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H.R. 1, ONE BIG BEAUTIFUL BILL ACT

HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON RULES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDRED NINETEENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

WEDNESDAY, MAY 21, 2025

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Available via http://govinfo.gov
Printed for the use of the Committee on Rules

U.S. GOVERNMENT PUBLISHING OFFICE
61–207 WASHINGTON : 2025

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H.R. 1, ONE BIG BEAUTIFUL BILL ACT

WEDNESDAY, MAY 21, 2025

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON RULES,
Washington, DC.

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 1:09 a.m., in Room H–313, The Capitol, Hon. Virginia Foxx [chairwoman of the committee] presiding.

Present: Representatives Foxx, Fischbach, Norman, Roy, Houchin, Langworthy, Scott, Griffith, Jack, McGovern, Scanlon, Neguse, and Leger Fernández.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Good morning.

The committee will come to order.

Without objection, the chair is authorized to declare a recess at any time.

Today, the Rules Committee is convening to consider H.R. 1, the One Big Beautiful Bill Act.

Before we discuss the legislation that is before us, I want to respond to a letter I received earlier yesterday from the Democratic leader and the ranking member of the committee. The letter calls the decision to hold a hearing at 1 a.m., quote, "unprecedented," end quote.

However, let's look at the record.

In the 110th Congress, Democrats held a meeting beginning at precisely the same time, 1 a.m., on August 2007, on the Children's Health and Protection Act. I was there.

When this was discussed on the floor earlier yesterday, Mr. McGovern responded that this was decades ago.

However, we have looked back and observed that you did indeed convene a hearing at 1:30 a.m. only a short time ago, in 2022. It was for an omnibus in addition to a short-term CR.

Once again, those who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones.

Secondly, the letter asked, "What else are you hiding?"

I want to be clear. I have been as open and transparent as possible throughout this entire process, as has the Speaker and everyone else involved. We posted the text of the Rules Committee print late Sunday night after the Budget Committee ordered the legislation reported, and we posted a comparative print at the same time showing the changes between the reported bill and the Rules Committee print.

There have been many complaints from my friends on the other side about not knowing about whether there will be a manager's amendment and what will be in it.

There will be a manager's amendment. It is how reconciliation has operated under both Republican and Democrat control.

I certainly can't control the time that it will be ready. But I can assure my Democrat colleagues that they will certainly have more time than we were given in 2009 when a 309-page manager's amendment was dropped on us when the ranking member began reading the motion to report a rule for H.R. 2454.

A 309-page manager's amendment was dropped on us when the now-ranking member began reading the motion to report a rule for H.R. 2454. The record is there.

Our friends on the other side of the aisle love to cherry-pick the fact about how this meeting is taking place in the dark of night. They have done it for several committee markups thus far, never mind the fact that the only reason the hearings went as long as they did was because Democrats engaged in the legislative process, which is their right.

But here is the thing: They can't have their cake and eat it too. They cannot complain about reporting legislation in the dark of night when the only reason it went so late was because of their own actions.

Now, in the case of the Rules Committee the same holds true. The Rules Committee has a long tradition of meeting late into the evening and reporting legislation long after most of America has gone to bed.

It is our duty to advance the agenda of the House of Representatives, the people's House. Let's roll the clocks back to when Democrats held the majority in the 110th and 111th Congress. They reported legislation out of the Rules Committee well into the twilight hours.

I know of what I speak. I was on the Rules Committee then. For example, H. Res. 587, 3:47 a.m.; H. Res. 481, 2:09 a.m.; H. Res. 597, 3:43 a.m.; H. Res. 903, 2:25 a.m.; and H. Res. 445 in the 116th Congress, 12:20 a.m.

I do not think there is anything wrong with this. It is how the committee has operated when necessary. It has occurred under Democrat and Republican control.

In this case, I do believe we will be reporting not in the dark of night but after the day has dawned. I encourage my colleagues on the other side to prove me wrong.

Now to the business that is before us this morning.

There will be a lot of commentary from our friends across the aisle about what is not within this legislation. We will experience ad nauseam a lot of granular-level grievances, legislative indigestion, and I am sure what are considerable hypoallergic reactions to everything under the sun. It will be the same song-and-dance routine that we have seen and heard for months, likely with more drama than "Shakespeare on the Hill."

Despite their misleading rhetoric and talking points, Democrats had their opportunities to deliver when they had full control and passed their own reconciliation packages. They did nothing to make the middle-class-centered Trump tax permanent.

Despite the existence of the expiration of these tax cuts within their 10-year window, they refused. They even refused to raise the top income tax bracket, despite all their campaign talking points.

Instead, they passed the so-called Inflation Reduction Act and the so-called American Rescue Plan Act that led to reckless spending and record inflation.

But Republicans are here to do our jobs, and our jobs in this case isn't out of discretion. It is grounded in statute.

We are considering legislation that executes the instructions given to the committees pursuant to the budget resolution, one that passed both Chambers and is binding on this body and the Senate.

And our express purpose is this: to ensure that our Federal spending, taxation, and other revenue-generating concepts align with the current needs of the American people.

The American people—and this government, by extension—cannot afford inaction. Americans need this legislation to ensure our economic survival and the sustainability of this republican government.

Americans cannot afford the largest tax hike in our Nation's history. Americans cannot afford the runaway, endless spending machines that Democrats have enshrined via their policies. Americans cannot afford the inflation caused by the Democrats in the last 4 years.

Americans cannot afford a soft, fragile embrace of President Trump's successful policies on the border, national security, and growth.

Inflation has fallen to the lowest level in more than 4 years, as April's Consumer Price Index smashed expectations for the third straight month.

Workers' real wages are up 1.9 percent, increasing each of the last 3 months.

Encounters with gotaways, the top threat to public safety, are down by 95 percent.

In March of 2025, fentanyl traffic at the southern border fell by 54 percent compared to March of 2024.

Lastly, Americans and this government cannot afford to ignore the specific pro-growth provisions that President Trump campaigned on.

Our bill delivers on the specific acute policies American workers embrace. We end taxes on tips. We end taxes on overtime. We boost tax deductions for seniors. We expand family-centered tax incentives like the child tax credit, the standard deduction, and family leave.

The One Big Beautiful Bill is our answer to the American people's mandate from November. It is a clear, full-throated response to the millions of hardworking men and women across the entire Nation who demand a serious course correction from the last 4 years and the setting of our fiscal situation on a sustainable footing.

The committees within the House have all completed their respective parts, and all the pieces have come together. I commend all the committees—chairmen, members, and staff—who worked for months, often well into the night and early hours of the morning, to craft the One Big Beautiful Bill Act. We are here to finish the job and ship this legislation to the House floor.

With that, I look forward to the discussion.

I now yield to the ranking member, Mr. McGovern, for any comments he wishes to make.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Well, that is a lot to digest. Thank you.

Madam Chair, before we get into the substance here, I have got a simple question.

What the hell are Republicans so afraid of? What the hell are you so scared of that you guys are holding this hearing at 1 o'clock in the morning?

It is a simple question that speaks to the heart of what is going on here and one that I am going to keep on asking.

If Republicans are so proud of what is in this bill, then why are you trying to ram it through in the dead of night?

If you guys are so proud to kick 14 million people off Medicaid, if you guys are so proud to rip food assistance out of the refrigerators of moms and dads and their kids, if you guys are so proud of shutting down rural hospitals and hurting our farmers, if you guys really think these are such great, awesome, beautiful things to do, like Trump keeps saying, then why not hold this hearing at 1 p.m. and not 1 a.m.? Why not debate this bill in prime time when most of the American people can watch?

It is 1 o'clock in the morning. I think it is prime time in Guam. And I think it is crystal clear to everyone what this is all about.

Now, the chairwoman wants to pretend like meeting at 1 o'clock in the morning is business as usual around here. It is not. This is not normal at all.

She had to go back 20 years into the archives to dig up a single example of Rules meeting at 1 a.m., and I guess is that supposed to be some kind of gotcha?

I am actually glad she went back two decades to bring it up because in 2007 Democrats convened the Rules Committee at 1 a.m. to protect people's healthcare. You guys have us meeting at 1 a.m. to rip it away.

Now, look at the record. George W. Bush was President and the Children's Health Insurance Program was about to expire. That is an actual emergency, not a fake emergency like this. He vetoed not one but two of the bills that we sent him because he didn't want to cover those additional kids.

So you guys caught us doing what exactly? Trying to protect coverage for uninsured kids. Great. We are proud of that. There is no comparison here.

This is a 1,000-page bill, for God's sake, a thousand-plus pages, and you want to shove it through in the dead of night because Trump said close your eyes and vote for it.

You are using emergency procedures to jam this through Congress to meet an artificial deadline that you created yourselves because the billionaires just couldn't wait for their tax cut.

It is astonishing really. It takes my breath away. It is just over a hundred days and you guys have gone from promising to lower costs to ripping away people's healthcare.

Now, of course you don't want anyone to know what you are doing here. It is because you know that this bill betrays the people who voted for you.

You have the most ineffective Congress in a century. You have passed almost no legislation into law. And this, this is how you

want to roll out your big centerpiece legislation, at 1 o'clock in the morning?

This isn't just incompetence. It is much more nefarious than that. You are intentionally hiding what you are doing.

What an insult to the people of this country. What disdain you guys must have for the people who voted for you.

You know, people are so, so tired of getting screwed over by a system that doesn't work for them. America is fed up with this BS, and people want change. And I don't blame them. I am fed up, too. They want us to make things better for regular people, and what your big ugly bill does is the exact opposite.

You guys and Trump are perpetuating the exact broken system that people hate. You are rigging things for the rich and powerful, more tax breaks for billionaires while regular people get screwed, more giveaways for those at the top while moms and dads struggle to get by, more loopholes into the Tax Code for Wall Street CEOs and bankers while working families fall further and further behind.

That is the Republican agenda, that is what you guys think is big and beautiful, greed, corruption, and tax breaks for billionaires.

You want to steal from the wallets of working-class people, steal from their ability to buy food and get healthcare, and then you have the nerve to claim that this bill is about cutting costs and reducing waste. Give me a break. This bill raises the debt limit by $4 trillion—$4 trillion with a "t."

Even your own Members, budget hawks in the House and Senate, weren't happy with the latest version of this bill because they know it will blow up our deficit, and the true cost is likely trillions of dollars higher, a cost shouldered by the American taxpayer.

So you want to cut taxes for the rich and pay for it by exploding the debt and stealing from the American people, stealing from people with the least so you guys can give more to those with the most.

And I just find that fundamentally wrong, fundamentally cruel, totally out of touch, and totally and fundamentally immoral.

Now, let me walk through what your bill does since you guys are so eager to sweep it under the rug.

First, you are making the biggest cuts to Medicaid in American history. As a result of this bill, nearly 14 million Americans will lose their healthcare and millions more will pay higher premiums, copays, and deductibles. That is just a fact. Hospitals will close, nursing homes will shut down, and people will die.

And not a single one of the proposals in your bill is about making Medicaid work better. Not one. Your bill doesn't save Medicaid. Your bill destroys Medicaid.

We can and we should make Medicaid work better, absolutely. Instead, your bill creates more red tape, more hurdles, and kicks struggling people off their health insurance.

Now, who asked for this garbage? I mean, more red tape? Oh, boy. When I talk to people back home, that is exactly what they want with their healthcare, more red tape. I mean, come on.

And then, if that is not bad enough, you are making the biggest cut to food assistance in American history.

According to the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office, at least 5 million—5 million Americans—will lose food assistance

under your plan, 5 million more hungry Americans because of this bill. And that is probably a lowball estimate, by the way.

You are slashing benefits from children, from seniors living on fixed incomes, from veterans who served this country and now rely on food assistance just to get by.

And why? And why? So that the top 0.1 percent, people making over $3.5 million a year, can pocket $314,000 a year in new tax giveaways.

I mean, you are literally taking food off kids' plates to buy Elon Musk another yacht. I guess he is getting a good return on his campaign donations. But I just find this whole thing disgusting.

And, look, at the end of the day, this is simple. It is simple. It is about whose side you are on.

You guys wrote this bill for the top 0.1 percent. You wrote it for the billion-dollar corporations who offshore jobs and dodge taxes. You wrote it for the Big Oil and Big Pharma CEOs who rip people off. You wrote it for the rich and famous, for the people who never, ever have to worry about where their next meal is coming from or how to take care of their elderly parents.

So you guys picked a side, okay? You picked the billionaires. I get it. You want to betray the people who voted for you. You want to sell them out because Trump told you to.

But guess what? Democrats are picking a side, too, and we are siding with the vast, vast, vast majority of Americans who you are going to screw over with this bill.

We are siding with the 14 million parents and grandparents who are going to get kicked off healthcare if this monstrosity passes.

We are siding with struggling families who are already having a hard time buying groceries and the farmers whose incomes will drop because you are gutting the nutrition programs to create demand for the food that they grow, and the rural grocery stores that they support, and the nurses who will lose their jobs when you start closing down rural hospitals.

That is who we are siding with, and that is who we choose to fight for.

Now, I have seen a lot in my time in Congress. I have seen my fair share of bad bills. But this one, this one, this takes the cake.

This is not policy. This is theft. It is a direct transfer of wealth from the working and middle class to the ultra-wealthy, and it is being done on purpose and under the cover of night.

Republicans have had every opportunity to make life better for the American people. You guys have a unified Republican government. You have the House. You have the Senate. You have the White House. You could have invested in housing, in childcare, in clean energy, in community health. You could have closed tax loopholes and make sure that billionaires pay what they owe.

Instead, you chose to side with those at the top. You chose to line the pockets of your rich donors, and the health and security of regular people be damned.

This is not a governing philosophy. It is a scam. It is a scam. A scam. And I wasn't sent here to vote for trash like this.

For the life of me, I cannot understand why you are doing this. Why the hell did you choose a career of public service just to do this, just to rip away the healthcare and food assistance and secu-

rity of working- and middle-class Americans? Is that really what you came here to do? I don't understand this. I don't understand the cruelty.

And let me say this to every Republican Member who votes for this: You own it. You own it. You own every hospital that closes, every child that goes to bed hungry, every senior who loses care, and every American family forced to choose between groceries and rent, between their heating bill and their childcare, between their kid's birthday party and their parents' long-term care.

So you guys can force us to debate this bill in the dead of night. You can do it while the country sleeps.

But the American people will wake up tomorrow morning, and I guarantee you they will wake up to how terrible your agenda is. They will remember this moment. They will remember who stood with the billionaires and who stood with them.

We will make sure they remember, and I will be damned if we let this pass quietly. I am going to fight like hell, and I know I won't be alone.

This is a farce, an outrageous insult to the people of this country, to bring up a 1,000-page bill at 1 o'clock in the morning—a bill that is still being written, by the way, by Republicans as we speak, in a back room somewhere, for God's sake.

And then to try to jam it through Congress in the middle of the night when nobody is watching is just unbelievably cynical.

This is why people hate Washington.

So if you guys think this ugly bill is so damn beautiful, like Trump keeps saying, you should have the courage to debate it in prime time.

Madam Chair, we should reconvene at a reasonable hour and debate your bill in full view of the American people, not in the middle of the night like cowards, and for that reason I move that the Rules Committee do now adjourn.

The CHAIRWOMAN. The question is on the motion to adjourn.

All those in favor, say aye.

All those opposed, say no.

In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I ask for a roll call, Madam Chair.

The CHAIRWOMAN. The gentleman has asked for a roll call vote. The clerk will call the roll.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach?

Mrs. FISCHBACH. No.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach, no.

Mr. Norman.

Mr. NORMAN. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Norman, no.

Mr. Roy?

Mr. ROY. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Roy, no.

Mrs. Houchin?

Mrs. HOUCHIN. No.

The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin, no.

Mr. Langworthy?

Mr. LANGWORTHY. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.

Mr. Scott?
Mr. SCOTT. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.
Mr. Jack?
Mr. JACK. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.
Mr. McGovern?
Mr. MCGOVERN. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.
Ms. Scanlon?
Ms. SCANLON. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.
Mr. Neguse?
Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.
Ms. Leger Fernández?
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.
Mr. Griffith?
Mr. GRIFFITH. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.
Madam Chair?
The CHAIRWOMAN. No.
The CLERK. Madam Chair, no.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the tally.
The CLERK. Four yeas, nine nays.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The noes have it. We will move on.

Without objection, any prepared statements that our witnesses may have will be included in the record.

I now welcome our first panel, Chairman Rogers and Representative Smith from the Committee on Armed Services; Chairman Arrington and Representative Boyle from the Committee on the Budget; Chairman Hill and Representative Waters from the Committee on Financial Services; and Chairman Comer and Representative Lynch from the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform.

Your full statements will be submitted for the record, and we ask that you summarize your statements in 5 minutes.

Chairman Rogers, I welcome your testimony.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. MIKE ROGERS, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ALABAMA

Mr. ROGERS. Thank you, Chairwoman Foxx and Ranking Member McGovern. I appreciate the opportunity to present the Armed Services Committee reconciliation title.

The HASC title provides $150 billion in mandatory funding to modernize our military, revitalize the defense industrial base, and improve quality of life for our servicemembers.

The time for this level of investment is long overdue. The threats we face from China, Russia, Iran, North Korea, and others are much more complex and challenging than at any point in our history.

We are being outpaced by our adversaries in the development and deployment of critical capabilities, our defense industrial base

has atrophied to the point where we may no longer be able to sustain prolonged conflict, and it all stems from a chronic underinvestment in our national security.

Defense spending is not keeping up with inflation. In fact, we are currently at the lowest level of defense spending as a percentage of GDP since before World War II.

That anemic level of investment is endangering our national security, and it must change. Reconciliation gives us the opportunity to do just that. It forces the Department to start building the future of American defense now. It invests billions to accelerate deployment of new, low-cost attritable autonomous systems. These unmanned air, surface, and underwater systems are the key to victory on future battlefields.

The HASC title will go a long away toward restoring American deterrence and building our ready, capable, and lethal fighting force that President Trump has promised.

Finally, I am very pleased to be able to report that the committee reported this out on a bipartisan basis. I think that demonstrates the underlying bipartisan consensus we have to increase investment in our national security.

Thank you for the opportunity to testify and for your help in moving this critical bill forward.

The Chairwoman. Representative Smith, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. ADAM SMITH, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

Mr. SMITH of Washington. Thank you, Madam Chair.

I really have just two points. I mean, certainly, I agree with the chairman of the Armed Services Committee that we face a very complex threat environment and a need to modernize our military in a bunch of different directions. I am not sure I agree on what the total number of the budget should be for the House Armed Services Committee.

But two crucial points.

If you believe that the Defense Department needs more money, that we need to spend more money on defense, you cannot vote for this reconciliation bill.

This reconciliation bill is going to cut taxes over 10 years by somewhere between 5 and 7 trillion dollars, depending on how you guys all finally decide what you are going to put in there and what you are not going to put in there. It is going to increase the debt and the deficit by 3 and a half trillion dollars or thereabouts.

So whatever we cram into this bill, whatever $150 billion, I guess, they are going to try to throw at defense, will be irrelevant a year or 2 or 3 or 4 years from now because our $35 trillion debt will continue to grow. Our $1.8 trillion yearly deficit will continue to grow. You won't have money to make an investment in anything, not even defense.

So we are not going to see an increase in defense spending over the long haul because we are giving away all of the money.

If, in fact, you believe that defense is that important, then you have to be willing to pay for it. We simply cannot continue to borrow money forever.

So it is not going to help defense. If you are a defense hawk, you cannot vote for this reconciliation bill.

Which leads into the second point. I have heard for a very long time from my Republican colleagues that the reason they have to pass their budget is because of the existential threat that the debt and the deficit pose for our Nation.

I wish I could replay all of the incredibly passionate speeches that I have heard on the floor and elsewhere from my Republican colleagues about how terrible this is. And that is what the reconciliation bill was going to do.

And I can picture all of your constituents who you made these promises to, and then you get back here and you put this reconciliation bill up there.

And they say, "Well, how did we do? How did we do on getting the debt down?" "Well, it is difficult. It is complicated. But we actually added—added—$3 trillion to it."

The budget hawks in the Republican Conference, I mean, are you going to stand up tomorrow and say, "We were lying to you, we never really meant it"?

I mean, this is just ridiculous, that you would consider passing a reconciliation bill that is going to add $3 trillion to the debt after—my gosh, the speeches I heard would have made you think that not getting the debt under control was going to kill us all in, like, a year.

So this reconciliation bill is an utter disaster for the country for a lot of the reasons. I associate myself with many of the remarks that Mr. McGovern made on all the things that are being cut.

But if you care about defense and you care about the debt, how in the hell can you vote for this? I mean, I look forward to someone making that argument at some point.

So I hope that the Republicans who care about the debt and care about defense will vote this bill down.

And, with that, I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Smith.

Chairman Hill, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. J. FRENCH HILL, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ARKANSAS

Mr. HILL. Good morning, Madam Chair and Ranking Member McGovern. I have never considered myself much of a morning person, and this takes it to a whole new level.

A few weeks ago, the House Financial Services Committee completed work on the assignment to us on the budget resolution from Congress adopted early in April. The resolution asked us to decrease the deficit by at least $1 billion over the 2025 to 2034 period. We have done that.

We have rescinded the remaining unobligated balances with the Department of Housing and Urban Development's Green and Resilient Retrofit Program created under the Inflation Reduction Act of 2022.

We ended the Public Accounting Oversight Board's authority to collect regulatory fees and transferred any unused balances to the Treasury. Audit oversight will continue without disruption.

We have put a firm cap on the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau's budget, setting its funding at no more than $249 million for fiscal year 2025 with an annual adjustment for inflation going forward.

For the CFPB's Civil Penalty Fund, once direct victims are compensated, remaining funds will be transferred to the Treasury's General Fund.

Finally, we capped the assessment collected by the Office of Financial Research at the Treasury, aligning them with the average annual expenses of the Financial Stability Oversight Council over the past 3 years. Any surplus will, once again, be returned to the Treasury.

I am pleased to report that the Financial Services Committee exceeded our instruction by the Budget Committee and that the CBO estimates the deficit would decrease by $5.2 billion from the efforts of our committee.

During our markup, we spent over 9 hours debating our portion of this reconciliation bill. We considered all 40 amendments that our Democratic colleagues offered and did not limit the minority's ability to propose modifications to the underlying legislative text.

After this long, comprehensive process we favorably transmitted our committee print to fulfill our obligations to the reconciliation bill before Rules today.

I want to thank all my colleagues. I want to remind all my colleagues to recall why we are here.

The American people voted for fiscal responsibility. They voted for change. Our country is currently $37 trillion in debt, paying billions of dollars in interest each day on that debt. This year alone, we will spend almost a trillion dollars on total interest.

If Congress fails to get our fiscal house in order, our debt will continue to grow exponentially and our grandchildren will pay the consequences.

For too long, government spending has been on a one-way ratchet up. So we are here today to finally do the difficult work of extricating our Nation from this fiscal predicament.

The Financial Services Committee portion of the concurrent resolution does more than its part to reduce the deficit.

I am eager to finish our work and finally tackle these issues. I ask the committee for your support in advancing this bill to the House floor.

I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Hill.

Representative Waters, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. MAXINE WATERS, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. WATERS. [Inaudible.] Well, I can't let that not be heard.

Well, here we are. Republicans have dragged us here in the dead of the night under the guise of having a productive hearing about the GOP tax scam bill.

But the truth is that Republicans couldn't care less about how bad this bill is. They are going to sit here and ignore every single thing that I and my Democratic colleagues have to say about this bill and how it will harm hardworking American families.

And it is all because they are afraid of Donald Trump. They are so afraid of Donald Trump that they will gladly allow the American people to serve as collateral damage to the $5 trillion handout—$5 trillion handout—to billionaires in this bill. They are so afraid of Donald Trump that they are okay with him getting richer while their constituents are getting poorer.

This isn't hyperbole. This is real life. This bill cuts programs that will literally make American families poorer and make Donald Trump and his billionaire donors richer.

I was there at the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau after Trump and Elon Musk illegally attempted to shut down the Bureau. I heard from consumers about what shutting down the agency means for them.

This is the very same agency that, following the 2008 financial crisis—which many of us in this room remember—was created to stop predatory financial institutions from ripping off our constituents, the same agency that has saved American families $21 billion by returning to them funds that were swindled out of them.

Trump failed to shut the agency down in court, so now they are soliciting the help of Republicans.

This bill, this budget scheme, will slash the Bureau's budget by 70 percent and put the agency's crucial work—like cracking down on illegal junk fees, tackling discrimination in housing, and protecting servicemembers and students from scams—to a grinding halt. This is all to cut taxes for billionaires like Mark Zuckerberg and Elon Musk.

Republicans are also pushing to gut the Financial Stability Oversight Council and Treasury's Office of Financial Research, agencies that are designed to prevent another financial crisis like the one in 2008.

They are eliminating funding for affordable housing construction despite a national homelessness crisis. I also showed up at HUD because I know the harm this will pose to families.

They are also so desperate to do Trump's bidding that they are eliminating another agency that doesn't cost taxpayers anything, the Public Company Accounting Oversight Board, which oversees auditors to prevent frauds like Enron and ensure that companies controlled by the Chinese Communist Party are on the up.

What is even more sinister about Republicans dismantling our financial institutions is that they are doing this in the middle of an economic crisis.

Our economy is falling behind Europe, China, and Canada. Americans are so economically anxious that they are holding off on starting a family and buying a home. The so-called pro-family party is making it harder for Americans to have kids and ripping away the American dream of home ownership.

Inflation is rising, the dollar is down, yields are up, and borrowing is getting more expensive. And just this past Friday, Moody's lowered the United States credit rating because of Trump's reckless tariff policies and growing concerns about how this bill will jack up our debt by giving a massive, unnecessary handout to billionaires.

Don't forget he is also carrying out the most egregious crypto scheme in history, a scam that is enriching himself and his family while average investors lose money.

But nothing in the bill addresses this crisis Trump has thrown the U.S. economy. He has put us in this position.

Republicans, let's face it, you are not serious about helping your constituents. You only care about kissing up to King Trump. This isn't what the American people elected us for.

I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Ms. Waters.

Mr. Arrington, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. JODEY C. ARRINGTON, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF TEXAS

Mr. ARRINGTON. Thank you, Madam Chair, Ranking Member McGovern, members of the Rules Committee.

Only in the mind of a Democrat could a 22 percent tax hike prevention be a bill that is characterized as trash.

Only in the mind of a Democrat could giving our soldiers—our sons and daughters in uniform—what they need to be ready to protect us, to keep us safe and free, be a scam.

Only in the mind of a Democrat would keeping illegal immigrants from receiving taxpayer-funded social services so that we could sustain those programs for American citizens now and into the future could be a scam or trash.

And I have got a whole lot of other talking points, but——

Mr. MCGOVERN. Me too.

Mr. ARRINGTON. And I look forward to the conversation.

The reconciliation bill under consideration today is the principal legislative vehicle for advancing the full America First Agenda, to realize President Trump's vision and House Republicans' unwavering commitment to making America safe and prosperous again.

Our goals were as follows: to strengthen our military and secure our border; to reignite economic growth and unleash American prosperity; and to rein in wasteful Washington spending and begin the process of restoring the fiscal health of our great Nation.

The One Big Beautiful Bill Act contains the largest tax cuts, security investment, Federal energy asset deployment, and spending reduction in the history of the United States of America.

This is a historic moment. We believe it is a generational opportunity to reclaim the American promise, to renew the American spirit and restore America's greatness.

The American people gave President Trump a mandate and unified Republican leadership in Congress to reverse course on the failed policies of the last four years.

Their message to Washington, Madam Chair, I believe was crystal clear. They want competent leaders, commonsense policies, and a commitment from everybody in this room, all of the lawmakers and leaders of our great country, to be committed to putting America and Americans first. Let's give the voters what they got, what they asked for, today.

I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Arrington.

Mr. Boyle, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. BRENDAN F. BOYLE, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. BOYLE. Thank you, Madam Chair, and thank you, Ranking Member, and thank you to all the Members who go above and beyond by serving on the Rules Committee.

When I was a teen, my late mother would often say: Nothing good happens after midnight. Now I know what she meant. This big bill for billionaires will truly hurt working Americans.

Let me highlight some of the major points.

First, it will bring about, according to the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office, the greatest loss of healthcare coverage in American history.

It does it in several ways. First, by providing and instituting the biggest cut to Medicaid in American history. Second, by launching devastating cuts to Obamacare.

Those two combined will result in a loss of healthcare for about 14 million Americans.

But that is not all. Just tonight, a few hours ago, the bombshell came out. The nonpartisan CBO's official numbers show this bill will bring about an over $500 billion cut to Medicare, one of the largest cuts to Medicare since the program was created in 1965.

So the largest cut to Medicaid in American history, devastating cuts to the Affordable Care Act, and one of the largest cuts to Medicare in American history.

And why? To help subsidize tax cuts that mostly go to the top 1 percent.

And, of course, those cuts I highlighted to healthcare aren't the only cuts that are in here. We also have included the largest cuts to nutrition assistance and food programs in American history, cuts to all sorts of education programs, and the list goes on and on and on.

And does that, in the end, mean most working Americans will be better off? No. Because also out from CBO just tonight are the distributional effects of this bill in its entirety.

And what does it show? The bottom 10 percent of Americans will actually be poorer as a result of this bill, with the biggest benefit going to the top 1 percent of Americans.

What is also quite clear is that this bill is not entirely paid for. Even after all of those cuts to Medicaid, all of those cuts to Medicare, all of those cuts to the Affordable Care Act and nutrition assistance and on and on, they don't come close to paying for the cost of the tax cuts.

So how is the rest paid for? It isn't. It is just tacking on more and more to our national debt. No wonder, just on Friday evening, Moody's delivered the third credit downgrade this Nation has ever received.

This is truly—I think all sides will agree with this—a significant piece of legislation, frankly, I think, one of the most consequential in our lifetimes.

Sadly, though, I believe the consequences for my constituents and most working Americans will be absolutely devastating. I urge you to reject it.

With that, I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Boyle.

Chairman Comer, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. JAMES COMER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF KENTUCKY

Mr. COMER. Thank you, Dr. Foxx and Ranking Member McGovern.

Today, I am here to talk about a generational opportunity to realize reforms that address the budget deficit.

The provisions proposed by the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform in Title IX of this bill are part of President Trump's larger effort to improve the fiscal health of the Federal Government.

Last November, Democrats offered to provide more of the same, but the American people instead elected President Trump to a historic second term on promises to change Washington, D.C. The deficit reductions in Title IX of the reconciliation package codify part of the President's vision for enacting his agenda and achieving significant taxpayer savings.

Congressional procedure, precedent, and tradition too often contribute to an ever-expanding Federal Government. Meanwhile, too little is done to shrink the administrative state and make the Federal bureaucracy more efficient.

The budget reconciliation process provides a rare opportunity to reverse that trajectory.

Fundamentally, Congress instructed the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform to advance policies that reduce the Federal deficit by at least $50 billion.

Despite our committee's limited jurisdiction over mandatory spending programs, we passed a package of budget reforms that save a significant sum.

We are in a fiscal crisis. The reforms we moved out of the Oversight Committee met the moment in terms of addressing that fiscal crisis. We did the job we needed to do on behalf of the American taxpayers and future generations.

The simple truth is that Federal employee retirement benefits significantly outpace those of the private sector.

To this point, the Congressional Budget Office issued an April 2024 report that I requested stating that, quote, "Benefits for Federal workers cost 43 percent more per hour worked on average than benefits for private sector workers," end quote.

CBO stated further that, quote, "Benefits also constituted a larger share of total compensation for Federal workers than for workers in the private sector," end quote.

Most of the costs associated with these benefits are funded by hardworking taxpayers in the private sector and Federal borrowing.

I understand that our conference includes Members that represent different constituencies. I support leadership's work to combine our package with the provisions reported by other committees into one bill that can gain the support of our conference. And I thank my colleagues for working with leadership to represent their constituents and reach an agreement on a package that advances significant budget-saving reforms.

I fully support our collective efforts to advance a package that works for the House and supports President Trump's agenda.

Title IX of the legislation before us today advances most of the Oversight Committee's important budgetary reforms.

These reforms will save taxpayers money while protecting current retirees as well as law enforcement officers, Border Patrol officers, air traffic controllers, nuclear material couriers, and firefighters who serve a clear public interest and typically have shortened Federal careers due to mandatory retirement rules and early retirement incentives.

Taken together, the reforms now being considered in Title IX will reduce the deficit and move us toward the more accountable Federal Government that the American people demand and deserve.

I ask the Rules Committee to promptly advance this legislation for consideration by the House, and I welcome the committee's questions.

I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Chairman Comer.

Representative Lynch, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. STEPHEN F. LYNCH, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. LYNCH. Thank you, Madam Chair and Ranking Member McGovern, members of the committee. Good morning.

We are here at just going on 2 a.m. because the Trump administration and congressional Republicans want to unload the cost of $7 trillion in tax cuts onto the backs of American workers, families, and dedicated public servants—and, because this bill is so disgraceful, it can't stand the light of day.

In just over 100 days, we have witnessed the Trump administration lay off more than 200,000 probationary Federal employees, including leading researchers, public health experts, veterans, and other critical positions.

Trump has coerced 75,000 civil servants into resigning. Trump has replaced 50,000 nonpartisan civil servants with political appointees. And Trump has illegally terminated nonpartisan, independent inspectors general and Federal watchdogs.

This partisan bill threatens to further undermine the Federal workforce by reducing the take-home pay, benefits, and workforce protections of 2.4 million Federal employees, most of whom are middle-class American workers and a third of whom are military veterans.

This is more of the same—an unprecedented assault and political purge of the nonpartisan civil service—and the people who will pay most for these attacks are the veterans, children, seniors, and other Americans who rely on our Federal workers to deliver those lifesaving services.

The Federal Employee Retirement System annuity supplement, a monthly bridge payment for retirees before they are eligible for Social Security at age 62, would be eliminated for anyone not actively receiving the supplemental payment by January 1, 2028, or who does not meet a specific exemption.

Federal workers, like letter carriers, VA hospital nurses, and food inspectors, who have committed decades to the job, who are

eligible to retire, would not be able to receive this vital payment to make ends meet.

That is $18,000 per year in retirement income for the average beneficiary eliminated because billionaires need another tax break.

This legislation would also retroactively change the annuity formula to base most employees' annual retirement payments on their highest 5 years of earnings instead of the highest 3, as they were promised when they were hired. This is an outright theft of earned benefits that would cost Federal retirees thousands of dollars annually.

My Republican colleague, Representative Mike Turner of Ohio, was exactly right to speak out and vote against this provision during our committee's consideration of this bill, making the rejection of the Oversight provisions bipartisan.

Another particularly egregious provision of this bill would force any newly hired Federal employee to accept at-will employment or lose 5 percent of their take-home pay to increased retirement contributions. Federal workers who choose to remain under the merit-based system would be forced to contribute nearly 10 percent of their paycheck towards retirement.

CBO estimates that 75 percent of new hires in the Federal Government would now become at-will employees subject to political purges of the Federal workforce with little to no protections.

I will be introducing amendments to strike this bill's at-will employment provisions and to exempt veterans and Federal workers who entered the workforce prior to the bill's enactment from the changes in the annuity formula.

Despite the claims of this administration, Federal workers are not leeches on the system but hardworking, dedicated public servants who are paid about 25 percent less than their private sector counterparts.

A strong, nonpartisan Federal workforce is fundamental to a functioning democratic government. These dedicated workers deserve our respect and our support.

Like most Americans, Federal workers face increased costs for groceries and housing and economic uncertainty because of President Trump's reckless tax and tariff agenda.

The Trump tariffs are estimated to cost American households $4,900 per year, the largest tax increase since 1968. President Trump and congressional Republicans are also advocating for a tax regime that will actually increase Federal deficits by more than $4 trillion over the next 10 years.

And worst of all, they are seeking to offset their tax cuts for billionaires by gutting $800 billion from Medicaid programs. My Democratic colleagues and I strongly oppose that motion.

Oversight Democrats stand with struggling families, we oppose corruption and abuse of power, and we are committed to solving our Nation's crises without sacrificing the well-being of our civil servants.

I urge my colleagues to reject this reverse-Robin Hood legislation, which robs from the poor to give to the rich, and instead work towards a budget that respects American workers and the basic needs and services they provide.

I welcome the committee's questions, and I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Lynch.

Chairman Arrington, we keep hearing a constant refrain from the Democrats that the tax cuts were driven to the wealthy. The Washington Post fact-checked what they referred to as Democrats', quote, "zombie claim," end quote, that 83 percent of the benefits from Republican tax reform in 2017 went to the wealthiest 1 percent.

They fact-checked this multiple times. The Post gave the claim three Pinocchios, saying, quote, "The tax bill has been in place for more than 3 years, and it is clear from the available data that the top 1 percent did not end up with most of the tax benefits."

Do you agree with me that the Democrats have a credibility problem when they discuss President Trump's tax cuts?

Mr. ARRINGTON. They have a major credibility problem because the facts are contrary to their mischaracterization. The top one percent actually pay a higher share of their taxes than they did prior to TCJA. So, in that respect, it became a more progressive Tax Code, but every other income level saw a tax break.

In addition to that, we had record wage increases. In fact, the bottom ten percent of wage earners grew their wages at twice the top ten percent, and it is three times the income increase of the bottom 50 percent relative to the top one percent.

So I would just add that it couldn't be a scam on working people and poor people when we achieved the lowest poverty rate in recorded history.

So people got better opportunities and bigger paychecks, and the people at the lower-income spectrum got the biggest benefit from TCJA. So mischaracterization may be an understatement for how they described tax cuts for the rich.

And let's remember, the top ten percent of income earners are paying 70 percent of our salary, the lights and the entire freight of the Federal Government. So when we talk about tax fairness and equity, they have an interesting perspective on that.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you. I think the word "mischaracterization" of what they are saying is a kind way to say it.

Mr. ARRINGTON. My mom raised me right.

The CHAIRWOMAN. There is a three-letter word that characterizes it better, but we will leave that alone.

When President Biden stated the Trump tax cuts went to the top 1 percent and not ordinary people, didn't FactCheck.org have to debunk him? And didn't the liberal—liberal—Tax Policy Center even have to correct President Biden? And didn't even The New York Times state that, quote, "Studies consistently find that the 2017 law cut taxes for most Americans"?

Mr. ARRINGTON. Yes, ma'am, that is correct.

The CHAIRWOMAN. And doesn't this constant refrain we are hearing from Democrats now match exactly what has been categorically debunked?

Mr. ARRINGTON. Yes, ma'am. Yes, ma'am, and nobody knows that better than the average family of four who saw about a $5,000 increase in their take-home pay because of their tax relief, which was almost the opposite effect of the inflation tax they paid over the last three or four years.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. McGovern.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I think what you are talking about is not what we are talking about here today. We are talking about the Republican reconciliation package that is going to be jammed through this committee and rushed to the floor.

And if I am understanding the numbers correctly, the latest version of their tax scam, the top 0.1 percent stand to gain $255,000, on average, in 2027 alone. That is $700 a day, every day.

The people who make over a million dollars a year will also get their pockets lined. On average, these millionaires will have an additional $81,500 per year.

But pennies for everybody else. For those earning less than $50,000 per year, the average benefit is $265. That is less than a dollar per day. And that is laughable when you begin to look at the gaps that are going to be created by these cuts in other programs.

But, Mr. Boyle, I have a letter here that you received, along with the Democratic Leader, Hakeem Jeffries, from the Director of the Congressional Budget Office, and I am looking at this chart here about who benefits from this bill. It doesn't seem to match what Chairwoman Foxx and Mr. Arrington are just talking about right now.

Do you want to comment on this?

Mr. BOYLE. What that chart shows—and, by the way, that is not my chart.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Yeah, I know.

Mr. BOYLE. That is not your chart.

Mr. MCGOVERN. It is CBO's.

Mr. BOYLE. That is the official scorekeeper's chart, the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office.

And if you can show that chart again, what it shows is the poor get poorer——

Mr. MCGOVERN. Right.

Mr. BOYLE [continuing]. While the rich get richer. And so let me quote again from CBO, specifically their numbers.

For people in the bottom 10 percent, they will experience a 4-percent loss of household wealth. Meanwhile, for people in the top 10 percent, they will see their household resources increase by 2 percent.

It is as simple as that.

Mr. MCGOVERN. And I ask unanimous consent that this be entered into the record, Madam Chair.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Without objection.

[The information follows:]

CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE
U.S. Congress
Washington, DC 20515

Phillip L. Swagel, Director

May 20, 2025

Honorable Brendan F. Boyle
Ranking Member
Committee on the Budget
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

Honorable Hakeem Jeffries
Democratic Leader
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

Re: Preliminary Analysis of the Distributional Effects of the One Big Beautiful Bill Act

Dear Congressman Boyle and Leader Jeffries:

This letter responds to your request for an analysis of the distributional effects of the 2025 reconciliation bill. The Congressional Budget Office and the staff of the Joint Committee on Taxation (JCT) have recently estimated the budgetary effects of the One Big Beautiful Bill Act, as ordered reported by the House Committee on the Budget on May 18, 2025.[1] CBO allocated the effects on revenues and spending to households. The agency also allocated to households the effects of states' estimated responses to changes to Medicaid and the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP). This is a preliminary analysis and will be updated if practicable.

CBO estimates that if the legislation was enacted, U.S. households, on average, would see an increase in the resources provided to them by the government over the 2026–2034 period. The changes would not be evenly distributed among households. The agency estimates that in general, resources would decrease for households in the lowest decile (tenth) of the

[1] Congressional Budget Office, Estimated Budgetary Effects of a Bill to Provide for Reconciliation Pursuant to Title II of H. Con. Res. 14, the One Big Beautiful Bill Act (May 20, 2025), http://www.cbo.gov/publication/61420. For more information on the budget reconciliation process and the cost estimates of the legislation, see Congressional Budget Office, "Reconciliation" (accessed May 20, 2025), www.cbo.gov/topics/budget/reconciliation.

income distribution, whereas resources would increase for households in the highest decile.

This analysis includes most, but not all, provisions of the bill. The analysis excludes the effects of part 2 of subtitle D (Affordable Care Act) of the reconciliation recommendations of the Committee on Energy and Commerce, all the recommendations of the Committee on Education and Workforce, and any provisions not allocated in JCT staff's distributional analysis of the recommendations of the Committee on Ways and Means.[2] It also excludes interactions between the titles of the recommendations.

The total effects reported in this analysis for the 2026–2034 period include the following:

- An increase in the federal deficit of $3.8 trillion attributable to tax changes, including extending provisions of the 2017 tax act, which includes revenues and outlays for refundable credits.
- $698 billion less in federal subsidies from changes to the Medicaid program.
- $267 billion less in federal spending for SNAP.
- $64 billion less in spending, on net, for all other purposes. That includes increases in outlays for defense, immigration enforcement, and homeland security. Those are offset by reductions in federal pensions, receipts from spectrum auctions, and changes in receipts and outlays associated with changes to emissions regulations.
- $78 billion in additional state spending, on net, accounting for changes in state contributions to SNAP and Medicaid and for state tax and spending policies necessary to finance additional spending.

CBO estimates that the budgetary effects of the legislation would affect household resources via several channels, or categories:

- **Federal Taxes and Cash Transfers.** Household resources would mainly be affected by changes to tax policy, especially extensions of

[2] Staff of the Joint Committee on Taxation, *Distribution Of The Estimated Revenue Effects Of The Tax Provisions Of The Chairman's Amendment In The Nature Of A Substitute To The Budget Reconciliation Legislative Recommendations Related to Tax*, JCX-23-25 (May 2025), www.jct.gov/publications/2025/jcx-23-25/.

provisions of the 2017 tax act and reductions in subsidies for health insurance under the Affordable Care Act.

- **Federal and State In-Kind Benefits.** Household resources would primarily be affected by decreases in federal spending on benefits provided through Medicaid and SNAP. (The category also includes changes in state spending on those programs in response to this legislation.)

- **State Financing.** Potential tax and spending changes by states to finance state contributions to in-kind benefits would affect household resources. An area of ongoing analysis involves CBO's expectations of the states' responses to changes in federal funding.

- **Other Spending and Revenue.** All outlays other than transfers are allocated as if they were public goods.

Estimated Effects

CBO estimates that household resources would decrease by an amount equal to about 2 percent of income in the lowest decile (tenth) of the income distribution in 2027 and 4 percent in 2033, mainly as a result of losses of in-kind transfers, such as Medicaid and SNAP (see the figure).[3] By contrast, resources would increase by an amount equal to 4 percent for households in the highest decile in 2027 and 2 percent in 2033, mainly because of reductions in they taxes they owe. The distributional effects vary throughout the 10-year projection period as different components of the legislation are phased in and out.

The analysis combines the four channels through which household resources would be affected. Each of those channels is allocated to households in different ways and with different levels of uncertainty. Therefore, caution should be taken when interpreting their combined effects. The estimates reported in this letter are preliminary and have been rounded to the nearest percentage point.

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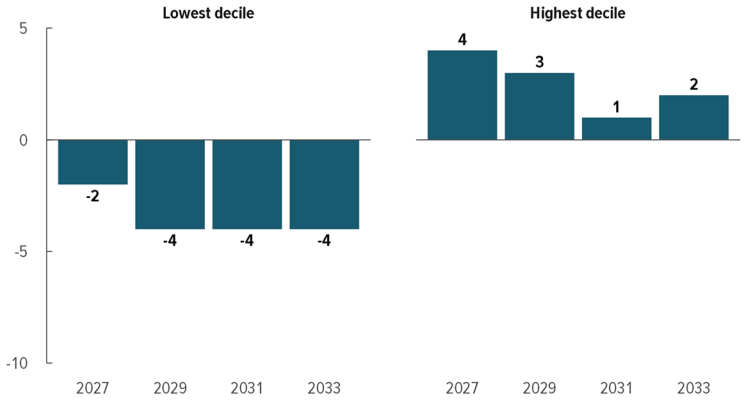
[3] The deciles are constructed by ranking households on the basis of income after transfers and taxes, adjusted for household size. For details about how CBO produces those deciles, as well as the data the agency uses and how it produces an income distribution for future years, see Bilal Habib and Rebecca Heller, *Current Work on the Distributional Effects of Policy Changes*, Working Paper 2022-09 (Congressional Budget Office, December 2022), www.cbo.gov/publication/58508.

Figure.

Change in Household Resources as a Percentage of Income Under Current Law for the Lowest and Highest Income Deciles, Selected Years



Data source: Congressional Budget Office.

Basis of the Estimates

For this analysis, changes in taxes are based on estimates done by JCT staff. Changes to Medicaid were allocated to program participants (who would lose benefits) and to healthcare providers (who would provide care at lower costs to people without publicly subsidized health care and who would thus lose income).[4] Changes to SNAP were allocated to program participants. All other changes were allocated as if they were public goods—that is, equally in proportion to each household's share of the population and its share of total income.[5]

The distributional estimates also reflect the effects of states' responses to federal policy. For SNAP in particular, CBO accounted both for increases

[4] For more information about the effects of changes to Medicaid, see Amy Finkelstein, Nathaniel Hendren, and Erzo F. P. Luttmer, "The Value of Medicaid: Interpreting Results From the Oregon Health Insurance Experiment," *Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 127, no. 6 (December 2019), pp. 2836–2874, https://doi.org/10.1086/702238.

[5] For a discussion of those methods, see Congressional Budget Office, *The Distribution of Federal Spending and Taxes in 2006* (November 2013), www.cbo.gov/publication/44698.

in spending on benefits resulting from matching requirements under the legislation and for decreases to household income attributable to the tax and spending mechanisms used by states to finance those additional payments.[6]

The Congressional Budget Act of 1974, as amended, stipulates that revenue estimates provided by JCT staff are the official estimates for all tax legislation considered by the Congress. Therefore, CBO incorporates those estimates into its cost estimates of the effects of legislation. JCT staff have also evaluated the distributional effects of the estimated changes in taxes and tax-related outlays.[7] CBO incorporated JCT staff's estimates in the results reported above.

I hope this information is useful to you. Please contact me if you have further questions.

Sincerely,

Phillip L. Swagel
Director

cc: Honorable Jodey Arrington
Chairman
House Committee on the Budget

Honorable Mike Johnson
Speaker
U.S. House of Representatives

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[6] For more information about how CBO incorporates state responses into its estimates, see Congressional Budget Office, letter to the Honorable Ron Wyden and the Honorable Frank Pallone, Jr. providing estimates for Medicaid policy options and state responses (May 7, 2025), www.cbo.gov/publication/61377.

[7] Staff of the Joint Committee on Taxation, *Distribution Of The Estimated Revenue Effects Of The Tax Provisions Of The Chairman's Amendment In The Nature Of A Substitute To The Budget Reconciliation Legislative Recommendations Related to Tax*, JCX-23-25 (May 2025), http://www.jct.gov/publications/2025/jcx-23-25/.

Mr. MCGOVERN. My view on legislation is that, if you believe in the legislation, you ought to vote for it; if you don't believe in it, you ought to vote against it.

So I would say to my friend Chairman Arrington, if you believe the stuff that is contained in this reconciliation bill, if you think these priorities are the right priorities and if these represent your values, then by all means vote for it.

I will disagree with you. I mean, I could spend all day here, because I am also on the Agriculture Committee and we had a lengthy hearing on the impact of the nutrition cuts on average people and on States too. There is an unfunded mandate here as well. And it is going to be significant.

But if this bill represents your values, I will just say for the record it doesn't represent my values. And so, you know, we are just going to have to agree to disagree.

But, you know, let me ask you a question, though, Chairman Arrington. I mean, this is the Rules Committee print of what we are talking about. And is this Rules Committee print in front of us, is this the final version of the bill, or are changes going to be made?

Mr. ARRINGTON. Sir, it is the final version of the bill until the manager's amendment is completed——

Mr. MCGOVERN. So changes will be made. Okay.

Mr. ARRINGTON [continuing]. And then we will know what those definitive changes are.

Mr. MCGOVERN. So are negotiations still ongoing? And, if so, with whom? Where are they, and in what room? Shouldn't you be in that room, instead of being here right now, because you are the Budget chair?

I mean, during the markup—during the Budget markup on Sunday night, you said that you weren't aware of any changes being made. And then my colleague on the Rules Committee, Mr. Norman, on this committee, followed up, saying he was happy with the direction—with the changes that were being made.

So which is it? So changes are going to be made.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Well, I would say there have been a lot of conversations and discussion and healthy debate within the Conference, and—but, as far as I am concerned, my job was, first, to make sure that the budget targets were achieved, and they were. So we had a budget—balanced budget reconciliation bill. That was our job, to affirm that in the Budget Committee.

As to what changes, I don't know of any definitive changes until I see it on paper. Lots of things change, as you know——

Mr. MCGOVERN. Right. Yeah. No, I know.

Mr. ARRINGTON [continuing]. In this process.

Mr. MCGOVERN. But in the Budget Committee markup, you said that we would have an official score from the nonpartisan budget experts at CBO before we vote on this bill. And when will we get that score?

Mr. ARRINGTON. I believe we will still have a score on the final bill.

Mr. MCGOVERN. So you think we will get the score before we vote on it?

Mr. ARRINGTON. That is my expectation.

Mr. MCGOVERN. And if we don't, would you recommend that we hold off until we get the score?

Mr. ARRINGTON. I think we have a lot of the bill scored at this point. My expectation is that they will have the bill scored.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Yeah, but, with the changes—I mean, one of the things about CBO is it talks not only just about, you know, the impacts on the deficit and the debt but also on, like, how many people will lose healthcare benefits, you know, and other benefits. So, you know, any change will impact our constituents differently.

And so I guess I just want to—I mean, do you think it is okay for us to vote on this bill without knowing how much it will cost the American taxpayer or how many people will get kicked off of their healthcare?

And, I mean, if you are saying, you know, we should absolutely have a final CBO score before we vote on this, I could live with that. I am just—I just don't—I want to make sure I am understanding what you are committing to or not committing to.

Mr. ARRINGTON. I am committing—my expectation is they will have all the scores, Mr. McGovern, but I think they know the various machinations and what that will do to ensure a certain number of people who receive, for example, Medicaid, who are in this country illegally under the policies of President Biden and what that will change when we put prohibitions against taxpayer-funded services going to illegal aliens.

Mr. MCGOVERN. And, to be clear, I am not looking for a prediction. I am looking for, kind of, certainty about——

Mr. ARRINGTON. Yeah, sure.

Mr. MCGOVERN [continuing]. What we will be doing.

Mr. Boyle, as you know, Statutory PAYGO, which stands for Pay-As-You-Go, is a law that requires tax cuts and spending increases to be offset, meaning that they do not add to the deficit. If at the end of the year congressional legislation collectively violates PAYGO, those deficit effects trigger across-the-board cuts to programs like Medicare.

Does this bill trigger Statutory PAYGO?

Mr. BOYLE. Yes. And that is not me saying it; it is the Congressional Budget Office confirming it as of a couple hours ago.

And, look, this is really the breaking news, because when the Budget Committee kicked off this process approximately 3 months ago, there was a commitment by President Trump that there would be no Medicare cuts in this piece of legislation. And, indeed, over the last several months, there has been no discussion of Medicare at all. There has been of Medicaid, but not of Medicare.

Well, here we are tonight, because, as you explained, because of the size of the deficits, because of the PAYGO or Pay-As-You-Go Act, that would trigger sequestration of Medicare, and it would total over $500 billion. The official figure that CBO confirms is $535 billion in cuts to Medicare.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Right. And this bill doesn't waive Statutory PAYGO?

Mr. BOYLE. No, it does not.

Mr. MCGOVERN. So this will have a direct impact on Medicare and the Federal budget, which is—again, I think a lot of people,

you know, who are not following this as closely as you are probably are not aware of and will be surprised to learn about tomorrow.

Chairman Hill, as you know, military servicemembers and veterans are disproportionately targeted and endangered by financial fraudsters.

And the CFPB, whose funding Republicans are aiming to cut by roughly 70 percent, received nearly 85,000 financial complaints from servicemembers and veterans in 2023. And the CFPB has provided $363 million in monetary relief from enforcement actions that involve harm to servicemembers and veterans.

Our colleague from Connecticut, Mr. Himes, spoke on an amendment in your committee that would prevent funding cuts to the CFPB from harming veterans and servicemembers.

I mean, this seems like a commonsense amendment to me, yet not a single Republican spoke in favor of it. No one on your side even spoke up to explain why they were in favor of not moving this amendment forward, which, again, I think, threatens the financial safety of our servicemembers and our veterans.

So, at the end of the day, I mean, this amendment was voted down. So I just wanted to give you an opportunity to explain why cutting an agency that protects the financial well-being of our servicemembers and our veterans is a priority in this bill. I don't quite understand it.

Mr. HILL. Well, thank you, Mr. McGovern.

The plan that Republicans advanced in this reconciliation plan was to save mandatory spending, and it is our judgment, going back and looking at the history of the CFPB since its inception in the Dodd-Frank Act, that it could continue its core function and meet its statutory obligations at a 5-percent cap of the Federal Reserve's budget, which would be about $249 million this year, and that it could meet all of its statutory obligations in meeting what Dodd-Frank directed them to do, which is, for large financial institutions and non-banking companies, comply with consumer compliance. And we believe they can do that.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Yeah.

You know, I mean, I am hearing great concern about the impacts of these cuts, and what I worry about in a number of areas with regard to this bill is that cuts are being made not necessarily on the merits but just because cuts have to be made.

Ranking Member Waters, the CFPB has returned $21 billion to consumers over the last 14 years. If Congress proceeds to slash 70 percent of the CFPB's budget, a vital agency whose sole purpose is to protect American consumers and the financial marketplace, would the CFPB still be able to fight for consumers and seek remediation when they are harmed, with this kind of cut?

Ms. WATERS. Thank you very much for that question, Mr. McGovern.

Absolutely not.

The Consumer Financial Protection Bureau is extraordinarily important for consumers. I sat on the conference committee of the Dodd-Frank reforms when we created the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. A lot of work had been done by Senator Warren and others. But I want you to know, prior to the Consumer Finan-

cial Protection Bureau, the consumers really had nowhere to turn. They had nowhere to really lodge their complaints.

And this is very important, because, now, with the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau and the excellent work that has been done, they have been able to return $21 billion over 14 years to our consumers.

I want you to know that our consumers—the victims are mostly the least of these. These are people in poor communities, and not only in inner city but in rural communities. They are the victims of everybody with kind of a broad scheme that see them as vulnerable and target them.

I want you to know, without the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, we would not have been able to deal with the big fines that we had to do, some of the largest banks in this country that literally, in many ways, had less risk management than they should have and all kind of errors and mistakes, that fraud was taking place. And so this proposed cut of 70 percent literally would kill the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau.

And I want you to know that even—and I am recalling, when Mick Mulvaney was Acting Director of the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, he basically said, "I am bound to execute the law as written." When he first went in, he did not request any money. And then, in one quarter, he and I think one other, Kathy Kraninger, when she was there, requested almost the maximum amount in one quarter of $249 million.

So this is extraordinarily important. All of us, Democrats and Republicans alike, should care about our consumers, about our voters, about the fact that they need the money that they earn—hard-working people—to put food on the table, to pay the rent. Getting ripped off in so many ways and nowhere to turn would be absolutely disastrous.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Thank you.

The Oversight portion of this bill would reduce pay, pensions, and protections for current and future Federal employees. The bill would force the Federal workforce to foot the bill for tax cuts for billionaires, and comes as the Trump-Musk administration is carrying out a cruel full-scale assault on the Federal workforce.

The American people and the lifesaving services they rely upon will suffer the most as a result of Republicans' efforts to purge the Federal Government of its dedicated, high-performing public servants and politicize the delivery of basic needs and services to our veterans, our children, and our seniors.

Republicans also want to extort future civil servants into giving up their protections—protections which serve the interest of the American people, who want good government workers not completely subject to the whims of whoever occupies the White House.

Representative Lynch, what would the approximate financial impact of these provisions be on the average Federal worker?

Mr. LYNCH. Okay. If you add everything up—so the FERS annuity supplement would cost the average employee $54,000 in their retirement income when they average it out over the 3 years that the average employee uses that for.

Then, changing the high 3 to the high 5 costs them another $16,560 over 20 years.

And then, finally, converting new employees to at-will unless they accept—and, plus, the added money that they have to pay for their pension if they want to come under the Merit Service Protection Board, it brings everything to over $106,000 over a 20-year career.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Right. Yeah, I just——

Mr. LYNCH. And, Mr. Ranking Member, I just want to add, your previous question about servicemembers——

Mr. MCGOVERN. Yeah.

Mr. LYNCH [continuing]. This bill eliminates the Office of Servicemember Affairs, which is the CFPB department that really watched after—if you go to any of these Army bases, you get onto Fort Hood, outside the bases are all these money services and, you know, their short-term loans, things like that, payment systems that are exploiting these young servicemembers and their families.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Right.

Mr. LYNCH. That office that used to protect them is being eliminated in this bill.

Mr. MCGOVERN. And what would the effect on our Nation's nonpartisan civil service be of effectively extorting new hires to become at-will employees? I mean, would we see the same level of nonpartisan excellence?

Mr. LYNCH. It would gut it.

So the estimate is that 75 percent of our Federal employees—remember, these are new people coming into the workforce—they would reject paying the extra money for their pension and instead become—they would become at-will employees.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Right.

Mr. LYNCH. So, because they have no pension at the end, they are probably going to be relying on, you know, public assistance instead of being allowed to build a pension for themselves during their working lives.

Mr. MCGOVERN. And, Chairman Comer, is it correct that, under this legislation, your pension contributions don't increase, but a newly hired VA nurse or Department of Defense education activity teacher who wants workplace protections from political purges would pay 5 percent more of their salary towards their pension than they would under the current law?

Mr. COMER. Well, they would have a choice. They would have a choice.

Mr. MCGOVERN. So the answer is "yes," right?

Mr. COMER. They would have a choice to be an at-will employee and make more money or be a traditional——

Mr. MCGOVERN. Yeah.

Mr. COMER [continuing]. Government employee like what you all prefer.

Mr. MCGOVERN. There is something that, to me, is inherently wrong about all of this. I mean, we should want a Federal civil service that represents the best of the best.

Mr. COMER. I disa—I think the——

Mr. MCGOVERN. You may disagree with that, and that is fine, but——

Mr. COMER. No, I don't think disagree with that. I think it is okay to give people a choice——

Mr. MCGOVERN. Right.

Mr. COMER [continuing]. Give Federal employees a choice. They can make decisions. The government doesn't have to make every decision for everybody, including all the government employees. Government employees can have a choice here.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Right. But the incentives here are backwards, which—that is the point I am trying to make, is that—I think there is an attempt by this administration, and you may agree with it, to basically politicize our Federal workforce, to make everybody just say whatever the administration wants and that is it. And I think this is about incentivizing that.

But let me just say, my final—to Ranking Member Smith: From your time on the Armed Services Committee, it is clear that you understand the value of defense spending and investing in our military.

Do you believe that an increase of $150 billion for defense over the $848 billion provided to the Department of Defense in fiscal year 2025, and with few guardrails, makes sense when the pay-for is devastating cuts from essential programs for the American people like Medicaid, Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, which is SNAP, and student loan and grant programs at the Department of Education?

Mr. SMITH of Washington. I do not. And that is why I voted against it in committee and oppose this. I mean, adding $150 billion to defense is debatable in and of itself, but where it is coming from—as I think a number of people have articulated, it is coming from all these other programs. It is also coming from just borrowing the money.

And I will also say, we do not yet have a national security plan from the Trump administration. We have heard that they want to cut 8 percent from certain aspects of it. We haven't seen what that is, so we don't know what the plan is for this $150 billion.

It is spread out over 4 years, by the way, not all in the first year.

Mr. MCGOVERN. And let me just add my final point here.

I mean, many have expressed concerns with how Secretary Hegseth has managed the Pentagon, prioritizing loyalty over competence, decimating the military and civilian workforce, and undermining the effectiveness of the Department of Defense.

Given that chaos, is now an appropriate time to gift the Department of Defense an additional $150 billion on top of the $858 billion that they already received in fiscal year 2025?

I mean, do you have any concerns about this?

Mr. SMITH of Washington. I do. And that was a central argument that House Democrats made during the markup.

We have seen Secretary Hegseth struggling to run the Department well. I think it is up to, like, five of his employees have quit or been fired in the first 3 or 4 months. They have had highly critical things to say about the way the Department is being run. Obviously, they don't know how to control secure information securely.

And, again, they don't have a plan in terms of where the planning is. So we don't even have an fiscal year 2026 full budget yet.

So, no, I don't think this Department can be trusted with that amount of money.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I want to thank all the panel for being here. Again, as I said before, this bill doesn't represent my values, and I am going to be part of an effort to fight like hell to defeat this. This is bad for our country.

I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. McGovern.

Mr. Scott, you are recognized.

Mr. SCOTT. Thank you, Madam Chair.

And, Chairman Rogers, I am going to come to you in just a second to talk about the investments through DOD.

But I just want to make sure—my understanding of the current tax law is that the top tax bracket starts—for married couples filing jointly, it is $731,200, and that rate is 37 percent.

Is that correct, Mr. Arrington?

Mr. ARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCOTT. Now, in our piece of legislation, do we reduce that 37-percent tax bracket for people making above that level?

Mr. ARRINGTON. Do we reduce that bracket? That is the reduced bracket that we extend.

Mr. SCOTT. It is 37 percent going forward, though?

Mr. ARRINGTON. Yes, that is correct.

Mr. SCOTT. It is an extension.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Yes.

Mr. SCOTT. So we are going to—the tax rate is going to be the same.

Mr. ARRINGTON. That is correct.

Mr. SCOTT. And there is a far cry from someone who is making $731,000 and someone who is a billionaire.

Mr. ARRINGTON. That is correct.

Mr. SCOTT. And so I think there is a little, as my grandfather would say on those hot summers days as we pulled into the cow patch, a little bit of "smells like money" in the argument that this is billionaires, when we are simply extending the bracket, and that bracket starts at $731,000 for married filing jointly. And while those people are certainly doing quite well, it is a far cry from being a billionaire.

Mr. Rogers, as you know, I returned from the border on Saturday, and I got an opportunity to meet with some of our troops down there, as well as the men and women with the Border Patrol, who are doing an exceptionally good job now and could have been doing that job over the last 4 years as well.

And one of the things that amazed me is that—and this was actually Border Patrol that told me this—that they were, by default, paroling people into the country even if they had visible gang tattoos. If they ran the scans on them—or ran the system on them and they did not have an INTERPOL hit, they were told to parole them into this country even if they had visible gang tattoos.

So we have got $5 billion for border security. That is a huge investment for the people of this country that I think will go a long way and pay tremendous dividends for us.

We have got $7 billion for air superiority, $11 billion for Pacific deterrence, $12 billion for readiness, $13 billion for nuclear deterrence.

And can you speak to these issues and what they mean to every American citizen and our ability to protect them from our adversaries, both at home now, more so than ever, and abroad?

Mr. ROGERS of Alabama. Yes, sir.

On the first issue with the border, I would make the point that every administration going back to President Clinton has had to send National Guardsmen to the border to supplement Border Patrol efforts. That has been a higher demand right now because of the policies of the last administration that basically opened our border for 4 years.

The problem that generated for us, though, is, we already are spending at the lowest level on defense that we have as a percentage of GDP since before World War II, for over 80 years. So that money had to come out of Hyde.

This supplement, this reconciliation is going to help backfill some of the money that we have had to spend to send our Guardsmen down to help secure that border.

And, you know, you talked about just one leg of the triad. You know, we have a real problem with our nuclear triad, which is the most important deterrent we have to aggression in our arsenal. The Sentinel, which is going to replace the Minuteman III, the ICBMs, is way over budget, behind schedule. These are 1970s missiles that we have got to replace, and we have to have the money to do it. This reconciliation goes a long way toward that.

Our nuclear submarines, which are the most valuable element we have in the triad, we are behind on both the Virginia class and the Columbia class. This puts a lot of money toward getting them caught back up.

We just have a lot of elements—you have heard about the Golden Dome, which is really a layered level of defense against attack that we have been needing for a long time. This puts $25 billion against that threat.

I can go on and on. There are many threats. I really disagree with the argument that the $150 billion isn't needed. The fact is, this is just the first installment of what we need to start to get our defense back to where it should be so that we deter aggression and stay out of wars.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Rogers, thank you.

I want to be respectful of other people's time.

There is an additional $9 billion investment for servicemember quality of life; $34 billion for shipbuilding, which will be a lot of jobs that we need in this country.

The $25 billion for Golden Dome—you know, our Nation's defense systems, a lot of those systems are old. They were built to defend us from systems that are significantly slower and significantly larger than the weapons that we face today. And if we do not invest in that defense system, then I am afraid we are putting ourselves at risk for hypersonics and other weapons that are extremely fast, extremely small.

And I appreciate you, Mr. Rogers.

I want to say this. Chairman Smith, it is always good to have two Members who, for the most part, are able to work together. I appreciate your professionalism on the Armed Services Committee. And this is one we just respectfully disagree on.

With that, Madam Chair, I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Scott.

Ms. Scanlon, you are recognized.

Ms. SCANLON. Thank you, Madam Chair.

And thank you to our chairs and ranking members for joining us at this extraordinary hour.

I also want to welcome our dedicated C-SPAN viewers and Rules aficionados—you know who you are—for our special edition of "D.C. After Dark." We are meeting in the dead of night so that House Republicans can try to jam through their disastrous reconciliation bill with zero transparency or scrutiny.

This meeting began at 1:00 a.m. because our Republican colleagues know that a bill this bad can't be exposed to the light of day. 1:00 a.m. is when you work on bills that you want to hide from the public.

Why would they want to hide this bill? This bill is going to enact the biggest cuts to Medicaid, the primary health insurance for nearly a quarter of Americans, in our Nation's history. This bill is going to enact the biggest cuts to SNAP, which prevents Americans from going hungry, in our Nation's history. And this bill is going to enact the biggest tax cuts for billionaires in our Nation's history.

Not only that, but the Congressional Budget Office has just released an analysis showing that this bill is going to result in a wealth transfer—not from the rich to the poor, but from the poor to the rich.

It is a bill for which there is still no agreement to guarantee its passage. That is why some of our members here aren't here right now. They are out there trying to cut some more deals with the Speaker and the White House.

And these deals aren't just tweaks, but if our colleagues' tweets are to be believed, they are so significant that those deals are going to determine whether or not this bill passes at all. Although, if it does pass, it is going to be a strict party-line vote.

So, after months of debate and deliberation in the Republican caucus—certainly not bipartisan debate with Democrats—House Republicans still don't have an agreement.

What have you been doing all this time, other than lying about whether or not you were going to cut Medicaid? You have had multiple Member meetings, meetings with the President, committee markups that went for dozens of hours, and you still haven't ironed out disagreements.

Not only is it sloppy, it is disingenuous. We are meeting in the dead of night to consider a terrible bill, and you haven't even drafted or shared some of the most critical parts of the bill—haven't shared them with your Republican colleagues, haven't shared them with the other half of Congress, and, most importantly, you haven't shared them with the American people.

As the chairwoman acknowledged when she gaveled us in at 1:00 a.m., if Republicans are able to pass their rule tonight, it will include a magical manager's amendment that will allow them to change the bill before it goes to the House floor—a manager's amendment that none of us have seen, that we won't be able to review or debate or change. And when we do get that magical amend-

ment, it is likely to be dozens-of-pages-long and include significant changes to the underlying text.

To make last-minute changes, changes that will move around hundreds of billions of dollars, these deserve transparency, these deserve scrutiny, and these deserve debate.

As some Republicans have suggested, you all should probably go home for the long weekend, collect yourselves, and come back to Rules when you actually have an agreement.

We are here in the middle of the night, of course, because the Speaker and President are trying to rush this bill through by July 4th—a timeline that doesn't seem plausible even if Republicans manage to jam their BS version of this bill through the House this week. It is clear they don't have the votes. The deadlines are made-up, just so they can jam the bill before anyone really knows what is in it.

And for all your consternation over this or that provision of the bill, no matter what agreement the House reaches after this tortured process, you all know that the Senate is going to rewrite the bill anyway. Senators, Republican Senators, have said this bill is a nonstarter.

And, in addition, since the bill has not yet been finished, we don't have a CBO score, how much this bill will cost. We don't have any score, except on prior versions of the bill. All we have are some back-of-the-envelope estimates cobbled together by Republicans in their backdoor meetings.

Mr. Roy and Mr. Norman have long been big advocates for making sure that we have a CBO score. So it is hard to believe they are going to think it makes sense to pass a bill that doesn't yet have a CBO score, where hundreds of billions of dollars' worth of taxpayers' money is penciled in by staff with a calculator, maybe a slide rule, possibly an abacus. Or, you know, are they going to, as seems likely, throw caution to the wind and cave again because the President told them to?

Of course, business leaders and economists are calling this bill an "economic disaster" that will add trillions to our national deficit by extending the tax cuts for billionaires at the expense of American families, just like the 2017 tax cuts did. We have seen this play before. The rich get richer, and the American people, working families, get left holding the bag.

It was confirmed by the Congressional Budget Office just a few hours ago with a damning report that shows that this bill is going to increase the deficit likely by $3.8 trillion, it is going to cut billions from Medicaid and SNAP, and it is going to reduce household income for the poorest Americans and raise household income for the richest Americans.

We can't emphasize enough how insanely rushed this bill is. You are proposing major healthcare changes that will impact every American. Whether they get their healthcare through Medicaid or Medicare or some other source, the impact of those Medicaid cuts will reverberate throughout our healthcare system. Cuts to Medicaid will push hospitals, nursing homes, and health clinics into bankruptcy, and when those places close, it is going to be harder for everyone else to get healthcare.

Now, turning to the panel before us, Mr. Arrington, Mr. Boyle, I assume you both saw last week's news that Moody's downgraded the United States' credit rating. And I am sure you have read about it, because one of the biggest reasons for the downgrade was extending these unfunded tax cuts for billionaires.

Moody's explanation is as follows, and I quote: "If the 2017 TCJA is extended, which is our base case, it will add around $4 trillion to the Federal fiscal primary (excluding interest payments) deficit over the next decade, and, as a result, we expect Federal deficits to widen, reaching nearly 9 percent of GDP by 2035, up from 6.4 percent in 2024, driven mainly by increased interest payments on debt, rising entitlement spending, and relatively low revenue generation. We anticipate the Federal debt burden will rise to about 134 percent of GDP by 2035, compared to 98 percent in 2024."

So doesn't it worry any of you on that side of the dais? It certainly seems to be what you have been talking about.

It seems like a pretty damning indictment of the fiscal situation that Republicans are putting us in and one that is going to become worse if they pass this bill.

There is also this tidbit from that liberal journal The Wall Street Journal earlier this week, and I quote: "Investors sold U.S. government bonds and the dollar on Monday, after Moody's Ratings late last week stripped the U.S. of its last triple-A credit rating, citing large budget deficits and rising interest costs. Adding to the nerves about America's debt trajectory, the House Budget Committee approved a tax and spending bill Sunday that is projected to add trillions of dollars to that deficit."

And another Wall Street Journal article this week was entitled "The Stark Math on the GOP Tax Plan: It Doesn't Cut the Deficit." That article put it this way: "The plan won't reduce federal budget deficits and would make America's fiscal hole deeper. While Republicans, who have vowed to reduce red ink, say higher economic growth will fill the gap, budget analysts across the political spectrum have panned the Republican plan, warning that it worsens the U.S. fiscal picture."

So there is no way around it: Your math ain't mathing. And the consequences are going to be disastrous for the entire country.

Now, as we have been looking at this bill over the last few months, as it has been clear that it was going to require drastic Medicaid cuts, we do have this breaking news this evening that it is also going to impact Medicare.

Mr. Boyle, this is a major revelation, and it is exactly why this bill is not ready for prime time. It is barely ready for the 1:00 a.m. time.

So can you talk about how this is a backdoor cut to Medicare, which is going to cut for seniors? And what is going to happen if the bill passes?

Mr. BOYLE. Yes. CBO showed, because of the deficits that are baked into the Republican bill for billionaires, that would—because of something called the Pay-As-You-Go Act, or PAYGO, that would trigger sequestration of Medicare. And it would, again, according to the Congressional Budget Office, be to the tune of over $500 billion to Medicare, one of the biggest cuts to the program—indeed, I

would say, the largest outright cut to the program in American history.

There are some who might want to argue and rebut that by saying, "Well, we will just go ahead and waive PAYGO." It is actually impossible in reconciliation, because it would not meet the requirements of the Byrd Rule. So you cannot waive PAYGO. These cuts to Medicare will happen if this bill becomes law.

Ms. SCANLON. Thank you. That is, obviously, really concerning.

Now, we have talked a little bit already about the fact that there isn't a CBO score for whatever the current version of the bill is, but we also know that there are ongoing negotiations about this bill. One of the things we have heard is that there may be an agreement on this SALT deduction which has been so concerning to some of the Republican Members.

Is that agreement with respect to SALT likely to increase the deficit or decrease the deficit?

Mr. BOYLE. Well, I mean, obviously, if the SALT cap is raised even further than what was in the bill that was voted out of Ways and Means and passed out of Budget when we basically put all of the component parts into one, then, basically, one of two things would happen: Either the majority would have to find even more cuts in order to pay for the loss of revenue, or you would simply see these deficits increase by even more.

Ms. SCANLON. Okay. That is what I thought. Thank you.

The prints from Oversight and Financial Services aren't too great either. It is in these committees that our Republican colleagues snuck in some really bad stuff that they are hoping will get lost in all the headlines about taxes and Medicaid.

I am really concerned by the Oversight Committee's contributions to this bill, because the proposed changes to the Federal Employees Retirement System amount to a major pay cut for our Nation's civil servants. It is a cruel policy. It takes earned compensation away from millions of hardworking people, just to make a paltry dent in the staggering cost of their tax giveaways.

So I know we are going to talk about the tax cuts later, but this is a multi-trillion-dollar handout to millionaires, billionaires, and Fortune 500 companies. It is the biggest government handout of all time. And to shave some dollars off the cost, Republicans are going to cut 13 million people off their healthcare and it is going to force a punitive pay cut on Federal employees—Mr. Lynch, I think you said 2.4 million employees.

These are the public servants who work for you and me and our families and neighbors all across America, and they often do so for less pay than they would receive in the private sector—not because they are dumb, but because they are committed to public service.

They give us tomorrow's weather forecast and tell us whether we need to shelter from tornadoes and floods. They prevent crop blight and the spread of dangerous diseases like bird flu. They make sure that the respirators used by coal miners and surgeons actually work. They make sure our food is safe to eat and our water is safe to drink.

And these people whose pay is being so casually cut are FBI agents, Coast Guard employees, and doctors and nurses at VA facilities. So, at a time when the FAA is struggling with staffing

shortages that are impacting air travel, Republicans are going to make that problem worse by cutting the pay of air traffic controllers.

These provisions are an unmitigated mess. I would like to think that we can all agree, no matter the size or shape of the Federal Government, it should be effective and responsive to the needs of the American people, it should be able to efficiently carry out these core responsibilities. And the provisions in this bill are undermining our ability to do that.

So, Mr. Lynch, can you speak to how the Oversight provisions in this bill are going to impact Federal employees, including those serving in roles that are critical to our national security, our health, and our transportation safety?

Mr. LYNCH. Absolutely. Thank you for the question.

Your reference to the VA is very astute. So, in a city like Boston, our VA nurses probably earn between 25 and 30 percent less than the nurses at the private hospitals. And there are a bunch of them, right?

So now what we are seeing happening is that, because of the shortage of nurses that occurred after COVID—a lot of nurses just retired—now they are pulling nurses from the VA, they are leaving the VA, and they are going to work—because they have got less hours, they have got more pay, more benefits. So we are competing now. And, you know, this is going to make it much more difficult to retain those nurses.

And the ones that have been there a while are the most valuable, right? It takes a while to get a nurse trained up, you know, and fully skilled; it takes a few years.

And, you know, so that has created a huge shortage in that whole metropolitan area. And that is happening all over the country, where nurses are leaving the VA—doctors in some cases——

Ms. SCANLON. Uh-huh.

Mr. LYNCH [continuing]. As well, therapists. So we are creating this real shortage at the VA.

Our caseload—so, right now, we have a 250,000 backlog of cases at the VA because we don't have the personnel to respond to that need. So we are really in a crisis.

