951 the Affordable Care Act, and I would hazard to guess, we have 3952 got thousands of more young people throughout the country 3953 that have gained health care coverage because of the 3954 Affordable Care Act.
- 3955 Mrs. {Blackburn.} If the gentlelady would yield?

- 3956 Ms. {Castor.} I would be happy to yield.
- 3957 Mrs. {Blackburn.} I thank the gentlelady for yielding.
- 3958 I appreciate her question, and my question for staff would be
- 3959 in a similar vein, do we have any information on how many
- 3960 companies have stopped offering the child-only coverage
- 3961 because of Obamacare and PPACA. One of the things that we
- 3962 are hearing, unlike what the gentlelady from Florida is
- 3963 hearing, what we are hearing in our office are calls coming
- 3964 in from families who have had child-only policies and those
- 3965 policies are no longer being offered in the marketplace
- 3966 because of the pressure that has been put on that marketplace
- 3967 and the restrictions due to the passage of PPACA, and I yield
- 3968 back to the gentlelady.
- 3969 Mr. {Pallone.} Would the gentlewoman yield time to me?
- 3970 Ms. {Castor.} I am happy to yield to the gentleman.
- 3971 Mr. {Pallone.} Thank you.
- 3972 You know, I listened to what Dr. Burgess said, and what
- 3973 really concerns me is this. You know, in the Health
- 3974 Subcommittee, we have countless hearings about repealing the
- 3975 Affordable Care Act, the health care reform, and all we are
- 3976 really saying in my amendment at this point is, can we have
- 3977 this committee spend some time or the subcommittee spend some
- 3978 time looking at what I consider this radical Republican
- 3979 budget and its impact on health care, in this case, for

3980 children relevant to Medicaid and CHIP. You know, I know a 3981 lot of you feel that, and certainly the health care reform 3982 was rather significant but if the Republican budget were to go into effect, I assure you, that would be very significant 3983 3984 as well, and if anything, I see the Republicans hiding from 3985 the budget. I don't even hear that much about it anymore 3986 after they passed it. It was almost like they passed it and 3987 they didn't want to talk about it again. I think that when 3988 you pass such an extreme measure that essentially gets rid of 3989 Medicare as we know it and makes such severe cuts in 3990 Medicaid, that we need to have some air time. We need to 3991 have some time to actually look at what the impact is going 3992 to be on kids in this case and probably on some of the other 3993 things as well. 3994 This would have longstanding ramifications on the 3995 Nation's health care and particularly with regards to kids. 3996 You know, I know that CHIP was a bipartisan effort when it 3997 first was authorized. There were Republicans and Democrats 3998 on it, and I think it has done a very good job. Ninety 3999 percent of the kids now have coverage. But you change that 4000 dramatically in that budget plan, and rather than run away 4001 from the budget plan, which I think a lot of Republicans are 4002 doing these days, you should embrace it and let us have some 4003 hearings and talk about what the impact is going to be, in

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4004
      this case on children.
4005
           I yield back to the gentlewoman.
4006
           Ms. {Castor.} And I yield back.
4007
           The {Chairman.} The gentlelady yields back.
4008
           Are there other members wishing to speak? Seeing none,
4009
     the vote will occur on the Pallone substitute to the Burgess
4010
      substitute. All those in favor, say aye. Those opposed, say
4011
     no.
4012
           Mr. {Waxman.} Roll call, Mr. Chairman.
           The {Chairman.} Roll call is requested. The clerk will
4013
4014
     call the roll.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Barton?
4015
           Mr. {Barton.} No.
4016
4017
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Barton, nay.
4018
          Mr. Stearns?
4019
           [No response.]
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Whitfield?
4020
4021
           [No response.]
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Shimkus?
4022
4023
           [No response.]
4024
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Pitts?
4025
           Mr. {Pitts.} No.
4026
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Pitts, nay.
4027
           Mrs. Bono Mack?
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4028
           [No response.]
4029
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Walden?
4030
           Mr. {Walden.} No.
4031
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Walden, nay.
4032
           Mr. Terry?
           Mr. {Terry.} No.
4033
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Terry, nay.
4034
4035
           Mr. Rogers?
4036
           Mr. {Rogers.} No.
4037
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Rogers, nay.
4038
           Mrs. Myrick?
4039
           Mrs. {Myrick.} No.
4040
           The {Clerk.} Mrs. Myrick, nay.
4041
           Mr. Sullivan?
4042
           [No response.]
4043
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Murphy?
4044
           [No response.]
4045
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Burgess?
           Dr. {Burgess.} No.
4046
4047
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Burgess, nay.
4048
           Mrs. Blackburn?
4049
           Mrs. {Blackburn.} No.
           The {Clerk.} Mrs. Blackburn, nay.
4050
4051
           Mr. Bilbray?
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4052
           [No response.]
4053
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Bass?
4054
           Mr. {Bass.} No.
4055
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Bass, nay.
4056
           Mr. Gingrey?
4057
           [No response.]
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Scalise?
4058
4059
           Mr. {Scalise.} Nay.
4060
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Scalise, nay.
4061
           Mr. Latta?
4062
           Mr. {Latta.} Nay.
4063
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Latta, nay.
4064
           Mrs. McMorris Rodgers?
4065
           [No response.]
4066
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Harper?
4067
           Mr. {Harper.} Nay.
4068
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Harper, nay.
           Mr. Lance?
4069
           Mr. {Lance.} Nay.
4070
4071
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Lance, nay.
4072
           Mr. Cassidy?
4073
           Dr. {Cassidy.} No.
4074
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Cassidy, nay.
4075
           Mr. Guthrie?
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4076
           Mr. {Guthrie.} No.
4077
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Guthrie, nay.
4078
           Mr. Olson?
4079
           Mr. {Olson.} No.
4080
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Olson, nay.
           Mr. McKinley?
4081
           [No response.]
4082
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Gardner?
4083
4084
           Mr. {Gardner.} No.
4085
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Gardner, nay.
4086
           Mr. Pompeo?
4087
           [No response.]
4088
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Kinzinger?
4089
           [No response.]
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Griffith?
4090
           Mr. {Griffith.} No.
4091
4092
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Griffith, nay.
4093
           Mr. Waxman?
           Mr. {Waxman.} Aye.
4094
4095
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Waxman, aye.
4096
           Mr. Dingell?
4097
           [No response.]
4098
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Markey?
4099
           [No response.]
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191

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The {Clerk.} Mr. Towns?
4100
           Mr. {Towns.} Aye.
4101
4102
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Towns, aye.
4103
           Mr. Pallone?
4104
           Mr. {Pallone.} Aye.
4105
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Pallone, aye.
4106
           Mr. Rush?
4107
           [No response.]
4108
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Eshoo?
           [No response.]
4109
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Engel?
4110
4111
           Mr. {Engel.} Aye.
4112
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Engel, aye.
4113
           Mr. Green?
4114
           [No response.]
           The {Clerk.} Ms. DeGette?
4115
           Ms. {DeGette.} Aye.
4116
4117
           The {Clerk.} Ms. DeGette, aye.
4118
           Mrs. Capps?
4119
           [No response.]
4120
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Doyle?
4121
           Mr. {Doyle.} Yes.
4122
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Doyle, aye.
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Ms. Schakowsky?

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4124
           Ms. {Schakowsky.} Aye.
4125
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Schakowsky, aye.
4126
           Mr. Gonzalez?
4127
           [No response.]
4128
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Inslee?
4129
           Mr. {Inslee.} Aye.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Inslee, aye.
4130
4131
           Ms. Baldwin?
4132
           [No response.]
4133
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Ross?
4134
           [No response.]
4135
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Matheson?
4136
           [No response.]
4137
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Butterfield?
4138
           Mr. {Butterfield.} Aye.
4139
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Butterfield, aye.
4140
           Mr. Barrow?
           Mr. {Barrow.} Votes aye.
4141
4142
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Barrow, aye.
4143
           Ms. Matsui?
4144
           Ms. {Matsui.} Aye.
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Matsui, aye.
4145
4146
           Mrs. Christensen?
4147
           [No response.]
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4148
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Castor?
4149
           Ms. {Castor.} Aye.
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Castor, aye.
4150
4151
           Mr. Upton?
4152
           The {Chairman.} Votes no.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Upton, no.
4153
           The {Chairman.} Are there other members wishing to
4154
4155
     vote? Ms. Bono Mack?
4156
           Mrs. {Bono Mack.} No.
           The {Clerk.} Mrs. Bono Mack, nay.
4157
           The {Chairman.} Mr. Rush?
4158
4159
           Mr. {Rush.} Aye.
4160
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Rush, aye.
4161
           The {Chairman.} Ms. Capps?
4162
           Mrs. {Capps.} Aye.
4163
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Capps, aye.
4164
           The {Chairman.} Mrs. McMorris-Rodgers?
           Mrs. {McMorris-Rodgers.} No.
4165
           The {Clerk.} Mrs. McMorris-Rodgers, no.
4166
4167
           The {Chairman.} Mr. Bilbray?
4168
           Mr. {Bilbray.} Nay.
4169
           The {Chairman.} Mr. Shimkus?
           Mr. {Shimkus.} No.
4170
4171
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Bilbray, nay.
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4172
           The {Chairman.} Mr. Ross?
4173
           Mr. {Ross.} Aye.
4174
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Ross, aye.
           Mr. Chairman, what was Mr. Shimkus?
4175
4176
           Mr. {Shimkus.} No.
4177
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Shimkus, nay.
4178
           The {Chairman.} Are there any other members wishing to
4179
     cast their vote?
4180
           Mr. {Scalise.} Mr. Chairman?
4181
           The {Chairman.} Mr. Scalise.
4182
           Mr. {Scalise.} If I could just check and see how I was
4183
     recorded?
4184
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Chairman, Mr. Scalise is recorded as
4185
     nay.
           The {Chairman.} Other members? Mr. Harper?
4186
4187
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Chairman, Mr. Harper is recorded as
4188
     nay.
           The {Chairman.} Seeing no other members, the clerk will
4189
4190
     report the tally. How is Mr. Whitfield recorded?
4191
           Mr. {Whitfield.} Votes nay.
4192
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Whitfield, nay.
4193
           The {Chairman.} Ready for the tally?
4194
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Chairman on that, there were 15 ayes,
4195
     24 nays.
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- The {Chairman.} Fifteen ayes, 24 nays. The amendment
- 4197 is not agreed to.
- The vote now occurs on the Burgess substitute to the
- 4199 Pallone amendment. Those in favor, say aye. Those opposed,
- 4200 say no. In the opinion of the chair, the ayes have it. The
- 4201 ayes have it. The amendment is agreed to.
- The vote is now on the Pallone amendment as amended by
- 4203 the Burgess substitute. Those in favor, say aye. Those
- 4204 opposed, say no. In the opinion of the chair, the ayes have
- 4205 it. The ayes have it and the amendment is agreed to.
- 4206 Are there other amendments to the bill? Mr. Engel.
- 4207 Mr. {Engel.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have an
- 4208 amendment at the desk.
- 4209 The {Chairman.} The clerk will report the title of the
- 4210 amendment.
- 4211 The {Clerk.} What is the number, Mr. Engel?
- 4212 Mr. {Engel.} It is number 5, I believe.
- 4213 The {Clerk.} An amendment to the Committee on Energy
- 4214 and Commerce activity report offered by Mr. Engel of New
- 4215 York.
- 4216 [The amendment follows:]
- 4217 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* INSERT 14 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