You know, obviously, you know, the suicide hotline, we have laid off people there, which is ridiculous because we have a crisis on our hands right now.

So all of this will exacerbate the problem. You have hit on that in your remarks already. But this just amplifies the problem, you know, tenfold, with these cuts. They will be leaving in droves.

Ms. SCANLON. Your remarks about the VA are very well-taken, because I have heard the same thing from the VA facilities in my region, that the staffing cuts and the potential for pay cuts, the standards that are requiring nurses and doctors at the VA to see so many patients that they feel that they are not only not helping the veterans who they are trying to serve but in some cases the standard of care is becoming harmful. And, under those circumstances, we are starting to see an exodus of doctors and nurses from the VA, which this bill is only going to put on steroids, I am afraid.

Mr. LYNCH. Absolutely.

Ms. SCANLON. The Financial Services print, of course, is no better. What Republicans are trying to do here is deeply alarming.

It guts the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. I mean, if you want to talk about a bureau that has had a fabulous return on investment, as you mentioned—billions of dollars returned to American consumers. This bill defunds the only Federal agency dedicated to making sure consumers aren't getting scammed by credit card companies, payday lenders, mortgage servicers, and shady fintech operators.

It has returned over $19 billion—$21 billion I think you said—to consumers since its founding. And that is money that was stolen or unfairly taken through illegal fees, abusive practices, or deceptive marketing, and the Bureau was able to get it back for American consumers.

And now Republicans want to defund it—not because it is ineffective, but because it actually works. And we know why: Because the Trump administration has already started dismantling the agency from within.

In the last 2 months alone, the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau has quietly dropped nine lawsuits it had brought against companies like Capital One and Rocket Homes. Years of investigation and enforcement work has been tossed in the trash, with no accountability and no restitution for consumers.

It has also frozen dozens of ongoing investigations, many into companies with long records of abuse. These companies have been accused of everything from improper loan servicing and unfair interest charges to failure to protect sensitive consumer data.

And, now, thanks to new political leadership handpicked by the Trump White House, those investigations are dead. Investigators can't call witnesses, issue subpoenas, or even talk to company lawyers unless they get direct political approval, and that approval isn't coming.

Meanwhile, these very same companies—it is such an amazing coincidence—have given generously to Mr. Trump's campaign and especially his inauguration fund.

Meta, the parent company of Facebook under investigation for allegedly misusing consumer financial data, donated a million to the inaugural committee.

Greenlight, a fintech company accused of misleading families about debit card access, is backed by a Trump-aligned venture capital firm.

And Elon Musk, whose company is launching a new mobile payments business, posted "Delete the CFPB" on his social media after Trump's election, and, of course, we have heard quite a bit about how much he has donated.

So this isn't policy; it is payback. This is what happens when you let billionaires and campaign donors write the rules. And now House Republicans are trying to finish the job by defunding the CFPB entirely.

So, Ranking Member Waters, can you speak more about this apparent corruption happening at the CFPB?

Ms. WATERS. Well, allow me to say to you, Ms. Scanlon, you aptly described what has been happening with the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. It is one of the most needed and effec-

tive agencies of government that have done everything that you said they have done to assist our consumers.

The Consumer Financial Protection Bureau has been hated by the Republicans ever since it came into its existence. They have tried to kill it, and we have been in court all the way to the Supreme Court on several issues, and we keep beating them back.

But, now, Trump and this administration want to cut them, even though we tried to protect them when we created them by having their financing come directly from the Feds rather than going through the Appropriations Committee. And they tried to attack that and other ways by which they thought they could get to the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. They are finally coming up with ways by which they can—they think they can do that.

But the way that we have been in the courts with the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, they still would be alive after a huge cut, but they would sit there and not be able to do anything. They wouldn't be able to do the investigations. They would not be able to protect those very consumers that the law created them to take care of.

And so there are many in this country who fight very hard and are very disgusted with what is happening in an attempt to basically undermine them and get rid of them.

This is a terrible thing that this administration is doing. You would think that both Democrats and Republicans would care enough about the consumers that they would protect this one agency that has demonstrated that they can do the work and the investigations to help get rid of fraud and rip-offs, as you have identified.

And so this is what we should be fighting. I am going to continue to fight. Like I said, I was there at the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. And we are all worried so very much about what is going to happen if, in fact, the administration has its way.

And, again, you have correctly identified it and talked about it in ways that everybody should understand.

Ms. SCANLON. It is really stunning that an agency that has been this successful in protecting American consumers is being zeroed out, when the only folks who are going to benefit are going to be large corporations and folks who are taking advantage of Americans. And I would—apparently we don't, but I would hope that we would have bipartisan agreement that an agency like that should remain in place.

I will yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Ms. Scanlon.

Mr. Jack, you are recognized.

Mr. JACK. Thank you, Madam Chairwoman.

And, Chairman Comer, given that I serve on the Oversight and Government Reform Committee, I will focus my line of questioning on you.

And I will just note from the outset, too, that you have done an incredible job with your leadership with the committee. You do a great job for your district, for the Commonwealth of Kentucky, and our country.

You referenced this in your opening testimony, but could you just clarify for the committee, your legislative jurisdiction over mandatory spending, it is pretty narrow, is it not?

Mr. COMER. You are exactly right.

And let me say, you are a good member of the Oversight Committee, Mr. Jack. We are glad to have you on there.

But our jurisdiction was very limited to mandatory spending. All we had that would fall in the legislative jurisdiction would have been the Federal employee benefits.

Mr. JACK. Fair enough.

And it is my understanding that Federal employees get a hybrid pension that consists of both a 401(k)-type defined contribution plan known as Thrift Savings Plan, or TSP, and a defined benefit annuity known as the Federal Employees Retirement System, or FERS.

How do these benefits contrast with those offered in the private sector?

Mr. COMER. Yeah, you are right, the private-sector employers have shifted away from defined benefits towards defined contribution retirement benefit programs in recent years, and, unlike what is provided in the Federal service, few private-sector employers actually maintain both such benefits for retirees.

In fact, a recent Department of Labor report indicates that only 15 percent of private-sector civilian workforce had access to both defined benefit and defined contribution plans.

Mr. JACK. And a question many of my constituents ask is, do taxpayers fund pensions for Federal employees that are generally more generous than the ones they themselves receive? And are there any credible recent studies on that?

Mr. COMER. Yes. According to a 2024 CBO report that I requested, CBO found that, in 2022, Federal employee benefits cost about $31 per hour worked and $22 per hour worked for private-sector employees. Thus, benefits for Federal workers cost 43-percent more per hour worked, on average, than benefits for private-sector workers.

Mr. JACK. Fair enough.

One thing that you mentioned in your testimony and I have heard you speak over and over about, more than 2 million Federal retired employees currently receive Federal pension benefits, costing more than $100 billion annually, with taxpayers shouldering most of the expense.

I just want to repeat that for the committee: 2 million Federal retired employees that currently receive over $100 billion in benefits from taxpayers combined together.

And just to be abundantly clear to those who spread disinformation, the changes your committee print makes to the Federal retirement system do not affect the benefits of those retired employees. Is that a fair statement?

Mr. COMER. That is 100-percent correct. That is the opposite of what some of the Democrats in Congress have been saying. It does not affect those—the benefits of those already retired are not impacted. And the change we make to the FERS benefits, the supplemental retirement benefits, takes effect for those retiring after 2027, so that is a 2-year delay.

Mr. JACK. Exactly.

And, just to clarify, for those future employees, people that may not be hired for years from now, I think they are given a choice when they are hired.

Mr. COMER. Right.

Mr. JACK. It changes in that aspect. But for those retired, it does not. But could you just walk us through what happens as it relates to those who may be hired in the future?

Mr. COMER. Yeah. In the future, they are going to have a choice: They can be an at-will employee, or they can be the traditional government employee that Mr. McGovern cherishes. And if they are an at-will employee, they would receive a higher benefit. If they want to be a traditional employee that is protected with the, you know, very generous Federal employee, you know, personnel laws that are on the books, then they can do that.

So I think this is—you know, our proposal saves billions of dollars, and I think it gives Federal workers a choice.

Mr. JACK. Well, one thing I want to focus on, as well, is: You know, my district, I am just south of the Atlanta airport. I represent an enormous amount of air traffic controllers——

Mr. COMER. Uh-huh.

Mr. JACK [continuing]. And heard a lot from the air traffic controllers throughout this entire process.

And I would just love for you to walk the committee through how air traffic controllers are treated as it relates to some of these changes. I know we worked at great lengths——

Mr. COMER. Right.

Mr. JACK [continuing]. To ensure that we are recruiting the best, enabling the best system for air traffic controllers to thrive so we can keep our skies safe.

Mr. COMER. Yeah. And, Mr. Jack, you have done a great job advocating for them on the Oversight Committee.

And I want to correct a statement that was stated by a Democrat on the Rules Committee earlier. The air traffic controllers are exempted from any changes in this bill. That is in print. So that needs to be clarified. They are completely exempted from any changes.

Mr. JACK. And law enforcement officers, Federal firefighters——

Mr. COMER. That is right. Border Patrol.

Mr. JACK. Wonderful.

And as it relates to Border Patrol, just a helpful point, as I round out my time: You also achieve savings by removing ineligible dependents from the Federal employee health insurance program. I applaud this provision. Taxpayers should not bear the cost of fraud and error committed by Federal employees.

And did not—just correct me if wrong—did this provision get bipartisan support when it was taken up by the committee last Congress?

Mr. COMER. It did. And that is something that we should all be applauding here.

This is an audit to ensure that there aren't people on the benefits plan that are ineligible. And that is kind of what Brett Guthrie done with Medicaid. We are not cutting Medicaid. We are not cutting these benefits. With that provision, we are trying to ensure

that people who are on the system are truly eligible, and to remove those that are ineligible.

A GAO report estimated that if we do this audit it will save $1.5 billion of taxpayer money. So I think that is a pretty good deal for the American taxpayers.

Mr. JACK. Well, I appreciate your leadership. I very much am grateful for yourself and all that worked on the committee to help support air traffic controllers. It is very important in my district.

And, with that, Madam Chair, I respectfully yield back.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Chair.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Jack.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Chair, may I——

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I just want to point out, you called this meeting, and I am looking at who is here. There are four of us and only three of you. And your members can't be bothered to even sit here and listen to the witnesses.

And I just say that because, if that continues, we are going to move to adjourn. So I hope that your members will—since you called this meeting, will actually be here, present, listening to the——

The CHAIRWOMAN. Ah——

Mr. MCGOVERN. Being in the other room is not being here. So I just point that out and say that we will feel obligated to move to adjourn again if that continues.

Thank you.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern, our members are in and out, just like your members are in and out. You were gone for about 30 minutes. So we always allow people to move in and out.

Mr. MCGOVERN. There are more of us here right now, and we are in the minority.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Well, our members——

Mr. MCGOVERN. This has been a tactic in the Agriculture Committee—I don't know about the other committees—where Republicans just get up and leave. And so I think people ought to be present here; at least you ought to have more of you here than us here. Thank you.

The CHAIRWOMAN. There are more of us here than you. So there is no reason to delay this meeting any longer than it is.

Mr. Neguse—what I am saying is there is no need to delay this meeting any longer than we have to. Thank you—you are recognized.

Mr. NEGUSE. Thank you—thank you, Madam Chair.

Good morning, all the chairs and ranking members. Thank you all for being here. Thank you for your testimony. I have got a lot of questions.

But I guess, first, I want to, maybe if the Chairwoman would indulge me, give her an opportunity to say a word. That is, my assumption—and I think the assumption for most Americans—is that the reason Republicans have decided to notice this hearing and proceed in the dead of night is because this bill is indefensible.

It sounds like maybe you have a different reason, and so I guess I am trying to understand, why was this meeting scheduled for 1

a.m.? Why are we meeting at 3 a.m.? What was the rationale? Is there a rationale that I am—am I mistaken?

The CHAIRWOMAN. I think my opening statement stands for itself, Mr. Neguse.

Mr. NEGUSE. Okay. Well, I appreciate that, Madam Chair. I would just say—I mean, your opening statement essentially, as best as I could tell, were ruminations about, you know, what happened in 2007, 20 years ago. I wasn't here; most of us weren't here. I don't know that that is a cogent rationale.

The CHAIRWOMAN. 2022, 2 and a half years ago.

Mr. NEGUSE. So the basis for scheduling this hearing in the dead of night is that you have decided that this is just the way things should work and that—I mean, I will just proceed. I will just say this, Madam Chair: It does not take more than a cursory review online to find quotes from just about every Member on the other side of the dais, including you, Madam Chair, back in 2009—again, it is a long time ago—regarding a stimulus bill that you described as rush legislation that was thrown together—quote, "who threw together the final stimulus bill in the dead of night." Another bill that you, quote, said the bill that was finalized in the dark of night.

So I don't—I think it is an unfair and unreasonable mischaracterization of our position with respect to the disagreement we have about this process unfolding in the dead of night, and it makes no sense to me why House Republicans didn't notice this hearing for 6 a.m. or 7 a.m.

It would not have been a difficult thing to say, "Yeah, instead of meeting at 1 a.m., we are just going to meet in the morning, and the American people are going to be able to watch and hear this fulsome debate and be able to reach their own conclusions."

That doesn't seem like an unreasonable position to take. And I suppose—and maybe I will start with Chairman Arrington, because I know him to be a reasonable person. Welcome back to the committee. I don't know——

Mr. ARRINGTON. Now I am nervous.

Mr. NEGUSE. Well, I don't think you were here in 2007 either. Maybe you were. I don't think you were.

Mr. ARRINGTON. No, I was not.

Mr. NEGUSE. Is this—I mean, you can't possibly agree that it is a prudent thing to do to have this hearing at the 3 a.m.

I mean, is this how you imagined legislation would be made in Washington when you were running for Congress, Mr. Chairman, really?

Mr. ARRINGTON. I imagined that we would have the sense of urgency to complete the task in the timeframe that we set.

Mr. NEGUSE. And so the 5 hours between doing it at 1 a.m. and doing it at 6 a.m., that is the urgency you are describing? What deadline is there on Thursday or, I guess, tonight getting this bill done? What is the——

Mr. ARRINGTON. Well, as you know, there are timeframes associated with each phase of the process when you are conducting regular order. I am very proud that this has been bottom-up committee and Member-driven, and it has been a regular order process.

Mr. NEGUSE. Mr. Arrington——

Mr. ARRINGTON. And the goal was to have it done by Memorial week.

Mr. NEGUSE. I was hoping I could——

Mr. ARRINGTON. I am not saying I like it——

Mr. NEGUSE [continuing]. You would give me an intellectually honest answer, the kind of answer I think that your constituents and—my constituents in Colorado and your constituents in Texas would expect, which is to say, obviously, this isn't reasonable; it does not make sense. This isn't transparent to hold hearings at 3 a.m. on a bill of this size and this scope and this scale. That is not in the best interests of the country.

You could just as easily delayed it 5 hours, let the American public have an opportunity to listen to this debate and then vote on the bill on Thursday. And all of you could go home for the district work period.

So I don't—this false sense of urgency for 5 or 6 hours makes no sense. It is—and, again, I understand that is your rationale. I think the American people are smarter than the House Republican caucus are giving them credit for.

They know what this is about. And, when they wake up, invariably, later this morning and they find that this bill was reported out of this committee in the dead of night, I think they will reach their own conclusions about House Republicans' commitment, or lack thereof, to transparency.

And, just for the record, because I want to be an equal opportunity advocate here, with respect to some of your colleagues on the other side of the aisle who serve on this committee who apparently have decided not to attend the very hearing that they demanded we hold in the middle of the night, but they have spent years, years condemning late-night Rule Committee markups and bills that are reported out.

Mr. Norman, I am just going to read some of his greatest hits. This is from 2019: "2,300 pages, less than 24 hours to read, debate, and vote. Oh, and $400 billion added to our national debt." That is an X post.

Another one: "New swamp minibus dropped at 2 a.m." That was actually earlier, I guess, than where we find ourselves today. "We are expected to vote on $1 trillion in spending tomorrow. It is 1,000-plus pages. This won't be good. Diving in now."

Another one: "You would never be expected to sign a 1,000-page document to buy a new car in a day. Why should Congress be expected to sign off on 1,000-plus pages resulting in $1.2 trillion in spending in a day?"

That is our colleague, Mr. Norman. I will be very interested to what he has to say when we wrap this hearing up at 10, 11 a.m. later this morning.

Mr. Arrington, I want to talk about the deficit. I have known you historically to be, I thought, somewhat of a deficit hawk, at least that was my—is that a fair characterization?

Mr. ARRINGTON. That is fair.

Mr. NEGUSE. At least prior to this bill.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Even with this bill that reduces the deficit.

Mr. NEGUSE. Let's get into that. I will ask you a couple of questions on that front.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Sure.

Mr. NEGUSE. Okay. So this is a press release. This is from March 25 of this year. A gentleman by the name of Ray Dalio—I haven't had the pleasure of meeting him—Ray Dalio to House GOP. This is on the House Budget Committee's website.

"Cut the budget deficit to 3 percent of GDP." This is his admonition to you and to your Republican colleagues that it was a laudable goal to try to get the deficit to 3 percent of the GDP. Do you agree that that is a laudable goal?

Mr. ARRINGTON. Yes.

Mr. NEGUSE. Is that something you are passionate about?

Mr. ARRINGTON. Absolutely.

Mr. NEGUSE. What is fascinating is that the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget just issued a press release today. You might have heard it; you might have read it. I will read you the headline: "House bill would put 3 percent deficit far out of reach." So this goal that you have, that you seem to be particularly passionate about, is one that is not embedded in this bill that you are asking your colleagues to support, according to the Committee for Responsible Federal Budget.

You are familiar with that organization?

Mr. ARRINGTON. I am.

Mr. NEGUSE. I think they featured you at different times. I think they have applauded you, if I am not mistaken, in the past.

Mr. ARRINGTON. They are good people, and good people can disagree.

Mr. NEGUSE. Let me read to you what these good people have said about your bill. They have said—and I will quote—"Unfortunately, the House reconciliation bill, the One Big Beautiful Bill Act, would increase deficits significantly. The House reconciliation bill would put the 3 percent deficit target further out of reach."

This is—these are your allies. I mean, these are people who are fighting for a responsible Federal budget, who have been imploring the Congress to take deficits seriously.

A month ago, you had folks coming in saying, "Mr. Chairman, get to that 3 percent target." And now you have these experts that you have praised in the past telling you, "You are way off the mark." Make it make sense, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Well, to get to three percent deficit to GDP, which would stabilize the debt, you have heard the Secretary of the Treasury establish a similar metric, would take $7 trillion-plus in spending reduction. It is a great goal, and it is a clear one, and it is measurable.

But, just like coming out of the World War II, 120 roughly percent debt-to-GDP, we are comparable to that today—actually have exceeded it—it took time, and I would say this is a substantial effort and step to begin bending the curve on debt-to-GDP.

So my analysis is different from my friends in the organization that you mentioned.

Mr. NEGUSE. "Different" isn't the word I would use. I mean, different is——

Mr. ARRINGTON. It is when the bottom——

Mr. NEGUSE. Different is one opinion, is a bit of a deviation. They are saying you are wrong. I didn't quote at length.

I mean, I will just keep reading here. In 2022—excuse me—"In 2027, we estimate the House reconciliation bill would boost deficits to about 7 percent of GDP, which is more than double Bessent," the Treasury Secretary that you referenced, "proposed fiscal target, one at 0.8 percent of GDP above current law and 0.7 percent of GDP higher than a simple extension of the Tax Cut and Job Act's individual provisions."

What they are saying, I think, is that, if you just simply extended the tax bill and didn't do anything else, you would reduce the deficit more than what you have done here.

Mr. ARRINGTON. I don't know how that could be even possible because——

Mr. NEGUSE. Well, I am reading it.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Just let's think through this. We reduced spending by $1.7, roughly, trillion, and they are suggesting, by extending the tax cuts without that reduction in spending, we would be better off?

Mr. NEGUSE. I think I can tell you why.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Yeah, I would love to.

Mr. NEGUSE. I am happy to give the ranking member of the Budget Committee an opportunity. It is because of the tax breaks you have given to the richest Americans, embedded in this bill, such that, at the end of the day, the savings you have described, ultimately don't put the dent into the deficit that you proclaim.

Ranking Member Boyle, you can correct me if I am mistaken about that.

Mr. BOYLE. I like you both, but Neguse has the better side of the argument, I think, quite clearly. I would point out a few things. The Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget is, I have to say, admirably independent and at times they are an equal opportunity afflicter of both sides of the political divide depending on the piece of legislation that is coming down the pike.

Their credibility is quite clear. They have been consistent when it comes to deficit and debt, and they are calling out the intellectual dishonesty in this piece of legislation. There is actually a conservative think tank called the Manhattan Institute, which indicates that the Republican bill is actually the most expensive piece of legislation since the 1960s, since Lyndon Johnson's Great Society.

So it is no accident that Moody's chose this past Friday to, for the first time in American history, downgrade our debt. They finally—they have been withholding joining the other two credit agencies, one of which had downgraded our debt back in 2011 when the Tea Party Congress drove us right up to the brink in terms of whether or not we would have a debt ceiling crisis.

And then there was another credit downgrade by a different credit agency a couple years ago, which was also related to another potential crisis in terms of the debt ceiling. So that credit downgrade a couple years ago did also reference the future trajectory of our debt.

And now here we are with Moody's, for whom the trajectory, because of this legislation of our deficits and debt, was finally what prompted them to be the last of the three credit agencies to downgrade our debt.

So, finally, as you pointed out, what we are seeing in the bond market, that can't be spun. That can't be papered over with a gimmick like current policy baseline. The reality is these markets are charging us more now for our debt, which means higher mortgages, higher auto loan rates, higher costs for the American people.

Mr. NEGUSE. Yeah. I couldn't agree with you more, Ranking Member Boyle. And, as I go through the constellation of the entities and the individuals that have opined as to the impact of this bill on the deficit, it is pretty clear to me the conclusion.

Apparently, the CBO, the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, I was unaware of the Manhattan Institute's conclusions—I guess we will add them to the list—by the way, Republicans also, Republican Senators—Chairman, you are aware of—we don't have to go through the litany of the statements—I mean, I am happy to read them to you.

But you are aware of what Senator Rand Paul and, you know, other colleagues of yours in the upper Chamber have said about this bill and about their concerns regarding the deficit. Well, it is 3 a.m. Why not? I will just offer a few of these. May as well.

This was Rand Paul today. Apparently, the Speaker, I guess, met with Senate Republicans, and this is Rand Paul's quote, quote—the Speaker—"basically said that Conservatives just have to live with raising the debt ceiling $5 trillion or $4 trillion, which is a historic amount. And I am one Conservative who won't live with that."

Senator Ron Johnson, this was a week and a half ago, quote: "The One Big Beautiful Bill"—I never thought I would be quoting Senator Johnson, but, anyway, I digress: "The One Big Beautiful Bill that Congress is working on is certainly big. But beauty is in the eye of the beholder. Too often the reality of these budget debates get obscured in details, politically charged issues, and demagoguery. Under every scenario now being considered, Federal debt continues to skyrocket from its current level of almost $37 trillion." And I could go on.

So Republican Senators, the CBO, the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, my Democratic colleagues, everyone who has looked at this bill seems to conclude it is going to blow up our deficit, everyone but you, Mr. Chairman. And I just can't understand why.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Would you like me to explain?

Mr. NEGUSE. Yes, sure.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Well, I don't know if you know what the annual average GDP was during Trump's tenure prior to COVID, and I am not going to ask you the questions.

Mr. NEGUSE. I appreciate that.

Mr. ARRINGTON. But it was close to what the annual average GDP rate was for President Biden, actually, if you control for COVID, around 2.8. It was 1.8 when President Trump took over in his first—year of his first term. He was able, because of the pro-growth policies, including the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, but also massive deregulation efforts, America First Trade, et cetera, good energy policy, was able to move the needle by an entire 100 basis points, which over the budget window is about $3 trillion.

So, just to be conservative, we locked in an assumption that was lower than both, 2.6. So, ironically, CBO projects the annual aver-

age growth rate at this point—which I think it is actually pretty aggressive, given that they assume the tax cuts would expire—is 1.8 percent.

So, to have a conservative assumption of 2.6, plus the $1.7 trillion in spending reduction—actually, not only balances, but in ten years it reduces the deficit, and, more importantly, it brings the debt-to-GDP down, which I think is the best measure of the fiscal health of our country—by ten percentage points. When has that ever happened?

Mr. NEGUSE. I have given you some room to respond on that.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Thank you for the time.

Mr. NEGUSE. Of course. Can I tell you what the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget——

Mr. ARRINGTON. I wish you—I wish you wouldn't——

Mr. NEGUSE. I would be happy to. Because they actually looked at this exact issue.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Yeah. Sure.

Mr. NEGUSE. I think it is important. And they said—and I quote—"Most analyses have found that the House bill" or—excuse me—"that the House bill would have either a modest positive or modest negative effect on output and would not meaningfully change the annual growth rate. Yet even with the concurrent budget resolution's assumptions of 2.6 percent, the very percent that you just identified, average real annual growth, which is quite optimistic in the near term and highly unrealistic over a decade. Deficits would remain well above the 3 percent target."

Mr. Chairman, look, I get it.

Mr. ARRINGTON. It's one source.

Mr. NEGUSE. We have been through this routine previously——

Mr. ARRINGTON. Yes.

Mr. NEGUSE [continuing]. I know when you testified in front of the Committee before. I recognize you are here selling a product that I honestly don't think that you agree with, but, you know, I understand the assignment.

And so I will just simply tell you: I don't think that this bill is in the best interests of the fiscal health of our country, and there is a reason why virtually every expert has reached the same conclusion.

I want to ask some questions of Chairman Hill, if he might indulge me. So can you just describe to us, Chairman Hill, the impetus behind the Public Company Accounting Oversight Board?

Mr. HILL. Public Company Oversight Board, what we have done is we have——

Mr. NEGUSE. No, no, no. Not what you have done recently. I am asking, why do we have it? How did it—how was it created?

Mr. HILL. It was created during the crisis around the failure of Enron.

Mr. NEGUSE. That is right. So it is in the wake of Enron, in the wake of WorldCom.

Mr. HILL. There was an assertion by the Congress at that time that all public accounting firms needed an independent regulatory body.

Mr. NEGUSE. Correct. And that assertion, you probably are aware, was supported by an overwhelming majority of the Congress.

Mr. HILL. It was. And so we are continuing that oversight of public——

Mr. NEGUSE. Do you know how many Members of Congress voted for that bill to create the Public Accounting Oversight Board?

Mr. HILL. The vast, vast majority. Very few people voted——

Mr. NEGUSE. 431. 431. Signed into law by President Bush, right? And you all have chosen to eliminate it, right?

Mr. HILL. Not true.

Mr. NEGUSE. You are not eliminating it?

Mr. HILL. No. We are transferring the authority to oversee the public accounting from the PCAOB to the SEC.

Mr. NEGUSE. To the SEC. Got it. But you are not allocating any funding to the SEC to actually perform these duties, right? There is no money in this bill for that?

Mr. HILL. We are taking the fees that were being charged to the companies and eliminating those fees.

Mr. NEGUSE. I understand you are eliminating the fees, yes. So my point is you have said, "We are not dismantling the agency, but we are moving it to the SEC. But we are not giving the SEC a dime to do any of these critical accounting functions that virtually every Republican in the United States Congress supported a mere 20 years ago," right?

Mr. HILL. We are cutting the mandatory spending that is in this—currently in the budget for the PCAOB, transferring those authorities to the SEC, and I am sure they can come to the Congress for appropriations.

Mr. NEGUSE. Got it. So, in the interim, there will be no public accounting oversight activities, right?

Mr. HILL. No. That is not true. The work of overseeing the public accounting firms will continue.

Mr. NEGUSE. By who?

Mr. HILL. We have contemplated that in the bill in the terms of the phaseout. It is in the reconciliation bill.

Mr. NEGUSE. Describe it to us. I mean, I guess I am trying to understand. You are saying it gets moved over to the SEC; there is no new funds—there is no mandate, there is——

Mr. HILL. There is a phaseout period in the reconciliation bill, and that will afford the SEC the opportunity to seek appropriations.

Mr. NEGUSE. So does the bill—it gives the SEC the opportunity to seek appropriations. So until that—and, of course, we have no idea as to whether or not the Congress will ultimately consent to that appropriation request.

There is also no language in this bill that mandates that the Public Accounting—the personnel who work for this entity now that has been in existence for 20-some-odd years are rehired by the SEC.

Mr. HILL. That is true.

Mr. NEGUSE. Okay. This is coupled with—obviously, we have gone to great lengths—you know, ranking member articulated well

the cuts to the CFPB, and I know you don't contest that the 70 percent cut, obviously, to the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau.

Mr. HILL. We are taking the cap of the amount of money the CFPB can request from the Fed, from 12 percent to 5 percent. It is not being cut, as the gentlewoman from Pennsylvania asserted, to zero. It is also not the only agency that does consumer compliance in the financial services sector.

Mr. NEGUSE. I understand your rationale with respect to that secondary part. But I just want to zero in here on the financial piece.

I guess my read of the bill was that it will significantly reduce the funds that are available for the CFPB to be able to perform the duties that it is responsible for executing under Federal law.

Mr. HILL. The CFPB has often lost in Federal court time and time again for exceeding its authority, proposing regulations that are not statutorily approved, proposing new functions that are not statutorily approved by Congress, and we believe that the money that is in the 5 percent cap is adequate for them to do their compliance responsibilities under the Act.

Mr. NEGUSE. Yeah. Again, I am—not a gotcha question. I hear your rationale for opposing the CFPB. I was just trying to get a better——

Mr. HILL. I didn't say that. I said, we think this is the adequate funding.

Mr. NEGUSE. Adequate for them to perform the function. But it is a significant reduction in the resources that they have.

Mr. HILL. In fiscal year 2019, it was exactly around $250 million. This year, in fiscal year 2025, they are proposing $800 million in spending. And, yet, in our view, the spending is adequate to be at $250 million doing—looking at their own analysis of their own personnel compared from when it was at its full initial operating phase in 2012 and comparing it to today. We believe it is adequate.

Mr. NEGUSE. Okay. Financial Stability Oversight Council. Reducing funding by 90 percent.

Mr. HILL. No.

Mr. NEGUSE. No?

Mr. HILL. What we have done is the fees that are the budget for the Financial Stability Oversight Council, which is supported by bipartisan Members of the Congress, we are simply saying that it is the actual expenses. So the Office of Financial Research where that revenue takes place, we have looked at the 3 years average use to support the FSOC's operation. We have kept it—capped it at that 3-year average level for the actual functioning expenses of FSOC. We are not eliminating FSOC. We are not eliminating the funding for FSOC.

Mr. NEGUSE. I want to give the ranking member an opportunity to respond and perhaps she can clarify what—if I am misunderstanding the nature of the way in which FSOC's funding will be implicated. I would like to have that clarified.

Ms. WATERS. First of all, I want to go back to—I want to say a word about the PCOB that is being transferred.

You talked about the fact that the PCAOB was being transferred to the SEC, and you wanted to know whether or not there were any funds that followed that. And the answer by Chairman Hill

was that they could come and ask for more money. But it is really a lot more serious than simply whether or not they have the money.

They had a hard time getting an agreement with the Chinese in our financial markets. But, under the Biden administration, they were able to work out an agreement with the Chinese that was very, very important.

Now, that agreement does not extend to the SEC. And so that means that the auditors won't be able perhaps to deal with China, Germany, and a lot of the other places. So this is very, very serious. And I just wanted to say that.

Next, you were talking about the Council.

Mr. NEGUSE. FSOC, uh-huh.

Ms. WATERS [continuing]. About why it is so important and what is happening to it.

Well, the Council is very important because we are at a time when all of these crazy tariffs are being initiated by the President of the United States of America, and we have rising inflation also. This means that the costs alone are going to be much more expensive.

I want you to know that investors around the world are freaking out, unsettled about what is happening. And so what you have is not only the unsettlement but the uncertainty that is being created by these tariffs. We haven't talked a lot about tariffs here tonight, and the President has given all these excuses of why he wakes up in the morning and decides that he is going to change the amount of the tariffs.

And he said the reason that we are having all these tariffs is they aren't paying their fair share, and he is going to use the new money that he is going to collect for manufacturing, et cetera, et cetera; he is going to do all of that.

However, I want you to know that these tariffs are being placed on bananas and coffee, and that has nothing to do with what he is saying he is going to use the money for. So the Council is so very important as we take a look at what needs to be known with this crisis that is being created and how the Federal Government could get involved much sooner than what happened in 2008. And so we need it.

If you just take a look at what happened with AIG, which is one of the biggest problems that had to be corrected, they got in charge of that, and they were able to not only give new oversight, but it was restructured, and it was no longer a threat.

So it is very important to have the Council and the research that goes along with it.

Mr. NEGUSE. I would—thank you, Madam Ranking Member. And I would just say, Mr. Chairman—Chairman Hill, I respect your expertise. I know you have worked on these issues. I know you have served in the Treasury Department, and I understand the policy reasons that you might have and——

Mr. HILL. We were directed, Mr. Neguse——

Mr. NEGUSE. Let me finish. It wasn't a question—that you believe with respect to some of the changes that you are seeking to make.

My simple suggestion is that the changes you are making to the accounting board, to the CFPB, to FSOC, taken together in the aggregate, all of these agencies, these entities were created for a reason, right? And they were in the wake of very serious financial crises that engulfed our country.

And I just don't—I don't think that it's in the best interests of the American consumers to pursue these kinds of changes. I also think they are policy changes and that, ultimately, the Parliamentarian in the Senate is abiding by precedent that they shouldn't make it through the birdbath, but that is a different inquiry.

So, in any event, I will move on. My final question to Chairman Comer. Mr. Chairman, so, with respect to the exchange you were having with one of my colleagues earlier about the exemptions that you all crafted into the bill regarding air traffic controllers, that is in relation to the at-will—this distinction, essentially, between giving Federal employees the choice of choosing the at-will employment versus non-at-will employment Federal protections but a higher retirement contribution; am I right?

Mr. COMER. Uh-huh.

Mr. NEGUSE. That is what the exemption is applying to?

Mr. COMER. I mean, I don't understand your question. What is your question?

Mr. NEGUSE. Why don't you describe to me—I want to better understand the new language—language that you all have adopted regarding air traffic controllers and law enforcement.

Mr. COMER. They are exempted from any changes——

Mr. NEGUSE. Any of the changes that you all are making with respect to the Federal benefits system?

Mr. COMER. Yes.

Mr. NEGUSE. That is correct. Okay. That didn't exist in the original, or is that—was that not the case?

Mr. COMER. There were exemptions for Border Patrol, and—they were, I guess you could say, partially exempt.

Mr. NEGUSE. Yeah. That is the genesis of my question. I am really drilling down—and your staff director, I think, can probably attest to this.

This issue around the provision that I would say compels, you would say offers Federal employees this choice to choose at-will employment and a higher contribution for their retirement benefits—right?—or to stay within the Federal protected system and have to pay a higher contribution on their end, that original provision did not have the exemptions that you all have added now for law enforcement, for Border Patrol, for air traffic controllers.

That wasn't in the bill that you all marked up a few days ago that the Republican majority on the bill approved, or am I wrong about that?

Mr. COMER. That is correct.

Mr. NEGUSE. Okay. What I am interested in is, was there a discussion, and are you willing to have a discussion, particularly as you consider a manager's amendment, to draw out a similar exemption for veterans? So veterans who have rights under the—you know, in the current system, if you are a veteran and you work at any of our Federal agencies—right?—but you don't fall into this particular job classification exemption, you have rights before the

Merit Systems Protection Board that you can adjudicate, right, as a veteran?

And my point is to simply say, why wouldn't you draw out this exemption to include veterans, irrespective of whether or not they fall into this classification or not?

Mr. COMER. Look, the bill could be amended through the process. I mean, this is—we passed out—we were given instructions to save $51 billion; we met that. And, look, during discussions, there is going to be minor changes made here and there.

With respect to at-will, I want to make it clear, there are certain States that have at-will civil service employees. Some of those States are Georgia, Texas, Florida, and Utah. So I don't think there is anything groundbreaking or unique here.

Mr. NEGUSE. No, no. But what I am suggesting is you crafted this exemption over the course of the last 72 hours. You added a very large exemption to this bill. That is an exemption I support, by the way, with respect to what you have drawn out here. Clearly, you have the capacity to just add veterans. You could do that now.

There is negotiations apparently happening somewhere in this building and Ranking Member McGovern and Chairman Arrington's colloquy, I think, established that. So I don't really understand why you wouldn't just make the case to the leadership, respectfully, Mr. Chairman to say, "Okay, if this exemption was worth pursuing, let's add veterans as well so that we are not forcing veterans into this Hobson's choice that we have decided we did not want to force upon firefighters, air traffic controllers, and other law enforcement officials."

I think that is a reasonable request to make on behalf of our Nation's veterans. And, as you know, a large portion of the Federal workforce are veterans. So I think that this would be the least we could do, and I would just—would implore you—I don't know if you have further thoughts on that, but, I mean, you are the chairman, and I assume——

Mr. COMER. We have already passed our bill out of the committee, so it is not——

Mr. NEGUSE. But this limit happened after you marked up the bill. That is my point. You passed the bill, it included no exemptions for police officers, for firefighters—for Border Patrol. It was a limited exemption, as your staff director noted.

You have added that in the last couple of days because there were stakeholders who made clear their outrage—which, by the way, was expressed by Democrats, I understand, during the markup, and Ranking Member Lynch can comment on that if he would like. But I think Democratic members of the committee made the case that this ought to be—obviously, we believe it should be——

Mr. COMER. Well, Democrats want to spend, you know, into oblivion. If it were just Democrats, it wouldn't be any cuts. You would just keep spending money.

Mr. NEGUSE. I would not call——

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. Neguse, Mr. Neguse. Mr. Neguse. You asked a question——

Mr. NEGUSE. He answered.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. Comer was attempting to answer your question.

Mr. NEGUSE. He answered. Okay.

The CHAIRWOMAN. You know, Mr. Neguse, there is no prize here for talking the longest.

Mr. NEGUSE. Well, Madam Chair, I had intended to finish, but I have about seven more questions. I guess I will proceed with Mr. Comer. Go ahead and finish your question—or your answer.

Mr. COMER. I have stated the obvious. We are trying to do the best we can to be fiscally responsible. It is no fun when you have to make cuts. You all don't know what that is like. You have never cut anything in your life. You just continue to spend, spend, spend. We are on an unsustainable path.

We have limited jurisdiction on the Oversight Committee. We are very passionate about eliminating waste, fraud, abuse, and mismanagement in the Federal Government.

With respect to this bill, we had a limited portion of jurisdiction, and I think that we have been very transparent with the process. We passed out of committee a bill that saved the taxpayers $51 billion. There have been changes made, as there always is, once the bill passes committee before it is voted on on the floor.

So I don't know what else there is to say.

Mr. NEGUSE. So I would say to you, now that you have apparently concluded your answer, that my question was really simple, really simple.

I didn't ask—I wasn't asking you to draw out exemptions for this category of folks and other categories of folks. It was very simple, a simple question, which was, are you willing to consider carving out an exemption for our Nation's veterans in the same way that you drew out an exemption after the committee marked up this bill?

I don't think that is spending into oblivion, to say that our Nation's veterans should be exempted in the same way that our law enforcement and Border Patrol agents and air traffic controllers. I don't think that is an unreasonable request.

Ranking Member Lynch, do you think that is an unreasonable request?

Mr. LYNCH. No. As a matter of fact, one of the amendments I have is to exempt them from the change in the calculation going from the high-3 to high-5. We would maintain the veterans at the high-3, and the cost——

Mr. NEGUSE. Just to be clear, they could do that right now.

Mr. LYNCH. They could. They have done it. As you have pointed out, they have done it for a now subset of employees and that—you know, the high-3 instead of the high-5 was about $16,500 per employee over 20 years of retirement. Not a huge sum of money but definitely appropriate given that a veteran must have served honorably and discharged honorably for them to be eligible for these benefits.

Mr. NEGUSE. I couldn't agree more, Mr. Lynch. I just—again, Republicans are negotiating right now, as we speak, on SALT deductions and tax credits and any host of issues that Members of your caucus have. And I would think that the least they could do is entertain or at least not treat it so gingerly that—the response of, oh, spending into oblivion because we have a simple request.

It was the only question that I asked you, Mr. Comer, so I just was—I am taken aback by your answer. But, anyway, I will yield back the balance of my time.

I thank the ranking members and the chairs for being here.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Neguse.

Mrs. Houchin, you are recognized.

Mrs. HOUCHIN. Thank you, Madam Chair, and thank you to all of our witnesses for being here this evening, and particularly to our committee chairs for their hard work on this reconciliation bill. Many hours have gone into this. Many hours of debate outside of tonight in broad daylight have gone on on this bill.

I want to make a few points before I get into questions. That is in response to a few of the things that have been said by my colleagues on the other side of the aisle.

One of the things that has been said is that this is a transfer of wealth. What I would say to that is that the only transfer of wealth, resources, and protection of the American people that is occurring right now is a transfer from the American people on behalf of illegal immigrants. That is what has been happening over the last several years under the Biden administration.

This bill has also been called a scam. But the only scam that is being played is a scam by the Democrats on the American people for fearmongering about what this bill is actually doing.

Once again—and I am going to go to my former chair, my former Committee of Financial Services, and go to Chairman Hill on questions about the CFPB. We have heard a lot about the CFPB here this evening.

And the thing that, I think, strikes me most about the CFPB's creation is that only in Washington would we create a Federal bureaucracy to fix something that we broke. And I would like to just submit for the record, Madam Chair, an article by the American Enterprise Institute, October 30, 2017, a crisis caused by housing policies, not lack of regulation.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Without objection.

[The information follows:]

Article

A Crisis Caused by Housing Policies, Not Lack of Regulation

By Peter J. Wallison

October 30, 2017

The supporters of the Dodd-Frank Act in Congress and elsewhere regularly claim that any change or reform of that law will open the U.S. economy to another financial crisis. This view is based on the fallacious idea that the 2008 crisis was the result of insufficient regulation of the financial system, especially banks.

On its face, this view is inherently implausible because it cannot explain why in the 10 years between 1997 and 2007, we had a nationwide decline in mortgage underwriting standards, an unprecedented housing price bubble, and a financial crisis when the bubble collapsed in 2008. None of these things had ever happened in the 75 years since the Great Depression, which is the only comparable event in American history. During all these years, we had the same financial regulatory system — indeed, bank regulation had been tightened during this period — and the same government-controlled housing finance system.

In reality, the crisis was caused by the government's housing policies, beginning with the enactment in 1992 of what were called the Affordable Housing Goals. The goals required Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, two government-backed mortgage

companies, to meet annual quotas of low- and moderate-income (LMI) mortgages when they bought mortgages from banks or other originators. Fannie and Freddie did not make mortgage loans; they operated a secondary market in mortgages by acquiring them from banks and other mortgage originators.

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Initially, the quota was 30 percent — i.e., in any year, at least 30 percent of all mortgages Fannie and Freddie acquired had to have been made to LMI borrowers who were at or below median income where they lived. The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) was given authority to administer the goals, and through the Clinton and Bush administrations the goals were raised aggressively. By 2008, 56 percent of all mortgages Fannie and Freddie acquired had to meet the LMI quota.

Before the Affordable Housing Goals were adopted, Fannie and Freddie were well-known for buying only prime mortgages, and in fact it was that policy that Congress wanted to change by enacting the goals in 1992. The thought at the time was that it would be easier for low- and moderate-income borrowers to buy homes if Fannie and Freddie could be compelled by the quotas to lower their underwriting standards.

That certainly worked. By the mid-1990s, Fannie and Freddie had abandoned their policy of accepting only mortgages with 10

percent down payments. They had to; they couldn't find enough borrowers among those below median income who could make a 10 percent down payment. This was followed by reductions in FICO credit scores and increases in allowable debt-to-income ratios for borrowers as Fannie and Freddie struggled to meet the increasing goals between 1992 and 2008.

The great error in this policy was the failure to understand that Fannie and Freddie — as the dominant players in the housing finance markets — set the underwriting standards for the market as a whole. Mortgage lending is a competitive business, and as Fannie and Freddie lowered their underwriting standards lenders found that the two government-backed mortgage companies would accept mortgages that they had never accepted before. If competing lenders would make these mortgages, and if the government-sponsored enterprises (GSEs) would buy them, these underwriting standards would become the minimum standards for the market as a whole. Pretty soon, people who formerly had insufficient funds to make a 10 percent down payment were able to buy a home by borrowing almost the entire cost from a bank. The underwriting standards that were initially intended to help LMI borrowers had spread to the wider market.

The decline in underwriting standards caused housing prices to rise. If a potential buyer has $10,000 and the underwriting standard requires a 10 percent down payment, the buyer can acquire a $100,000 home. But if underwriting standards decline and the required down payment becomes 5 percent, the buyer can purchase a $200,000 home. Instead of borrowing $90,000, he now borrows $190,000. This additional borrowing, which people in the field call leverage, bids up housing prices. As a result, between 1997 and 2007, an unprecedented housing price bubble grew in the United States, with home prices rising almost 10 percent per year.

Why would a bank make a loan with only a 3 percent or even zero down payment? Two reasons: First, home prices were rising so fast in the late 1990s and early 2000s that a year later the home would

be worth 10 percent more, and thus could be sold to recover the mortgage loan if the buyer defaulted. Alternatively, the bank figured it could sell that loan to Fannie or Freddie, and both of them needed loans to borrowers below median income — no matter how risky — so they could meet the Affordable Housing Goals.

By 2008, just before the financial crisis, more than a majority of all mortgages in the U.S. financial system were subprime, required low or no down payment, or were otherwise risky. Of those loans, 76 percent were on the books of government agencies, principally Fannie and Freddie. This shows, beyond question, that it was the government that created the demand for these mortgages.

Finally, in 2007 and 2008, when home prices had gotten so high that no amount of concessionary lending could get borrowers to take on the loans, the bubble's growth flattened and began to decline. Then, as Warren Buffett famously said, "when the tide goes out you can see who's swimming naked." A deluge of defaulted mortgages hit the financial system, buyers of mortgages and mortgage-backed securities that were not guaranteed by the government disappeared, and financial firms that had bought these mortgages or the mortgage-backed securities were left holding the bag. Fannie and Freddie became insolvent, were taken over by the government, and were bailed out by the taxpayers for $187 billion. The outcome was a financial crisis in 2008 and a deep recession that ended in June 2009.[1]

This isn't to say that the banks were blameless; they were profiting from the sale of deficient mortgages, but the reason they could sell them was because Fannie and Freddie and other government agencies were buying them to meet government quotas.

To address this problem, the financial regulators did not need any more authority. They had plenty of authority and plenty of visibility into the banks to know what the banks were doing. They didn't stop the fun or take away the punchbowl because they knew Congress liked what was happening. More people were buying

homes and housing prices were rising, making everyone feel richer.

But after the carnival came to an end, the only thing the Obama administration and the congressional majority could think of was to pile more regulation on the financial system. No one, either among the regulators or in Congress, wanted to take the blame, or even find out the truth, so the banks became the scapegoat and Dodd-Frank was fastened onto the American economy.

George W. Bush was the only person in authority during this period who has come close to making an honest assessment of what happened. He said in his memoirs, "I was pleased to see the ownership society grow. But the exuberance of the moment masked the underlying risk."[2]

The winners write the history, and the incoming Obama administration and the Democratic supermajority in Congress blamed the crisis on insufficient regulation of the private financial sector. This narrative, although factually unsupported, gave rise to the Dodd-Frank Act, which imposed significant new regulation on the U.S. financial system but did virtually nothing to reform the government policies that gave rise to the financial crisis.

Today, Fannie and Freddie and other government agencies are again buying mortgages with only 3 percent down payments. Homebuyers are borrowing the rest of the cost of the home. As a result, housing prices are rising on the same trajectory that they marked out in the mid-1990s. If we don't change our housing policies, we are headed to another financial crisis.

Meanwhile, the Dodd-Frank Act — the wrong reform for a crisis caused by the government's housing policies — caused an unprecedented decline in U.S. economic growth. Enacted in 2010, hurriedly as the Democrats realized that they were going to lose their supermajorities in the House and Senate in that year's elections, the act called for almost 400 new financial rules.

It can only be imagined what uncertainties this created in the financial community and the kind of conservative management

that ensued as banks and other financial entities contemplated what those regulations might involve. One immediately obvious effect was the decline in the formation of new banks; from an average of about 100 per year before the financial crisis, the number of new bank formations declined to five, three and one in each of the years after Dodd-Frank was enacted. Clearly, the new regulation and the compliance costs involved made banking so unprofitable that almost no one wanted to start a new bank.

The effects of these requirements on the economy are clear; there can be no other explanation for the historically slow recovery of the U.S. economy from the recession that followed the financial crisis. In the entire Obama administration, there were only four major pieces of legislation or financial policy that were large enough to affect the growth of the economy — President Obama's Economic Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009, the Accordable Care Act of 2010 (ACA), the Fed's efforts, over several years, through "Quantitative Easing" (QE), to lower long-term interest rates, and the Dodd-Frank Act. The Economic Recovery Act, which alone pumped $831 billion into the economy, as well as the ACA and the Fed's QEs should all have been stimulative, because they all added major liquidity to the U.S. economy. But if they were, the effect was overwhelmed by the Dodd-Frank Act, which added an unprecedented degree of new regulation to the financial system. For the seven years following the enactment of Dodd-Frank, U.S. economic growth has averaged less than 2 percent, and the recovery from the 2009 recession has been slowest in 50 years.

This is almost certainly because the regulations imposed by the Dodd-Frank Act, which reduced capital investment, increased uncertainty, and suppressed what John Maynard Keynes called the "animal spirits" of participants in the economy.

After the 2016 election, when Donald Trump was elected on a platform of repealing Dodd-Frank and reducing regulation generally, the stock market indexes suddenly started to rise, even though nothing material had actually been done. This has

continued despite the absence of any substantial legislative changes in taxation or regulation. One explanation could be the possibility of major tax reform, but the more likely reason is the sense in the business community that there will be a general reduction in regulation, which averaged over 3000 new regulations per year during the Obama presidency.

The danger, however, is that as long as the public fails to recognize that the government's housing policies — and not lack of regulation — caused the financial crisis, we will continue the same policies that brought on the financial crisis 10 years ago.

Peter J. Wallison is a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute. He was a dissenting member of the Financial Crisis Inquiry Commission, a ten-member commission that was created to investigate the causes of the financial crisis. He also served as White House counsel for President Ronald Reagan and is a former general counsel of the U.S. Department of the Treasury. He is writing a book about the growth of the administrative state.

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[1] The causes of the 2008 financial crisis, from beginning to end, are detailed in my book, "Hidden in Plain Sight: What Caused the World's Worst Financial Crisis and Why it Could Happen Again," Encounter Books, 2015

[2] George W. Bush, "Decision Points," (Crown Publishers, 2010), p449

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Mrs. HOUCHIN. Thank you.

Because we have the CFPB as a result of a reaction to the banking crisis of 2008, which was driven by housing policies, not by any lack of regulation. And now we have got the CFPB that we live with, and as, Chairman Hill, you noted, that their budget has been expanding. Notably, their budget expanded during the Obama years and declined during the first Trump administration and expanded again during the Biden years now to $823 million in fiscal year 2025 direct from the Treasury transfer without having any oversight by the Congress.

So we have heard that consumers are going to be left without any protection if we get rid of the CFPB or if we decrease their funding to roughly the $250 million that we have said in this budget.

Is the CFPB the only Federal agency, Chairman Hill, that provides consumer protection?

Mr. HILL. No, Mrs. Houchin, it is not. Each of the bank supervisory agencies has a robust continuous exam process for all the consumer compliance requirements. The CFPB's focus in Dodd-Frank was to focus on depository institutions—meaning banks—that were larger than $10 billion.

Basically, there is 5,000 banks or thereabouts that are smaller than that, and they are having their compliance for lending purposes or deposit purposes fully supervised by the existing bank supervisors. Also, the SEC, the Securities and Exchange Commission, is deeply involved in consumer compliance responsibilities under the securities laws. And we can't forget the Federal Trade Commission, which is very involved in consumer compliance.

And those are the principal Federal agencies for consumer credit, consumer deposit issues, both for banks and nonbanks. And then we cannot forget that the States also regulate nonbank consumer finance, and the States' attorney generals enforce those laws.

So there is no lack of oversight in consumer protection in the financial services space. And, therefore, that is why, in my judgment, since we are here talking about a reconciliation bill, that the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau can complete its statutory tasks under Dodd-Frank with the 5 percent cap of the Federal Reserve funding.

And the two other changes that we made there was simply saying that there is civil penalty fund where they charge wrongdoing and collect funds for the benefit of victims. Once that fund is—the victims are repaid throughout the adjudication process, if there is any surplus money, instead of them being able to keep it, that it go back to the Treasury to benefit the Federal budget.

And, likewise, we say that, while they are a unique agency because they have no oversight, they have no congressional appropriation; they have no inspector general; they have no real compliance—full compliance with Administrative Procedure Act, for example, in their rulemaking. They have been struck down in the Federal courts for overreaching their statute. We also—they have a unique position that, once they take their money that they request from the Federal Reserve, they get to carry it over.

I don't know a lot of Federal agencies that can carry over spending and pile up cash on their balance sheet after September 30

each year. So we cap that in this bill at 5 percent of that annual budget that they can have.

Mrs. HOUCHIN. And, in fact, the CFPB has a civil penalty fund sitting on about $2.5 billion according to my account. $1.7 billion of that was a fine levied against one entity.

But they can sit on that cash, too, is that correct?

Mr. HILL. They can. What we argue is that they—that money should be allocated to settle victims' claims. And that can take some time during the legal process. So that money can certainly sit there.

But the money that is not dedicated to paying a victim claim should be returned to the Treasury.

Mrs. HOUCHIN. So you mentioned the FTC. I am glad you mentioned that. Because the motto of the Federal Trade Commission is protecting American consumers. In fact, the United States has 12 separate Federal financial regulators and State regulators for securities, banking, and insurance, and it is duplicative that we do have the CFPB.

We certainly don't need to be funding the CFPB at the extent that we do because, as you mentioned, not only do we have States' attorney's general who are also protecting consumers, but we also have plaintiffs' lawyers who can take class action suits as well.

Madam Chair, I would like to submit for the record an article, dated February 18, 2025, by the Cato Institute, "Consumers will be safe without the CFPB."

The CHAIRWOMAN. Without objection.

[The information follows:]

CATO INSTITUTE® COMMENTARY

Consumers Will Be Safe without the CFPB

The United States has twelve separate federal financial regulators and state regulators for securities, banking, and insurance companies. Americans are right to clamor for streamlining the government.

FEBRUARY 18, 2025 • COMMENTARY

By **Norbert Michel**

This article appeared in ***Forbes*** on February 18, 2025.

Financial regulators are rarely the subject of a media frenzy, but because the Trump administration has zeroed in on the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, this past week has been the exception. Some of the hysteria is over Elon Musk, the billionaire Trump tapped to cut waste from the federal bureaucracy. But much of the ire is aimed at Russ

administration's government-wide layoffs."

Predictably, a federal employees union quickly **sued** to stop the Trump administration from "dismantling" the CFPB. But in a move that would be strange for anyone who wanted to shut down an agency, Trump also **nominated** Jonathan McKernan to be the next CFPB director.

Full disclosure: I do not think Congress should have created the CFPB, something I'll explain in a bit. But first, let's review what happened during the first Trump administration.

In 2017, President Trump appointed Mick Mulvaney, then the OMB director, as **acting director** of the CFPB. Mulvaney then **implemented** a hiring freeze for the CFPB and stopped work on all new regulations and guidance. Soon after, Mulvaney **informed** the Fed that the CFPB would not take its next funding draw.

New York Times Magazine then ran **a story** claiming that Mulvaney had given a "master class" on how to destroy a bureaucracy from within, claiming that he "took it apart." In the article, Lisa Donner, head of

The United States has twelve separate federal financial regulators and state regulators for securities, banking, and insurance companies. Americans are right to clamor for streamlining the government.

Consumer Protection Predates the CFPB

More importantly, it makes sense to reevaluate whether the CFPB is necessary to protect consumers. As I've **argued** before, that idea wasn't true before Congress created the CFPB, and it's still flat wrong.

For starters, Congress created the CFPB by **transferring** enforcement authority for more than 20 federal consumer protection laws to the new agency. One can disagree with how effective those laws were, but one cannot claim that there was no consumer protection. (And that's only federal law, saying nothing of the fact that every **state** has its own consumer protection laws.)

It's also possible that, prior to creating the CFPB, the consumer financial protection framework was spread among too many federal agencies. But that's a sign that there are too many federal agencies, and Congress could have consolidated those laws with any of the existing agencies. The obvious choice would have been the Federal Trade Commission, the agency (created in 1914) whose **motto** is "Protecting America's Consumers."

But Congress never seriously debated this sort of reform or any other ways to fix possible weaknesses in existing consumer protection laws before creating the CFPB in 2010.

Instead, Congress created the CFPB and expanded the consumer protection framework beyond merely protecting consumers against deceptive or unfair practices. Deciding that those decades-old standards for consumer protection were insufficient, Congress chose to protect consumers against *themselves*—sort of. That is, Congress gave the CFPB the discretionary authority to develop a new, ill-defined consumer protection concept known as abusive practices.

the idea that financial markets generally work in this manner defies logic. Legitimate lenders wouldn't stay in business if they actively sought clients who were unable to repay their loans. Ultimately, the theory behind this new concept assumes that financial firms regularly exploit their customers, and the federal government needs to step in to set terms and prices, not merely to protect against fraud.

Put differently, this consumer protection concept assumes that the government must direct the market because markets do not work. This idea has little to do with *regulation* but everything to do with giving federal officials the authority to dictate who can sell which products to whom and on what terms and prices. It gives the government the authority to usurp the market. And that's one of the reasons that the CFPB has been so controversial from the beginning.

Fines Do Not Prove the CFPB is Necessary

It is also true that the CFPB has levied billions in fines against financial institutions. But that's not really evidence that the CFPB is necessary. Aside from the fact that any other government agency could have levied the same fines, the gross amount also reflects that Congress has made consumer protection law overly vague, and the cost of fighting the government in court is very high.

Focusing on the total collected also ignores the fact that the agency is redundant.

In fact, state officials are frequently the first to prosecute fraud, only to have federal officials pile on after the fact. In 2019, for instance, the CFPB announced a major settlement with Equifax regarding a data breach, one that included total penalties of up to $700 million. But the **fine print** shows that the CFPB worked with the FTC and state attorney general offices in 48

insurance companies. (See page 134 of this document.) Americans are right to clamor for streamlining the government.

Congress created the CFPB without a thorough understanding of the housing market collapse, the subsequent failure of major financial firms, or the resulting shock to the economy. They did it without debating the meaning of consumer protection, much less whether the existing consumer protection laws and agencies were flawed. Congress can fix that mistake by eliminating the CFPB and either restoring the pre-Dodd-Frank enforcement authority or consolidating those laws at the FTC.

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Mrs. HOUCHIN. In the remaining time that I have—and I have gone over 5 minutes, but I do want to go to my Budget Committee chair, Mr. Arrington, just with really one question. Has the CBO ever been wrong?

Mr. ARRINGTON. Well, in my short tenure, they actually were off in their estimation of the deficit, and their excuse was, it was hard to keep up—I am paraphrasing—it was hard to keep up with the trillions of dollars in spending, would be $8 trillion total in deficit spending in the last administration, $2 trillion by executive actions. That was what was hard.

So let's consider all things. They were off by a trillion dollars. That is a big miss, and so, yes, they have been wrong. They were wrong in their projections on revenue to the Treasury post-TCJA. We had record revenue, record corporate revenue.

So they are wrong often, and sometimes they are wrong in an order of magnitude, in one case by a trillion dollars.

Mrs. HOUCHIN. And, if I am not mistaken—sorry, I went past my second—I went on to a second question, and I am wrapping up. They underestimated the cost of the IRA, and they underestimated the benefits of Trump's Tax Cuts and Jobs Act. Is that correct?

Mr. ARRINGTON. Along with underestimating the cost of Obamacare and a whole list of other things, but that is correct.

I will say that JCT was the initial scorekeeper or administered the score for the IRA tax credits, green energy tax subsidies, and they were off by almost four times the actual cost.

Mrs. HOUCHIN. So all this conversation about how reliant we should be on CBO scores to tell us what, you know, the cost of what we are doing is going to be, CBO has not been all that reliable, as history has shown, is that correct?

Mr. ARRINGTON. That is correct, and, if I may, Mrs. Houchin, I'd say the best predictor of the future is past performance, and what we have tried to do is be conservative about a growth assumption at 2.6, which was under the annual average of both President Trump and President Biden.

I thought that was the responsible thing to do, which forced us as a Conference to put these gentlemen in the position, among other authorizing chairmen, to dig deep on rooting out waste in this—the people's government.

I am very proud that, in the end, it is reducing the deficit by about $175 billion. We need to do more. We need to rinse and repeat future reconciliation bills. But the debt-to-GDP going down by ten percentage points is—in this environment and over the last couple of decades is just probably unfathomable, but we have achieved it.

I am convinced we will achieve it and then some because we are not adding tariff revenue; we are not adding other things that I believe will happen because of the iron will of this President on that front, if not on others. Thank you.

Mrs. HOUCHIN. Thank you. Thank you so much to the witnesses for your long hours of testimony.

I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mrs. Houchin.

Ms. Leger Fernández, you are recognized.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Thank you, Madam Chair. I don't know whether to say, "Buenos Dias," "good night." You know, we don't really have a word in either Spanish or English when you start at 1 a.m. and when you finally start asking questions at 4 a.m., but it is still nighttime.

And, Americans, some of them looking—I mean, we have 150 people outside standing in the rain asking us to do the right thing. I want to do a shoutout to them. But, you know, Americans might have just woken up, and they don't know what is happening.

But let me tell you, it is a nightmare. We are living through a nightmare. And, if you are a veteran, if you are a pregnant mother, if you live in rural America, this is a Republican nightmare because this bill that they are going to be pushing through in the dead of night is the biggest transfer of wealth from the poor working families and middle class to the wealthiest, right? And CBO put it out.

Now, they don't want to pay attention to CBO because they don't like the facts, right? They don't like what it actually looks like. But we know that these numbers are horrible, and we will get into them in a bit.

But, when we think about this transfer of wealth, especially this part here, it gets me. You know, it really gets me. There we go.

You know, from the lowest decile to the highest that CBO put out. And many of the people in this room are people of faith. And they might have heard when John the Baptist actually said that, if you have two tunics, you should give one away; and if you have wealth, you should help feed the hungry.

What we are seeing here today with the Republican bill is the actual opposite. Republicans are taking from the poor and giving to the rich so they can buy more tunics. The wealthy don't need any more money to buy any more yachts. But, when you take away that $6 a day that the poor and the working poor are receiving to put food on their table, you are taking away from the poor to give to the wealthy, the exact opposite of what John the Baptist told us we should do.

And no matter how you slice this, it is raising the deficit, right? We don't know exactly how much because they keep changing the bill—2 trillion, 3 trillion, 5 trillion, 7 trillion. It keeps going up and down and backwards because they keep tweaking it, keep negotiating, adding more. But it is raising the deficit.

And so this bad billionaires' bill—it is not beautiful; it is bad, and it is for the billionaires—is going to be paid for by you, the American people, because you are going to have to pay back the debt that they are borrowing to give to the wealthiest among us.

So Trump is betraying you. He is betraying rural America. He is betraying veterans. He is betraying working families.

But, you know, the ranking members and the chairmen, I really need to give it to you. You have sat in your chair, even while most of the Republicans have been absent; you have all been here. So I appreciate you.

You know, let's start with the idea and this concept of the deficit. Our colleagues talk about it all the time. Representative Roy, who isn't here, or hasn't been here much tonight. Well, he is not here. The hearing is here. Representative Massie who used to sit over—

he has that little ticker; everybody sees his ticker. I am so worried about him because, once you guys pass this bill, that thing is just going to go so fast; it is going to burn a hole through his suit.

And Representative Norman, he has often rallied against increased deficits. In fact, you know, Congressman Roy said—who is not here, but since he is not here, I will quote him. Open quote: "I have to now admonish my colleagues on this side of the aisle. This bill falls profoundly short. It does not do what we say it does with respect to deficits."

You know what, I agree with Representative Roy. It doesn't do what they say. It increases the deficit.

So, Chair Arrington, it sounds like you are in favor of reducing deficits, correct?

Mr. ARRINGTON. Would you repeat that, please? I apologize.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Do you favor reducing deficits?

Mr. ARRINGTON. Yes, I do, which is why I support this bill.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Which is why you support the bill. So the problem is that you are saying you want to reduce the deficits, but any outside analysis of this bill, any independent analysis of this bill, actually increases the deficit.

So, Ranking Member Boyle, they keep saying it doesn't increase the deficit. How can they get to that when we have had all these independent analysis of a deficit increase?

Mr. BOYLE. Well, I mean, CBO, which, of course, is not infallible, but it is not just CBO. It is literally every organization that I have seen from nonpartisan to center to center-right committee or Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, CBO, the Yale Budget Lab, Wharton Budget Model, Manhattan Institute, the list goes on and on.

So, for the other side to be right, all of those organizations I have mentioned would have to be wrong. I think that is highly, highly implausible.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Right. And we also heard the White House Press Secretary say, "This bill does not add to the deficit," right, quote/unquote.

So what we are hearing is basically, "Trust me. Don't trust any independent analysis. Trust me." And I heard, Chair Arrington, a lot of what you are basing your thought on, if I am correct, is you are looking at growth projections, and that is why we are not going to have the deficit that all of the other ones are talking about.

Mr. ARRINGTON. It is a combination of revenue from growth and the deepest spending reductions in the history of the country by twofold. So it is a combination of the two.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Right. So, I agree with you, these are the—we agree, these are the deepest spending cuts I think ever, right? But——

Mr. ARRINGTON. Which is ironic, because it only represents a very small, like three percent of the entire Federal budget. Isn't that incredible?

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Right. Right. Right.

So I think that that is where we agree. I kind of agree that deficits are a problem, right?

But what you are doing is, instead of saying there are different ways of cutting the deficit, you are saying we are going to cut the

deficit by going after the people who rely most on the programs to feed the hungry, to make sure that Americans have healthcare, to make sure that veterans who rely on Medicaid and these programs to make sure you are not hungry, disabled people, like you are cutting the programs that Americans need the most.

And that is something that we can agree on. And you are doing that so that we can benefit the wealthiest among us.

So this chart here that the CBO put out is just the top 10th percentile. But when you go down to the rest of them it is actually the richest 20 percent get 67 percent of the benefit.

So the billionaires—Representative Scott said, well, I know there are some billionaires—the billionaires are doing really well by this bill. The billionaires, richest 1 percent, get the biggest benefit, 24 percent.

Let's make clear, this is a transfer of wealth from working-class families, from those who work for a living, those who are disabled, to the billionaires.

Now, Chairman Arrington, the Cato Institute, which it is not a left-wing institute, they actually, to your point of this is going to lead to a lot of job growth, says as to the Ways and Means Committee—and this was—it has gotten worse since then.

I am going to quote, Madam—oh, Mr. Chair, I ask unanimous consent to enter into the record the Cato Institute, "Republicans" One, Big, Beautiful Tax Bill Needs a Makeover."

Mr. GRIFFITH [presiding]. Without objection, so ordered.

[The information follows:]

MAY 14, 2025 3:08PM

Republicans' One, Big, Beautiful Tax Bill Needs a Makeover

By **Adam N. Michel** SHARE

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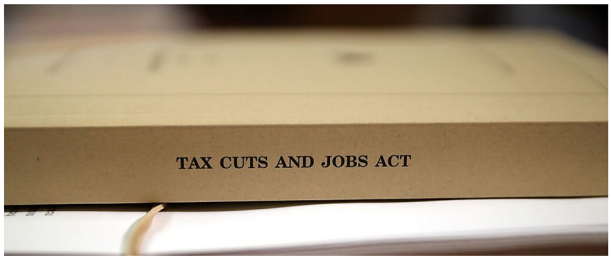

The Ways and Means Committee recently passed its "**One, Big, Beautiful Bill**" to extend many of the **expiring 2017 tax cuts**. But this opening bid falls short of delivering serious, pro-growth tax reform. It misses the opportunity to make the most important incentives for long-term growth permanent and includes at least 20 new or expanded tax subsidies, dramatically increasing the complexity of the tax code.

This tax bill will be combined with the rest of the House reconciliation package, which includes spending cuts and increases across health, energy, welfare, immigration, and defense. The full House of Representatives is expected to vote on the consolidated reconciliation package as soon as next week. The Senate will take it up next, likely making significant changes.

As written, the tax bill is not significantly pro-growth. The Tax Foundation **estimates** it would boost gross domestic product by just 0.6 percent in the long run. But most of that modest gain is driven by increased labor supply, not better productivity, higher wages, or more investment. In fact, the plan is expected to reduce investment, lower pre-tax wages, and have little impact on total national income.

If Republicans want to sell this bill as pro-growth reform that increases revenues and offsets some of President Trump's damaging trade war, they need to prioritize permanent pro-growth reforms.

The Good Stuff That Could Be Better

The bill permanently extends many important elements of the **2017 Tax Cuts and Jobs Act**, including lower individual income tax rates, a larger estate tax exemption, and reduced taxes on US businesses' **foreign earnings**.

The bill also temporarily revives key investment deductions (called **full expensing**) for equipment, machinery, and research expenses and extends similar treatment to a new category of "qualified production property," primarily manufacturing structures. While industry-specific carveouts are not ideal, permanent expensing for structures would be one of the most pro-investment additions lawmakers could make to the 2017 tax cuts. Unfortunately, all these provisions expire after 2029, eliminating their long-run benefits. Temporary tax cuts don't meaningfully change long-run incentives to invest and grow businesses.

The bill also modestly reforms existing tax subsidies and repeals **about 60 percent** of the **Inflation Reduction Act's** green energy tax credits, which have proven costly and inefficient. Some notable bright spots include an **improved** overall limit on itemized deductions, reforms to the **corporate charitable** deduction, and a series of stricter tax credit eligibility rules to reduce fraud and **limit access by some non-US citizens** or permanent residents. The bill could be improved by repealing a much longer list of existing tax preferences, including complete repeal of the Inflation Reduction Act.

The Bad Stuff

Unlike the 2017 tax bill, which broadened the tax base by reducing special interest subsidies to offset lower tax rates,

this bill goes in the opposite direction. It adds or expands **at least 20** tax credits, deductions, and exclusions. Each one entails fiscal costs, adds complexity, opens new avenues for tax avoidance, and delivers little in the way of long-term growth. Worse, the cost of these provisions crowds out the fiscal space needed to make the most pro-growth provisions permanent.

The bill includes a three-fold increase to the existing $10,000 **state and local tax (SALT) deduction** cap (which is likely to increase further), expanding a federal subsidy to high-income taxpayers, and creating incentives for high-tax states to raise their taxes further.

Trump's **campaign pledges** to exempt from tax tips and overtime pay are included with modest guardrails, as is a $4,000 expansion to the deduction for the elderly, a nod to Trump's request to eliminate taxes on Social Security. Each of these is a complex, targeted tax preference, given at the expense of lower tax rates for all Americans.

It sets up a new $5 billion scholarship tax credit, which, **according** to Cato's Neal McCluskey, is unconstitutional, threatens deeper federal control of private education, and could stall the forward progress states have made on local education freedom. It also creates an investment account for kids, called a "money account for growth and advancement" (MAGA account). The accounts are temporarily seeded with $1,000 of taxpayer money, but it comes with a long list of complicated and **counterintuitive** strings attached. A better alternative would be **universal savings accounts**.

The bill also includes increases to **tax credits for children**, **employer-provided childcare**, **paid family leave**, and **low-income housing**. There are also new and expanded tax

subsidies for student loan repayment, seafood processing, **rural development**, **passthrough businesses**, farmers, adoption costs, and **biofuels**, among other things.

Conclusion

The House Republican tax bill avoids some of the worst tax hikes that could have been included and makes a few welcome reforms. However, it falls short of what's needed for meaningful, pro-growth tax reform.

To make the bill better, lawmakers should prioritize making full expensing permanent, eliminate or scale back the flood of new and expanded tax preferences, and go further in repealing costly and distortionary subsidies already in the tax code.

A tax code that is simpler, more neutral, and better aligned with long-term economic growth is still within reach, but this bill doesn't get us there yet.

For a more in-depth list of all the provisions, see my Substack post: "**Tax Bill Falls Short of Pro-Growth Reform**."

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Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. And so I am going to quote from it. It says the Ways and Means Committee's one, big, beautiful bill "falls short of delivering serious, pro-growth tax reform. It misses the opportunity to make the most important incentives for long-term growth permanent and includes at least 20 new or expanded tax subsidies, dramatically increasing the complexity of the tax code."

It says that is going to be miniscule—miniscule—growth. So you are going to put Americans through all this pain for very little growth—for very little growth.

But we have also heard everybody talk about the issue of deficits and who actually does a good job of that. Republicans seem to always talk about deficits when they want to, like, hurt working families.

Ranking Member Smith, I really appreciated your comments about the fact that these deficits are really a national security issue. And when you talked about this national security issue it made me think about a review of Democrats and Republicans, like who has increased the deficit and who has decreased the deficit.

And we can look at those numbers, and it looks like Reagan and H.W. Bush, they kind of like—the deficit didn't move too much under them. There were those tax cuts. There were other things. There was a slight rise.

Under Clinton, the deficit fell. He actually went into negative territory where he brought down the deficit. He spent less. He balanced the budget.

And then we had President George W. Bush. He just makes that deficit go up again. Another Democrat comes in and they lower the deficit.

And then Trump comes in and he just blows the deficit out of the water. Biden comes in, he lowered the deficit.

So now we are going to see that Trump is going to make this deficit go up again.

So there is a pattern here that we are seeing. Democrats bring down the deficit. We are fiscally responsible. Republicans make it go up. Democrats bring it down. Republicans make it go up again.

Chairman Smith, how do you see this kind of pattern with regards to looking at it from a national security issue? Who is better on the deficit, Democrat Presidents or Republican Presidents?

Mr. SMITH of Washington. Well, as I said, if you believe that the Department of Defense needs more money to meet the challenges that we face—and we do face an incredibly complex threat environment and a lot of challenges there—then you are going to need resources to do that. And if you significantly reduce the amount of revenue coming in, you are not going to have the resources to do that.

And I do want to point out, there was some conversation about how the Trump tax cut was such a wonderful thing for fiscal responsibility, and yet the chart shows that under President Trump the debt went up by more than it went up under any other President in the history of the country, and that started before COVID.

So I know it is the Holy Grail of being a Republican that you can cut taxes and somehow increase the amount of revenue and reduce the deficit. It is a nice theory. It just never actually works.

And I could get into this whole complicated—where our tax rates are right now and where they have been, frankly, ever since Reagan, they are not high enough that you can cut them and really get that type of a boost, and that is reflected by the numbers.

And I know this is what the Republicans have decided to tell themselves to get through passing this bill, is that somehow there is going to be this magic wand and growth is going to appear, and it is going to solve all of our problems. It is just that that has literally never worked, and it is not going to work this time. We are significantly reducing the amount of money coming into the Federal Government.

So if you want to spend money on anything—and I understand. I mean, if you don't want to spend as much money on entitlements or whatever you want to call them, that is a policy argument, and if you are going to say, look, I don't want the taxes so I am not going to pay for that.

But if you really want to meet national security needs, that is, I don't know, what is it, roughly 12 percent of the budget I think is defense, and you are going to significantly reduce the amount of revenue available, you are just—you are not going to get there.

And, again, it is this myth that if you cut taxes you are going to get more money than you would have gotten if you hadn't.

Now, by and large, revenue goes up year to year because of population growth and all of that, but it goes up by less if you reduce the amount of revenue that you are collecting. And that leaves you in a weakened position to fund absolutely anything that you want to fund, and that certainly includes defense, which, again, is about 12 percent of the Federal budget.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Thank you, Ranking Member.

And, Chairman Arrington, you actually said earlier the best predictor is past performance. And I think that the chart, which shows that deficits have gone down during Democrat Presidents and gone up during Republican Presidents, is an incredible predictor of future performances.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Except it is not true. I mean, if you want me to respond, I can, but if not, that is okay, but it is not true. So you mentioned my name. I just want to get that out.

By the way, President Biden, under his tenure, increased the deficit by almost twice as much when you look at the partisan—not bipartisan—legislation in an unprecedented pandemic. Okay? We all voted for the trillions of dollars in that timeframe, but the $2 trillion in additional spending, purely Democrat, not a single Republican. A trillion was still unspent, and then, as I mentioned, $2 trillion in executive action.

That is not even including the $5 trillion in additional cost or deficit spending because of the tripling of the interest payments on the debt by President Biden during his administration.

So it is not—it is just not true. We all have contributed. I mean, both parties have. There is no question, and there are structural problems in the budget that are promises made that we have not been willing to fund by either saving money through cuts or raising revenue.

So what we have done is we have deferred the tax on our children, and we are going to stick them with the bill.

So there is not a profile in courage in this town on either side in terms of the parties, but to be clear, President Trump, President Biden, if you add it up, it is—and, again, nobody should get a gold star or Nobel Prize for it, but I don't believe that to be true, okay, with all due respect.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. So thank you very much.

Mr. ARRINGTON. Thanks for the indulgence.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. I think that, once again, the numbers speak for themselves.

And, Ranking Member Boyle, do you want to add anything in regards to what is going to happen with the deficit and what we have seen in the past.

And then I want to move on to Financial Services, because I think that there are some serious issues there.

Mr. BOYLE. I don't think I need to, especially given the hour. I don't know whether to say how late it is or how early it is.

But as I have said before, I mean, it is a pretty long list. In fact, when I mentioned the list of organizations from left, right, center, and nonpartisan who all say that this adds considerably to our deficit and our debt, I actually didn't include the right-of-center Cato Institute. That is obviously another organization that has also attacked this legislation because of its adding trillions to our national debt.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. And I think that comes back to there are different ways in which you want to attack the deficit. Republicans just want to cut programs that Americans rely on. Democrats actually look at there is a revenue source.

But another thing, because Republicans are always "fiscal responsibility," and then they always use this term "regulations," regulations are bad.