4218 The {Chairman.} The amendment will be considered as 4219 read. The staff will distribute the amendment. And the 4220 gentleman from New York is recognized for 5 minutes in 4221 support of his amendment. 4222 Mr. {Engel.} Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. 4223 appreciate it. 4224 And we all remember back in April of this year when the 4225 majority passed its 2012 budget resolution. I voted against 4226 the measure for a number of reasons. First of all, it 4227 contains massive cuts to the social safety net while at the 4228 same time it protects Big Oil, protects companies which ship jobs overseas, does nothing to create jobs, and is not 4229 4230 something that I could easily support. It almost seemed to 4231 me like the majority wanted to roll back the 21st century and 4232 use the budgetary crisis or the unbalanced budget or the 4233 deficit as an excuse to get rid of every social program they 4234 have hated for the past 80 years, and I think that is a very 4235 dangerous thing. 4236 But more specifically, the Ryan budget attacks Medicare 4237 and turns it into a voucher system. It cuts taxes for

4237 and turns it into a voucher system. It cuts taxes for
4238 corporations and the wealthiest Americans while trying the
4239 balance on the backs of the poor, disabled and middle-class
4240 Americans. It also takes away health coverage for over 30

4241 million Americans by repealing the Affordable Care Act. Ιt 4242 dismantles Medicaid, turning it into a system of block 4243 grants, leading up to the point in the future where the cost of the program will dwarf the amount of reimbursements 4244 provided to States. So what that does obviously is disables 4245 4246 Medicaid as we know it as well. So the goal here is to end 4247 Medicaid as we know it by setting it up to fail. Medicaid 4248 benefits the poor and the disabled, two groups who should not 4249 carry the load of balancing the budget. 4250 It is, in my opinion, the majority's budget's proposal 4251 is the culmination of the greatest hits of Republican 4252 political issues. During the health care debate, Republicans 4253 frightened seniors to the point where they were fearful for 4254 their Medicare and urged Democrats to keep their hands off of 4255 Medicare. This of course was just a political ploy, because 4256 the fact is, that the Affordable Care Act bolsters Medicare 4257 and protect its guaranteed benefits. So how did Republicans 4258 reward seniors for their votes? By proposing the largest 4259 attack on Medicare since its creation. 4260 So my amendment is very simple. It just simply says 4261 that our committee will recommend opposition to proposals 4262 that result in ending Medicare and replacing it with a 4263 voucher, which in essence would double seniors' health care

costs in Medicare. In my district alone, Medicaid provides

- 4265 health coverage for over 20,400 seniors and individuals with 4266 disabilities who are dual eligible. The Medicaid benefits
- 4267 received by these individuals include payment of their
- 4268 Medicare Part B premiums, coverage of Medicare cost sharing,
- 4269 dental and vision benefits and long-term care. There are
- 4270 4,600 nursing home residents in my district, 79 percent of
- 4271 all nursing home residents whose care is paid for by
- 4272 Medicaid. Cuts of the magnitude proposed by House
- 4273 Republicans could lead to both eligibility and coverage
- 4274 restrictions for these seniors and individuals with
- 4275 disabilities and put them at risk.
- 4276 So Mr. Chairman, knowing how many of my constituents
- 4277 will be affected by the majority's proposal, the Ryan budget,
- 4278 I think it is imperative for this committee to recognize what
- 4279 this will mean to seniors, not only in my district but
- 4280 seniors in every one of our districts on both sides of the
- 4281 aisle across the country. Forty million seniors on Medicare
- 4282 will be affected by this, and we know it won't be good. So I
- 4283 recommend this. I recommend that we oppose the Republican
- 4284 budget proposal specifically as it reflects to Medicare,
- 4285 again, in opposition to ending Medicare as we know it and
- 4286 replacing it with a voucher, which would take away care for
- 4287 senior citizens, health care for senior citizens, make them
- 4288 pay more out-of-pocket expenses and puts Medicare in

- 4289 jeopardy.
- So that is my amendment, very simple, and I thank you,
- 4291 Mr. Chairman, and I yield back.
- 4292 The {Chairman.} The gentleman yields back his time.
- The chair would recognize the gentleman from New
- 4294 Hampshire, Mr. Bass.
- 4295 Mr. {Bass.} Mr. Chairman, I have a second-degree
- 4296 amendment at the desk.
- 4297 The {Chairman.} The clerk will report the title.
- 4298 Mr. {Waxman.} Reserving a point of order.
- 4299 The {Chairman.} Point of order is reserved.
- 4300 The {Clerk.} Second-degree amendment offered by Mr.
- 4301 Bass of New Hampshire.
- 4302 [The amendment follows:]
- 4303 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* INSERT 15 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

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4304 The {Chairman.} The amendment will be considered as 4305 read. The staff will circulate the amendment.

4306 The gentleman from New Hampshire is recognized for 5 4307 minutes.

4308 Mr. {Bass.} Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

4309 I heard earlier today that this--first of all, I will 4310 start by saying I think it is regrettable that on a routine 4311 committee document that is required by a House rule that this 4312 debate would degenerate to these types of issues, but that is 4313 where we are. And I heard that there was talk of proposing 4314 an amendment that would in essence imply that anybody in this 4315 Congress would vote to end Medicare, and that is precisely 4316 what this amendment proposes, and I considered suggesting to 4317 the committee that everybody just vote yes because there is 4318 nothing in this amendment that anybody intends to do, but I 4319 thought it might be more productive if we really make it 4320 reflect what we are thinking about doing.

4321 So I have a perfecting amendment that allows half of the
4322 first sentence to remain and it would read as follows: `The
4323 committee will recommend opposition to proposals that result
4324 in ending Medicare.'' There is no question about that. The
4325 committee will also recommend support for proposals to repeal
4326 provisions that provide an unelected 15-member body to ration

- care for those 55 and older and will recommend proposals to ensure that Medicare does not go bankrupt in 2024.
- We all believe that seniors deserve health care and they
- 4330 deserve to have health care not just today and tomorrow but
- 4331 for those individuals who are younger than 55 years old,
- 4332 those individuals that will be expecting to receive health
- 4333 care benefits after the date that the trustees predict that
- 4334 the program will be bankrupt. No, you can't cut oil
- 4335 subsidies, tax the rich, cut foreign aid and save Medicare.
- 4336 This takes hard bipartisan work on the part of the committee,
- 4337 and it is my hope over the next few months that we are going
- 4338 to be able to come together and work on a plan that will
- 4339 preserve and protect Medicare, keep it from going bankrupt,
- 4340 as the trustees predict it will in 2024, and have an honest
- 4341 debate about whether or not we want an unelected body put in
- 4342 place by the Obama health care law which in essence can
- 4343 determine what procedures are allowed and what procedures
- 4344 aren't allowed under Medicare. I am sure that saves a lot of
- 4345 money, and it does it very quickly, and I know it affects
- 4346 everybody including current seniors, but I believe that the
- 4347 only responsible course of action that we can take now at
- 4348 this time is to move to preserve and protect Medicare.
- 4349 The only option that we don't have at our disposal now
- 4350 if we are be legislators is to do nothing, so I urge my

- 4351 colleagues to support my second-degree amendment to the
- 4352 existing amendment offered by my friend from New York and
- 4353 then vote for passage should this amendment be agreed to.
- 4354 Mr. {Waxman.} Will the gentleman yield?
- 4355 Mr. {Pallone.} Will the gentleman yield?
- 4356 Mr. {Bass.} I will yield to the gentleman from
- 4357 California.
- 4358 Mr. {Waxman.} Thank you for yielding.
- I have a concern about the drafting of your amendment.
- 4360 It says strike all after ``Medicare.'' Now, Medicare is
- 4361 twice mentioned in the pending amendment. `The Committee
- 4362 will recommend opposition to proposals that result in ending
- 4363 Medicare.'' Would you stop it there and then insert your
- 4364 language? Or would it be after the whole amendment and then
- 4365 insert your amendment?
- 4366 Mr. {Bass.} The period would occur after the first use
- 4367 of the word ``Medicare'' so it would read as follows: ``The
- 4368 committee will recommend opposition to proposals that result
- 4369 in ending Medicare. The Committee will also recommend, '' and
- 4370 so forth.
- 4371 Mr. {Waxman.} Support for proposals to repeal?
- 4372 Mr. {Bass.} So it eliminates the words ``and replacing
- 4373 it with a voucher doubling seniors' health care costs in
- 4374 Medicare'' and substitutes ``in lieu thereof, the committee

- 4375 will also recommend'' dot dot dot 2024.
- 4376 Mr. {Waxman.} If I can inquire further, were you
- 4377 unhappy with the language that said replacing with a voucher,
- 4378 doubling seniors' health care costs. Did you think that was
- 4379 a little too strident?
- 4380 Mr. {Bass.} I have no question that we will not have
- 4381 vouchers and we will not double seniors' health care costs,
- 4382 but it is my feeling that due to the political nature of the
- 4383 debate right now, that there will be allegations made that
- 4384 these are indeed vouchers even though they aren't. What we
- 4385 are proposing to do, and my friend from California knows, is
- 4386 a model that is surprisingly similar to the bipartisan model
- 4387 that was proposed by Senator Brough and Congressman Thomas
- 4388 back in the late 1990s, and it was also proposed for the
- 4389 Medicare Part D prescription drug plan, but--
- 4390 Mr. {Waxman.} Would the gentleman yield?
- 4391 Mr. {Bass.} --I want to make it clear that we can
- 4392 support a provision that says that we are not going to vote
- 4393 to end Medicare, which is exactly what this amendment says.
- 4394 Mr. {Waxman.} Mr. Chairman, when the gentleman yields
- 4395 back, I would like to be recognized.
- 4396 Mr. {Bass.} I yield to you.
- 4397 The {Chairman.} The gentleman yields back his time?
- 4398 Mr. {Bass.} I said I yielded to the gentleman from

- 4399 California. I yield back.
- 4400 The {Chairman.} Does the gentleman still insist on his
- 4401 point of order?
- 4402 Mr. {Waxman.} I am going to reserve my point of order,
- 4403 but I do want to be recognized on the amendment.
- 4404 The {Chairman.} The gentleman is recognized for 5
- 4405 minutes.
- 4406 Mr. {Waxman.} Well, the reason I asked whether the
- 4407 gentleman from New Hampshire objected to the words Medicare
- 4408 going into a voucher, well, it does. Premium support is the
- 4409 same thing as a voucher. It would double seniors' health
- 4410 care costs. So he didn't want those statements made. But
- 4411 then what he says is that there are proposals in his
- 4412 amendment that ration care for 55 and older. Well, I know of
- 4413 no committee that is going to ration care for 55 and older.
- 4414 That is a misstatement of fact. An unelected 15-member body
- 4415 to ration care, well, there is a committee that has to be
- 4416 appointed and confirmed by the Senate that will make
- 4417 recommendations on Medicare but it doesn't ration care. That
- 4418 is a very charged way of putting it. If he thinks calling
- 4419 premium support a voucher, which is accurate, is an unfair
- 4420 characterization, I must say I consider it unfair to say that
- 4421 there is going to be a committee that is going to ration care
- 4422 under Medicare.

- 4423 We have had the committee to make recommendations on
- 4424 Medicare for some time now. It is different than the IPAB,
- 4425 but it is a committee that makes recommendations for changes
- 4426 in Medicare. Sometimes the Congress approves of their
- 4427 recommendations, sometimes we don't. But no one has ever
- 4428 said that committee is a committee that is in charge of
- 4429 giving recommendations to ration care--
- 4430 Dr. {Cassidy.} Will the gentleman yield?
- 4431 Mr. {Waxman.} --to 55 and older. So I think that this
- 4432 doesn't really add up to a legitimate point of view.
- Who is asking me to yield?
- 4434 Dr. {Cassidy.} Cassidy down here on the far
- 4435 hinterlands.
- 4436 Mr. {Waxman.} Mr. Cassidy, I will yield to you.
- 4437 Dr. {Cassidy.} Thank you.
- Now, I work in a public hospital, and I have learned how
- 4439 government rations. They don't say thou shall not have this
- 4440 procedure, they say we are going to cut your global budget.
- 4441 IPAB is charged with cutting a global budget. And I speak
- 4442 from experience and I can show you lots of examples.
- 4443 Mr. {Waxman.} Will the gentleman speak into the mic,
- 4444 because I am trying to listen but I can't hear you.
- Dr. {Cassidy.} I couldn't hear you so something may be
- 4446 wrong with the mics, but I am trying to speak into it.

- 4447 The way the government institutions ration with a global
- 4448 budget is, they make the line longer, so the person who has
- 4449 congestive heart failure doesn't get surgery to fix her heart
- 4450 failure next month, she gets it next year. The person with
- 4451 the broken hip doesn't get it immediately repaired, they get
- 4452 it repaired if at all--
- 4453 Mr. {Waxman.} Reclaiming my time. A person who doesn't
- 4454 have health insurance gets whatever they can get. They have
- 4455 go to an emergency room when they get very sick. They don't
- 4456 have a chance to go to a doctor for services--
- 4457 Dr. {Cassidy.} Will the gentleman yield?
- 4458 Mr. {Waxman.} --that might keep them healthy. They
- 4459 wait until they are very, very sick because they can't get
- 4460 access to care. That is a problem--
- 4461 Dr. {Cassidy.} Will the gentleman yield?
- 4462 Mr. {Waxman.} --of the uninsurance. But in a public
- 4463 hospital where we have government deciding appropriations and
- 4464 always there are people who say they care about the poor but
- 4465 then voting for lower appropriations for low-income people,
- 4466 we always have these public hospitals starved, and that the
- 4467 gentleman has told us he has seen, and I strongly disagree
- 4468 with that kind of process.
- But when we have a committee to recommend changes to
- 4470 Medicare as the IPAB would do, that would affect whether

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     people who have Medicare coverage can get access to services
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     at least under Medicare now, they are eligible for, they are
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      entitled to them. Now, if we had a premium support, or a
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     voucher plan, or what was in the Republican budget, which I
4475
     want to say is similar to something else, there wouldn't be
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     quaranteed services, it would be quaranteeing a sum of money
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      to help people buy a private insurance policy that may cover
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      them for those services but may cover with very a limited
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      amount of money--
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          Mr. {Walden.} Will the gentleman yield?
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          Mr. {Waxman.} --to go for those services.
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          Mr. {Walden.} Would the gentleman yield?
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          Mr. {Waxman.} Who is asking?
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          Mr. {Walden.} Down here.
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          Mr. {Waxman.} Yes, I would be pleased to yield.
          Mr. {Walden.} I guess the question would be, isn't that
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     a bit like Medicare Part D, which seniors have taken great
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      advantage of, that has come in under budget. The premiums
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     that the Democrats wanted to lock into statute when we had
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      that markup, that level hasn't been reached. We are trying
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     to figure out a way to save Medicare for future generations
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     and not let it go bankrupt, which it does under the Democrat
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     plan that is in law today--
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Mr. {Waxman.} Reclaiming my time. That is not an

- 4495 accurate statement because the Affordable Care Act has so
- 4496 many ways that they try to reduce health care costs
- 4497 legitimately.
- 4498 Dr. {Cassidy.} Will the gentleman yield?
- 4499 Mr. {Waxman.} No, not yet. And in reducing those
- 4500 costs, the projections for the IPAB to go into effect with
- 4501 recommendations that could actually have teeth in them is
- 4502 pushed way, way out because the whole bill that is now law is
- 4503 going to hold down health care costs--
- 4504 Mr. {Walden.} Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last
- 4505 word.
- 4506 Mr. {Waxman.} --not simply deny people care, which is
- 4507 what I think would happen under the budget by the
- 4508 Republicans.
- 4509 The {Chairman.} The gentleman's time has expired.
- 4510 Other members--
- 4511 Mr. {Walden.} I move to strike the last word.
- 4512 The {Chairman.} The gentleman from Oregon is
- 4513 recognized.
- 4514 Mr. {Walden.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I think it is
- 4515 an important debate to have, and I concur with my colleague
- 4516 from New Hampshire, Mr. Bass, that it seems kind of an odd
- 4517 place where would normally have a routine agreement. It has
- 4518 turned in a partisan spat, which is unfortunate and

- 4519 unnecessary.
- 4520 If we are going to have a discussion about Medicare, let
- 4521 us have it. Obamacare, which this committee really didn't
- 4522 get an opportunity to deal with in an open and transparent
- 4523 way, given what happened with the Senate, ends up creating
- 4524 this IPAB, and the IPAB is a 15-member appointed board that
- 4525 will make six-figure salaries and answer to themselves
- 4526 basically, and they are going to decide what physicians get
- 4527 reimbursed on, among other things. The federal health care
- 4528 law that is in effect today takes \$500 billion out of
- 4529 Medicare, Medicare Advantage. A lot of people in my district
- 4530 say without Medicare Advantage, some physicians wouldn't see
- 4531 them, and we know and I think Dr. Burgess could back me up on
- 4532 this, some one-third of physicians are capping their
- 4533 practices when it comes to Medicare.
- So we now are facing an access problem and it is only
- 4535 going to get worse. It seems to me that the Medicare
- 4536 actuaries and the trustees have both said Medicare is going
- 4537 broke unless we change it, and that is after they take into
- 4538 account the federal health care law that was approved in a
- 4539 very partisan manner in the last Congress.
- 4540 And so what we are trying to say is, there is a better
- 4541 way. We have listened to seniors, and in our proposal,
- 4542 seniors are taken care of. If you have Medicare today and