The reality is regulations are how we keep people healthy so that we don't have contaminated food, it is how we make sure workers stay safe, and it is also how we make sure that consumers are protected. Because the reality is the biggest corporations, the biggest banks, the biggest manufacturers, they are motivated solely by profit, and that is their job.

So it is government's job to make sure we come in and regulate the worst excesses. And you know what? Americans don't feel like anybody is fighting for them. They feel like they are being left behind.

And the reality is what Republicans are doing to those organizations that are supposed to be fighting for the working families, for the consumers, they are getting rid of them. They are getting rid of them by starving them.

And that is what they are doing to the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. Let's see what that says, Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. They are protecting the consumers. And they have done so by bringing back $21 billion. That wasn't $21 billion that came back to the Federal Government. That was $21 billion that went to American consumers. And they are the ones who are speaking for the little guy.

But this administration doesn't like the idea of organizations that go after fraudsters, that go after scammers, that go after the auditors that are cheating. They want to get rid of that.

So, Maxine Waters, when they say that, oh, by not giving enough funding and starving something like the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, is that saving us any money? Or who is really getting hurt when they do that?

Ms. WATERS. Thank you very much.

A lot has been said about the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. And I said something that I stand by, and that is the Republicans have hated it ever since it was initiated, and they have attacked it in so many ways.

We have been in the courts even before this big bill. We have been in the courts at various times when they have tried to eliminate the way that they get their funding, who sits on the board, on and on and on.

And they never give up. And now with this bill what they have found ways to do is to actually cut the funding that is going to the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau.

I was reminded that the CFPB is the only Federal agency to examine the big banks and nonbanks for compliance with consumer financial laws.

And so here you have the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau dealing with the big banks and understanding why we should be concerned about them. And the lack of risk management in some of those banks and the bigger they are and the more we allow these mergers to go on, the more they end up harming our consumers, and the consumers need this protection.

And without it, even though it was attempted here this evening to say consumers have protection in all these other ways, that is not true. And that is why the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau was initiated and founded with the Dodd-Frank reform bills that we did.

You are talking about not only the big banks, but you are talking about all of the fraud that goes on in so many different ways, whether you are talking payday loans or rent-to-buy, all these ways that the most vulnerable people are undermined and attacked in order to rip them off from the meager funds that they have.

And so the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau is very important to all of our constituents, whether they are in urban areas or rural areas.

And for the rural areas, sometimes they get treated even worse, with no protection from that side of the aisle who do not consider the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau as important.

And so everything that has been said here that have identified not only the $21 billion over the 14 years but the way that people have had somewhere to turn to get these investigations and feel as if the government cares about them, it is absolutely true.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Thank you so very much.

Ms. WATERS. You are welcome.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. And then the last point is, as we are talking about Federal employees and what they are doing to Federal employees in this bill and the fact that we happen to have sitting right next to each other the Oversight concerned about Federal employees and the defense, House Armed Services, because it is—members who serve in the military then go on to serve in our coun-

try in a different way. Thirty percent of our Federal employees are veterans.

And the idea that we would not support the amendment that Representative Lynch has brought that was suggested by my colleague of let's make sure we protect veterans as well.

And one last question, Ranking Member Smith. Why do you think that so many of our military end up serving America in our Federal Government?

Mr. SMITH of Washington. Because they believe in public service. It is part of why they joined the military in the first place. They believe in service above self.

They could do a number of different jobs in a number of different places, but public service appeals to them. I think that is very obvious, and it is one of the things I have always loved about working with the military, is you see the ethic that that is what it is about.

They are trying to serve something larger than themselves, and they want to continue doing that after their service in the military has been completed. And we have seen them do so many, many places, quite ably.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. I think this idea of public service and service—I often say that service is an act of love, whether you are serving in the military, even in this Chamber.

And the idea that you are going to demonize and penalize those veterans, those Federal employees who have already done so much for this country is really shameful.

And I am going to just say that it is now 4:20, and I think it is important that we are on this dais asking the questions and taking the time, because this is a 1,100-something-page bill. Americans don't know what is in it. And I do think that it is important that we end up going into in reading light and maybe even sunlight by the time we get through all of these panels.

But with that, Madam Chair, I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN [presiding]. Thank you, Ms. Leger Fernández.

Mr. Norman, any questions?

Mr. NORMAN. No questions, Madam Chairman.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. Langworthy.

Mr. LANGWORTHY. Thank you, Madam Chair.

I want to just take a moment and thank all the committee chairs for the countless hours and all the staff and the ranking members on both sides. This is an incredible legislative exercise. They have eleven committees produce this much work, and the hundreds and hundreds of hours that have gone into the construction of our reconciliation. So I just want to show my gratitude there.

I would also like to yield a moment to the gentleman from Georgia, Mr. Scott.

Mr. SCOTT. Madam Chair, I just ask unanimous consent to add an article to the record. The title of the article is "Clinton Signs 'Welfare to Work' Bill, August 22, 1996."

The CHAIRWOMAN. Without objection.

[The information follows:]

POLITICO

Clinton signs 'Welfare to Work' bill, Aug. 22, 1996

President Clinton hugs former welfare recipient Lillie Harden, of Little Rock, Arkansas, in the Rose Garden of the White House on Aug. 22, 1996, where he signed legislation overhauling America's welfare system. | Denis Paquin/AP Photo

By **ANDREW GLASS**
08/22/2018 12:09 AM EDT

After having vetoed two welfare reform bills, on this day in 1996 President Bill Clinton signed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act. The legislation substantially reconstructed the nation's welfare system by giving state governments more autonomy over welfare services while also reducing the federal government's role.

Drafted by Rep. John Kasich (R-Ohio) in a GOP-controlled Congress, the act ended welfare as an entitlement program; required recipients to begin working after two years of receiving benefits; placed a lifetime limit of five years on benefits paid by federal funds; sought to encourage two-parent families and to discourage out-of-wedlock births; enhanced enforcement of child support, and required state professional and occupational licenses to be withheld from undocumented immigrants.

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In his 1992 presidential campaign, Clinton pledged to reform the welfare system, adding changes such as work requirements for recipients. However, by 1994, the Clinton administration spent much of its legislative energy on a vain effort to enact universal health care; no plan emerged on welfare reform.

The political calculus changed when the Republican emerged victorious in the 1994 midterm contests and elected Rep. Newt Gingrich of Georgia as the House speaker.

Clinton and Gingrich negotiated over reform legislation in private meetings. Previously, Clinton had sought to cut a deal with Sen. Trent Lott, (R-Miss.), the majority whip, but failed to do so. Meantime, Gingrich persuaded the more conservative members of his caucus to support the “welfare to work” approach.

Clinton found the legislation that emerged from Capitol Hill more conservative than he would have preferred. However, with his reelection campaign in high gear, he decided it was too politically risky for him to veto yet another welfare reform bill. As he signed the measure into law, Clinton said that it "gives us a chance we haven't had before to break the cycle of dependency that has existed for millions and millions of our fellow citizens, exiling them from the world of work. It gives structure, meaning and dignity to most of our lives"

Three assistant secretaries at the Department of Health and Human Services, Mary Jo Bane, Peter Edelman, and Wendell Primus, resigned to protest the new law. According to Edelman, the welfare reform law destroyed the federal safety net by increasing poverty, lowering income for single mothers, moving people from welfare into homeless shelters, and leaving states free to eliminate welfare entirely.

While it moved mothers from welfare to work, many of them were not making enough money to thrive, Edelman argued. Others, he said, were pushed off welfare rolls because they didn't show up for an appointment, because they could not get to an appointment for lack of child care or because they were not notified.

Welfare and poverty rates both declined during the late 1990s, however, leading some observers to view the legislation as a success.

SOURCE: "THIS DAY IN PRESIDENTIAL HISTORY," BY PAUL BRANDUS (2008)

FILED UNDER: WELFARE REFORM, THIS DAY IN POLITICS, WELFARE

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Mr. SCOTT. And I would just point out to my colleagues that the same complaints about that piece of legislation came from people on the left, including from the Clinton administration, where he had people actually resign in protest.

And the article ends with the statement: "Welfare and poverty rates both declined during the late 1990s, however, leading some observers to view the legislation as a success."

And certainly the welfare-to-work signed under Bill Clinton was a success, and we believe that this one will be as well.

With that, I yield.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Griffith.

Mr. LANGWORTHY. And I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Oh, I am sorry, Mr. Langworthy. Thank you.

Mr. GRIFFITH. I don't have any questions of these witnesses.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you very much.

Seeing no further discussion or questions, our panel is dismissed. Thank you very much.

And I also want to add my thanks to the staff. I appreciate Mr. Langworthy bringing that up. We can't do our jobs without our staff, and I appreciate all of them being here too.

The CHAIRWOMAN. I now welcome our second panel, Chairman Green and Representative Thompson from the Committee on Homeland Security; Chairman Jordan and Representative Raskin from the Committee on the Judiciary; Chairman Westerman and Representative Huffman from the Committee on Natural Resources; and Chairman Graves and Representative Larsen from the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

Your full statement will be submitted for the record. We ask that you summarize your statement in 5 minutes.

Chairman Green, I welcome your testimony.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. MARK E. GREEN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF TENNESSEE

Mr. GREEN. Thank you, Chairwoman Foxx, Ranking Member McGovern, and members of the Rules Committee. I am pleased to be here with you this morning.

From day one of their administration, former President Biden and Vice President Harris systematically and intentionally dismantled America's border security and gutted interior immigration enforcement, sending a clear message to the world that our borders were wide open.

The consequences were staggering. U.S. Customs and Border Protection recorded roughly 13 million encounters of inadmissible aliens and gotaways, not counting the unknown gotaways. That number four times what happened in the first Trump administration.

Border Patrol agents were overwhelmed and demoralized, and they were tasked to process and release tens of thousands of illegal immigrants every month.

Apprehensions of individuals on the terrorist watch list illegally crossing the southwest border spiked from 11 during the 4 years of the Trump administration to 385 between fiscal year 2021 and 2024.

Illicit narcotics, especially fentanyl, surged across the southwest border, contributing to a national overdose crisis.

ICE agents were effectively prevented from doing their jobs, and deportations plummeted to historic lows.

But the tide has turned. President Trump was decisively elected in large part because he promised to fix the self-inflicted crisis created by the prior administration.

Now Border Patrol agents have returned to the front lines, empowered to enforce the law. Scores of criminal aliens are being detained and deported. And law and order is finally returning to our communities.

The numbers make it clear: President Trump's approach to actually enforcing our laws works. Apprehensions at our borders have plummeted to never-before-seen levels.

For example, monthly encounters at the southwest border dropped over 97 percent, from a record high of over 301,000 in December of 2023 to less than 8,400 in April of this year.

The Trump administration is keeping its promises, and now we in Congress need to keep ours.

Just like the President, every Republican ran on securing our border and enforcing our laws. If we fail to provide the necessary funding to the Department of Homeland Security to secure our border and restore law and order, we will show ourselves to be unworthy of the trust placed in us.

Every budget recommendation that my committee advanced for inclusion in this bill is critical to maintaining the momentum that we have achieved so far.

First, Title VI of this bill provides over $46 billion to finish construction of a strategically placed border barrier system. This system includes not only just steel and concrete bollards, but a full suite of technology and infrastructure, such as lights, sensors, cameras, and access roads, giving agents the tools they need to secure the border and do their job safely and effectively.

Ninety percent of Border Patrol agents agree that a strategically based border wall system is a key part of their toolkit.

Who are we as politicians, sitting in our air-conditioned offices, to deny them this invaluable resource they say they need?

Our reconciliation package also provides $5 billion to improve and modernize Customs and Border Protection checkpoints and facilities. These checkpoints are critical to the border security mission.

Reconciliation funding will also be used to invest in frontline personnel by providing more than $7 billion to increase the number of Border Patrol agents, Customs and Border Protection officers, air and marine agents, support staff, and eligible retired agents and officers.

Without immediate and sustained investment in workforce expansion and retention, CBP risks further erosion of both effectiveness and morale, endangering not only border security but also the well-being of those sworn to protect it.

Title VI also invests in cutting-edge technology to help agents and officers interdict illicit contraband and drugs like fentanyl. As cartel tactics evolve, Congress must provide CBP with the cutting-

edge technology they need to carry out President Trump's successful border security agenda.

Our bill invests over $5 billion in modernizing and enhancing our border security and surveillance technologies, drones, ground sensors, enhanced communications systems, and surveillance towers at and between ports of entry.

The bill will also provide $450 million to Operation Stonegarden, a grant program designed to help border States and local communities enhance their own security.

Republicans are focused on what actually matters: Providing proper funding so that DHS law enforcement can carry out their border security mission, protect our country, and secure the homeland.

We have a historic opportunity to make the country we love safer and more secure. Let's keep our promises and get reconciliation done.

I yield.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Chairman Green.

Mr. Thompson, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. BENNIE G. THOMPSON, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Chairwoman Foxx, Ranking Member McGovern, members of the Rules Committee, I normally use this time to thank you for the opportunity to discuss this bill, but this dead-of-night hearing is one of the most shameful games I have ever seen played on the American public in my nearly 60 years of public service.

The homeland security title of this scam of a bill was developed without any of the standard oversight and discussion with the Department of Homeland Security that would normally go along with funding numbers so big.

The bill recklessly throws an enormous amount of taxpayer money at the border to buy the votes of Republicans who are reluctant to support the massive billionaire tax giveaways and devastating healthcare cuts that really motivate this piece of legislation.

In other words, the homeland security title of the bill is like putting lipstick on a pig.

But in many ways, the reality of these nine pages of legislative text is even worse than that because it steals money from the American taxpayer and gives it to the Trump administration to decimate DHS and attack the Constitution.

President Trump and Secretary Noem are unconstitutionally dismantling DHS and making us less safe in the process.

They are firing hundreds of civil servants, freezing grants, eliminating the watchdogs who protect Americans, and failing to respond to natural disasters across the country.

Several of you have natural disasters ongoing in your district and you have weekly requests for approval of other natural disasters.

Under Trump and Noem, DHS is detaining and deporting American children with cancer, punishing students for engaging in pro-

tected First Amendment activity, and denying due process to individuals, including those in the country legally.

When the Trump administration spends its resources harassing, rounding up, and deporting American citizens, legal permanent residents, and international students in the name of border security, it is ignoring real threats from terrorism, domestic violent extremism, and gun violence.

Just last weekend, a fertility clinic in Palm Springs, California, was bombed in a domestic terrorist attack.

Domestic violent extremism represents one of the biggest threats to the homeland, and this bill doesn't spend a dime on it.

It does, however, spend $46.5 billion on Trump's failed border wall, which, I may remind this committee, Trump originally said Mexico would pay for. That amount for the failed border wall is ten times what the bill spends on Customs and Border Protection personnel, and it nearly doubles what the armed services title of the bill dedicates to the technologically complex, so-called Golden Dome domestic missile defense program.

If the Trump administration's cruel policies alone have been as successful as Secretary Noem and Chairman Green like to claim, why are billions and billions of additional funds necessary at all?

We got some insight into that question last week when Secretary Noem took a break from her costume changes and photo ops to ask the Appropriations Committee for a new $50 million private jet.

See, Rolexes are not enough for our made-for-TV Secretary of Homeland Security. She needs a new Gulfstream V, too. Never mind that the Coast Guard has much older equipment in service they use daily for lifesaving missions. Those aircraft should be replaced first.

This reconciliation package allows the Homeland Security Department to create a slush fund that enables the worst excesses of this administration, like private jets for the Secretary and securing the President's multimillion-dollar golfing vacations at his branded properties.

This bill may be big, but it is far from beautiful. In fact, it is beyond irresponsible.

Earlier, I described the homeland security portion of this bill as putting lipstick on a pig. I come from an agricultural district as well as a part of the country, so let me use another farming analogy to wrap up.

We may be here in the dead of night, but you do not need the light of day to smell manure. The American people are not going to be fooled by any middle-of-the-night manure slinging here.

As my dear friend Congresswoman Dina Titus once said in a Homeland Security Committee markup, "You can't shovel shit and call it sugar."

The American people—our constituents—they won't make mistake what is being shoveled in this room tonight, because it stinks to high heaven.

I yield back.

[The statement of Mr. Thompson of Mississippi follows:]

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STATEMENT OF

RANKING MEMBER BENNIE G. THOMPSON

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON RULES

MAY 21, 2025

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The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Representative Thompson.

Representative Jordan, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. JIM JORDAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF OHIO

Mr. JORDAN. Thank you. Madam Chair, Ranking Member McGovern, members of the committee, thank you for the chance to speak today.

Four years and 4 months ago yesterday, the Biden administration made the decision—made three decisions—that led to the situation we saw unfold over their administration.

They decided on day one, intentionally, deliberately, in a premeditated fashion, they said, no longer will we have the Remain in Mexico policy, no longer will we build the wall, and when an illegal migrant gets here they will not be detained, they will be released.

And as a result of those three decisions, 8 million individuals came into our country in the course of the Biden administration.

This legislation that we put together, working closely with Chairman Green and his committee, we think will help alleviate and correct the situation that they deliberately, intentionally allowed to happen back 4 years ago.

I won't read through my testimony. I will just say this. We focused on sort of three things.

First of all, I am proud of our committee's work in that the Budget Committee tasked us to spend $110 billion over the timeframe. Instead we wound up spending, allocating resources of about $81 billion over that timeframe. And we initially weren't tasked with raising any revenue, but we did in our bill with $66 billion in revenue raised.

So we netted out at a much better position than what we were initially allocated to do—or instructed to do, I should say—by the Budget Committee.

The resources we have in this bill, in short, will allow for 10,000 new ICE agents, 100,000 new detention beds, and the resources for the repatriation of a million migrants over the course of the Trump administration.

And, finally, I would say, we adopted a principle with the revenue which said, instead of the American taxpayer footing the bill for migrants and aliens who come to our country, we think there should be fees on those individuals to help deal with the processing and the security of our border.

So a simple, kind of a fundamental change in thinking, I think, that we adopted at the Judiciary Committee. Let's have the individual applying for the visa, the person who wants to come and enter the greatest country in history, we think they should pay the costs for the processing and for the security of our border. And that is why we were able to raise the revenue that we did in the legislation.

And with that, I would yield back. I look forward to questions.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Representative Jordan.

Representative Raskin, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. JAMIE RASKIN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MARYLAND

Mr. RASKIN. Thank you, Madam Chair, Mr. McGovern, distinguished members of the committee.

In the House Judiciary Committee, which is supposed to protect the civil liberties and the civil rights of the people, House Republicans want to hand Donald Trump a blank check to keep violating the Constitution, supporting criminals like the 1,600 insurrectionists and rioters he pardoned, and trampling the rights of the American people.

In the first 120 days, we have seen Federal courts all over the land issue an astounding 155 preliminary injunctions and temporary restraining orders against the administration's matchless onslaught of lawless executive orders and executive actions. That is more orders than have been issued against all other Presidential administrations in the same period in American history put together. And I would love to take you through all them, but we obviously don't have the time.

But last week the Supreme Court heard oral argument on President Trump's first executive order purporting to nullify birthright citizenship in America. That has been struck down by four different district court judges, an Obama judge, a Biden judge, a Reagan judge, and a Bush judge.

And the Reagan judge wrote the most blistering opinion of all. He said that of his four decades on the bench this was the easiest case he had ever seen because it was such a blatantly unconstitutional executive order.

It collides with the very first sentence of the 14th Amendment, which says, "All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States."

So you don't have to be a lawyer to understand that. You just have to know how to read.

And so all of these courts across the land—Republican judges, Democratic judges, appeals court judges, district judges—are striking down the lawlessness of Donald Trump and his emerging gangster state.

They disappear people to the torture gulag of the self-proclaimed dictator of El Salvador with no due process.

They sack tens of thousands of professional civil service workers, air traffic controllers, food and drug inspectors, cancer researchers, and Forest Service firefighters with no due process in outrageous violation of the civil service laws.

They strip college students of their student visas for writing op-eds in the campus newspaper that the President disagrees with in direct violation of due process and the First Amendment.

They lawlessly invoke extraordinary wartime powers from 1798 to deport people in peacetime without any due process.

And they lose in court every single day. It has been 120 days, and they have already suffered 155 losses in court. Nothing has ever been seen like this before in American history.

The administration says, well, it is just focusing on the worst of the worst. No, that is not who they are targeting. They are arresting judges. They are arresting Members of Congress now. One of

our colleagues is going to be arraigned later today in a completely fraudulent prosecution by the new U.S. Attorney in New Jersey.

They are deporting children with cancer who are U.S. citizens. They are rounding up law-abiding members of our communities, parents and wives of American spouses who pose no threat at all to public safety.

They are sending masked agents with no identification to snatch students out of their neighborhoods, hauling them away in unmarked cars, and sending them to detention centers in other parts of the country.

And they are making serious mistakes every day, just as they admitted it was, quote, an administrative error to put Mr. Abrego Garcia on an airplane to a torture dungeon in El Salvador with no due process at all.

The President is threatening media entities and shaking them down for private settlements in bogus lawsuits. He is threatening law firms and shaking them down for free pro bono hours. He is threatening colleges and universities.

They have jettisoned the rule of law as we know it, and they don't seem to mind having the most judicially invalidated policies of any administration in history.

So this bill is just a blank check for more chaos. It hands more than $80 billion in new money to the administration to do more of what we have already seen.

And they rejected every single amendment we brought to say that they should not be deporting U.S. citizens. Our colleagues didn't speak against it, but they voted against it.

We said nobody should be deported from the country without due process, to follow the Supreme Court's nine-zero decision. Our colleagues didn't speak against it, but they all voted against it.

And they want to give really extraordinary, unseen amounts of money to ICE. There is a line item in there without any further explanation for $858 million in bonuses for ICE employees. That comes to $42,000 for each ICE employee.

Nobody could explain how that is going to be passed out. We had other witnesses come in and say they have never seen a bonus of more than $1,500 or $2,000. $858 million.

Meantime, we discover, Madam Chair, that one DOGE employee countermanded all the work of the House of Representatives, the U.S. Senate, the President of the United States, and the Department of Justice which set up grants to go to local police departments across the country and victim assistance organizations.

The money was appropriated. It was programmed. It was awarded to local police departments across America and other organizations. And one DOGE employee sent an email saying get rid of all of it—and they did. And our colleagues refused to restore that money. And the same amount of money they want to put into bonuses for ICE employees to get $42,000.

They are literally defunding the police. DOGE is defunding the police, and our colleagues are going along with that. And so the Republican Party is now defunding the police across America.

So we would urge you to accept our amendment restoring that money that was deleted by one DOGE employee who has spent his entire career working for Elon Musk and at Tesla, came here, with-

out knowing anything about Congress or how government works, and he deleted all of that money going to local departments.

So this bill is a monstrosity, and it just further swells a bloated—the immigration bureaucracy. Nobody can even really say where the money is going. And we are not dealing with the real justice problems of America.

Thank you for your indulgence, Madam Chair. I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Raskin.

Chairman Westerman, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. BRUCE WESTERMAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ARKANSAS

Mr. WESTERMAN. Chairwoman Foxx, Ranking Member McGovern, and members of the committee, good morning and thank you for the opportunity to testify today on the House Committee on Natural Resources' Reconciliation Title, which far exceeds our committee's instructions by kickstarting a golden age of American energy and wisely stewarding our natural resources.

Madam Chair, there has been an attack on American energy that goes back to the Biden administration where political science versus real science has ruled the day. And Washington has been playing games with our energy security, with our energy production here at home, and we are in a tough position right now because of the increased demand for energy resources.

But thank goodness Republicans, President Trump has made energy dominance a priority of the Republican Party, and that is outlined in the House Committee on Natural Resources' part of the reconciliation bill.

According to preliminary estimates provided by the Congressional Budget Office, our committee will generate over $20 billion in savings and new revenue for the Federal Government by putting the wealth of our natural resources to work and doing that cleanly, safely, responsibly, and reining in wasteful spending.

But that is really only part of the story, because we have received outside scoring from the Energy Policy Research Foundation that projects that our title will generate as much as $91.5 billion of new savings and revenue.

You see, the CBO only scores development of natural resources based on things like royalty rates that come into the Federal Government. They ignore the economic impact that you get when you develop resources.

They ignore that if you drill a new well platform it takes a tremendous amount of supply chain to build that. They ignore the fact that it is going to employ people. They ignore the fact that for 50 years the tax revenue to the Federal Government has been about 17.5 percent of the GDP. So if you grow the economy, you are also growing the revenue coming into the Federal Government. But, again, we had a $1 billion instruction, and we are 20 times that.

Another example. An economic study by Energy & Industrial Advisory Partners examined the impact of holding just two offshore oil and natural gas lease sales in the Gulf of America per year and semiannual lease sales in Alaska's Cook Inlet, this is a plan that is similar to provisions included in our legislation, they project that

these sales alone would increase revenue by $230 million annually, boost our GDP by $1.3 billion each year, and create nearly 16,000 jobs.

That is the kind of economic growth that our country needs, and at the same time, we can become energy dominant while we are doing that.

We have worked very closely with our dais, with fellow Members of Congress, State and local leaders, stakeholders, and our colleagues in the Senate to create a new revenue and savings for the Federal Government by answering the call to unleash American energy dominance.

And as we know, global demand for affordable, reliable energy is rising at an exponential rate. This presents a fiscal opportunity for the United States to generate immense wealth for our Nation by being an energy provider to the world.

President Trump has made it clear that America will rise to meet the occasion, and we are happy to help support those efforts with our language in the reconciliation bill.

As I mentioned, demand for energy resources is increasing exponentially, and we can develop our own energy and our mineral resources right here at home.

Our country has been blessed with abundant resources, but we have this "not in my backyard" mentality that is hurting the American economy, it is hurting the Federal budget, and it is hurting, maybe more importantly, our national security. This just isn't an issue of economic growth and prosperity, but it is also critical to our national security.

Our committee's legislation creates new revenue sources for the Federal Government. It establishes a process for project sponsors to pay a significant fee to ensure delivery of environmental reviews in under a year in guards themselves against frivolous lawsuits.

In addition to raising nearly a billion dollars in new revenue for the Federal Government, it will restore common sense to Federal permitting processes that often lag for years, costing taxpayers billions of dollars, delaying much-needed development and innovation, and doing absolutely nothing for the environment.

These processes actually hurt the environment by delaying these projects and making the world depend on energy from places like the Middle East and Russia and Venezuela.

Additionally, we are investing $2.5 billion in water storage and conveyance infrastructure projects across the West. We have directed the Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management to utilize long-term timber sale contracts.

CBO has estimated our forestry provisions would generate more than $157 million, but that is just a fraction of the economic benefit that will happen if we start utilizing our resources because we are going to have to build mills and infrastructure. It is going to take workers to do these jobs that are high-paying jobs in rural areas. And, again, we are going to get that economic impact of growth and development from developing our resources.

There is a lot more to talk about. I am sure there will be a lot of questions. But I urge the committee to report an appropriate rule so that our reconciliation legislation may be considered in the House.

Thank you. I look forward to your questions. And I yield back.
The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Westerman.
Representative Huffman, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. JARED HUFFMAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. HUFFMAN. Good morning, Madam Chair, Ranking Member McGovern, colleagues. Appreciate this opportunity to testify here at 5 a.m. on the big billionaire boondoggle bill. We know that it rips off millions of Americans by taking away vital services in order to finance billionaire tax cuts.

But there is another part of this bill that we need to discuss, and that is the fact that it is the most extreme anti-environment bill in American history.

Powerful groups that underwrite the GOP have decided that now is the moment to strike: to auction off millions of acres of pristine public lands to industry, to mandate a massive expansion of offshore drilling, putting communities from Alaska to Florida at risk of catastrophic oil spills, to lock up millions of acres for new coal leasing, to make it impossible to challenge or even question unlawful polluting projects, and to give wealthy developers a new golden age of grift apparently, a pay-to-play permitting process where they can write their own environmental reviews and buy legal immunity from lawsuits, even if their projects are dangerous and violate the law.

And, of course, at the tail end of that late-night markup—there is a little bit of a pattern here in the Natural Resources Committee—a provision was added to sell off hundreds of thousands of acres of land in Nevada and Utah.

Most Americans hate all of this. They cherish our public lands. They value clean air, clean water, and wildlife, and they reject billionaire giveaways.

That's why Republicans have had to jam all of this stuff into budget reconciliation. That's why we are here in the dark of night. Republicans are doing everything they can to avoid scrutiny, to avoid even talking about what's actually in this legislation. This dark-of-night approach is the only way that these extreme and toxic policies can pass.

But Americans are going to see this for what it is, and that is a betrayal. We all remember Donald Trump promising to deliver the cleanest air and water. And when Republicans say things like that and then jam through a bill like this, Americans rightfully feel betrayed.

It's the same with Trump's promises to lower costs, grow the economy, protect Medicaid. I mean, he must have had his fingers crossed, because he's crashing the economy, driving up costs for American families, and pushing House Republicans to jam through this bill that makes all of it worse.

Across multiple committees, this bill doubles down on dirty fossil fuels of the past and crushes the growing clean energy economy of the future, increasing electricity costs for families and factories.

The CEO of NextEra Energy company, John Ketchum, recently said this: "If you take renewables and storage off the table," as this

bill does, "we are going to force electricity prices to the moon." "To the moon," his words.

You know, when Trump promised a mission to the moon, that was supposed to be astronauts, not your electricity bill.

The Natural Resources title of this bill, which we call the Environmental Liquidation for Billionaires Act, is a massive betrayal of anyone who values clean air and water, wildlife, outdoor recreation, pristine public lands, sacred Tribal sites, or anyone who wants affordable electric bills.

That's why my Democratic colleagues and I have been sounding the alarm, because this is much more than just bad policy. It's a seismic shift in who our government is even working for.

This bill gives away billions in subsidies—new subsidies—to the coal industry, to corporate irrigators, and to Big Oil, and at the same time it rescinds billions from programs that actually serve our communities, like funding for our national parks, coastal restoration, and healthy fisheries for coastal communities.

And when Democrats offered amendments to protect Tribal sovereignty, to hold polluters accountable, to ensure fair returns for taxpayers, Republicans rejected every single one.

And then they slipped in that late-night provision at midnight of our markup to sell off hundreds of thousands of acres of public lands in Nevada and Utah, without maps, without notice, without any explanation. Only after the markup did we learn from media reports that this bill is a thinly veiled and corrupt water grab.

The throughline across these provisions is clear: prioritize short-term profits for billionaires and corporate polluters over clean air, clean water, and a livable planet for everyone else.

We've seen this playbook before: Cut taxes for the rich, gut public services and protections, hope no one notices until it's too late.

But, Madam Chair, people are paying attention, even now, at 5 a.m. They see a Republican majority that won't defend this bill in the light of day and won't explain why polluters deserve a free pass while families lose healthcare and food assistance and get stuck with higher electric bills.

And the American people are going to see Democrats continue speaking out and standing firm on the idea that public lands belong to the public, not to Big Oil, not to foreign mining companies, not to billionaires or corporate polluters.

I urge this committee to reject and strike this title. It doesn't serve the American people. It serves the people who already take too much and want even more.

I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Representative Huffman.

Chairman Graves, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. SAM GRAVES, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MISSOURI

Mr. GRAVES. Thanks, Chairwoman Foxx and Ranking Member McGovern.

So the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee produced recommendations to meet our instructions by combining critical investments in border security, our national defense, and needed

modernization of air traffic control with cuts to wasteful spending and some other deficit-reducing measures.

For more than 20 years, the Coast Guard, for instance, has received less than half of the capital investment necessary to successfully carry out its critical missions.

To support the Coast Guard, we have provided more than $21 billion to recapitalize Coast Guard assets, including the acquisition of cutters, aircraft, and icebreakers, while it also funds the construction of facilities needed to support their new assets.

With more than half of the total funding going towards maritime assets, we are also aligning with the President's recent executive order to strengthen America's shipbuilding capabilities.

Additionally, following the tragic aviation accidents in recent months, this committee has heard directly from stakeholders and the administration about the need to improve the safety and reliability of our Nation's aviation system.

The FAA faces some serious operational and financial challenges due to its aging infrastructure and workforce shortages.

In response, the committee provides a $12.5 billion down payment for the air traffic control modernization efforts. This down payment allows the administration to immediately begin replacing critical communications infrastructure, radar systems, and also invests in runway safety and airport surface surveillance projects. It also replaces air traffic control towers and TRACONs and funds our air traffic controller recruitment, retention, and training issues.

Finally, we address the chronic Highway Trust Fund shortfall in a meaningful way for the first time in more than 30 years.

The Congressional Budget Office projects a $142 billion cumulative shortfall in the Highway Trust Fund over the 5-year period following the expiration of the current authorization.

So put simply, the system for funding our Federal surface transportation programs is broken, and our recommendation is to implement a $250 annual fee on electric vehicles and a $100 annual fee on hybrid vehicles and deposit all those collections in the Highway Trust Fund.

For too long, EVs operated on our Nation's roads without paying into the system, which is primarily funded by Federal taxes on gasoline and diesel. Plain and simple, this is a fairness issue, and it is time these roadway users directly pay into the system that supports the very highways that they drive on.

We all want to invest in the Coast Guard, we all want to rebuild our air traffic control system and finally address the broken Highway Trust Fund, and I believe our recommendations deliver on those objectives.

Thank you for the opportunity to testify, and I would be happy to answer any questions.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Graves.

Representative Larsen, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. RICK LARSEN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

Mr. LARSEN. Thank you, Chair Foxx and Ranking Member McGovern and members of the committee.

Chair Graves and I appear today with conflicting views on the T&I Committee title, a departure from our regular work on the committee and our preference of working together.

And Democrats stand ready to advance bipartisan solutions to support the Coast Guard, to improve our air traffic control system, and to shore up investments in surface transportation.

But Republican leadership has not gathered us here in the middle of the night to invest in job-creating infrastructure. This morning is about jamming through a fiscally reckless package that provides a gut punch to working families.

This bill makes the largest cuts to healthcare access and food assistance in American history, ripping away healthcare from 13 million Americans and taking food assistance away from millions of families—not to reduce the deficit, but to hand out tax breaks to billionaires.

Democrats support job-creating infrastructure investments. We used the gavel to enact historic levels of funding for all means of travel, to promote clean energy and to support supply-chain improvements, to modernize water infrastructure, and to build and connect stronger, healthier communities.

Democrats want to keep these investments going, and I am deeply concerned that the Republican budget will cut our committee off at the knees as we are trying to address bipartisan priorities for the rest of this Congress.

Next September, the T&I Committee has to reckon with $200 billion in investments that will end, including $66 billion to improve and expand rail service and improve rail safety; $47 billion to fix and replace aging, deficient bridges; $25 billion to upgrade airports and control towers; $21 billion to give more people access to safe, affordable transit; $13 billion for clean water in more communities; and $2 billion to boost the supply chain through safer and more efficient ports.

The budget resolution that underlies the reconciliation bill does not continue these investments beyond fiscal year 2026.

In addition, the Highway Trust Fund faces a shortfall of over $140 billion over the next 5 years that Congress will have to address.

Communities in every State and county rely on these investments that the T&I Committee provides through the bill. Unfortunately, this budget resolution provides little comfort that job-creating infrastructure investments will later materialize for transportation, for water infrastructure, or disaster preparedness and response.

The investments the T&I Committee provided keep people safe in the skies, on the roads and bridges, and when traveling by bus, boat, or train. We can't afford to skimp on or to delay safety.

The funding for air traffic control that the committee provided in this reconciliation bill is only a downpayment on a much more expensive and urgent problem that we have to address. And it has been well-documented by the committee and by multiple aviation safety experts that our current ATC infrastructure is becoming unsustainable.

In the wake of one of the deadliest aviation accidents in the last 20 years and with the rise in near-misses at airports across the

country, increased investment in our air traffic control system is needed.

And, similarly, the Coast Guard badly needs fleet modernization and funding for new icebreakers, shore-side infrastructure, and aircraft. And the funding for the Coast Guard in this bill is a welcome and a bipartisan priority.

But we also have to meet the needs of the members of the service. Where is the funding for Coasties' healthcare, including mental health? For Coast Guard housing? For childcare? Coast Guard cutters and aircraft do not operate by themselves, and we can't forget the needs of the women and men who serve in our Coast Guard.

The T&I portions also contain substantial funding cuts to Inflation Reduction Act investments—cuts that are unnecessary to comply with the Senate reconciliation instructions. Targeting these locally selected projects for rescission is a direct attack on communities we represent.

In particular, the rescission of Neighborhood Access grants claws back 80 grants that have already been awarded to many of our districts, including 41 Republican-held districts.

Chair Foxx, Representative Norman, Representative Scott, Representative Scanlon, grants in each of your districts are up for rescission.

Constituents in many of our districts have spent time and resources applying for these grants, and they are relying on the announced funds in their budgets. This unnecessary clawback after communities have secured grants makes no sense.

Finally, I want to commend Chair Graves for firing the opening salvo in addressing the revenue gap in the Highway Trust Fund. This legislation establishes fees on EVs at $250 per year and hybrids at $100 per year. These are fees that are, frankly, out of proportion with what the average gas-powered vehicle pays, about $90 per year. But these new fees represent a marked change in how we tax highway users and deserve a full vetting by Members on both sides of the aisle and both sides of the Capitol, by Governors, mayors, and other stakeholders, and, to date, the reconciliation process hasn't offered that needed debate.

The surface transportation reauthorization that is due next year is important, and finding the funding to pass that bill is a major priority. The lack of parity among types of vehicles and proposed fees and the lack of consensus among Members means that we have a little more work to do.

But I look forward to a future bill when members of the Rules Committee get to see us work together in this Congress, but this big, ugly bill is not it.

I yield back.

[The statement of Mr. Larsen follows:]

Opening Statement: Rules Committee
H.R. 1 (Republican Reconciliation bill)

- Thank you, Chair Foxx.

Introduction

- Chairman Graves and I appear today with conflicting views on a T&I Committee bill—which is a departure from our regular work and our preference of working together.

- Democrats stand ready to advance bipartisan solutions to support the Coast Guard, to improve our air traffic control system, and to shore up investments in surface transportation.

- But Republican leadership has not gathered us here in the middle of the night to invest in job-creating infrastructure. Today is about jamming through a fiscally reckless package that provides a gut punch to working families.

- This bill makes the largest cuts to health care and food assistance in American history, ripping health care away from 13 million Americans and taking food assistance away from millions of families—not to reduce the deficit, but to hand out tax breaks to billionaires.

Democratic Spending Priorities

- Democrats support job-creating infrastructure investments. We used the gavel to enact historic levels of funding for all means of travel, to promote clean energy, to support supply chain improvements, to modernize water infrastructure, and to build and connect stronger, healthier communities.
- Democrats want to keep these investments going.

- I am deeply concerned that the Republicans' budget will cut our Committee off at the knees as we try to address bipartisan priorities for the rest of this Congress.
- Next September, the T&I Committee has to reckon with **$200 billion** in investments that will end, including:
    - $66 billion to improve and expand rail service and improve rail safety;
    - $47 billion to fix or replace aging, deficient bridges;
    - $25 billion to upgrade airports and control towers;
    - $21 billion to give more people access to safe, affordable transit;
    - $13 billion for clean water in more communities; and
    - $2 billion to boost the supply chain through safer and more efficient ports.
- The budget resolution that underlies this reconciliation bill does not continue these investments beyond FY2026.

- In addition, the Highway Trust Fund faces a shortfall of over $140 billion over the next five years that Congress will have to address.
- Communities in every state and county rely on the investments T&I provides.
- Unfortunately, this budget resolution provides little comfort that job-creating infrastructure investments will later materialize for transportation, water infrastructure or disaster preparedness and response.
- The investments T&I provides keep people safe—in the skies, on roads and bridges, and when traveling by bus, boat, or train. We can't afford to skimp on or delay safety.

- The funding for air traffic control that T&I provides in this reconciliation bill is only a "down payment" on a much more expensive, and urgent, problem that we must address.
- It's been well documented by the T&I Committee and by multiple aviation safety experts that the current ATC infrastructure is becoming unsustainable.
- In the wake of one of the deadliest aviation accidents in the last 20 years and with a rise in near-misses at airports across the country, increased investment in our air traffic control system is needed.
- Similarly, the Coast Guard badly needs fleet modernization and funding for new icebreakers, shoreside infrastructure and aircraft. The funding for the Coast Guard in this bill is welcome and a bipartisan priority.

- But we must also meet the needs of members of the Service. Where is the funding for Coasties' health care, including mental health, for Coast Guard housing, and for childcare?
- Coast Guard cutters and aircraft do not operate themselves and we cannot forget the needs of the women and men who serve in our Coast Guard.

Cuts in the T&I bill

- The T&I portions also contain substantial funding cuts to Inflation Reduction Act investments—cuts that are unnecessary to comply with the Senate reconciliation instructions. Targeting these locally-selected projects for rescission is a direct attack on the communities we represent.

- In particular, the rescission of Neighborhood Access Grants claws back 80 grants that have already been awarded to many of our districts—including to 41 Republican districts.
- Chairwoman Foxx, Rep. Norman, Rep. Scott, and Rep. Scanlon—grants in each of your districts are up for rescission.
- Constituents in many of our districts have spent time and resources applying for grants and are relying on the announced funds in their budgets. The unnecessary claw backs after communities have secured grants make no sense.

Revenues

- Finally, I want to commend Chairman Graves for firing the opening salvo in addressing the revenue gap in the Highway Trust Fund.

- This legislation establishes fees on electric vehicles at $250 per year and hybrids at $100 per year—fees that are out of proportion with what the average gas-powered vehicle pays ($90/year).
- These new fees represent a marked change in how we tax highway users and deserve a full vetting by Members on both sides of the aisle and both sides of the Capitol, by Governors, Mayors, and transportation stakeholders. The reconciliation process has not offered that needed debate.
- Surface transportation reauthorization and finding the funding to pass a bill is a major priority for the Committee. The lack of parity among types of vehicles in the proposed fees, and the lack of consensus among Members means we have more work to do.

Conclusion

- I look forward to a future bill when Members of the Rules Committee get to see us work together this Congress, but this Big Ugly Bill is not it.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Larsen.

Thanks to all of you for being here this morning.

Chairman Green, Democrats spent all of last Congress telling us that we needed a comprehensive immigration package to fix the border, but it simply wasn't the case.

After only 5 months in office, President Trump has ended the worst border crisis in history by simply enforcing our current laws and empowering our law enforcement officials to execute their duties.

To ensure his successes aren't short-lived, shouldn't we continue to provide sustained resources to invest in our border-security infrastructure and personnel? And that is what the legislation from your committee delivered, correct? Hard resources?

Mr. GREEN of Tennessee. Yes, Chairwoman, this is pretty much hard resources, in addition to, you know, the personnel stuff. We are increasing the number of Border Patrol agents and things like that.

So there are some human-resources pieces of this, but the vast majority of it is hardware.

The CHAIRWOMAN. So would you agree that the Democrats have a credibility problem when assessing the problems at our border?

After all, we didn't need a single change in authorizing statutes to make this happen. We simply needed a President who was willing to enforce the laws on the books.

Mr. GREEN of Tennessee. Yes, ma'am. The excuses that were shared were many, from, you know, increased poverty in other parts of the world that were driving people to the United States—those things didn't change at inauguration. What changed was a President willing to enforce the law.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. McGovern.

Mr. MCGOVERN. You know, I don't even know where to begin.

It is 5:11 in the morning. And for those who are just tuning in, the Rules Committee began meeting on this reconciliation bill at 1:00 a.m. And you may ask, why did the Republicans want us to meet at 1:00 a.m. and not 1:00 p.m.? It is because they don't want anybody to know what the hell is going on here.

And let me repeat, as I did in my opening statement, so that people understand the impact of this bill on American citizens: This bill will throw 14 million people off of healthcare. I mean—14 million people. It will throw millions and millions and millions of people off of food assistance.

And those savings—I guess?—will be used to pay for tax cuts for billionaires. Like, I mean, who does this? Who does this? I mean, on what planet does this make sense, that you rob from the people with the least and give to the people with the most? That is the heart and soul of this legislation.

And, as we are learning from the current panel, this bill also is not kind to the environment, it is not kind to civil liberties, and there are all other kind of negative things that are associated with this bill that I think most Americans, quite frankly, don't agree with.

Yeah, Americans want to get our immigration system under control. Yes, they want to make sure that, you know, there is law and

order and things are safe for everybody in this country. But they care deeply about the Constitution, they care deeply about due process, they care deeply about the environment.

And, you know, as I am listening to the first panel and now the second panel—and I say this, you know, with all due respect to my Republican colleagues—but we just don't share the same values. I think it comes down to that.

And let me ask Ranking Member Huffman a question.

The part of this Republican tax scam that falls under the Natural Resources Committee appears to auction off America's public lands to corporations and oil companies to pay for even more tax breaks for the wealthy and the well-connected, even though more than 70 percent of the American people oppose selling off our Nation's public lands to the highest bidder.

So my question is, how does this title sell off and sell out public lands?

Mr. HUFFMAN. Yeah. Thank you, Ranking Member McGovern.

So, several ways.

First of all, several hundred thousand acres in Nevada and Utah are sold outright under a dark-of-night amendment that Mr. Amodei and Ms. Maloy added at the tail end of our markup. So, after weeks of being assured by Republicans that they would not sell off public lands, they turned around and are now selling off public lands, much to the dismay of some of their own colleagues, including Mr. Zinke in Montana.

But then the even bigger giveaway is in the form of auctioning off vast areas, millions and millions of acres of public lands, including pristine areas, the Arctic Wildlife Refuge, and mandatory offshore leases covering millions and millions of acres in the ocean.

They are doing all of that while lowering royalties for Big Oil and for Big Coal. They are offering up an area the size of Connecticut that they propose for new coal mining and also opening up areas very sensitive in the Boundary Waters watershed, the most visited wilderness area in the United States, for a particularly toxic form of new mining.

Mr. MCGOVERN. So the House Natural Resources Committee was instructed to raise money to help offset the tax scam, but the committee's provisions also spend significantly. Can you tell us a little bit more about the Big Oil giveaways in this bill?

Mr. HUFFMAN. Absolutely.

Well, in addition to giving Big Oil all these vast areas, far more than they could ever need or want, in places like the Cook Inlet in Alaska, massive mandatory offshore leases in the Gulf of Mexico, even though 80 percent of existing leases are sitting there idle and are not even being developed.

It's just more, more, more being offered up to Big Oil, while lowering royalties and giving the Secretary the authority to go to noncompetitive leasing if the market doesn't yield enough interest, which it won't in many of these cases, and then additional discretion where the Secretary can lower royalties even further, practically giving away these public resources.

Mr. MCGOVERN. And so one provision of this bill will allow companies with polluting projects to buy their way out of judicial review of their environmental review documents.

So what could this mean for communities impacted by these projects?

Mr. HUFFMAN. It means they have no voice whatsoever in projects that could have terrible impacts on their public health and their environment.

All a developer has to do is pay 125 percent of the estimated cost of the NEPA review, and they are guaranteed a fast turnaround on their approval and then completely insulated from all judicial review. None whatsoever.

Mr. MCGOVERN. So, I mean, I think this is an example. Like, I think most—I think the overwhelming majority of Democrats and independents and I would even say probably a majority of Republicans in this country would probably not think that what we just talked about was a good idea.

Mr. HUFFMAN. Yeah.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Which kind of explains why you want to have this meeting at 1 o'clock in the morning, so that people are not paying attention to those kinds of details.

Let me talk about homeland security.

You know, as President Trump and Secretary Noem obliterate due process by locking up immigrants without providing a reason, depriving detainees of legal counsel, and deporting U.S. citizens, Republicans are pumping money into DHS with blatant disregard for the administration's desecration of our most sacred democratic values.

This bill does nothing—nothing—to lower costs for American families. In fact, it does the opposite. Republicans take this disastrous plan further by paying to deport kids with cancer through healthcare cuts to other kids with cancer.

So Homeland Security was one of the few committees given instructions to increase spending, and the committee ran with this, creating $69 billion in new spending.

All this, including $300 million to pay for security while the President plays golf, and yet there is no money for FEMA to implement natural-disaster prevention, mitigation, or relief. I mean, I don't know who thought that was a good idea.

Since January, the Trump administration has held FEMA grants hostage—over $1 billion blocked from supporting wildfire prevention, flood mitigation, and disaster preparedness.

I mean, as discussed in the markup, natural disasters do not see red States or blue States. They don't choose their impact based on politics. And they often hit more than one State. Blocking funds to FEMA hurts all of the 95 percent of communities with recent disaster declarations. This should not be a partisan issue.

Ranking Member Thompson, can you tell us more about the detriment to FEMA that this is?

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Well, as most of you know, FEMA has been recommended to be basically——

Mr. MCGOVERN. Right.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi [continuing]. Abolished and given to the States and localities. Well, if that was the case, in the chairwoman's district, without FEMA's help, North Carolina would be in serious jeopardy.

Mississippi, Arkansas, New Mexico, Missouri, other States right now have disaster declaration requests pending before the President. Some of them for almost 2 months. I have never seen it take so long for disaster declarations to be approved.

Well, we had the Secretary before us, and her testimony is that we need to get rid of it. I asked her, "Okay, what is the plan?" "Well, we are working on it." "Well, you want to get rid of it. Surely you have pulled some people together and talked about it." "Well, we have set up a council." "How many times have they met?" "We haven't met."

So, clearly, we are being told certain things, but an action is not there.

In support of what I am saying, we offered certain amendments, over 30 amendments, during our section of the bill. Not a single Republican voted in support of them. Didn't speak; it was just absolutely against.

And let me just tell you some of the things.

We said no funds would be used to deport American citizens. My Republican colleagues voted against that.

Mr. MCGOVERN. What, did they think it was a radical idea?

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. And we said no to sending American citizens to foreign prisons. They voted against it.

Deporting lawfully present immigrants without any due process. Voted against that.

The one that bothers us most is ignoring Supreme Court rulings.

And so we were trying to basically establish, with our amendments, some basis that most Americans already agree to in law. And so we couldn't get support for due process, for hearings, so——

Mr. MCGOVERN. You know, it is chilling, it is chilling, that that is the direction that this Congress is moving in. I mean, I think Trump is basically telling people what he wants, and we have too many Members of Congress that are going along to get along. And, quite frankly, it is chilling.

And I think not just—I am saying that not just as a Democrat, but I think most Americans who respect the rule of law, who respect the Constitution, understand that this is not the direction they want us to go.

Let me ask you, Ranking Member Thompson: Republicans are spending $46.5 billion more for Trump's border wall—$46.5 billion. The bill also spends $4.1 billion for CBP personnel and $2 billion for hiring and retention bonuses.

So, if I am doing the math, the Republican reconciliation bill spends 10 times the amount on Trump's stupid border wall as it does on CBP personnel.

Not only that, the bill gives local police in Trump's hometowns $300 million to provide support so he can spend even more time golfing.

So we never stop hearing from you about this being the most secure border ever. So now you need billions for this stupid wall? I mean, give me a break.

What better purposes could be served by this money instead of a giant wall and time for the President to golf?

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Well, clearly, DHS funds should not be spent for recreational activities, especially activities spent at properties you control or own.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Uh-huh.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. And so, again, this is part of creating the ability to make money at government expense. And the reason I say that is, our Secret Service and other personnel would end up having to stay on the property while you are playing golf. We understand that. But, you know, we have a lot of golf courses. If you want to play, play here, and people can go home. So it is not good.

More importantly, so much of the other thing we are addressing is, we are not providing training for our law enforcement personnel. When you pause a grant, that means you have stopped——

Mr. MCGOVERN. Right.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi [continuing]. The money. And so the language is confusing to a lot of cities and counties in this country, because they say, "We were approved, and then we were told we were paused. We were trying to buy a fire truck. Now we can't buy the fire truck. We need it. We need to train our personnel."

And so all those efforts have pulled us back and make us less safe as a country.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Uh-huh.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. And I go back to the FEMA. You know, natural disasters don't pick party.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Right.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. And so I encourage the committee to look at this notion that we take care of Americans in their time of distress and danger. Normally, when FEMA comes, it is because State and local resources have been overrun.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Yep.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. And for us to move in a direction with no plan——

Mr. MCGOVERN. Right.

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi [continuing]. At this moment is not in the best interests of any American citizen.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Look, I think all of us have had natural disasters in our districts at some point. And I will tell you, I have had it in my district, and FEMA has been extraordinary, and I don't know what we would have done without them.

Mr. Raskin, I didn't know if you wanted to add anything. I——

Mr. RASKIN. Thank you, Mr. McGovern.

But I wasn't aware of this provision. Would you just tell me that number again? Did you say there were $30 million for—$300 million for——

Mr. MCGOVERN. Yeah, $300 million.

Mr. RASKIN [continuing]. Security for golf trips? For——

Mr. MCGOVERN. Right. Basically to help——

Mr. RASKIN. Well, you know, I would just say from a Judiciary perspective, you know, we have been talking a lot about the Foreign Government Emoluments Clause because of the very risky and dangerous idea of accepting a $400 million jumbo jet airplane

from the dictator of Qatar, which is categorically forbidden by the Constitution without congressional consent.

But we also have a Domestic Emoluments Clause which says that the President is limited to his salary in office and cannot draw other money from the Federal Government, other agencies, and departments. And, I mean, it sounds to me like what you are raising really implicates the Domestic Emoluments Clause if we are spending hundreds of millions of dollars following the President around for him to play golf.

And I like the chairman's point here, which is that there is a golf course——

Mr. MCGOVERN. Right.

Mr. RASKIN [continuing]. Not far from the White House, at Hains Point, with——

Mr. MCGOVERN. Yeah. We are throwing people off their healthcare. We are taking away people's nutrition assistance. I mean, we are hurting people in this country. And yet, $300 million to provide support to make it easier for him to golf in his hometowns.

And the final thing I am going to say, Madam Chair, and you brought it up: You know, please don't diss the notion of the importance of a comprehensive immigration reform bill.

The Senate, in a bipartisan way, came together and actually constructed one, because we do need to help make it easier for people to have a legal pathway to become citizens. We need to regularize the status of many people who have been here for many, many years, including the Dreamers. We need to make their status permanent.

They came together in a bipartisan way. Unfortunately, you know, Donald Trump, in the heat of the campaign, told Republicans in the House to walk away from it, and, unfortunately, you all did. And I hope we can at some point get back to it, because, quite frankly, we need that.

I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. McGovern.

I said in my opening statement that we were prepared for hearing a lot of things tonight—today and tonight or whenever we finish up, and one of our colleagues called them "misleading statements." They really are.

And I want to point out the comment Mr. McGovern just made, that we don't share the same values. That is an understatement.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Then we agree?

The CHAIRWOMAN. We agree.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Good. Okay.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Yeah.

Mr. MCGOVERN. No debate. Good.

The CHAIRWOMAN. We know that national security is the number-one issue for the Federal Government. And that is what members of this panel are talking about.

And you talked about taking care of Americans in time of disaster. And we don't think the border wall is stupid. A border wall is necessary to take care of Americans in terms of——

Mr. MCGOVERN. Well, I do. But I would also point out that homeland security is hometown security.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Yes.

Mr. MCGOVERN. And, unfortunately, I think you guys have lost sight of that. So——

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. Langworthy, you are recognized.

Mr. LANGWORTHY. I have no questions for the panel at this time. I just also want to reiterate to this panel, you know, thank you to all the chairs and the ranking members and for the staff of the committees for all of the hard work that they have put in and the hundreds of hours going into this reconciliation process. This is quite an exercise, and I really want to salute you all for the work.

I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Langworthy.

Ms. Scanlon, you are recognized.

Ms. SCANLON. Thank you, Madam Chair.

And thank you to all our ranking members and chairs for getting up so—at an ungodly hour of the morning to join us.

And thank you, again, to our C-SPAN folks who are up way too early.

You know, the question I have been asked most since about 36 hours ago when this hearing was noticed for 1:00 a.m. is, why on Earth would anyone try to hold a congressional hearing at 1 o'clock in the morning? And, of course, the obvious answer is: Because the bill is so horrible they want to hide it from the public.

So, just, you know, to do a little bit of—no spoiler alerts or anything, but to catch up from the last episode, at the last hearing we had a little bit of breaking news, a couple CBO letters that came out after 5 o'clock yesterday.

One demonstrated quite convincingly that this bill will cause the household incomes of the lowest 10 percent of—the poorest 10 percent of Americans to decrease, and it will cause the household incomes of the richest 10 percent of Americans to increase.

So it is a wealth transfer. I know our Republican colleagues say that they don't like to transfer wealth between different groups, but, apparently, if it goes from the poor to the rich, it is okay.

The second piece of breaking news is that this bill will violate the PAYGO provisions and induce sequestration, which will then lead to a $500 billion reduction in Medicare.

Now, we have been raising the alarm for months that this bill was going to impact Medicaid, but it is also going to impact Medicare. So I think that is something people have to put in their pipes and smoke.

I want to thank all of our many colleagues for being here to do what is the purpose of hearings—to try and make a bill better, to try to expose what is in it. Certainly, there are more of our Democratic colleagues here waiting their turn to testify on amendments than there are of the Republican members of this committee, who—I guess they are taking their naps off camera for a change.

I want to focus on some of the most egregious parts of the Judiciary section of this bill. Unlike most of the directions or the reconciliation directions from most of the committees, Judiciary decided to add tens of billions of dollars to support this administration's lawless and ultimately counterproductive immigration agenda.

So, under this White House, we have seen mistaken and illegal deportations; we have seen wrongful arrests, including by masked men in unmarked cars; we have seen outrageous attacks on due process and First Amendment rights. And this agenda has made the United States Government complicit in the false imprisonment of people in an El Salvador jail that is notorious for human-rights violations. Our government is now complicit in this.

And it is shameful that the U.S. Government is refusing to lift a finger to return these people home to their families even when the government has admitted that they were sent there by mistake and in violation of a U.S. court order.

This White House's lawless immigration agenda has seen people ripped off the streets and detained, not for a crime, but for exercising their First Amendment rights.

This isn't immigration enforcement; it is calculated cruelty. This isn't keeping our communities safe; it is an un-American attack on the truth, on the First Amendment, on fundamental human rights. It is a campaign of fear and lawlessness being carried out on the American taxpayers' dime.

And no one should kid themselves: If you don't support an immigrant's right to due process, then you don't support anyone's right to due process. Because without due process, who is to say if the next person in shackles being loaded on a plane to El Salvador or South Sudan is a citizen or not? To say if they are a gang member or not? To say if they are an actual threat to national security or just a political threat to this White House?

So, you know, in addition, we have got buried in this bill a provision that would prevent U.S. courts from being able to enforce their rulings when government officials violate court orders. This bill would prevent the courts from using their most powerful tool to uphold the law, the power to hold government officials in contempt.

So, of course, it is being written so that it would apply to pending cases, impeding a court's ability to enforce orders against—you guessed it—the Trump administration. And this is important because, as Ranking Member Raskin mentioned, this White House has been sued more than any other administration, hundreds of times in just its first few months, because it has violated so many laws in such a short time.

So, basically, our MAGA friends want to create a financial hurdle too steep for most plaintiffs to overcome by putting an enormous price tag on Americans' right to access justice in our courts in order to challenge these White House power grabs.

Federal courts rarely require bond in cases alleging unconstitutional actions by the government, and the decision to impose a security bond is properly within a judge's discretion depending on the circumstances. This bill would change that. It would kneecap any avenue for the courts or the American people to hold an administration—any administration—accountable for unlawful or unconstitutional actions.

Have our colleagues forgotten that we do not elect kings, we elect Presidents, and for a limited time period? Have they forgotten that a President, his administration, his allies, including Elon Musk and his DOGE brothers, don't have the right to do whatever they

want just because congressional Republicans don't have the backbone to stand up and stop them?

These efforts to undermine our constitutional order would destroy the very rights and liberties that have made America strong and a beacon to the rest of the world. So this bill doesn't serve my constituents.

Mr. Raskin, one of the things that my constituents have been most concerned about—they are horrified that the White House and Department of Justice canceled over $800 million in community grant funding, which we tried to restore, but our Republican colleagues voted "no."

We saw funding for community violence prevention, crime fighting, support for law enforcement, gun violence prevention—using that funding, evidence-based programs have reduced gun violence in communities like mine, Philadelphia, by over 50 percent in the last couple years.

So my constituents think that this is a danger to public safety. Can you comment on this?

Mr. RASKIN. Yeah. Well, it is extraordinary that they are wanting to spend tens of billions of dollars on the border wall while they are cutting hundreds of millions of dollars from grants going to local police departments, victim assistance organizations, anti-rape and -sexual-assault groups that are actually on the ground in all of our communities.

Now, this is something where I really thought we could have a bipartisan consensus, because nobody knew about it. We all voted to appropriate that money in the House of Representatives. The Senate voted to appropriate that money. It went through the entire legislative process. It was signed into law by the President of the United States.

The money goes to the Department of Justice, they program it in their Office of Justice Programs, and then the various police departments around the country and local groups apply for the money.

And there were 365 grants that were actually awarded. They were planning on it. A lot of them started to spend money that hadn't even come in yet, from other sources.

And this one DOGE employee—we have the guy's name; we found out who it was—sent an email, and he just went down a list of them and said, "Get rid of all of these grants."

So I said to our colleagues, "You didn't know about this. We didn't know about this. It doesn't have to be a partisan thing. But that is not how our system works. We don't have a fourth branch of government called DOGE or Elon Musk."

And yet, when we introduced an amendment to restore all that money, alas, our colleagues didn't have anything to say in defense of what DOGE had done but they all voted against restoring the money.

And so we have the same amendment before the Rules Committee, and I beseech our distinguished chairwoman, Ms. Foxx, Mr. McGovern, please look at this.

We are hearing about it all over the country. I think it is more than 38 or 39 States that are involved in this. These are groups and these are police departments that we are depending on. And

we are literally defunding local police departments and local crime-fighting programs.

Ms. SCANLON. One of the pieces that seems most egregious is they have defunded programs to address fentanyl abuse. They have defunded programs that address all of the opioid-abuse issues.

Mr. RASKIN. Yes, indeed, there are a lot of opioid efforts that have been undercut or eliminated because of this.

But I will tell you one interesting story which tells me that this is isn't over yet, okay? Because, when we started to raise this in the Judiciary Committee, there had been no changes. Well, we began to talk about one specific program called the Officer Robert Wilson Preventing Violence Against Law Enforcement Officers and Ensuring Officer Resilience and Survivability Initiative. It is called the VALOR Initiative. And it is for mental and physical health engagement with police officers.

We began to talk about that, we advertised it, we showcased it, and, mysteriously and quietly, the program was restored by the Department of Justice. But nobody explained why. Everybody has refused to talk to us about it.

And this is so much the pattern of what we have seen with DOGE, where they come in with Elon Musk's chainsaw, they have a personnel massacre, they get rid of everybody, and yet, if you know somebody—and, you know, as a Democrat, I don't know a lot of people in the Elon Musk world, but I know Republicans who have been able to get a phone number for this person or that person and get somebody restored.

Well, if it is waste, fraud, or abuse, they shouldn't be restored. But it is not waste, fraud, and abuse. But none of us should be subject to this kind of treatment.

And that is why I talk about the fourth branch of government. This is not contemplated in our system of government.

Now, I don't know whether or not Elon Musk has been run out of town or he is just no longer popular. We don't hear a lot from him. But there are still tons of people suffering the repercussions of what he and DOGE did.

And so, again, I would just beg the Rules Committee to look at this, because we have heard from people all over the country about that.

And, unfortunately, the logic of what they did has carried over into the President's budget proposal. They want to cut a billion dollars out of Department of Justice programs in the next budget, you know, a half-a-billion dollars from the FBI, the ATF.

There is this Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Center. President Trump got mad at a guy who worked for him named Chris Krebs, who was the Director of it, because he contradicted Trump over the 2020 election. He said it was the most secure election in American history. As a conservative guy, he told the truth about what happened. President Trump has issued an executive order against him now to deny him security clearance and all this stuff.

In the meantime, they cut hundreds of millions of dollars from our cybersecurity and infrastructure security efforts against Russia and against other enemies of the United States.

So, please, like, we have to bear down on the details here. All of the money is being sucked up for immigration, the border wall, and away from local police. They are defunding the police in America.

Ms. SCANLON. Well, and what you have described here is that, in the course of a hearing, it was raised that this elimination had occurred of a program that people actually supported, so the hearing process, the legislative process actually works.

And that is what we should be doing now, instead of trying to ram this crazy bill through in the middle of the night, because we aren't able to get to all of these issues where the DOGE brothers came in and it appears that the way they decided what should be cut was they just hit control-F-delete and just wiped out huge sections of the Federal Government.

Mr. RASKIN. Honestly, for the life of me, I don't understand, what would the problem be with saying, "DOGE made a mistake here, and let's restore that money to our communities across America"?

Ms. SCANLON. Well, DOGE was the mistake.

But I just have one more question for you. During our Judiciary markup, isn't it true that Republicans voted to allow immigration agencies taxpayer dollars to arrest, detain, and deport U.S. citizens?

Mr. RASKIN. Yes.

We had a whole series of amendments, again, that we thought would create a bipartisan convergence on the committee. We basically were looking at things that the administration had done unlawfully, where the courts had struck them down repeatedly and categorically and clearly, judges on all sides of the political spectrum.

And we said, let's put it in the legislation that the government cannot deport U.S. citizens and detain them under ICE, under immigration authorities. Let's say that nobody should be deported from the country without a due-process hearing, which is what the Supreme Court has said. We said, let's not do immigration raids in churches, let's not do immigration raids in schools.

We had a whole series of those. And our colleagues, unfortunately, rejected all of them, just voting on a party-line basis.

And, as I was saying, the frustrating and sometimes amusing part of it was, they did not engage in any speech with us. It was like, you know, a MAGA mime troupe, because they wouldn't say anything to us about why they were voting "no," they were just voting "no."

Ms. SCANLON. We have seen similar things here.

Well, thank you for your clarity on the underpinnings of our Constitution and why defending those fundamental freedoms is part of what actually makes America great.

I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Ms. Scanlon.

Mr. Scott, do you have any questions or comments?

Mr. SCOTT. Madam Chair, I don't have any questions for this panel.

I am just glad President Trump is using his authorities to secure the border. I was there this past weekend, and I was shocked to hear that our people that work at the Border Patrol were ordered

to parole people into the country even if they had visible gang tattoos and it was obvious they were a threat to the citizens of our country under the Biden administration.

With that, I yield.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Neguse, you are recognized.

Mr. NEGUSE. Thank you, Madam Chair.

Good morning and welcome to our chairs and ranking members, and appreciate your testimony this morning.

I want to start with maybe a fairly simple question. Just by way of context, as you all know, we started this hearing at 1:00 a.m. And I have been on a journey, I guess, or a quest for a very simple answer to what I think is a fairly simple question, but it has been proven elusive thus far, and the chair was unwilling to engage with me in a colloquy earlier on it.

And, really, the question is: Why was this hearing noticed for 1:00 a.m.? Why have we spent the past 5 hours debating this bill in the dead of night?

Of course, I have a theory, and it is that this bill is indefensible and that House Republicans know that full well and decided that it would be in their interest to hold this hearing in the dead of night rather than in the daylight.

But I wonder if my Republican colleagues, the chairmen, have any thoughts on that front.

Chairman Green, any observations you might offer as to—do you think it was prudent for this committee to convene in the middle of the night?

Mr. GREEN of Tennessee. I don't have any opinion on when the committee is called. I am an ER physician; I work day and night. I am an ex-Army Ranger; I worked day and night. It was 3 o'clock in the morning when we flew into Baghdad. Time doesn't matter to me.

Mr. NEGUSE. Okay.

How about this? How long have you been chairman of the Homeland Security Committee?

Mr. GREEN of Tennessee. I am in my second term.

Mr. NEGUSE. Second term. So how many years is that? Three years?

Mr. GREEN of Tennessee. That would be 2-plus this year, which I guess is——

Mr. NEGUSE. Two-plus? A couple years?

Mr. GREEN of Tennessee. Two years and 5 months.

Mr. NEGUSE. You have held a lot of hearings?

Mr. GREEN of Tennessee. I have, yeah.

Mr. NEGUSE. Have you noticed any of them at 1:00 a.m.?

Mr. GREEN of Tennessee. We have had some markups go past——

Mr. NEGUSE. Not if they went past. Have you noticed any hearings at 1:00 a.m.?

Mr. GREEN of Tennessee. I have not, no.

Mr. NEGUSE. What time was the markup for your committee on this bill?

Mr. GREEN of Tennessee. On this bill, I think 10:00 a.m.

Mr. NEGUSE. 10:00 a.m. Interesting. Yeah.

Mr. GREEN of Tennessee. Yeah.

Mr. NEGUSE. I am pretty sure Chairman Jordan's markup was around 10:00 a.m. too, because I am on his committee. The same goes for Chairman Westerman.

The question I have is why the Rules Committee decided to deviate from the protocols that the chairs have apparently established, those who are testifying in front of our committee; why this committee, the Speaker's committee, decided to gavel in in the middle of the night to take up this bill.

It is an interesting question, and I have yet to get a good answer, but maybe the third panel will perhaps provide some clarity.

Chairman Jordan, good to see you——

Mr. JORDAN. I was going to say, when you have got a great product, you want to get after it and get it passed.

Mr. NEGUSE. Oh, is that right?

Mr. JORDAN. This thing cuts taxes——

Mr. NEGUSE. Oh.

Mr. JORDAN [continuing]. Secures the border——

Mr. NEGUSE. Let's talk—let me——

Mr. JORDAN [continuing]. Cuts taxes, secures——

Mr. NEGUSE. Let me talk to you a little bit about the product, Chairman Jordan.

Mr. JORDAN. Okay.

Mr. NEGUSE. So I want to talk to you in particular about the contempt provision. So this is section 70302, restriction on enforcement.

You are familiar with this provision, right? Is that—you know the provision I am talking about?

Mr. JORDAN. I am waiting for you to explain it.

Mr. NEGUSE. Okay. Well, you are testifying. I was going to ask you to explain it.

So my understanding of the provision—you can tell me if I am wrong or incorrect—is that this provision would bar any Federal court from enforcing a contempt citation in a case in which an injunction or a temporary restraining order has been issued if security—that is to say, money—has not been provided or ordered by the Federal court in that particular case.

Is that right?

Mr. JORDAN. That is right.

Mr. NEGUSE. Okay.

Mr. JORDAN. I think that is existing law.

Mr. NEGUSE. It is not existing law.

Mr. JORDAN. I think it——

Mr. NEGUSE. I will clarify. As you know, under the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure, it is discretionary as it relates to cases against the government, right? That is the whole reason for this provision; otherwise, you wouldn't include this provision in the bill.

This is meant—I am asking a question. I don't know.

Mr. JORDAN. Well, I——

Mr. NEGUSE. Is that right? Or am I——

Mr. JORDAN. I didn't hear the question. Say the question again.

Mr. NEGUSE. What was that?

Mr. JORDAN. I didn't hear the question in there.

Mr. NEGUSE. The question is whether or not this provision is as I stated it to be, that essentially it would preclude any Federal court from enforcing a contempt citation in a case in which an injunction or a temporary retraining order has been issued if a security has not been provided——

Mr. JORDAN. That last clause is the key. If that security has not been put up. Right.

Mr. NEGUSE. Correct.

And you are aware that the way in which you have written this provision, it would apply to any plaintiff in the United States vis-ă-vis a case against any entity within the Federal Government?

Mr. JORDAN. I can look at the drafting, but my understanding is, it applies to the cases we are talking about with immigration cases.

Mr. NEGUSE. Yeah, no. You are incorrect. So, yes, those cases——

Mr. JORDAN. Well, you are saying, "No, incorrect." I am just saying how I believe it was written.

Mr. NEGUSE. Okay. So let me——

Mr. JORDAN. You think it is written different.

Mr. NEGUSE [continuing]. Explain to you what this provision actually——

Mr. JORDAN. Well, I can't wait for your wisdom. Go right ahead.

Mr. NEGUSE. Chairman Jordan, this provision would bar any plaintiff in the country from being able to obtain a contempt citation from a Federal court in a case in which an injunction or a temporary restraining order has been issued if security has not been provided. It is not limited to the cases that you have identified.

So let me give you an example. Let's say there is a citizen in Ohio, a constituent of yours, who believes that their private data has been improperly released, right, by the IRS, and they file a lawsuit against the IRS. If this becomes law, your provision, that individual would have to provide security, whatever security the court would deem reasonable.

That is not something that has existed up until now. Do you understand that?

Mr. JORDAN. Got it.

Mr. NEGUSE. Okay. So I am trying to understand why you think that is in the best interests——

Mr. JORDAN. Well, our understanding was courts——

Mr. NEGUSE [continuing]. Of the people you represent in Ohio. Go ahead.

Mr. JORDAN [continuing]. Judges were waiving this. Our understanding is, this would prevent enforcement of a contempt order if security was not provided—if the security was not provided—in accordance with the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure 6(s). That is what we put in the legislation.

Mr. NEGUSE. Yeah. This provision—so you are saying that, essentially, the way that you read this language is that it is not compelling the Federal court to require security of a plaintiff.

Mr. JORDAN. That is a situation—now the judge can waive it. We are saying that it should compel the court to have the security there.

Mr. NEGUSE. Correct. Yeah. We are saying the same thing.

Mr. JORDAN. Okay.

Mr. NEGUSE. Let's go back to my core example, all right? We will just walk through it together here.

A constituent in Ohio who believes that their information was improperly released by the IRS. I remember—you have served on the Judiciary Committee——

Mr. JORDAN. Well, but——

Mr. NEGUSE [continuing]. For many years—hold on.

Mr. JORDAN [continuing]. We are talking about in the context of immigration cases that——

Mr. NEGUSE. This is all cases. This is not immigration cases. The plain language of this statute that you have written applies to every conceivable case brought in a Federal court, period—IRS cases, patent cases, immigration cases. If you have a constituent that sues the ATF, this provision applies to them. This is the point.

And I don't—you can visit with your lawyers and maybe they can provide you with the clarity, but it is unquestionably the case that this provision applies to every plaintiff, correct?

[Mr. Jordan conferring with staff.]

Mr. JORDAN. Oh. Oh, okay. Yeah, that is what I thought.

Mr. NEGUSE. I think we are on the same page now.

Mr. JORDAN. The judge can set the security at whatever level he wants. What typically happens in these cases is he is just waiving it, no one is putting it up, and they are getting this injunction that applies nationwide——

Mr. NEGUSE. Correct.

Mr. JORDAN [continuing]. Which is a concern.

Mr. NEGUSE. I hear you.

Mr. JORDAN. Are you okay with a nationwide injunction——

Mr. NEGUSE. I hear you.

Mr. JORDAN [continuing]. Issued by one single Federal judge?

Mr. NEGUSE. We will get to that part, Mr. Jordan. Let's just——

Mr. JORDAN. Okay.

Mr. NEGUSE. Let's complete the analysis on this piece. Because, to your point, as you said, this particular provision doesn't require a specific amount of security. It is essentially saying to the Federal court it has to require some security.

And my point is that this is a deep deviation from existing Federal law. This has never been the case. We have never said to a constituent——

Mr. JORDAN. Well, do you not——

Mr. NEGUSE. Mr. Jordan, let me finish——

Mr. JORDAN. Okay. Go ahead.

Mr. NEGUSE [continuing]. And then I will give you a chance to respond.

We have never said to American citizens and constituents that, in order to vindicate their rights in Federal court, they are going to be required to provide a security when their constitutional rights have been violated by their government.

And I find it astounding—I am not sure that many of your colleagues understand the full import of this. They will by the time this gets to the floor. I imagine there will be a lot of limited-government advocates who will find deep reasons to be concerned about this type of provision, because, as you can imagine, it will preclude folks from being able to vindicate their constitutional rights.

Now, I would also say, the way that you have written it, as you have noted, it is retroactive, right? So this applies to any——

Mr. JORDAN. Well, I just want to say——

Mr. NEGUSE. Sure.

Mr. JORDAN [continuing]. The situation we are trying to address is what has been happening around the country. And, actually——

Mr. NEGUSE. You didn't write it that way.

Mr. JORDAN [continuing]. As you know, a single Federal judge gets—a case is brought to the judge, they waive the security, and then issue a decision that applies nationwide to all immigrants who are in that situation.

Mr. NEGUSE. Why didn't you put "nationwide" in this language?

Mr. JORDAN. Well, we can look at the language. I mean——

Mr. NEGUSE. It is 6:00 a.m. You are voting on this thing in, like, 10 hours. What are we talking about? We have had weeks. You could have put "nationwide" in here. That is not what it says. This applies to every one of America's 330 million citizens.

Mr. JORDAN. I mean, again, the judge has discretion on what that amount can be.

Mr. NEGUSE. Sure. So a judge could say, you know what——

Mr. JORDAN. And judges are right now waiving it, and that was the concern we had.

Mr. NEGUSE. Sure. And I think a judge——

Mr. JORDAN. And you don't think that is a problem? Even Supreme Court Justice Kagan has said there is a problem with these——

Mr. NEGUSE. All right.

Mr. JORDAN [continuing]. Nationwide injunctions being issued from one single Federal judge. That is what we are trying to get at.

Mr. NEGUSE. Okay. The Supreme Court is considering that question right now—I will just conclude here. I——

Mr. JORDAN. All I am saying is——

Mr. NEGUSE. Let me conclude my statement——

Mr. JORDAN [continuing]. Even—even——

Mr. NEGUSE [continuing]. And then I will give you a chance to respond.

Mr. JORDAN [continuing]. Even more liberal Justices have said this is a problem.

Mr. NEGUSE. I understand——

Mr. JORDAN. We have actually passed——

Mr. NEGUSE [continuing]. Your rationale, Chairman Jordan.

Mr. JORDAN [continuing]. Standalone legislation.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. Neguse, please let Mr. Jordan speak, and then he will let you speak.

Mr. NEGUSE. I will offer my question, and then he can answer it.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Okay. But you are not asking a question.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Chair——

The CHAIRWOMAN. You are asserting a statement.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Chair, Mr. Neguse controls the time.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MCGOVERN. And so——

The CHAIRWOMAN. But I am trying to ask him to ask a question and then let Mr. Jordan answer.

Mr. NEGUSE. I will conclude my statement and then ask a question of Mr. Jordan, since he I don't think wants to engage in this constructive dialogue to try to actually address the purported problem that he is trying to solve. So I will simply finish the hypothetical that I offered.