- 4543 you are 55 and older, you will still be eligible for
- 4544 Medicare, but if we don't do anything, if we go the path of
- 4545 the current law that the Democrats have put in place,
- 4546 Medicare goes broke and seniors lose out and the next
- 4547 generation loses out.
- Look, my parents, both of whom are gone, were both on
- 4549 Medicare. I saw the importance of Medicare. I saw the
- 4550 importance of home health. I saw the importance of hospice.
- 4551 My wife's parents both were on Medicare. My mother-in-law--
- 4552 they are both passed away now, but my mother-in-law was the
- 4553 hardest-core Democrat of anybody I had ever met, and after
- 4554 Medicare Part D, came along and she suffered from severe
- 4555 rheumatoid arthritis from the time she was in her 20s and had
- 4556 enormous health problems, and as a result had very high
- 4557 prescription drug costs, and when Medicare Part D came along,
- 4558 she signed up for it, and at a dinner one night, I finally
- 4559 asked her, Joann, did that work out pretty well for you, and
- 4560 she had to confess that it was at least one thing a
- 4561 Republican had done that she agreed with and it had made an
- 4562 enormous difference in their lives.
- We want that going forward for the next generation of
- 4564 seniors to have a Medicare program that makes an enormous
- 4565 difference in their life that is affordable, that takes care
- 4566 of the poorest and the sick and doesn't bankrupt the country

- 4567 and the grandkids.
- 4568 Mr. {Waxman.} Will the gentleman yield?
- 4569 Mr. {Walden.} Now, you go back to IPAB and you have got
- 4570 these people that are appointed that don't answer to anybody,
- 4571 maybe the Secretary of HHS, they make a six-figure salary,
- 4572 they serve longer than the President, 6 years, and to be
- 4573 reappointed for another 6, and I don't know who you even can
- 4574 appeal their decisions to. And so I think that is scares me
- 4575 and scares seniors I talk to us, you are getting a whole
- 4576 government board now between them and their physicians and
- 4577 how they are going to get access. I mean, that is really
- 4578 what happens here. And I know Dr. Cassidy has a lot of
- 4579 experience in this area and may want to weigh in on the IPAB
- 4580 some more, but this is what you all put in law.
- 4581 Dr. Cassidy, I would yield.
- 4582 Dr. {Cassidy.} Thank you.
- 4583 Under current law, under Obamacare, Medicare goes
- 4584 bankrupt. Now, that is under current law. Now, partly that
- 4585 is worsened because Obamacare takes \$500 billion from
- 4586 Medicare to spend on another government program. With that
- 4587 said, IPAB, to think that that is not going to end up
- 4588 affecting patients' access to care is to be disingenuous with
- 4589 the American people. Medicare is too important of a program
- 4590 to sit here and say don't worry, we are going to cut provider

- 4591 reimbursement but you are not going to have a problem with
- 4592 access. As it turns out, already MEDPAC says that there are
- 4593 problems with access for Medicare beneficiaries in the
- 4594 current system.
- By the way, under the CBO report, they say under current
- 4596 law, there will be record taxes, record deficits and all
- 4597 because of entitlement spending, and because of that, there
- 4598 is a likelihood that seniors on Medicare will see their
- 4599 benefits cut. Now, the answer is not to kick it down the
- 4600 road--
- 4601 Mr. {Walden.} Dr. Cassidy, if I could reclaim my time?
- 4602 Dr. {Cassidy.} I yield back.
- 4603 Mr. {Walden.} I want to conclude with this point.
- 4604 During the health care reform debate, 60 House Democrats
- 4605 commented that IPAB would, and I quote your letter, of which
- 4606 Mr. Pallone was a signator, ``threaten the ability of
- 4607 Medicare beneficiaries to access the care they need.''
- With that, my time is expired.
- 4609 Mr. {Pallone.} Mr. Chairman?
- 4610 The {Chairman.} The gentleman's time is expired. The
- 4611 gentleman from New Jersey.
- 4612 Mr. {Pallone.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 4613 You know, I think this debate today has been very
- 4614 productive, and I have no problem if you want to have a

- 4615 hearing on IPAB. I think actually we are supposed to have
- 4616 one and hopefully we will after the next break, but my--
- 4617 The {Chairman.} If the gentleman will yield, we are
- 4618 going to have a hearing on IPAB.
- 4619 Mr. {Pallone.} Right, my point, Mr. Chairman, if I
- 4620 could take my time back, is that this debate today has been
- 4621 very helpful, but what the Democrats are trying to do is to
- 4622 basically expand the debate in the full committee and in the
- 4623 Subcommittee on Health so that we are not just spending all
- 4624 our time talking about repealing the Affordable Care Act but
- 4625 rather are getting into the meat, if you will, of the
- 4626 Republican budget plan.
- 4627 Mr. {Waxman.} Will the gentleman yield?
- 4628 Mr. {Pallone.} Yes.
- 4629 Mr. {Waxman.} Look, I just want to correct some
- 4630 statements that have been made many times on the other side
- 4631 of the aisle. If we did not have the Affordable Care Act,
- 4632 the Medicare trust fund is going to go broke, and in fact,
- 4633 the Affordable Care Act extended the Medicare trust fund for
- 4634 20 years.
- Secondly, the problems, if we didn't have the health
- 4636 care act, would still be there for Medicare, and we always
- 4637 look for ways to get greater efficiency. The IPAB is one
- 4638 that many people find offensive but it is a way to get

- 4639 efficiencies. But in the bill, we got efficiencies to make
- 4640 the system run better, but for the Republicans to say there
- 4641 is \$500 billion taken out of Medicare and that is why is
- 4642 going to go broke, the Republican budget adopted every single
- 4643 one of those cuts and then added more when they were deciding
- 4644 on the voucher system.
- So that is why I think it is important to have the
- 4646 amendment to look at this proposed voucher system and the
- 4647 impact it has. Thank you for yielding.
- 4648 Mr. {Pallone.} Thank you.
- 4649 My whole point, the point I am trying to make here today
- 4650 is, look, with our amendments to this activity report, we are
- 4651 simply asking that the full committee or, in this case, also
- 4652 the Health Subcommittee, look into the Republican budget,
- 4653 whether it is the CHIP and the impact on kids or, in Mr.
- 4654 Engel's case, Medicare, and I would point out for those who
- 4655 say you like the debate or you like the fact that we are
- 4656 having this discussion today, when you vote on these
- 4657 amendments to change what myself or Mr. Engel did, what we
- 4658 are trying to deal with the Republican budget, if you make
- 4659 those changes and you make it so that we can't deal with that
- 4660 and that is not part of the activity report, then you are
- 4661 precluding us from having those hearings because you are
- 4662 going to have all the hearings you want on repealing the

Affordable Care Act. You have already had so many. But we 4663 4664 are simply saying, let us have hearings on the Republican 4665 budget, let us have hearings on what the impact of that budget would be on Medicare, let us have hearings on what 4666 4667 impact it will have on SCHIP and cutting Medicaid. I mean, 4668 obviously you are going to have your IPAB hearing, you are 4669 going to have all the hearings you want on repealing 4670 everything under the Affordable Care Act, but I want to point 4671 out that some of you have said you like this debate today, 4672 you like to have more debate on these topics. Well, then don't bring up secondary amendments that preclude the 4673 4674 activity report from saying that we should look into these 4675 things. 4676 We are simply asking that there be a full hearing, a 4677 series of hearings on the Republican budget and all the 4678 negative or positive -- you think it is positive. I don't know why you want to take out vouchers. You know, all of a sudden 4679 4680 you don't like vouchers. I thought you did like vouchers. 4681 You know, if you want to place it with premium support, go 4682 ahead, but all I am asking is, don't eliminate those sections 4683 that we are bringing up today that would let us look into the 4684 Republican budget. If you are proud of the budget, then let 4685 us have the hearings. Call it whatever you want, premium 4686 support, vouchers, I will call it end of Medicare, whatever

- 4687 you want, but let us at least have some discussion. This
- 4688 discussion today I think is tremendously productive but it
- 4689 won't happen if you keep amending our amendments and make it
- 4690 so that the activity report doesn't include those hearings.
- 4691 You can bring up whatever you want any time. Our problem is,
- 4692 we would like to have some hearings on what you think is a
- 4693 good thing. We may not think it is good but we don't' have
- 4694 hearings on it in any case.
- 4695 Mr. {Walden.} Will the gentleman yield?
- 4696 Mr. {Pallone.} Sure.
- 4697 Mr. {Walden.} At least the House this session
- 4698 considered a budget, in fact, multiple budgets, and passed
- 4699 one, and even the Senate took up the President's budget,
- 4700 which got no votes, and the House budget, which got 40 votes
- 4701 but I am not sure the Senate Democrats ever--
- 4702 Mr. {Pallone.} Well, my only point is--
- 4703 Mr. {Walden.} --and that seems to be a more responsible
- 4704 course of action.
- 4705 Mr. {Pallone.} Well, let me just take my time. My only
- 4706 point is that we have not had much discussion about in this
- 4707 committee, and I would simply like the activity report to
- 4708 reflect that we should have more discussion whether it is
- 4709 ending Medicare or it is severely cutting Medicaid, all the
- 4710 things that we are bringing up here today. This is a great

- 4711 discussion.
- 4712 Mr. {Walden.} Will you yield again?
- 4713 Mr. {Pallone.} I want it to continue. I don't want it
- 4714 to end, but if you keep voting--
- 4715 Mr. {Walden.} Will you yield?
- 4716 Mr. {Pallone.} --to eliminate these amendments, it is
- 4717 going to end today and we won't have this discussion again.
- 4718 Mr. {Walden.} Will the gentleman yield?
- 4719 Mr. {Pallone.} I don't think I have any time left.
- 4720 Mr. {Walden.} Well, how much debate did the committee
- 4721 have on PPACA when it came over from the Senate? That was
- 4722 actually the health care law.
- 4723 The {Chairman.} The gentleman's time has expired.
- 4724 Seeing no other member wishing to ask for time, the vote is
- 4725 on the Bass secondary amendment to the Engel amendment.
- 4726 Those in favor of the Bass amendment will say aye. Those
- 4727 opposed will say no. In the opinion of the chair, the ayes
- 4728 have it. The ayes have it. The amendment is agreed to.
- The vote now occurs--
- 4730 Mr. {Waxman.} Mr. Chairman, I seek recognition.
- 4731 The {Chairman.} For what purpose does the gentleman
- 4732 seek recognition?
- 4733 Mr. {Waxman.} I have an amendment at the desk.
- 4734 The {Chairman.} Reserve a point of order, Mr. Stearns.

- 4735 The clerk will read the title of the amendment. Is it an
- 4736 amendment or a substitute?
- 4737 Mr. {Waxman.} It is an amendment to the Engel amendment
- 4738 as perfected by the Bass amendment.
- 4739 The {Chairman.} The clerk will read the title.
- 4740 The {Clerk.} An amendment to the amendment by Mr.
- 4741 Waxman of California.
- 4742 [The amendment follows:]
- 4743 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* INSERT 16 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

4744 The {Chairman.} The amendment will be considered as 4745 read. The staff will circulate the amendment. And the 4746 gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes. 4747 Mr. {Waxman.} We would put into this amendment as 4748 amended the language that the committee will recommend 4749 opposition to provisions in the Republican budget that result 4750 in ending Medicare and replacing it with a voucher, doubling seniors' health care costs in Medicare. I ask for its 4751 4752 immediate consideration and an affirmative vote without 4753 debate. 4754 Mr. {Stearns.} Point of information, Mr. Chairman, just 4755 while we are discussing this, can we ask the parliamentarian, 4756 if you amend an amendment and it is defeated, can you amend 4757 the amendment with a third degree? Is that possible to do? 4758 Mr. {Waxman.} This is a second-degree amendment to the 4759 amendment that has been perfected by the amendment that was 4760 just adopted. 4761 Mr. {Stearns.} Well, the first amendment was amended by 4762 Mr. Bass and it was accepted. You would have to put yours at 4763 the same time--4764 Mr. {Waxman.} If the gentleman--

Mr. {Stearns.} --Bass was doing it. You couldn't do it

after Bass lost, as I understand.

4765

- 4767 Mr. {Waxman.} If I did it while Bass was pending, it
- 4768 would be a third-degree amendment, but since the amendment
- 4769 was adopted, it was not a substitute, it was an amendment,
- 4770 and now I am offering another amendment which has the same
- 4771 status as--
- 4772 Mr. {Stearns.} So that is the question, can you amend
- 4773 again? It is not a third degree, is what you are saying, but
- 4774 it is another amendment to a second degree, and your side
- 4775 thinks that--now, what happens, Mr. Waxman, if your amendment
- 4776 is not true?
- 4777 Mr. {Waxman.} If my amendment is not what?
- 4778 Mr. {Stearns.} Is not true.
- 4779 Mr. {Waxman.} True?
- 4780 Mr. {Stearns.} Not true.
- 4781 Mr. {Waxman.} Oh, in this committee?
- 4782 Mr. {Stearns.} In this committee.
- 4783 Mr. {Waxman.} In this committee if it is not true?
- 4784 Mr. {Stearns.} There is no validity to your amendment.
- 4785 Doubling seniors' health care costs, you and I both know,
- 4786 this is not true. You are offering an amendment that doesn't
- 4787 tell the truth.
- 4788 Mr. {Waxman.} I beg to differ, but we are waiting for
- 4789 the chair to make a decision.
- 4790 Mr. {Stearns.} Well, I am just trying to make you feel

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4791 a little guilty here for your amendment.
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The {Chairman.} Does the gentleman withdraw his point

- 4793 of order?
- 4794 Mr. {Stearns.} Per your request.
- 4795 The {Chairman.} Is there further discussion on the
- 4796 amendment? If not, the vote occurs on the amendment, the
- 4797 amendment by Mr. Waxman. Those in favor, say aye. Those
- 4798 opposed, say no. In the opinion of the chair--
- 4799 Mr. {Waxman.} I ask for a roll call vote.
- 4800 The {Chairman.} The clerk will call the roll.
- 4801 Mr. {Griffith.} Mr. Chairman, since we are going to do
- 4802 a roll call vote, I still raise the question, and I know that
- 4803 I am learning this process so I am just trying to learn, but
- 4804 if Mr. Waxman's amendment was broader, should it not have
- 4805 been offered simultaneously with the Bass amendment and then
- 4806 the broader amendment taken up first, and then if the broader
- 4807 amendment is adopted, the more narrow amendment would not be
- 4808 permitted in front of us? And since it is not in the right
- 4809 time frame, is it proper to take a recorded vote?
- 4810 The {Chairman.} I am told that we are operating
- 4811 correctly.
- 4812 Mr. {Griffith.} All right.
- 4813 The {Chairman.} The clerk will call the roll.
- 4814 The {Clerk.} Mr. Barton?

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4815
           Mr. {Barton.} No.
4816
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Barton, nay.
4817
           Mr. Stearns?
4818
           Mr. {Stearns.} No.
4819
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Stearns, nay.
           Mr. Whitfield?
4820
           [No response.]
4821
4822
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Shimkus?
4823
           Mr. {Shimkus.} No.
4824
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Shimkus, nay.
           Mr. Pitts?
4825
4826
           Mr. {Pitts.} No.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Pitts, nay.
4827
4828
           Mrs. Bono Mack?
4829
           [No response.]
4830
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Walden?
4831
           Mr. {Walden.} No.
4832
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Walden, nay.
4833
           Mr. Terry?
4834
           Mr. {Terry.} No.
4835
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Terry, nay.
4836
          Mr. Rogers?
          Mr. {Rogers.} No.
4837
4838
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Rogers, nay.
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4839
           Mrs. Myrick?
4840
           Mrs. {Myrick.} No.
           The {Clerk.} Mrs. Myrick, nay.
4841
4842
           Mr. Sullivan?
4843
           [No response.]
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Murphy?
4844
4845
           Mr. {Murphy.} No.
4846
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Murphy, nay.
4847
           Mr. Burgess?
4848
           Dr. {Burgess.} No.
4849
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Burgess, nay.
4850
           Mrs. Blackburn?
4851
           [No response.]
4852
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Bilbray?
4853
           [No response.]
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Bass?
4854
4855
           Mr. {Bass.} No.
4856
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Bass, nay.
4857
           Mr. Gingrey?
4858
           [No response.]
4859
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Scalise?
4860
           Mr. {Scalise.} Nay.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Scalise, nay.
4861
4862
           Mr. Latta?
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4863
           Mr. {Latta.} Nay.
4864
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Latta, nay.
4865
           Mrs. McMorris Rodgers?
           Mrs. {McMorris Rodgers.} No.
4866
4867
           The {Clerk.} Mrs. McMorris Rodgers, nay.
4868
           Mr. Harper?
4869
           [No response.]
4870
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Lance?
4871
           Mr. {Lance.} Nay.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Lance, nay.
4872
4873
           Mr. Cassidy?
4874
           Dr. {Cassidy.} No.
4875
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Cassidy, nay.
4876
           Mr. Guthrie?
4877
           Mr. {Guthrie.} No.
4878
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Guthrie, nay.
4879
           Mr. Olson?
           Mr. {Olson.} No.
4880
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Olson, nay.
4881
4882
           Mr. McKinley?
4883
           [No response.]
4884
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Gardner?
           Mr. {Gardner.} No.
4885
4886
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Gardner, nay.
```

```
4887
           Mr. Pompeo?
4888
           Mr. {Pompeo.} No.
4889
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Pompeo, nay.
4890
           Mr. Kinzinger?
4891
           [No response.]
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Griffith?
4892
           Mr. {Griffith.} No.
4893
4894
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Griffith, nay.
4895
           Mr. Waxman?
4896
           Mr. {Waxman.} Aye.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Waxman, aye.
4897
4898
           Mr. Dingell?
4899
           [No response.]
4900
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Markey?
4901
           [No response.]
4902
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Towns?
4903
           [No response.]
4904
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Pallone?
           Mr. {Pallone.} Aye.
4905
4906
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Pallone, aye.
4907
           Mr. Rush?
4908
           [No response.]
4909
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Eshoo?
4910
           [No response.]
```