Any constituent in Ohio who believes that their private data has been disclosed improperly by the IRS, any citizen of Ohio or Colorado for that matter who believes that their constitutional rights have been violated in some way, if this becomes law, they would be required to pay the court money in an amount that the court deems necessary to cover the costs of the potential damage in order to proceed in Federal court.

That has never been the law of the land in our country. And I cannot believe that Freedom Caucus—so-called Freedom Caucus members would support that kind of principle.

Secondly, the way that this is written, as you noted, Chairman Jordan, yes, this would apply to the 93, 94 different injunctions that have been issued against the Trump administration. It would also apply to any existing injunction that is in effect today. I don't know what that number is. 1,000? 10,000? Desegregation injunctions that are still operating today in different Federal courts in the country? A variety of different litigation that is pending in different courts across the country that would be implicated by this provision.

So I don't think that ultimately it is going to survive, you know, the birdbath in the Senate, because it is clearly changing policy. I also think it is patently unconstitutional. There is no world in which the Supreme Court would ever deem this—and we could go through the Supreme Court precedent that establishes that.

But I just also would encourage you to take a—perhaps the legal counsel on the Judiciary Committee can take a deeper look at this paragraph, because, as it is written now, it is deeply problematic for civil liberties in our country.

Ranking Member Raskin, I can see, has been jumping at the opportunity to——

Mr. RASKIN. Well, I mean, I think you did a——

Mr. NEGUSE [continuing]. Opine.

Mr. RASKIN [continuing]. Pretty masterful job of addressing it, Mr. Neguse, but I would add just two things.

One, it is worse than you say, because it doesn't just apply to cases against the government; it applies to private cases as well. There is nothing in the language here that would exempt a case between two private parties, two commercial parties.

But your final point, I think, is the key one. It is blatantly unconstitutional. Because the power to hold someone in contempt, for a court, is an inherent judicial power, and it has always been deemed to say that. They don't need to wait on Congress to give them the power to hold someone in criminal or civil contempt for refusing compliance with a court order any more than we do when we—or we, at least, used to—engage in the inherent powers of contempt that Congress has against people. We don't need to wait for another branch of government to give us that power.

So it is unconstitutional. It is ridiculously broad. And it is a very ham-handed approach to what their real issue is.

They don't like the fact that Judge Boasberg, who was a Bush appointee when he first got on the bench—he was Justice—which—he was one of the Justices' roommates at Yale, I think. Well, anyway——

Mr. JORDAN. Kavanaugh.

Mr. RASKIN. Yeah. He was a——

Mr. JORDAN. Kavanaugh.

Mr. RASKIN. Yeah, Kavanaugh. He was Justice Kavanaugh's roommate. He was a pillar of the conservative bar, right?

Well, they don't like his opinion because he said, "Turn the planes around, and give this guy due process." And then they laughed at him. I mean, the President of El Salvador was tweeting, "Oopsie, we made a mistake," like he was mocking the judge. And this is a judge who doesn't fool around. He is a stickler for the rule of law.

And so he said, "I think there is probable cause to believe that whoever in the administration disregarded my authority and didn't turn the planes around and didn't guarantee due process is in contempt of court." And he said, "And I am going to get to the bottom of it. And I don't even need to rely on the marshals that report to the Attorney General. I can appoint my own people to go get them. And I can also use civil contempt and slap fines and liens on people."

So this whole provision is really targeted at him and other judges who are saying a judicial order is not something that anybody, including the President of the United States or people who work for him, can defy with impunity.

Because, under Article VI of the Constitution, we have a supreme Constitution. We don't have a supreme dictator in America. The Constitution is what governs us all. And it is emphatically the province and the duty of the courts to say what the Constitution means.

Mr. NEGUSE. I agree, Ranking Member Raskin. I think you articulated it well.

And maybe my hypotheticals earlier were a bit too obtuse. I will give a tangible example.

There was a case a few years ago—Ranking Member Raskin, you are probably familiar with this—Missouri v. Biden, right? This is a case—Chair Jordan, I know you are familiar with this case as well, because you led an amicus brief in this case, right?

This was a case initiated by the Missouri attorney general against the Biden administration for their perception that the Biden administration was engaged in censorship of conservative voices on social media.

And, Chair Jordan, you led an amicus brief on behalf of Judiciary Republicans in that case.

Mr. JORDAN. Uh-huh.

Mr. NEGUSE. A permanent injunction was issued in that case against the Biden administration. The State of Missouri was successful.

Chair Jordan, do you know if a security was issued in that case?

Mr. JORDAN. Don't know. It is up to the judge.

Mr. NEGUSE. It was not. There was no security in that case.

Mr. JORDAN. It is up to the judge.

Mr. NEGUSE. Well, no. This is the point. There was no security in that case because, under existing rules, it is not the case—under rule 65, subsection C, generally speaking, as a matter of just general practice, security is not issued—or, rather, required in cases involving the government. And that is the point.

If this provision became law——

Mr. JORDAN. Well, it could be required and a judge waives it. That is what happens.

Mr. NEGUSE. If this provision became law, two things would happen—two things.

One, the permanent injunction that I suspect remains in place in that case would no longer be enforceable. So, just for the record, you know, the permanent injunction that you worked so hard to secure against the Biden administration, that is gone, you can't enforce it anymore, because of this provision.

And then, secondly, as we have, you know, probably belabored here at this point, it would make it very difficult, potentially, for similar types of lawsuits to be initiated in the future by prospective plaintiffs against the Federal Government if they feel as though their constitutional rights are at risk.

So, anyway, I will close there, but I think it is a deeply problematic provision and it ought to be removed.

I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Neguse.

Do you feel properly——

Mr. JORDAN. No.

The CHAIRWOMAN [continuing]. Instructed now?

Mr. JORDAN. I am fine. I am fine.

The CHAIRWOMAN. You are properly instructed.

Mr. JORDAN. Yeah.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Griffith, do you have any questions or comments you would like to make?

Mr. GRIFFITH. Yes, Madam Chair, I do.

The CHAIRWOMAN. You are recognized.

Mr. GRIFFITH. First, I want to respond to Mr. Neguse's question of why we started this meeting at 1 o'clock in the morning.

And there may be different opinions, but I—when the chairlady was out and I was sitting in the chair in our meeting on Monday, I said to members of the other side of the aisle—I don't remember who was in the room or not, but there were Democrats in the room. I said, "Look, the reason we want to start is that you all will have a lot to say. We want you to have time to say it in. And if we don't start early and we want to get this done—we have to start early."

And I said, "Now, if you all want to put a restriction on the time, we could start later in the morning perhaps." And then there was no response directly to that, but there was a response that—something along the lines of, "We are glad you are not going to try to limit our time, as has happened in some other committees."

So, I mean, we could have worked out a different time, but—and it is true that we have set the clock as to when we want to try to

get this bill across, if we have the votes to do so, and that is within the majority's prerogative.

But the reason we are meeting at 1:00 a.m., Madam Chair, in my opinion, based on that discussion, was that the Democrats did not want to restrict themselves to 2 hours or 3 hours of discussion on this. We have already been at it over 6 hours. And that is appropriate.

But it just strikes me as just one of those oddities in life. You complain that we start at 1 o'clock in the morning, when what we are trying to do is to accommodate the ability for members of this committee of the other side of the aisle to speak their mind. And——

[Crosstalk.]

Mr. GRIFFITH. Now, hang on. I get to say my piece.

If that was not the case and if people were willing to say each panel is only going to have an hour, we could have started later. And that was not the case. And I respect that.

But I just don't want to be whipsawed by saying, "Well, you all started in the middle of the night for some other reason." The reason was, so there would be plenty of time so we can get through this thing, let everybody have their chance to say their piece, and then we can move forward.

So, with that said, I will ask this question of Mr. Jordan.

Mr. Jordan, is there anything that you didn't have an opportunity to say——

Mr. JORDAN. Well, I——

Mr. GRIFFITH [continuing]. In the discussion that has occurred thus far that you had great desire to say?

Mr. JORDAN. Well, I was just going to say, I think the overall legislation is good legislation. Cuts taxes, secures the border, requires work, and gives moms and dads the ability to pick the school that they think their kid is going to get the best education—those are four fundamental principles that I think the vast majority of Americans agree with. That is why I think the bill is so good overall.

And I think what we were able to do in our committee, particularly proud of, is the fact that we were charged with just spending, allocating resources to keep the border secure, but also were able to bring in revenue to help offset the cost to keep our border secure.

Mr. GRIFFITH. All right. I thank the gentleman.

I have no additional questions. I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. If you would yield just a little bit to me——

Mr. GRIFFITH. I will yield to the chairwoman.

The CHAIRWOMAN [continuing]. I was going to answer a bit ago, I agree with what you are saying about why we started so early.

Mr. Neguse said we would be on the floor between 11:00 and 12:00, I believe, today. And so starting at 6 o'clock—I mean, at 1:00 a.m.—and hopefully we will be on the floor by that time, so we won't be passing bills in the dark of the night.

But I want to quote President Obama saying, "There is a fierce urgency of now." So we are not the only ones that have felt a fierce urgency of now.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Chair.

Mr. GRIFFITH. Madam Chair, I yield my time back to you.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Chair.

Madam Chair, I just want to respond by simply saying, there is no urgency to pass this bill tomorrow or on Friday or—I mean, we could easily do it when we come back.

And so, nice try by saying that it is our fault that we are meeting at 1 o'clock in the morning. I appreciate that.

But you know what? This is important stuff, and it is going to impact a lot of our constituents, yours included. And this debate should happen in the light of day. And the fact that it isn't basically, I believe, is because you guys don't want people to know what is in this bill.

So I thank the chairlady. I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Ms. Leger Fernández, you are recognized.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Well, thank you very much, Madam Chair.

And I really did appreciate when Representative Griffith sat on the chair, because he did answer questions. He, you know—it was a lot of, "Well, we don't really know. There are tweaks," right? He kept saying, "There are going to be tweaks in this bill, and the tweaks haven't even started."

But the reality is, we could have started this at 7 o'clock in the morning and still had all day long to talk, right? Still had all day long to explain to the American people what we are doing here, where we could have maybe not forced every chair and ranking member to sit as though they were on a cheap airplane or something. Look at them. They can't even open their hands. They are crushed in here.

There is no reason to be doing this in the dark of night. I have been calling it the "Vampire Committee," because it seems like they are going to just suck all the healthcare away from Americans in the middle of the night.

I think it is a good thing that we are asking questions, because it is over 1,100 pages and not everybody has seen it. And we still haven't seen the last pages that might blow a lot up. And so the American people do deserve to have this set at a time when we are not coming in in the dark.

And, yes, if we went—you know, I am looking at Chairman Westerman. It turns out our hearing wasn't very long compared to the rest, but you started at a reasonable time and we kept going. The Ag Committee reasonably said, "There is a lot here," and they set it for 2 days. There is no reason we needed to come here at 1:00 a.m., except for that you want to push this through.

You then passed a rule that Representative Roy had to walk out so he could not vote "no." But you then rush everything. You wanted to get everything done in 1 day. You wanted to get everything done in 1 day. You are going to have the biggest transfer of wealth in American history, and you are going to do it in 1 day. That is your goal.

And I don't know if it is because you are worried that maybe some Republicans won't be here to vote. But if this is that important for them, they should show up and vote. They should be at this hearing, right?

We know you have to step out. You know, we have been here since 1 o'clock. Democrats have pretty much been here, except for when we had to step out and grab a little quick something to eat, refill our coffee bottle. But Republicans aren't even showing up. Republicans aren't asking questions. They are not willing to defend what they are doing in this bill. That is a reality.

But I wanted to, you know—I had thought I would follow up a little bit on the conversation with Chairman Jordan.

Because I need to say, Chairman, you know, last Congress, I sat here, and I saw you and Ranking Member Jerry Nadler, like, being in great—I mean, it was great. I felt like I was in an alternate reality. I told you, it was like, "Oh, my God, that is amazing."

Mr. JORDAN. That was FISA. That was FISA.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. That was FISA.

Mr. JORDAN. Yeah.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. But you——

Mr. JORDAN. It is coming back. We will get to do that again. I am working on Mr. Raskin.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Yeah.

But what you were concerned about and what united you and the top Democrat on the committee was a belief in constitutional principles. Is that right?

Mr. JORDAN. Yeah. I don't think the government should be spying on Americans.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Right. But if you believe in that constitutional principle, shouldn't you believe in all of the constitutional principles?

Mr. JORDAN. I do.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Yeah. Well, thank you. Because you actually even wrote a Washington Post article about that. And I am going to quote it, because it says, "We can balance"—this is your Washington Post article. "We can balance"——

Mr. JORDAN. First time I have had an op-ed in The Washington Post. Right.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. You did write an op-ed in The Washington Post. I will send it to you.

It is a Washington Post editorial, and your words were, "We can balance the need to protect Americans' fundamental constitutional rights with the need to give our intelligence and law enforcement agencies the tools to fight those who want to do us harm."

Do you still agree with that?

Mr. JORDAN. Yeah. I don't recall if you voted for our warrant requirement amendment last year. I hope you did. But you will get a chance——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. But I think——

Mr. JORDAN. You will get a chance in 10 months——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ [continuing]. This issue——

Mr. JORDAN [continuing]. To deal with it again.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. But this issue of believing in due process I think means you need to believe in due process. You need to believe in our constitutional rights even when it is dealing with due process.

And, Chairman Jordan, is there anything in this bill that protects Americans' due process?

Mr. JORDAN. Nothing that harms American due process.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Oh, nothing——

Mr. JORDAN. I mean, the Supreme Court——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ [continuing]. That harms Americans' due process.

Maybe I will ask Ranking Member—you know, part of the problem of why we are so worried about due process right now is, we have a President who is violating due process, who is sending citizens—deporting citizens with their children who have brain cancer.

Mr. JORDAN. Not——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. They are deporting citizens.

Mr. JORDAN. That is not accurate.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. They deported citizens' children——

Mr. JORDAN. Not——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. They deported citizen children who needed medical care. They have said "oops" numerous times.

And, in fact, I am sure, Chairman Jordan, you know what the meaning of "habeas corpus" is, don't you? Do you know the meaning of "habeas corpus"?

Mr. JORDAN. Yeah. It means——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. What is the meaning of "habeas corpus"?

Mr. JORDAN. Yeah. Release of the—I mean, I think in technical—release of the body. It is like, there is a process—you can't just be detained. There is a process you have to be able to access in order to be released. So that is critically important. But——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. But, well, you know, the thing is, Secretary Noem thinks that habeas corpus means you get to just deport people, right? That is what she testified.

Ranking Member, what are some of the reasons why we should be concerned about due process in this moment and why it might have been a good thing to actually put some protections in this bill?

Mr. RASKIN. Well, the provision that we were just discussing about the courts' authority to hold government officials in contempt is a provision that is all about due process, right? Because what is happening is, you get judges like Judge Boasberg who says, "No, this person cannot be deported from the country without due process."

The whole Supreme Court has now agreed with that.

Justice Scalia, by the way, was a great champion of the idea that the due-process liberty protected by the Constitution applies not just to citizens but to non-citizens. It doesn't apply exactly the same way, but the rudimentary elements of it are there.

What are the elements of due process? The right to see evidence against you, the right to educe evidence on your own behalf, the right to be represented by counsel, the right to appear before a neutral fact-finder who is going to impartially make a decision.

That is all the Supreme Court is saying.

And then the answer, you know, that Donald Trump and his administration have been making and, unfortunately, some of our very smart colleagues have followed along with is, "Well, that guy is really MS-13." Well, maybe or maybe not. Maybe he is Proud Boys. Maybe he is Oath Keepers. Who knows? Bring the evidence against him.

But the point is, you don't send somebody with no due process to a torturer's dungeon in El Salvador and then say things about him after he is gone. That is not how it works in America.

And that is why Judge Boasberg, again, a very conservative judge, says, bring him back. If you want to charge him with 50,000 crimes, charge him with 50,000 crimes. If you want to deport him, do it according to the law and not the Alien Enemies Act of 1798, because we are not at war.

Guess who decides whether there is war? Congress decides. We declare war, not the President, right? And you can't fabricate an invasion of the country that doesn't exist. Consult with the Supreme Court about it.

So, you know, I think that the role of the Judiciary Committee and the House of Representatives and the Congress has got to be to uphold the rule of law. And the Framers really expected us to advance the rule of law even if the President was violating it. In fact, they expected us especially in that case to be defending the prerogatives of Congress.

We have the power to declare war. We have the power to regulate commerce internationally—which means tariffs, right? I mean, President Trump invoked IEEPA, which doesn't mention tariffs and has never been used for tariffs before. Right? So they are invoking a whole series of emergencies that usurp congressional lawmaking power and end up violating due-process rights. So, you know, I agree with you——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Right.

And when you have a President or any leader just constantly saying, "There is an emergency, there is an emergency" when there isn't one, "There is an invasion" when there is not war, and then saying, "We can do whatever we want," and who doesn't even seem to know what the Constitution is, the worry is that that is a march to fascism, if we aren't already there.

Mr. RASKIN. Well, you got it. I mean, the key trick of authoritarians is to invoke an emergency exception, whether or not it actually exists in a constitution or not.

And Carl Schmitt, who is, you know, a famous fascist theorist, wrote about that, that you want to try to occupy the space of emergency so all bets are off. You can trample free speech, you can trample free assembly, you can trample due-process rights.

So much of what has taken place during this first 120 days is the people and those of us in Congress who are willing to stand up and those law firms and colleges and universities and newspapers willing to stand up defending the idea of the normal Constitution and not that we are in some kind of emergency which allows the President to do whatever he wants.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Right.

And we have a President who has used the Department of Justice to attack the free press, to attack education, to attack Members of Congress. And what we are doing by asking the questions tonight, by doing the amendments that Republicans keep voting down, is saying, "No." We are saying "no" to the concept that you can do away with what Americans hold dearest.

Every time—where is our American flag? Well, there is one. Every time we pledge allegiance to the American flag, it is to the

Constitution and the rule of law that is represented there. And people have lost their lives defending it.

And in Judiciary—Chairman Jordan said, "We haven't deported any citizens," but we know we have. Children who needed healthcare. But just to make sure that won't happen again, it is my understanding that there was an amendment that would have prevented Immigration and Customs Enforcement from using funds to detain and deport United States citizens.

What was the vote on that amendment, Chairman Jordan?

Mr. JORDAN. I would just point out, there is nothing in existing law or this package that authorizes the deportation of U.S. citizens.

The Democrats' amendment related to U.S. citizen would prohibit Homeland Security Investigations from arresting U.S. citizens who engage in human trafficking, child exploitation, or narcotics smuggling.

Nothing in our bill, nothing in current law allows for the deportation of U.S. citizens.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. The problem is that, right now, we have an administration who is doing that. So we wanted to protect the American citizens from such detention and deportation. And the question was, what was the vote?

And the vote was, Ranking Member Raskin?

Mr. RASKIN. Well, I don't remember the exact number, but I know it was a party-line vote.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. It was a party-line vote. Not a single Republican was willing to vote to say citizens—citizens—should not be detained and deported.

So I wanted to note that there is money in here, $46 billion, for a border wall. There is a whole lot more money for jails.

And, you know, right now, I think that there is a concern of the American public about issues of corruption, that we are seeing billions and billions of dollars being funneled to private corporations, right? We are seeing a lot of stuff that is funneling money. They are getting rid of competition. They are saying that Musk's, you know, Starlink and other companies get to get these contracts without competition.

And I think I wanted to sort of turn to our Homeland ranking member and say, are there concerns about the number of private prisons that are going to be constructed, the amount of money that is going to go into this border wall?

And I look at that and I think, God, how many kids could actually get a meal, who are hungry now, for $46.5 billion? But then there is this other aspect to it, as well, regarding potential corruption.

Do you have any concerns about that, Ranking Member?

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Well, yeah, we do.

But let me support Ranking Member Raskin. We offered several amendments to the legislation relative to funds being used for deporting American citizens and said, "No funds in this bill can be used to deport American citizens." Well, we lost it on a party-line vote.

But, also, the only thing we said with another amendment, that our committee would prevent DHS from removing U.S. citizens except for legal extradition and treaty obligations. And we lost it on

a party-line vote, which, basically, we thought, was a reaffirmation of what was already law.

So we tried hard to prevent American children from being deported who were sick. The Secretary told us, "Well, her mama wanted to take her with her." And I said, "But the lawyer wanted to represent based on what the father said."

So there were a lot of references about children with cancer being deported. And so we just think, as a lot of people have said, that, as a Nation of laws, we have to stand on those principles. And it is not a person's guilt or innocence; it is the due process that everyone should go through, regardless of status.

We have heard people say, "Well, they had a tattoo." I say, "Well, okay, if you are going to charge that person for a tattoo, then present whatever evidence that this person has broken the law." You know, we have a Secretary of Defense with all kinds of tattoos on him.

So this notion that you can just do anything just because you don't like it is not who we are as Americans. And so I think part of what we tried to do was to reaffirm existing law and not leave it to interpretation based on what the President wants to do or what the Secretary wants to do. We want to follow the law.

And in every instance—we offered 30-odd amendments in support of that, and we lost all of them on a party-line vote.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. That is really sad.

And I want to—something was said earlier about, "This is what the American people want." There have been lots of polls about that, about what is happening with regards to this bill. And I would say—I am going to just quote the Kaiser Family Foundation poll that found that at least three-quarters of the public oppose the key things we are doing in this bill. And that is: oppose the cutting of Medicaid, 76 percent. The public doesn't want this bill.

We now heard that this is going to affect Medicare. Seventy-nine percent of the public oppose the cuts to Medicare.

What is really happening in this bill is an attack on working families. And the education cuts—you know, Chairman Jordan, you know, mentioned education as well—we are going to deal with that in the next panel, but, you know, those are going to be hard on folks.

And, you know, this concept that my colleague from Colorado was going to about who was now having to pay—the idea that Americans now have to pay to be able to access our courts, I think, is very problematic, that we are turning on its head what we are doing.

And I think that my—I am going to yield to my colleague, because she wants to talk in this vein a bit.

Ms. SCANLON. Just with respect to that, this provision that would limit the ability of the courts to enforce their provisions, I just wanted to request unanimous consent to enter into the record an article published in Just Security on May 19th by Professor Erwin Chemerinsky. It is entitled "A Terrible Idea." And it provides a very thorough rundown on just how bad that provision is.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Without objection.

[The information follows:]

Just Security – JustSecurity.org

A Terrible Idea

By Erwin Chemerinsky

Published on May 19, 2025

Listen to Article

Now is not the time to limit the ability of federal courts to enforce their judicial orders. But in light of dozens of federal courts finding actions by President Donald Trump to be unconstitutional, some House Republicans are trying to do exactly that. A provision in the proposed spending bill would restrict the authority of federal courts to hold government officials in contempt when they violate court orders. Without the contempt power, judicial orders are meaningless and can be ignored.

There is no way to understand this except as a way to keep the Trump administration from being restrained when it violates the Constitution or otherwise breaks the law. The House and the Senate should reject this effort to limit judicial power. Hopefully recent public opinion survey data — showing vast majorities want the Trump administration to stop an action if a federal court ruled it illegal – will guide these legislators to the right outcome. If this anti-democratic legislation is adopted, the courts should declare it unconstitutional as violating separation of powers.

The provision in the proposed budget reconciliation bill states: "No court of the United States may use appropriated funds to enforce a contempt citation for failure to comply with an injunction or temporary restraining order if no security was given when the injunction or order was issued pursuant to Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 65(c), whether issued prior to, on, or subsequent to the date of enactment of this section."

By its very terms this provision is meant to limit the power of federal courts to use their

contempt power. It does so by relying on a relatively rarely used provision of the Rules that govern civil cases in federal court. Rule 65(c) says that judges may issue a preliminary injunction or a temporary restraining order "only if the movant gives security in an amount that the court considers proper to pay the costs and damages sustained by any party found to have been wrongfully enjoined or restrained."

But federal courts understandably rarely require that a bond be posted by those who are restraining unconstitutional federal, state, or local government actions. Those seeking such court orders generally do not have the resources to post a bond, and insisting on it would immunize unconstitutional government conduct from judicial review. It always has been understood that courts can choose to set the bond at zero.

Recent temporary restraining orders and preliminary injunctions illustrate this. For example, federal Chief Judge James Boasberg issued a temporary restraining order preventing individuals from being flown to a maximum security prison in El Salvador without due process—an order that Judge Boasberg found the federal government willfully disregarded. Federal Judge Paula Xinis has issued orders, affirmed by the Supreme Court, to have Kilmar Abrego Garcia brought back from El Salvador, since he was taken there—the one country in the world that an immigration judge ruled he could not be removed to—without due process and, according to a government lawyer, by mistake. Several federal courts, including the Supreme Court, have issued orders preventing the Trump administration from using the Alien Enemy Act of 1798 to deport more people to El Salvador without basic due process safeguards. It would make no sense to require the plaintiffs in these suits to pay bonds to be able to have access to the federal courts.

But the provision in the House bill would make the court orders in these cases completely unenforceable. Indeed, the bill is stunning in its scope. It would apply to all temporary restraining orders, preliminary injunctions, and even permanent injunctions *ever* issued. By its terms, it applies to court orders "issued prior to, on, or subsequent" to its adoption.

Because federal courts rarely have required plaintiffs to post bonds, it would mean that hundreds and hundreds of court orders – in cases ranging from antitrust to protection of private tax information, to safeguarding the social security administration, to school desegregation to police reform – would be rendered unenforceable. Even when the government had been found to violate the Constitution, nothing could be done to enforce

the injunctions against it. In fact, the greatest effect of adopting the provision would be to make countless existing judicial orders unenforceable. If enacted, judges will be able to set the bond at $1 so it can be easily met. But all existing judicial orders where no bond was required would become unenforceable.

This would be a stunning restriction on the power of the federal courts. The Supreme Court has long recognized that the contempt power is integral to the authority of the federal courts. Without the ability to enforce judicial orders, they are rendered mere advisory opinions which parties are free to disregard.

For example, in 1924, the Supreme Court indicated that it would be unconstitutional for Congress to require courts to hold a jury trial before a party could be held in civil contempt for violating a judicial order. The Court stressed that under Article III of the Constitution, a federal court must have the authority to enforce its orders. Congress cannot use it powers to undermine the essential functions of the federal courts.

Of course, the question must be asked, why do Republicans now want to limit the power of the federal courts to enforce orders? The answer seems obvious: it is an effort by the Trump administration to negate one of the few checks that exist on its powers.

This provision should be stripped from the House spending bill. If it remains, the Senate Parliamentarian should rule that this is not about federal spending because it would have no effect on revenues and it thus is not appropriately part of a budget reconciliation bill.

But if it comes for a vote, both Republicans and Democrats should reject it as a terrible idea. Federal courts must be able to hear constitutional challenges to government actions, regardless of who controls the White House, and to provide relief. The federal courts are a crucial protector of the guardrails of our democracy. Now is not the time to greatly weaken their power to enforce the Constitution.

FEATURED IMAGE: The U.S. Capitol in Washington, D.C., U.S. Photographer: Sarah Silbiger/Bloomberg

Ms. SCANLON. Thank you.

And I would yield back to my colleague.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Thank you.

You know, in Natural Resources, we also, I think, are limiting people's access to the courts. And that is really problematic.

And one of the reasons that I think it is incredibly problematic is, I have a lot of Tribes in my district. I sit as the ranking member on the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs. And we know that Tribes—much of the Federal lands were once Tribal lands and that the Tribal lands are also subject to Federal oversight, so that when we remove access to the court for a Tribe, we are—it is not like it is private property. It is Federal land.

And, you know, Chairman Westerman, I know you have been a great supporter of Tribal lands and of Tribes in general. We had that wonderful meeting in Oklahoma on self-determination. I guess I don't understand why you would support removing Tribal access to the courts when the Federal Government is going to be doing something that is on their land sometimes or that is on land where they have cultural resources and sacred sites.

I really—because I know how great you are usually on Tribes. And, you know, I offered an amendment to make sure that Tribes could get access to the courts, and I believe you voted against it.

Mr. WESTERMAN. Well, I thank the gentlewoman for her flattery. And, Madam Chair, it is a new day in America, not just metaphorically but literally. The sun has been up for quite some time now, so——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. For quite some time. And we have been in here. We can't tell.

Mr. WESTERMAN. And it appears we will be in here, maybe, when the sun goes down, at the rate that things are going.

The reason you probably can't understand why I would want to deny Tribes access to the courts is because I don't want to deny Tribes access to the courts. And we talked about this in the mark-up, that the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs received no instruction from the Budget Committees, so we didn't get into any Tribal jurisdictions.

And, you know, again, our focus was about energy. And I know that it was even mentioned, energy prices, going to the moon, but it must be because they are going to start at Mars, because under the Biden administration electricity prices went up 32 percent. Gas prices in 2022 under Biden went over $5 a gallon.

And there is also this argument about handouts to Big Oil companies. You know, when the oil companies profit the most is under Democratic administrations. Actually, an oil company set, I believe it was a world record for profits in 2022 and 2023, the most profits ever, $247 billion in profits. It wasn't Exxon, it wasn't Phillips 66, Conoco, Shell or BP. It was Aramco, the Saudi oil company, that had world-record profits under the Biden administration.

So there are a lot of things that get said in these hearings, but not a lot of them are based on fact. And, again, I don't want to deny any American citizen access to the courts.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. So I am glad you mentioned profits, because the oil and gas companies, I think, was at $200 billion worth of profits, but we are going to be reducing royalties for oil and gas

companies. Because it is not enough that we are going to be giving tax cuts to the wealthiest; we are actually going to be giving money back to oil and gas companies who had $200 billion worth of profits.

But when you limit judicial review for everybody, you are also limiting judicial review for Tribes.

Ranking Member Huffman, do you want to explain how that happened?

Mr. HUFFMAN. Well, I thank you for the question. And you're right; in the markup, we tried to fix this problem in the Republican bill with a number of amendments.

And even though, in provision after provision in this bill, they are going into policy, they are earmarking specific projects with billions of dollars, they are running roughshod over parliamentary rules in every possible way, and yet, when it comes time to fixing their little problem with Tribal access to the courts and judicial review, suddenly they were sticklers for the rules.

So I think it comes as pretty cold comfort to Indian Country that they're the ones that get targeted for this rigid interpretation of budget rules and parliamentary procedures while everything else is out the window when it comes to giving billions of dollars away to Big Oil and Coal and to Central Valley irrigators in California for their $2 billion dam and any number of other things. It just doesn't—it doesn't hold up.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. So, once again, because they are curtailing judicial review, it applies to Tribes on projects on Tribal lands. That——

Mr. HUFFMAN. Absolutely. There is no exception.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ [continuing]. Is actually what happens. There are no exceptions.

Mr. HUFFMAN. If you write a big enough check, there is no check on your project——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Right. That——

Mr. HUFFMAN [continuing]. And there is no exception for Tribes.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. My God, people need to know that, that what they said is basically: If you give us a lot of money, we are going to fast-track it. And you can't question it.

That is one of the things that is hidden in this bill. It is always like, it is a pay-for—pay for it. You can pay to get out of court. You know, you can pay to get out of court in this bill.

And, you know, it is very sad that, for people who do want to come and challenge, you now are charging a fee.

Mr. HUFFMAN. Yes. We have never seen this before.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. And you have to pay per page now?

Mr. HUFFMAN. If you are participating in the protest provision for one of these oil and gas lease sales—and this could be Tribes—just to engage in the protest procedure, you now get hit with a fee. It's just remarkable.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Yeah.

Mr. HUFFMAN. So, cutting royalties for oil and gas, giving away millions and millions of acres at fire-sale prices to the industry, but if you want to protest any of it, you pay a fee.

And, by the way, no judicial review if it's a wealthy enough developer that they can pay the special "golden age of grift" fee for permitting.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Thank you for that.

And I think, with that, I might want to go see that there actually is some sun out there, because we are trying to bring light to what is actually happening for the American people so they can see.

Some of these provisions, we don't have time, because it is 1,100 pages long that they are ramming through in a single day, and we haven't even seen all of the provisions.

But I am very grateful—I see so many of my colleagues here in the room. They are here because they have amendments to try to make the bill better. Hopefully we will consider some amendments. We haven't been doing that much lately. But it will be good to hear what they are, so that we can talk about the unique aspects of what could be fixed in this bill if we only had a chance.

And, with that, is there anything else anybody wants? Any other comments from—I am the last Democrat, so this is when you—I don't know, Republicans might want to say something.

Actually, I do have a question on this tattoo thing. I have kids, and two of three of them have tattoos.

How many of you guys have kids? It is all guys. Yeah. How many of you guys have kids?

Mr. JORDAN. I got—we got four kids and eight grandkids.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. How many of our kids have tattoos?

Mr. JORDAN. None of mine.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. None of yours. Wow. Wow, that is really—you know, I thought I was good, with two out of three.

But, you know, our kids have tattoos, right? So many people have tattoos. You cannot go anywhere without seeing tattoos. So the idea that we are using a tattoo as an indicator for you get kicked out of the United States without due process is really scary.

Thank you very much, Madam Chair. I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Ms. Leger Fernández.

Mrs. Fischbach, you are recognized.

Mrs. FISCHBACH. Thank you, Madam Chair.

And there is so much I would love to unpack from the last 25 minutes, but I recognize that we are trying to make sure that we limit our time.

But I do want to just say, first of all, the sun is up. It is a little overcast. So, if Ms. Leger Fernández wants to see the sun, it is a little overcast. So——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. It is overcast?

Mrs. FISCHBACH. Yeah, a little overcast.

And we are not—and I just have to address the fact, we are not ramming this bill through. Every one of these bills went through committee. They were put together in committee process. They have all been through Budget. They have all been out there.

And so ramming something through is, I think, an inappropriate way to discuss this bill. This has been through the process.

Yes, we are sitting in committee and we are working this through and we are hearing testimony and allowing people to ask questions. But I think it is a disservice to the American people to

say that this has been rammed through, because it has been through various committees.

And, with that, I am going to yield back, but I just wanted to make sure that someone said that this is not accurate.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mrs. Fischbach, for saying that, because even one of our colleagues said earlier, these bills had been months in the making.

Mrs. FISCHBACH. Yes.

The CHAIRWOMAN. And someone did need to say that, and I appreciate very much your saying that.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Well, Madam Chair? I also sit on the Agriculture Committee, and I should say, on that committee, they actually—we did not have a full and open process. They cut debate off, and they prevented dozens and dozens of amendments from even being offered.

And, yes, this is being——

The CHAIRWOMAN. We will have the—you will be able to discuss that.

Mr. MCGOVERN [continuing]. This is being rammed through, because we don't even know what the text of this bill is going to look like. And there are going to be major changes, and we are hearing about them, bits and pieces, in the news media, and none of them have been vetted.

Mrs. FISCHBACH. And you don't watch the news media?

Mr. MCGOVERN. I do, because I know you are struggling for votes so you are making all kinds of deals right now, and they are going to hurt my constituents.

So I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. I, too, will resist saying more. No sense in prolonging this.

Mrs. Houchin, you are recognized.

Mrs. HOUCHIN. Thank you, Madam Chair.

I would just like to ask Chairman Green, how long was your markup on your section of this bill?

Mr. GREEN of Tennessee. I think we started at 10:00 a.m. and ended, like, around 4:00 or 5:00, I think, 4:00 or 5:00.

Mrs. HOUCHIN. p.m.?

Mr. GREEN of Tennessee. p.m., yes.

Mrs. HOUCHIN. Chairman Jordan, how long was your markup on your section of the bill?

Mr. JORDAN. Eight hours.

Mrs. HOUCHIN. And Chairman Westerman?

Mr. WESTERMAN. We started at 10:00 a.m., I believe, and finished at 12:42 a.m., so—or was it 1:42? It was a long time.

Mrs. HOUCHIN. A long time?

Mr. WESTERMAN. Yeah.

Mrs. HOUCHIN. Several hours.

Mr. WESTERMAN. Twelve or 14 hours, something like that.

Mrs. HOUCHIN. And, Chairman Graves, how long was your markup?

Mr. GRAVES. Seven hours.

Mrs. HOUCHIN. And were these markups televised? Yes. Yes, they are televised, the whole kit and caboodle. Our 26-hour-and-28-minute hearing in Energy and Commerce was live on C-SPAN for

the whole time. So the thought that this is being done in darkness is absurd.

I yield back.

Mr. MCGOVERN. There are negotiations going on in a backroom right now that none of us know anything about. So, please, let's not talk about an open process.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Again, let me—let me resist.

Okay. Anyone else have comments that you want to make? No?

Well, I thank our witnesses for being here this morning and appreciate the time and all of the comments that were made, and you are dismissed.

I now welcome our third panel: Chairman Thompson and Representative Craig from the Committee on Agriculture, Chairman Walberg and Representative Scott from the Committee on Education and Workforce, Chairman Guthrie and Representative Pallone from the Committee on Energy and Commerce, and Chairman Smith and Representative Moore from the Committee on Ways and Means.

Your full statements will be submitted for the record, and we ask that you summarize your statement in 5 minutes.

Chairman Thompson, I welcome your testimony.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. GLENN THOMPSON, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Well, thank you, Chairwoman Foxx, Ranking Member McGovern, and members of the committee. I appreciate the opportunity to come before you today concerning the Agriculture title of One Big Beautiful Bill.

The Agriculture Committee was tasked with $230 billion in net deficit reduction, and I am proud of our product and proud to report that we exceeded our instruction.

These savings are achieved through necessary changes to restore integrity to the SNAP program and preserve the program's ability to serve the most vulnerable long into the future. These reforms ensure SNAP works the way Congress intended it to by reinforcing work, rooting out waste, and instituting long-overdue accountability incentives to control costs and end executive and State overreach.

This program is in dire need of reform. Just since 2019, SNAP costs have skyrocketed from $60 billion to $110 billion annually—that is an 83-percent increase—while enrollment has grown from 36 million to 42 million. And, in 2023, over $13 billion in erroneous SNAP payments were sent out. This is disgraceful, not only to the taxpayer but also the SNAP recipient.

The Rules Committee print includes several improvements to the SNAP program, including preventing future administrations from unilaterally increasing SNAP benefits beyond inflation; focusing on a core principle that everyone receiving the benefit that can work should work and modernizing the work requirement and closing loopholes that allow for widespread waivers; closing various loopholes that States exploit, such as gaming the system to artificially increase SNAP benefits; and increasing incentives to ensure States run the program more efficiently and more effectively.

SNAP is the only federally funded, State-administered entitlement program where the State has zero skin in the game on the benefit. It is human nature to be more careful with your own money than you are with others'. That is why we put forward a cost-share structure that requires all States to pay a minimal 5-percent cost-share of SNAP, the benefit, beginning in fiscal year 2028. However, for States with high payment error rates—that is, over 6 percent—the cost-share scales up.

In exceeding our instruction, we also were able to make several vital and time-sensitive investments in rural America. It is imperative for Congress to rebuild the farm safety net. These investments mitigate further unbudgeted ad-hoc spending and prevent a full-blown financial crisis in farm country that could devastate the food and ag supply chain and, quite frankly, the national economy.

Finally, on the investment front, we take care of a few other important items like investments in trade promotion; animal disease preparedness; specialty crops, dairy, research; and some programs with outstanding baseline.

In closing, I am proud to deliver a historic amount of savings to the taxpayer and to do so in a way that will only have positive outcomes for low-income individuals who get back into the workforce, while also standing by our farmers, ranchers, and rural communities. That is a win-win.

I have great respect for the chairwoman, the ranking member, and the members of this committee, and thank you once again for the opportunity to come before you today.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Thompson.

Representative Craig, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. ANGIE CRAIG, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MINNESOTA

Ms. CRAIG. Thank you, Chairwoman Foxx and Ranking Member McGovern.

You know, I had hoped that for my first appearance here before the Rules Committee the chairman and I would be coming to you, arm-in-arm, in support of a 5-year, 12-title, bipartisan farm bill.

Instead, we are here discussing the Agriculture Committee's contribution to a partisan bill that decimates the most successful anti-hunger program in our Nation and destroys the coalition that has always been able to get a farm bill across the finish line.

And why? Not for middle-class tax cuts, but to move to the wealthiest Americans money from the least wealthy.

In addition, this is expected to increase the national debt and deficits.

This is a shameful process that we are involved in here today.

And this bill is dead on arrival in the Senate. How do I know? Because Senator Chuck Grassley told us so.

It puts a huge burden on the States, by forcing them to pay for anywhere from 5 to 25 percent of food assistance.

Chair Foxx, the Governor of your State said, and I quote, "If Congress goes forward with these plans, our State will be forced into perilous budget decisions. Should North Carolinians lose access to food, or should we get rid of other essential services?" end quote.

North Carolina is on the hook for up to $700 million per year under this proposal. That is the equivalent of 8,900 public school teacher salaries in North Carolina.

Republicans want States to do their dirty work and take food away from people.

And it doesn't end there. This budget does something else incredibly egregious. It changes the definition of "dependent" from children under the age of 18 to children over the age of 6. Once a kid turns 7 years old, their parents could lose food assistance unless they meet new paperwork and work requirements.

I wonder if the people who came up with that policy have children or understand that there are summer breaks and there is spring break. I have several, and let me tell you, they eat more as they grow, not less.

It is truly beyond the pale, what this budget would do to children in our country.

And let's be clear about what we are talking about here. The average person receives $6 per day in food assistance. Let me say that again: $6 a day. No one chooses to sit at home and not work for $6 a day. Six dollars a day doesn't build you a life. It can, though, build you a bridge to the next paycheck, the next opportunity, the next moment of stability.

CBO estimates that the new work requirements—paperwork requirements—alone will take food away from at least 3 million people. They didn't say that 3 million people will receive a little less food. They say 3 million people will receive no food assistance. So much for claiming that you won't cut benefits.

Hunger is a policy choice. Republicans in this room are choosing to allow children to go to bed without dinner, seniors skipping meals so they can afford their medicine, parents sacrificing their own nutrition so their kids can eat, single mothers having to choose between leaving their 7-year-olds at home or to let them go more hungry.

Everyone in this country is struggling with higher costs already, and instead of addressing that problem, Republicans are choosing to make it worse. And it is shameful.

You claim you are rooting out waste, fraud, and abuse or holding the States accountable for high error rates. This bill does not tackle fraud and does not include any commonsense policies that help improve program efficiency.

And for what? To fund tax breaks for large corporations and the super wealthy.

I look forward to answering your questions.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Ms. Craig.

Chairman Walberg, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. TIM WALBERG, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MICHIGAN

Mr. WALBERG. Thank you, Madam Chair.

The Student Success and Taxpayer Savings Plan saves nearly $350 billion to help advance President Trump's agenda—that commonsense agenda—and ensure taxpayers, students, and schools are better served.

The current system is effectively broken and littered with incentives that push tuition costs upward. Schools have no reason to lower costs or ensure degrees align with employers' needs, all while students and taxpayers pay the price.

The Biden-Harris administration compounded this crisis and attempted to spend an additional $1 trillion in taxpayer funds on so-called "forgiveness" by executive decree.

Dumping more Federal money into a broken system doesn't mean that system will work. In fact, government spending on higher education has reached record highs, yet millions of students supposedly benefiting from those funds will ultimately end up with a degree that doesn't pay off or fail to finish school.

This bill not only saves taxpayers nearly $350 billion but it also brings much-needed reform in three key areas: simplified loan repayment, streamlined student loan options, and accountability for students and taxpayers.

The bill cleans up the Biden-created repayment mess by streamlining repayment options and providing targeted assistance to struggling borrowers who need it, rather than blanket bailouts for those who don't. These reforms will encourage responsible borrowing and timely repayment.

Colleges have exploited the availability of uncapped Federal lending and generous forgiveness programs to raise prices. Streamlining loan options, as done in this bill, will increase affordability for students and families as well as curtail the extent to which schools use taxpayer dollars to line their pocketbooks by loading students up with debt they can't repay.

Most importantly, the bill ensures that hundreds of billions of taxpayer dollars no longer flow unchecked to low-value institutions and programs by holding colleges accountable for student outcomes through skin in the game. Colleges will be financially accountable for the loans they give out, and schools that go above and beyond to provide high-quality, affordable, and accessible education opportunities will be rewarded.

What is more, through these reforms and others, the bill protects and strengthens the Pell grant, the cornerstone of our financial-aid system. The bill closes the funding shortfall that would otherwise result in students being unable to afford college as early as next year. Additionally, it expands student choice by allowing students to use Pell on high-quality, short-term credentials aligned with workforce needs.

We are on a fiscally unsustainable path in higher education. Without change, we can't deliver on the promise of economic mobility for all Americans. So I urge my colleagues to pass this Big Beautiful Bill.

And I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Walberg.

Mr. Scott, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. ROBERT C. SCOTT, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF VIRGINIA

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. Thank you, Madam Chair, Ranking Member McGovern, and members of the committee.

I am here to speak in opposition to the reconciliation plan. In fact, we are considering this in an overnight committee hearing. That tells you all you need to know about how bad a bill it is.

And after reviewing the "Big Bad Billionaires Bill," it is clear that the central theme is to make life harder for everybody but the wealthy.

Just consider the numbers: Under the bill, 4 million students are estimated to have their Pell grants reduced or eliminated; up to 18 million children are estimated to lose access to free school meals; and over 13 million people are set to lose their health coverage.

And what is the purpose of all of these cuts? To give tax breaks to millionaires, billionaires, and corporations.

But, now, as the ranking member of the Committee on Education and Workforce, I want to focus on what this does to education.

As currently drafted, the bill will increase costs for students attending college; it will increase students' exposure to low quality higher education programs, which would then reduce the likelihood that they would actually find a rewarding or successful career; it would divert Federal money into private schools and reduce the number of students who will be able to get free lunches; and then take all of those savings to pay for more tax cuts for wealthy and the well connected.

Under this plan, the Republicans will cut students' access to Pell grants and drastically lower the amount of Federal loans they can take out. That will either deny them the opportunity to get a college degree or push students into unaffordable repayment plans and push them into the high cost private loan programs.

Under this bill, loan payments will be less affordable. For example, a single borrower making $45,000 a year will see their student loan payments just about triple. Under the SAVE Plan, which was President Biden's final plan, the borrower would have been paying about $41 a month. This bill will have them paying $150 a month.

And if making it more expensive to attend college isn't bad enough, the bill will also increase their exposure to low quality programs. That is because the bill eliminates existing regulations that protect students from predatory, low-quality, for-profit programs.

In addition to making it harder for low and middle income people to afford college, the proposal will significantly impact the public school meals program. For some students, the food served at school may be the only nutritious meal they receive that day. And when children are fed healthy, nutritious food, they not only are more likely to show up at school but their academic achievement increases. And yet, despite this, the new analysis from the Urban Institute estimates that up to 18.3 million children could lose access to free meals as a result of the cuts to the SNAP nutrition program.

And this is just what the SNAP program does to the students. We have not received the complete analysis on what other parts of the bill do. Last week, Ranking Member Boyle and I wrote to the Speaker requesting specific data on the number of children and families that would lose access to free or reduced school lunches, critical WIC services, and grocery benefits through the Summer EBT program, all due to SNAP and Medicaid cuts in the Republican reconciliation plan. We haven't received a response. And we

should receive a response before we have to actually vote on the bill.

Finally, I would like to point out that the bill includes language to fund privatization of public education that would constitute the first nationwide Federal voucher program, effectively diverting taxpayers' money and resources into private schools, away from public schools which will be serving 90 percent of the students.

That tax credit program was drafted by the Ways and Means Committee, but this committee has put in additional language that is clearly within the jurisdiction of the Education and Workforce Committee, including language preventing Federal, State, and local governments from adding oversight mechanisms or guardrails that could protect students. I am disappointed that the Education and Workforce Committee didn't have an opportunity to comment before that ended up in the bill.

In summary, the so called "One Big Bad Billionaires Bill" disproportionately helps the wealthy, then has others paying for it through losing healthcare, nutritious food, and access to college. This is all to provide more tax breaks to billionaires and corporations.

And to add insult to injury, Madam Chair, the deficit goes up. And we know how to reduce the deficit. In fact, every Democratic Presidential administration since Kennedy has left the Republicans a better deficit than they inherited, and every Republican since Nixon has left a worst deficit for the Democrats that succeeded them than they inherited. We should reduce the deficit. We know how to do that.

And for those reasons, I oppose the bill and ask that we start from scratch and produce a bill that reduces the deficit, is fiscally responsible, and addresses the needs of the American people.

With that, Madam Chair, I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Scott.

Chairman Guthrie, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. BRETT GUTHRIE, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF KENTUCKY

Mr. GUTHRIE. Thank you. Good morning, Chairwoman Foxx and Ranking Member McGovern. Thank you for holding this hearing.

In the Energy and Commerce Committee, we had a marathon, 26½-hour markup of our reconciliation instruction. It was a unique opportunity to consider issues spanning the full jurisdiction of our committee.

We worked through legislation that will unleash American energy, end costly EV mandates, and advance American innovation, along with strengthening the Medicaid program for the most vulnerable Americans and improving their access to quality care.

Our committee was tasked with identifying $880 billion in savings and new revenue, and I am proud to say we exceeded that goal.

We worked diligently to meet the target by ending wasteful Green New Deal-style spending, supporting the rapid innovation of American industry and Federal agencies, and eliminating waste, fraud, and abuse in Medicaid that jeopardizes care for millions of women, children, people with disabilities, and elderly Americans.

To ensure American energy dominance, we are securing our energy infrastructure by taking steps to refurbish and refill our Strategic Petroleum Reserve, which strengthens our energy security and supports our national security. Further, we are taking steps to streamline the process for exporting LNG to our allies while promoting more American energy production.

Through an increase in Federal revenues, we are streamlining the siting and permitting of new pipelines to transport energy around the country, which is critical to meeting the energy demands and winning the AI battle with China.

We are saving $172 billion over the next 10 years by repealing the burdensome Biden-Harris administration regulations and over a $100 billion by eliminating the EV mandates imposed on the vehicle emission and CAFE standards that have failed to serve American taxpayers.

And through major investments to modernize the Department of Commerce, we will integrate AI systems and upgrade IT systems to make the Department more secure and effective. To protect the integrity of this project, we are implementing guardrails that protect against State-level AI laws that could jeopardize our technological leadership.

Our legislation raises $88 billion of new revenue through a historic agreement reauthorizing the FCC's spectrum authority while protecting U.S. national security.

Biden-era inflation has left Americans struggling to access affordable healthcare, making programs like Medicaid critical for the vulnerable Americans who rely on them, making it more difficult.

The issue has been exacerbated by the decisions of left-leaning State governments who spend taxpayer dollars on illegal immigrants. House Republicans make no apologies for prioritizing Americans in need over illegal immigrants and other able-bodied beneficiaries who are choosing not to work.

Our priority remains the same: strengthen and sustain Medicaid for the expectant mothers, children, people with disabilities, and the elderly. That is why our legislation stops billions of dollars of waste, fraud, and abuse in the Medicaid program by beginning to close loopholes, ensuring States have the flexibility to remove ineligible recipients from their rolls and removing beneficiaries who are enrolled in multiple States. These are all commonsense policies that will save taxpayer dollars and refocus Medicaid on those who need it most.

Mr. GUTHRIE. Medicaid was created to protect healthcare for Americans who otherwise cannot support themselves. But Democrats expanded the program far beyond the core mission. That is why we are establishing commonsense work requirements for capable but unemployed adults without dependents.

Let me be clear: These work requirements only apply to able-bodied adults without dependents who don't have a disqualifying condition, like a disability or a substance use disorder, encouraging them to enter the workforce or give back to their communities and regain their independence.

All of this part of our effort is to strengthen Medicaid for those who need it most.

When President Trump delivered his second inaugural address, he promised a revolution of common sense that would launch a generation of growth, prosperity, and health. This reconciliation bill is critical to that promise the President and congressional Republicans made to the American people.

Today we are discussing a bill that unleashes American energy dominance, advances innovation, and protects access to care to our most vulnerable.

When we are able to accomplish all of the outstanding developments for our constituents and extend the 2017 Trump tax cuts we will have delivered a generational win for our constituents.

I am proud of the work to respark the American dream and ensure our country will always be the land of opportunity.

I yield back, and look forward to answering questions.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Guthrie.

Representative Pallone, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. FRANK PALLONE, JR., A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. PALLONE. Thank you, Madam Chair. And good morning to everyone here today.

I am always happy to come before the House Rules Committee, but I have to say that convening a hearing at 1 a.m. in the dead of night when most Americans are asleep at home to pass a bill with catastrophic consequences for millions of Americans is wrong, and we should be debating this bill when the American people can follow along and when they are able to call their Representative to voice their opinion about the legislation.

At its core, this bill takes healthcare away from millions of Americans in order to give tax breaks to billionaires and corporate interests who I don't think need them. It is a reverse Robin Hood scheme that takes from the poor in order to give handouts to those who really don't need them.

The bill makes a series of devastating cuts to clean energy, killing jobs and gutting our efforts to combat the worsening climate crisis. It auctions publicly owned spectrum and uses that money to give tax breaks to the rich rather than reinvesting that funding for the public good. And it includes a massive giveaway to big tech at the expense of Americans by basically prohibiting State and local laws to regulate artificial intelligence for 10 years.

I am going to go through some of the provisions of the bill in a little more detail, but I did hear your suggestion that we try to summarize, Madam Chair.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Well, Mr. Pallone, it is 7 o'clock. It is not 1 o'clock.

Mr. PALLONE. I know.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Nobody told you that?

Mr. PALLONE. No. But you are right that people now hopefully can listen, but they were not able to from 1 o'clock until now.

So with regard to healthcare, for months now President Trump and congressional Republicans promised the American people that they would not cut Medicaid benefits or strip away people's healthcare. But just yesterday, President Trump told House Repub-

licans behind closed doors: Do not eff with Medicaid. And then House Speaker Johnson promised: We are not going to touch Social Security, Medicare, or Medicaid.

Well, the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office released their latest accounting of this bill yesterday and they found the bill that advanced out of the Energy and Commerce Committee last week will cut nearly $800 billion from Medicaid and take healthcare away from 8.6 million people.

And I should point out that these figures are a floor; they are not a ceiling. CBO expects these numbers will rise as additional changes are made to the bill.

And then there is the changes the bill makes to the Affordable Care Act. When you add the Medicaid cuts to the ACA cuts, the total number of people expected to lose their healthcare under President Trump and Republicans' watch is at least 13.7 million people based on the CBO estimates.

Now, let me be clear: That is not—some of you are saying this is a moderate bill, but it is not, and it is focusing on waste, fraud, and abuse, but that is not true. I mean, Republicans are intentionally taking healthcare away from millions of Americans so they can give these tax breaks to the ultrarich.

And Medicaid, as all of you know, is a lifesaving program that 80 million Americans count on every day. It provides healthcare to one in three Americans and nearly half of all children in the United States. It covers close to half of all births, and it is the largest source of funding for long-term care for seniors and people living with disabilities.

But with this bill, Republicans are intentionally taking healthcare away from millions of Americans. I am going to keep stressing that. They are putting all sorts of burdensome and time-consuming roadblocks in the way of people just trying to get by, all so they can kick them off their health coverage.

And if someone loses their coverage from Medicaid, the bill bans them from getting coverage through the ACA Marketplace with any kind of subsidy. This is just one way this bill essentially repeals the ACA for most people and makes it more difficult for people to get health coverage.

And Republicans are making it more difficult for States to finance their share of Medicaid costs by preventing them from implementing new provider taxes. This will be catastrophic for States as the healthcare needs change over time.

Cuts will not just impact people who count on Medicaid. Hospitals, particularly those in underserved and rural communities, are going to close. They have been telling you that. Nursing homes will close, and seniors will lose the care that they rely on. Emergency rooms will once again be overflowing as people are forced to delay care until it is life or death.

Now, for decades Democrats have been working relentlessly to make quality healthcare more accessible and affordable. It has worked. Thanks to our efforts, the number of uninsured Americans reached historic lows. But that is now all at risk as Trump and congressional Republicans look to strip healthcare away from almost 14 million people.

When we passed the Inflation Reduction Act three years ago, Congress took a massive step towards lowering energy bills for American families. However, that progress could all be reversed by this bill. And this bill, if it passes, will wipe out all of that progress by rescinding programs that are lowering energy costs and helping to build clean energy manufacturing here in America, all so Republicans can give tax breaks to billionaires.

And not content to gut the Inflation Reduction Act, this bill will go even further by creating a mockery of our environmental laws. It allows Big Oil and Gas to simply bribe government agencies to acquire permits free of scrutiny. It sets up a pay-to-play scheme for fossil energy permitting that allows polluters to pay $10 million to the Trump administration to obtain pipeline permits and ignore environmental laws while clean energy gets left behind.

It is essentially a complete dismantling of our energy permitting infrastructure in the country. Vital protections for the public interest, clean water and clean air, would all be completely set aside. States would lose any say in energy infrastructure within their borders and courts would not be able to address any further violations of our weakened laws.

Now, briefly on the environment. The bill is also a disaster for the environment. It would gut critical environmental protections and programs, harming the health and welfare of all Americans. It both repeals and rescinds unobligated funds for every single Environmental Protection Agency program included in the Inflation Reduction Act.

It would also repeal clean vehicle standards, jeopardizing air quality and domestic manufacturing, giving a leg up to the fossil fuel industry.

When Congress passed the IRA, Democrats made a critical and historic down payment towards a stable climate and a clean future for all. But this bill proposes to throw that all away by eliminating the environmental protections that keep families and communities safe while doing nothing to lower energy costs, all in the service of providing these tax breaks for billionaires.

The last thing, Madam Chair, I want to talk about artificial intelligence. The bill will also impose a ten-year ban on States' ability to enforce their own laws protecting consumers from harms caused by artificial intelligence and automated decision-making systems.

So let me be clear: This is an unprecedented giveaway to big tech. The ten-year enforcement ban will allow big tech to run roughshod over American consumers, including our children and teens whose lives are increasingly intertwined with AI models and automated decision-making systems.

Last Congress, at the request of big tech, the Republican leadership refused to move a bipartisan comprehensive privacy bill that would have provided important guardrails on the use of consumers' personal information by AI systems. It was an unfortunate giveaway to big tech at the American public's expense.

By contrast, States across the country have been working hard to protect their residents from harmful uses of AI. They have enacted laws that protect consumers' privacy, prohibit the use of AI to commit financial fraud and to steal elections, prohibit algorithmic bias in housing and credit, prohibit harmful uses of facial

recognition technology, and protect consumers from AI systems that put their mental health and physical safety at risk.

Now, Congress, in my opinion, should be learning from the work done by the States. We should be working to enact Federal laws that protect consumers from the negative consequences of poorly understood AI models and badly designed automated decision-making systems.

But, instead, House Republicans are leaving American consumers, and especially our children, at the mercy of big tech and their powerful and invasive algorithms.

If this policy becomes law, States will be powerless to respond to harmful uses of AI and automated decision-making systems for the next decade. And that includes threats we know exist today, as well as any threats we can't currently imagine that arise over the next ten years.

So it is just a reckless policy giveaway to big tech that puts all of us, especially our children, at risk for years to come.

I forgot, I did have to also mention spectrum.

And, finally, the bill reauthorizes the spectrum auction authority of the Federal Communications Commission and requires the agency to auction additional 5G spectrum for a savings of at least $88 billion.

Now, historically, auctioning spectrum has been a bipartisan effort, and we have used that money to reinvest in the public good. However, under this bill, Republicans are funneling the money to tax breaks to the rich instead of directing the savings to fund grants like next-generation 911 or to make high-speed internet more affordable for American families.

And that is, again, a gross abuse of spectrum auction funds, and it is a perfect example of what is at the core of this bill: selling out the American people to give handouts to the rich.

So, Madam Chair, I just have to say this is a bad bill. It takes away basic needs, like healthcare and food assistance, from some of the poorest Americans in order to give these tax breaks to the richest. And we don't need to take from the poor in order for the rich to have more than they already have.

Republicans should abandon this effort, work with Democrats on a bipartisan basis to pass a fair tax bill that lowers costs for the middle class and ensures the wealthy and corporate interests pay their fair share.

And with that, Madam Chair, I yield back. Thank you.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Pallone.

Chairman Smith, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. JASON SMITH, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MISSOURI

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Thank you, Chair Foxx, Ranking Member McGovern, every member of the committee. It is a great opportunity to testify on the historic tax relief for working families, farmers, and small businesses included in the One Big Beautiful Bill.

This legislation makes the successful 2017 Trump tax cuts permanent, and it delivers on President Trump's priorities of no tax

on tips, no tax on overtime pay, no tax on auto loan interest of autos produced in the United States, and tax relief for seniors.

Families and workers will benefit from additional tax relief with an expanded standard deduction and a larger child tax credit, as well as receive help with the high cost of adoption, education, childcare, and healthcare.

Main Street will benefit from a permanent small business deduction that has been expanded to 23 percent, helping small businesses grow higher and compete with larger corporations.

Two million family farms and millions more family-owned small businesses will benefit from a death tax exemption that is permanent, larger, and also indexed to inflation.

This bill will also help revive American manufacturing, renewed R&D amortization, immediate expensing, and interest deductibility, combined with the new 100 percent immediate expensing for construction of new manufacturing plants.

It will help turn America into a manufacturing powerhouse again and lower taxes for those who build it right here in America.

Opportunity zones will ensure distressed communities, particularly in rural areas, share in this surge of new investment and jobs.

Working-class Americans voted for President Trump because he puts their interest over elite special interest.

Wealthy universities will pay an endowment tax as high as the corporate tax rate. Bad Biden-era tax policy that rewarded the wealthy, the big banks, and China with tax breaks and giveaways will be replaced with good tax policy that benefits working families and small businesses.

Illegal immigrants will no longer be eligible for refundable tax credits. Foreign countries will no longer be able to steal American tax revenue.

The result will be economic prosperity for workers and families, like the boom times of President Trump's first term.

Take-home pay for the typical family with two children will increase by as much as $13,300. Annual real wages for workers will rise by as much as $11,600. Pro-growth tax policy will save up to 7 million jobs, while the permanent and expanded small business deduction will add 1 million new jobs each year and expand small business economic output by $1.5 trillion.

And Ways and Means was able to deliver pro-growth, pro-worker tax cuts below the committee's reconciliation instruction of $4 trillion.

I suspect Democrats will make the false claim that this bill rewards the rich at the expense of the poor, but that tired talking point was wrong following the enactment of the 2017 Trump tax cuts, and it is definitely wrong under this bill today.

People who make over $1 million annually will pay a greater share of the tax burden than they currently do. Households earning less than a hundred thousand dollars get a 13 percent tax cut. If you make less than a hundred thousand dollars you get a 13 percent tax cut.

Not only do we stop a looming $1,700 tax increase on the average American family, if these tax provisions expire, we actually deliver

that same family an additional $1,300 tax cut compared to what they pay today.

The winners of this bill are the working class: farmers, mechanics, waitresses, linemen, and nurses.

My focus has been on delivering for America's working class because I am a product of the working class. I grew up in a single-wide trailer in a small town of less than 5,000 people. And this bill delivers for families like mine who have fallen further behind for decades.

Failure is not an option in getting this done, the One Big Beautiful Bill, to President Trump's desk. Otherwise, every single American will face on average a 22 percent tax increase.

Nearly 30 million small businesses will lose the small business deduction and pay a tax rate above 43.4 percent. American manufacturing would compete with one arm tied behind its back against competitors like China. Families would have to sell the farm just to pay the IRS.

Congress must deliver on the priorities expected by the 77 million Americans who voted for an America where workers and families will thrive again, Main Street and rural towns will grow again, and America wins again.

Thank you for your time, and I look forward to your questions.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Smith.

Ms. Moore, Representative Moore, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. GWEN MOORE, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF WISCONSIN

Ms. MOORE. Good morning, Madam Chair, my classmate. I count it all joy to be here with members of the Rules Committee, Ranking Member McGovern and others. And I count it all joy to be able to testify on behalf of the Ways and Means Committee and my constituents and all those who are the least, lost, and left behind in America.

I want to talk about the tax provisions of the so-called One Big Beautiful Bill Act. I really can't argue with the President over the fact that this bill is big. It is a thousand pages of a big bonanza for billionaires. I know that we have been accused of characterizing this as a bonanza for billionaires, and the numbers will bear that out.

I know, Madam Chair, you are fond of fact-checking stuff. So I hope that you will do that on behalf of the American public when it comes to talking about how those folks under $100,000 are going to experience such a great growth in wealth and income.

You have heard a lot about work requirements and how that is going to generate all these savings. You heard about how these lazy little boys that are in the basement playing video games and saying to mom, "Bring down some more potato chips," are going to—that is going to cause $800 billion in savings. How many of these boys do we have, are there that many video games, I would have to ask.

We talk about how we are just going to root out waste, fraud, and abuse, and that is somehow going to generate over a trillion dollars in savings. I am asking you, even those of you who are not that good at math, to try to figure this out with me.

Let's begin the analysis of this bill, not with all the numbers that we are all going to be throwing around here this morning, but let's just begin this analysis with a moral question.

Should children go hungry or be left to suffer or die from treatable diseases? And if your answer to that, anybody, if your answer is no, then just sort of reason backwards from that precipice and see if the justification of this bill sort of unravels.

I am so happy to be the last person to speak on this panel because we have heard from our colleagues and on other committees about the harms that this bill is going to do to millions and millions of our constituents, fellow Americans.

We are going to cut $230 billion out of SNAP. We are going to kick 13.7 million people off their health insurance. We are going to trigger a half trillion dollars in cuts from Medicare, those of us who are protecting seniors here on this panel.

We are going to reduce educational opportunity for American children who are the least, least able, they are people who—kids who just might not be chosen. I was one of those kids. I wasn't chosen. And I didn't have any choice. And this is who we are going to take money from.

We are sitting here bragging about so-called savings. And what are we going to do with these savings? What are we going to do with the savings? Are we going to take these savings and reduce our debt? Nope, we are not going to do that.

These tax cuts are so massive that we don't have enough kids to starve. We don't have enough people to deny healthcare. So we are just going to ask Americans to finance tax cuts for billionaires on the national debt, on the credit card.

I just paid off a credit card. I mean, I was so relieved. It was the first night's sleep I had in a long time.

And we have people here—I know my good friend, the chairman of our committee, does not like debt. Well, he used to not like debt, but he kind of likes debt today.

The JCT scored this bill at $3.8 trillion—$3.8 trillion. But that is not even the real score. Why not? Because of all the budget gimmicks in there.

They have got all kinds of budget tricks in this billionaire bonanza bill, like cutting the budget window after nine years and making dozens of provisions that benefit regular Americans temporary to get them through the 2026 cycle, to get them through President Trump's tenure as President, assuming that he won't get a third term. Otherwise, he is going to have to do something else.

But that being the case, I mean, it is so cynical to tell people you are going to get—we are going to just—we are going to give these to you, we are going to have permanent tax cuts for wealthy people but we are going to make this temporary, just long enough to trick you into believing that it helps.

So what is the cost of this bill after we strip away all the gimmicks? It is going to be—not including the interest on the debt, it is going to be at least $5 trillion.

So my twist on Mark Twain's statement. There are lies, damn lies, and then there is trickle-down economics. You know what? We have heard at least—I am 74 years old, and I swear to God, I can

remember when the talk of the trickle started. And it hasn't trickled yet. And this bill is not going to start the trickle.

The so-called fiscal hawks will try to make you believe that this country club urban legend, that tax cuts pay for themselves. It has never worked. But it just has not stopped the talking point. That is what it is.

They claim that this bill will generate $2.6 trillion of revenue from economic growth. There is not one. Produce them. Fact-check this, Madam Chair. Where is the economist who will back up those numbers? Where are they at? They ain't here.

Deficits aside, this bill is ugly—"oogly," as we say—because it is ultimately a betrayal of the contract that we have made with the American people, and especially to our babies and to our working people. It is a talk—it is a union hall, working man's bill—but it is all for the millionaires and billionaires.

The so-called no tax on tips, that is just—that is a distraction from the windfall that they are giving to the richest people in the country. Let's just put the facts out. Let's talk some numbers. I have been just hollering and hooping. Let's put some numbers out.

Fact-check this, Madam Chair. People who make over $1 million per year on average get a tax cut of $81,500 under this bill. Fact-check this, Madam Chair. People who make under $50,000 per year on average get a tax cut of $265. That means a person who makes over a million dollars per year on average gets 310 times what a person making under $50,000 gets.

Now, this notion that if we don't pass this One Big Beautiful Bill that taxes are going to go up for everybody, this is a choice. Tax breaks for billionaires and millionaires is not tethered to our doing something for regular people. You all chose to do that.

It is perfectly possible to draft tax legislation in a way that doesn't provide the most fortunate among us with a windfall. But you all chose to do it.

Now, in the Ways and Means markup we stayed up all night, and I do empathize with you, Madam Chair, for having to stay up all night, because we stayed up all night. And I see some of my colleagues are still here staying up all night again.

We offered 33 amendments—33—to keep the wealthiest from getting the benefit—most of the benefit—from this tax cut. So we suggested that there shouldn't be any tax cuts for individuals making over $400,000 a year. Republicans voted no.

We suggested that if they make $10 million we shouldn't give them a tax cut. Republicans voted no.

We said: How about $100 million? Republicans voted no. We said a billion dollars. They voted no. You know how they voted.

No one—no one—was just too rich for this tax cut in the world view of our colleagues on the other side of the aisle in the Ways and Means Committee.

Now, if that wasn't bad enough, the JCT numbers show that this bill is even worse for people on the bottom rung. By 1929—by 2029—sorry—according to JCT numbers, after the temporary, temporary tax cuts for people making under $30,000 per year on an aggregate, they are going to, as a group, they are going to be paying $5 billion more in taxes. That is a big tax cut, Madam Chair. Fact-check that.

Now, imagine that, Madam Chair. There are so many ugly things in this bill, in the thousand pages of this Big Beautiful Bill, my five minutes could not possibly do them justice.

Making it easier—I couldn't believe it when I saw this, Madam Chair, I couldn't believe it when they proposed to take away the taxes on silencers for guns. Madam Chair, why? There is a $200 tax on buying silencers for guns.

And then we are going to kick 2 million children off the child tax credit. They brag about doubling the child tax credit. But, Madam Chair, the poorest, the neediest, the most vulnerable children get nothing—nothing—unless their parents earn money.

And what I say is that why don't we just make the kids go to work, just cut to the chase. Tell kids, you all got to start working; maybe cut some of them school hours and go work as the shampoo girl so that your mama can get money to do what we know she did. We cut poverty in half when we expanded the child tax credit to include the most—the poorest, the 17 million kids that this bill doesn't cover.

So at the end of the day the main thing—let's keep the main thing the main thing, that this legislation before us will make Americans more in debt, will make them hungrier, will make them sicker, will make them more ignorant, they will be falling behind other nations, we will be upending national security, all to lavish more and more and more and more on the luckiest and wealthiest among us.

And, Madam Chair, I am so—and I just want to point out to you all, full disclosure, I am woke.

And I yield back.

[The statement of Ms. Moore follows:]

Chair Fox, Ranking Member McGovern, Members of the Rules Committee, thank you for the opportunity to testify on the behalf of the Ways & Means Committee and the tax provisions of the so-called *One Big Beautiful Bill Act*.

I can't argue with the President over the fact that the bill is big - 1,000 pages of swampy giveaways and GOP donor goodies.

However, I will absolutely take issue with calling this legislation "beautiful." It is anything but.

Let's begin the analysis of this bill with a simple moral consideration of "should children go hungry or be left to suffer or die from treatable disease?" If the answer is NO and then reason backwards and see if the justification of this bill unravels.

We heard from our colleagues on other Committees about the harms that this bill does to millions and millions of Americans: Cutting $230 billion from SNAP; Kicking 13.7 million people off their health insurance.

Why are Republicans doing this? To give massive, massive tax cuts that inure to the benefit of the rich.

But the tax cuts are so massive, you just can't starve enough kids or deny enough healthcare, so Republicans are asking the American People to finance these tax cuts on national debt.

The JCT scored this bill at $3.8 *trillion* dollars.

But that's not even the real score. Why not? Gimmicks.

In the same way Republicans have been holding these vampiric hearings to hide this bill from the public – they have also incorporated all sorts of swampy budget tricks in this billionaire bonanza bill, like cutting the budget window after 9 years and making dozens of provisions that benefit regular Americans temporary in order to further obscure costs.

So, what is the real cost to Americans when you strip away the gimmicks: well over $5 trillion, and that's not even counting the increased interest on the additional debt we're going to be borrowing to pay for this.

To give my twist on Mark Twain – there are lies, damn lies, and trickle-down economics!

So-called “fiscal hawks” will try to make you believe this country club urban legend that tax cuts pay for themselves – it never works – but it won’t stop Republicans from claiming this bill will generate $2.6 trillion of revenue from economic growth.

> Notwithstanding not one reputable non-partisan PhD economist will back up those numbers. ..

Deficits aside, this bill is an ugly bill because it is ultimately a betrayal – they sell it as a union hall working man’s bill, but it is all for millionaires and billionaires. Republicans market “no tax on tips” to distract the American people from the windfall they are giving to the richest people in the country. Lets put the facts out and let the people decide:

- People who make over $1 million per year, on average, get a tax cut of $81,500 under this bill.

- People who make under $50,000 per year, on average, get a tax cut of $265 under this bill.

- That means a person who makes over $1 million per year, on average, gets 310 times what a person making under $50,000 gets.

Republicans didn't *have* to do this. It's perfectly possible to draft tax legislation in a way that doesn't provide the most fortunate among us with a windfall.

But they *chose* to do it.

In fact in the Ways & Means markup, Democrats held amendment after amendment, ensuring that the richest wouldn't get a tax cut.

We suggested no tax cuts for individuals making over $400,000. Republicans voted no.

We suggested $10 million. Republicans voted no.

We suggested $100 million. Republicans voted no.

We suggested $1 billion.

You know how they voted.

No one is too rich for a tax cut, in the worldview of our colleagues on the other side of the aisle.

As if all of that isn't bad enough, the JCT numbers show that this bill is even worse for folks on the bottom rung.

By 2029, according to JCT numbers, people making under $30,000 per year will be paying, on aggregate, $5 billion *more* in taxes.

Imagine that.

Madame Chair, there are so many Ugly things in the 1,000 pages of this Big Beautiful Bill, my five minutes could not possibly do them justice. Making it easier to buy silencers for guns. Kicking 2 million citizen children off the child tax credit. Taxing charities and medical research. The list is endless.

But at the end of the day, the main thing is this: This is legislation before us will make America and Americans more in debt, hungrier, sicker, and falling behind other nations, all to lavish more on the luckiest and wealthiest among us.

I urge all my colleagues to vote.

I yield back.

[Applause.]

The CHAIRWOMAN. Well, Ms. Moore, I think that applause indicates a performance having been brought to the Rules Committee this morning.

I do have a lot of fact checks, but as I have done a couple of times this morning, I am going to resist.

Ms. MOORE. I am sure you will.

The CHAIRWOMAN. But I am going to wind up entering some things into the record that were said about the TCJA when it was passed to show that the same kinds of things are being said now, and they are going—they are wrong, and they are going to be proven wrong, just like the things said in 2017.

Ms. MOORE. Madam Chair, can I just make an intervention?

We are not talking about the 2017 tax cut. I wasn't here then. This is the bill that I have gone through. And what I have said, you can fact-check what I said, and people are going to be hungry and lose healthcare.

Let's talk about this bill. I don't want to talk about that bill because I wasn't there.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Well, let me talk about this bill.

Chairman Smith——

Ms. MOORE. Okay. Talk about it, Madam Chair. You the chair; you can do whatever you want.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Chairman Smith, our friends on the other side of the aisle continue to assert that the extension of the 2017 tax cuts places an additional burden on our working-class families and benefits only billionaires and special interests.

However, isn't it true that President Trump's tax cuts increased American families' income and were a boon to the working class and that the bottom 20 percent of earners saw their Federal tax rate fall to its lowest level in 40 years while the top 10 percent of earners now pay over 75 percent of all income taxes, and as a result of the Trump tax cuts, the 1 percent paid more income taxes than ever before? Can you check my facts?

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Your facts are 100 percent accurate.

I think it is important to note, Chair Foxx, if you listen to the counterparts that you just heard, if you use their statements, it actually proves that our tax bill is cutting taxes for the working class.

My good friend from the Ways and Means Committee said that in 2029 $5 billion in tax increases on people because of the expiring provisions. In order for those to be increased, that means they had to be cut, and that is what we are doing here. We are cutting $5 billion for those tipped employees, those Uber drivers, those linemen who work overtime.

And it is for 4 years. I hope it is much longer. But you know what? Don't say that it is increasing $5 billion but you are not giving us credit for the $5 billion tax cut that we are doing right now.

And I also want to point out, Chair Foxx, back in 2017, in those Trump tax cuts, the 17 million children that Ms. Moore was talking about that are being left behind, yeah, they are going to be left behind by the Democrats when they vote no on this bill because that would mean refundability would go from $1,700 to a thousand. So every one of those 17 million children would lose $700 pulled out because the Democrats voted no.

The CHAIRWOMAN. So, in effect, the shares of those who foot the tax burden got more progressive in the 2017 bill, and will get that way, and will be that way again with this bill, correct?

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. That is correct.

The CHAIRWOMAN. And last, despite all of the rhetoric—and I have to tell you, it is—it really qualifies as rhetoric, again "performance," I think, is a better term for it—the Democrats could have raised the tax income bracket when they were in control and passed their reconciliation efforts because the tax cut expiration was in the 10-year window. Isn't that correct?

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. It is absolutely correct.

The CHAIRWOMAN. And they failed to do so. Again, they have a credibility problem here.

We hear all the time from Democrats about what we are doing, but never taking responsibility for what they could have done when they had the majority in the House and Senate as recently as 6 months—and the Presidency—as recently as 6 months ago, correct?

[Crosstalk.]

The CHAIRWOMAN. Excuse me. They didn't have the majority in the House.

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Because they didn't have the majority in the House.

The CHAIRWOMAN. But 3 years ago—excuse me—2 and a half years ago they had that majority.

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. They absolutely had all three branches of government 2 and a half years ago.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Right. They had all three branches of government, and they could have done that then, but they did not.

Thank you again, Chairman Smith.

Mr. McGovern, I am recognizing you.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Oh, okay.

So, first of all, let's be clear. I think Democrats are willing to work with Republicans on helping middle-class families with tax relief and helping those in the lower income brackets get into the middle class. That has never been a question. We don't have any problem with that. Happy to work with you on something like that.