```
4911
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Engel?
4912
           Mr. {Engel.} Aye.
4913
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Engel, aye.
4914
           Mr. Green?
4915
           [No response.]
           The {Clerk.} Ms. DeGette?
4916
4917
           Ms. {DeGette.} Aye.
4918
           The {Clerk.} Ms. DeGette, aye.
4919
           Mrs. Capps?
4920
           [No response.]
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Doyle?
4921
4922
           Mr. {Doyle.} Yes.
4923
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Doyle, aye.
4924
           Ms. Schakowsky?
4925
           Ms. {Schakowsky.} Aye.
4926
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Schakowsky, aye.
4927
           Mr. Gonzalez?
           [No response.]
4928
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Inslee?
4929
4930
           Mr. {Inslee.} Aye.
4931
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Inslee, aye.
4932
           Ms. Baldwin?
          [No response.]
4933
4934
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Ross?
```

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4935
           Mr. {Ross.} Aye.
4936
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Ross, aye.
4937
           Mr. Matheson?
4938
           [No response.]
4939
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Butterfield?
          Mr. {Butterfield.} Aye.
4940
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Butterfield, aye.
4941
4942
          Mr. Barrow?
4943
           Mr. {Barrow.} Votes aye.
4944
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Barrow, aye.
4945
           Ms. Matsui?
4946
           [No response.]
4947
           The {Clerk.} Mrs. Christensen?
4948
          Dr. {Christensen.} Aye.
4949
           The {Clerk.} Mrs. Christensen, aye.
4950
          Ms. Castor?
4951
          Ms. {Castor.} Aye.
4952
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Castor, aye.
          Mr. Upton?
4953
4954
           The {Chairman.} Votes no.
4955
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Upton, nay.
4956
           The {Chairman.} Are there other members wishing to cast
     a vote? Ms. Bono Mack?
4957
4958
          Mrs. {Bono Mack.} No.
```

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4959
           The {Clerk.} Mrs. Bono Mack, nay.
4960
           The {Chairman.} Ms. Capps?
4961
           Mrs. {Capps.} Aye.
4962
           The {Clerk.} Mrs. Capps, aye.
4963
           The {Chairman.} Mr. Whitfield?
          Mr. {Whitfield.} No.
4964
4965
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Whitfield, nay.
4966
          The {Chairman.} Mr. Matheson?
4967
          Mr. {Matheson.} Aye.
4968
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Matheson, aye.
           The {Chairman.} Are there other members seeking to
4969
4970
     vote? Ms. Blackburn?
4971
          Mrs. {Blackburn.} No.
4972
          The {Clerk.} Mrs. Blackburn, nay.
4973
           The {Chairman.} Other members? Seeing none, the clerk
4974
     will report the tally.
4975
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Chairman, on that, there were 14 ayes,
4976
      25 nays.
4977
          The {Chairman.} Oh, wait. Excuse me. Mr. Bilbray?
4978
          Mr. {Bilbray.} No.
4979
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Bilbray, nay.
4980
          The {Chairman.} Now the clerk will report the tally.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Chairman, on that there were 14 ayes,
4981
4982
     26 nays.
```

```
4983
           The {Chairman.} Fourteen ayes, 26 nays. The amendment
4984
     is not agreed to.
4985
           The vote now occurs on the Engel amendment as second
4986
     degreed by Mr. Bass. Those in favor will say aye. Those
4987
     opposed, say no. In the opinion of the chair--
4988
          Mr. {Waxman.} Request a roll call.
4989
           The {Chairman.} Roll call is requested. The clerk will
4990
     call the roll.
4991
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Barton?
4992
          Mr. {Barton.} Aye.
4993
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Barton, aye.
4994
          Mr. Stearns?
4995
          [No response.]
4996
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Whitfield?
4997
          Mr. {Whitfield.} Aye.
4998
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Whitfield, aye.
          Mr. Shimkus?
4999
          Mr. {Shimkus.} Aye.
5000
5001
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Shimkus, aye.
5002
          Mr. Pitts?
5003
          Mr. {Pitts.} Aye.
5004
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Pitts, aye.
          Mrs. Bono Mack?
5005
5006
          Mrs. {Bono Mack.} Aye.
```

```
5007
           The {Clerk.} Mrs. Bono Mack, aye.
5008
           Mr. Walden?
5009
           Mr. {Walden.} Aye.
5010
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Walden, aye.
5011
           Mr. Terry?
5012
           [No response.]
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Rogers?
5013
5014
           Mr. {Rogers.} Aye.
5015
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Rogers, aye.
5016
           Mrs. Myrick?
5017
           [No response.]
5018
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Sullivan?
5019
           [No response.]
5020
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Murphy?
5021
           Mr. {Murphy.} Aye.
5022
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Murphy, aye.
5023
           Mr. Burgess?
5024
           Dr. {Burgess.} Aye.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Burgess, aye.
5025
           Mrs. Blackburn?
5026
5027
           Mrs. {Blackburn.} Aye.
5028
           The {Clerk.} Mrs. Blackburn, aye.
          Mr. Bilbray?
5029
5030
           Mr. {Bilbray.} Aye.
```

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5031
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Bilbray, aye.
5032
           Mr. Bass?
           Mr. {Bass.} Aye.
5033
5034
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Bass, aye.
5035
           Mr. Gingrey?
5036
           [No response.]
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Scalise?
5037
5038
           Mr. {Scalise.} Aye.
5039
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Scalise, aye.
5040
           Mr. Latta?
5041
           Mr. {Latta.} Aye.
5042
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Latta, aye.
5043
           Mrs. McMorris Rodgers?
5044
           Mrs. {McMorris Rodgers.} Aye.
5045
           The {Clerk.} Mrs. McMorris Rodgers, aye.
5046
           Mr. Harper?
5047
           [No response.]
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Lance?
5048
5049
           Mr. {Lance.} Aye.
5050
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Lance, aye.
5051
           Mr. Cassidy?
5052
           Dr. {Cassidy.} Aye.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Cassidy, aye.
5053
5054
           Mr. Guthrie?
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5055
           Mr. {Guthrie.} Aye.
5056
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Guthrie, aye.
5057
           Mr. Olson?
5058
           Mr. {Olson.} Aye.
5059
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Olson, aye.
5060
           Mr. McKinley?
           [No response.]
5061
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Gardner?
5062
5063
           Mr. {Gardner.} Aye.
5064
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Gardner, aye.
5065
           Mr. Pompeo?
5066
           Mr. {Pompeo.} Aye.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Pompeo, aye.
5067
5068
           Mr. Kinzinger?
5069
           Mr. {Kinzinger.} Aye.
5070
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Kinzinger, aye.
5071
           Mr. Griffith?
5072
           Mr. {Griffith.} Aye.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Griffith, aye.
5073
5074
           Mr. Waxman?
5075
           Mr. {Waxman.} Present.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Dingell?
5076
           [No response.]
5077
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Markey?
5078
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5079
           [No response.]
5080
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Towns?
5081
           [No response.]
5082
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Pallone?
5083
           Mr. Waxman, present.
5084
           Mr. Pallone?
           Mr. {Pallone.} Present.
5085
5086
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Pallone, present.
5087
           Mr. Rush?
5088
           Mr. {Rush.} Present.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Rush, present.
5089
5090
           Ms. Eshoo?
5091
           [No response.]
5092
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Engel?
5093
           Mr. {Engel.} Present.
5094
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Engel, present.
5095
           Mr. Green?
           [No response.]
5096
           The {Clerk.} Ms. DeGette?
5097
5098
           [No response.]
5099
           The {Clerk.} Mrs. Capps?
5100
           Mrs. {Capps.} Present.
           The {Clerk.} Mrs. Capps, present.
5101
5102
           Mr. Doyle?
```

```
5103
           [No response.]
5104
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Schakowsky?
5105
           Ms. {Schakowsky.} Present.
5106
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Schakowsky, present.
5107
           Mr. Gonzalez?
5108
           [No response.]
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Inslee?
5109
5110
           Mr. {Inslee.} Present.
5111
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Inslee, present.
5112
           Ms. Baldwin?
5113
           [No response.]
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Ross?
5114
5115
           [No response.]
5116
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Matheson?
5117
           [No response.]
5118
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Butterfield?
5119
           Mr. {Butterfield.} Present.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Butterfield, present.
5120
5121
           Mr. Barrow?
5122
           Mr. {Barrow.} Votes aye.
5123
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Barrow, aye.
5124
           Ms. Matsui?
5125
           [No response.]
5126
           The {Clerk.} Mrs. Christensen?
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5127
          Dr. {Christensen.} Present.
5128
           The {Clerk.} Mrs. Christensen, present.
5129
          Ms. Castor?
          Ms. {Castor.} Present.
5130
5131
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Castor, present.
5132
          Mr. Upton?
5133
          The {Chairman.} Votes ayes.
5134
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Upton, aye.
           The {Chairman.} Are there other members wishing to cast
5135
5136
     a vote? Mr. Terry?
5137
          Mr. {Terry.} Aye.
5138
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Terry, aye.
5139
          The {Chairman.} Mr. Pallone?
5140
          Mr. {Pallone.} I would like to be recorded as aye.
5141
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Pallone, aye. Off present, on aye.
5142
           The {Chairman.} Other members wishing to cast a vote?
5143
     Mr. Ross?
5144
          Mr. {Ross.} Aye.
5145
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Ross, aye.
5146
           The {Chairman.} Other members wishing to cast a vote?
5147
     Seeing none, the clerk will report the tally.
5148
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Chairman, on that, there were 28 ayes,
5149
      zero nays and nine presents.
5150
           The {Chairman.} The amendment is adopted, 28, zero,
```