But we are talking about this reconciliation bill. And CBO just did an analysis which basically—I said this earlier, I will repeat it again—it shows how your bill would impact the bottom 10 percent and the top 10 percent. And as you see on this graph here, the bottom 10 percent are going to be worse off and the top 10 percent are going to be much better off.

And one of the reasons why is because in this beautiful bill that you think is so beautiful, there are cuts to SNAP that amount to $230 billion, cuts to Medicaid that amount to $880 billion.

And so, basically, I mean, I am trying to put this politely, but middle-class families, those struggling to be in the middle class, are going to be screwed if this becomes law.

And we went over this earlier. With the latest version of this bill, the top 0.1 percent stands to gain $255,000 on average in 2027 alone. That is $700 a day.

People who make over a million dollars a year will also get their pockets lined. On average, these millionaires will have an additional $81,500 per year.

For those earning less than $50,000, as Ms. Moore pointed out, the average benefit is $265. That is less than one dollar a day.

So that is what our problem is with your reconciliation bill. The people that we think we—that we get elected to try to fight for are going to be hurt the most in this reconciliation bill.

And let me also just say, I mean, I am—I kind of hoped that we would get to a point where Democrats and Republicans and liberals and conservatives would all agree on some fundamental basic principles.

One is that everybody should have healthcare. Two is that nobody should go hungry in this country. I mean, we live in the richest country in the history of the world. We have 46 million Americans who are food insecure or hungry. I don't know about you, I am ashamed of that.

And as I said during the debate—because I am also on the Agriculture Committee—is that hunger is a political condition.

We have the money to end hunger. We have the infrastructure. We know what to do. We lack the political will. We have the political will to give billionaires tax cuts, but we don't have the political will to end hunger in this country.

In fact, what is particularly galling is that this bill takes from those with the least and gives to those with the most. I said this in the Agriculture Committee. You guys make Marie Antoinette look down-to-earth. I mean, this is, like, crazy. I can't believe that you are doing this.

I mean, I am—again, as someone who is on the Ag Committee—and the chairman heard me and the ranking member heard me speak at length about this—but I find it unconscionable—I find it unconscionable and immoral that we are here debating a bill that is going to—will take food away from kids. I mean, this bill will do that.

All the denials won't change the fact that this bill will hurt these people. It will take food off the table of families of 7-, 8-, 9-year-old kids in your communities. It will mean more kids go to school hungry, more kids get kicked off their free school meals, more kids will suffer chronic illnesses because they don't have access to good nutrition.

By the way, there is a cost to being indifferent about those who are food insecure in this country. And because of this bill more and more people are not only going to go without healthcare, they are going to go without food.

And for most of last week's hearing in the Ag Committee most Republicans—this is the thing that really bothers me—most Republicans on the Agriculture Committee couldn't even bother to show up during the debate.

I mean, I made a comment—I think I almost got my words taken down—but I said, look, I mean, we are all arguing about work requirements for people who are poor. How about some work requirements for Members of Congress that should show up to these committee hearings and pay attention to the witnesses and offer amendments and to actually be engaged? I mean, most of them came in for 5 minutes and then left.

Well, guess what? I sat there for virtually all of the 13 hours. I heard firsthand how much this bill is going to screw over kids and

seniors and working families and so many other people. People who voted for Republicans and who I think now are going to feel betrayed by Republicans, they are going to lose their food assistance.

Now, I don't know why so many people didn't show up, but I think it is because many of you know how deeply unpopular what you are trying to do here is among the American people. And since you guys don't want to talk about it, I am just going to talk a little bit about it.

Your bill cuts SNAP, a program that provides kids, seniors, veterans, and people with disabilities with on average of about two bucks per meal to afford food. You are going to cut it by over $313 billion.

When the chairman of the Budget Committee was here a month and a half ago advocating these cuts in food assistance, I asked him a simple question. I said: What is the average SNAP benefit? He had no idea. He had no idea. He didn't know it was $2 per person per meal or $6 a day and yet was advocating these huge cuts.

But that means you are gutting one-third of the entire program. That is the biggest cut in history. And your bill takes food away from families with kids if their single parent is struggling to find a job or can't access childcare. Your bill forces older adults up to age 65, many who have limited education and dismal job prospects, off of benefits in 3 months.

I mean, who is hiring a 64-year-old who was recently laid off? I mean, do you really think that you can change careers at 64? It is not easy. Some people can. It is not easy.

Your bill prevents future increases to benefit calculations, meaning families will have less money for food in the future as costs rise.

I mean, really, this is $2 per person per meal. That is what it is. And your bill threatens food benefits for 16 million children, 8 million seniors, and 4 million people with disabilities by shifting the cost of benefits onto States whose budgets cannot support the hundreds of millions of dollars they would have to put up every year to maintain benefits for these individuals.

Chairman Thompson, I want to ask you a pretty simple question. This bill, the bill that you wrote, takes benefits away from families with kids as young as 7 years old if their parent loses their job and cannot find another job.

So let's say you are a single dad with a college degree. You live in a small rural town. There may not be a lot of jobs available. You only have—you have a college degree. But millions of single dads in this country are in this position. Let's say you get laid off from your job with no notice, no warning. Let's say it is March.

So you now have got 90 days to get a new job or you lose your portion of the SNAP benefits, which means less food in the fridge for you and your family.

So yes or no, Mr. Chairman, do you think it is right for the government to punish those kids because mom or dad can't get a job locked down in 90 days?

And let me just also add, the majority of able-bodied people who are on the benefit actually work. They actually work. They earn so little, they need the benefit.

But I ask the question, I mean, do you think that that is an okay thing to have happen?

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Well, Mr. McGovern, being on the Agriculture Committee as long as you have, I would think—really felt like you would have a great grasp on the entirety of the nutrition title of the farm bill. States have had and will have waivers in those situations that they can exercise.

When you have got a single parent, like you said, there are not two parents there, obviously there are provisions if one—if there are two parents, one parent it would apply, the other parent it would not apply to in terms of any kind of work, volunteer, or educational opportunities which we pay for.

And there is also—I mean, there is a deduction from SNAP income—income for SNAP eligibility for uncapped amount of childcare expenses, which includes childcare. And then we have—the Federal Government also funds subsidized childcare through the Child Care and Development Block Grant, not to mention the child tax credit and the Child and Dependent Care Tax Credit.

So, absolutely, there is no—there should not be a loss of access to supplemental nutrition. I know that one of the things we talked about was CBO made the comment about 3 million people, I believe, that were coming off of SNAP. Those are individuals who choose not—they choose not to engage in work, volunteer time, or education.

Or a big part of that—and you are right. It is not half, though. At the most, it is 27 percent of folks on SNAP are working. Some of those folks are coming off because they have worked their way off, which is the American Dream.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I am going to yield to——

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. They no longer are living in poverty.

Mr. MCGOVERN. That is kind of a word salad. But the bottom line is, if that single parent can't find a job they lose their benefits.

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. I have heard word salad.

Mr. MCGOVERN. It is that simple. I mean, they lose their benefits. And, by the way, we have a childcare crisis in this country, too.

I don't know whether Ranking Member Craig wants to add anything.

Ms. CRAIG. I would just add that one of the most egregious parts of this bill is changing that scenario where that single dad, when their child turns 7, then would have work requirements. And, again, childcare crisis in our country. And add on top of that that if you are married, actually, only one of you has a work requirement.

So, it is crazy. You can stay home and still be eligible for the benefit if you are married and your spouse goes to work. But if you are a single mom or a single dad, the new dependent age for someone is 7 years old.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Right. And, by the way, the vast majority of people in this country who are on SNAP are kids. There are seniors and there are people with disabilities and veterans as well.

In your home State of Pennsylvania, Chairman Thompson, under this bill they are going to be on the hook for over a billion dollars in benefits alone if this bill is enacted.

So, what if Pennsylvania or any other State can't meet that cost? I know you think they can, but what if they can't? I mean, I think the Governor of your State says the bill will make groceries more expensive, close down local grocery stores, and force kids to go hungry.

But I want to just say, this State cost share that you all talk about, saying that we are not going to cut benefits, well, again, if Pennsylvania had to absorb a billion dollars, that is a lot for a State budget. What if they can't do it? Do they then do benefit cuts?

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Well, I actually reject the premise of your question that States will refuse to cover 5 percent of a supplemental nutrition assistance program given that they have 2 years to adjust their State budgets.

SNAP, as you know, is the only State-administered entitlement benefit that is fully funded by the Federal Government, and States are already paying anywhere from 25 to 50 percent of the cost of Medicaid benefits in their States.

States are fully capable of paying for SNAP, and every single State has achieved an error rate below 6 percent in the last 10 years, which would bring them down to that base cost share.

Really, the time has come to impose clear incentives for States to improve their services for SNAP participants and control costs, and the only way for that to occur is for them to have some level of skin in the game on benefit expenditures.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Well, as you know, it is not just 5 percent; it can go up to 25 percent for some States.

But let me switch to Ranking Member Craig so we can get some different perspectives here.

Ranking Member, what will States do if they can't meet the absurd new scam set up by Republicans in this bill?

Ms. CRAIG. We all know that they are going to cut the benefit. It is just that plain and simple.

And, look, the way that this bill takes the error rate right now, if it is $56 or less, the State does not count that, whether it is an underpayment or an overpayment. But under this, everybody's error rate is going up.

And I am sorry that the chairwoman left because 19 percent of her households in her district are benefiting from the SNAP program today, and the cost in that State is going to be just exorbitant.

Mr. MCGOVERN. So isn't this just a backdoor way to take food assistance away from people without having to get your fingerprints on it?

Ms. CRAIG. Well, it is shifting the blame for taking away the benefits. So this body is trying to shift the blame to States. Twenty-three Governors wrote to us to say: We cannot afford this. We cannot pay for this.

Mr. MCGOVERN. And, in fact, Ranking Member, is there anything in this bill that prevents a State from cutting benefits for kids?

Ms. CRAIG. There is absolutely nothing in this bill.

Mr. MCGOVERN. So this bill could lead to kids, seniors, veterans, and Americans with disabilities from being cut off of food assistance or seeing their benefits reduced?

Ms. CRAIG. This bill will lead to benefit loss to millions of Americans.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Now, Chairman Thompson, even if you disagree with everything that we just said, would you support amendments——

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. And that is a pretty accurate statement, Mr. Ranking Member. Thank you.

Mr. MCGOVERN. But would you support amendments that simply say the SNAP provisions in this bill cannot go into effect unless no child, no veteran, and no one living in a rural community will have their food benefits cut under this bill? I mean, we tried to offer that in committee because there is great concern over this.

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Well, Mr. Ranking Member, I just don't—I don't see it necessary given the depth and the width of the nutrition title. What we are putting forward can't be taken in a silo. You have to look at the entirety of how the nutrition program works.

And I don't believe—actually, I believe that we are going to be empowering more children to have a better future. There may be parents out there that will choose not to engage in work requirements.

By the way, we have had it since the 1970s. This is not something new.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Right. But not at 7—not with kids, with 7- and 8-year-old and 9-year-old——

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. If you go back and look at the general work requirements, it is age 6. We move it to 7 with this bill.

Mr. MCGOVERN. And I don't know how we provide children a better future by allowing—by providing them less food and nutrition as they are growing up. I mean, I——

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. I don't know how we guarantee a better future if we do everything we can to keep children stuck in intergenerational poverty.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Well, first of all, a lot of people who are on SNAP, who have been on SNAP, have gone on to be very successful people.

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. That says work requirements work.

Mr. MCGOVERN. This kind of stigmatization, that if you are on SNAP that somehow you are going to always be stuck in poverty, is just not the reality.

I will go to Ms. Craig and then to Ms. Moore.

Ms. CRAIG. Mr. Chairman, I am offended by your last statement. My own mother was a single mom who was going to school at night to get her teaching degree for 9 years to become a teacher. Yep, she did it.

But under the scenario we just outlined, my mom would no longer be eligible for benefits once I turned 7 years old because my mom is going to school, not able to work 80 hours a month. That is the truth and you know it.

And, look, 11 million people, according to the Center on Budget and Policy, including 4 million children, live in households that would be at risk of losing these benefits if this bill passes.

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. If I can, I would just say, if you read the bill——

Mr. MCGOVERN. I did.

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania [continuing]. It is an average of 80 hours a month; that is 20 hours a week. Doesn't have to be 20 hours. It just has to be an average of 80 over a month.

And it is work. And like the ranking member said, approximately 24, 27 percent of SNAP recipients are working today already, but they are living in poverty.

But it can be volunteer work. But it also—your mom would qualify because she was actually getting education, and that is a qualifier for receiving SNAP benefits.

Ms. CRAIG. Not 80 hours a week—-not 80 hours a month.

Mr. MCGOVERN. And let me—we throw around these numbers, 13 million people will lose their healthcare, 5 million people will lose their food assistance benefits.

And I worry sometimes that there are people in this Chamber who look at those numbers and kind of view them as statistics and fail to appreciate kind of the human element behind them.

One of the things that I have learned on this job is that people's lives are complicated and one glove doesn't fit all. And as much as we want to say this should apply to everybody or this should apply to everybody and this—and it is complicated. And in my experience, especially with a lot of single parents raising kids, they want to be good parents because that is the best thing they can do to make sure their kids have a bright future.

And to have to add on to that now, if I don't meet this new requirement, I will lose my SNAP benefit and there will be less food in the house, again, I just—like, I don't understand like why this is something that my Republican friends feel that they have to do.

But, I mean, Ms. Moore?

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Ranking Member, again, I will also say, I mean, that has been a quandary of certain folks in certain situations. You are right. It is complex. People have very different lives.

Mr. MCGOVERN. What happens if childcare is not available?

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. And that is why the State has and will retain flexibility with waivers to be able to meet those individual needs. We just need to make sure that the States administer the programs according to the intent of Congress.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Lots of luck with that. And I would just, again, say, I mean, I think a better way to do it is to not make these cuts and maybe not give tax breaks to billionaires.

Ms. Moore.

Ms. MOORE. Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman, and I do appreciate this vigorous discussion.

You know, as a co-chair of the bipartisan foster youth program here in Congress, I can tell you that leaving a 7-year-old at home while the parent goes to work, there is a name for that. It is called child abuse and neglect. That will get you a case.

And I know people who have had their children removed from their homes for that very reason. They were at work, couldn't afford childcare, and left their child at home.

Let me just say this. As a survivor of childhood sexual assault, I guarantee you that Chester the Molester is going to know that your child is at home on a regular basis while you are out working to meet these work requirements. And they will find an opportunity to pretend that your mom told them to come by or you have seen them or come on, go to the store with me. And if you are 7 years old, you are vulnerable.

I can tell you that if the house catches on fire while the 7-year-old is in the house because they tried to make themselves some chicken nuggets and turned the stove on, that that is going to be a little bit of a problem.

I also want to mention another thing about this 80 hours. I think this 80 hours is very interesting.

I remember my daughter once working for a daycare center, and, I mean, the minute she hit that 19th hour, no matter how busy they were, they sent her home because they didn't want to incur the payroll tax charges.

And employers will make decisions that low-wage people, low-income people, people that you are targeting, don't have any choice about it. You are working in the fast food restaurant, they are not going to let you work 40 hours a week so they have to pay workman's comp. They are not going to let you work 20 hours a week in order to do it. They are dumb if they do because they don't—the whole point is, is to have people churning in and out.

So I don't want to—this is—I so appreciate my colleagues here from the Ag Committee that have greater information about this particular part of the bill. But I just could not let it pass without talking. So you want to change anything, this 7-year-old at home alone, there is a name for it: child abuse and neglect.

Thank you. I yield back.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I just want to ask a few quick questions to Chairman Smith. You know, Chairman Smith, you keep saying that, if we don't pass this beautiful bill, it will result in the biggest tax increase in history. Well, you know, as I see it, that is your fault. And why? Because, when you passed your tax bill in 2017, you made the corporate tax cuts permanent, but you made the tax cuts for middle class temporary. So, when those cuts expire and the rates go up on hardworking Americans, it is because you drafted your bill—that is the way you drafted your bill.

I mean, another thing, you keep touting no tax on tips, no tax on overtime, setting aside that, under this bill, parts of tips and overtime are still taxed; just like in 2017, you drafted those tax cuts as only being temporary. They expire. So, if these are an important center piece to help working-class Americans, why are you making them expire? Why are those tax cuts temporary?

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. So the bill that we passed in 2017 out of the House made everything permanent. It was the other side of the building that put the expirations in. But the bill that I drafted, Mr. McGovern, and that I was part of the Ways and Means Committee, made everything permanent. And the good thing about it

is this one, big, beautiful bill before you will make all those expiring provisions permanent.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Well, let me ask you this: Do you think the child tax credit should go down in 2029?

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. You are talking about 2029.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Yeah.

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. That is the enhanced boost that we are doing, which is $500 more for the child tax credit.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Right. But you think it should expire in 2029?

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. I would love for it to go longer, but I would love for Democrats to work with us to try to make sure we have permanent tax policy.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Do you think the standard deduction should fall in 2029?

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Absolutely not. That is why I think Democrats would want to work with us to make sure that we continue to provide tax relief for working families.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Do you think taxes should go up on senior citizens in 2029?

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. That is why I hope Democrats will work with us to make sure that we are providing tax relief for seniors.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Do you think people should have to pay taxes on their tips in 2029?

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. That is why you will vote with me to make sure that it doesn't happen, right, Mr. McGovern?

Mr. MCGOVERN. And do you think that people should have to pay tax on their overtime in 2029?

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. That is why we are eliminating it in this bill, and that is why you are voting against it.

Mr. MCGOVERN. No. I mean, I am voting against it because I don't like the taxes for billionaires and the cuts in healthcare and the egregious cuts——

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. But no tax for overtime is in this bill——

Mr. MCGOVERN. And, as I said at the beginning, I mean, we are more than willing to work with you on tax cuts and tax relief for those in the middle and for those vulnerable populations. But it just seems that all these provisions that seem to benefit the people who are most well-off and well-connected don't have to worry about that, but all this other stuff we do.

So I will just close with this, you know, I think this is an awful, awful bill, and I understand why we began meeting at 1 in the morning to talk about this because I think my Republican friends don't want people to know about it. The idea of people losing healthcare benefits and the idea of billionaires getting tax cuts and people losing their food benefits, I said this in the Ag Committee, I said that there is a special place in hell for people who take food away from hungry people. And I feel very, very strongly about this. I am angry that this is the path that you have chosen to go down, and we are going to fight like hell on the House floor. I yield back.

Mr. GRIFFITH [presiding].

The gentleman yields back. I now recognize Mrs. Fischbach for her time of questioning.

Mrs. FISCHBACH. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

And I can tell who got a full night sleep. So that just kind of shows.

But, first, I want to start out by thanking Chairman Thompson for all of your work on your portion of the bill. I know you have been working a long time, and you have not only the America's farmers, you know, that you are concerned with them and you are working towards them but also the people that are affected by the bill. So I appreciate your work.

And, Chairman Guthrie and Chairman Walberg, appreciate what you have done. I mean, you have done wonderful things, and I know that you have been working on it for months and months and months. It went through your committee, and we have all been working on those things over a great span of time.

And, Mr. Smith, Chairman Smith, excuse me, I have to say, I thank you for your work on Ways and Means, and I was honored to work with you on that. We have been working a year, well over a year, working through all of these provisions and making sure that we are addressing the issues that we need to to keep the economy going, to offer tax breaks to the middle income, and all of those things that we did.

And you mentioned some of the provisions or a lot of the provisions that were—and we have discussed a few of them that are in the bill, and, you know, I wanted to get just a little more specific, because some of—you know, as we were talking about we need to talk about people; we need to talk about what is going on. And, you know, we heard about how important 199(a), over the year that we worked, and I am sure everybody has heard from their constituents. We heard about how important the 199(a), 20 percent deduction is, and we were able to increase that to 23 percent.

I will just tell you, in my district, that affects 55,000 small businesses and family farms, and you know what? I don't think they are billionaires. I mean, if I have 55,000 billionaires in my district, that is incredible. I would like to meet them.

And, just to put it into perspective, in Ms. Scanlon's district, there are 60,000 small businesses that would be hit with a 43.4 percent tax rate if this bill isn't put in place. In Mr. Neguse's district, it is over 110,000 small businesses that are affected by 199(a). In Ms. Leger Fernández' district, it is over 41,000 small businesses. And, in Mr. McGovern's, it is 67,000 small businesses that are affected. And these are not billionaires. They are not billionaires. These are small businesses, the backbone of our communities, and that is why that is so important.

This bill does invest in tax relief for workers, families, farmers, rural communities in a way that we haven't seen before. This is incredible. And, if we talk about the child tax credit, we talk about the enhanced child tax credit. In my district, 75,000 families are affected by that provision. In Ms. Scanlon's district, there are 83,000 families that are affected by that; Mr. Neguse's district, 73,000 families that are affected by the child tax credit; in Ms. Leger Fernández's district, 75,000; and, in Mr. McGovern, almost 100,000. And all of those people would see their child tax credit cut in half without this bill.

These are regular people, regular, middle-income people that will be affected if we do not take to heart those provisions and pass this

bill. This is about making sure that people have what they need; the middle income are there and supported.

You know, and I also just wanted to say, you know, we have made some mention about the length of time and that these provisions haven't been made permanent. And, just as a side note, just to throw it out, when Democrats in 2020 passed the Inflation Reduction Act, they only extended the enhanced premium tax credits through 2025. Hmmm, was there an election in 2024? Oh. Because I think that was the implication that we had somehow done it because of an election. But, instead, what was prioritized in that bill was wealthy individuals trying to buy electric vehicles. So that was the difference. This bill actually helps the middle income and not to just do that.

But I did want to just really focus a little bit, and I want—Chairman Smith, you know, we have talked a lot about the families and the middle income, but I did want to circle back and just talk a little bit about the provision that we put for seniors, that we created for seniors. So if you could talk just a little bit about that.

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Absolutely. First off, I just want to hit on, this bill affects 40 million children with the child tax credit. So every congressional district is drastically affected.

In regards to the tax relief for seniors, this is—currently in the Tax Code, a senior 65 years old and older gets to deduct about $1,900 from their standard deduction. They can get the standard deduction if they are single, $15,000, and then that senior deduction is an added tax savings for them. What we did, we actually increased it $4,000. So now they will be able to deduct almost $6,000 of that standard deduction, and that is equivalent—that is the equivalent of a person who makes $75,000 or less a year not owing any on Social Security, any taxes on Social Security.

Mrs. FISCHBACH. And, Chairman Smith, I just have to ask so we can make sure that everybody understands, are those billionaires?

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. If someone makes less than $75,000 a year, they are definitely not billionaires.

Mrs. FISCHBACH. Thank you for clarifying that for me, because I hear that a lot, that we are just, you know, benefiting billionaires, and it is absolutely not true. The American people are positively affected by this bill, the average middle-income family, and I thank you for putting it together.

And I thank the chair for all of the input for this bill. And, with that, I yield back.

Mr. GRIFFITH. The gentlelady yields back.

I now recognize Ms. Scanlon for her 5 minutes of questioning.

Ms. SCANLON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Good morning to our witnesses. Thank you for joining us here. You can thank the Speaker for scheduling the early morning wakeup call for everyone. For some reason, I keep thinking of a song, "There's Got to Be a Morning After," from a disaster film, which may be an appropriate analogy here, because we all know that you don't schedule a 1 a.m. hearing unless you have a disaster of a bill that you want to hide from the public.

And we don't have to look far to see why they want to hide this bill. It is an all-out assault on the American social contract. They are trying to sell it as some kind of economic growth plan. Thank

you, triple-down fictions again. But, if you look past the press releases, what you find is a Frankenstein monster of a bill that kicks people off their healthcare, cuts nutrition assistance for working families, guts clean energy investments, and hands out trillions of dollars in tax breaks to the wealthiest people of the country.

And, as we learned from a CBO report overnight, it is going to cut $0.5 trillion from Medicare in addition to the cuts to Medicaid and impose or initiate a wealth transfer from the 10 percent of folks in this country who have the lowest income to the 10 percent that have the highest. So not saying that there aren't lots of tax cuts in here, but it is at whose expense I think is the question.

If Mrs. Fischbach wants to have a conversation about tax cuts for small businesses, we would love to have that conversation, but it was never brought up for discussion with the entirety of Congress. What we have seen, and in my district—maybe it is not the same thing in her district, but we have seen that tens of thousands of people will lose their health insurance. Tens of thousands of families will lose SNAP benefits. And that is just unacceptable.

Let's start with the cuts to food assistance. At a time when food prices are high and getting higher because of tariffs, when wages haven't caught up with the cost of living, when families are still recovering from the financial strain of the pandemic, this bill takes a sledgehammer to SNAP. We are talking about a program that helps feed nearly 42 million Americans, one in four children in this country, one of the most effective antipoverty programs that we have. It lifts millions out of poverty every year, and it does so with efficiency and dignity.

At a certain level, it even provides a form of corporate welfare so that big businesses don't have to pay their workers a living wage. But Republicans aren't satisfied with that. Instead of working to expand access to food, this bill imposes more paperwork requirements, shortens eligibility windows, and slashes benefits. Republicans are claiming this will promote work, but the overwhelming body of evidence shows that their work requirements don't actually increase employment. They just make it harder for people to eat.

You can't work if you are hungry. You can't hold down a job if you can't afford to feed your kids. Kids can't succeed in school if they are hungry. And no one can pull themselves up by their bootstraps if they are stuck in a hole that Congress has already dug for them.

According to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, the SNAP cuts in this bill could result in nearly 2 million people losing access to food assistance. That is 2 million seniors, veterans, people with disabilities, single moms being told by the government of the richest nation on Earth, "Sorry, you are on your own." And to what end? So that Republicans can claim to save a few billion dollars at the same time that they are extending the Trump tax cuts for the top 1 percent, a move that is going to cost this country over $3 trillion over the next decade.

So let's be crystal clear, the tradeoff that Republicans are proposing in this bill is not between cutting waste and boosting growth. It is between feeding children and giving billionaires another yacht. And speaking of tax cuts, let's talk about what the bill

does on that front because it is breathtaking in its recklessness. It locks in place the worst parts of the 2017 Trump tax law. It extends tax breaks for corporations, slashes taxes for people at the very top, and opens up new loopholes for the ultra wealthy to exploit.

According to the Penn Wharton Budget Model and the Tax Policy Center, more than half the benefits from these tax provisions go to the top 1 percent. Meanwhile, middle-class families will see little to no benefits, and millions of them will actually see their taxes go up because the cost of the Trump tariffs are greater than the tax cut they are going to receive. So this bill was going to increase the already obscene inequality in our Tax Code and do so at a moment when the ultra wealthy are already paying a lower effective tax rate than working-class Americans.

If you want to talk about fairness and rewarding work, maybe we should start by asking why a billionaire hedge fund manager pays a lower effective tax rate than a firefighter, a nurse, a plumber, or a school teacher. This isn't tax reform. It is tax rigging. It is trickle-down economics with a fresh coat of paint. And, like every other time this theory has been tried, it is going to end in disaster.

We already have a preview of what is coming because the fiscal impact of this bill is a five-alarm fire. The bill is projected to add more than $3 trillion to the deficit over the next 10 years. And that is not coming from liberal think tanks; it is coming from conservative think tanks and former Republican budget officials. And that is a baseline estimate. That is before the creative accounting and gimmicks gets stripped away.

Once you dig into the details, factor in the full cost of the tax cut extensions, the impact of the new tariffs, and the backloaded nature of the spending cuts, the real number could be much higher, and that is before we even see what is going to be in the amendment that nobody has seen yet to this bill before it hits the floor.

So Republicans are saying, "Don't worry, tax cuts will pay for themselves," but we have heard this song before. They said the same thing in 2001. They said it again in 2003. They definitely said it in 2017. And, in every single case, the result was the same: bigger deficits, slower growth, and greater income inequality. There is no serious economist, none, who believes that extending the tax cuts will magically balance the budget. And we know that Moody's just downgraded our credit rating in part because they know these tax cuts will balloon the deficit and make our fiscal situation even worse.

How do we propose—how do the Republicans propose to deal with that deficit? Not by rolling back the tax cuts, not by asking the wealthiest among us to pay their fair share, but by cutting healthcare, slashing food assistance, and gutting the programs that ordinary Americans rely on every day.

So, looking at the healthcare cuts, because they are among the most devastating parts of this bill, if this bill becomes law, nearly 14 million people lose their health coverage. 14 million. Millions of low-income Americans who rely on Medicaid for doctors visits, prescription drugs, lifesaving treatments. That includes working families who use the Affordable Care Act to buy coverage on the marketplace. It includes cancer patients, people with disabilities and

chronic illnesses, and seniors in nursing homes. We are hearing from all of our nursing homes about how devastating these cuts will be.

This bill rolls back Medicaid expansion, slashes subsidies for ACA coverage, and imposes harsh, new work requirements that will lead to coverage losses without increasing employment. And we know this because the data is overwhelming. When Arkansas imposed similar Medicaid work requirements a few years ago, more than 18,000 people lost coverage, and there was no measurable increase in employment. That is because most Medicaid recipients are already working, or they are caring for a child, or they have a disability, or they are in school.

So the work requirements, so-called work requirements, they are actually paperwork requirements. They will kick people off Medicaid not because they aren't eligible but because they have to jump through more hoops to prove it. And it is not about promoting work; it is about punishing poverty and making life harder for people who are already struggling.

Just like with SNAP, the savings from these healthcare cuts are pennies compared to the cost of the tax breaks that Republicans are giving to their wealthy donors. You don't get to call yourself fiscally responsible when you are taking healthcare away from cancer patients so that Elon Musk can get another tax write-off.

Congressional Budget Office has been crystal clear: Medicaid work requirements don't increase employment. They just increase the paperwork and the number of people who lose healthcare. This isn't about work; it is about trying to justify an unjustifiable tax giveaway to the rich.

And then we have the clean energy and environmental investments that are being gutted in this bill. At a time when we are seeing record wildfires, catastrophic flooding, skyrocketing insurance premiums due to climate-related disasters, Republicans want to gut the very programs that are helping us fight back. This bill rescinds billions of dollars in clean energy tax credits, slashes funding for renewable energy deployment, blocks support for home energy efficiency that many homeowners in my district have been able to use to upgrade their furnaces and water heaters and reduce their energy costs. And it even goes after investments in climate resilience and environmental justice.

So this is just sabotage. These clean energy investments aren't just good for the planet; they are good for our economy. They have created jobs. They have reduced household energy bills, and they keep our air and water clean. And they help our communities, particularly disadvantaged communities, prepare for and respond to climate threats.

But, because these provisions were passed by Democrats and they help us transition to more sustainable energy sources and reduce our reliance on fossil fuels, Republicans are determined to tear them down. And the irony is that a lot of these projects are happening in red States: Texas, Oklahoma, Iowa; they are leading the way in wind and solar development. But this bill is going to pull the rug out from under that progress all to make a political point.

The American people deserve better than this. They deserve a government that works for them, not one that caves to corporate lobbyists, science deniers, and billionaire donors. So, just looking at the whole picture, this bill cuts food assistance from working families, kicks millions off their healthcare, hands trillions in tax breaks to the wealthiest Americans, blows a multitrillion dollar hole in the Federal deficit, and sabotages our fight against climate change. So it is not a big, beautiful bill. It is a big, disgraceful betrayal of the American people. It is a bill that punishes the poor, rewards the rich, and threatens the stability of our economy.

And the fact that it is being rushed through the House with no real debate, with new things being exposed about it practically on an hourly basis, no final CBO score, no transparency, no accountability should alarm everyone here, regardless of party. So, obviously, I am not a fan of the bill. We have to do better. The sun is up. The American people are looking.

Ranking Member Craig, this bill includes the most significant cuts to SNAP in decades. Can you explain what this means for working families and children and seniors who rely on SNAP to put food on the table.

Ms. CRAIG. Yeah, it is devastating. It is the largest cut in American history to the most successful antihunger program in American history. I mean, we are talking about, you know—and let me make sure my Republican colleagues understand this—the nutrition title is a title in the farm bill. This absolutely destroys the farm bill coalition that we have worked for decades to establish in our country.

Ms. SCANLON. One issue that is raising a lot of concern in Pennsylvania, which I represent, as does Mr. Thompson, is that, for the first time ever, this bill would require States to start paying a portion of SNAP benefits. What would this kind of cost shift, Ms. Craig, mean for the States' ability to serve their residents?

Ms. CRAIG. Well, at the end of the day, every State is going to make its own decision about what they can accomplish here, and the net effect is going to be, in many States around this country, they are going to cut the benefit. States already share 50 percent of the administration cost of this program. That goes to 75 percent. Most States, including Pennsylvania, are going to be on the hook for 25 percent of the benefit cost after this bill passes.

Ms. SCANLON. Well, I know that our State legislators are already gravely concerned about the reduction in Federal benefits coming to the Commonwealth, and this is not giving them any ease.

Representative Moore, the majority claims this bill is a middle-class tax cut, but analysis shows that people earning under $50,000 a year would get an average tax cut of less than $1 a day, while the top 1 percent would get nearly $300,000 a year. Does that sound like a fair or balanced approach to tax policy?

Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin. Absolutely not, Ms. Scanlon. You are correct that it really increases inequality. And, for those of us who remember our history, when we went into the Great Depression, it was the biggest inequality we had experienced in American history. And, you know, and this sort of resembles putting us in that direction. In this bill the top 1 percent get 20 percent of the benefit in

2027. The top 5 percent get 40 percent of the benefit. The top 10 percent get 52 percent of the benefit of this bill.

Ms. Scanlon, if you would just indulge me for a moment, I just want to talk a little bit about the, quote/unquote, small business benefit. I notice that Mrs. Fischbach referenced the numbers of small businesses in all of the Democrats' communities that would be affected. And so I just have a real question, is it is or is it ain't a small business?

I am looking at one of the things I think is particularly egregious, one of the most expensive pieces of this big, beautiful, bonanza for billionaires, that is the 199A deduction. They claim it is for small business, this passthrough deduction, and, you know, they wax on about, you know, how important it is. In 2022, that was the year that we were able to—that JCT was able to find data.

In 2022, taxpayers claiming the 199A deduction with adjusted gross income, all of it qualified business income, in the neighborhood of $200,000 a year. That small business claimed about $6,500, $6,500 on average. Taxpayers claiming the 199A deduction with adjusted gross income in the neighborhood of $10 million. Still, this is small business. They claimed about $520,000 of this deduction on average.

In 2022, there were about 800 taxpayers. You know, they are supposed to be—I know, you know, Mr. Smith here is going to tell you that there are limits on how much you can earn in order to qualify for the 199A, but not so much in this bill nor in 2022. There are about 800 taxpayers with adjusted gross incomes exceeding $100 million that received the 199A deduction and claimed $11 million of the deduction on average.

And, I mean, I am not going to be picking on Republicans here in their district. I will just talk about people in my community, in Wisconsin. Dick and Liz Uihlein in Wisconsin saved over $40 million in taxes in 2018 by claiming this 199A deduction, and they received $115 million. Now, the next question is, "Oh, well, these are our job creators"—and I know I am being performative. But, in 2022, of the 17 million people who claimed the 199A deduction—fact check this—84 percent of these businesses had zero employees, zero.

And so thank you for asking me that question, and, yeah, the benefit goes primarily to rich people. And, like I said, just in the examples that you have given, you know, the average taxpayer, not talking about businesses but individual, is going to receive $265, at least until it expires in 2029.

Ms. SCANLON. I appreciate that, and I have a few more questions for you, but I wanted to yield to the chairwoman for a minute.

Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin. Yes, ma'am.

The CHAIRWOMAN [presiding]. Yes. I think many people in here have just heard that our colleague, Gerry Connolly, has just passed away.

Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin. Oh, no.

The CHAIRWOMAN. So I want to ask us all to stop and say a prayer for his family. Please, take some time.

[Moment of Silence.]

The CHAIRWOMAN. I thank everybody.

Ms. SCANLON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Ms. Scanlon.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Thank you, Madam Chair, for doing that.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Oh, it is absolutely the right thing to do.

You are recognized, Ms. Scanlon.

Ms. SCANLON. I appreciate that. Certainly, a valued colleague, and this is quite a loss.

Representative Moore, we had just talked about the fact that the top 1 percent—or top 0.1 percent are going to get a $300,000 per year tax break——

Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin. Yeah.

Ms. SCANLON [continuing]. Which is almost four times the median household income in my district. So the fact that the very top would not only not pay their fair share but this kind of break, what do those kind of tradeoffs say about the values and priorities in this legislation?

Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin. You know, Ms. Scanlon, it exacerbates the income inequality that we have, but more importantly than that, you know, it really, really demonstrates that our values as Americans have sort of gone askew. When you can provide 310 times the benefit for the top than you do for the bottom, you are depriving people of the opportunity to participate in our economy in a meaningful way.

And the costs of that are tremendous, you know. And then, when you pile on stuff that is not in the Ways and Means jurisdiction, like the cuts to SNAP, the cuts to Medicaid, you know, when you give somebody, you know, $265 tax return, how far is that going to go with compensating for their loss of SNAP and Medicaid?

There is not one page in here that gives them any childcare assistance or anything else. And I just want to point out that, you know, we hear on and on and on, and I know Medicaid is not within our jurisdiction, but Medicare is; parts of Medicare are. And, you know—I am so sorry, I am just a little bit upset about Gerry, my friend.

But what we are seeing is that, as we dismantle healthcare and we dismantle SNAP, we are not just depriving the poorest of the poor; we are dismantling healthcare, period. I mean, rural hospitals are going to close. Urban hospitals are going to close down their maternity wards. Graduate students—I had docs come and say, "Graduate students, people who graduate from medical school, aren't going to be able to have residencies because there are going to be no hospitals."

And, even if you have the best health insurance, the premier, you are rich, when you have your heart attack, you are not going to make it when you have got to drive 35 miles to get to the ER. So, when you think that it is just only them lazy boys in the basement that are going to be hurt, you better think twice. You really better think twice when your provider leaves the area because there are too many Medicaid patients and goes somewhere, you know, Scottsdale, Arizona, or something where there are rich people to practice so that they can—and you have no providers at all.

Ms. SCANLON. Well, I wanted to pursue that line with Mr. Pallone. In our community, we actually just lost the major healthcare system. It was bought out by a private equity entity and bankrupted, and we have been unable to find anyone to take it over be-

cause the Medicaid funding source is so unstable or not sustainable or these cuts were threatened. So can you talk a little bit about what this is going to mean, these cuts to Medicaid for the entire community?

Mr. PALLONE. Well, as you point out and has already been stated, when, you know, hospitals and all healthcare institutions depend on some kind of reimbursement, private insurance, Medicare, Medicaid, whatever it is. And, if your hospital or you are a nursing home or you are a community health center, whatever, is highly dependent on Medicaid, which many rural hospitals and institutions are, then they just don't get the reimbursement rate. And now these people come to the emergency room, and they are going into the uncompensated care because they can't afford to pay the bill.

And so what does the hospital do? Well, most States don't have the ability to make up for that. Some don't have much payout, much uncompensated care at all. And so, you know, they either close, because, you know, now they can't make it, or they try to pass that onto private payers or other government, you know, other government payment programs.

The other alternative is that the quality of care goes down. So, in the case of a nursing home, rather than if they don't close and they get less money, then they just provide less services. One of the things that disturbed me the most in this bill, in the Energy and Commerce mark, was that they take away—the Republicans take away the nursing home staffing ratio, right. I think they save $7 billion or $8 billion by doing that.

What happens? Then, you know, there is no nurse there. At night, there is no nurse, you know. And, you know, people die because there is nobody to take care of them. The services go down. I remember, years ago, in my State, we had terrible nursing home situations, safety, health hazards. Nursing homes burn down. People died in the fires in my hometown. I don't want to go back to that. We have made a lot of progress, and we certainly don't want to go back to that.

But, if I could just add to what the gentlewoman from Wisconsin said that, you know, from the Energy and Commerce perspective, we are not involved with the taxes. And I do think that, you know, lower income and middle-income people are going to pay more with this bill in taxes, but that—we are concentrating on all these other affordability issues, right. In other words, we spent our time when we were in the majority trying to expand options so people could live, and it was more affordable.

So expanding Medicaid was an example of that, right. Making—you know, expansion of SNAP, making—having affordable connectivity programs so people could afford, you know, to pay for the internet. LIHEAP, right. All those things are on the chopping block now. Some of them are on the chopping block in this bill with the Medicaid cuts, but, you know, the President is essentially eliminating LIHEAP. The Republicans refuse to renew affordable connectivity.

In this bill they have, you know, up to $35 copay that is mandated, you know, so people have to pay more out of pocket. So what are we talking about here? Everything in this bill—and, you know,

I am not going to even get into the tax issues now. Everything in this bill that is within our committee makes things less affordable, right, at a time when the President said, "Oh, when I am elected prices are going to go down; everything is going to become more affordable." The opposite is happening. Groceries cost more. Inflation is going up. And this is just aggravating that situation completely.

It is the reverse Robin Hood. That is exactly what it is: Take from the poor and give to the rich. Not just with the taxes but also with everything else, because all these things are paying for tax breaks primarily for wealthy people and corporate interests.

Ms. SCANLON. Well, you have touched on so many issues that are of really paramount concern for my constituents. The LIHEAP cuts obviously are huge in our northeastern cities where we have cold winters and hot summers. The Medicaid copay, as I understand it, that was something that many of our Republican colleagues were unaware of the fact that this bill would impose a Medicaid copay.

The issues with respect to hospitals, you know, we hear quite a bit about how these Medicaid cuts are going to hurt rural hospitals, but they obviously also hurt our frontline urban hospitals. And we just had an article in the Philadelphia Inquirer this week about how many of our urban hospitals we have lost because they were dependent on Medicaid. So that remains a huge issue.

Could you comment at all, as I understand it, there is a provision in this bill that would impact the expansion of Medicaid coverage for new mothers, which is something we have been trying to work on with the Black maternal health crisis in this country and the fact that we have women dying at a rate in this country that is three, four times the rate of other developed nations, and one of the proven tactics for reducing maternal mortality is to make sure that women have healthcare coverage for the first year after birth.

Mr. PALLONE. Well, again, I have to mention that Robin Kelly is in the room, who is a member of our committee, and she with the CBC brain trust worked very hard on a lot of these maternal mortality issues because they even—in a disparate way even affect Black women even more so, you know.

But, yeah, I mean, that was another thing that we did as Democrats. We expanded to 1-year postpartum coverage, which is negatively impacted in this bill. And, again, it is another example of how Democrats were trying to make things better and more affordable and keep people healthy as opposed to Republican efforts, which will all go in the other direction.

Ms. SCANLON. Okay. Representative Scott, Pennsylvania has a disproportionately high level of folks who have student loans, and they have a greater dollar value on average than most States, and that may be in part because of problems with funding our State universities. But, nevertheless, we have a lot of people who have a lot of student loans that they are struggling to pay at this point. Can you comment on what this bill would do with respect to student loans?

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. Well, there are a couple of things on student loans. One, it limits the amount of student loans you can take out. So a lot of students will have to choose between going to college or taking out private loans to make out the difference. But, on the repayment, the repayment is much more expensive, and so—

as much of a problem they have now, it will be even more. So they limit the amount of aid you can get so a lot of students won't be able to go to school. Those that do will be paying more and for longer.

Ms. SCANLON. And, I mean, it is an issue that is really something that over our lifetimes has really just taken on a whole new structure. I mean, when I went to college, I could work as a lifeguard and get a little help from my family and take out a few loans and could manage to do that, but now you can't—without a college degree, you can't make enough money to even begin to start paying for college.

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. Well, a few decades ago, the Pell grant covered the 80 percent of the cost of going to a safe college, tuition, room, and board. Now it is about 30 percent.

Ms. SCANLON. Yeah.

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. And covering—that is where the student loan crisis came in because families don't have that kind of money.

Ms. SCANLON. Sure.

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. They have to—you know, if they don't have a lot of money, they have to come up with—make it up with loans.

Ms. SCANLON. Yeah.

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. And by limiting the amount you can borrow, you may not be able to get enough to be able to go so you don't go at all, or you get into the private loan market and pay all kinds of extra fees, and then, after you have gone, the repayment is more expensive.

Ms. SCANLON. Right.

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. So it is just a bad deal; particularly, if you are going this far into debt, people ought not be worse off.

Ms. SCANLON. So we have got bad news on the food front. We have got bad news on the health front. We have got bad news on the education front. And we have got bad news on the tax front for our working families. I think it is a bad bill, and we shouldn't move it forward. Thank you. I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Ms. Scanlon.

Mr. Norman, you are recognized.

Mr. NORMAN. You know, I have listened to this filibuster for a good while, all of us have. And, you know, when you keep hearing the four-letter word "work" being demonized, when you keep hearing the fact that your—because somebody has to go to work, your children are dying, mothers are starving, you know, it is really—that is really an insult to the working Americans, to that plumber who works 80 hours a week, to that electrician who works nonstop, to that waitress who is on her feet all day long.

You know, and when you look at the work requirements, fact check, Ms. Moore, do you know what it is? 20 hours a week. 20 hours that I think, if my math is right, that is 4 hours a day.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. Norman, would you yield just one second? It is 80 hours a month, which comes out to 18.4 hours per week. So——

Mr. NORMAN. Fact check.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Fact check.

Mr. NORMAN. Okay. 18 hours a week. Okay. That is an insult. To whoever is watching this hearing, that is an insult to the hard-working Americans that, regardless of what you do, work brings dignity. Work brings a cause, a sense of purpose. Work brings a reason to get up in the morning. Work helps you find your God-given talent. And to say work is going to kill children, work is going to kill mothers, fathers, you are just—you are not telling the truth. That is not right. America was built on work. And I can hear over and over and over again——

Mr. NEGUSE. Would the gentleman yield?

Mr. NORMAN [continuing]. This rich, poor, billionaires, you know, the identity politics, thank God, 77 million people said no to that. They are tired of it. And America is a great country because of work, and people are willing to do it. And it is really, you know, when you look at the fraud that is going on, and I think from what—if you check your facts——

Mr. NEGUSE. Would the gentleman yield?

Mr. NORMAN [continuing]. We have got—no—there is $13 billion that—if you check the facts, $13 billion of fraud, like in the SNAP cases, people getting money when they shouldn't have, $13 billion per year—that is $1.3 billion per month, if I check my facts right. You know, Americans have had enough of this. And I am sorry. I know you learned it from the President Biden, free education, free food for 15 million illegals that came into this country, you know, free housing. I am sorry. That is not how this country was built.

And, you know, I admire all of you for the work that you do. Each one of you do work. And, for those who keep identifying as—you know, demonizing work and demonizing those who have been successful, you never know the long hours that they put in, the long hours that they took to build a business, the long hours that they didn't get a paycheck. So you are hurting the very people who you could give hope to. And, by demonizing this, Americans are just tired of it.

You want to know somebody who is the definition of hard work? Right here. Came from nothing. Look at what she did. Many of you. And, if you want to say rich, I think, if you have got your health, you are pretty rich. If you have got your health. Gerry Connolly would get it back. So, you know, I resent you saying that. And I really—it is a sad day that we have gotten to that point in this country when so many people are doing that and——

Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin. Are you asking me a question, sir?

Mr. NORMAN. No, ma'am.

Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin. Oh, I didn't think you would.

Mr. NORMAN. You filibustered long enough.

Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin. I didn't think you were actually asking me a question about work.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Gwen. Gwen.

Mr. NORMAN. I did not ask you a question, no. I am not asking you a question. What I am saying is—what I am—it is my time, Ms. Moore. I didn't interrupt you. You went on for—I counted. You went on for 20 minutes, which is fine. And you are entertaining, I will give you that. But all I am saying is——

Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin. I am just really smart.

Mr. NORMAN. Ms. Moore, it is my time. All I am saying is that the day of demonizing work, the day of demonizing America is over with. And American people got it right, and we are going to continue to have a great country. This bill, this big, beautiful bill, will help this country out. It has got some things we have got to work out, but it will help this country.

And the other thing I will tell you is the taxes are the people's money. Government is you all's God. The taxes are the people's money, and to give it back to them like Chairman Smith and Chairman Thompson and Tim, you know, that is the right thing to do. So we are going to right the wrong for the last 4 years, that this country has been through a living hell with this past President. Thank God we have got people who are willing to step up and go to work.

I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Norman.

Mr. Neguse, you are recognized.

Mr. NEGUSE. Thank you. Thank you, Madam Chair.

Well, my friend from South Carolina talked a lot about work. Just for the record, we have been working for the last 8 hours here in the committee, and I could say the same for the chairwoman. I am not so sure I could say the same about you. I think you snuck out for a little shut eye for a few hours. So I am not sure. There is a lot of talk about work, but I haven't seen you in a few hours. So welcome back.

Anyway, I do want to take a minute, in all seriousness, and I want to thank the chairwoman for taking a moment to center our conversation here just to remember and honor our colleague, whom I know we all treasured, and he was a giant among giants in this institution. He was a ranking member of one of our committees. He was the president of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly appointed by Madam Speaker Emerita.

He was one of the most prolific legislators in the House. I don't know that there is a single Member of the House during his tenure in this Body that had more laws signed—or, excuse me, more pieces of legislation signed into law by Presidents of both parties. And, more than anything else, he was a fighter and a friend. And so I just know that we are going to miss him, and I think it is a big loss for the people of Fairfax and for the folks in the Commonwealth of Virginia and for this institution.

I want to ask some questions. Thank you to the panel. You all have been—I think it is the longest panel. As you know, we started at 1 a.m. So we have been here for about 8 hours. I am told the sun has risen and that it is morning outside, but we haven't, you know, been outside the room yet. So we will just have to take your word for it.

And, as I said to the panel that preceded yours, I have been—I think maybe I could speak for my colleagues on this side of the aisle—we have been on this collective journey to try to figure out why the Speaker and Republican leadership decided to do this midnight, middle-of-the-night, dead-of-night hearing on your reconciliation bill. And, of course, we believe it is because this bill is indefensible and Republican leadership did not want this bill debated out in the open.

And I have tried to get answers from a variety of my different colleagues. One of my colleagues from Virginia, Mr. Griffith, offered an explanation more recently and essentially said, "Well, we did it in anticipation that there would be extensive debate by Democrats on this committee." Of course, it was only four of us on this committee.

Mr. Guthrie, Chairman Guthrie, you haven't had a question in a while. So maybe I will pose this to you. How long was your hearing in Energy and Commerce?

Mr. GUTHRIE. First, my comments on Gerry. He was probably one of my dear friends here and was supposed to be honored this weekend in Dayton, Ohio, with a NATO meeting. People don't really realize this; there is actually a NATO Parliament, and some of us are designated, and he was the president or speaker of the NATO Parliament. So not only is Gerry beloved by all of us, he is beloved around the world. All of our NATO allies, every time he showed up at a meeting, "Gerry, there is Gerry; there is Gerry." And everybody adored him, because he is just an adorable, wonderful person, and I am going to miss him. And I will be in Dayton this weekend, and I am sure a lot of us are going to shed a lot of tears for him.

So the question, my hearing went for 26 and a half hours.

Mr. NEGUSE. 26 and a half hours. What time did you start it?

Mr. GUTHRIE. We started at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

Mr. NEGUSE. 2 o'clock in the afternoon. So you weren't worried about the anticipatory debate. You knew that Ranking Member Pallone was going to come armed with extensive arguments and motions and amendments, but you decided to hold the hearing during the day, nonetheless, right?

Mr. GUTHRIE. We started during the day.

Mr. NEGUSE. Started during the day.

Mr. GUTHRIE. We started during the day.

Mr. NEGUSE. Well, I wish that the Speaker would have taken the same approach, but it is clear to me and I think clear to the American public that he did not want to have this debate happen during the day. And I could understand why, given what we have heard thus far.

Chairman Smith, I want to talk to you a bit about tax on tips. I heard your opening statement, and I think in some of the colloquies thus far, I think suffice to say that you are very passionate about the no tax on tips. Is that a fair——

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Yeah. I am passionate because of the 4 million tipped employees. Just yesterday, in Washington, D.C., at the restaurant that I was at, my waiter asked me, "Are you going to be able to deliver this, Chairman?" So this affects real Americans, so very much passionate about it.

Mr. NEGUSE. Totally. Why haven't you passed a standalone bill to get this done if it is so important?

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Because there is a 60-vote rule over the in the Senate.

Mr. NEGUSE. The Senate just passed their bill yesterday.

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Which is unconstitutional, because all taxing has to originate from the House——

Mr. NEGUSE. Of course. I am well aware. I guess, I heard your first explanation was, well, there is a 60-vote Senate barrier. So, of course, we could never get it past the Senate. But then Ted Cruz and Jacky Rosen, my understanding, is they passed the bill by unanimous consent. Of course, as you said, there is the constitutionality issue. So I just don't understand why the Ways and Means Committee doesn't just markup a bill.

Actually, I think the sponsor of the bill is sitting right behind you. He has been in this hearing since like 3 a.m., Mr. Horsford. He has got a great bill on this. I think we could get this on the bill tomorrow. I think there would be bipartisan strong support. Clearly, there is unanimous support in the Senate. I mean, if you are so passionate about it, why don't we get it done?

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Neguse, you know that I have tried to work on tax policy, bipartisan tax policy the last Congress that we got 82 percent of the vote to move it forward. Unfortunately, it died in the Senate. So sometimes bipartisan tax policy does not work. I believe the no tax on tips, the no tax on overtime, the tax relief for seniors are so urgent that I would not allow a tax bill to move forward unless it includes that in the House of Representatives. That is why I am delivering for working-class Americans.

Mr. NEGUSE. Yeah, no. I—well, anyway, I don't want to belabor the point here. You keep referencing the Senate. Unless I am missing something, I thought the United States Senate passed on unanimous consent without any objections, Ted Cruz, Jacky Rosen, Democrat/Republican bill to not tax tips. And so I am not really understanding the hurdle there. But, anyway, you have a different world view as to, I guess, the way to effectuate it.

Can you give us a sense of where the State and local tax deduction piece is going to end? What are we going to be voting on later today?

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. What I will say is the $30,000 deduction that we passed out of the Ways and Means Committee, capping it at people who make less than $400,000. The Ways and Means Committee felt like that that was a reasonable compromise that would help provide necessary tax relief, and that is what the language is right now.

Mr. NEGUSE. Okay. But, I mean, you are the chairman of the committee. We are supposed to be voting on this bill in a few hours, is what I understand. There is rumors of a manager's amendment or maybe a secondary manager's amendment, or they will come up with some other way to describe a third manager's amendment. I am not sure. There is a lot of reporting on it. Who would I go to talk to to figure out what we are voting on later today as it relates to this State and local tax deduction?

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. I would say that is going to be the discussion of the Rules Committee when the manager's amendment is offered and debated. So you will probably know before most Members of Congress.

Mr. NEGUSE. I hope so. We have been here for 8 hours, and we have yet to get any indication of that. And I am not—I mean, this would apply to Chairman Guthrie as well. I mean, we have heard a lot about the IRA phaseouts. I don't know if you have—do you have anything to share with the group about where that stands?

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. That would be Ways and Means Committee jurisdiction, not Guthrie's. E&C doesn't have a lot of committee of jurisdiction.

Mr. NEGUSE. Well, I will let you two battle that out.

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. But, from my understanding, the Ways and Means Committee, I have not seen any changes to the phaseouts or what we have had in regards to the IRA.

Mr. NEGUSE. So what we have in the Rules mark now you believe is what we will be voting on this evening or whenever——

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. That is what I am here testifying in regards to.

Mr. NEGUSE. Okay. Well, that is a different answer. And I can appreciate your position. I guess my point here, and I know—I was hoping to ask Mr. Roy this question, because I hadn't seen him the last 8 hours, but he——

Mr. NORMAN. He is working.

Mr. NEGUSE. Well, yeah. Apparently, he is negotiating it. So maybe he can come in, and he can give us some indication as to the answers on both of those fronts. So I see—well, I guess Chip Roy has announced "I am a no," but I don't know that that makes—anyway, we will hear from him directly.

Some questions for you, Chairman Thompson, with respect to the Agriculture mark, help me understand—and maybe Ranking Member Craig can help me understand this as well. You all have sunsetted the exemption for—well, no, sorry. You have included an exemption for veterans within the—what you have determined to be the able-bodied requirements in SNAP.

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Yes, we have. We have veterans, homeless, and young people that age out of foster care up to age 24.

Mr. NEGUSE. Veterans, homeless, and then what was the third?

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Foster youth.

Mr. NEGUSE. Foster youth.

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Yeah.

Mr. NEGUSE. But you sunset that exemption in 2030. That exemption only lasts through 2030, correct?

Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin. Yep.

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Oh, that is correct, because those were actually put in place in the Fiscal Responsibility Act. That is where those three provisions——

Mr. NEGUSE. Sure.

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania [continuing]. Were added. And I actually believe that——

Mr. NEGUSE. Let me ask you, I guess the question I am asking is, why not eliminate that sunset if the——

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Well, my question back to you is, why would you not want those individuals to have access to greater opportunity, which only comes through being eligible under the SNAP title and the nutrition benefits, you know, for the career and technical education, SNAP employment and career and technical education. You know, the farm bill——

Mr. NEGUSE. Why are you exempting, if that is the case?

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania [continuing]. We put—about $1.1 trillion is what we put into the nutrition title. And a big part of that——

Mr. NEGUSE. Sure.

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania [continuing]. Is the investment in greater opportunity through those educational benefits.

Mr. NEGUSE. Okay. Let me take a step back so I can just understand. I guess what I am trying to understand is the rationale for the exemption. You have exempted veterans, homeless youth, foster youth from these requirements until 2030.

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Well——

Mr. NEGUSE. Hold on. Let me finish. You have clearly decided that it is important to proceed with those exemptions until 2030; otherwise, you would have said we are just going to end the exemption now. So you believe it is important to do for the next few years. Why have you decided not to extend it further? Why is 2030 the year that you have decided that veterans should no longer be able to be exempted from these requirements?

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. That was a part of what—quite frankly, my negotiations on that with the Fiscal Responsibility Act were with President Biden, and that was the language——

Mr. NEGUSE. Sure, but you are not locked into that now. You all have abandoned most of the Fiscal Responsibility Act agreements——

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. That was a great negotiation. You know, we both saw—each side—some good provisions. But, at the same time, even back then, I felt that it was—it really was disrespectful to veterans to—well, we will just talk—you led off with veterans to—you know, to not have an opportunity to benefit from the investments that are there under the nutrition title for SNAP employment and career and technical education.

Mr. NEGUSE. If you feel that way, why keep it? I don't understand. I guess you are saying, "We have this exemption. It is important for foster youth, for the homeless, and for veterans. But, also, we believe that we shouldn't have this exemption, and so that is why we are comfortable with it ending in 2030."

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Well, usually, taking somebody off a cliff immediately is a really bad idea. We don't really do that with this bill. Even with the State share, we provide——

Mr. NEGUSE. I agree with you about describing it as a cliff and not an opportunity. I mean, that is exactly what my sort of point is, right?

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. So we look closely at poverty cliffs and, you know—and, you know, I think taking folks off of that—that 2030 expiration really will serve the veterans population in particular, and I also think the youth coming off out of foster care.

Mr. NEGUSE. Sure. How much money do you think it would cost—your team may have a better sense of this than I would—to extend that out to 2031 or to 2032? Do you all know what it costs per year for that exemption to have continued?

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. I am not sure the CBO has provided that score. Yeah.

Mr. NEGUSE. I mean, are we talking tens of millions? Hundreds of millions of dollars?

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Well, we would have to look back. You all would have to look back at the Fiscal Responsibility Act to see what the score was on that.

Mr. NEGUSE. Okay. Here is why I ask. To me, it seems like really what we are getting at—right—is a question of priorities, resources, and values. And it would not take, I don't believe, a lot of resources or a lot of investment to be able to avoid that cliff hitting these veterans and these foster youth in 2030, right?

And let me give you an example, right? There is a simple way—are you familiar with the tax on silencers? You are familiar with that——

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. I am.

Mr. NEGUSE [continuing]. Provision of the Tax Code?

And you are aware that this bill repeals that tax?

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. That is correct.

Mr. NEGUSE. All right. And that tax—do you know how much that is going to generate in terms of revenue over 10 years?

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. I don't. It wasn't in my jurisdiction. What I can tell you as a former health care professional——

Mr. NEGUSE. Let me tell you. It is 1.4—let me finish. You said you don't know; so let me tell you. I hear you.

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. These oppressors are health care——

Mr. NEGUSE. I understand. I hear you. So let me just explain it to you. Over 10 years, the Joint Committee on Taxation estimates that this particular appeal will generate $1.4 billion. Think about that.

Hold on. I am not asking you a question, Mr. Chairman. 1.4——

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Well, you did ask me a question——

Mr. NEGUSE. I am not asking you a question now. I will give you an opportunity in a moment to answer a question—Mr. Chairman, I will give you an opportunity to finish. I am not asking you a question. Mr. Chairman, I am not asking you a question.

I will redirect it to the ranking member since I am not asking you a question. Ranking Member——

Mr. GRIFFITH [presiding]. All right. Just remember it is the member of the committee's time and——

Mr. NEGUSE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. GRIFFITH [continuing]. We can't have the back-and-forth.

Mr. NEGUSE. So I will simply say this, and I will address this towards the ranking member: $1.4 billion that will be generated by virtue of this repeal of the silencer tax. This is a tax that has been on the books since the mid-1930s. One hundred years. That is during Republican administrations, Democratic administrations.

I don't remember Republicans or President Trump, for that matter, trying to repeal this tax in 2017 when you all were pursuing this the first time around. And, yet, you have decided on this course to repeal this particular tax that would generate $1.4 billion in revenue.

Just imagine, Ranking Member Craig, what you could do with that $1.4 billion to address the cliffs that the chairman of the Agri-

culture Committee had described with respect to veterans and foster youth—the poverty cliff, I think, was the phrase that he used—that they will face under this bill in 4.5 years.

Ranking Member, I am happy to give you an opportunity.

Ms. CRAIG. Well, we could spend—excuse me—we wouldn't have to cut, I suppose, or Republicans wouldn't have to cut food out of the mouths of hungry children, veterans, and our Nation's seniors.

What is happening in this committee is egregious. You just think about the revenue savings that you are cutting from a title of the farm bill. And I know I keep saying that, but I know my Republican colleagues across the aisle know that the nutrition title is part of the farm bill. And they know that these cuts—$313 billion to a title of the farm bill outside of a 12-title, 5-year process—are putting a farm bill in jeopardy. And my colleagues are coming after food.

We talk about work. I wish Mr. Norman was still here. Nobody here is arguing against work.

Mr. NEGUSE. He is done working. He left.

Ms. CRAIG. He left again. He is done working, apparently. Mr. Norman said, "What do you get?" Are you kidding me? We already have work requirements in SNAP. What we are doing is we are adding work requirements to single parents of 7-year-olds. Who thinks that is a good idea? It is egregious. And, when you talk about childcare costs in this country, it is egregious where we are.

And, you know, Mr. Norman—and I could use—I could give you examples for every single one of your districts, but I am going to use his just because I had it open here. We are talking about 11 percent of the State population in South Carolina that he is going to cut. We are talking about $321 million a year to the taxpayers of South Carolina in additional cost shifts. We are talking about a billion dollars a year to the State of Pennsylvania. These are real dollars if we move forward with these.

And so, I have no idea why we think it is a good idea to repeal a tax on silencers when we are going to feed fewer children in our country as a result of this. It is a moral damn failure is what it is, Congressman.

Mr. NEGUSE. I couldn't say it any better, Ranking Member Craig. I think you articulated it well. And I guess it is just full circle in some ways, given that this is the last panel that we are going to hear from.

But it makes a lot more sense in retrospect now why Republicans decided to proceed with this particular hearing in the dead of night because—I think, when you begin to see the full picture, it is only when you have, you know, the chair of the Ways and Means Committee to talk about the various priorities they are pursuing—you know, repeals of taxes by silencers by way of example—and hear from the Agriculture Committee about the priorities they are pursuing—massive cuts to the social safety net—that you begin to understand the full picture holistically that is reflected in this bill.

And I think that is ultimately what House Republicans did not want the American people to hear or to see. Regrettably for them, we are going to have an opportunity throughout the rest of today and when this bill invariably gets to the floor to continue exposing

it to the American public, and I think the more the American public learn about this bill, the less they are going to like it.

So, with that, I will yield back, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. GRIFFITH. The gentleman yields back.

I now recognize the gentleman from Georgia, Mr. Scott, for his time of questioning.

Mr. SCOTT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

There has been a lot said about a lot of different numbers here, but I want to come to you, Mr. Smith. I mean, my understanding is that the current tax rate for 2025—the top rate is 37 percent, and that is going to apply to people that are making—if they are filing jointly—married filing jointly, $731,200—somewhere right there—and that if this bill passes, that tax rate at 37 percent is still going to be 37 percent for 2026. Is that correct?

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. That is correct.

Mr. SCOTT. So all this talk about tax cuts for billionaires—what the accurate statement would be is we are not allowing tax rates to go up.

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. We are keeping the same current tax policy with all the rates because every individual rate, if Congress does not act by the end of this year, goes up. The lowest tax rate and the highest tax rate. And what this bill does—it just makes permanent current tax rates.

Mr. SCOTT. Okay.

I am going to come to you, Chairman Thompson, because I want to talk about SNAP and the work requirements and other things, and I am going to say this. We met on two separate occasions, and there was an accusation made that you shut down debate. My recollection is that we met the first day, and then we came back, and we met a second day, and we went from 10 to 10. And I read the various amendments that Democrats kept submitting, and it was basically the exact same amendment. They plagiarized each other with the amendments they were submitting.

And so, finally, we went ahead and we had the votes on the amendments. And is that your recollection?

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Well, that, plus the fact that none of the amendments were submitted within the deadline that is within the rules package——

Ms. CRAIG. No. No. Not true. Absolutely not true.

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania [continuing]. That was unanimously adopted. And there was quite a bit of repetition. Absolutely.

Mr. SCOTT. Okay. So what percentage of farm bill spending currently goes to SNAP benefits?

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Approximately 81, 82 percent.

Mr. SCOTT. Eighty two percent of farm bill spending now goes to SNAP benefits?

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. That is correct.

Mr. SCOTT. And, while the Democrats say they want to work in a bipartisan manner to pass a farm bill, their demand is that 82 percent of farm bill spending must go to SNAP benefits, which means that production agriculture is going to end up with less than 10 percent.

Now, if you are not taking care of production agriculture, then you are not taking care of the food supply for anybody in this coun-

try, whether they are on SNAP or whether they are at the highest tax bracket in the country. Is that fair to say?

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. That is more than fair to say. If farmers fail, we have food insecurity. And no matter what the programs look like, what the roles are, what the regulations are, we have food insecurity, which, quite frankly, is national insecurity.

Mr. SCOTT. Right. So only four Democrats on the House Agriculture Committee voted for the farm bill in committee last year. Is that correct?

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. That is correct.

Mr. SCOTT. Ms. Craig, I don't think you were one of them, were you?

Ms. CRAIG. No, sir, I didn't, but I——

Mr. SCOTT. Okay. Thank you.

Ms. CRAIG [continuing]. Noticed Republicans didn't bring it to the floor because you didn't have the votes.

Mr. SCOTT. Yeah. Well, because of the demand that 80-plus percent of it go to SNAP benefits.

Ms. CRAIG. Forty-five million Americans versus 1 million Americans. That is the split in the farm bill between those two programs.

Mr. SCOTT. Explain those numbers, please.

Ms. CRAIG. SNAP covers 45 million Americans. The farm program covers about 1 million Americans.

Mr. SCOTT. Yes, ma'am.

Ms. CRAIG. That is the split.

Mr. SCOTT. And those 1 million Americans provide 100 percent of the food for the American citizen.

Ms. CRAIG. And your cuts to SNAP——

Mr. SCOTT. This is my time. You can wait. I am going to come to you.

Mr. GRIFFITH. It is the gentleman's time.

Ms. CRAIG. Okay.

Mr. SCOTT. Because I want to talk about some of the votes you have cast on the Inflation Reduction Act——

Ms. CRAIG. I am ready.

Mr. SCOTT [continuing]. And the American Rescue Plan. So, without the 1 million farmers in this country, there is no food for the people who have SNAP benefits to buy. That is all there is to it. But I appreciate you coming clean on that.

Ms. CRAIG. I am not "coming clean." It is a fact.

Mr. SCOTT. Sure you are.

Ms. CRAIG. Yeah. It is a fact.

Mr. SCOTT. Yeah. You made it clear you don't care——

Ms. CRAIG. That is why the coalition exists, because the nutrition and the farm programs exist together——

Mr. GRIFFITH. It is the gentleman's time. He asked a question.

Mr. SCOTT. No. You exposed yourself on not caring about the 1 million farmers, and that is fine. All right.

GT, Federal law right now today—and this is under—this is a Biden administration proposal I have. And I would remind everybody that is watching, when they had the House, the Senate, and the White House, they passed both the American Rescue Plan and the Inflation Reduction Act without a single Republican vote. So

they could have changed any of this they wanted to, and they chose not to.

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. That is correct.

Mr. SCOTT. Federal law limits the amount of time a time-limited—which is an able-bodied, working-age adult without dependents—participant, commonly referred to as an able-bodied adult without dependents, can participate in SNAP to any 3 countable months in a 36-month period unless a person meets the work requirements. That is the current law.

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. That is correct. And the work requirement—we have had the work requirement since the 1970s. Yeah.

Ms. CRAIG. Thank you for coming clean on that.

Mr. SCOTT. That is right. And when Bill Clinton signed the welfare-to-work requirements, the poverty rates declined more than at any other point in the country. Is that correct?

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. That is correct.

Mr. SCOTT. Do you dispute that, Ms. Craig?

Ms. CRAIG. I don't have that data in front of me, and I don't think GT does either.

Mr. SCOTT. Oh, come on. Democrats have routinely taken credit for what Bill Clinton did in the welfare-to-work. Just factually speaking, it was a good piece of legislation. And then people went back to work, and poverty rates declined.

All right. So what we have done in the bill is effectively take the two separate work exemptions—one is a general work requirement exemption—and we have made them match with the able-bodied, working-age adult exemptions. Is that correct?

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. That is correct. By reducing the—hopefully going forward, then reducing the confusion and the complexity for the participants to be able to gain better access.

Ms. CRAIG. Gain better access to what?

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. To SNAP.

Mr. GRIFFITH. This is the gentleman's time.

Mr. SCOTT. Look, work is good. Work is good.

Ms. CRAIG. Work is great.

Mr. SCOTT. You know, and without the 1 million American farmers, nobody in this country has food to eat.

With that, Mr. Chairman, I yield.

Mr. GRIFFITH. The gentleman yields back.

I now recognize Ms. Leger Fernández for her time of questioning.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

And, you know, I think it is really important that we do not mischaracterize what our witnesses have said. And there was a gross mischaracterization as to whether the ranking member supports our farmers. I know the ranking member supports our farmers because, indeed, if you just talk about SNAP, 1.5 times the benefit goes to the farmers. So, when we are talking about protecting SNAP, we also are talking about protecting the farmers.

Is that right, Ranking Member?

Ms. CRAIG. Well, if you cut SNAP by $300 billion, you are actually taking $30 billion right out of the farm income.

And that is absolutely true, sir——

Mr. SCOTT of Georgia. And——

Ms. CRAIG. And, you know, what is interesting——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. I am sorry. I have not yielded time, Mr. Scott.

Ms. CRAIG. What is interesting, Ms. Leger Fernández, is that my colleague across the room here, 23 percent of folks—of households—in his congressional district have access to the SNAP program in our country, one of the highest rates in this room, and he is seeking to cut that program by $300 billion.

And, back to work, work is good. And matching the program—you are talking about sending single mothers and fathers to work almost 20 hours a week when their child turns 7 years old. If we were here to talk about work, we would be talking about trade skills, technical programs. We would be talking about ways in which to help people get out of low-wage jobs in our country. We would be talking about raising the minimum wage in our country to help them get out of poverty. But we are not. We are here talking about cutting their healthcare, cutting their SNAP benefits. We are talking about items that are going to absolutely decimate rural communities like Mr. Scott's across the room here, and it is just stunning to me.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Me too.

Ms. CRAIG. One million——

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Chairman, since my name was called, I do expect a chance to respond to that.

Mr. GRIFFITH. Actually, the—rule is that you can mention the gentleman from Georgia, but you are not to mention him by name in debate. And, so, if you would stick to just saying "the gentleman"—or "my colleague" is fine—and if you would stick to that. You know, that is the way we are supposed to operate.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Would you like to restate it to say the gentleman from——

Ms. CRAIG. Yes. The gentleman from Georgia has one of the highest rates of SNAP households in the country, and he is promoting decimating this program.

And, look, you know, there are lots of things in here that should be in a farm bill, lots of elements. You cut the nutrition title. You plus-up the farm programs in reconciliation and a partisan process. That is what is happening here. We should be sitting down and doing a farm bill.

And, honestly, I know my chairman sitting next to me does not want to cut SNAP by $300 billion, and many of the colleagues on our committee did not want to do it because they didn't show up for debate. They didn't want to be on the record talking about this because they know it is incredibly unpopular for the American people.

We have traditionally been able to get a bipartisan farm bill from the nutrition coalition and the farm coalition. Of course, these coalitions are together. But we are destroying that here today, folks, and it has long-term consequences for us. I just hope you all know what you are doing on a partisan basis has long-term consequences.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Thank you. And I noticed that the Education chair and ranking member, you know, perked up and they said, "Wait a minute. We are going to talk about education? We

came here to talk about education." And we are actually cutting education by also hundreds of billions of dollars. So we are not going to get there.

But I wanted to yield some time to my ranking member, Mr. McGovern, the gentleman from——

Mr. MCGOVERN. Yeah. I won't be offended if you refer to me by my name.

But you know what? Enough of this BS because that is what it is. I mean, nobody here is saying that there isn't dignity in work. What we are saying is that life is complicated, and one glove doesn't always fit all. And what we are also saying—and because I believe this is true—that this is aimed—this is a backdoor attempt to force people off the benefit so you can take that money and pay for tax cuts for billionaires. That is what it is about.

And I will also tell the gentleman that, over the years, hunger has gotten worse in this country. The only time it didn't—believe it or not—was during the pandemic, and that is when we increased the SNAP benefit and when we increased other nutritional programs to help people get through that difficult time. We actually saw hunger go down, food insecurity go down. And then, when some of those programs sunsetted, hunger started to rise up again.

So hunger is a political condition, my friends. I mean, we have the money. We have the resources. We know what to do to end it. What we lack is the political will. And, again, tax cuts for billionaires paid for by savings and SNAP is not going to end hunger and food insecurity in this country.

And, again, I mean, the idea that we can't come together and say that ending hunger and food insecurity is a priority, that somehow it is okay to demonize people who are struggling—I mean, I find that, you know, appalling, quite frankly.

I thank the gentlelady for yielding. I yield back.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Thank you, the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. McGovern.

You know what? Hunger is also a moral issue. It is a moral issue. And that is why 31 religious organizations have written to the chairs of all of the appropriate committees asking them to not pass these cuts.

And they point out that—so, actually, Mr. Chair—or Madam Chair—I ask unanimous consent to enter into the record a letter sent to all the chairs of the committee from 31 religious organizations across the United States.

The CHAIRWOMAN [presiding]. Without objection.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. In the letter—this is why it is a moral issue. And they say it out loud. They say—they wrote it down—"It is an abdication of—it is the government's moral responsibility when the government seeks to reduce its investment in programs for the poor. Complacency can become greed and selfishness when the funds saved from the Medicaid and SNAP programs are used to ultimately widen the gap between rich and poor. Budgets are moral documents that outline a Nation's priority."

And I am looking—I was—at some of the members on here because I know that they believe deeply in the moral obligations. They know the teachings that ask us to feed the hungry, to take care of the poor. That is the essence of Jesus' teaching about love.

It is the essence of almost every religion. Actually, it is the essence of everyone I know. And I think that that is a key failing of what we are doing here.

But I want to move on for a moment because I know we have given a lot of attention to Ag, and I might come back there.

But, you know, Ranking Member Pallone, many of the children that we are talking about might be both receiving SNAP benefits and receiving Medicaid, right? Is that why, you know, there—many of the children because this is—we are talking—and they are often working poor. Their family—they are working. We heard the Ranking Member Craig and so many stories. We have people—you know, Congressmen and Congresswomen here who shared their story about how their parents worked and received SNAP, and that is how they got ahead.

But isn't that the case that we have many children who rely on both SNAP and Medicaid?

Mr. PALLONE. It is absolutely the case. And I don't know how much you wanted me to expand on it. But, you know, I want to say really two things in response.

First of all, you know, my colleagues and my chairman during the markup repeatedly said and Mr. Norman said, you know, work, work, work. But the fact of the matter is that these people are working, right? The people that are getting SNAP, the people that are getting Medicaid, they are working, right? And it is the paperwork, and it is the red tape that that the Republicans are putting in place in this bill that is kicking people off. And I am not suggesting that anybody is doing it intentionally. Believe me.

And I maybe shouldn't say this, but I am going to. You know, Mr. McGovern talked—he mentioned Marie Antoinette, right? And I was for some reason—I guess it had nothing to do with 11 at night. A couple nights ago, there was a movie on about Marie Antoinette, right? And she said to her husband—to King Louis, she said, "I don't know why everybody out there hates us so much. You know, I care about the poor."

But the problem is that, at the time, you know, all the money was going to the nobility, and nothing was going to the average person, right? And so then one of her advisors says, "Well, you know, Madam, Queen," whatever—"you realize that the people have no bread, right?" And she says, "Well, let them eat cake," right?

I mean, it is not that anybody here on the Republican side, you know, doesn't have moral values. They just don't understand. They just don't understand what is going on out there, right? And so they say, "Well, we are going to have work requirements," but then, if you look at the States that have these work requirements like Arkansas or Georgia, we find that almost everybody who was eligible for Medicaid—right—was working, and the problem is they didn't know that they had to fill out the papers. It was too onerous to fill out the paper.

I just wanted to give you one story because I had it here. In Arkansas, which was one of the two States—but they only had it for a few months because they realized that it was kicking people off. They said, in the few months that the State had its work reporting requirements in effect, 18,000 people lost coverage. That is one in

four people who were eligible for Medicaid. But research tells us that more than 95 percent of those people were meeting the requirements, but they were kicked off because they didn't even know that they had to meet the requirements. Even when they do, it is impossible to navigate it.