- 5151 nine. The amendment as amended is adopted.
- It is my understanding that we have a unanimous consent
- 5153 agreement. I am going to make a unanimous consent request
- 5154 that the remaining amendments be considered en bloc and that
- 5155 there will be 5 minutes in support and 5 minutes opposed at
- 5156 which point vote is likely to occur and we will get to final
- 5157 passage and be done. So with that announcement, the
- 5158 gentleman from California offers the remaining amendments.
- 5159 Mr. {Waxman.} Mr. Chairman, I have a series of
- 5160 amendments at the desk. I will ask unanimous consent that
- 5161 they be considered as read, and I will explain them.
- 5162 The {Chairman.} So is it all the remaining amendments.
- 5163 Is that right?
- Mr. {Waxman.} Yes, all the remaining amendments will be
- 5165 considered en bloc.
- 5166 [The amendments follow:]
- 5167 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* INSERTS 17 through 25 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

5168 The {Chairman.} And considered as read. The clerk will 5169 distribute the amendments. And the gentleman from California is recognized for 5 minutes in support of his amendment. 5170 5171 Mr. {Waxman.} Mr. Chairman, we are recommending that 5172 the committee oppose proposals that result in benefit cuts to 5173 Medicare and Medicaid for seniors and individuals with 5174 The committee will examine how the cuts in the disabilities. 5175 Republican budget on Medicare and Medicaid will impact 5176 veterans' families. The committee will examine how the 5177 Republican budget will affect the health care benefits, 5178 premiums and out-of-pocket costs for the 40 million seniors 5179 served by Medicare and the 6 million seniors served by 5180 Medicaid. The committee will examine the impacts of the 5181 Republican budget on nursing home quality standards for the 3 5182 million seniors served in nursing homes by Medicaid and the 2 5183 million seniors served in nursing homes by Medicare. 5184 The committee will examine the effects of cuts in 5185 investments in the clean energy sector in the Republican 5186 budget on the Nation's global competitiveness and 5187 technological leadership. The committee will examine gaps in 5188 security legislation and regulations that leave critical 5189 infrastructure vulnerable including public drinking water

The committee will examine successful strategies

5190

systems.

- 5191 adopted by other major countries around the world to control
- 5192 and reduce greenhouse gas emissions in order to mitigate
- 5193 global climate change, and the committee will examine the
- 5194 role of climate change in causing or contributing to the
- 5195 floods, droughts and wildfires occurring across the United
- 5196 States.
- 5197 And then the last one is, the committee will recommend
- 5198 opposition to proposals that could result in millions of
- 5199 children losing Medicaid or CHIP health care coverage under
- 5200 the Republican budget.
- 5201 These are obvious amendments that we think ought to be
- 5202 part of the committee report and under consideration by the
- 5203 committee either by way of oversight, investigations or
- 5204 possible legislation, which is appropriate as the committee
- 5205 sees fit. But this is to amendment the proposal that is
- 5206 before us which is the committee activities, and I think all
- 5207 of these amendments are appropriate committee activities and
- 5208 I would urge my colleagues to support them. I will yield to
- 5209 anybody who wants, or I yield back, either way. Yield back.
- 5210 The {Chairman.} The gentleman yields back.
- 5211 I will seek time to speak in opposition. I just want to
- 5212 say a couple things. You know, from the very beginning, I
- 5213 have done my very best to be bipartisan in all the things
- 5214 that we have done from recognizing members that might offer

5215 bipartisan amendments to going regular order on virtually 5216 every bill that has emerged from this committee from the 5217 hearings to acceptance of witnesses to making sure that even 5218 sometimes subcommittees don't conflict with each other, 5219 knowing that we are very busy on lots of different issues as 5220 we have six major subcommittees with six very able chairs, 5221 vice chairs and ranking members and particularly staff, and 5222 we have, I want to say, on every bill that has been reported 5223 out of this committee, there has been at least some 5224 bipartisan support, some more than others, and on the bills 5225 that we have seen get to the House floor, we have had what I 5226 think is pretty significant Democratic bipartisan support on 5227 virtually everything as we saw last night with the Alaska 5228 bill with nearly two dozen members on board. But looking at 5229 the bill today on Keystone pipeline and the support of a good 5230 number of members on both sides of the aisle, as I look at 5231 the issues that we are going to be dealing with in the weeks 5232 ahead, whether it be coal ash, whether it be toys, whether it 5233 be spectrum, whether there are active negotiations, discussions that are going on, particularly with the relevant 5234 5235 members of the committee. Pipeline safety is an issue that I 5236 think will herald as a good success in this Congress, not 5237 only our work with this committee but also with the 5238 Transportation Committee.

5239 As I look at the work that is going to be done on PDUFA, 5240 something that we desperately need, particularly as we look 5241 at exports and good drugs and solving diseases around the 5242 world, as I look at the medical device user fee and the 5243 discussions that are beginning on that, knowing that that 5244 legislation expires in September of next year, looking at the 5245 hearings that we start after the break on IPAB, again, we are 5246 looking for witnesses that both sides are able to cal and 5247 certainly a good debate as it relates to all of the issues 5248 before the committee. We are going to continue that. 5249 And in the oversight plan that was adopted, I want to 5250 remind folks on a unanimous vote, a voice vote with very good 5251 comments, particularly on the Democratic side of the aisle, I 5252 thought we were off to a very good start, and I just want to 5253 commit that we will continue to work in a bipartisan way. 5254 doesn't necessarily mean that you are going to get a vote 5255 that is unanimous. We understand that. But this committee 5256 is engaged on those issues and we will continue to do so. 5257 Mr. {Waxman.} Will the gentleman yield? 5258 The {Chairman.} I will yield for a moment and then I 5259 want to get to the vote. Mr. {Waxman.} I thank you for yielding. I appreciate 5260 5261 what you are saying. It means a great deal to hear you say

you want to work on a bipartisan basis.

- 5263 The {Chairman.} Continue to work.
- Mr. {Waxman.} Well, we had the Affordable Care Act, we
- 5265 had the finding on the Clean Air Act, on regulation of carbon
- 5266 emissions, we had the net neutrality. Those were all very
- 5267 partisan and didn't get us off to a good start, but I do look
- 5268 forward to working on a bipartisan basis. I appreciate your
- 5269 comments, and we hope that the members will accept these
- 5270 other ideas for the committee report. Whether they do or
- 5271 not, let us from this moment on try to work on a bipartisan
- 5272 basis for the rest of this Congress, and I will do my best.
- 5273 Ms. {DeGette.} Will the chairman yield?
- 5274 The {Chairman.} It is my time. I will yield to the
- 5275 gentlelady from Colorado.
- 5276 Ms. {DeGette.} If the chairman is done, I was going to
- 5277 strike the last word to talk about the oversight plan, but I
- 5278 can probably do it right now.
- 5279 The {Chairman.} I will yield.
- 5280 Ms. {DeGette.} Since the chairman mentioned the
- 5281 oversight plan, we have been working very closely together on
- 5282 a bipartisan basis on the oversight committee. We have had a
- 5283 number of good hearings, although we have had some repetitive
- 5284 hearings on waste, fraud and abuse, and yesterday, for
- 5285 example, we had an excellent hearing on Medicare and how we
- 5286 can save money, but Mr. Chairman, we have been really

For whatever reason, there are a number of issues that

- hampered in our oversight efforts, and I am just going to be 5287 5288 frank with you about it.
- the chairman and I had agreed on, that you had agreed on: 5291 drug shortage hearings, vaccine development, H1N1, a follow-5292 up on the New Orleans health care situation and also on the 5293 Deepwater Horizon. Nuclear safety in light of Fukushima, we 5294 had one hearing on that but we could have many, many more 5295 hearings on the safety of U.S. nuclear facilities and nuclear 5296 waste disposal. You and I had talked about a food safety
- 5299 about yesterday, tobacco labeling, on and on, and I am told 5300 by Chairman Stearns and others, one reason why we have been

hearing, given what happened with the E. coli in Germany, and

this committee's longstanding progress. Just one I heard

- 5301 unable to have robust oversight in this Congress is because
- 5302 many of the O&I staff have been pulled off to do some
- 5303 oversight hearings on Yucca Mountain, which are in a
- 5304 different subcommittee, and so we can't do it in Oversight
- 5305 and Investigations.

5289

5290

5297

- 5306 And I think you would agree, Mr. Chairman and Mr.
- 5307 Dingell and Mr. Waxman and all of us that oversight is the
- 5308 bread and butter of this committee, and I would just ask you
- 5309 and your staff and the members on your side if you can't work
- 5310 with us to get more robust investigations going and some

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5311 hearings that can be bipartisan, that can really help us move
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- 5312 our agenda forward, and I thank for you yielding and I yield
- 5313 back.
- 5314 The {Chairman.} I know my time is expired but I want to
- 5315 continue working with the gentlelady, and I commend your work
- 5316 and Mr. Stearns'. I know that on a number of those issues we
- 5317 have letters outstanding where we have sought information,
- 5318 particularly on food safety that I have signed and others. I
- 5319 look forward to legislation that will be developed to fix the
- 5320 problems that you all discover and identify as we are with
- 5321 the Medicare fraud and abuse legislation that I expect again
- 5322 to be bipartisan and you to be a lead with others to get that
- 5323 done where we actually save the taxpayers money and I can
- 5324 absolutely pledge that we continue to work to have a very
- 5325 aggressive oversight plan. And I appreciate the gentlelady's
- 5326 comments.
- 5327 At that point I would note that my time is expired. All
- 5328 time is expired on the amendments en bloc, so those in favor
- 5329 of the amendments en bloc will say aye. Those opposed, say
- 5330 no.
- 5331 Mr. {Waxman.} Request a roll call vote.
- 5332 The {Chairman.} Roll call vote is requested. The clerk
- 5333 will call the roll.
- 5334 The {Clerk.} Mr. Barton?

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5335
           Mr. {Barton.} No.
5336
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Barton, nay.
5337
           Mr. Stearns?
5338
           [No response.]
5339
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Whitfield?
5340
           [No response.]
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Shimkus?
5341
5342
           [No response.]
5343
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Pitts?
5344
           Mr. {Pitts.} No.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Pitts, nay.
5345
5346
           Mrs. Bono Mack?
5347
           Mrs. {Bono Mack.} No.
5348
           The {Clerk.} Mrs. Bono Mack, nay.
5349
           Mr. Walden?
5350
           Mr. {Walden.} No.
5351
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Walden, nay.
           Mr. Terry?
5352
5353
           [No response.]
5354
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Rogers?
5355
           Mr. {Rogers.} No.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Rogers, nay.
5356
5357
           Mrs. Myrick?
5358
           [No response.]
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5359
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Sullivan?
5360
           [No response.]
5361
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Murphy?
5362
           Mr. {Murphy.} No.
5363
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Murphy, nay.
5364
           Mr. Burgess?
           Dr. {Burgess.} No.
5365
5366
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Burgess, nay.
5367
           Mrs. Blackburn?
5368
           Mrs. {Blackburn.} Nay.
5369
           The {Clerk.} Mrs. Blackburn, nay.
5370
           Mr. Bilbray?
5371
           Mr. {Bilbray.} Nay.
5372
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Bilbray, nay.
5373
           Mr. Bass?
5374
           Mr. {Bass.} No.
5375
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Bass, nay.
           Mr. Gingrey?
5376
5377
           [No response.]
5378
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Scalise?
5379
           Mr. {Scalise.} Nay.
5380
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Scalise, nay.
          Mr. Latta?
5381
5382
           Mr. {Latta.} Nay.
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5383
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Latta, nay.
5384
           Mrs. McMorris Rodgers?
5385
           Mrs. {McMorris Rodgers.} No.
5386
           The {Clerk.} Mrs. McMorris Rodgers, nay.
5387
           Mr. Harper?
5388
           [No response.]
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Lance?
5389
5390
           Mr. {Lance.} Nay.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Lance, nay.
5391
           Mr. Cassidy?
5392
5393
           Dr. {Cassidy.} No.
5394
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Cassidy, nay.
5395
           Mr. Guthrie?
5396
           Mr. {Guthrie.} No.
5397
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Guthrie, nay.
           Mr. Olson?
5398
5399
           Mr. {Olson.} No.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Olson, nay.
5400
5401
           Mr. McKinley?
5402
           [No response.]
5403
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Gardner?
5404
           Mr. {Gardner.} No.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Gardner, nay.
5405
5406
           Mr. Pompeo?
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5407
           Mr. {Pompeo.} No.
5408
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Pompeo, nay.
5409
           Mr. Kinzinger?
5410
           Mr. {Kinzinger.} No.
5411
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Kinzinger, nay.
5412
           Mr. Griffith?
           Mr. {Griffith.} No.
5413
5414
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Griffith, nay.
5415
           Mr. Waxman?
5416
           Mr. {Waxman.} Aye.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Waxman, aye.
5417
5418
           Mr. Dingell?
5419
           [No response.]
5420
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Markey?
5421
           [No response.]
5422
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Towns?
5423
           [No response.]
5424
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Pallone?
           Mr. {Pallone.} Aye.
5425
5426
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Pallone, aye.
5427
           Mr. Rush?
           Mr. {Rush.} Aye.
5428
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Rush, aye.
5429
5430
           Ms. Eshoo?
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5431
           [No response.]
5432
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Engel?
5433
           Mr. {Engel.} Aye.
5434
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Engel, aye.
5435
           Mr. Green?
5436
           [No response.]
           The {Clerk.} Ms. DeGette?
5437
5438
           Ms. {DeGette.} Aye.
5439
           The {Clerk.} Ms. DeGette, aye.
5440
           Mrs. Capps?
5441
           [No response.]
5442
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Doyle?
5443
           Mr. {Doyle.} Yes.
5444
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Doyle, aye.
5445
           Ms. Schakowsky?
5446
           Ms. {Schakowsky.} Aye.
5447
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Schakowsky, aye.
           Mr. Gonzalez?
5448
5449
           [No response.]
5450
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Inslee?
5451
           Mr. {Inslee.} Aye.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Inslee, aye.
5452
           Ms. Baldwin?
5453
5454
           [No response.]
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5455
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Ross?
          Mr. {Ross.} Aye.
5456
5457
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Ross, aye.
          Mr. Matheson?
5458
5459
           Mr. {Matheson.} Aye.
5460
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Matheson, aye.
          Mr. Butterfield?
5461
5462
          Mr. {Butterfield.} Aye.
5463
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Butterfield, aye.
5464
          Mr. Barrow?
5465
           Mr. {Barrow.} Votes aye.
5466
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Barrow, aye.
5467
          Ms. Matsui?
5468
           [No response.]
5469
           The {Clerk.} Mrs. Christensen?
5470
           Dr. {Christensen.} Aye.
5471
           The {Clerk.} Mrs. Christensen, aye.
5472
          Ms. Castor?
          Ms. {Castor.} Aye.
5473
5474
           The {Clerk.} Ms. Castor, aye.
5475
          Mr. Upton?
5476
           The {Chairman.} Votes no.
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Upton, nay.
5477
           The {Chairman.} Are there other members wishing to cast
5478
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a vote? Mr. Whitfield?
5479
5480
          Mr. {Whitfield.} Nay.
5481
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Whitfield, nay.
           The {Chairman.} Ms. Capps?
5482
          Mrs. {Capps.} Aye.
5483
          The {Clerk.} Mrs. Capps, aye.
5484
5485
          The {Chairman.} Mr. Terry?
5486
          Mr. {Terry.} Nay.
5487
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Terry, nay.
5488
          The {Chairman.} Other members? Mr. Shimkus?
5489
          Mr. {Shimkus.} No.
5490
          The {Clerk.} Mr. Shimkus, nay.
5491
          The {Chairman.} Are there other members seeking to cast
5492
      their vote? Seeing none, the clerk will report the tally.
5493
           The {Clerk.} Mr. Chairman, on that, there were 15 ayes,
5494
      25 nays.
5495
           The {Chairman.} Fifteen ayes, 25 nays. The amendments
5496
      en bloc are not agreed to.
5497
          Mr. {Barton.} Mr. Chairman?
5498
           The {Chairman.} The gentleman from Texas.
5499
          Mr. {Barton.} I would like to strike the requisite
5500
     number of words briefly.
5501
          The {Chairman.} The gentleman is recognized briefly.
5502
          Mr. {Barton.} Mr. Chairman, I am not going to take a
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- 1503 long time, but I think members of the committee need to
- 5504 realize what has just happened.
- In prior Congresses, the committee had to issue a report
- 5506 of its activity but it was done by the chairman with the
- 5507 acknowledgment of the ranking member. It was not subject to
- 5508 committee vote. It was simply compiled, shown to both
- 5509 staffs, the ranking member, the chairman, generally if there
- 5510 was a discussion agreed on what was in the report, and if
- 5511 they were minority views, they put in, it went out. Under
- 5512 the Republican Congress, this time we have changed the rules
- 5513 of the House that the committees have to make these reports
- 5514 subject to the committee process, to be open and transparent.
- 5515 That wasn't done when Mr. Waxman was chairman, when I was
- 5516 chairman, when Mr. Tozan or Mr. Dingell. This is the first
- 5517 time this process has been used.
- 5518 Now, if you look at the actual report that we have just
- 5519 spent 3 hours amending or 2 hours amending, it is a dry
- 5520 recital of what the committee has actually been doing. It
- 5521 has the subcommittees, the full committee rosters and then
- 5522 just basically a chronology of the hearings that have been
- 5523 held. There is no real political opinion in it. It is a dry
- 5524 recital.
- Now, Mr. Waxman has taken the opportunity, which is his
- 5526 right as the minority member, to offer amendments which are

- 5527 in order under the rules, but almost every one of the
- 5528 amendments the gentleman from California just offered uses
- 5529 the term ``the Republican budget,'' not all of them but most
- 5530 of them, the majority of them. He is within his rights to do
- 5531 that. There is absolutely nothing in the rules that prohibit
- 5532 it. But our chairman for both sides of the aisle, not just
- 5533 for the Republicans, our chairman, Mr. Upton, has been
- 5534 running this process straight down the middle, and I think he
- 5535 should be commended, and I would hope as we mature as a
- 5536 committee working together, the exercise that we just have
- 5537 seen, again, it is within the rules but to offer amendments
- 5538 on a pure ministerial function of the committee where there
- 5539 is no real objection to the report is somewhat unusual, and I
- 5540 want to commend Mr. Upton for his handling of this issue, and
- 5541 with that, I yield back.
- 5542 The {Chairman.} I thank the gentleman for his nice
- 5543 words.
- 5544 If there are no further amendments, the question now
- 5545 occurs on favorably reporting the activity report to the
- 5546 House. All those in favor, say aye. Those opposed, say no.
- 5547 The ayes appear to have it. The ayes have it and the
- 5548 activity report is favorably reported.
- 5549 Mr. {Waxman.} Mr. Chairman, I want to serve notice that
- 5550 the minority views will be submitted.

5551	The {Chairman.} Without objection, the staff is
5552	authorized to make technical and conforming changes to the
5553	bill and to the activity report, and the minority will
5554	certainly have its requisite number of days.
5555	I would thank all members and staff again. The bill is
5556	favorably reported and the committee stands adjourned.
5557	[Whereupon, at 4:15 p.m., the Committee was adjourned.]