And they have one person here—an Arkansan attempting to document her work hours—share that "My mom said I need to go online and do this and that I was on the phone with a lady trying to, and she said I needed to do something with my hours. Well, I was on the phone with the lady for, like, an hour. Then she sent me to someone else. Then she sent me to someone else. So I just gave up trying to report my hours worked." And she lost her Medicaid.

In Georgia, there were, like, 3- to 400,000 people that were eligible. The State admitted they were eligible. But only about 7,000 ended up with coverage—that is the one State that still has it—not because they weren't eligible but because they couldn't go through the red tape.

And, you know, I am not suggesting that anybody on the Republican side is intentionally doing this, but this is the reality. And this is what the CBO says. It is why all these people—millions of people under this bill are going to lose their Medicaid, because of this red tape. It is that simple.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Yeah. And I am glad you mentioned the Arkansas example because, indeed, 18,000 people, right?

In New Mexico, you have to fill out—this is what you fill out in New Mexico, right? It is not like people aren't working or that they aren't filling out a lot of paperwork. This is before this bill. And it asks all kinds of stuff. Your immigration status, what you are doing, where you are working. They are filling out too much paperwork as it is. And, for a party that is always complaining about paperwork, they are going to just put more on there because that is not the purpose. The purpose isn't to get people back to work. It is to kick people off of Medicaid.

It is to not recognize the hard work of those that already are because, as you put it, 90-—what is it, 92 percent? 92 percent of adults under 65 on Medicaid are already working or can't work because they are caregiving, illness, they are going to school.

So don't tell us about work because we come from families that work. We come from families that get our hands dirty. We know what it looks like and what it feels like. And these are the people that we are working to protect. And I am very concerned about what they are going to do to, indeed, the people.

When I go to my rural areas—when I went, you know, to the dairy farms and talked to the people in my rural areas, and they said we are the people who get our hands dirty because they are—I represent a large, large rural district. They are going to get slammed, aren't they, Ranking Member Pallone, because rural hospitals are going to go under.

Madam Chair, I ask unanimous consent to enter into the record "Medicaid cuts would threaten rural hospitals."

And this is—Madam Chair?

The CHAIRWOMAN. Without objection. I was letting you finish the——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Yeah. Thank you.

Because I think it is really important that Americans who now have woken up and had their second cup of coffee—that they actually look at what is happening here because it is really scary. In Pennsylvania, 12 rural hospitals—24 percent are at immediate risk of closure from what you are doing here. In Michigan, nine rural hospitals. Oklahoma, 24 rural hospitals. You know, several in my community as well.

But, if you are representing a rural area or a rural State, your rural hospitals are going to close because this is the thing: We are going to kick you off of Medicaid, and then we are not going to let you get onto the Affordable Care Act with the subsidies. Is that right? So they would just show up at the hospitals and not have any care, right?

Mr. PALLONE. Absolutely. And I want to explain why because I am not sure everyone knows. The CBO estimated that those 8.6 million under the bill that—or at least most of them that would lose Medicaid because of the red tape would immediately—or at least they would try to move over to the ACA and get a subsidized insurance policy under the ACA. But, because of that, all of the savings that were going to be—you know, go to the rich and the corporate interests under this bill would have been lost because, if those people moved over to the ACA and got a subsidized insurance policy, the government would have to pay for their subsidy. And, therefore, there was no savings or very little savings under the bill.

And so then they put in the work. They put in the prohibition that, if you were denied Medicaid, you could not go to the ACA and get a subsidy; you had to pay full freight, which, of course, none of them could afford to pay, right?

So that is strictly to make sure that there is money saved to pay for the tax cuts for the wealthy and the corporate interests. That is the only reason that is in there. Again, it is not because, you know, I think the GOP hate the poor. It is because they have to come up with this money to pay for the tax cut for the rich and the corporate interests. That is the bottom line.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. So I think it is also, once again, you know, budgets reflect your values.

Chairman Moore, I was wondering if you happened to have the bill if you wouldn't mind reading title—the title of section 111106 on page 901, line 20, in the Rules Committee print.

Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin. Chairman Moore?

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Oh, sorry. Chairman Guthrie.

Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin. I was about to say you made me a chairman. I was just going to say I accept.

Mr. GUTHRIE. I didn't hear your question, then. I am sorry. I didn't hear. I didn't know it was directed at me. I am sorry. Would you ask it again?

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Okay. If you would go to page 901. Page 901, line 20 of the bill. Do you have the bill in front of you?

Mr. GUTHRIE. I don't have the bill in front of me, but read the——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Sure. I will pass this down to you.

Mr. GUTHRIE. Okay.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Just read that one line. Line 20.

Mr. GUTHRIE. I don't think—that is not in my jurisdiction. I am sorry. That is why I didn't know about it.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Okay. We can pass it. I think that was Ways and Means, actually.

Mr. GUTHRIE. I don't know. I don't know what it is.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Chairman Smith. Sorry.

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Okay. So what are you asking?

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Would you please—so that the American public knows what this bill does—one of the little things that it does, would you please read page 901, line 20?

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. I think it would be better if you read it.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Oh, he doesn't want to read it. I will read it.

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. I know the legislation—but I am not going to be part of your little show here. So you can read it.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Actually, Ranking Member Moore. It was a question if you would read it. So I will ask Ranking Member Moore to read the text.

This is in their bill. They don't want to read a line from their own bill.

Ranking Member.

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. I don't want to read the bill for you. I am testifying about this legislation. I am not going to read the bill to you.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Okay. I am—this is amazing.

Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin. Ms. Leger Fernández, shall I pass this back or shall I read it to you?

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. No, no. Why don't you just read it.

Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin. I am a member of this committee. I am the ranking vice chair of the committee. So section 111106, "Repeal of excise tax on indoor tanning services."

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. So they are going to repeal—they are repealing an excise tax on tanning beds. They are repealing a tax on silencers. So they are going to—okay. So, if you have a tanning bed, you get a little bit of a tax break, and if you need a hospital bed in rural America, I am sorry. You are out of luck, right?

And I don't know where this particular provision came from. We do know that there are certain elected officials who appear to have a certain orange hue about them, that maybe they want to make sure that tanning beds get a little bit of special credit. But, really—really—we are prioritizing tanning beds over hospital beds in rural America.

So, you know, I do want to talk a little bit about the tax credit—the Child Tax Credit because one of the things that is sad about the Child Tax Credit—I agree that it should have gone on for longer. We fought. Rosa DeLauro has been fighting for that expanded Child Tax Credit for almost her entire time here, and she is joined by so many of us on the Democratic Caucus. I think all of us.

Now, sadly, it didn't get extended, but it didn't get extended because we could not get the Republican votes to extend it the way it was. And, right now, what they have in this bill would actually deny the full value of the Child Tax Credit to 17 million children because their families don't make enough money to qualify for it.

Now, I don't know if the chair wants to answer any more questions, but maybe I will just ask Ranking Member Moore. Is that what is going to happen with the Child Tax Credit, is that the families who need it the most won't get it?

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. I can answer that if you want me to.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Well, does the Child Tax Credit extend to all of the families in America?

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. So what this legislation does—of the 17 million children that you are talking about, they are going to make sure that their refundability is $1,700. At the end of this year, it drops to a thousand. So we are making sure that they are staying whole of where they are currently. If this bill does not pass, those 17 million children will only have a thousand-dollar Child Tax Credit instead of a 1,700.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. So there is a discrepancy.

Representative Moore.

Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin. Thank you so much. And, you know, Chairman Smith knows that this is very important to me. This is the reason that I came to Congress.

And so, while I appreciate the fact that this committee has finally recognized that, as an OECD country, we need to provide some kind of child supplement to children—I mean, everybody else has figured that out before we did. And, while people want to give women $5,000 to have babies, I just think it is a lot more practical to take care of the children that we already have.

I guess the thing that I—and we are going to get to talking about work requirements again. But, as people have pointed out, about 96, 97 percent of people who are under the age of 65 that receive any of these benefits, they work. And, if they are not working, they worked the year before, you know, they received any of these benefits or they worked a year after they have gotten it.

And the 6 or 7 percent of people who don't work, as Mr. McDermott—has pointed out, they are very—Mr. McGovern—have very complicated lives. They are taking care of elders. They are taking care of children. So, if a woman finds herself in a situation, for example, where she, for whatever reason, cannot work, you know, there are 17 million children who will get zero. And these are the poorest kids that there are, and they need support.

You know, a child supplement is supposed to recognize that childrearing is expensive. You know, the kids don't earn money particularly, but they need their cub scout uniform. You know, they have sports equipment. They can't participate. I can remember growing up when I couldn't go on a field trip because I didn't have $5 for the bus fare. And we are going to leave them out.

And, you know, because of this work requirement, the poorest children—17 million of them who have no control over whether or not employers will provide their parents with work, parents who perhaps don't have a high school diploma—you know, I know people who wouldn't hire people because all their teeth were rotten, and that wasn't a good look for working in the restaurant. And these are children—the most needy will not receive any money whatsoever.

And you have to earn at least $2,500—is that right, Mr. Chairman—to get the lowest amount of the tax credit. So someone—you

know, the mayor of Milwaukee—you know, he has got three beautiful children. He will get the maximum tax credit, and kids who live down the street will get nothing.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. It is that disparity. You know, there are so many bad things in this bill that we really need another 3 or 4 days. The Inflation Reduction Act, what they are doing to clean energy, what they are doing in so many different areas, condemning the United States to be so far behind, condemning us to be, you know, second to China on renewable energy in so many different ways—but, you know, I think that we will just continue to talk about these other things because it is really important.

But, with that, I want to yield just a really quick few seconds to my colleague.

Ms. SCANLON. Yes. I just wanted to seek unanimous consent on an article. My colleague mentioned the issues with respect to rural hospitals, but there is a Philadelphia Inquirer article, from May 19, entitled "Pennsylvania hospitals like Crozer-Chester with a lot of Medicaid patients keep closing. Budget cuts would speed up that trend." And it discusses how half of our adult hospitals in southeastern Pennsylvania have closed due to lack of adequate Medicaid funding.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Without objection.

[The information follows:]

March 26, 2025

Chairman Mike Crapo
Senate Committee on Finance
Washington, D.C. 20510

Ranking Member Ron Wyden
Senate Committee on Finance
Washington, D.C. 20510

Chairman Brett Guthrie
House Committee on Energy and Commerce
Washington, D.C. 20515

Ranking Member Frank Pallone
House Committee on Energy and Commerce
Washington, DC 20515

Chairman John Boozman
Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry
Washington, D.C. 20510

Ranking Member Amy Klobuchar
Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry
Washington, D.C. 20510

Chairman GT Thompson
House Committee on Agriculture
Washington, D.C. 20515

Ranking Member Angie Craig
House Committee on Agriculture
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Chairman Crapo, Ranking Member Wyden, Chairman Guthrie, Ranking Member Pallone, Chairman Boozman, Ranking Member Klobuchar, Chairman Thompson, and Ranking Member Craig:

We, the undersigned 31 national religious organizations urge you to avoid all changes to the Medicaid and SNAP programs that shift costs to states or limit participation as you draft the budget reconciliation bill. We represent a variety of religious denominations that share in one common goal - to serve the poor and the marginalized. Cutting, capping, or changing federal programs such as Medicaid and SNAP to decrease enrollment or place a greater financial burden on states will only decrease access to these programs and increase need. This has direct impacts on our communities and organizations and is an urgent moral issue for the Americans we represent.

The current proposals to reduce Medicaid matching rates, cap Medicaid funding, and limit state directed payments could push states to either cut funding for other programs, or cut Medicaid eligibility, benefits, and/or provider payments. This will ultimately threaten payment rates for health care institutions, nursing homes, and physicians, create higher uncompensated care costs, risk an end to expanded supplemental payment programs, and accelerate the pace of hospital closures. **Our religious organizations have deep ties to the community, and some of the undersigned organizations run hospitals, nursing care facilities, shelters, and retirement communities. These religious institutions will bear a huge financial burden if these proposals for Medicaid go into effect.** There are also current proposals to add work requirements to the Medicaid program. Work requirements lead to coverage losses among people who cannot navigate complex work-reporting and verification systems, people who can't navigate the exemption

process such as older Americans and the disabled community, and people who have been laid off or are otherwise unemployed, often temporarily. **Work requirements cut coverage, and they do not increase employment,[1] leading the Congressional Budget Office to conclude when analyzing a recent proposal that "the employment status of and hours worked by Medicaid recipients would be unchanged."[2]**

Changes to the SNAP program, such as rolling back the 2021 update to the Thrifty Food Plan, expanding work requirements, and shifting benefits costs to states will only decrease enrollment and increase hunger, leading to even longer lines at our organizations' food pantries and soup kitchens. Rolling back the 2021 update would slash SNAP benefits, with each SNAP participant losing an average of $1.40 per day initially, cutting the daily average benefit to only $5.00 per person.[3] Paperwork and documentation requirements for implementing greater work requirements further increases the risk that significant numbers of people — including those meeting *and* those who should be exempt from the requirements, such as people with disabilities and family caregivers — will lose benefits. Red tape and a lack of assistance in claiming exemptions make it very hard for large numbers of participants to comply, the result being that these policies can't be fixed by trying to carve out certain populations. It is also unrealistic to assume that if the federal costs of SNAP were shifted to states, most or all would be able to fully pay for the lost federal funds. In a state-federal matching program, federal funding is based on the amount of funding the state spends. But if states either cannot pay the full amount of a required match (or choose not to), they would need to cut the food assistance low-income people and families are receiving in their state. **When the federal government cuts back on its federal programs, it is religious communities doing charity work across the country that shoulder a greater burden.**

Looking beyond the specific proposals to change the Medicaid and SNAP programs in a way that reduces federal costs, we remain concerned as a broad religious coalition surrounding the moral and ethical consequences of the federal government stepping away from the financing of these critical governmental programs. Making changes that reduce federal investment in Medicaid and SNAP sends a message to the millions of Americans that rely on these programs - that this Congress does not care for the wellbeing of normal people trying to make ends meet. It is the ethical and moral obligation of the government to ensure the wellbeing of its citizens. It is an abdication of this moral responsibility when the government seeks to reduce its investment in programs for the poor. Complacency can become greed and selfishness when the funds saved from

[1] Benjamin Sommers *et al.*, "Medicaid Work Requirements In Arkansas: Two-Year Impacts On Coverage, Employment, And Affordability Of Care," Health Affairs, Vol. 39, No. 9, September 2020, https://www.healthaffairs.org/doi/10.1377/hlthaff.2020.00538; Benjamin Sommers *et al.*, "Medicaid Work Requirements — Results from the First Year in Arkansas," New England Journal of Medicine, Vol. 381, No. 11, June 19, 2019, https://www.nejm.org/doi/full/10.1056/NEJMsr1901772.

[2] Phillip Swagel, Letter to Rep. Pallone re: CBO's Estimate of the Budgetary Effects of Medicaid Work Requirements Under H.R. 2811, the Limit, Save, Grow Act of 2023," Congressional Budget Office, April 26, 2023, https://www.cbo.gov/system/files/2023-04/59109-Pallone.pdf.

[3] Rep. Angie Craig, "Ranking Member Craig Responds to Republicans' $230 Billion SNAP Cut Targets," February 12, 2025, https://democrats-agriculture.house.gov/news/documentsingle.aspx?DocumentID=2909.

the Medicaid and SNAP programs are used to ultimately widen the wealth gap between rich and poor. **Researchers from the Yale Budget Lab found that if Congress implemented a budget reconciliation bill following the numbers in the House Budget Resolution, the lowest-income taxpayers would see a loss of $1,125 annually, factoring in their tax rate and the lost value from leaner federal benefit programs. The richest 0.1 percent of taxpayers would see a more than $180,000 benefit from lower tax rates and would not be affected by the benefit reductions.**[4]

Budgets are moral documents that outline a nation's priorities. **Our faith traditions are united in our belief that our government has a moral obligation to support the most vulnerable in our communities. Critical programs like Medicaid and federal nutrition assistance protect and support those in dire need. We urge your committees to only accept proposals that fulfill this just goal, particularly at a time when costs are rising, and individuals and families are depending on you.**

Sincerely,

Alliance of Baptists

American Friends Service Committee

Aytzim: Ecological Judaism

Bread for the World

Bend the Arc: Jewish Action

Church World Service

Congregation of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd, U.S. Provinces

Cooperative Baptist Fellowship (CBF)

Dayenu: A Jewish Call to Climate Action

Faith in Public Life

Franciscan Action Network

Friends Committee on National Legislation

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[4] Harris Eppsteiner, John Ricco, "Illustrative Distributional Effects of Policies Consistent with the House Concurrent Budget Resolution for Fiscal Year 2025," Yale Budget Lab, March 2025, Illustrative Distributional Effects of Policies Consistent with the House Concurrent Budget Resolution for Fiscal Year 2025 | The Budget Lab at Yale

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Maryknoll Office for Global Concerns

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The Shalom Center

The United Methodist Church - General Board of Church and Society

Union for Reform Judaism

United Church of Christ

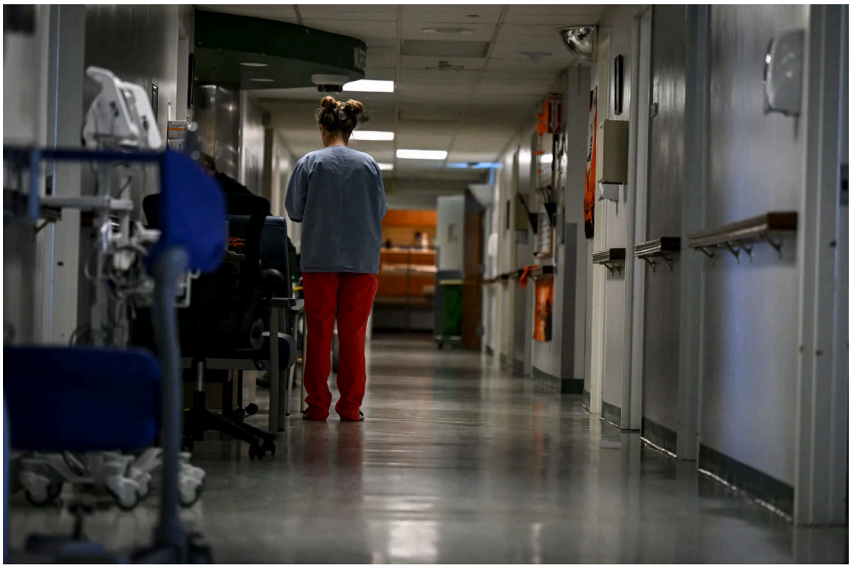
ARTICLE APR 28, 2025

Medicaid Cuts Would Threaten Rural Hospitals

190 rural hospitals in 34 Medicaid expansion states are at immediate risk of closure. Slashing Medicaid could push them over the edge.

AUTHORS
Kierra B. Jones | Natasha Murphy | Andrea Ducas

Strengthening Health, Health, Health Care Costs, +3 More



A registered nurse walks the floor during her shift, October 2024. (Getty/AAron Ontiveroz)

More than 66 million Americans live in rural areas, according to the 2020 census. In these communities, Medicaid is a source of coverage for more than 18 percent of adults under 65 and provides financial support to keep rural hospitals operating.

Small rural hospitals are often responsible for delivering most of the health care services for people living in the communities they serve, including long-term care and primary care. These hospitals can be rural communities' only source of emergency, preventive, and specialized care—including obstetrics and behavioral health services.

Nearly one-third of rural hospitals across the United States are at risk of closure due to financial instability. According to the Center for Healthcare Quality and Payment Reform, more than 300 rural hospitals are at "immediate risk" of closure because they have suffered multiyear financial losses or have very low financial reserves. In other words, these facilities are in such a precarious financial condition that closure could come at any time. Some facilities have already closed entire units or cut back on certain types of care as part of cost saving measures. For example, between 2011 and 2023, 293 rural hospitals stopped providing obstetrics services, representing 24 percent of the country's rural obstetric units.

Against this backdrop, congressional Republicans are considering proposals that would amount to the largest Medicaid cut in the program's history. For rural hospitals that rely on Medicaid to finance care, such cuts could accelerate a crisis already on the brink.

What are rural hospitals?

Rural hospitals are those not located within a metropolitan area designated by the U.S. Office of Management and Budget and the U.S. Census Bureau. According to the American Hospital Association, there are 1,796 rural community hospitals in the United States, many of which are critical access hospitals—a special designation for some small rural hospitals.

Source: American Hospital Association, "Fast Facts: U.S. Rural Hospitals," available at https://www.aha.org/system/files/media/file/2021/05/infographic-rural-data-final.pdf (last accessed April 2025).

Medicaid helps keep rural hospitals afloat

Rural hospitals are generally less profitable than urban hospitals and tend to hold fewer beds and have lower occupancy rates. Medicaid is the financial backbone that, in many cases, can help keep doors open, as these hospitals operate on very thin margins. All hospitals depend on Medicaid funds, and the program plays a vital role in keeping rural hospitals, clinics, and community health centers open.

The Affordable Care Act (ACA) strengthened this support by expanding Medicaid eligibility to adults with incomes up to 138 percent of the federal poverty level (FPL), providing coverage to 20 million people. This expansion has been particularly important for rural hospitals, which rely on Medicaid reimbursement to offset the costs of care. Notably, rural hospitals with low margins are more likely to be located in the 10 states that have not adopted expanded Medicaid. Accordingly, the Chartis Group found that rural hospitals in Medicaid expansion states are 62 percent less likely to close than nonexpansion states, and the U.S. Government Accountability Office found states that increased Medicaid eligibility and enrollment had fewer rural hospital closures.

Congressional Republicans' Medicaid cut proposals would threaten already vulnerable rural hospitals

Congressional Republicans in both chambers have passed a budget resolution that directs the House Committee on Energy and Commerce to cut at least $880 billion over the next 10 years. Medicaid accounts for 93 percent of the committee's spending, meaning cuts will have to come from the program in some form. Proposals under consideration include reducing the federal medical assistance percentage (FMAP) for the Medicaid expansion population and/or imposing work-reporting requirements for Medicaid expansion enrollees.

FMAP reductions would be particularly dangerous: If the federal share of funding for Medicaid expansion enrollees declines below the current 90 percent, several states could be forced to end their Medicaid expansions altogether. Nearly 50 percent of rural hospitals already operate with negative margins. Such a rollback would leave millions without coverage, which would increase uncompensated care costs—costs for the care hospitals provide without being reimbursed for those services—for providers and potentially push already strained rural hospitals in expansion states to closure. Reductions in Medicaid funding could force many rural facilities to reduce or eliminate essential services or close their doors entirely.

Reductions in Medicaid funding could force many rural facilities to reduce or eliminate essential services or close their doors entirely.

Table 1

Nearly 200 rural hospitals are at immediate risk of closure in Medicaid expansion states

Number of rural inpatient hospitals and number of rural hospitals with severe financial problems in Medicaid expansion states, 2025

Search in table

Medicaid expansion state	# of open rural inpatient hospitals	# of rural hospitals at immediate risk of closure	% of hosp imme ri clo

Alaska	17	1
Arizona	28	1
Arkansas	47	10
California	58	6
Colorado	43	3
Connecticut	4	2
Idaho	28	1
Illinois	79	8
Indiana	55	7
Iowa	93	4
Kentucky	72	4
Louisiana	56	7
Maine	24	4
Massachusetts	6	1
Michigan	64	6
Minnesota	97	8
Missouri	58	9
Montana	55	4
Nebraska	71	3
Nevada	14	1
New Hampshire	17	2
New Mexico	27	3
New York	51	16
North Carolina	56	7
North Dakota	39	5
Ohio	71	4

Oklahoma	78	24
Oregon	33	3
Pennsylvania	50	12
South Dakota	49	3
Vermont	13	1
Virginia	31	8
Washington	45	7
West Virginia	33	5
Total	**1,597**	**190**

Note: Excluded states—Hawaii, Utah, Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey, and Rhode Island—have zero rural hospitals at risk of immediate closure as of reporting.

Source: Center for Healthcare Quality and Payment Reform, "Rural Hospitals at Risk of Closing," April 2025; KFF, "Status of State Medicaid Expansion Decisions," April 17, 2025.

Table: Center for American Progress

As Table 1 demonstrates, 190 rural inpatient hospitals are already at risk of immediate closure in 34 of the states* that have expanded Medicaid, based on an April 2025 report from Center for Healthcare Quality and Payment Reform. Those 190 hospitals represent roughly 12 percent of all rural inpatient hospitals in Medicaid expansion states. In some expansion states, that proportion is particularly high: Around 1 in 4 rural inpatient hospitals in Pennsylvania and Virginia—and close to 1 in 3 inpatient rural hospitals in Oklahoma and New York —are at imminent risk of closure.

Medicaid cuts would also harm rural families

Residents of rural areas are more likely than people in urban communities to rely on Medicaid or the Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP) for their health insurance. For example, in Virginia, almost 40 percent of children in small towns and rural areas were covered by Medicaid/CHIP, and almost 20 percent of adults younger than 65 in small towns and rural areas were enrolled in Medicaid in 2023. As a consequence, Medicaid funding cuts are likely to cause greater harm to families in rural areas and small towns than those living in large metropolitan areas.

Conclusion

As Republicans in Congress weigh historic cuts to the Medicaid program, the stakes could not be higher for people living in rural communities. Funding cuts—whether through shrinking the FMAP or imposing burdensome work-reporting requirements—aimed at Medicaid expansion enrollees could push the nearly 200 rural hospitals at immediate risk of closure in 34 expansion states past the brink. Protecting—rather than gutting—Medicaid funding is essential for maintaining access to quality health care for rural families and supporting the economic well-being of rural communities.

**Authors' note: Analysis only considers expansion states that have at least one rural inpatient hospital at immediate risk of closure.*

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank Jill Rosenthal for her fact-checking assistance.

The positions of American Progress, and our policy experts, are independent, and the findings and conclusions presented are those of American Progress alone. American Progress would like to acknowledge the many generous supporters who make our work possible.

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The Philadelphia Inquirer

Pa. hospitals like Crozer-Chester with a lot of Medicaid patients keep closing. Budget cuts would speed up the trend.

Submitted into the record by Rep. Mary Gay Scanlon (PA-05)

Written by Harold Brubaker

Published on May 19, 2025, 5:00 AM EST

–

Crozer-Chester Medical Center's shutdown is such a big deal that the governor of Pennsylvania turned up last week to rail against what he is calling a healthcare crisis. But the bankruptcy is only the latest in a troubling trend: More than half of the adult hospitals in Southeastern Pennsylvania with the highest shares of revenue from the Medicaid program have either closed or been substantially downsized in the last decade.

Four of the 10 hospitals most reliant on the government program for low-income Americans have shut down. The most recent is Crozer-Chester Medical Center in Upland this month. The region also lost Drexel Hill's Delaware County Memorial in 2022 and two Philadelphia hospitals: Hahnemann in 2019 and St. Joseph's in 2016.

Those on the list that have been substantially reduced in scope are the former Mercy Philadelphia in West Philadelphia and Suburban Community in East Norriton. The ranking is based on 2015 data from the Pennsylvania Health Care Cost Containment Council.

Hospitals that low-income patients rely on most could find the going even tougher if Congress follows through on plans to save hundreds of billions of dollars by making it harder for people to stay on the Medicaid program.

"You're exacerbating the healthcare crisis that's brewing in our commonwealth," Shapiro said Thursday at a news conference outside the shuttered Crozer-Chester Medical Center, urging federal lawmakers to seriously consider the consequences of the proposal.

Targeting private equity

The main purpose of Thursday's event was to promote bills introduced last week that would require the Pennsylvania attorney general to review more healthcare transactions and block them if they are deemed not in the public interest.

The prime sponsor of the Senate version of the proposed legislation is Delaware County Democrat Timothy Kearney. At a May 7 hearing on hospital closures and broader financial woes in the hospital sector, Kearney noted that private equity funds — which invest mostly for pension funds and other institutions — are not the only problem.

"The Wall Street vultures are a symptom of a larger illness within the hospital sector, the illness of financial malnourishment," Kearney said. "When hospitals keep running in the red because reimbursement rates don't cover the cost of care, they put off investments that they need to make to survive."

Medicaid covers, on average, 82% of the cost of hospital care, according to Nicole Stallings, CEO of the Hospital and Healthsystem Association of Pennsylvania, a lobbying group.

The Medicaid-heavy hospitals that remain open

Among the 10 hospitals in the area most dependent on Medicaid in 2015 was Einstein Medical Center Philadelphia. During a 2020 antitrust trial over Thomas Jefferson University's deal to acquire it, Einstein officials argued that they could not afford to upgrade Einstein enough to make it competitive with better-resourced hospitals. Jefferson completed the acquisition in 2021.

Jefferson has since closed the emergency department at the former Einstein Medical Center Elkins Park, which operated under Einstein Philadelphia's license. The facility is now used by Jefferson's MossRehab.

The hospitals on the Medicaid-reliant list that remain fully open without an ownership change are Temple University Hospital in Philadelphia and two hospitals owned by Trinity Health Mid-Atlantic: Mercy Fitzgerald Hospital in Darby and Nazareth Hospital in Philadelphia.

Temple receives substantial state aid to help it defray its losses from Medicaid and uninsured patients.

One of the nation's largest Catholic health systems owns the Trinity hospitals, which means they have an organization with vast resources backing them. Even so, Trinity has recently consolidated some services at its Philadelphia-area hospitals. For example, Nazareth is no longer performing surgeries overnight, according to an internal

announcement obtained by The Inquirer. That likely means the hospital must send emergency cases elsewhere, though Trinity declined to confirm this.

Hospital downsizings

Trinity announced the closure of Mercy Philadelphia in West Philadelphia in 2020. Some services, including an emergency department, were preserved through a partnership among the University of Pennsylvania Health System, Public Health Management Corp., Children's Hospital of Philadelphia, and others.

California-based Prime Healthcare announced this month that it will close the emergency department and downsize Suburban Community Hospital in East Norriton to a 15-bed geriatric psychiatric hospital. The hospital had already halved its staffed bed count to 60 from more than 120.

The number of hospital campuses that closed in the last decade is larger than The Inquirer's count of full closures, since some systems have multiple facilities under the same license. Crozer-Chester's license included Taylor Hospital and Springfield Hospital, which also closed. Data on Medicaid reliance at Taylor and Springfield were not available.

More work for politicians

Before entering politics, Delaware County Democrat Lisa Borowski spent years working at the former Mercy Health System of Southeastern Pennsylvania (now Trinity Mid-Atlantic) and Einstein, two systems heavily reliant on Medicaid. Now a member of the state House of Representatives, Borowski is the prime sponsor of that body's version of the bill meant to restrict private equity.

"I am no stranger to the challenges those hospitals face when it comes to their bottom line," she said in an emailed response to questions from The Inquirer, adding that improving Medicaid reimbursement is another issue legislators must tackle.

"The answer can't be to let bad actors pirate our hospitals, steal their value, and walk away, leaving everyone else to pick up the pieces like we've had to in Delco," she said.

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https://www.inquirer.com/health/philadelphia-hospitals-closing-medicaid-funding-cuts-20250519.html

Ms. SCANLON. Thank you.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. And, with that, Madam Chair, I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

Mrs. Houchin, do you have a question?

Mrs. HOUCHIN. Thank you, Madam Chair.

I appreciate the panel being here and for long hours and testifying.

I do want to offer to my chairman of Energy and Commerce, Chairman Guthrie, to just touch on anything that you would like to cover out of the many accusations that have been leveled about the bill, but my one question to you—since high school diplomas were mentioned, if somebody doesn't have a high school diploma, then they might not be able to get a job per the work requirements that we have in the bill. Doesn't participating in some sort of education program count toward those requirements?

Mr. GUTHRIE. Yeah. If you are working towards a GED program, that would count towards your work requirement. So thanks.

Mrs. HOUCHIN. Yeah. So, if you want to go through—I will give you—yield time to you to cover the many accusations.

Mr. GUTHRIE. Well, thanks a lot. Thanks a lot. And I come from a product of hard work, too. My whole life growing up—my childhood up through high school, my dad worked in a Ford foundry. That is pretty hard—in Alabama. So that is pretty hard work when you are in the heat of the summer. So I come from that as well.

And, if you look at the—they talked about the coverage loss. I always say, look at ineligible, illegal, and able. So, if you look at the coverage loss that comes from the Medicaid requirement, it is people that, one, aren't eligible to participate in the Medicaid program by the rules set up by people who voted for the Medicaid program. The other are the people that are not here in a legal presence, and the other is the able-bodied.

And, when we talk about able-bodied—well, one, I know that we talked about the maternal health program. That was actually bipartisan. I think Doc. Burgess was really engaged in doing that. It was extended for a year. If it is anywhere in the bill, I want somebody to point that out because it is absolutely—it is not in the bill that that is affected.

But the work requirement does not apply to you if you are a pregnant woman; if you are under 19 or over the age of 64; if you are a Tribe member; if you are a parent, guardian, caretaker; relative of a disabled individual or have a dependent child; veterans with a disability rated as total; individuals who are medically frail, which includes but is not limited to people with the following conditions: blind; disabled; substance use disorder; disabling mental disorder; physical, intellectual, or development disability; serious or complex medical condition; or other conditions identified by the State or approved by the Secretary or if you are in compliance with TANF or SNAP, which they have had—SNAP has had them we argue since the 1970s. So we think we can do this.

People have brought up Georgia and Arkansas. Those were problems. People were working and could not get Medicaid, and that is absolutely not what we want. That is why we took great pains to make sure we simplify the reporting requirements. People have

due process rights. We want people to have Medicaid, but if they are not working or unable to work to work, but we don't want to use the work requirement to deprive people of Medicaid. So we feel that is there.

The other number—because they throw out 13 million. There is, like, over 5 million, but that comes from an expiring provision in the Inflation Reduction Act. And it was brought up by my friend from Wisconsin and others that—well, why didn't we make all these other things permanent? That wasn't made permanent. It is expiring, and because it is expiring, that is where the 5 million comes from.

So there were decisions that you all—I don't know why you decided in the IRA to spend $32 billion or $27 million on the Green Energy Fund when you could have made this last longer.

And then my friend from Massachusetts talked about, well, this is for the well-connected. We had a hearing yesterday where there was a nonprofit that was started by a well-connected individual who had a hundred dollars in the checking account of a non—progressive org and got a $2-billion grant, which the CEO's salary of that is over $800,000. So she is getting paid five times a Member of Congress to implement a grant appropriated by Congress. And if that is not well-connected—and that is money that could have been spent for these,

And, with rural hospitals, I would love to see when that article was written because we really sat down—all of us on the—we had a lot of Energy and Commerce people here. I went to rural hospitals. I have been—it is urban hospitals. It is any hospital that has a high Medicaid population, which typically also has a high Medicare population. So the low reimbursement rates for those programs affect those hospitals. That is what we are talking about here.

And, if you look at—an item came up that a lot of—I didn't know as much about State-directed payments. We sat down—and that is probably what they are writing about because there were people saying that those should not stay where they are. And we sat down with hospitals. We all did. We looked and we said, "Yeah, this really ups the reimbursement for hospitals that have high Medicaid so they can stay open." So we held harmless that provision.

Now, going forward, there is reform in it, but they had held harmless. States said that they had difficult times with their budgets and the provider taxes to help them get through. You know, President Biden called them a scam. President Obama wanted it to be 3.5. So a lot of people know this as sending money up to match Federal money. But we said, "Okay, we realized it would be a big burden on the States if we took a big approach to it." So we held harmless. We said, "We are going to freeze where you are. You can increase, but we don't want rural hospitals on the edge closing because we took away State-directed payments because we lowered the provider taxes for States."

And so, if anybody is closing tomorrow because of this bill, then it means they were already going to be closing anyway because this bill doesn't affect that. And then there are people that are eligible for Medicaid—so only ACA. So that was another one. So, if you are—they said if you are on Medicaid and you fall off Medicaid, you

can't go to the ACA. The ACA sets up the provision that, if you have other coverage, you can't go on the—if you have other coverage.

So, if somebody has Medicaid—this is what our argument was—and saved money—but, if somebody has Medicaid and the only reason they become ineligible is because they are able-bodied under all the exemptions that I read—but they are able-bodied, and they fall off Medicaid just because they won't work, then they shouldn't have the opportunity to go get a subsidized plan in another form. And so that is what that provision was there for.

So this whole committee—Energy—we all said we spent a lot of time making sure that we reform a program that has grown twice the size of inflation. I mean, one State has spent $26 billion more on Medicaid in the last 3 years. We thought that it was unsustainable. We walled off. There are two groups. There is the Affordable Care Act.

So, if I am a healthy Kentuckian and I go to the hospital, the Federal Government pays 90 percent. If I am a disabled child in Kentucky and go to the hospital, the Federal Government pays 72 percent. Talk about values. But we have left that alone in our bill because of the States have budgeted and put their hospitals around that. So, unfortunately, that is what was put into law under the Affordable Care Act.

And so we looked at all of that. How do we get a handle on the growth in Medicaid and make it sustainable and protect it for mothers and pregnant mothers—pregnant women, mothers, children, the disabled—what the program was originally intended for because most of the great growth is in the expansion population, and it was—I think this proposal is well thought out.

I received a letter from the Kentucky Hospital Association. I said it with all—saying thank you for the path that you took because this is something we can deal with. I sat with hospital executives when they listened to the rhetoric, and they saw where I thought our plan was going, and I can say, "Look, this is where I think it is going." They would all say, "Wow, we can all live with this."

So we have given them a product that saves the program. It makes—well, it puts it on a more sustainable path. You know, it is still a growing program. It is going to spend over 1.1—we are going to spend 700 billion this year and 1.1 trillion 10 years from now after this bill is in full effect.

So we are not cutting Medicaid. What we are trying to do is deploy the resources for the people that need it the most and reform the program and let—States have to take more responsibility in the future but hold them harmless today so we don't have these hospitals on the edge—like my friend from Pennsylvania mentioned, on the edge being affected by what we do here in the next few days.

Mrs. HOUCHIN. So, Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you. You did spend time with hospitals from my State talking to them about what we were doing in this bill. I really appreciate the time that you took there with them and with many other Members. Any Member who had hospitals with questions, you took time to visit with, and we are grateful for that.

I just want to make a few exclamation points on some of the things that you said. Medicaid alone is on pace to outspend and

outpace defense spending. Medicaid alone is on pace to outpace defense spending. That is——

Mr. GUTHRIE. We will spend—well, it is going up from 700 billion out of 1.1 trillion under this bill.

Mrs. HOUCHIN. That is not sustainable.

And, Mr. Chairman, what happens to the Medicaid population when we can no longer afford that level of spending?

Mr. GUTHRIE. Well, it is the fear when the interest on the debt just gets so big it overcomes it all. And so I said to hospitals—a lot of hospital CEOs that—I have talked to yours and others, and I said, look, this is beginning to bend the cost curve. This will be a much different conversation when we get to the point that we can't borrow money anymore because our debt is too high. We need to have this conversation now because we can do things that is sustainable and can keep everybody operating, but when we get to a point where we can't borrow anymore, it is a different conversation.

Mrs. HOUCHIN. And we have been talking about safeguarding Medicaid for the people who need it most. You said it best. We are preventing the ineligible, the illegal, and the able from accessing benefits and taking dollars away from the very people who this program was designed to help: pregnant women, children, the disabled, seniors.

If we did nothing, would there be more or less money available to take care of the traditional population?

Mr. GUTHRIE. Well, if you think about it, if you are a State program and you get 90 cents—in my State, you get 72 to 90—so 90 cents for one patient and 72 cents for the other—the incentive is there. I don't think it was intentional. It was to get States to expand, but now the incentive is there to spend more—have more access and care for the higher reimbursement.

Mrs. HOUCHIN. And, finally, we are saving approximately $700 million in Medicaid over the 10-year window because of making sure people who are ineligible, illegal, and able are not accessing benefits designed for the people who need it most.

Mr. GUTHRIE. Well, the able access them if they work.

Mrs. HOUCHIN. If they work. Yeah—that is right.

But we are saving money, but we are still increasing spending in Medicaid. So, when Democrats say we are slashing Medicaid, we are still increasing our overall spend in Medicaid over the window. Is that correct?

Mr. GUTHRIE. From about 700 billion to 1.1 trillion.

Mrs. HOUCHIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Langworthy.

Mr. LANGWORTHY. Thank you very much, Madam Chair. A lot has been said here today.

I would like to offer the opportunity for Chairman Thompson from my neighboring district to offer, you know, in similar fashion anything that he would like to rebut based on what has been said here today.

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Oh, I thank my neighbor to the north for yielding some time.

I guess I will just start out by saying, contrary to the disparaging remarks we have endured today based on fear, not facts, we are—the goal is not to hurt those struggling in poverty. The goal is to fulfill the purpose that is in law of the nutrition title.

And the nutrition title, as of the FRA when—by the way, any of those who voted for the FRA were the ones that approved those benefits that we talked about for the homeless, those aging out of foster care, and veterans—you that voted for that were the ones that voted to have those expire in 2030. There was a question during some of the questioning of where that came from.

But, within FRA, we—obviously, food security has always been a part of the nutrition title. Really important. But it has a dual purpose that is officially codified and in law, and that is workforce development. That became a part of that purpose. And I would say we also—not in law but my own personal perspective is we need to achieve sustainability of this critical program and not to have cuts.

And I have said all along—and we have had that discussion in committee, and I read too often about cuts that are happening, and there are no cuts. The House Committee on Agriculture is leading efforts to restore integrity to the SNAP program, the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program. The committee's reforms ensure that SNAP works the way Congress intended it to going back to the 1970s. We are really proud of that program. It has been a program that has restored rungs in the ladder of opportunity for folks to be able to full themselves out of poverty while, at the same time, meeting the—providing supplemental nutritional assistance.

And the goal was—and we do that in terms of the program integrity in areas by reinforcing work. Those who can work should. And there certainly are plenty of waivers and provisions so that—to address kids. The reason it has always been 6-year-olds—6 years and younger is the waiver under general work requirements—is because it was recognized that if you had a preschool child at home, that you would have to be able to care for them. It also applies if you have someone in your house that is disabled, including maybe a parent that you have to provide care for. Always note that those exemptions are there.

But, by reinforcing work, rooting out waste, and instituting long overdue accountability incentives to control costs and end executive and State abuse and overreach—because when the executive branch and specifically the States do things the wrong way, it is the SNAP participants—those individuals and those families are the ones that are hurt most.

So, you know, the reason for this reform—you know, it is intended to—you know, through the intent—intended to—intent to supplement the food budget for low-income individuals. That is what SNAP is. SNAP has ballooned in cost. Since 2019, SNAP rules have increased by 17 percent from 36 million to—in 2019—to 42 million, and a lot of that has occurred at the State level. And, while the overall cost of the program has grown by 83 percent, ballooning from 60 billion to 110 billion annually.

You know, States do administer the program. They administer the program. There is a cost share for administration of the program and the—collectively, those—the States make $13 billion per

year in erroneous payments, both overpayments and underpayments, and both of those hurt the beneficiaries, the people that we have been spending hours now talking about how do we help them.

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. The national average error rate is 11.68 percent, and that has nearly doubled just since 2019.

So what is the impact? Obviously, we all know what the impact is when it is an underpayment. You know, that single-parent mom with two little babies don't have—isn't—the States are not providing sufficient assistance in putting money into their SNAP EBT card, and that is obvious how that hurts those families.

But I will tell you that the overpayments—which, there are more overpayments than underpayments, based on the data—has even, I think, greater harm. If you are that single-parent mom with two little babies and the card gets charged, you are going to use whatever is on that card. And I—you know, that is fine, because that is the benefits you were given.

And, by the way, SNAP beneficiaries use an average of two to three forms of payment when they go. They are not using just SNAP. That is obviously supplemental to, you know, cash and to checks or debit cards.

So how does the overpayment hurt them? Well, because the States will come back and claw that back in maybe 3, 4, 6 months later. Now, where is that single-parent mom with two little babies supposed to find that money at that point?

That is where program integrity is so important. It protects—one of the things it does, it protects the beneficiary. It protects that single mom from that. And so the error rate by these States is completely unacceptable.

And you know what, why they do it? Because there is no skin in the game. They don't have any—there is no accountability. They get the money, they execute the program, and if they don't do it right—which, with these error rates, is a significant amount, I believe.

Pennsylvania doesn't do it right. It is double digits. And there are a lot of Pennsylvanians that are hurt because of these error rates. And that is unacceptable. States have to do a better job.

So what we provide is—we could have come in and just done a punishment, but we did a carrot and a stick, and we put it at just 5-percent cost-share, but it is based on their error rates. And I happen to believe that, looking over the past couple decades, every State can get their error rate down below to be at that 5-percent mark.

Only 28 percent of able-bodied adults without dependents on SNAP have earned income from work. That is largely because of how—not because of the law and the regulations that Congress passes and the executive branch writes. It is because of how it is poorly administered by the States.

The USDA and the States have intentionally limited enforcement of the SNAP work requirement for adults without dependent children, able-bodied adults, through waivers, leaving 40 percent of these work-ready individuals today under waiver of that ABAWD work requirement, remaining on the SNAP rolls long after the 3-month time limit for compliance with the work requirement.

So, because the SNAP benefit, unlike other entitlement benefits, is 100-percent funded by the Federal Government, there is minimal—I would say no incentive for States to control cost, to enhance efficiency, and improve outcomes for recipients.

The gentlelady showed the Medicaid paperwork. That is not paperwork that comes, I don't believe, from the Federal Government, because I know in the SNAP program, you know, the States determine that bureaucracy. And there are problems with States that will take months in order to process those applications under the nutrition title. That is unacceptable, and that is why we need to hold States accountable.

And I don't believe that—no State out there is going to cut SNAP benefits. You heard about the passion for that assistance——

Ms. SCANLON. Wow.

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania [continuing]. On both sides of the aisle in here. And so I think you are being pretty much unrealistic and disrespectful to our colleagues that work in State capitols to think that this program would be any less important to them.

And we are talking 5 percent, but I believe that they can all get there.

So, with that, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. Langworthy, would you yield a moment?

I think, Mr. Thompson, you brought up a very significant word in your comments, and that is "integrity." And what we keep hearing on our side is, we want integrity in these programs, to save them. But integrity—and we are hearing that these are moral programs. Well, integrity is moral too. And we want integrity in the programs so that we can save them.

And I think you have just outlined that extremely well. And it is a word we have not heard enough of in this debate here and, I think, probably in the committees. Because we keep hearing about "cuts," when we are talking about having integrity in the programs.

So thank you, Mr.——

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. And if the gentleman from New York would yield just a few minutes.

Mr. LANGWORTHY. Certainly.

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. You know, we did not roll back the daily amounts that these recipients receive. There was an increase when the market basket analysis we had done—at the direction of the 2018 farm bill.

And, again, I agree, it is only, like, $6 a day, something like that. That amount was not rolled back within this. Nor are we preventing, going forward, adjustments based on inflation, because that is the current law.

And so I think those corrections are really important to make, and I thank the gentleman from New York for yielding.

Mr. LANGWORTHY. And I yield back to you, Madam Chair.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Griffith, you are recognized.

Mr. GRIFFITH. Thank you very much, Madam Chair.

You know, fake news, misinformation—it has long existed in human societies. And today we heard several folks reference Marie Antoinette and "let them eat cake." She never uttered those words.

As historians will tell you, there is no evidence that she ever said it. I understand the intent in which it was used, but she——

Mr. MCGOVERN. She——

Mr. GRIFFITH [continuing]. Never said those words. In fact, the rumor——

[Crosstalk.]

Mr. GRIFFITH. Let me finish.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I was just going to say, you guys make——

Mr. GRIFFITH. The rumor——

Mr. MCGOVERN [continuing]. Marie Antoinette look like she is down-to-earth.

Mr. GRIFFITH. No. No. No. Not going there.

But the rumor that she said those words started circulating in the streets of Paris a couple of weeks after her head had been severed by the guillotine. And, as everybody knows, the brain only functions for 2 seconds—scientific data done at the guillotine by a French scientist showed the brain only functions for 2 seconds, two blinks of the eye, subsequent to the head being severed.

Misinformation is still out there, and sometimes it is both sides of the aisle that just—we start these stories or these rumors in the minds of people.

And one of those that all of us have been guilty of is talking about work requirements related to this bill. Because it is actually community engagement. So, if you are going to school, as we have heard some testimony today, if you are engaged in your community in any way, going to school, getting—getting a drug treatment program counts. Volunteering in your community for that 18.47 hours a week counts, or 80 hours—it doesn't have to all be done in a week—80 hours over the course of the 4.33 weeks in a month, counts.

And so I heard—because we fall into that trap, I heard, you know, "How can you work when you need daycare?" Well, you could be volunteering with the local daycare and count as community engagement.

So we need to try to get the facts straight in this point in history, or else, 200 years from now, they are going to be talking about work requirements when, in fact, it is community engagement. Just as we have heard today that Marie Antoinette said, "Let them eat cake," which she never did.

Now, we also heard other disparagements today which are not accurate. The gentleman from Missouri threw shade on the Energy and Commerce Committee earlier by saying that it didn't have great jurisdiction.

Now, having heard some of this, I am sure his opinion has changed. And knowing that in order for him to make final comments he will need to be recognized by a member of the Energy and Commerce Committee, I am sure his opinion has changed in the last few hours as we have been debating this.

And I would now ask the gentleman from Missouri if he would like to correct any things that are misunderstood that have been said today or that somehow otherwise need correction so the historical record will be complete.

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. I want to thank the gentleman from Virginia for yielding, asking that question, and also for serving on a fairly decent committee.

So I appreciate the work that you all have been doing.

You know, this bill—this bill is a bill for working Americans.

I am a product of the working class. Like I said earlier, I grew up most of my life in a single-wide trailer and we upgraded to a double-wide. My dad was one of those 199A employees that would benefit in this bill. He was the employee of one. He had a two-car garage. He was the best transmission overhaul mechanic that you could find. And I was the first in my family to ever graduate college. They were the first in their family to ever graduate from high school.

And so the community that I represent, my hometown where I live today, has less than 5,000 people. The per-capita income is just at $24,000—$24,000 a year. My grandparents never had running water on the farm that I live on. I was the first one to drill a well so we didn't have to use an outhouse. I understand the struggles of working Americans.

And that is why, for over the last year, Chair Foxx, we have traveled throughout this country. We have had 15 different field hearings, from a homeless shelter in Chicago to an Indian reservation in Arizona, to the second-largest port in Staten Island. We went all over this country to hear from real small-business owners, real working moms, real farmers of the issues that they are facing in today's economy. And that is what this bill delivers on.

This bill makes permanent—makes permanent—what is expiring at the end of this year. Every individual tax rate will be made permanent. The 10-percent tax rate will be made permanent—every single one.

The child tax credit, which affects 40 million Americans, 40 million children—if Congress does not act by passing this legislation, you will see the child tax credit go from $2,000 to $1,000—to $1,000. That affects working families.

The guaranteed deduction, which 91 percent of Americans use when they file their taxes, that gets slashed in half if we don't pass this bill. But guess what? This bill also increases that guaranteed deduction $1,000 per individual. That is real tax relief for the 91 percent of Americans that use it to file their taxes.

We also enhance the child tax credit $500, to make the child tax credit $2,500. Inflation has gone up a lot since 2017, and we are indexing it for inflation.

We are also delivering on the promise that we made to the voters of no taxation on tips, no tax on overtime, tax relief for seniors; also, allowing you to be able to deduct your interest from autos made in the United States.

I will tell you, the senior citizen who is an Uber driver is going to benefit the most from this tax package, because no tax on tips, senior tax relief, and also they can deduct their interest if that car is made in the United States.

These are real impacts for real Americans. In fact, an average family of four, under this tax bill, will see their tax cuts of $1,300—$1,300. Where I come from, $1,300 is a lot of money in the paychecks of working families who are struggling just to get by.

In this tax bill, what it does for small businesses—what it does for small businesses—there are 26 million small businesses right now that are wondering, is their tax rate going to be 43.4 percent next year or 23 to 28 percent? And these are those mom-and-pops on Main Street that are just surviving. That is my parents' auto repair shop in southeast Missouri. They are deciding how to invest, how to grow right now with the uncertainty, and this bill will provide that certainty.

In fact, we also enhance the small-business deduction to 23 percent, allowing them to have more parity with the big corporations, with having a lower tax rate as a small-business owner.

We also go after special-interest tax provisions that were passed in the IRA. We eliminate more than a half a trillion dollars of bad green scam policies. And those policies will be redirected for the working-class Americans—those tipped employees, those linemen working overtime, those seniors who are living paycheck to paycheck. That is what we are going to do with those green credits.

We are also going to hold elite universities accountable. We are going to make sure that they pay their share of revenues coming from endowments. The corporate tax rate is 21 percent. The top tax rate will be 21 percent. If an endowment can have $55 billion, more than most countries, I think that they are not really paying their fair share. We are always talking about paying their fair share, but we are going to make sure those elite universities pay their fair share.

It is the same way with woke not-for-profits. We are holding them accountable.

We are also saving $140 billion in the Tax Code to make sure illegals aren't benefiting from the Tax Code.

And this is all to deliver real relief for the average, everyday American who sent us to Washington for this mandate.

I appreciate you for allowing us to be here today.

Mr. GRIFFITH. Madam Chair, I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Jack, you are recognized.

Mr. JACK. Thank you, Madam Chair.

And I will engage Mr. Walberg.

I appreciate your patience throughout this hearing. I can relate that it is a little lonely when you sit at the edge of the table.

But I would welcome any closing thoughts and comments from you and the incredible work that your committee members produced at the Education and Workforce Committee.

Mr. WALBERG. Well, Mr. Jack, I appreciate that. Bobby and I are feeling like Rodney Dangerfield down here at the end.

You know, I served on the Ag Committee my first term in office. Great committee. I have a great ag district that I represent. I served on Energy and Commerce up until I took the chairmanship of this fabulous committee. And I never wanted to serve on Ways and Means. It is not up to my standards yet.

VOICE. Ooooh.

Mr. WALBERG. No. I love you, Jason. I love you. I just had to get that in.

But I do appreciate that. You know, Education and Workforce, I don't want to belabor this, but we did some amazing work, I be-

lieve. $350 billion of savings that will, I think, foster better opportunity for students in higher education at lower cost.

In the Northwest Ordinance—and it is probably included in some of your States' constitutions—it says, "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." I don't think we have been encouraging education as we ought to.

And, for that reason, Ranking Member Scott and I—and, Representative Neguse, I will respond to your question, which was a legitimate question—we started at 10:15 in the morning on our markup. Five-and-a-half hours later, after 33 or 34 amendments that we debated together, we completed it. And I turned to Bobby, and I said, "Bobby, what happened?" He said, "What do you mean?" I said, "It is still light out."

I think that shows how a committee can work together to get things done. Whether we agree or not on everything—and we didn't—but I think the passion is there for education.

So what we did in this bill, seeing that right now 40 percent of master's degree programs and a quarter of bachelor's degree programs leave students worse off than if they had never started in higher education because of the cost and the debt that they have—within the next 10 years, if we don't do something, we have $300 billion of debt to the students that they are going to lose over the next 10 years. Taxpayers lose 20 cents on every dollar that they lend to post-secondary education right now. That is not a winning formula.

So, in our legislation, Mr. Jack, we attempted to reduce from five disparate loan programs, some without—well, most without any limit on them, down to two. And we have put reasonable caps in for undergrad, for grad, and for professional grad students.

Why did we do that? To give incentive to colleges, universities, trade schools, community colleges to live within their means.

And, ultimately, we gave them something they have asked for for many years, and now they have the opportunity to counsel their students, on the basis of what their program will afford to them once they graduate, what they should take as a loan and no more.

For that reason, we have a chance to give them skin in the game, that if students come out at the end of the pipeline and they are paying off their student loan, keeping on track to do that, and they have advanced in their ability to earn, we give them a special carrot called a PROMISE grant. If they don't and the students are defaulting and not achieving what they ought to achieve, then we give them a portion of risk-sharing to contribute. That carrot-and-stick approach.

Bobby and I agreed on a very significant portion of the bill, and that is Workforce Pell, short-term Pell. We know our manufacturing entities, our trades, need people in the jobs these days. And why not give them certification programs, apprenticeship programs, short-term degrees that we can use Workforce Pell for, to bring them out of that pipeline with a skill, with a job, and without huge student-loan debt?

And Bobby and I are going to continue to work on other workforce programs to ramp up that deal, but we did get that in this bill as well.

So I won't belabor the point, but that $350 billion of savings is all being put in to make it more accessible for students to come out of the end of the pipeline. We don't agree on all of that; I get that. But that is the approach, and I think, in the end, we are going to see a better higher-education system.

Mr. NEGUSE. I wonder if the gentleman might give the ranking member a chance to——

Mr. WALBERG. Well, he already had a chance to address one of your——

Mr. NEGUSE. Well, you——

Mr. WALBERG. Concerns, but yeah.

Mr. NEGUSE. Said a lot for him. I just heard a lot of references to "Bobby."

Mr. JACK. Respectfully, Mr. Neguse, I would reclaim my time.

And I appreciate your comments, Chairman Walberg, and, obviously, appreciated your testimony throughout this hearing, Mr. Scott.

And, with that, I yield back to our chairwoman, Ms. Foxx.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Chair? Can I publicly thank Rules Republicans for all those profound last questions?

The CHAIRWOMAN. You just did.

Thank you all very much.

The witnesses are excused.

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. Madam Chair. Madam Chair. Madam Chair.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Excuse me. Mr. Scott.

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. I would like to thank you and the gentleman from Colorado for your kind words about Gerry Connolly. He was the dean of the Virginia delegation. Several people said very nice things, and I would like to thank you for those.

The CHAIRWOMAN. I want to say, I think it is important we always acknowledge each other, because we all work hard. And it is important that we do that, no matter the party.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Hear, hear.

The CHAIRWOMAN. I have an important announcement to make. To the members in the room who have been waiting patiently to deliver amendment testimony, I have a brief announcement about how we are going to proceed.

Those of you who have been excused can go.

We are going to begin with the leadership panel, but it will still be an amendment panel. Democrat leadership has asked to testify as a panel of three to begin with, but it is our understanding they will abide by the procedures of an amendment panel, meaning 5 minutes of testimony each.

We will then move to calling up Members to testify on amendments, eight Members at a time. We have been doing our best to monitor when Members have arrived and are arriving. We are also doing our best to cross reference our notes on this with the staff of our Democrat counterparts so we get it as right as possible.

I will be calling up the Members eight at a time. I have been patient this entire meeting, and I ask for reciprocal patience here. If

you just walked in, you may need to wait for a third panel. And for those listening who aren't here, you may need to wait for a fourth panel, and so on.

Again, I am asking everyone to be patient. We will be identifying the Members for each panel verbally. I believe, if you are on the Democrat side, -and I think everyone who wants to offer an amendment is on the Democrat side-, you may talk to the Democrat staff outside about where you might be in the queue.

Mr. Jeffries, I understand you want to address the group in terms of the loss of Mr. Connolly first, and then I will identify you for your testimony.

Mr. JEFFRIES. Well, Madam Chair, thank you so much.

And thank you so much for the moment of silence and the kind words of remembrance on behalf of our dear colleague, Gerry Connolly, who really was a Member's Member, someone who conducted himself with the highest degree of intellect, brilliance, resilience, integrity, humor, and wit.

It is a great loss for his family, a great loss for his district, a great loss for the Commonwealth of Virginia, a great loss for us as House Democrats, but certainly a great loss for the Congress and for the country, given just the depth of his representation, the relationships that he had on both sides of the aisle, on both sides of the Capitol, and the fierce representation that he provided to the people that he has been privileged to represent for decades.

Thank you for giving me the opportunity to share some brief words of reflection on behalf of the House Democratic Caucus.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Well, I am reminded of an old, old poem, "For Whom the Bell Tolls."

Mr. JEFFRIES. Thank you, Madam Chair.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Jeffries.

Now I would like to recognize that we have Minority Leader Jeffries, Leader Clark, and part of the leadership, Mr. Aguilar, at the witness table for our first panel.

So I now will recognize each of you.

Will you be going first, Mr. Jeffries.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. HAKEEM JEFFRIES, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. JEFFRIES. Thank you, Madam Chair.

Good morning. Thank you, Chairwoman Foxx and Ranking Member McGovern, for the opportunity to testify at this incredibly important Rules Committee meeting.

I also thank my colleagues, Whip Katherine Clark and Caucus Chair Pete Aguilar, for partnering with me on this amendment.

I come before you today with an amendment to strike the unacceptable, unconscionable, and un-American cuts to the healthcare and food assistance of the American people.

America is the wealthiest country in the history of the world. We are better than this.

The great American middleclass dream is that, when you work hard and play by the rules, you should have the ability to provide a comfortable life for yourself and for your family, a good paying job, educate your children, purchase a home, and have access to

high-quality and affordable healthcare, as well as be able to put food on your kitchen or dining room table.

Unfortunately, we are here today discussing a bill that would make that American Dream harder to reach for millions by increasing costs for families—hardworking American families—-and gutting the things that they need to survive and thrive.

This reckless budget would take healthcare and food assistance away from millions of people in order to provide tax cuts to the wealthy, the well-off, and the well-connected. It would hurt children, hurt seniors, hurt families, hurt women, hurt people with disabilities, and hurt our Nation's veterans.

If enacted, the GOP tax scam would represent the largest cut to healthcare in American history and the largest cut to nutritional assistance in American history, in order to provide the largest tax breaks to billionaires like Elon Musk in American history.

So let's begin with the healthcare component of this amendment.

Everyone should have access to high-quality and affordable healthcare in the United States of America. In 1965, Congress created both Medicare and Medicaid. In the intervening decades, Congress passed legislation to expand and strengthen these important programs.

In 2010, this Congress, under the leadership of Speaker Nancy D'Alesandro Pelosi, passed the historic Affordable Care Act, which created new protections for people with preexisting conditions and expanded healthcare for tens of millions of people who couldn't otherwise afford it.

Since then, we have managed to achieve the lowest uninsured rate in history. Why would we go backward? Which is what the GOP Tax Scam would do.

We know, however, that our healthcare system is not perfect. Too many Americans continue to be unable to pay their medical bills and struggle to get access to the care that they need. As Democrats, we are ready to work in a bipartisan manner to address these challenges. But we will never support any Republican effort to rip away healthcare from the American people.

This GOP tax scam will force nearly 14 million people to lose their health coverage and cause millions more to pay higher copays, premiums, and deductibles. Hospitals will close, nursing homes will shut down, and people will die in all of your districts.

Now, prior to the modern SNAP program being created in 1964, there was vast hunger and food insecurity across this country, including in low-income communities, rural areas, and communities of color.

Thanks to public investigations, community-based organizations, and some good journalism, these challenges were spotlighted and the need for an expansion of Federal food assistance was highlighted. The American people were moved by images of children with distended bellies rummaging around in garbage and families going hungry.

It finally compelled Congress to act. And over the last 60 years, we as a country have made significant progress to reduce hunger and help people afford nutritional food.

Unfortunately, the policies in this GOP Tax Scam threaten to undo this progress and return us to an age where far too many

children or veterans or seniors are struggling to eat and get access to the nutrition that they need.

It is also important to recognize that SNAP is a vital part of providing opportunity for our farmers—who we stand with—food makers, small businesses, truckers, independent grocers, and the entire supply chain.

So, for the Republicans who have promised to love and cherish Medicaid, I ask you to support this amendment.

For the Republicans who believe we should not rip food away from the mouths of children, seniors, and veterans, we ask you to support this amendment.

And for the Republicans who believe that the Gospel in Matthew 25 and 35 teaches us to stand up for the poor, the sick, the afflicted, the least, the lost, and the left-behind, we ask you to support this amendment and strike these harmful cuts to healthcare and nutritional assistance.

Thank you, Madam Chair. I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

Whip Clark, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. KATHERINE CLARK, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS

Ms. CLARK. Thank you, Madam Chair and Ranking Member McGovern and members of this committee.

I am a proud cosponsor of Leader Jeffries' amendment protecting Medicaid and SNAP. And my Democratic colleagues have done an excellent job laying out how taking Medicaid and food from kids and seniors and veterans and moms to give tax cuts to billionaires while increasing our deficit is a triple threat to the American people.

But, unfortunately, it doesn't end there. I am offering an additional amendment that strikes a provision that would defund Planned Parenthood.

Speaker Johnson recently said about this provision, it is about going after, quote, "big abortion." But he knows better than that. We all know, the Federal Government doesn't pay for abortion care. We all know, Republicans have already decimated access to safe abortions in this country.

So what does this provision actually do? It further defunds women's healthcare. It defunds cancer screenings, prenatal care, postpartum services, fertility treatments, preventative care.

Ninety-six percent of Planned Parenthood's clinical work has nothing to do with abortion but everything to do with serving millions of women, most of them overwhelmingly in rural and underserved areas who are having a hard time finding reproductive care or any healthcare, especially in States with abortion bans.

Faced with a choice of either breaking the law or breaking their oath to put patients first, OB/GYNs are packing up and leaving. As a result, 35 percent of counties in America don't have a single obstetrician. In Georgia, it is 42 percent. In Texas, it is 50 percent.

Clinics are shutting down while maternal mortality is on the rise. Infant mortality is up for the first time in decades.

How does this bill respond to this Republican-manufactured crisis? It piles on. It makes it even harder for women to find

healthcare. Without this amendment, it would shut down nearly 600 health centers run by Planned Parenthood, 64 percent of which serve women living in medical deserts.

These are communities that don't have enough healthcare providers as it is. These are women who overwhelmingly live in rural areas. These are women that you represent.

If Planned Parenthood is defunded, 7,500 South Carolinians will lose their doctor. All of them, 100 percent, live in a medical desert. Ninety-two-hundred Georgians are on the edge of that same cliff, 75 percent in medical deserts; 22,000 Hoosiers, 82 percent in medical deserts; 24,000 Virginians, 50 percent; 37,000 North Carolinians, 67 percent; 51,000 Minnesotans, 69 percent.

And 118,000 Texans count on Planned Parenthood, in a State where babies and pregnant women are dying at a historic rate. Two-thirds of those Texans live in medical deserts. And 141,000 New Yorkers are about to see 47 clinics boarded up, 61 percent of them in the neediest areas in New York State.

Millions of women are counting on their Representatives to make the right decision—women like Sheryl from North Carolina, who years ago was overdue for a pap smear, but she didn't have insurance, and she kept putting it off. A friend mentioned Planned Parenthood would provide this free of charge. She booked an appointment, got checked, and it came back abnormal. They caught it early, and the cancer was removed.

Sheryl credits Planned Parenthood with saving her life. A lot of stories begin like Sheryl's. They should all end in the same way: with healthcare that saves lives.

I hope this amendment gives you all pause, when the women in this country deserve healthcare. And I hope you will think about the moms struggling to get by and stay healthy for the sake of their children and their families. It is not too late. Do right by them. Make this amendment in order for floor consideration.

Thank you, Madam Chair.

[The statement of Ms. Clark follows:]

Committee Remarks – Democratic Whip Katherine Clark
Wednesday, May 21, 2025

Thank you.

I am a proud co-sponsor of Leader Jeffries' amendment protecting Medicaid and SNAP.

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But he knows better than that.

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We all know Republicans have already decimated access to safe abortions.

So what does this provision actually do?

It further defunds women's health care.

It defunds:

Cancer screenings.

Prenatal care.

Postpartum services.

Fertility treatments.

Preventive care.

96% of Planned Parenthood's clinical work has nothing to do with abortion.

But everything to do with serving millions of women…

Most of them in rural and under-served areas…

Who are having a hard time finding reproductive health care — or any health care!

Especially in states with abortion bans.

Faced with the choice of either breaking the law or breaking their oath to put patient care first…

OB/GYNs are packing up and leaving.

35% of counties in America don't have a single obstetrician.

In Georgia, it's 42%.

In Texas, it's 50%.

Clinics are shutting down.

Maternal mortality is on the rise.

Infant mortality is up for the first time in decades.

How does this bill respond to that Republican-manufactured crisis?

It just piles on.

It makes it even harder for women to find care.

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64% of which serve women living in medical deserts.

These are communities that don't have enough health care providers as it is.

These are women who overwhelmingly live in rural areas.

These are women you represent.

If Planned Parenthood is defunded, 7,500 South Carolinians will lose their doctor.

All of them — 100% — live in medical deserts that lack other options.

9,200 Georgians are on the edge of the same cliff — 75% in medical deserts.

22,000 Hoosiers — 82%.

24,000 Virginians — 50%.

37,000 North Carolinians — 67%.

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118,000 Texans count on Planned Parenthood, in a state where babies and pregnant women are dying at a historic rate.

(56% rise in maternal mortality. 13% rise in infant mortality)

Two thirds of those Texans are in medical deserts.

141,000 New Yorkers are about to see 47 clinics boarded up — 61% of them in those neediest areas.

Millions of women are counting on their Representatives to make the right decision.

Women like Sheryl from North Carolina.

Years ago, Sheryl was overdue for a Pap smear.

But, she didn't have insurance — and she kept putting it off.

A friend mentioned Planned Parenthood wouldn't charge her.

So, she booked an appointment.

She got checked — and it came back abnormal.

They caught it early. And the cancer was removed.

Sheryl credits Planned Parenthood with saving her life.

A lot of stories begin like Sheryl's.

They should all end the same way, too.

I hope this amendment gives you pause.

Women in this country deserve health care.

I hope you think about the moms struggling to get by and stay healthy for the sake of their children.

It is not too late.

Do right by them.

Make this amendment in order for Floor consideration.

# # #

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.
Mr. Aguilar.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. PETE AGUILAR, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. AGUILAR. Thank you, Madam Chair, Ranking Member McGovern, distinguished colleagues on the committee.

I appreciate your kind words about our colleague Mr. Connolly as well, Madam Chair.

I am grateful for the opportunity to introduce amendments that would strengthen SNAP, a program that helps families across the country meet their basic needs.

I am also proud to cosponsor Leader Jeffries' amendment.

State governments can't afford to take on the extra costs that this legislation would impose on them. It would force leaders in red States and blue States to either raise taxes or remove people from SNAP, leaving even more Americans hungrier and poorer.

I wish more Americans had the opportunity to hear from our prior panel's testimony during the workday, but this committee made the choice to hide from the public and keep hidden what is actually in this bill. In fact, we are still told that manager's amendments are still being negotiated and are incomplete.

It is outrageous that this committee is debating these policies under the cover of darkness. But it shouldn't be surprising. Legislation you intend to pass, started at some ungodly hour, kicks millions of Americans off their health insurance and takes away food assistance for families who need it most.

As grocery prices rise, I cannot understand why my Republican colleagues want to take food out of the mouths of mothers, children, and veterans, while making healthcare even more expensive.

House Democrats are eager to take on waste, fraud, and abuse throughout the Federal Government, but we cannot find a willing partner on the other side of the aisle because of our colleagues' single-minded focus on cutting healthcare for people who need it most.

This legislation doesn't make Medicaid or SNAP more efficient or more fair, Madam Chair. All this bill does is ensure that billionaires, who have never had to worry about a hospital bill or putting food on the table, can continue to pay less in taxes than a teacher, a firefighter, or a nurse.

Madam Chair, it is a fact that only House Democrats want to make healthcare more accessible and more affordable for everyone. We will continue to fight back against this effort to drive up costs of health insurance and end basic-needs programs just to make a group of campaign donors happy.

The contrast is clear: House Republicans are making healthcare more expensive and less accessible. House Democrats want to ensure that every American can earn the peace of mind of a good-paying job with great benefits.

I yield back, Madam Chair.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Aguilar, would you mind leaving your testimony with me? Because I don't believe I heard a couple of things that you said, and I just want to look at it before I make any comments——

Mr. AGUILAR. Of course.

The CHAIRWOMAN [continued]. Okay? I want to double-check that I heard some things that I think you said——

Mr. AGUILAR. Okay.

The CHAIRWOMAN [continued]. Before I make any comment.

Mr. AGUILAR. Of course.

The CHAIRWOMAN. I am going to recognize—before I speak, I am going to recognize any of my colleagues.

Mrs. Houchin.

Mrs. HOUCHIN. No questions. Thank you.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. Langworthy?

Mr. Scott. You are recognized.

Mr. SCOTT. Madam Chair, I would just like to ask unanimous consent to submit for the record an article entitled "Rich State, Poor People."

And if I might——

The CHAIRWOMAN. Without objection.

[The information follows:]

www.nationalreview.com /2024/03/rich-state-poor-people/

Rich State, Poor People

By Paul J. Gessing - March 6, 2024

New Mexico's 2024 legislative session lasted only 30 days. Thanks to booming oil and gas production in New Mexico's section of the Permian Basin, the state legislature began the session with a massive $3.5 billion budget surplus. In 2023, the surplus was also around $3.5 billion. Those surpluses are in excess of 35 percent of the state's general-fund budget, which crossed the $10 billion mark for the first time in 2024.

The oil and gas boom has helped New Mexico has become the nation's second-biggest oil-producing state (despite having a population just over 2 million). Taxes paid on the state's oil production will generate "more money than we know what to do with," according to Democrat state senator and Legislative Finance Committee vice chair George Muñoz.

Sadly, despite having had similar surpluses in recent years, the state's Democrat Governor Michelle Lujan Grisham and Democrat-held legislature again showed their commitment to a government-first philosophy. Yet again, "more money than we know what to do with" resulted in virtually no tax relief for New Mexico taxpayers and businesses.

It's not like the government-first model is working well for the state. New Mexico has the third-highest poverty rate in the nation. Its education system is arguably the worst in the nation; in 2022, New Mexico ranked No. 51 on each of four categories of the National Assessment of Educational Progress. Crime is a huge problem, especially in its largest city, Albuquerque. And New Mexico's economy is almost entirely driven by the combined forces of oil and gas, two national nuclear labs, and several military bases.

After a few years of surplus-driven spending, even the analysts hired by the Democrat-controlled legislature have admitted that the government is not particularly good at solving problems.

In New Mexico, the Legislative Finance Committee essentially acts as the legislature's own think tank. The group found that more education spending wasn't leading to improved outcomes for New Mexico students. In fact, student enrollment went down.

Even more astonishing, the same state-backed analysts acknowledged that welfare programs (usually involving a combination of federal and state resources) have failed to improve poverty rates in New Mexico. They went on to note that the state had spent $10 billion on anti-poverty programs in FY 2023, but poverty rates have remained stubbornly

high at around 18 percent (as compared with the national rate of 11.5 percent). They even went a step further to emphasize the importance of work and raising New Mexico's pitiful workforce participation in addressing poverty. If this sounds like it came out of the Heritage Foundation or another conservative think tank, you're probably not alone.

So, to summarize, one of the poorest states (at least in terms of its inhabitants' incomes) in the nation has had massive budget surpluses in recent years, thanks largely to oil and gas revenues. The state and its economy are widely recognized to be too reliant on that industry and in need of diversification. On top of that, spending more on education, welfare programs, and areas of corporate welfare have not improved anything. So, what's a progressive-dominated legislature to do?

It's no surprise that it spent more money, specifically 6.8 percent more. That's an annual increase of about $650 million. The legislators slightly reduced taxes and approved a hodgepodge tax bill that adjusted income-tax brackets in ways that will reduce taxes by about $150 million. But, in the same bill, the legislature raised other taxes (capital gains and corporate income) by $75 million, and gave away a bunch of mostly special-interest tax credits to the tune of $100 million.

Obviously, with a budget surplus of $3.5 billion, a $150 million tax cut is miniscule. And of course, there are the completely unnecessary tax hikes. But those are irrelevant. With a $3.5 billion surplus available, New Mexico's legislature grew government and reduced taxes by a combined $825 million. That means they held onto about $2.7 billion this year alone.

As the oil and gas boom continued this year, New Mexico has poured money into various funds, like the "operating reserve" fund and the tax-stabilization reserve fund. The state now has one of the largest "rainy day funds," in the nation according to Pew.

But even that's not enough. New Mexico has a separate set of "permanent funds" that has been growing by leaps and bounds, thanks to the natural resources. These funds are not part of the regular general-fund budgeting process and instead create a hidden funding mechanism for New Mexico's ever-growing government.

As of FY 2023, the state is sitting on nearly $43 billion in sovereign-wealth money tied up for future government spending by the state's constitution. That's the 31st-largest of such funds on the planet, and the third largest among U.S. states. This money is supposedly locked away, but it was accessed in 2022, thanks to a constitutional amendment to fund universal, all-day, pre-school statewide. In other words, there is no shortage of cash in New Mexico government coffers.

New Mexico resembles a homeless person living in a cardboard box who sits on a hoard of cash that he or she simply won't use. Plenty of money is being spent, and the state has plenty of money for the future. But for ideological reasons, legislators refuse to reduce taxes today to bring needed economic diversity and prosperity to the state.

My organization, Rio Grande Foundation, has recommended shifting the state's job-killing, gross-receipts tax to resemble a basic sales tax. The state could also benefit from becoming one of the growing number of states that has no income tax. New Mexico is not in the conversation when it comes to competing for jobs and population growth with neighboring Texas. Shifting to a traditional sales tax and eliminating the personal-income tax would make New Mexico attractive.

New Mexico could become an economic dynamo in the American Southwest right now. The problem is that the state's policy-makers and its people who prefer that the government has plenty of cash available for the year 2100, rather than following the well-trodden path to using a massive opportunity generated by incredible growth in the state to create prosperity for its citizens right now.

Mr. SCOTT. If I might just read from it.

"The oil and gas boom has helped New Mexico become the nation's second-biggest oil-producing State. Taxes paid on the state's oil production would generate 'more money than we know what to do with,' according to Democrat state senator and Legislative Finance Committee chair George Munoz."

The States are flush with cash.

Thank you.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Without objection.

Mr. McGovern, you are recognized.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Yeah.

First of all, let me just address something that Chairman Smith said. You know, he went through all the things in the tax section of the reconciliation bill that, quite frankly, most of us support—I mean, the child tax credit, the no tax on tips, the middle-class tax cuts.

But what he omitted was the tax cuts for billionaires. What he omitted were the cuts to Medicaid that would throw people off of healthcare, or the cuts to SNAP.

Leader Jeffries, I mean, we are reasonable. We would be happy to work with them. But there is no way in hell we are going to support a bill that is going to throw 14 million people off of healthcare, you know, or throw millions of people off of SNAP.

You could maybe comment on, how would children, how would seniors be impacted by the legislation that is before us?

Mr. JEFFRIES. Well, thank you, Mr. McGovern.

You know, this legislation would rip healthcare away from approximately 14 million Americans, including millions of children who will be adversely impacted by the fact that Medicaid is being cut in the greatest numbers in American history, children who would otherwise be able to see a doctor when they are sick but might not be able to as a result of Medicaid being ripped away. Children who will no longer have the ability to receive preventative care that could catch things early enough to avoid serious illness or death, they are impacted by the GOP tax scam.

Seniors, of course, who will have their Medicaid ripped away from them will also be adversely impacted, because the majority of seniors who receive nursing home care in America or home care in America—these aren't statistics; it is our parents, our grandmother, our grandfather, our great-grandmother and—grandfather. The majority of people who receive nursing-home care in America or home care in America, which allows people to maintain dignity and respect in their amazing golden years, they rely on Medicaid to receive that assistance. And that, of course, is at risk of being ripped away from them.

And, Mr. McGovern, it is all being done in service of enacting the largest tax breaks for billionaires in American history, billionaires like Elon Musk, who is the last person in this country who deserves a tax break.

Mr. MCGOVERN. And, Mr. Aguilar, I support your amendment. You know, interestingly enough, the House Agriculture Committee never did a hearing on the cost-sharing issue with States. And there is a reason why Governors all over the country are panicking that they may be hit with a bill of hundreds of millions of dollars,

or even a billion dollars in the case of Pennsylvania, which they are not going to be able to meet, and, therefore, it will result in them costing—it will end up cutting the benefit to people. And so I support it totally.

And, Leader Clark, you know, let me ask you, is it possible at all for other providers, like community health centers, to absorb the patients that Planned Parenthood health centers see annually? And what services for women would be at risk?

Ms. CLARK. Thank you so much for the question.

And let's bust this myth once and for all. Because we have two things going on here. We have the nearly 14 million Americans, including many women, seniors, moms, pregnant moms, who are going to have their healthcare taken away from them totally. And that impacts healthcare centers, FQHCs. They receive—Medicaid is the single largest source of payments, reimbursements, for our FQHCs.

And this is what is always pointed to by the right, that they will just pick up these services for women out of these defunded clinics for Planned Parenthood. It is impossible at the same time that you are cutting Medicaid to these clinics.

In Massachusetts alone, that will be an almost $1.2 billion cut to these health centers. And if you are going to pick up what Planned Parenthood provides, you would have to increase the capacity of our FQHCs by 56 percent.

So we are going to take away Medicaid over here, and then we are going to say, "Magically increase capacity by 56 percent" to serve the women who will no longer have a place to get the cancer screenings, the prenatal care, the fertility treatments, contraception, reproductive healthcare that they need and that is increasingly difficult to find.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Yeah.

I regret that so much of what is done in this Congress and in this current administration around healthcare is so politically charged.

Ms. CLARK. Yeah.

Mr. MCGOVERN. And, again, going back to the SNAP issue, people are going to see their benefits cut, again, on average of $2 a person, you know, per meal. That is it. And if States can't meet their cost-share, they have no choice but to cut the benefit—but to cut the benefit.

And no hearings on this, not one single hearing. And this is a major change, major change. And not even the courtesy of a hearing. We weren't able to bring in Governors or anybody from any States to be able to comment on what the impact of this would be or whether even all the States could meet, you know, their financial obligation.

And, again, I mean, that it is part of a reconciliation bill? And that nobody even cares enough to do a hearing on it? Is that the way you legislate around here?

I don't know if you want to add anything before I yield back.

Mr. AGUILAR. Thank you, Mr. McGovern. I think that is incredibly important.

And I would just share that the cost-share discussion really breaks a promise of 50 years of a relationship between the Federal

Government and the States. This is shifting more resources so they can be the bad guys.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Yes.

Mr. AGUILAR [continuing]. And so they can reduce benefits, kick people off of eligibility. It is just an existential threat and would result in significant reductions in benefits to the people who need it most.

Mr. MCGOVERN. And I will just say, finally, all this does is it gives my Republican friends some cover to be able to dodge responsibility and, when benefits get cut, say, "Hey, it is not me; it is the States." And, again, that, to me, is very cynical.

I yield back my time.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. McGovern.

Mrs. Fischbach.

Mrs. FISCHBACH. I don't have anything.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

Ms. Scanlon, you are recognized.

Ms. SCANLON. Thank you.

I think we just heard a little bit about myth-busting. So, Leader Jeffries, I was wondering if you could address the myth, which we have had thrown at us repeatedly throughout all the committee hearings on this bill, that somehow these proposals are going to be paid for by kicking undocumented immigrants off federally subsidized food and healthcare.

Is that true? Are undocumented immigrants getting Federal healthcare and Federal food benefits?

Mr. JEFFRIES. It is a great question. Under current law, undocumented immigrants are already ineligible for Medicaid, the ACA exchanges, and for SNAP benefits.

Not a single undocumented immigrant in this country gets a dime in Federal taxpayer dollars for any part of comprehensive Medicaid coverage. Not one.

And so, when we are talking about nearly 14 million people who are going to be thrown off their health insurance, millions of others who are going to be jammed up by this aggressive cut to SNAP, the largest cut to food assistance in American history, we are talking about American children——

Ms. SCANLON. Uh huh.

Mr. JEFFRIES [continuing]. We are talking about everyday Americans, we are talking about Americans with disabilities.

And when it comes to nutritional assistance, we are talking about veterans who have served this country, sacrificed, risked it all. And they are going to lose access to the food assistance they need to live a life of dignity and respect.

Those are the facts. That is why we are fighting hard to stop this GOP tax scam that will hurt everyday Americans dead in its tracks.

Ms. SCANLON. I appreciate that. Because we have heard this gaslighting, you know, for weeks now, and we knew it wasn't true, but I appreciate your clarifying that as well.

And, of course, to the extent that anyone was trying to game the system and get benefits to which they were not entitled, we have inspectors general who were tasked with rooting out fraud, waste,

and abuse but unfortunately have been fired by this administration.

So, you know, don't preach about wanting to ferret out fraud, waste, and abuse when you are pulling the watchdogs whose job it was.

Thank you. I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Scott. Oh, I already came to you.

Mr. Neguse, you are recognized.

Mr. NEGUSE. Thank you. Thank you, Madam Chair.

Thank you, Leader Jeffries, Whip Clark, and Chairman Aguilar, for your leadership and for the amendments that you have submitted before the committee today.

As you all know, we started at 1:00 a.m., so this hearing has been going now for about 10 hours. We have heard from many Republican chairmen. We have, of course, many members of our caucus who are here that we will hear from.

The only person—and, of course, we have all the leadership of the House Democratic Caucus, and we are so grateful that each of you came forward to testify in this fashion.

The one person we haven't heard from is the Speaker, who came here briefly earlier but was not willing, I guess, to testify in the way that you all have.

Mr. Leader, I know you offered to debate the Speaker on the floor, I believe sent a letter to him about a month and a half ago on this particular reconciliation bill. And I wonder if you might expound a bit on why you think that is important, for the American people to be able to hear that debate and that dialogue.

Mr. JEFFRIES. Well, I thank the distinguished gentleman from the great State of Colorado.

And, first of all, let me thank all of the members of the Rules Committee, certainly my colleagues on the Democratic side, who have done a tremendous job on behalf of the American people—Jim McGovern; Mary Gay Scanlon; you, Joe Neguse; and, of course, Teresa Leger Fernández.

Let me also thank the chair, Chairwoman Foxx, from the great State of North Carolina by way of New York City. She may have left the Bronx, but the Boogie-Down Bronx has never left her. So thank you for providing this opportunity for us to have this discussion.

But one person is missing: Speaker Mike Johnson.

Over a month ago, I asked our distinguished colleague from Louisiana, the Speaker of the House, to debate any of us, but certainly myself, on the House floor about this very bill.

He believes it is one "One Big Beautiful Bill." We believe it is "One Big Ugly Bill" that is going to hurt the American people—hurt children, hurt families, hurt veterans, hurt seniors, cut healthcare, cut nutritional assistance, explode the debt by a minimum of $3.8 trillion.

This is being done by people who claim to be the stewards of fiscal responsibility? $3.8 trillion, if not more?

And so the offer still stands. I would love to have the opportunity to debate Speaker Johnson anytime, anyplace, right here at the

Rules Committee or certainly on the floor of the House of Representatives. Not a duel. A debate of ideas.

Mr. NEGUSE. I couldn't agree more.

I thank the leader, the whip, the chairman, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Neguse.

Ms. Leger Fernández, you are recognized.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Thank you, Madam Chair.

And thank you to each of you for coming and testifying.

Whip Clark, as you described the impact that the abortion bans have had on States across this country, the lack of reproductive healthcare in States around this country, and then that this bill would then add to that difficulty, I am reminded and I have been sharing lately a story that I didn't used to talk about because it was so hard about how, when I was pregnant, I almost bled to death.

And I remember lying on that hospital surgery piece of metal. And they didn't put me to sleep because we were trying to save the baby. And they were screaming, "We are going to lose her, we are going to lose her, we are going to lose her."

Those doctors could concentrate on saving my life. They did not have to worry about whether they were going to be criminally charged or whether they were going to have to shut down their practice because they were working on a complicated pregnancy.

And now we know, across the country, in rural areas especially, we are losing our OB/GYN care.

So I want you to talk a little bit more about what happens in those rural areas, what happens in those areas where doctors are fleeing, and how what they are doing in this bill, by going after Planned Parenthood, does that make it worse?

Ms. CLARK. Thank you. Thank you for sharing that story. And it is the story of women across this country. Pregnancy is often complicated. And it needs interventions. And we want safe outcomes. The way we get that is good prenatal care and being able to find that within a 50-mile drive from your home. And with the abortion bans, that is becoming out of reach for so many people.

And it compounds the cruelty in this bill that is already there in all that they are taking away from women and children and families, from their healthcare, from food programs, public schools—the list goes on—with this cynical exercise of giving tax cuts to people who are too wealthy to need them or maybe even notice them.

So we have to keep our eye focused on what is happening. And, with this amendment, it may seem like a sort of insignificant or a very detailed part of this overall package, but the themes are the same, and at the end of the day, it is denial of healthcare for women in this country.

And at the same time, we have a White House lamenting, "Why aren't women having children? Maybe we will give them $5,000."

If you don't have a safe place to have a child, if you cannot guarantee that you will survive, have the medical attention that you will need and, if you are able to have that child, that that child will be able to access healthcare, that you will be able to find affordable, quality childcare near where you go to work, that you will be

able to have the fundamentals of the housing to be able to put a life together—a recent study showed the majority of families in this country, 60 percent of families, cannot afford the basics.

And what they are saying in this and what makes it so pernicious is, this has no place in a reconciliation bill. This is ideology, and this is policy. And this is saying, "We don't like abortion providers, and it is not enough to outlaw them in our own States, to deny that care in those States. If there is an affiliate or a subsidiary in any State, then we will shut down the clinic that is not providing abortion care but is providing this critical primary care for women."

That doesn't belong in this bill either. And it is part of the pattern and the theme of this bill that the American family is put last. And we are making the winner's circle so very small. And it doesn't include women in this country, it doesn't include working families, it doesn't include seniors and veterans and the 99.9 percent of people who get up and work hard every single day and want to have a future for their children, a place in this economy, want their small business to survive this tariff regime, want to be able to put a life together that has hope.

And, instead, we are offering them ideology wrapped up as healthcare? It is a cruelty, and it is a shame. And that is why we have seen the Democratic Caucus and the American people united against this bill.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Thank you, Whip Clark.

Chairman Aguilar, your amendment, I think, touches on a very important fact, and that is that people are working. And they are working really hard. And they are often not getting paid enough. And when Democrats were in charge, we increased jobs.

But, right now, there is a recession looming. And what they are going to do is kick people out of Medicaid, and they are not going to be able to get nutrition programs. And they are saying it is because people are lazy.

Is that right, Chairman Aguilar? I mean, what is really happening with regards to American families who are working hard and just maybe not making enough money to afford healthcare?

Mr. AGUILAR. Thank you, Congresswoman, for sharing your story, first of all, and for the question.

My amendment prevents what I hope is something we can all agree on: No child in our country should go hungry. Yet, under this bill, nearly 645,000 people, including children ages 7 to 18, will lose some or all of their SNAP benefit just in my State of California. Whether you are a child in New Mexico or Maine or California, that isn't right.

As cruel and failed as that 3-month time limit is, it has never been applied to parents and grandparents with dependent children. It is right in the name: Able-Bodied Adults Without Dependents. So what is supposed to happen? The child turns 7 and now doesn't need to go to school by themselves? It is just plain wrong, and it puts kids at risk.

No one is staying home for SNAP benefits that are $6 per person per day. If my colleagues were serious, we would be providing childcare and transportation and fair wages to help families make ends meet, rather than cutting these important benefits.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Thank you, Chair Aguilar.

And, Leader Jeffries, thank you for painting the picture of what hunger looked like in America and what poverty looked like in America when we decided that that was not an acceptable picture for us.

And I think it is a policy choice, but I think you also touched on a sense that it is also a moral choice. And I entered into the record earlier today a letter from 31 faith organizations who were opposing these kinds of cuts because they noted that it was against a principle, a moral principle, that government should provide for those who are in need.

And I just wanted to give you the last word—I am the last Democrat who gets to ask a question—on these issues of how you see the values and the choices that are being made in this bill.

Mr. JEFFRIES. Well, thank you again for sharing your powerful story in such a compelling way, and it really does illustrate the challenges that we confront here. When we make policy decisions, we are impacting the American people in ways that, in certain cases, could be questions of life and death.

It has often been said—Dr. King made this observation—that budgets are moral documents. And I don't question anyone's faith in this room. There are people of faith on both sides of the aisle. But we do have to ask the question: It can't simply be enough to go to synagogue or go to the mosque or go to church and pray on Sunday and then come to Washington, D.C., and prey on the American people the rest of the week—p–r–e–y—prey on the poor, prey on the sick, prey on the afflicted, prey on working families, prey on everyday Americans, prey on our children, prey on our veterans, prey on older Americans.

It can't be sufficient to go to church and pray on Sunday but then come to Washington, D.C., advance a bill like the GOP tax scam, and prey on the American people for the rest of the week.

Democrats will never stand for it, and we are going to fight hard to make sure that we do everything we can to uplift the American people, to protect their healthcare, protect nutritional assistance, protect our veterans, protect our children, protect our women, our families, older Americans, and to protect the American way of life.

I yield back.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Thank you, Leader.

Thank you, Whip Clark.

Thank you, Chair Aguilar.

I will say that, as we did the procession on Palm Sunday, our archbishop said exactly that, that he wanted to pray for all of us that we would remember the poor and the needy and that we would have the grace in our hearts to do what is right.

Tribal leaders came and met with me yesterday and said that they had done their blessings in the morning so that they could bring them to Washington, D.C., because the cuts to Medicaid, the cuts to Tribal sovereignty, the cuts were something their people could not survive.

And so I think those prayers and those blessings are important so that, when we come to Washington, we act from our hearts and that we let that lead our decisions.

Thank you very much, all three of you, for this incredible amendment, this incredible testimony.

And, with that, Madam Chair, I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Ms. Leger Fernández.

Mr. Griffith, do you have any questions?

Mr. GRIFFITH. I do not. Thank you.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

Thank you all for coming.

The witnesses are excused.

Mr. JEFFRIES. Thank you.

Mr. AGUILAR. Thank you.

Ms. CLARK. Thank you.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Chair.

The CHAIRWOMAN. I need to announce the names.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Yeah, but before you do, can I make one statement, briefly?

The CHAIRWOMAN. Yes.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I want to thank all my colleagues who have been here for an incredibly long time. Some of them have been here since 1 o'clock in the morning. And I feel very proud to be part of this caucus, and I feel very proud of all the Members who are here who want to make their voices and their views heard.

And I especially also want to thank Speaker Emerita Nancy Pelosi for being here for hours as well. And I want to thank our leadership team.

But it means a lot to me personally and I think to everybody on this committee that we have so many colleagues that feel so strongly that they have waited for hours and hours and hours to be able to present their amendments.

And I thank you, Madam Chair, for letting me say that.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Okay.

The next panel will be Tim Kennedy, Norma Torres, Al Green, Mr. Horsford, Mrs. Beatty, Mrs. Dingell, Mr. Gomez, and Ms. Robin Kelly.

If you all would quickly get to the tables, please.

May I suggest, if you are here for the next panel, start down here and move up here. It makes it a lot easier to get people seated.

Okay.

Mr. Kennedy, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. TIMOTHY KENNEDY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Thank you, Chairwoman Foxx, Ranking Member McGovern, and members of the committee.

I am here today to offer two critical amendments:

First, to strike section 44–111 and preserve the current 10-percent State cost-share for Medicaid expansion, preventing the financial burden that would otherwise fall on States and safety-net hospitals.

Second, to strike section 44–126, which targets and defunds community health centers that provide family-planning services.

Taken together, these provisions in the underlying bill, in addition to the massive cuts to Medicaid that this bill ensures, would

decimate access to care for millions of Americans, particularly low-income women, children, and seniors.

As members of the majority attempt to shove this bill down the throats of the American people and, frankly, some members of their own party in a process that started in the middle of the night while America slept, my Democratic colleagues and I are here to stand up and shed light on what you are hoping to hide from the American people.

As an occupational therapist myself, the husband of a physical therapist, the son of a nurse, and the Representative of a community with 285,000 people who depend on these services, including 110,000 children, let me focus on what is at stake with the Medicaid provisions outlined in this bill.

Since the passage of the Affordable Care Act in 2010, nearly 25 million Americans nationwide have gained access to care through the Medicaid expansion. That means moms have access to prenatal and postnatal care, children can get regular checkups, and people struggling to put food on the table can still see a doctor before minor issues become emergencies.

It means those in rural areas, often far from major hospitals, can visit clinics, access telehealth services, or get prescriptions filled without having to travel hours for basic preventative care.

States that expanded Medicaid saw the uninsured rate among low-income adults decrease by more than half. It is so popular that even in States where the legislature and Governor opposed it, like Oklahoma, when put to the voters, it was approved.

In New York, the State I represent, expanding Medicaid has given over 1 million people access to care. With this bill, New York will face nearly $1 billion in new costs, while other States could see their expansions repealed entirely.

As I have been here since the wee hours of the morning participating in a broken process that started at 1:00 a.m., I cannot fathom why members of this majority would choose to rip lifesaving care away from your own constituents in the name of tax breaks for billionaires—aside from the fact that the President told you to do so.

As an occupational therapist, again, I have worked with patients young and old, people who rely on Medicaid for necessary care. I have seen what happens when patients delay care because they cannot afford it. Minor conditions become chronic, emergency-room wait times lengthen, and hospitals cannot absorb the cost. As a result, our healthcare system becomes destabilized.

In cutting Medicaid, we don't eliminate the need for care; we just eliminate access to care. And for those who aren't on Medicaid, we only make care more expensive and harder to get. We force families to choose between medicine and groceries, we push more patients into overcrowded ERs, and we risk lives.

This Republican bill does not save money, and it sure doesn't help the people who sent us here to represent them. It shifts the burden to States, to hospitals, and to the people who can least afford it. Simply put, it is cruelty.

My amendments protect Medicaid expansion programs and ensure that millions of Americans don't lose the care that they need

and that our public hospitals and safety-net systems can continue to function.

Without our Democratic amendments, this bill will make all Americans less safe and healthcare less accessible, particularly for our most vulnerable citizens. I urge my colleagues to support these amendments.

Healthcare, we know, is not a luxury reserved for the few, and it shouldn't be. It is a right. And it is our responsibility to protect it.

I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

Mrs. Torres, you are recognized. You are a former member of the committee. We are glad to have you back.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. NORMA TORRES, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Mrs. TORRES of California. Thank you. Good morning, Chairwoman, Ranking Member McGovern. It is great to be back with all of you here, although under difficult circumstances.

I know how difficult it is to have to work through the night, but the work that we are doing here today is really important. It is important for Members to be able to share how this bill will impact our constituents.

The bill before the committee, it is truly a disaster for the American people. It would throw almost 14 million people off Medicaid. It would cause our hospitals to close in areas that need them the most. It would cut food assistance for more than 3 million Americans. And all to help the multibillionaires that pay much less in taxes.

I fully support many of the amendments proposed by Democrats to fix these cruel actions, and I hope that they will be made in order.

I have six amendments that would address problems in the bill and in the current policies of the Trump administration.

First, I have submitted an amendment No. 507, which would protect the healthcare of nearly 340,000 of my constituents by striking the hundreds of billions of Medicaid cuts contained in this bill. It is common sense at this time when families are struggling with higher prices of food and goods due to the self-inflicted wound of tariffs caused by our President.

Second, I have an amendment to prevent the $300 billion in cuts to food assistance programs like SNAP. The Republican reconciliation bill would kick more than 3 million people off of food stamp assistance, again, while we are getting imported eggs from Turkey and other countries that are willing to help us in a time of need when our food prices are so high.

Third, I have submitted an amendment to lift the SALT deduction cap imposed by the 2017 tax scam bill. The reality is that this simply shifts more Federal taxes to Californians, when California already contributes much more than many of your States.

For example, California is a donor State. We send $692 billion to the Federal Government, and we receive back $609 billion. That means we send $83 billion to many of your States to help fund the quality of life that all of you enjoy.

Representative Griffith, Virginia receives $107 billion more from the Federal Government than they give. Chip Roy of Texas gets back $71 billion more.

Chairwoman Foxx, North Carolina gets $53 billion more.

Representative Norman of South Carolina, you receive $35 billion more.

Representative Austin Scott of Georgia and Brian Jack of Georgia—Georgia receives $35 billion more. And Representative Houchin of Indiana receives $30 billion more.

So, if we want to talk about welfare and welfare to the very poor, let's start with your States. Maybe your States should pay their fair share.

Lastly, I have an amendment that would help stop the unlawful and dangerous firings of Federal Aviation Administration workers who maintain our air traffic control systems. They are the backbone of the air traffic control system. They are the unseen workers that help keep planes in the air and provide safe landings when we land. They support our air traffic controllers that ensure a safe flying public.

While the administration is trying to recruit more air traffic controllers, they continue to fire probationary employees and reduce staffing for the people who maintain these systems. This is something that is critical that we need to address.

Next and lastly, I have an amendment that would strike the 5-percent Federal tax on remittance transfers in this bill. The tax proposal in this bill would disproportionately impact immigrant workers, who already pay into a system that they cannot reclaim any of the Social Security or taxes—State, local taxes that they pay into.

Lastly, I have an amendment that would disapprove of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers' work plan for fiscal year 2025. This plan isn't just flawed; it blatantly politicizes the project selection process and attempts to leave, once again, California, the State that all of you depend for welfare for your constituents to have zero projects allocated by them.

I think the American people should know what is in this bill. It is a tax giveaway to the filthy-rich.

Thank you, Chairwoman, for your patience, and I yield back to you.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mrs. Torres.

Mr. Green, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. AL GREEN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF TEXAS

Mr. GREEN of Texas. Thank you, Madam Chair, Mr. Ranking Member, Members all.

I am here today because of SNAP and a concern.

But, first, I would like to thank Ms. Meng, Grace Meng, for introducing the Fairness for Victims of SNAP Skimming Act. It has been reduced to amendment No. 30.

I had a similar piece of legislation, and this whole issue was called to my attention by a news reporter from Channel 2, KPRC, in Houston, Texas. And as a result of his engagement, we produced a piece of legislation.

I do not want to see block grants to Texas for healthcare.

Madam Chair, Texas refused $100 billion to expand Medicaid. This is one of the reasons why Texas has the highest percentage of uninsured persons and the highest number of uninsured persons in the United States of America.

I don't know that Texas is going to be responsible enough to accept the grants. What will you do and what will we do when Texas does what it does quite regularly, and that is, decline Federal dollars?

So I am here today to talk about a program that has benefited not only Texans but persons across the length and breadth of the country. And this has been a bipartisan effort in the past. It was in existence until December of last year, right around Christmas.

And it has to do with reimbursing persons who have their SNAP moneys skimmed away with electronic devices such that they have to sometimes go without food. They are victims. We should not allow the——

The CHAIRWOMAN. Al, would you suspend for just a minute?

There is a knocking noise going on somewhere. Do you all hear that? And it is bothering everybody out there because I can see it on your faces. I don't know where it is coming from.

It stopped.

All right. Okay. It stopped.

So I don't know what is causing it, but it was making it hard to hear you and understand you. So I wanted to make sure we can hear you, and it is also distracting.

So we will start again. You didn't lose any time.

Mr. GREEN of Texas. Thank you. I will elevate the level of my voice.

The CHAIRWOMAN. If you would speak up a little.

Mr. GREEN of Texas. Thank you. I shall.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

Mr. GREEN of Texas. As I was indicating, this has been bipartisan. It has prevented criminals from causing persons to lose food. And I think that it should be bipartisan now in terms of reinstating this program, such that people who need food and cannot afford the necessity of life will be able to acquire the food that they merit.

I would also add this, that this program is one that has been sponsored by Republicans. So Republicans and Democrats should be able to agree to prevent criminals from taking food.

Finally, this: There has been talk about work and how work is good. And I agree. Work brings dignity.

But the thing, Madam Chair, that hit a nerve with me was when our dear brother, whose name I cannot call because it is not appropriate to do so—but if I could call Mr. Norman's name, I would. This dear brother said that work built America. And he is right. It did. Over 10 million people working for more than 240 years without a paycheck.

America is a great country, and it is great, Madam Chair, because of the economic foundation of mothers and fathers whose lives were sacrificed. If you are in this country, you are standing on the backs of those persons who were enslaved.

And you are right, work ought to be recognized. In this country, in our Capitol, in Emancipation Hall, the recognition for 240 years of enslavement is a plaque not much larger than that picture on the wall. That is in Emancipation.

And it would seem to me that if we truly appreciate the dignity and work, then we would express that dignity for the people who had a hand in building the White House, a hand in building the Capitol, built the roads and bridges, planted the seeds, harvested the crops, fed the Nation. Why don't we recognize them to the same extent that we recognize people who were victims of the Holocaust?

It just seems to me that if we are going to talk about work, let's talk about the people who built the country.

And, finally, I want to thank you for the time, and I would like to thank the ranking member as well, and would hope that we can save the SNAP program. Thank you.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Horsford.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. STEVEN HORSFORD, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEVADA

Mr. HORSFORD. Good morning, Madam Chair, and to the ranking member, to the assistant Democratic leader, to the members of the committee.

I have been with you since 3 o'clock this morning. I want to thank you for your time. But I am here to bring the voices of 750,000 people in Nevada who elected me to do a job, and that is, to make sure their perspective is heard by this Congress and this committee.

I know we have heard a lot, but I want to touch on what this "bad-built bill for billionaires" doesn't do, because it barely touches housing, a crisis that is affecting more than just the people in my district. My disappointment is with what is not in here.

So, once again, like I did in the Ways and Means Committee, I am here to let you and the American people know that there is nothing to address the fact that rent increases are outpacing people's income; that there is nothing in this bill that builds out housing for the middle class; that there is nothing in this bill that touches Trump's blanket tariffs, which are taxes that Americans pay, not some foreign governments, that will raise the cost of housing.

In fact, in 2018, the CBO projected that the initial Trump tax cuts would reduce residential investment since their provisions are not favorable towards housing. That report proved true, as inflation-adjusted residential investment today is nowhere close to its pre-2018 trend.

I will also tell you what this bill does have. It has an annual tax cut for billionaires, over $255,000 a year, while the average benefit for working people earning less than $50,000 annually is a meager $265; the cutting of healthcare for 14 million Americans; and the selling of Nevada public lands without a single dollar going to the State for which those lands are intended.

So let's recap. Trump is making borrowing more expensive. He is raising the cost of housing materials due to tariffs. And extending the GOP tax scam means continued reductions in residential

investment and making Nevadans pay for it with our land. Please make it make sense.

That is why I am offering a package of amendments to help our veterans, to address tipped workers, small businesses, and the hospitality sector, which has been hit hard by President Trump's tariffs.

However, for the purposes of this hearing, I will focus my remarks around helping our veterans.

My amendment seeks to address the housing crisis that my colleagues seem to be ignoring. This amendment would create a veterans housing fund through a 1-percent surtax on excessive corporate stock buybacks, limited to firms with over $10 billion in assets. We are asking that the largest companies, who reported nearly a trillion dollars in buybacks, pay 1 percent.

Over 30,000 veterans are experiencing homelessness. If my colleagues are committed to helping veterans, then you can support this amendment to help balance that equation.

This is not a blue-city amendment. According to HUD's 2024 Annual Homelessness Assessment Report, nearly half of veterans experiencing homelessness are in suburban or rural communities. And my colleagues on the other side of the aisle in this committee represent eight States that total around 6,000 veterans who are experiencing homelessness: Georgia, nearly 650; Virginia, around 400; New York, almost 1,200; Indiana, over 400; Texas, nearly 1,850; South Carolina, almost 400; Minnesota, 300; and North Carolina, nearly 700 veterans experiencing homelessness.

There is nothing in this bill that addresses shelter, mental health, substance abuse, job training, and other assistance specifically for our veterans.

So I am urging my Republican colleagues to work with us now to fix this bill before it goes to the floor. We want to work with you to address the problems facing our constituents.

Earlier this month, I introduced three bills that could help address the housing crisis. We need legislation that addresses the corporate takeover of single-family homes like my HOME Act. Not one Republican joined when I brought that bill forward.

I introduced my UNLOCK Housing Act to address affordable housing by allowing the Bureau of Land Management to be able to lease the land to local governments and Tribes specifically for affordable housing. This is a smart method to use the laws that already exist to build out more housing. Why? Because, as Nevadans know, the land that we sell has not helped create the housing that we need.

But we are seeing the same story over and over, that this bill does not have working people in mind. Instead, we have people like Representative Mark Amodei pushing to sell off more than a half-a-million acres of land in Nevada under the guise of creating more affordable housing. He didn't even give a second thought to selling out our community. And for what? To use Nevada as a cash grab for the Nation's debt? Don't believe me? Look at section 80315 of the bill.

If my colleagues are truly serious about addressing the struggles of the middle class and specifically housing affordability, then please support my amendments.

I am also putting on the record that I have sent a letter to Chairman Smith and to Speaker Johnson to bring up my TIPS Act to ensure that tip workers receive the benefits that they are entitled to.

Thank you, Madam Chair.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

Mrs. Beatty, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. JOYCE BEATTY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF OHIO

Mrs. BEATTY. Thank you, Chairwoman Foxx, Ranking Member McGovern, and members of the Rules Committee.

I urge you to make in order my amendment, amendment No. 280. This amendment is simple. It would stop the implementation of the reconciliation bill's massive cuts for the wealthy if the bill's other provisions result in reduction in funding of Medicaid, Social Security, or SNAP.

Let me just put it in simple terms. It says, no tax breaks for the wealthiest Americans if you cut the programs that everyday Americans, families, seniors, and others rely on.

If you believe that is true, then you should have no problem supporting my amendment, which would make no changes if the bill does not cut Medicaid or food assistance.

We are here to serve our constituents, and I know I am not the only one here who has received thousands of letters and calls demanding that Congress protect healthcare, food assistance, and other critical programs. Constituents are saying, what are we doing? Well, I am telling you. This panel shows you what Democrats are doing. We are fighting.

And despite what the title of the Republican budget reconciliation bill would have you believe, it is not "one big beautiful bill." It is a "big billionaires' bankroll bill." And it is one of the biggest and most reckless and heartless attacks on American families.

It would rip away healthcare from almost 14 million Americans and 11 million children with food assistance. And the worst part of it is, none of this is necessary. It is only being done to bankroll a billionaires' tax cut.

That is why I am offering this amendment. I am offering this amendment for the 2.4 million Ohioans who rely on Medicaid to access critical healthcare services like blood pressure, diabetes screenings, mammograms, mental health services, and other lifecare situations.

I am offering this amendment for the millions of women across the country who rely on Medicaid to cover the birth of their child and to keep them and their babies healthy before and after birth.

I am offering this amendment for the more than 42 million Americans without Federal food assistance, that they might not eat tomorrow.

I am offering this amendment for Arnishia, an Ohioan, a constituent mother of two, and a recent cancer survivor who relies on Medicaid. She is scheduled for surgery that Medicaid makes affordable. Her family also depends on SNAP to put healthy food on the table. Losing these benefits would be devastating.

In short, I am offering this amendment for Americans who are struggling to get by, who are counting on us, Democrats and Republicans, to lower their costs and to improve their lives, not enrich billionaires.

Unfortunately, families I am fighting for will not benefit from the tax cuts in this package. The top 0.1 percent of earners—billionaires—will see a tax break of some $278,000 per year. And that is a tax break of $762 per day, almost twice the weekly salary of someone making minimum wage in Ohio.

It is clear that this bill is an attempt to sell out hardworking American families who are just trying to make ends meet to benefit the few. This bill would harm our constituents—Democrats' constituents, Republicans' constituents.

Republicans have claimed that this bill does not cut benefits. And if you believe that is true, you should have no problem supporting my amendment, which would make no changes if the bill does not cut Medicaid and food assistance.

So I would urge you to make this in order.

And, Madam Chair, I would like to enter into the record this article, "The GOP's budget plan makes it hard to conceal its lies about Medicaid and SNAP."

The CHAIRWOMAN. Without objection.

[The information follows:]

Opinion | The GOP's budget plan makes it hard to conceal its lies about Medicaid and SNAP

Submitted into the record by Rep. Joyce Beatty (OH-03)

Written by Bobby Kogan

Published on March 4, 2025 at 11:46 AM EST

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Last week, House Republicans adopted their budget resolution, the first step toward enacting a bill that would kick millions off Medicaid and cut food assistance from the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) to a meager $1.67 per meal for the typical recipient on average — all while providing an average tax cut of $278,000 to the top 0.1% and adding trillions of dollars to the national deficit.

There are still many steps left in this budgetary process, but House Republicans aim to use a procedure known as budget reconciliation, which allows the Senate to pass legislation with only 51 votes rather than the usual 60 required. In practical terms, this means Republicans can pass this budget without bipartisan support. In political terms, it means Republicans alone own this budget.

Understandably, there has been strong public pushback against a bill that would rip food and health care away from struggling households while enriching the wealthiest. In response, the refrain from GOP supporters of the budget resolution, again and again, has been to pretend that the resolution isn't cutting Medicaid.

Sure, many House Republicans have said over and over they want to cut Medicaid and SNAP. But they claim they won't do that. Instead, they say, this resolution merely directs the committees that oversee Medicaid and SNAP to cut spending. *Wink, wink*.

Put simply, that's a lie. Not only have House Republicans admitted their intentions, but the simple math of their budget resolution makes cutting these programs necessary.

Budget resolutions create binding instructions for various committees to achieve certain deficit impacts, but those instructions are not and in fact must not be specific about how to achieve those impacts. In other words, while it's true the instructions don't specifically call

out Medicaid and SNAP, that's because they're literally not allowed to mention Medicaid or SNAP.

But we know the true targets of this budget resolution, because the author — House Budget Committee Chair Jodey Arrington, R-Texas — released a document in January specifying program cuts. And guess what that list featured: hundreds of billions of dollars in cuts to Medicaid and SNAP.

The math the House voted to approve is also impossible without deep cuts to Medicaid and nearly impossible without cuts to SNAP. The budget resolution as passed instructs the House Energy and Commerce Committee to find at least $880 billion in cuts from fiscal years 2025 through 2034. And it instructs the House Agriculture Committee to find at least $230 billion in cuts within the same window.

That deficit reduction must come from the programs the committees have jurisdiction over. Only around $500 billion of funding in the House Energy and Commerce Committee's jurisdiction is not Medicare or Medicaid. If the advocates of this budget resolution aren't cutting Medicare — which President Donald Trump has promised not to do — then there simply is not enough funding under the Energy and Commerce Committee's jurisdiction to achieve $880 billion in deficit reduction without cutting Medicaid.

The House Agriculture Committee oversees $1.3 trillion in spending, of which SNAP makes up $1 trillion. It is mathematically possible to leave SNAP untouched — but it would require cutting *everything* else the committee oversees, on average, by 75 percent. Do you think House Republicans are going to cut all farm programs by 75 percent? Or do you think they're cutting SNAP, as they've said they want to do countless times?

Republicans who support these cuts, even as they pretend the cuts don't exist, won't be able to maintain this fiction much longer. Right now, the House and the Senate are trying to come to an agreement on the budget resolution. At some point, they'll have to write legislation rather than just a broad framework. And at that point, if the bill reflects what the House passed on Tuesday, the American public will see Republicans eviscerating health care and food assistance to help give tax cuts to millionaires.

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https://www.msnbc.com/opinion/msnbc-opinion/house-republicans-budget-medicaid-snap-cuts-rcna194231

Mrs. BEATTY. Thank you.

Lastly, let me just say to the American people: We have been here all night, and we are here because of you. They planned this hearing at 1:00 a.m. in the morning to 5:00, and here we are now in the first panel at 11:45.

Is this the way our country should run? Is this what you expect from our leaders? Let me answer it for you. The answer is "no." And that is why we are here today.

Thank you, Madam Chair, and I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mrs. Beatty.

Mrs. Dingell, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. DEBBIE DINGELL, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MICHIGAN

Mrs. DINGELL. Thank you, Madam Chair and Ranking Member McGovern, for letting us testify today about issues that matter to all of us and to the American people.

Over the past several weeks, I have been very concerned about what this Republican reconciliation bill will do.

Not only does this bill—the bill, if it is enacted, the House bill, would be the biggest loss of healthcare coverage in American history that will strip healthcare from almost 14 million Americans.

But, as my colleague just said, how many of the pieces of this legislation have been considered in the dark of night when the American people are not able to watch what is happening? It has been too many pieces of this legislation.

I have offered several amendments.

Medicaid is the largest payer of long-term care in America, which is why I have filed an amendment to ensure Medicaid Home and Community-Based Services, or HCBS, are not cut or reduced as a result of this reconciliation bill.

We know that the majority of seniors and individuals with disabilities would prefer to receive care in the comfort of their homes, in the communities that they have known, where they can maintain an independent life, remain engaged in their communities, and age with dignity. And, in fact, it is less expensive than nursing homes, which is where most long-term care in America is paid for by Medicaid. Yet hundreds of thousands of Americans are already sitting on State wait lists to access home-based care, and this bill will exacerbate this issue.

No one should have to sit for years on a waiting list to get the care that they deserve, and caregivers shouldn't live in poverty to do this critical work.

Let's be honest: The long-term-care system in this country is broken. And until someone you have loved or you yourself are in it, you don't know how bad it is. And this bill is going to break the system even more.

I pray, I am asking that my Republican colleagues change course on this misguided bill that would harm seniors and individuals living with disabilities.

I am also strongly supportive and I am a cosponsor of Representative Riley's amendment regarding President Trump's "most favored nation" executive order that was issued May 12th. In fact, I

offered this exact amendment during the Energy and Commerce Committee markup last week.

This amendment supports President Trump's executive order that aims to lower medication costs for Americans by preventing pharmaceutical manufacturers from charging Americans higher prices while giving discounts to other nations, when we, in fact, pay 2, 3, 4, 10 times as much as other countries do and spend more on the research for these drugs than any other country in the world.

No one in America should have to pay higher prices for medications than patients in other countries—which, I have to admit to you, I was shocked that every single Republican on the Energy and Commerce Committee voted against this amendment that supports their own President's prescription drug pricing plan.

And I have to say, I was very surprised, after being up for all night, when I watched President Trump Wednesday night say this provision was going to be in this bill. So I think there are some communication issues too.

It simply doesn't make sense. This logic is backwards and, quite frankly, absurd.

And on top of this, we had a bipartisan deal that opened the door for a solution to lower drug costs for Americans last Congress. But, thanks to Elon Musk, Republicans tanked that agreement and are now trying to pass a bill with no meaningful change that would not only fail to lower drug costs but would also rip coverage away from 14 million Americans.

I am going to end by expressing my concerns with this legislation's impact on our environment and natural resources, which is why I have filed three amendments that I offered during the Natural Resources markup 2 weeks ago.

Taken together, these amendments would preserve judicial review—I think too many people forget we are a system of checks and balances in this democracy—protect compliance with the Endangered Species Act, which has literally saved thousands of species, and prevent the Inflation Reduction Act rescissions from NOAA from applying to fisheries, climate resilience, and harmful algae bloom forecasted in the Great Lakes.

I am getting that look, so thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I yield back.

[The statement of Mrs. Dingell follows:]

Rep. Dingell Remarks for Rules Committee – Testimony on One Big Beautiful Bill

Thank you Madam Chair and Members of the Committee.

Over the past several weeks, I've been vocal in my deep opposition to this Republican reconciliation bill. Not only are House Republicans attempting to enact the biggest loss of health care coverage in American history that will strip health care from 13.7 million Americans, but they continue doing it behind Americans' backs in the middle of the night.

Medicaid is the largest payer of long-term care in America, which is why I have filed an amendment **to ensure Medicaid Home and Community Based Services, or HCBS, are not cut or reduced as a result of this reconciliation bill.**

We know that the majority of seniors and individuals with disabilities would prefer to receive care in the comfort of their homes, where they can maintain an independent life, remain engaged in their communities, and age with dignity.

Yet, hundreds of thousands of Americans are already sitting on state waitlists to access home-based care, and this bill will only exacerbate this issue. No one should have to sit for years on a waiting list to get the care they deserve, and caregivers shouldn't have to live in poverty to do their critical work.

As many know, this is deeply personal for me – I was lucky to have my husband John receive care at home, but many others do not have the same opportunity.

I have to be honest, our system is broken, and I sincerely hope my Republican colleagues change course on this misguided bill that will harm seniors and individuals living with disabilities.

I am also strongly supportive and am a cosponsor of Rep. Riley's amendment regarding President Trump's "Most Favored Nation" executive order that was issued May 12. In fact, I offered this exact amendment during the Energy and Commerce markup last week.

This amendment supports President Trump's executive order that aims to lower medication costs for Americans by preventing pharmaceutical manufacturers from charging Americans higher prices while giving discounts to other nations.

No one in America should have to pay higher prices for medications than patients in similar nations, which is why I was shocked that every single Republican on the Energy and Commerce Committee voted against this amendment that supports their own president's prescription drug pricing plan.

It simply doesn't make sense. This logic is backwards and absurd.

On top of this, we had a bipartisan deal that opened the door for a solution to lower drug costs for Americans last Congress. But thanks to Elon Musk, Republicans tanked that agreement, and now are trying to pass a bill with no meaningful change that would not only fail to lower drug costs, but also rip health coverage away from 13.7 million Americans.

I'll end by expressing my concerns with this legislation's impacts on our environment and natural resources, which is why I have filed three amendments that I offered during the Natural Resources markup two weeks ago.

Taken together, these amendments would preserve judicial review, protect compliance with the Endangered Species Act, and prevent the Inflation Reduction Act recessions from NOAA from applying to fisheries, climate resilience, or harmful algal bloom forecasting in the Great Lakes.

Thank you and I yield back.

Mr. GRIFFITH [presiding]. I thank the gentlelady.

She yields back.

I now recognize Mr. Gomez of California for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. JIMMY GOMEZ, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. GOMEZ. Republicans are playing Russian Roulette with the American people. That is right, I said it: Russian Roulette. And that is because either you are going to lose your healthcare that could probably save your life, or not; you can get a tax increase, or not.

This is serious business. According to the Joint Committee on Taxation, Congress's nonpartisan scorekeeper, it says families making $30,000 or less will pay an average of $20 billion more in taxes because of this bill. Families making $50,000 a year, you have a 50-50 chance of seeing a real change in your taxes, but you will have to wait until April to see how lucky you were. Now, the billionaire establishment has nothing to worry about. They will get a tax cut of $270,000 a year.

Right here in this committee, the American people are witnessing one of the biggest transfers of wealth in American history. Republicans are advancing legislation that will slash billions of dollars from Medicaid, healthcare for the working class, so that they can give trillions in tax breaks to the billionaires, ultra-wealthy, and the largest corporations in this country. Republicans are literally stealing from the poor to give to the rich, all while adding trillions to deficit spending and to the debt.

They should be ashamed about this legislation, because look—it is not what is happening in my district; look at what is happening in their districts. In North Carolina, 400,000 people will lose Medicaid coverage. In Minnesota, 250,000 will lose healthcare; Texas, 380,000; Virginia, 390,000; New York, 1.2 million.

These aren't numbers; these are real people who will lose healthcare coverage. And if they don't have coverage, they might not have insulin, they might not have preventative care, they might have to go into the hospital to see an emergency doctor later, which can cost them their lives.

We also know that 51 percent of new moms and their babies who are covered by Medicaid will lose. The seniors that don't get enough coverage through Medicare will lose. The sons or daughters that don't earn enough to cover their parents' assisted-living facility will lose. People that live in rural communities—that are mostly represented by Republicans—will lose.

Republicans are making it harder for working people to get by, harder for families to welcome a new child, get postpartum care, or cover basic medical needs during one of the most vulnerable times in their lives. Families are barely staying afloat, many who are working two or more jobs just to get by, and they are already stretched thin by the cost of food, housing, and childcare, now that Trump's tariffs are hitting them with an extra $4,900 a year.

And Republicans always say that they are the pro-family party, but they never do anything that actually values the American family. And Republicans say they are the balanced-budget party, but

this bill balloons the deficit and saddles future generations with more debt that they have to pay off.

Voters sent us here to lower costs and create real opportunities, and that is what we should be delivering on. We should make the child tax credit fully refundable and advanceable and make it bigger and pay it monthly. We should build millions of starter homes for new families and help them buy their first home so that they can build wealth. We should make childcare affordable and guarantee paid family leave.

But this bill does none of that. That is because Republicans choose the billionaire establishment that has taken root in D.C. over their own constituents.

Now I ask the same question to my Republican colleagues as I asked in the Ways and Means. I want to ask you here—and they answered wrong. So I am asking you guys: Are you for the working man or woman who is struggling to get by or the billionaires? Are you for the babies or the billionaires? Are you for the seniors or the billionaires? Are you for the American family or the billionaires?

I have introduced 14 amendments making sure that billionaires pay their fair share—to housing, to healthcare. And one of those bills is sponsored by the Speaker Emerita—that is, extend the ACA premium tax credit to help pregnant women and children.

That is one of the things that we know, that some of the States that are going to have the biggest cuts to Medicaid also are some of these Southern States that have the highest maternal mortality rate in the country. You know, California has its problems, but we actually have one of the lowest maternal mortality rates in this country—the lowest.

So here is the thing: Once again, are you for pregnant women or the billionaires? Are you for babies or billionaires? Because that is what this all comes down to.

And I will ask that, if you vote on just one—just one—amendment, maybe you can restore a little faith in this kid from California.

With that, I yield back.

[The statement of Mr. Gomez follows:]

Congressman Jimmy Gomez
Rules Committee Remarks

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These aren't numbers; these are real people who will lose healthcare coverage. And if they don't have coverage, they might not have insulin, they might not have preventative care, they might have to go into the hospital to see an emergency doctor later, which can cost them their lives. We also know that 51 percent of new moms and their babies who are covered by Medicaid will lose. The seniors that don't get enough coverage through Medicare will lose. The sons or daughters that don't earn enough to cover their parents' assisted-living facility will lose. People that live in rural communities -- that are mostly represented by Republicans -- will lose.

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So here is the thing: Once again, are you for pregnant women or the billionaires? Are you for babies or billionaires? Because that is what this all comes down to.

And I will ask that, if you vote on just one -- just one -- amendment, maybe you can restore a little faith in this kid from California.

With that, I yield back.

Mr. GRIFFITH. The gentleman yields back.

I now recognize Ms. Kelly of Illinois.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. ROBIN KELLY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

Ms. KELLY of Illinois. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

And thank you, Ranking Member.

I have an amendment at the desk titled amendment No. 371. My amendment is simple and requires 12 months of continuous Medicaid and CHIP coverage of full benefits for pregnant and postpartum women.

We have heard a lot about that. I have dedicated 10 years to this topic. This amendment would codify what we already know is essential: that 1 year of postpartum care is not just medically necessary, it is a matter of life and death.

Let's remember that the United States' maternal death rate remains far higher than other high-income countries' and nearly two out of three maternal deaths occur during the postpartum period. Our Nation is facing a maternal health crisis, and it has been for years. It is shameful and has worsened.

The maternal mortality and morbidity epidemic is particularly dangerous for people with disabilities, who face a maternal death rate that is 11 times higher than the rate for non-disabled people. Black women are three times more likely to die from pregnancy-related causes than White women. And American Indian and Alaska Native women are twice as likely to die of complications.

Medicaid improves maternal health outcomes and ensures access to vital pregnancy services. Medicaid covers almost half of all births in this country, and in many States it is more than that. And it covers more than half of all births in rural communities.

Consider a new mom from Arkansas who was finally approved for Medicaid in her third trimester following a delay in her eligibility determination. Her Medicaid coverage was invaluable during a complicated labor and delivery. Her baby was not receiving enough oxygen, and she ultimately needed an unplanned cesarean section.

Without Medicaid, that procedure would have resulted in profound medical debt, given the cost of a C-section in Arkansas is estimated to be close to $10,000 without insurance. Ensuring 12 months of coverage can give women the peace of mind that they have stable coverage and access.

Cutting funding means cutting care for moms and babies during their most vulnerable time. That means fewer prenatal checkups, more lifesaving deliveries, and forcing States to choose between vital programs.

Waivers aren't enough, especially during major budget cuts like those in this bill.

In Michigan, 12-months postpartum Medicaid coverage reached nearly 45,000 moms, reducing maternal deaths from 36 to 22 per 100,000 births in a year. Most maternal deaths occur after childbirth. One in three happens between 1 week and 1 year postpartum.

In Colorado, 89 percent of maternal deaths were preventable. Continuous, guaranteed, year-long coverage saved lives. Overall, over 80 percent of maternal deaths are preventable.

This amendment codifies 12 months of full Medicaid and CHIP benefits to postpartum individuals. No more State-by-State patchwork. No more expiration dates on care. No more new mothers being dropped from coverage just 60 days after giving birth, right when they are still at high risk for complications like infection, postpartum depression, and more.

Postpartum coverage for 12 months should be mandatory and permanent and immune from shifting State politics and budget pressures. We cannot expect someone to recover from childbirth, return to work, care for a newborn while also scrambling to reapply for coverage. That is not healthcare, it is chaos, and disproportionately harms low-income families, rural communities, and communities of color.

We have already seen the impact of this policy. Thanks to the American Rescue Plan, Democrats enabled States to extend postpartum coverage to 12 months, and 49 States have done so. In just 4 years, red and blue States alike chose to prioritize maternal and child health.

But making it optional isn't enough. With the deep cuts proposed in this bill, States will soon face painful budget choices that could jeopardize this progress. To protect moms and babies everywhere, we must make this coverage permanent, mandatory, and nationwide.

This is about saving lives, supporting families, and finally treating maternal health as the national priority it should be.

I have deep concerns States will roll back care for pregnant and postpartum women. My amendment ensures that all women in the United States, regardless of where they live, can access comprehensive healthcare for a full year following the birth of a child to survive and thrive. I have spoken to doctors, nurses, midwives, doulas, and this is what all of them recommend.

If Republicans claim, quote/unquote, they want to "strengthen Medicaid for mothers," as they asserted in their press releases, then this should be a no-brainer and something that we all can support.

I urge my colleagues to support this amendment and help us build a stronger, safer future for all moms and families so that people are not being shut out from coverage because we have made it too complicated for them.

And I yield back.

[The statement of Ms. Kelly of Illinois follows:]

Amendment Remarks –
CONGRESSWOMAN ROBIN KELLY
Staff: Michelle Galdamez
Date & Time: Wednesday, May 21, 2025, at 4:00am
Rules Committee Hearing

HR. _ One Big Beautiful Bill Act

YOU: Mr. Chair, I have an amendment at the desk titled (amendment number 371).

Thank you.

My amendment is simple and requires 12-month of continuous Medicaid and CHIP coverage of full benefits for pregnant and postpartum women. This amendment would codify what we already know is essential: that one year of postpartum care is not just medically necessary—it's a matter of life and death. Let's remember that the United States maternal death rate remains far higher than other high-income countries, and nearly two out of every three maternal deaths occur during the postpartum period.

Our nation is facing a maternal health crisis and it has been for years. It's shameful and has worsened! The maternal mortality and morbidity epidemic is particularly dangerous for people with disabilities, who face a maternal death rate that is 11 times higher than the rate for nondisabled people. Black women are three times more likely to die from pregnancy-related causes than white women, and American Indian and Alaska Native women are twice as likely to die of complications. Medicaid improves maternal health outcomes and ensures access to vital pregnancy services.

Medicaid covers almost *half* of all births in this country, and it covers more than half of all births in rural communities. Consider a new mom from Arkansas, who was finally approved for Medicaid in her third trimester, following a delay in her eligibility determination. Her Medicaid coverage was invaluable during complicated labor and delivery. Her baby was not receiving enough oxygen, and she ultimately needed an unplanned cesarean section. Without Medicaid, that procedure would have resulted in profound medical debt, given the cost of a c-section in Arkansas is estimated to be close to $10,000 without insurance. Ensuring 12-month coverage can give women the peace of mind that they have stable coverage and access.

Cutting funding means cutting care for moms and babies during their most vulnerable time. That means fewer prenatal checkups, more life-threatening deliveries, and forcing states to choose between vital programs. Waivers aren't enough, especially during major budget cuts like those in this bill. In Michigan, 12-month postpartum Medicaid coverage reached nearly 45,000 moms, reducing maternal deaths from 36 to 22 per 100,000 births in a year. Most maternal deaths occur after childbirth—one in three happens between one week and one year postpartum. In Colorado, 89% of maternal deaths were preventable. Continuous, guaranteed yearlong coverage saves lives.

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for 12 months should be mandatory and permanent and immune from shifting state politics and budget pressures.

We cannot expect someone to recover from childbirth, return to work, and care for a newborn while also scrambling to reapply for coverage. That's not healthcare, it's chaos. And it disproportionately harms low-income families, rural communities and communities of color.

We've already seen the impact of this policy. Thanks to the American Rescue Plan, Democrats enabled states to extend postpartum coverage to 12 months—and 49 states have done so. In just four years, red and blue states alike chose to prioritize maternal and child health. But making it optional isn't enough. With the deep cuts proposed in this bill, states will soon face painful budget choices that could jeopardize this progress. To protect moms and babies everywhere, we must make this coverage permanent, mandatory, and nationwide.

This is about saving lives, supporting families, and finally treating maternal health as the national priority it should be. I have deep concerns states will roll back care for pregnant and postpartum women. My amendment ensures that all women in the United States, regardless of where they live, can access comprehensive health care for a full year following the birth of a child to survive and thrive.

If Republicans claim they want to [quote] "strengthen Medicaid for mothers…." – as they asserted in their press releases – then this should be a no-brainer and something that we can all support.

I urge my colleagues to support this amendment and help us build a stronger, safer future for all mothers and families so that people are not being shut out of coverage because we have made it too complicated for them.

I yield back.

Mr. GRIFFITH. The gentlelady yields back.

Do I have anyone on the Republican side that wishes to ask questions?

Seeing none, I recognize the gentleman, Mr. McGovern.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Well, thank you.

I just have a couple of observations.

First of all, I want to again thank you all for your commitment and your stamina and for being here. Again, I appreciate the fact that many of you waited many, many hours to be able to testify, but I think that is a reflection of how strongly you feel about the issues that you brought before this committee.

And I certainly—I think I speak for all of the Democrats here. We all support your amendments and we will do our best to try to see what we can do to make them in order.

But I also, when I was listening to everybody here, I couldn't help but think about what could have been. Again, as I said before, I mean, there are things in the tax bill that I think we all could agree on, the middle-class tax cut, the no tax on tips, and child tax credit. All that stuff we could have come together and agreed on that.

And I think that we would have—if Republicans wanted our vote, we could have negotiated a better deal on the SNAP benefits, which right now is unacceptable, and certainly insisted that people don't get thrown off healthcare.

But I think you could have gotten a bipartisan bill, maybe not every Democrat and not every Republican, but you could have gotten a bipartisan bill that might have been able to make its way to the President's desk that reflected our values and also reflected some of the Republican values, but didn't go after the most vulnerable people in this country.

But I think what has happened here in this House right now is that the way the current leadership thinks of legislating is that whatever the most extreme element of their conference wants, that is the direction. And so there is no desire, there is no attempt to try to bring Democrats into the process.

I am reading breaking news: Speaker Johnson and the House Freedom Caucus will go to White House today to meet with President Trump. Trump is expected to tell the House Freedom Caucus that the bill needs to pass today.

I don't even know—he was up here yesterday morning. I don't know—maybe this will make a difference. But it doesn't sound like if that is the strategy that this bill is going to moderate. And, again, I think that is bad for the country.

This is a big deal. The implications of this reconciliation act on every aspect that was raised by all of you today is significant. It is going to adversely impact, it is going to hurt our constituents, as well as the constituents of our Republican colleagues. There is no doubt about that.

And so, again, I just—I want to, again, thank you for being here, and again I support all your amendments.

And for what it is worth, and I think I speak for all of us up here, it is kind of inspiring for us to see you just kind of wait it out, because you know what the stakes are. And I think people who

are tuning in also appreciate your being here today. So I thank you.

I yield back to the chairman.

Mr. GRIFFITH. The gentleman yields back.

I recognize Ms. Scanlon for 5 minutes of questions.

Ms. SCANLON. Thank you.

I want to echo the ranking member's remarks. I think the outpouring of Members here is inspirational and is a measure of just how significant and impactful this bill is going to be in a negative way.

You have all raised important policy issues that deserve full legislative consideration. And also the American people deserve to know where their Representatives stand on these issues. So I would support a full vote on them.

I did, with respect to Representative Kelly's bill, this has been a major issue in my district, and I just wanted in support of that bill to seek unanimous consent to enter a Philadelphia Inquirer article from September 21, 2022, entitled "80 percent of pregnancy-related deaths are preventable, CDC says, highlighting a problem in Philadelphia."

Yield back.

Mr. GRIFFITH. Without objection, so ordered.

[The information follows:]

HEALTH

80% of pregnancy-related deaths are preventable, CDC says, highlighting a problem seen in Philly

A new report from the CDC has found that 80% of pregnancy-related deaths were avoidable.

More than 80% of pregnancy-related deaths are preventable according to new data from the CDC.
HEATHER KHALIFA / Staff Photographer

by Sarah Gantz
Published Sept. 21, 2022, 1:10 p.m. ET

More than 80% of pregnancy-related deaths in the U.S. are preventable, according to new data from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

The findings in the federal report echo a troubling trend seen in Philadelphia, where 110 people died while pregnant or in the year after giving birth between 2013 and 2018, according to the most recent figures from a city committee tasked with combating a persistent problem exacerbated by racial disparities.

The U.S. has long had the highest maternal mortality rate among developed countries, and Black people are four times more likely than white people to die of pregnancy-related causes. The latest CDC data suggest that pregnancy-related deaths have persisted despite increased attention to the issue.

The new CDC report includes data from 1,018 pregnancy-related deaths in 36 states, gathered by state-based maternal mortality review committees. These committees are tasked with analyzing pregnancy-related deaths to better understand causes and potential solutions.

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While much of the efforts to reduce maternal mortality have been focused on the time immediately before, during, and after birth, of equal concern is what happens in the weeks and months after the new family returns home.

More than half of pregnancy-related deaths in the U.S. between 2017 and 2018 occurred between one week and one year after birth, according to the CDC. Another 25% of deaths occurred on the day of delivery or within one week, and 22% occurred during pregnancy.

Pregnancy-related deaths in the U.S. (2017-2019)

While efforts to address maternal mortality have focused on the period immediately before and after birth, more than half of deaths occur in the weeks and months after new parents are sent home from the hospital, often with limited resources.

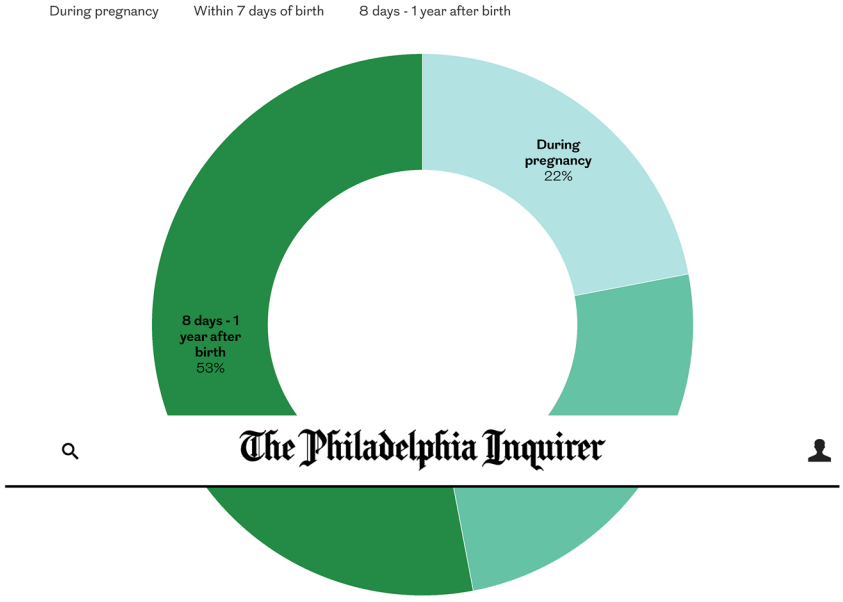

Chart: Sarah Gantz • Source: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention

In Philadelphia, where the maternal mortality rate exceeds the national average, more than half of the 110 pregnancy-associated deaths between 2013 and 2018 occurred at least six weeks after birth, according to an analysis by the city's own maternal mortality review committee.

By then, many new parents are without the social and medical support they need to quickly recognize and address health problems that may arise, such as postpartum depression and substance abuse disorder.

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Mental health conditions were a factor in 23% of pregnancy-related deaths between 2017 and 2019, the CDC reported. That includes deaths related to suicide, drug overdoses, and substance abuse disorder.

Other leading underlying conditions included: excessive bleeding (hemorrhage), heart conditions, infection, blood clots, and high blood pressure.

Racial inequity, poverty, and a lack of access to health services all contribute to maternal mortality in the year after birth.

Addressing what happens to a family when they leave the hospital is the only way to keep more mothers from dying, Aasta Mehta, the medical officer for

women's health at the Philadelphia Department of Public Health and a chair of the city's maternal mortality review committee, told The Inquirer in June.

"The societal impact of mothers dying is important and deep," she said. "They're leaving families and children behind. The generational impact of that is immense."

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Ms. SCANLON. Thank you. Yield back.

Mr. GRIFFITH. The gentlelady yields back.

I now recognize Mr. Neguse for his 5 minutes.

Mr. NEGUSE. I thank the chairman.

Well, first, let me just say thank you to my colleagues and echo the sentiments from our ranking member and Ms. Scanlon, our deep appreciation.

And it is not lost on us that there are several of our colleagues here, Mr. Chairman, who testified just a few short minutes ago, who spent more time in this hearing than Republican colleagues of ours on this committee. There are several Members—no, no, I am not referencing the chairman, but others of your colleagues.

Mr. Horsford has been here literally since we arrived and convened. And we have Members who—as has Mr. Kennedy, I will go down the whole list. But every Member here has been here for literally going on 7, 8, 9, 10 hours for 5 minutes, to be able to speak for 5 minutes on behalf of the people that they represent. And I think that is a testament to their convictions and their passions for their constituencies.

I want to ask just a few questions of Mr. Horsford and Mr. Gomez, as the two Members who serve on Ways and Means.

Mr. Horsford, you heard me earlier, at 4 in the morning or 3 in the morning, I don't remember exactly when, in my exchange with the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee regarding the tax on tips. I am still trying to understand why the Republicans on the committee don't just put your bill on the floor given that there is bipartisan support for it, given that this seems to be an issue that they are passionate about. I struggle to understand why that is not the case.

And I know you have fought vigorously on behalf of the people that you represent in Nevada for that particular policy, but I want to give you an opportunity to expound upon it if you are interested.

Mr. HORSFORD. Thank you to the assistant Democratic leader.

Look, to be clear, I have been working with a coalition of workers—the Culinary Workers UNITE HERE, One Fair Wage, and others—to bring legislation to provide relief to tipped workers. Six million tipped workers in America today make as little as $2.13 an hour—$2.13. Seventy percent of those workers are women, and women of color in particular.

So on top of giving relief and allowing more tipped workers to keep their hard-earned money by eliminating the tax on tips, we also need to give workers a raise. And that is what my bill does. No other bill does that.

My bill also has important safeguards so that people continue to pay into Social Security so that hedge funds are not able to grift off of the policy, so that we define what a tipped worker is so that it is not abused under our tax law.

And so for Chairman Smith to sit here today and say he couldn't bring a bill to the committee is just wrong, because I am ready, I have been ready, and my bill has been ready since the beginning of this Congress, and it comes from the actual tipped workers who are affected by the policy.

I am a cosponsor of the bill that was unanimously passed by the Senate, the same version, and I see no reason why the House can-

not bring up a standalone bill to make sure that we are advocating for the needs of tipped workers and all workers.

You are going to have all these compounding effects of cutting healthcare, of cutting nutrition programs, of making it harder for working families to get by. Then let's give workers a raise. Let's give them a raise that is livable enough to actually pay the rent on and to afford to buy a home.

That is what Democrats stand for, that is what we are fighting for, is to give everyone an opportunity to not just survive but to actually thrive in America.

So thank you to the assistant leader for the opportunity to talk about that legislation.

And, Chairman Smith, wherever you are, my letter to you asking for a standalone vote on my legislation is at your office.

Mr. NEGUSE. Well said. Well said.

Mr. Gomez, there was a robust discussion earlier about the tax brackets, and I think the chairman was not as candid as I would have hoped with respect to his description of the various tax brackets in the reconciliation bill.

I wonder if you might talk about the billionaire tax bracket in the amendment that you proposed.

Mr. GOMEZ. Yeah.

One, first, I have an amendment that would increase taxes on billionaires, basically preventing them from getting any kind of tax break in this bill and actually require them to pay their fair share, increasing the tax bracket from 36 percent to 39 percent, roughly.

So in this room, by show of hands, who believes that billionaires shouldn't get a tax break and actually should pay their fair share of taxes?

All right.

How about on the Republicans, you guys can help me restore my faith, because here is the thing——

Mr. NEGUSE. There aren't many Republicans here on the committee, unfortunately. They have all left.

Mr. GOMEZ. Okay. But here is the thing. And the reason why is that if you increase the taxes on the billionaires, you can actually give the people who are getting screwed at the bottom rungs of the economic ladder a tax break.

So for the record, I want to enter into the record the distribution chart of the distribution of the estimated revenue effects of the tax provisions of the chairman's markup, basically what is going to happen, into the record. This is by the Joint Committee on Taxation. It is an official record.

Mr. GRIFFITH. What is it on?

Mr. GOMEZ. It basically shows how much—who is paying what in taxes under this bill by the Joint Committee on Taxation.

Mr. GRIFFITH. Without objection, so ordered.

[The information follows:]

Gomez

JOINT COMMITTEE ON TAXATION
May 13, 2025
JCX-23-25

DISTRIBUTION OF THE ESTIMATED REVENUE EFFECTS OF THE TAX PROVISIONS OF THE CHAIRMAN'S AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE TO THE BUDGET RECONCILIATION LEGISLATIVE RECOMMENDATIONS RELATED TO TAX[1]

Calendar Year 2027

Income Category[2]	Change In Federal Taxes[3]		Federal Taxes[3] Under Present Law		Federal Taxes[3] Under Proposal		Average Tax Rate[4]	
	Billions	Percent	Billions	Percent	Billions	Percent	Present Law	Proposal
							Percent	Percent
Less than $15,000	$ 1.0	18.7 %	$ 5.2	0.1 %	$ 6.2	0.1 %	4.0 %	4.8 %
$15,000 to $30,000	$ -3.4	-21.1 %	$ 16.3	0.3 %	$ 12.9	0.3 %	2.9 %	2.3 %
$30,000 to $40,000	$ -7.1	-17.6 %	$ 40.3	0.8 %	$ 33.2	0.7 %	6.6 %	5.4 %
$40,000 to $50,000	$ -9.9	-16.1 %	$ 62.0	1.2 %	$ 52.0	1.1 %	9.0 %	7.5 %
$50,000 to $60,000	$ -12.9	-14.5 %	$ 89.5	1.8 %	$ 76.5	1.7 %	11.3 %	9.7 %
$60,000 to $80,000	$ -29.1	-12.9 %	$ 225.4	4.4 %	$ 196.2	4.3 %	13.1 %	11.4 %
$80,000 to $100,000	$ -31.3	-12.5 %	$ 250.5	4.9 %	$ 219.2	4.8 %	15.4 %	13.5 %
$100,000 to $150,000	$ -72.3	-11.8 %	$ 610.3	12.0 %	$ 538.0	11.9 %	17.3 %	15.3 %
$150,000 to $200,000	$ -64.8	-12.0 %	$ 542.4	10.6 %	$ 477.6	10.5 %	19.8 %	17.4 %
$200,000 to $500,000	$ -169.5	-11.0 %	$ 1,545.8	30.3 %	$ 1,376.3	30.3 %	24.1 %	21.5 %
$500,000 to $1,000,000	$ -73.1	-12.3 %	$ 593.4	11.6 %	$ 520.4	11.5 %	29.8 %	26.1 %
$1,000,000 and Above	$ -96.1	-8.6 %	$ 1,123.7	22.0 %	$ 1,027.6	22.7 %	31.1 %	28.3 %
Total, All Taxpayers	**$ -568.7**	**-11.1 %**	**$ 5,104.9**	**100.0 %**	**$ 4,536.2**	**100.0 %**	**20.9 %**	**18.6 %**

Joint Committee on Taxation

Note: Details may not add to totals due to rounding

[1] This table provides a distributional analysis of the estimated revenue effects given in JCX-22-25R, excluding Subtitle A, Part I, Provisions 10, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, and 22; Subtitle A, Part II, Provisions 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, and 16; Subtitle B, Part II, Provisions 2, 6, 7, 9, and 11; Subtitle B, Part III; Subtitle C, Part I, Provisions 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 10, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 30, 31, and 32; Subtitle C, Part II, Provisions 4, 5, and 6; and Subtitle C, Part III, Provisions 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11. Individuals who are dependents of other taxpayers, and taxpayers with negative income are excluded from the analysis. Does not include indirect effects.

[2] The measure of income used to place tax returns into income categories is adjusted gross income ("AGI") plus (1) tax-exempt interest, (2) employer contributions for health plans and life insurance, (3) employer share of FICA tax, (4) workers' compensation, (5) nontaxable Social Security benefits, (6) insurance value of Medicare benefits, (7) alternative minimum tax preference items, (8) individual share of business taxes, and (9) excluded income of U.S. citizens living abroad. Categories are measured at 2025 levels.

[3] Federal taxes are equal to individual income tax (including the outlay portion of refundable credits), employment tax (attributed to employees), excise taxes (attributed to consumers), and corporate income taxes. The estimates of Federal taxes are preliminary and subject to change.

[4] The average tax rate is equal to Federal taxes described in footnote [3] divided by income described in footnote [2].

Mr. GOMEZ. Thank you.

And here is the thing, the reason why. Let's go over years. Calendar year 2027, people that make less than $15,000 a year will pay an additional $1 billion in taxes—$1 billion.

And here is the thing. In the year 2029, people that are making less than $15 million are going to pay—$15,000—will pay another $2.6 billion in taxes that year. People that are making $15,000 to $30,000, $2.5 billion in additional taxes that year.

And we go on to year 2031. They are actually less than $15,000, they are going to pay another $3.6 billion that tax year—$3.6 billion. And if you are making $15,000 to $30,000, you are going to be—all those people will be ponying up another $4.5 billion—$4.5 billion.

And by the year 2033, people that are in that tax bracket of less than $15,000, $3.7 billion just that year. And then the people making $15,000 to $30,000, $3.8 billion.

So anybody that says that the people at those low rungs of the economic ladder are not getting screwed, are not going to be paying more in taxes, are just absolutely wrong.

And with that, I yield back to Mr. Neguse.

Mr. NEGUSE. Thank you, Mr. Gomez.

I yield back.

Mr. GRIFFITH. The gentleman yields back.

Seeing no one else wishing to ask questions, I thank this group for presenting your amendments. Thank you for being with us.

And we will move on to the next group, and I will need the names.

As they are leaving, our next panel will be Ms. Dexter, Mr. Carter, Ms. Tokuda, Ms. Bonamici, Ms. Barragán, Mr. Tonko, Ms. Goodlander, and Ms. Stansbury.

Mr. GRIFFITH. I now recognize Ms. Dexter of Oregon for her 5 minutes of presentation.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. MAXINE DEXTER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF OREGON

Ms. DEXTER. Thank you, Mr. Chair, and thank you to our ranking member.

Today I am offering three amendments rooted in a basic principle: Government should work for the people, not silence them, not shield corruption, and certainly not rip away healthcare.

Let's start with what this GOP tax scam tries to take from the public—their voice.

Under current law, communities can protest oil and gas leasing decisions that threaten their land, water, or climate. This bill would impose a $150 fee, plus more for extra pages or lease parcels, just to be heard.

And let's be honest about what that is: a tax on public participation, a toll on free speech. And it won't deter billion-dollar oil companies. It will deter working people, people who love outdoor places.

At the same time, Republicans are slashing royalty payments and handing billions in giveaways to the fossil fuel industry. That tells you everything you need to know about where their priorities lie.

My amendment would strike this unjust protest fee from the bill and protect the public's right to be heard.

Second, we must ensure accountability. I am offering an amendment to allocate a modest 0.5 percent of new funds to the Department of Interior's Office of the Inspector General, a nonpartisan watchdog that saves taxpayers money by rooting out waste, fraud, and abuse.

This should be easy for Republicans to support. It is the same bipartisan provision they themselves championed by our current House Natural Resources chair in 2021. It is simple. Let's ensure transparency and pass this amendment.

And now I want to speak to what I believe is the most urgent and dangerous part of this legislation—its impact on healthcare.

Before I came to Congress, I spent nearly 20 years caring for some of the sickest patients in our community. I have worked in emergency rooms. I know what happens when a system doesn't have the resources that it needs to serve its patients.

That is why I am offering an amendment to require States to report on how coverage losses under this bill would impact uncompensated care and emergency department wait times in safety net hospitals.

If this bill were really only about rooting out waste, fraud, and abuse in Medicaid, we should welcome this kind of data. But we know the truth. This bill isn't about waste. It is about ripping healthcare away from nearly 14 million Americans and destabilizing the healthcare system for everyone else in the process. And for what? To give tax breaks to billionaires.

Medicaid isn't just a lifeline for patients. It is a fundamental part of our healthcare infrastructure. Providers depend on it to stay open, to serve not only Medicaid patients but you, me, everyone in our communities.

Cutting Medicaid will mean clinics and hospitals in rural towns will shut down. Hospitals in cities will be over capacity. Seniors will be forced out of nursing facilities due to closures. And emergency rooms will go on divert, turning away people in crisis, because there simply isn't enough space for people to be seen.

We are talking about longer wait times for pediatric care, delays for lifesaving cancer treatment, people suffering and dying, not because we don't have the tools to help them, but because we have made a political choice to take those tools away.

These cuts will be devastating. And the consequences won't be statistics on a spreadsheet. They will be lives lost, futures cut short, and suffering that could have been prevented. And, again, for what? Tax breaks for billionaires.

I urge my Republican colleagues, show courage in this moment. Stand with the constituents who cannot afford to lose their voice and their healthcare. Support these amendments and defeat this outrageous and dangerous bill.

Thank you, Mr. Chair. I yield back.

Mr. GRIFFITH. The gentlelady yields back.

I now recognize the gentleman from Louisiana for 5 minutes, Mr. Carter.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. TROY A. CARTER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF LOUISIANA

Mr. CARTER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Ranking Member.

My first amendment, No. 299, preserves the Environmental Justice block grants that improve public health.

The EPA has provided grants for more than 50 years that protect our constituents' public health and enhance their environment.

This is especially true for the Environmental and Climate Justice Block Grant program, which provides valuable funding that serves community centers, environmental rehabilitation projects, and public health revitalization initiatives that would otherwise not be possible.

These projects are providing environmental and public health benefits in Democratic and Republican districts alike. However, this bipartisan bill ruthlessly claws back these funds and eliminates this vital program. Not only is this bill stealing people's healthcare, it is also making them sicker.

My amendment will ensure that Environmental and Climate Justice Block Grant projects that improve the health outcomes in low-income communities do not lose critical funding. If Republicans truly prioritize their constituents, they should easily agree with me that this funding is valuable and must be protected.

My second amendment is amendment No. 358, which would add to the text the bipartisan Next Generation 9–1–1 Act to the Republican budget reconciliation legislation before us today and fully fund programs using the proceeds from future spectrum auctions.

Because of technology advances in telecommunications from the past 50 years, Americans can communicate today in ways that weren't even contemplated when the 9–1–1 system was first created.

Yet, our 9–1–1 systems are stuck in the past. Our first responders are unable to utilize these tools we take for granted in this digital age. We are far behind. Police officers, firefighters, and emergency medical technicians, who serve communities we represent, deserve better.

I cannot think of a better use of dollars raised from auctioning off public airwaves than to upgrade old, outdated public safety communication systems.

I hope my colleagues will vote yes on this amendment to modernize our 9–1–1 systems for the 21st century. Congress should give the FCC the authority to begin spectrum auctions now. Those proceeds need to help our constituents and first responders, not pay for tax cuts for the ultrarich.

My third amendment is amendment 373, which states: No funds can be used to effectuate the detention or removal of citizens of the United States or any noncitizen whose legal status was determined or visa revoked due to exercising simply their right to speech, free speech. Not breaking any laws, simply their right to free speech.

Last month, I led a delegation of House and Senate members to two ICE processing centers in Louisiana to meet with individuals who had their legal status revoked and remain in immigration detention simply because they exercised their right to free speech.

If these individuals can be jailed for exercising their First Amendment rights, any person in this country is under the same threat.

Now, let me be clear: I do not support any hate speech of any kind. Speech that supports antisemitism or calls for violence I am totally opposed to. The individuals we met with were very clear: They don't support these matters either.

My fourth amendment and last amendment is No. 357, which states that 100 percent of Medicaid cuts resulting from waste, fraud, and abuse will go directly back into programs to strengthen Medicaid for generations to come.

My Republican friends say that they want to help the people that Medicaid was, quote/unquote, intended for, the most vulnerable. And to that I say, put your money where your mouth is.

But we all know they won't. It has always been about enriching billionaires while ripping healthcare away from seniors, children, mothers, and those with disabilities.

Republicans now say that Medicaid is shameful. We will put the most vulnerable at risk. That is why we keep spinning false narratives about waste, fraud, and abuse.

But don't take my word for it. Take it from Republican Senator Josh Hawley, and I quote: Will Republicans be the majority of the people or a permanent minority speaking only for C-suite?

So if the goal is to protect Medicaid and root out waste, fraud, and abuse, we should have no opposition to support my amendment to reinvesting these funds into Medicaid.

I have one final quote, ma'am. And I know I am shortly over. But I want to remind people, I am told yesterday that our President, Donald Trump, said, and I quote—please forgive my language—"Don't fuck with Medicaid." I hope he was serious, and I hope this committee takes it serious, too.

I yield.

The CHAIRWOMAN. [Presiding.] Thank you, Mr. Carter.

Ms. Tokuda, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. JILL N. TOKUDA, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF HAWAII

Ms. TOKUDA. Thank you, Madam Chair, Ranking Member McGovern.

I submit one amendment today, 159, protecting rural Americans from SNAP cuts.

Every day millions of Americans go to bed hungry. For 14 straight years the United States has led the developed world in food insecurity. In 2023 over one in four Americans reported struggling to afford food.

Think about that. In the richest Nation on Earth, 85 million people are missing meals.

And where is this pain felt most deeply? Rural America, small towns, farming communities, places like Hawaii's Second District where food is grown but life is hard.

Eighty-seven percent of the counties with the highest food insecurity are rural. Families face fewer job opportunities, fewer doctors, fewer grocery stores, and now even fewer lifelines. And Republicans want to make it worse.

This isn't just a bad bill. It is a big, bad bill. It is a big, ugly bill, a brutal assault on rural families, working parents, seniors, kids.

The GOP plan is to slash $313 billion from SNAP, gut Medicaid, rip lifelines out of the hands of people just trying to survive, and hand billions in tax breaks to the ultrawealthy.

All this as part of the GOP tax scam 2.0, a reckless giveaway to billionaires that will add $5 trillion to our national debt—$5 trillion in tax breaks for the rich paid for by taking food off tables and putting healthcare out of reach for working Americans.

This isn't fiscal policy. It is moral failure. It is the wealthiest 10 percent cashing in at the expense of the poorest, most vulnerable, hardworking people who labor every day to hold on to life in communities too often forgotten.

Let me tell you about Anna, a constituent of mine from the rural west side of Oahu. She and her husband run a small family business. Last year just $200 more in monthly sales pushed them over the limit for SNAP—$200.

That tiny increase cost their children meals. Anna told me she had to measure every scoop of rice at dinner. She couldn't say yes when her youngest child asked for a second helping of food. She sent her kids to school hungry.

Months later, after their sales dropped again, Anna reapplied. They were approved, and she cried. But now Anna and her husband wonder every day: Should we sell our home? Should we leave our community?

That is the America we are creating, where a family's survival depends on a spreadsheet and, sadly, declining sales.

Anna isn't a cheat. She isn't lazy. She is not gaming the system. She is the system, the engine and the heart of rural America, working, sacrificing, raising kids, building a future, and yet, this bill punishes her.

SNAP works. It feeds families and fuels local economies. Every SNAP dollar we know generates over $1.50 in economic activity. It supports farmers, grocers, small town businesses. It breaks cycles of poverty. And Medicaid keeps rural hospitals open, keeps parents and kids healthy. It keeps people alive.

Cutting these programs isn't just cruel, it is anti-American. But here is the truth: The cruelty is the point, because this bill is about priorities.

The GOP's priorities are clear: Cater to the billionaires, crush the working families, and let's call it policy. They are ready to hand out massive tax breaks to the wealthiest Americans while robbing the rest of the country of food and care. That is not a budget; that is a betrayal.

So, yes, this bill will devastate rural America. It will mean more hunger, more closed clinics, more families like Anna's forced to consider giving up their homes, their communities, their dignity so that billionaires can buy a third yacht and pay even less in taxes.

But we have a choice. We can do the right thing. We can stand with the families who work hard and ask only for a fair shot. We can vote for policies that invest in people, not punish them. We can reject the GOP tax scam. We can protect SNAP. We can defend

Medicaid. And we can refuse to balance budgets on the backs of people who can least afford it.

This amendment is our choice. If you are confident rural America will not see SNAP cuts or decreased benefits as the chair of the Agriculture Committee has claimed, then this amendment will do no harm. Vote yes. But if you have a concern, and quite frankly, a conscience, vote yes. Reject this big, bad bill.

Thank you, Madam Chair, and I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you very much.

Ms. Bonamici, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. SUZANNE BONAMICI, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF OREGON

Ms. BONAMICI. Thank you, Madam Chair.

My amendment, which is No. 24, is pro-family, pro-children, and pro-mom. It guarantees that this bill will not take away nutrition benefits for moms and hungry kids in the special supplemental nutrition program for women, infants, and children, or WIC.

Federal nutrition programs like WIC and SNAP and school meals are investments in the health, learning, and development of children and young adults in communities across the country and are some of the most successful tools we have for reducing child hunger.

These nutrition programs have been associated with improved educational outcomes and reduced food insecurity, which is especially important for children from low-income and food-insecure families.

And it is widely known that WIC contributes to healthier births, nutritious diets, and improved infant feeding practices, better healthcare for children, and higher academic achievement. The benefits are indisputable.

So WIC has served as a lifeline for many mothers and their young children, and I urge my colleagues to support my amendment.

I would now like to make a few comments on amendments that I am either cosponsoring or supporting. There is one by Ranking Member Bobby Scott to protect American children from going hungry with regard to the proposed cuts to SNAP.

Yesterday, the Urban Institute released a new report highlighting that as many as 18.3 million children could lose access to free school meals as a result of the harmful provisions in this bill. And we know that every congressional district has children who are hungry. Families are working hard, but the income isn't keeping up with the cost. So I hope we can adopt Mr. Scott's amendment No. 184.

I also want to speak in support of an amendment that is going to be introduced or has been introduced by Representative Sykes to strike the language in the bill that cuts Medicaid.

In Oregon, one in three people are covered by Medicaid, including 57 percent of Oregon children. And make no mistake, if you rip away healthcare for millions of Americans, people will die. Rural hospitals will close. Cancer patients will go without treatment. And I will support this amendment. I am proud to support this amendment.

I also want to raise an issue in the amendment that is introduced by Representative Rivas, No. 215. This is an amendment that will fix a catastrophic policy that is tucked quietly into this bill that would let the world's most powerful technology go unchecked for the next decade.

This is a blank check for big tech, and the bill as written will block State and local governments from regulating artificial intelligence for 10 years. That is a long time. That is a decade of risk.

Let's be clear: We do not have Federal policies or governance laws on data privacy, security, and bias. And I served on the bipartisan House AI Task Force, and we spent a long time studying these issues. And our report, that was signed by both Republicans and Democrats, explicitly warned against blanket and impulsive Federal preemption of State AI policy.

And I quote, "Without comprehensive Federal AI or data privacy laws, States are well positioned to address gaps, tailor protections, and respond to emerging harms." But this bill ignores that bipartisan advice.

Yesterday, 40 State attorneys general, including Oregon's Dan Rayfield, sent a bipartisan letter opposing this provision because of the unchecked harm it will cause. And let's talk about what that could look like:

An algorithm that denies a disabled person access to housing and no State agency could intervene. A company that designs generative AI to imitate voices or faces without consent, States couldn't stop it. A hiring platform that discriminates by race or gender.

Under this bill, if a company deliberately designs an algorithm that causes foreseeable harm, they would be legally unaccountable, and it would leave policymakers and the public flying blind as a handful of corporations consolidate power over rapidly advancing technology.

And I am not talking about machines. I am talking about civil rights, consumer safety, child protection, elections, employment, and more.

The House AI Task Force made it clear we should empower good AI policy at the State level, not block it. This amendment strikes the provision and gets government out of the way so States can protect their people. Let's test whether Congress stands with the public or with the powerful.

I also have a few bills I want to mention that—or, excuse me, a few amendments that I am cosponsoring. One by Mr. Beyer to keep energy costs low by taking two of the most successful energy policies in history, the production tax credit and the investment tax credit, protecting those. Also Mr. Beyer's amendment protecting bipartisan clean energy tax credits.

I also want to be on record as supporting Ranking Member Bobby Scott's amendment No. 261 that makes it harder for students—strikes the language that makes it harder for students to access high-quality education.

And one more, Madam Chair, with your indulgence. I want to support the amendment by my Oregon colleague, Representative Bynum, that ensures the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau retains current funding for protecting student borrowers.

I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Ms. Bonamici.

The order now is Goodlander, Stansbury, Delaney, and Tlaib. Okay.

Ms. Goodlander.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. MAGGIE GOODLANDER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

Ms. GOODLANDER. Thank you, Madam Chair, and thank you, Ranking Member McGovern, for the opportunity to be here today on behalf of the people of New Hampshire's Second District to offer a commonsense, one-sentence amendment to this truly big and catastrophically bad bill.

We know the bill is big. I brought a copy with me. It doesn't fit on this very big table in front of me.

This bill is catastrophically bad because of what it does and what it fails to do, and that is where my amendment comes in.

This bill is catastrophically bad because we know what it is going to do to 14 million Americans who will lose health coverage, the biggest cuts to healthcare in American history.

It is going to hurt our kids, people with disabilities, pregnant women, seniors. It is going to jack up healthcare costs for everyone. Rural hospitals in my State are going to close, and people are going to die.

We know this bill is catastrophically bad because of what it is going to do to the more than 10 million Americans who are at risk of losing access to food because of the biggest cuts to SNAP in American history.

We are talking about kids, about veterans, about hardworking people all across our country, and in the most rural parts of my district, in Berlin, in Stewartstown, in Winchester. People are going to lose access to food.

And for what? To give another big tax giveaway to big corporations and to billionaires.

This bill also is going to bring about the biggest deficit increase in American history, $3.8 trillion—and that is trillion with a "t"—according to the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office, and it is going to add trillions of dollars to the national debt.

So this bill is bad for all the things it will do. But one of the things this bill will not do, and another reason why it is catastrophically bad, is what it fails to do, to really make government work better for hardworking people and to actually cut down on waste, fraud, and abuse. And that is where my straightforward, commonsense, one-sentence amendment comes in.

Title II of this big bill provides nearly $150 billion to the Department of Defense, and does this, mind you, at a moment when that department is in a state of pure and utter chaos under the leadership of a person who has no business serving as the Secretary of Defense.

That is a lot of money, $150 billion. It is 10 times the State of New Hampshire's biennial budget. It is also, I should note, $50 billion above what the House Armed Services Committee was instructed to spend in this bill. And I read every bill I vote on, and it is $50 billion above.

So I am offering a straightforward amendment—it is one sentence—that would simply require the Department of Defense, before it is able to spend the additional $50 billion, to do what it is already required to do by law and what it has failed to do under law for decades now, and that is to pass an independent audit.

This is about basic government oversight, but the Department of Defense has failed seven audits. It is the only Federal department that has failed an audit, and it also accounts for more than half of our discretionary spending. We are talking about about a trillion dollars. This is not right.

If you really want to talk about cutting waste, fraud, and abuse, I would ask the question: Isn't ensuring a clean audit of the Pentagon a top priority? If you want to know whether we are actually wasting money, an audit is going to help us do exactly that.

So, look, at the end of the day, this is about—it is about military readiness, and that is something that our national security depends upon. It is something our economic security depends upon. It is also about the public's trust.

Small businesses across this country, people across America, have got to pass an audit to keep doing what they do. The Pentagon should be held to the same standard. And it is the public's trust that our democracy depends on.

And so with that, I would say this big, truly big and catastrophically bad bill cannot be cured with one amendment, but this is a step towards progress on what I think we all share, a goal we all share, cutting waste, fraud, and abuse. That is not what this bill does.

And with that, I yield back. Thank you.

[The statement of Ms. Goodlander follows:]

CONGRESSWOMAN GOODLANDER PREPARED REMARKS FOR RULES COMMITTEE 5/21/2025

- Thank you, Mr. Chair.
- I am here this morning to advocate for fiscal responsibility.
- And I am also here to tell you that this budget reconciliation package – what I am calling a Big, Bad Bill – is far from fiscally responsible.
- But my straightforward, one-sentence amendment would at the very least push this package in the right direction, to whatever extent that is possible.
- My amendment is designed to accomplish something that is long overdue: a full and independent audit of the Pentagon.
- I think we can all agree that a basic function of any organization that expects the public trust is to be able to produce a clean audit.
- Yet, the Department of Defense has failed seven audits in a row, and the bill in front of the Committee today authorizes an additional $150 billion for the DoD, $50 billion above the amount that the House Armed Services Committee, which I am proud to serve on, was directed to spend.
- My straightforward, one-sentence amendment would simply require the Department of Defense, before it can spend the additional $50 billion, to do what it's already required to do by law and pass a clean audit.
- If you want to talk about cutting waste, fraud, and abuse, isn't ensuring a clean audit a top priority?
- Now, if the members of this committee say no, that fiscal responsibility is not a top priority and kills this amendment, then it leaves me to question, why?
- Why are my colleagues on the other side of the aisle pushing a package that makes devastating cuts that will stop millions of people **from being able to pay for the medications they need**, or to **take their sick kid or parent to the doctor**, or **put food on the table**?

- Who are these cuts really for, if we are not going to be serious about commonsense measures that ensure we are good stewards of taxpayer dollars?

- And the answer is abundantly clear: billionaires and big corporations.

- This legislation paves the way for trillions in tax handouts to the richest among us, paid for by the biggest cuts to Medicaid in American history.

- This budget is not about fiscal responsibility.

- Independent experts have time and again shown that it will jack up costs – healthcare costs, childcare costs, and food costs – at a moment when prices are already sky-high.

- And that's not all: this partisan budget will set us up for the largest deficit increase in American history.

- This budget is a bad deal for the American people. My amendment will at least ensure the DoD conducts a clean audit, which it is already required to do by law.

- I encourage the members of this committee to support my commonsense amendment.

- Thank you, and I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you very much.

Ms. Stansbury, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. MELANIE A. STANSBURY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW MEXICO

Ms. STANSBURY. Madam Chair, Ranking Member, members of the committee, before I get started I just want to observe that we have been here for almost 12 hours, and I want to take a moment to thank all of the staff who have been holding it down for the last 12 hours in this room.

[Applause.]

Ms. STANSBURY. And I want to also observe that I count exactly two Republicans in this room while literally dozens of Democrats have sat here all night and all day to have 5 minutes in front of this committee to speak our piece on behalf of the American people.

I have a lot of ground to cover. If it is not obvious already, not only am I a "no" on this bill, I am a "hell no."

Let me tell you why. This bill puts a massive permanent tax break in place for the ultrawealthy and corporations on the backs of working Americans. It will literally make the poor people of this country poorer while the rich get richer. It will give billions of dollars in kickbacks to defense contractors, private prisons, and big tech.

It gives cuts to lifesaving programs, Medicaid and healthcare—which all of you said you wouldn't cut for months and here we are—food assistance, school lunches, Pell grants.

It will decimate protections for the environment, NEPA, public lands, judicial review, climate and clean energy.

It decimates protections for our Federal workers. It makes them at-will and it threatens their retirement.

It threatens our consumers.

It eviscerates the Federal budget.

And, Madam Chair, despite what I have heard here for many hours of lying, it will put into place the largest increase in deficit spending this country has ever seen—ever.

That is what this bill does, and that is why I oppose it.

I am here to present six amendments, one of which was voted down by the Republicans in Oversight that would actually protect Medicaid, Social Security, veterans benefits, and food assistance.

I am also here to fight for an amendment to this bill that would make it impossible for people like Elon Musk and special government employees to self-deal and exploit the government for their own personal gain.

I am also here to present an amendment that would restore the protections for our Tribal nations, because notwithstanding what I heard the chairman say in the dark of night in this room, this bill takes away the judicial rights of our Tribal nations to defend their sacred lands and their Tribal trust and treaty responsibilities, and it is shameful. It is absolutely shameful.

I am also here to offer an amendment to restore climate funding that was cut out of our national budget. And I am here to present an amendment, which the Republicans have already voted on in a number of different places and spaces, that would make it impos-

sible for our foreign adversaries to mine here in the United States and take advantage of our system.

These are but a small offering to a thousand-page bill that will literally kill Americans. This is but a small offering in the 500 amendments that my colleagues and I have waited all night and all day to present in this committee.

So let me be perfectly clear: This bill will hurt the American people, it will raise the debt, it will give permanent tax breaks to the ultrawealthy, it will put billions of dollars into the pockets of Donald Trump's friends, it will cut lifesaving programs, it will decimate protections for our communities, and it is happening on your watch. And we are here to fight it every step of the way in this committee, on the floor, in our communities, and we will not stop fighting.

And with that, I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mrs. Delaney, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. APRIL MCCLAIN DELANEY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MARYLAND

Mrs. MCCLAIN DELANEY. Thank you, Chairwoman, and thank you, Ranking Member McGovern. And thanks to all the staff—I agree—as well, who have been here. I got here around 3 in the morning, and I echo what many of my Democratic colleagues have said.

But I just have to say as a preamble, many of the things I have said will be repeating others. But my heart is heavy. As a freshman Member from Maryland but grew up in the great State of Idaho and have lived here for 30 years, I have never seen anything like this in Washington.

And I must say, I ran on common sense, common ground in my campaign, and there is none of that right here on Capitol Hill. But that takes—common ground takes shared truths and starting at at least the same platform and the same set of facts and shared value outputs.

And I would think that we should come back together to really look at those things, the way in which we have not been able to really have hearings, and an ability to really think and probe into all these issues is so important going forward.

So my amendment, 313, is really about ensuring that children and families will continue to receive the food they need despite the proposals put forward in the package.

In this country, I do think that we all agree, and many of my colleagues on both sides of the aisle in the Ag Committee believe that no child in this country should go hungry.

My Republican colleagues repeatedly said that this package would not result in the kids going hungry and that benefits would remain whole for them.

My amendment takes them at their word, and it seeks to ensure that no cuts to SNAP can be made unless the USDA and States confirm that these cuts will not lead to a reduction in benefits for households with kids, taking Republicans at their word to prevent benefits that I would suspect they would want.

In sum, nationally 42 million currently depend on food assistance programs. And in my district, one in nine households depends on SNAP. Half of them are children.

This isn't just about ending hunger; it is about dignity, it is about opportunity, and it is about being able to concentrate in school and being able to thrive.

And if you want to talk about economics, as we said before, SNAP pays for itself in economic benefits and health benefits. For every dollar in my district but across the country spent on SNAP, $1.50 comes back into our economies, and that means many of my farmers in District Six sell into the food markets. It goes back to 2,700 national retailers and back to our truckers.

Cutting SNAP hurts, not helps our national economy, and these cuts will even be more apparent in rural communities.

And, by the way, in rural communities there is going to be a tsunami of issues that it is going to impact them, not just with SNAP but with Medicaid and all these core funding cuts, and it is going to hilt our States as well.

So let me just put another thing in it, and maybe it is the lawyer in me. But I dispute the GOP constant messaging that this is about financial discipline and tackling the deficit.

None of these cuts to SNAP or to Medicaid or social net programs result in this objective. The numbers do not add up. Because we all know that it is widely acknowledged that this current proposal is projected to increase the budget by nearly $3 trillion through 2034 by locking in tax cuts and spending increases that outweigh reductions in Medicaid and SNAP funding.

So let me put a finer point on this. It will strip $18 billion in benefits from households with children. It will harm one in five kids who rely on SNAP. And it lowers the age by which a child is considered dependent from 18 to 7. No one I know would argue that an 8- or a 10- or a 12-year-old is not dependent on their parents for food, housing, or care.

And the authors of this bill have exempted families within this new definition of dependent only if they are married or living in the same household. But what about single or unmarried parents who are doing their best? This bill leaves them behind.

Last, the bill prevents future increases to the Thrifty Food Plan. $37 billion will be cut from food assistance for the next decade, and that includes slashing $1 billion from Summer EBT, which is a lifeline for millions of kids as they head into summer.

I repeat, children will be hungrier over the summer. So it is about feeding our kids and about their future and our country's future.

If you will also allow me, Chairwoman Foxx, I do not serve on the Energy and Commerce Committee, but I spent the bulk of my life as a child advocate at Common Sense Media.

Common Sense is a nonprofit dedicated to looking at how media impacts the health and well-being of our Nation's children vis-&-vis media.

And the reports that came today about Sykes' bill, H. 215, is really important, because we have to stand ahead of making sure that AI and the most recent proposals that it would block States from regulating it is really, really important not to. A hundred

forty organizations have already stood up against it. And I would also say for our Nation's kids, we need to look at that.

In closing, thank you. I yield back.

[The statement of Mrs. McClain Delaney follows:]

312

Congresswoman April McClain Delaney

RULES COMMITTEE HEARING

May 21st, 2025 at 6:00 AM

H-313

Chairwoman Foxx recognizes you.

Thank you, Chair Foxx.

My amendment ensures that children and their families will continue to receive the food they need despite the proposals put forward in this package. In this country, I would think we are all in agreement that no one - no parent, no senior, no veteran and especially no child – should go hungry in this country.

Last week in the Ag Committee markup, my Republican colleagues repeatedly said this package would not result in children and families going hungry, and that their benefits will remain whole. This amendment takes them at their word. It seeks to ensure that no cuts to SNAP can be made unless the USDA and States confirm that these cuts will not lead to a reduction in benefits for households with children. Taking Republicans at their word, to protect benefits, I would expect bipartisan support on this amendment.

Nationally, 42 million currently depend on food assistance benefits. In my district, 1 in 9 households depend on SNAP, half of them are children. This is not just about ending hunger – it is about dignity, opportunity and the right to live without constant fear of where one's next meal comes from or an inability to concentrate at school. None of us here should want that outcome…and should prevent it.

And if you want to talk about economics, SNAP pays for itself in economic and health benefits. It is well known that for every dollar spent into SNAP, $1.50 on average comes back to our economy – back to our farmers, back to our 27,000 national retailers and back to our truckers. Cutting SNAP hurts - not helps – our national economy…and these cuts will impact even more our rural communities.

SNAP makes economic sense by combatting negative health outcomes. Food helps children and families thrive through better concentration while at school, through children's healthy development and growth and by keeping parents not sick so they can go to work.

Last, perhaps it is the lawyer in me that concentrates on facts and figures, I dispute the GOP's constant messaging that this is about fiscal discipline and tackling the deficit. None of these cuts to SNAP – or to Medicaid or even safety net programs – will result in this objective…because frankly, the numbers just do not add up. Because we all know and it is widely acknowledged that this current proposal is projected to increase budget deficits by nearly 3 trillion through 2034 by locking in tax cuts and spending increases that outweigh reductions in Medicaid and SNAP funding. So, what are our priorities?

Let me put a finer point on the consequences of this bill: it will strip $18 billion in benefits from households with children. It will harm one in five kids who rely on SNAP just to get by. And it lowers the age by which a child is considered dependent from 18 years old to just 7 years old. I can't fathom how anyone could defend that provision.

No one would argue that an 8 or 10 or 12-year-old child is not dependent on their parents for food, housing, and care. The authors of this bill have exempted families from this new definition of "dependent" only if they are married and living in the same household. **But what about single or unmarried parents who are doing their best to raise their children?** This bill leaves them behind.

Additionally, the bill prevents future increases to the Thrifty Food Plan. $37 billion will be cut from food assistance over the next decade. This includes slashing $1 billion from Summer-EBT, a lifeline for millions of children as we head into summer break. I repeat children will go hungrier over the summer.

SNAP isn't just about feeding children today. It's about their future. And our country's future.

If Republicans truly believe these cuts won't harm kids and their benefits will remain whole – like they said time and time again during the Ag Committee markup – they should support this amendment. Stand with our children.

Many in this room profess a deep faith – a faith that includes taking care of our most vulnerable. The Ag mark up started with a prayer, and followed up on that prayer. I would posit to each of you what my Grandma Rose often asked:

What would Jesus do? I think you all know the question.

In closing, I IMPLORE my Republican colleagues to support this common sense Amendment. It would ensure that we can trust in and rely on your word that our children and families will be protected. I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Ms. Tlaib.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. RASHIDA TLAIB, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MICHIGAN

Ms. TLAIB. Thank you so much for this opportunity. And I echo so much of what my colleagues have said, but I want to bring my district into this room.

They are never going to be able to sit here in this audience and express the just anger that they feel that yet again we are turning our backs to them and not putting them before polluters, before billionaires, and so much more.

The reality is, Madam Chair, and this is to everyone here, it is not just us saying it. It is nonpartisan organizations looking at the numbers, looking at this budget.

And it is, it is our residents of all different likes, because to me Medicaid is nonpartisan. I have met people of all different likes and backgrounds that are dependent on Medicaid. I have met so many people that are on SNAP, Madam Chair.

And for all of my colleagues to understand. You all know many of our residents are in survivor mode. I am not here to do shaming and blaming.

The reality is we have broken systems in place, and we wonder why people look at Congress and shake their heads and the approval ratings are so low. It is because we don't put them first.

And so I offered six amendments, Madam Chair, and I hope you all seriously take them into consideration.

I have no healthcare cuts for moms and babies. This is important as a founder of the Congressional Mamas' Caucus. When I look at over 40 percent of births in our country are covered by Medicaid. But that is also prenatal care, postpartum, I mean, all the different things that you see.

And I say this because—again, I am bringing my district here—we have one of the worst infant mortality crisis in—I mean, look at the crisis that we have in our country, but even in my backyard. And it is because we don't have the kind of care that we have.

And Medicaid is a Band-Aid, you all, it really is, because we do have an inhumane, cruel healthcare system that is driven by profit and greed and not about healthcare. That is why a lot of my residents don't even call it healthcare anymore. They call it sick care, Madam Chair. And so now we are about the rip the Band-Aid off.

So my amendment says do not cut prenatal and postnatal care. Again, tackling infant mortality is nonpartisan. Every community is, again, seeing that our children are not reaching the age of 1, and there is a reason to that. And, again, it is because we are not doing our job here in Congress.

The other amendment, and it is super important, is no money for polluters. I want to reiterate to all of you, again, my community, the majority of them are frontline communities. We have one of the worst air qualities in the State of Michigan, in Wayne County, that I represent, and we are making people sicker. And then now we are saying we are not going to cover the fact that, again, we have allowed corporate polluters to be unchecked.

You should see the lack of enforcement because the bills are written in a way, they slap their hands, they pay a fine, it is part of doing business.

But when you go to read to a third grade class in my district—and I always tell them, you know, they ask me what my job is, and I tell them I am trying to make sure we have clean air, and how many of you have asthma, a third of the class will raise their hand, Madam Chair, a third of them. And you look at the attendance rates and so forth.

The other is really important. I really believe that we need no more aid to billionaires. I am calling it that, because I think that is how you all see it. They don't need it. The corporations don't need it. Some of them have not paid Federal income tax for years. They don't need it. They are going to be okay, I promise.

But I still remember the first Black woman ever elected in Congress, Shirley Chisholm, say that children can't learn if they are hungry. And I am telling you, that is very real. But also children can't learn if they are being poisoned because they don't have clean water or clean air. And so I think it is incredibly important.

My other amendment, "Expand But Don't Restrict Medicaid." It is important to understand the importance of what Medicaid does right now, again, the Band-Aid that I talked about. And we try to keep it tight, I know all of us that are fighting for Medicaid and making sure that we are expanding it and making it, again, closer to something a lot more humane.

But I think it is incredibly important to understand this is life-saving. I have never had this many people in my community call me, parents with special needs children, petrified. They are so scared that we are going to put Amazon and FedEx and all these other corporations before them. That is what they are afraid of. And we wonder why they are so angry.

My other amendment, again, is around no money for Pentagon, because I want to talk to you all about this.

In my community, I told them: Don't worry. Guess what? Guess what? There is one budget that got an increase. Which budget is that? The Pentagon budget. Can't pass audits, Madam Chair, seven audits in a row. The last audit, the last failed audit, showed that over half of the assets of the Pentagon are unaccounted for—unaccounted for.

So we have money for bombs and wars. And shame on any of my colleagues that own stocks in war manufacturing. You shouldn't even be voting on this bill. That is a conflict of interest.

But, Madam Chair, it is important to understand, we can't prioritize to build ships that can't float, planes that can't even fly in the rain. Trillions of dollars are going to that, and we are going to go ahead and fund it 150 billion more dollars into—talk about waste and inefficiency.

It is cruel for us to put more money in a budget that can't pass an audit, but we are going to go ahead and throw people off of Medicaid and SNAP.

With that, Madam Chair, I yield.

[The statement of Ms. Tlaib follows:]

REMARKS ON AMENDMENTS TO H.R.1 FOR RULES
(610 words, 4 minutes)

- Thank you, Madam Chair. I am here this morning to discuss six amendments to this devastating bill that I submitted last night.

- This budget would cut over $880 billion dollars from Medicaid and nearly $300 billion dollars from food assistance.

- These are the largest cuts to Medicaid and food assistance in the history of our country.

- Nearly 14 million Americans will lose their health care and thousands of people will die. Children and families will go hungry.

- This budget is a betrayal of our families. And if that wasn't bad enough, this is all being done to give $7 trillion in tax breaks to the billionaire class and the largest corporations.

- Let me say that again. The budget will cut crucial programs for the poor and working families—taking food away from hungry children, letting people die from a lack of health care coverage, and gutting consumer protections—all to give trillions of dollars to the richest people in our country like Elon Musk.

- Our families are struggling. They are exhausted. Our country faces a cost-of-living crisis. Housing prices and homelessness rates keep rising. Families are worried about how they will pay for groceries.

- And instead of addressing these life-or-death issues, the Republican Budget wants to steal from the poor to give to the obscenely wealthy.

- My amendments prioritize the needs of working families in this country and show what Congress could accomplish if it actually worked for them.

- We could protect consumers from fraud and abuse and hold the line against big banks. Instead, this budget guts the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. My amendment prevents any cuts to the CFPB if these tax breaks for the very rich go into effect.

- We could reduce the rate of infant mortality – which is already too high in this country – by ensuring that Medicaid covers all prenatal and postnatal care. That's why I propose eliminating these cuts to Medicaid if the infant mortality rate ever goes up.

- If Congress wanted to show they actually understood working families, we could even expand Medicaid so that expenses like car insurance were included in determining eligibility.

- We could end child poverty and ensure that every child has the resources they need to reach their full potential, which is why I propose replacing this entire bill and creating a universal child assistance program, with children automatically enrolled at birth.

- Instead of voting to make life easier for polluters, we could demand that corporations be assessed for the cumulative effects of

their pollution on past, present, and future public and environmental health.

- And finally, instead of adding an extra $150 billion to the Pentagon war machine, we could demand accountability and refuse new funding until the Pentagon actually passes an audit.

- As recently as 2023, the Pentagon could not even account for 62 percent of its assets. But here we are, preparing to take food away from kids and health care from the sick to pay for more bombs, more guns, more ships, and more planes that don't even work.

- Last night on the floor I read a letter from Angeline, one of my residents, who said "It's very clear those voting for these cuts have never had to experience the traumatic effects of living in poverty and the threat of taking the only help we have away."

- She's absolutely right. Cutting programs for working families and the poor is wrong. It's immoral. Doing so to pay for trillions of dollars in tax cuts for the rich is a slap in the face to every family struggling to pay their bills.

- That's what my amendments would prevent, and I urge my colleagues to support them.

- Thank you.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

Thanks to all of you.

Let me see if there are questions.

Do you have any questions? No, okay.

Mr. McGovern.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Yeah, Madam Chair.

First, I want to ask unanimous consent to insert into the record a letter from Jason Furman, an economist and the former chair of the Council of Economic Advisers and the deputy director of the National Economic Council.

In his letter, Mr. Furman shares an outlook of what this horrible bill will mean for our economy. And he writes, and I quote, "The legislation would drive up mortgage interest rates and inflation, lower economic growth, and ultimately require Congress to pass additional tax increases or benefit reductions. All of this would further hurt the working and middle class."

So, Madam Chair, more expensive mortgages, higher inflation, basic needs like food and healthcare ripped away from people in need, all to give us more tax breaks for billionaires. I think it is shameful, and I think this bill will actually hurt real, everyday people. I ask unanimous consent for——

The CHAIRWOMAN. Without objection.

[The information follows:]

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS
LITTAUER CENTER, CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138-3001

May 21, 2025

To the Rules Committee,

In the thirty years I have researched and worked on public policy I have never seen a more stark example of redistribution from the poor to the affluent as what is called the "The One, Big, Beautiful Bill".

The tax portion of the legislation itself is highly regressive. Based on my analysis of the Joint Committee of Taxation's distribution tables, it would give $96 billion to the 1 million households making over $1 million per year, even more than the $93 billion it would give to the 127 million households making less than $100,000 per year. That amounts to an average tax cut of $82,000 apiece for millionaires as compared to $750 for the working and middle class.

When the spending cuts in the legislation, including to Medicaid and nutritional assistance, are included in the analysis the tax cuts for lower-income households turn into after-tax income reductions. The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) analysis of May 20th shows that it would reduce household resources by 2 to 4 percent for the bottom decile of households while raising resources by 1 to 4 percent.

Note the CBO analysis only concerns "The One, Big, Beautiful Bill" itself. An analysis of the combination of this legislation with President Trump's unilateral fiscal measures would show even more redistribution from the working and middle class to the rich due to the combination of tariffs which are largely paid by the working and middle class and the reduction in tax enforcement which will largely benefit high-income people who choose to cheat on their taxes.

Finally, the direct effects of the legislation would be compounded by its macroeconomic consequences. The legislation would drive up mortgage interest rates and inflation, lower economic growth, and ultimately require Congress to pass additional tax increases or benefit reductions. All of this would further hurt the working and middle class.

I hope this analysis is of help to you and please do not hesitate to ask if there is anything else I can do to help you understand the consequences of this legislation.

Sincerely,

Jason Furman
Professor of the Practice, Department of Economics, Harvard University
Aetna Professor of the Practice of Economic Policy, Harvard Kennedy School

Mr. MCGOVERN. And then the other thing I am going to say is, I mean, let's remind ourselves why we are here. We are dealing with a bill that does a million different things. It is so wide in its scope.

But, I mean, I think what has kind of brought us all together is our deep concern over people losing their healthcare, people losing their food assistance, all to pay for tax cuts for billionaires, and that is just unacceptable.

And, I mean, we wouldn't be who we are as Democrats if we didn't fight this with every ounce of energy we have.

There are other things in this bill.

Ms. Bonamici, I am glad you brought up the AI aspect of this.

I am scared out of my mind that there will be a 10-year moratorium on States' ability to be able to kind of regulate AI within their boundaries.

Congress should do it, but we can't get our act together here. So the idea that we just let it go wild? I mean, there are some real dangers to our kids, to our communities.

And so thank you for raising that.

But, again, I mean, I am grateful to all of you for sticking this out. We have been talking amongst ourselves about how incredible it is to see all of you just stay here and remain here in solidarity and to be able to present your amendments. I think the American people appreciate it.

And so I support all your amendments. Again, I thank you for being here.

I yield back my time.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Ms. Scanlon.

Ms. SCANLON. Okay. Thank you.

I just want to echo the ranking member's remarks.

There are dozens of Members still waiting. We really, really appreciate your passion, your amendments, which are so well taken, everybody bringing their expertise, expertise that would have been probably better served if we had been able to use regular order, use committee structure to try to work on consensus bills.

But it is so important that your constituents hear what you would do if our colleagues across the aisle were willing to work in a bipartisan manner and just how much we could accomplish if that were an option around here.

So thank you all. Appreciate it.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. Neguse, you are recognized.

Mr. NEGUSE. Thank you, Madam Chair.

I don't have any questions. I just would, again, share the sentiments expressed by our ranking member and Ms. Scanlon and our deep appreciation to our Members of the House Democratic Caucus for hanging in and staying as long as you have.

Again, we started this hearing at 1 a.m. It is now 1 p.m., so 12 hours later, and there are a number of you who have been here the entire time, all so that you could, as Representative Stansbury so eloquently put it, speak for 5 minutes on behalf of the communities that you serve and to present very thoughtful, exceptional amendments that are developed by virtue of your expertise in your particular areas of expertise. And so I would just say thank you.

And I hope that our colleagues on the other side might perhaps reconsider the closed nature of the rule. I suspect they won't, but hope springs eternal.

So I thank my colleagues.

Thank you.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Neguse.

And thanks to all of you. I also thank you for coming and staying for this period of time. And you are now excused.

Mr. Jackson, Mr. Fields, Ms. Dean, Ms. Scholten, Mr. Mrvan, Mr. Tonko, Mr. Mannion, and Ms. Wasserman Schultz, if you could come into the seats these people are vacating, please.

Okay. The way I called out your names is the way I will recognize you.

Okay. Mr. Jackson, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. JONATHAN L. JACKSON, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. Thank you, Madam Chairwoman.

And I thank all of my colleagues for having spent this arduous time here all night. I came in here at 1 o'clock in the morning, left out at 4:30, and came back. I hope in the future we can do our business in the middle of the day where people in television land can watch us. Citizens have a right to this.

I rise today in support—in firm support of my SNAP amendment which would protect older Americans, those age 55 to 64, from being stripped of their access to food assistance under the so-called One Big Beautiful Bill. This amendment restores a critical exemption in the Supplemental Nutritional Assistance Program—also known as SNAP—for seniors, a group who are among the most food-hungry, food-insecure, and least able to reenter the workforce.

Between 2025 and 2030, this amendment ensures that Americans over the age of 55 remain exempt from burdensome work requirements. Beginning in 2031, it preserves protections for those over the age of 50.

Briefly talking numbers, according to the USDA, in 2023, nearly 5 million adults over the age of 50 lived in food-insecure households, people that are hungry. And, of those, roughly 1.1 million were between the ages of 55 and 64. This very group this amendment aims to protect. These are not idle people. Nearly one in three SNAP recipients over the age of 50 are either working or actively seeking work, according to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities.

Madam Chairwoman, a 60-year-old who loses their job is less than half as likely to find new full-time employment compared to a 30-year-old. I understand the President has asked for One Big Beautiful Bill, but let me tell you this bill is brutal. It is not beautiful. This is a monument not to unity but to disparity, a structural bill not on the foundations of justice but on the shifting sands of privilege. Its architect is not that of Lincoln's better angels but of Midas. It is greedy. It is glittering, and it is grotesque.

I have read this bill, as all the thinking citizens must, and I find they are not the balm of Gilead but the cunning draft of a plutocracy and those who try to enshrine those of greater wealth. There are tax benefits for those that are already bloated, regulatory

rollbacks for the unshakable—for the unshackled corporations while tightening the manacles on labor requirements, subsidies for oil and wealth but scarcity for schoolhouses and clinics.

Where in this bill is the struggling—where in this bill is the struggling mother in Detroit or in Chicago or in Pittsburgh who labors night and day not for gain but for survival? Where is the Black farmer in Mississippi still bound under the yolk of a system that praises liberty yet denies land and capital? Where is the sick child whose insurance evaporates beneath the ruthless sun of corporate greed?

This bill is brutal. This bill is a contradiction or a mockery of our professed ideals. You say it helps families, yet it steals food from their tables. You said it grows the economy, but it shrinks the dignity of work. You say it strengthens America, but it forgets that a nation is only as strong as its poorest citizen is safe, its most vulnerable secure.

I ask you to reject this bill not because it is Trump's bill but because it is wrong. Replace it with legislation that is rooted in equity and mercy and the simple—but it might have to be recognized for all men and their women and their wealth and their dignity of work.

Remember, ladies and gentlemen, that history is watching us. And history, though patient, is unforgiving. This bill may pass today, and the markets may cheer, but the people will not forget. The people shall remember. They will remember not only what you did but they will also remember what we failed to do when given the chance to lift rather than to loot. And I say unto you, let it not be written that this House chose beauty over justice, comfort over courage, gilded lies over the golden truth.

Madam Chairwoman, I thank you for your time, and I yield back my time.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Jackson.

Mr. Fields, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. CLEO FIELDS, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF LOUISIANA

Mr. FIELDS. Thank you, Madam Chair and Ranking Member. I, too, have been here since 1 a.m. in the morning. My office has been flooded with calls, letters, and emails from Louisiana—from Louisianans worried about losing their Medicaid benefits. These voices come from every corner of the State, proof that the issue hits home for families, seniors, and working people alike. Proposals like the monthly work requirement mandates and repeated eligibility requirements is just a bureaucracy trap, not a solution. These policies create red tape that disproportionately affect vulnerable citizens, not fraudsters.

That is why I am offering amendment 205 that modifies section 44141 of the budget reconciliation bill, specifically targeting language related to Medicare eligibility requirements under the Social Security Act. The key substantive change is adding protection for individuals who are—I am sorry. Is that better?

The CHAIRWOMAN. Yes, it is.

Mr. FIELDS. That is why I am offering amendment 205 that modifies section 44141 of the budget reconciliation bill, specifically

targeting language related to Medicaid eligibility requirements under the Social Security Act. The key substantive change is adding protection for individuals who involuntarily lose their job or who have work hours—had their work hours reduced during the preceding 12-month period and if longer if States require it.

This amendment would create a commonsense exemption for Medicaid workers reporting requirements for those who have experienced involuntarily job loss or a reduction in work hours that are outside of their control.

Most Medicaid recipients do work, but they still can't afford basic care. That is why Medicaid offers a path to health and stability, not a free ride. My State specifically stands to lose more than healthcare. We risk losing the cornerstone of our State economy and stability. Medicaid brings about $15 billion in Federal funding to Louisiana. That is over 35 percent of the entire State budget. Over 1.6 million Louisianans depend on Medicaid, including half of which are children, two-third are mothers with newborns, and three-quarters are nursing home residents.

According to the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office, the current proposal would leave at least 8.6 million more people uninsured over the next decade. I support cutting waste, fraud, and abuse, but I will not support gutting the lifeline of many people. America needs smart, compassionate, fiscally responsible healthcare policies but not blunt-force cuts. This is a catastrophic and unacceptable outcome for Louisiana and for the American people.

I thank the chair, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Fields.

Ms. Dean, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. MADELEINE DEAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA

Ms. DEAN. I thank you, Madam Chair.

And I thank you, Ranking Member McGovern, and my Democratic colleagues, for your endurance and for being here, standing watch over this proposed budget, this proposed reconciliation, and the disgraces that are within it that we have really yet to uncover.

You know, Madam Chair, I had a very wise and funny godmother. Her name was Joan Cassin, and she used to say to me, "Mad, remember, nothing good happens after midnight." So I came here in the middle of the night to see if Joan Cassin was correct. And I sat here for hours and hours in the dark of night as Members struggled to even stay awake because you noticed this hearing in Rules of one of the most important, big pieces of legislation—I won't call it beautiful—that we will vote on this year. One of the most important, and I am baffled that you called this important hearing on this important legislation that you all seem to—well, some of you seem to prize—for 1 o'clock in the morning. Joan Cassin was right. Nothing good and nothing that you are proud of happens after midnight when you call such a hearing.

A couple of things that I wanted to talk about. They are by way of amendment, but, really, they are just by way of my heart. There is an amendment that our colleague, Mr. Thompson, is offering which will strike—this is—bear with me. This is a double negative.

I hate double negatives. It strikes the removal of the $200 tax on silencers. Right now—and this is since 1934—there has been a $200 tax on silencers. Never adjusted for inflation. It has been solid since 1934. But I believe it is Mr. Clyde who wants to die on this hill. Well, others might die on this hill. He wants to remove the tax altogether. Baffling to me.

And you know what the dollars are? It is $1.4 billion over 10 years. I did the math. That means something like 700,000 silencers are sold in this country a year. That baffles me. I don't know if that is accurate. But, by the numbers and by the math, that is what we are talking about.

In 1934, you know what $200 looked like adjusted for inflation? It is at least 46-, 47-, $4,800 would be the tax if we did that today. Why do you think they put such a steep tax on that silencer in 1934? Take a look at the history. The history is the tax was used to try to discourage the purchasing of silencers.

Well, this is a committee. This is an amendment—excuse me—this is an initiative that Mr. Thompson will correct in his amendment—which I am sure you are all going to go for—that would reduce the revenue, take us down $1.4 billion over 10 years—I don't know why—and probably encourage the sale of more. It sounds to me like it is just to appease the NRA and to encourage the industry, all at the cost of our revenues.

If we doubled it, if we just went to $400, you could sell only half as many and not lose a penny in revenue. If we tripled it, you might actually discourage some sales of silencers. Wouldn't that be a good thing for us to be doing in this committee?

The other thing I want to talk about is substance abuse treatment and substance abuse dollars in Medicaid. In Pennsylvania, in my State, 100,000 Pennsylvanians have access to healthcare, recovery, treatment—100,000 in Pennsylvania alone—thanks to Medicaid. What this budget proposes to do? Slash that. Let those people go out in the cold. Let them try to find recovery on their own. Let them try to get a life worthy of what they want to become so that they can continue to work and provide for their families. 100,000 people are at risk.

So I support an amendment that I know Mr. Tonko is going to be supporting also. He and I are co-chairs on really important committees and caucuses around addiction and mental health and fentanyl poisoning and all the rest. I come at it because I have a son in recovery. I want other families to have children in recovery—not dead.

And so this proposed cut to—deep cuts to Medicaid make no sense whatsoever, especially at a time, Madam Chair, that I know you care about, at a time when we have reduced the number of overdose deaths in this country last year by 27 percent. That is something like 30,000 fewer people dead as a result.

I implore this committee to make sure you pass this amendment. Make sure you pass the Tonko amendment. Let's save lives from these scourges of gun violence and overdose death.

I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Ms. Dean.

Ms. Scholten, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. HILLARY J. SCHOLTEN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MICHIGAN

Ms. SCHOLTEN. Thank you so much, Madam Chair, and to this committee for your tireless efforts here and to the incredible staff for supporting you through the night.

As my colleagues have said here, I am just baffled at the reason this committee would start a hearing at 1 o'clock in the morning to hear amendments and testimony on a bill that has such significant impact on the American people. We are responsible to the American people, and transparency is at the heart of what we do.

Republicans are doing this because they know—they know that this is bad. It is the same reason why, when the President pulled Republicans to the White House when there were holdouts on the budget proposal—that he told them just to close their eyes and vote for it. "Just close your eyes and get there." The same reason the Budget Committee called people back at 10 o'clock at night to do this work in the middle of the night.

Well, I am not closing my eyes. I am paying attention to every single thing that is in here—that is going to hurt hardworking Americans like those back home in west Michigan who I represent. I am paying attention. And I am offering amendments that will help take us down a different path. I have offered several amendments here today that protect working families, our Great Lakes that I proudly represent, the largest freshwater resources in our entire country.

But we only have time to focus on one. So I am talking today about my amendment No. 66 that makes the enhanced Affordable Care Act subsidies permanent. These subsidies are one of the most effective tools we have to make health insurance affordable for hardworking families, middle-class Americans, and those who fall into the coverage gap just above traditional Medicaid eligibility.

This amendment eliminates the previous income cap that cut off subsidy eligibility at 400 percent of the Federal poverty line so that no family is forced to pay unaffordable premiums just because they make slightly too much. It also maintains a sliding scale cap on how much of a family's income they are expected to contribute to their premiums, ensuring no one pays more than 8.5 percent of their income for coverage and, in many cases, significantly less.

What does that mean? That means that a family of four making $125,000 a year can still afford quality insurance without facing crushing monthly premiums. It means a self-employed contractor with variable income isn't penalized for working hard. And it means that millions of Americans who don't qualify for Medicaid but can't afford private insurance have access to care. Without this amendment, those enhanced subsidies are set to expire at the end of the year.

If you are at home listening to this and you thought this was all about Medicaid, think again. Your premiums could go up significantly. When these premiums expire, over 4.2 million Americans are projected to lose their healthcare coverage. That is according to the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office. Millions more will see their premiums double or even triple. We are staring down a cliff, and my amendment pulls us back from the edge.

In my home State of Michigan, these subsidies have helped hundreds of thousands of people afford health coverage. That includes families with children, small business owners, those who are self-employed, and part-time workers. If we let these subsidies lapse, people in every single one of our districts, red and blue, are going to feel the impact. We better be paying attention.

At the same time, this budget plan slashes nearly a trillion dollars from Medicaid. As we know, those proposals threaten coverage for nearly 14 million Americans, including children, seniors, people with disabilities, and low-income families. While one side of the aisle is proposing taking healthcare away, I am working to keep it. This amendment offers a responsible, proven way to keep people covered.

Let's not forget these subsidies work. We have shown that they work. They have reduced the uninsured rate to a historic low. They have brought down premium costs. They have given people peace of mind in moments of crisis, whether facing a chronic illness, job loss, or pregnancy. Making these subsidies permanent is not only the responsible thing to do; it is the moral thing to do. It is pro-family, pro-worker, pro-stability, and it is a fraction of the economic cost and the human toll that we will pay if millions of people lose their coverage.

We need to be asking ourselves, why? Why are we doing this? We have the resources to cover the healthcare coverage that we need if we will just tell the billionaires that they need to pay their fair share. This tax plan will allow the top 1 percent to get an additional $700 a day.

[The statement of Ms. Scholten follows:]

REMARKS

Thank you. I'm here at *[TIME]* am, after this hearing started at 1 a.m., to introduce an amendment that would make health care more affordable for millions of Americans.

But why are we here in the middle of the night? Because Republicans know what they are doing is deeply unpopular with the American people: slashing nearly a trillion dollars from Medicaid, cutting food assistance for children, and threatening coverage for millions of Americans. AND doing it all while families are asleep, hoping no one is paying attention.

But we ARE paying attention, and I'm offering an amendment that takes a very different path.

My amendment makes the enhanced Affordable Care Act subsidies permanent. These subsidies are one of the MOST effective tools we have to make health insurance affordable for hard working families, middle-class Americans, and those who fall into the coverage gap just above traditional Medicaid eligibility.

This amendment eliminates the previous income cap that cut off subsidy eligibility at 400% of the federal poverty line so that no family is forced to pay unaffordable premiums just because they earn *slightly* too much.

It also maintains a sliding-scale cap on how much of a family's income they are expected to contribute to their premiums, ensuring no one pays more than 8.5% of their income for coverage–and in many cases, significantly less.

That means a family of four making $125k a year can still afford quality insurance without facing crushing monthly premiums. It means a self-employed contractor with variable income isn't penalized for working hard. And it means that millions of Americans who don't qualify for Medicaid–but can't afford private insurance–have access to care.

Without this amendment, those enhanced subsidies are set to expire. And when they do, over 4.2 million people are projected to lose their health coverage by 2034 according to the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office. Millions more will see their premiums double or even triple. We are staring down a cliff–and my amendment pulls us back from the edge.

In my home state of Michigan, these subsidies have helped more than 374,000 people afford health coverage. That includes families with children, small business owners, those who are self-employed and part-time workers. If we let these subsidies lapse, people in EVERY single one of our districts–red and blue–will feel the impact.

At the same time, this budget plan slashes nearly a trillion dollars from Medicaid. That proposal threatens coverage for nearly 14 million Americans, including children, seniors, people with disabilities, and low-income families.

So while one side of the aisle proposes taking health care away, this amendment offers a responsible, proven way to keep people COVERED.

Let's not forget: these subsidies WORK. They have reduced the uninsured rate to a historic low. They have brought down premium costs. They have given people peace of mind in moments of crisis–whether facing chronic illness, job loss, or pregnancy.

Making them permanent is responsible–morally and fiscally. It's pro-family, pro-worker, and pro-stability. And it is a FRACTION of the cost of the economic and human toll we'll pay if millions of people lose coverage.

The ability to see a doctor or fill a prescription shouldn't come down to your tax bracket, and this amendment ensures affordability for all.

I urge my colleagues to support it. Thank you, I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Ms. Scholten. Thank you.

Mr. Mrvan, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. FRANK J. MRVAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF INDIANA

Mr. MRVAN. I want to thank Chairwoman Foxx and also Ranking Member McGovern for allowing us to be here.

I offer up an amendment that would require the Medicaid and CHIP Payment and Access Commission to produce a study on the effect of the Medicaid title on out-of-pocket costs for services to prevent and screen for and treat cancer. The amendment would require the study to focus on individuals eligible for Medicaid or CHIP under the eligibility rules in effect on April 1, 2025, and the health outcomes for such individuals.

As a local elected official for 15 years, I was elected to take care of the most vulnerable populations. Those that couldn't afford or have access to healthcare during that 15 years would come to my office. We had 142 case workers that would work with individuals that were the most vulnerable populations.

That being said, this is in my wheelhouse, and it is worth being here through the middle-of-the-night marathon to make sure we are fighting for access for healthcare for all individuals.

I specifically choose this amendment for cancer because, each year, I meet with NICK, which is northwest—Northern Indiana Cancer—children, and what their 300 families that they have provided for are worried about is losing access to healthcare for their children and losing access, obviously, for individuals with cancer, as we reduce the numbers of people who are on Medicaid.

I also, as a local elected official, have a very unique position where part of the process was work requirements. Well, what happens when a family member has an illness that is going to cause death? People stop working to take care of that family member. And, if you have to provide proof each 6 months while you are facing a crisis in your family, that is going to be the last thing you would do, which puts your healthcare at risk.

And so, ultimately, why I am here offering up this amendment is because what my colleagues have talked about. The features and benefits of your bill are ultimately the most wealthy corporations are going to get tax cuts where the most vulnerable are going to be punished.

And, ultimately, I leave with this message: The American Cancer Society—if we can agree upon one aspect of life, Chairwoman, the American Cancer Society has an ad on social media saying one in—just to be specific, one in three children will have cancer. One in 10 adults with a history of cancer have Medicaid for their care. They are advocating against this bill because they know the impact of it. So, ultimately, today, what I am asking for is support of this amendment to make sure that the most vulnerable of populations have access to healthcare.

And, with that, I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Mrvan.

Mr. Tonko, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. PAUL TONKO, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. TONKO. Thank you, Chair Foxx, Ranking Member McGovern, and members of the committee. I appreciate the opportunity to testify on two of my proposed amendments.

It is said that beauty is in the eye of the beholder, but I just don't see what Republicans find beautiful about this ugly bill. Is it the 13.7 million Americans that will lose their healthcare? Children that will go hungrier? The energy bills that will go higher thanks to repealing critical tax credits? Clearly, Republicans can't be too proud of it; otherwise, they would not have started this whole process at 1 a.m. in hopes of suppressing debate on its many, many flaws.

Given the many problems with this legislation and the fact that it is being changed in the dead of night, I urge you to have an open rule so that all submitted amendments can be properly debated on the House floor. But, short of that, I would ask you to make my two amendments, Nos. 89 and 270, in order.

193,000 people in my district rely on Medicaid. That is 25 percent of all residents, including 57,000 children and nearly 20,000 seniors. Every single one of them will be impacted by this heinous package. These are not just numbers on a page. They are deliberate choices with real-world consequences, including real people's lives. And for what? Why are Republicans so hell-bent on cutting Medicaid and forcing people off of their health insurance? So rich people like Elon Musk can get a massive tax handout that they don't need?

Amendment 89 supports continued access to behavioral healthcare through Medicaid. This amendment requires States to stop implementation of the red-tape requirements included in the bill if access to substance-use disorder treatment services amongst low-income adults decreases.

You heard my colleague, Representative Dean next to me here, speaking in favor of this amendment and rightfully so. She knows the benefits that this could bring. This would be determined by the number of available SUD providers in the State that participate in Medicaid, the geographical distance for beneficiaries to access a SUD provider that participates in Medicaid, and the rates of SUD treatment amongst low-income residents of the State.

Republicans want us to believe that these new paperwork and red-tape requirements won't impact treatment for addiction and behavioral health, but Medicaid is the single largest payer of behavioral health services. These red-tape requirements will rip coverage away from millions of individuals struggling with addiction and behavioral health needs. If these Medicaid cuts are put in place, States will be forced to take on more financial burden and may shift resources away from critical, lifesaving services, including prevention, treatment, and recovery.

Additionally, most Medicaid enrollees struggle with substance-use disorder and find their way to treatment after—after getting on Medicaid, not before. If a diagnosis is required before providing someone with access to Medicaid, then how do the undiagnosed ever get care? Under the Republican plan, they won't get access to substance-use disorder treatment. Care will be delayed or never

happen, and lives will be lost. This is a commonsense amendment to ensure that Medicaid cuts won't prevent our loved ones living with substance-use disorder from accessing the treatment they need.

My second amendment, amendment 270, would only allow the repeal of EPA's Greenhouse Gas Reduction Fund and rescission of its unobligated funds to take effect after GAO certifies that it will not increase costs on consumers. This program was designed to help Americans who are struggling with their energy bills by leveraging billions of private sector dollars to support projects that will lower costs and create good-paying jobs.

To do this, EPA tapped into nonprofit coalitions of experienced community-based lenders. The potential benefits are massive. Recent analysis from the University of New Hampshire estimated that these investments will result in $52 billion worth of energy cost savings for consumers over the next 20 years. Despite these major benefits to everyday Americans, this bill would continue the Republicans' ideological crusade against the program to help offset the cost of tax cuts for billionaires.

Let's be clear: There has been absolutely no evidence of fraud or criminality by grant recipients. In court this week, attorneys for the administration admitted that we are not accusing anybody of fraud, and there aren't any particular instance of waste and abuse. This bill doubles down on the Republicans' longstanding policy objective of undermining the program, having sought its repeal on numerous occasions. At the moment, only $19 million of the original $27 billion remains unobligated, which is intended to be used to administer and conduct oversight of the grants. If Republicans were genuinely concerned about the program's risks for fraud, waste, and abuse, they would not be rescinding these oversight dollars.

Americans are struggling with the cost of living. Energy bills, despite President Trump's promises, are going up. It is outrageous that Republicans would target funding and reduce energy bills at this time. So let's make certain we go forward, support these amendments in order, and defeat this ugly bill.

And, with that, Madam Chair, I yield back.

[The statement of Mr. Tonko follows:]

Statement of Rep. Paul Tonko (NY-20)
House Rules Committee
Amendments to H.R. ____- One Big Beautiful Bill
May 21, 2025

Chair Foxx, Ranking Member McGovern, and Members of the Committee, thank you for the opportunity to testify on two of my proposed amendments.

It is said that beauty is in the eye of the beholder.

But I just don't see what Republicans find beautiful about this ugly bill.

Is it the 13.7 million Americans that will lose their health care?

The children that will go hungrier?

The energy bills that will be higher thanks to repealing critical tax credits?

Clearly, Republicans can't be too proud of it; otherwise, we would not be here at a meeting that began at 1:00am in hopes of suppressing debate on its many, many flaws.

Given the many problems with this legislation, and the fact that it is being changed in the dead of night, I urge you to have an open rule so that all submitted amendments can be properly debated on the House floor.

But short of that, I would ask you to make my two amendments— Numbers 89 and 270— in order.

193,000 people in my district rely on Medicaid— that's 25 percent of all residents, including 57,000 children and nearly 20,000 seniors.

Every single one of them will be impacted by this heinous package.

These are not just numbers on a page — they are deliberate choices with real-world consequences, including real people's lives.

And for what? Why are Republicans so hell-bent on cutting Medicaid and forcing people off their health insurance?

So rich people, like Elon Musk, can get a massive tax handout that they don't need.

Amendment 89 supports continued access to behavioral health care through Medicaid.

This amendment requires states to stop implementation of the red tape requirements included in the bill if access to Substance Use Disorder treatment services among low-income adults decreases.

This would be determined by the number of available SUD providers in the state that participate in Medicaid, the geographical distance for beneficiaries to access a SUD provider that participates in Medicaid, and rates of SUD treatment among low-income residents of the state.

Republicans want us to believe that these new paperwork and red tape requirements won't impact treatment for addiction and behavioral health.

But Medicaid is the single largest payer for behavioral health services.

These red tape requirements will rip coverage away from millions of individuals struggling with addiction and behavioral health needs.

If these Medicaid cuts are put in place, states will be forced to take on more financial burden and may shift resources away from critical, live-saving services, including prevention, treatment, and recovery.

Additionally, most Medicaid enrollees struggling with Substance Use Disorder find their way to treatment after getting on Medicaid, not before.

If a diagnosis is required before providing someone with access to Medicaid, then how do the undiagnosed ever get care?

Under the Republican plan, they won't get access to Substance Use Disorder treatment.

Care will be delayed or never happen, and lives will be lost.

This is a commonsense amendment to ensure that Medicaid cuts won't prevent our loved ones living with Substance Use Disorder from accessing the treatment they need.

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Recent analysis from the University of New Hampshire estimated that these investments will result in $52 billion in energy cost savings for consumers over the next 20 years.

Despite these major benefits to everyday Americans, this bill would continue Republicans' ideological crusade against the program to help offset the costs of tax cuts for billionaires.

Let's be clear, there has been absolutely no evidence of fraud or criminality by grant recipients.

In court this week, attorneys for the Administration admitted that “we’re not accusing anybody of fraud,” and there aren’t any “particular instance of waste and abuse.”

This bill doubles down on the Republicans’ longstanding policy objective of undermining the program, having sought its repeal on numerous occasions.

At the moment, only $19 million of the original $27 billion remains unobligated, which is intended to be used to administer and conduct oversight of the grants.

If Republicans were genuinely concerned about the program’s risks for fraud, waste, and abuse, they would not be rescinding these oversight dollars.

Americans are struggling with the cost of living.

Energy bills— despite President Trump’s promises— are going up. It is outrageous that Republicans would target funding that will reduce energy bills at this time.

It’s 5:00am and while the rest of the country is just starting to wake up, here in the House Rules Committee, we’re still living in the Republican nightmare.

I ask that you make these amendments in order and defeat this ugly bill. I yield back.

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The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Tonko.

Mr. Mannion, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. JOHN W. MANNION, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. MANNION. Thank you, Chairwoman. Thank you to the ranking member and members of the full committee. I appreciate the opportunity to testify today and offer amendment 156 for your consideration.

This amendment is simple. It says none of the changes in the health title should go into effect unless the Congressional Budget Office can confirm they won't raise out-of-pocket healthcare costs for working families. That is it. That is the whole thing. And, to me, it is just basic accountability.

I represent New York's 22nd Congressional District, a true 50-50 district. Republicans and Democrats living side by side. And, right now, I am hearing the same thing from all of them: Fear. Fear that changes in this bill could jeopardize their ability to pay for their care, fear that their kids or aging parents will lose the services they depend on.

Let me tell you about Betsy, a mom who has a child on the autism spectrum and has Tourette syndrome. He has significant needs. And, through Medicaid, he has been able to access therapists, medical providers, and a communication device that gives him a voice. And that is not an exaggeration. His device is literally how he speaks to the world. And, through these services, her son has built independence, he is learning to thrive, and, as Betsy put it, this is how he lets the world know that he is a fighter and he deserves to live a full, meaningful, and enriched life.

But, if we cut Medicaid services, what happens to families like Betsy's? What happens to a child who literally loses their voice because we can't take the time to understand the impact of this legislation? So this is a commensense amendment that ensures that we are not balancing the budgets on the backs of the families who can least afford it.

In central New York and the Mohawk Valley, we are common sense people. It is common sense to support this amendment. It is common sense to reject a $400-million gift from a State that sponsors organizations that carry out terrorism potentially against our allies. It is common sense to investigate the creation of meme coins and stablecoins to enrich those in positions of power and their families. I urge the committee to adopt this important amendment, and I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Mannion.

Ms. Wasserman Schultz, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. DEBBIE WASSERMAN SCHULTZ, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF FLORIDA

Ms. WASSERMAN SCHULTZ. Thank you, Madam Chair, my classmate. It is good to see you. And thank you for the opportunity to present amendments to this bill.

For months, Republicans promised repeatedly that their budget would not affect Medicaid, would not make any cuts to Medicaid,

and that no one would lose their Medicaid. It is the same promise Donald Trump made on the campaign trail among his countless other lies. Well, here we are about to bring one big, ugly bill to the floor with this committee hiding behind closed doors in the dead of night when presenting the details of this harmful legislation.

Republicans are trying to ram through a slew of dreadful policies that will weaken our country, economy, communities, and families everywhere. This bill is pure cruelty. Republicans and President Trump lied to people all over America, and millions will lose their Medicaid coverage. The CBO confirmed this. It is a fact.

Therefore, my first amendment strikes the provision limiting State-directed payments, which I know worries many of my Democratic and Republican colleagues alike. State-directed payments are a lifeline for hospitals, nursing homes, and other providers in our safety net that treat a high volume of Medicaid beneficiaries.

Medicaid often reimburses providers at rates below the actual cost of care. In Florida, Medicaid repays providers about 48 cents for every dollar spent to provide care. This is why States like Florida have these agreements in place: to address the shortfalls for hospitals that operate on razor-thin margins and need help bridging that gap.

The Republican bill before us today would hamstring States—ironically, most of them red—by taking away their ability to manage their programs effectively and removing needed flexibility. This will have a cascading effect. Providers will be harmed and then be forced to limit services, which negatively affects Medicaid patients. And where will the Medicaid patients turn? To the emergency room. And that, of course, hurts hospitals even more because it is the costliest point of entry into our healthcare system. This will make healthcare pricier and harder to find.

In other words, working families pay for Republican tax cuts to the wealthiest by giving up their own healthcare. That is why my first amendment strikes this provision so that the safety net hospitals in my community and the people they serve in my district don't suffer needlessly for the benefit of the wealthy. And this affects hospitals across the country, and many will close as a result of this change. Mark my words.

Moving on, my second amendment is deeply personal to me because, as many of you know, I am a breast cancer survivor, and we have millions of other cancer survivors in the country. I know what it feels like to wake up every morning not knowing what the next scan will show, not knowing if I would be there for my children's next birthday or see them grow up, get married, and maybe have their own kids one day, and it shatters me to know that this bill will harm people who are grasping for hope, desperate to survive this terrible disease.

My amendment prevents this horrible, ugly bill from taking effect until the HHS Secretary certifies that not one of its provisions harms cancer patients and their access to care. Over 10 percent of cancer survivors rely on Medicaid for their care, and more than one-third of children newly diagnosed with cancer in our country are enrolled in Medicaid or CHIP.

Medicaid is the lifeline to so many cancer survivors, and they don't need any obstacles or uncertainty to accessing their care, nor

do they need to struggle just to stay alive all so Republicans can stuff more big tax breaks into the pockets of big corporations and the super rich. Survivors who rely on Medicaid will die because of this bill, full stop. It is shameful.

You want to talk about saving taxpayer dollars? Then fund early screening. Fund treatment. Help prevent advanced stage cancer because we all know that preventing diseases like cancer and catching it early, as I was able to, is far less costly than treating it when it has advanced and spread.

Access to insurance saves lives and lowers costs. I know you know that, but you simply don't have the courage to stand up to Donald Trump and defend your constituents for fear he will tweet a primary opponent for you. And spare me the excuse this bill only kicks off ineligible people from Medicaid. That is false, and you know it.

This moment calls for courage, not self-interest. It requires a heart, not a headline. There are 110,000 people in my district who are at risk of losing their Medicaid healthcare under this terrible bill. A majority of them are children. Nearly 30,000 are seniors.

And I am up here meeting—I am up here in the middle meeting—I am sorry. I have been here since the middle of the night fighting for them. Why? Because Republicans turned their back on the people that you represent. You have to push this midnight madness because you are putting your constituents in dire situations, and you want to block them from defending themselves, and you want to ensure they can't by yanking their healthcare while they are sleeping.

I know how important Medicaid is to so many Floridians and people across the country, and I swear I will defend it to my last breath. So I ask each of you, would you vote for a bill that could take away the care of a loved one facing cancer when they needed it most? Hide in the dark if you want, but history is watching, and the people that we all serve will remember how you answered.

I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

I am going to take a point of personal privilege and ask Mr. Jackson if he would—there are three of us who attend the prayer breakfast regularly with you. Would you like to invite other people to go tomorrow morning, Mr. Jackson? I will give you a point of personal privilege.

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. Thank you so much. Yes. I am the bipartisan cochair of the National Prayer Breakfast. I would like to invite all of my colleagues out for friendship, fellowship, and exhibition of faith. Please join us tomorrow morning at 8 a.m. in the—here in the Members' Dining Room. And let us pray for the food we are about to receive, not the food that has left our table.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Norman, do you have any questions?

Mr. NORMAN. No questions.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Again, I don't have any questions. I support all of your amendments.

You are like my heroes lasting as long as you have and being here because I think it is important to remind the American people

that there is a lot in this bill. I mean, everything from the, you know, repeal of the tax on silencers to the issue about making sure that people get adequate healthcare, especially young kids when they are diagnosed with cancer.

And, again, I just really would say that it is a profoundly bad bill that is going to hurt so many people, and I think, you know, we just need to make sure that the American people know that we are on their side. And so I thank all of you, and I yield back my time.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. McGovern.

Ms. Scanlon.

Ms. SCANLON. Thank you.

Again, I want to thank you all for your willingness to tough it out here with us as we are now on hour 13, which is so much fun. But I really appreciate the attention and the care you have brought with your amendments—thoughtful amendments to try to improve this bad bill and to highlight the economic, the environmental, and even the existential harms that it is likely to cause the American people.

I especially want to thank my sister in service to southeastern Pennsylvania for the lifesaving amendments that she has introduced to reverse cuts to substance-use disorder services and to address this tax cut that would make it easier to purchase silencers for firearms. So thank you all.

Ms. DEAN. Thank you.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Ms. Scanlon.

Mr. Scott.

Ms. SCANLON. Sorry. I yield back.

Mr. SCOTT. Well, first of all, Madam Chair and Mr. Jackson, I appreciate the invitation and especially the optimism that we may be done by the time the prayer breakfast starts tomorrow.

I will just point out that there is a lot that has been said about suppressors. With modern printing and 3D technologies and everything else right now, you can go on Amazon and buy all the parts to make anything you want. So I think there is——

Ms. SCANLON. We have a bill for that.

Ms. DEAN. We do.

Mr. SCOTT. Well, either way, it is unrealistic to think it could be stopped once the technology has reached the level it has. And, in many countries, it actually mandated——

Ms. DEAN. Really? That is your argument? We can't stop——

Mr. SCOTT. In many countries—it is my time. In many countries, it is actually mandated that you use a suppressor if you are going to hunt.

With that, I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Scott.

Mr. Neguse, you are recognized.

Mr. NEGUSE. No questions, Madam Chair. Just, again, gratitude to our colleagues for being here and for submitting your amendments, all of which, of course, we agree with and support. And I will yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Okay.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Thank you, Madam——

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. Griffith.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Oh, sorry about that.

Mr. GRIFFITH. It is all right.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. I actually really love hearing from you; so I am sorry.

Mr. GRIFFITH. Well, you never know what I am going to say.

Today, I am going to echo the chairwoman's comments and encourage everybody, whether it is this Thursday or any Thursday we are in session, to attend the bipartisan prayer breakfast. It really is a good group.

The one thing that has not been mentioned yet is that, for those of you like me who love to eat, one of the regulars provides breakfast every Thursday morning. So we have eggs and oatmeal and sausage and bacon and potatoes. It is a good time to get together and reflecting that we all have losses from time to time. Today, of course the loss of Gerry Connolly. It is sometimes good to get together not as adversaries but just getting together as human beings who care for one another.

I yield back, Madam Chair.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

Ms. Leger Fernández.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Thank you, Madam Chair.

And I really do want to thank both—all the members of this panel, the previous panels, and the people who are waiting to speak because I want to point out that, because of all of my Democratic colleagues, we did prevent them from passing this bad rule in the dead of night. You have made sure that the sun is shining on this process.

And you are, by the way, I think, the third panel and ABC—there are nothing but great Cs that I have heard in this. We have talked about corruption and the need to fight it, about having the courage of standing with your constituents about cancer and the fact that we can do something about it because we know what it feels like. Today of all days, we know what it feels like when you lose somebody to cancer.

We have talked about the cruelty of the bill and the importance of care, which I think ties into the idea of the prayer breakfast. Care. Care for others, the elderly, those with mental health issues, those who need help with drug addiction.

So thank you, this third panel, for enlightening us as to all of these subject areas. Muchisimas gracias, and I yield back. I don't know how to say that in Spanish. I have got to learn that so that I can do it with Chairwoman Foxx.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you. Thank you, Ms. Leger Fernández.

And I thank the panel for being with us, and there being no further questions, you are excused.

And I will ask Ms. Barragán, Ms. Randall, Mr. Larson, Mr. Whitesides, Mr. Casten, Mr. McGarvey, Mrs. Trahan, and Mr. Danny Davis to come forward.

If some of you would go down before you——

Ms. Budzinski, if you would come forward. You dropped something.

I will recognize you in the order that I called out your names. Some people want to know what order you are in. So, again, we are just doing it by the names that are given to us.

Ms. Barragán, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. NANETTE DIAZ BARRAGÁN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Ms. BARRAGÁN. Thank you, Madam Chair. I have an amendment titled "Health FCD–AMD–088." My amendment removes red tape and improves access to the Children's Health Insurance Program, also known as CHIP.

Let me be clear: This amendment does not expand CHIP eligibility. It simply makes sure that kids who are already qualified can actually get the coverage they need and keep it. That is it. CHIP provides low-cost health coverage to children and families who earn too much to qualify for Medicaid but not enough to afford private insurance. When kids have health coverage, they do better not just in childhood but for life. They are healthier adults. They attend school more regularly, and they succeed more in the classroom.

My amendment takes two simple powerful steps to protect kids. First, my amendment ends waiting periods because, when a child loses coverage, they shouldn't have to sit and wait for care. Right now, nine States force children to wait up to 90 days before they can enroll in CHIP, even after they lose coverage. Three months with no access to check-ups, a prescription, or a specialist. Imagine being a parent in that position. These gaps can result in delayed treatment and increased financial risk for families. Some of the States that impose waiting periods also have the highest rates of uninsured children in the country. It is cruel and unnecessary.

Second, my amendment ends annual and lifetime limits on benefits. In 13 States, kids enrolled in CHIP can face strict limits on the care they receive, including limits for dental care. That means, even if a child needs treatment, their plan may stop paying once they hit a cap not just for the year but for their entire life. Limits like this are not allowed under most insurance programs, and it shouldn't be allowed for children under CHIP. It is unfair.

Let me tell you about Emily Dent, a mother from Cape Coral in Florida's 19th Congressional District. Emily's 8-year-old son James was kicked off of Medicaid because their family's income was too high, but leaving James uninsured is not an option. He has a rare genetic disorder. It is called Pallister-Killian syndrome, and he relies on around-the-clock care from a nurse. Emily, his mother, said he has to have health insurance, but it is going to drain my savings, which was going to be to save for a house one day.

For families like Emily's, higher health care costs would mean a breaking point. Why should she have to choose between children's healthcare and other essential needs like housing? This is why it is so absolutely vital that we take steps to protect CHIP today so there is an option for kids like James to have healthcare.

CHIP and Medicaid work hand in hand together to cover kids from low- and middle-income families. Together, these programs cover nearly half of all children in the U.S. When Medicaid is cut, CHIP suffers, too. States could impose new or higher CHIP premiums and cut people's access if they fail to pay. States could cut CHIP benefits, eligibility, or outreach to deal with budget shortfalls, or doctors in hospital could get paid less, which means longer wait times and fewer available providers for kids.

In this budget, Republicans are gutting hundreds of billions of dollars in Medicaid funding. Failing to extend enhanced premium tax credits for the ACA marketplace is making it harder for kids to access CHIP coverage. This is a triple blow to working Americans' access to healthcare, and kids will suffer, all to pay for billionaire tax cuts.

No parent should have to choose between paying the bills and getting their child the healthcare they need. Right now, kids face dangerous and unfair waiting periods and lifetime limits on their care. Why shouldn't we fix this for children?

My amendment is simple. It says kids shouldn't be punished with unfair rules just because their families are struggling to make ends meet. Every child deserves a healthy start. I urge this committee to adopt this amendment not for politics but for children who depend on us to do the right thing.

I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Ms. Barragán.

Ms. Randall, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. EMILY RANDALL, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

Ms. RANDALL. Chairwoman Foxx, Ranking Member McGovern, members of the Rules Committee, thank you for the opportunity to testify on the Republican budget scam.

Well, it is deeply unfortunate, Madam Chair, that you chose to begin this hearing literally in the dead of night to try and hide from the American people. It is daytime now, and my Democratic colleagues and I remain here and continue shedding light on the harms of this big, bad bill that only benefits billionaires.

An estimated 15 million Americans stand to lose their healthcare because of this deeply unpopular bill you are trying to jam through. My Republican colleagues are gutting Medicaid, which will destabilize hospital systems across the country, especially in rural communities like mine, but not only in mine.

Mrs. Houchin, I understand a hospital in your district is projected to lose $2.5 million in revenue under this proposal and——

Mrs. HOUCHIN. Madam Chair, it is my understanding that in debate, there may be—I am not sure about testimony, but I just want to ask for a point of clarification if Members are allowed to refer to panelists—members of this committee by name.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Do you want to speak in code?

Ms. RANDALL. Apologies. It is my first time before the Rules Committee.

The CHAIRWOMAN. You can refer to other Members by State.

Ms. RANDALL. Okay. I appreciate the clarification. Thank you.

And there are other colleagues on this panel whose hospitals stand to lose $884,000 from this proposal. So many of our hospitals are on the verge of shutting their doors because of this bad bill.

Just yesterday, President Trump even told your Conference, "Don't F around with Medicaid." He seems to know what members on this committee aren't willing to face up to, that so many families like mine depend on Medicaid, which is why I filed an amendment to prevent provisions in this bill from going into effect if this administration makes any cuts to Medicare or Medicaid.

Beverly from Tacoma called my office telling me that losing Medicaid will literally kill her as she has multiple surgeries she needs to have this year. Another constituent, Kelly, is worried that her daughter will be homeless if she loses Medicaid coverage. Evangeline wrote me saying, as someone with a husband who is 83 years old, a kidney cancer survivor, and living with dementia, the importance of maintaining these healthcare services cannot be overstated. They are vital for seniors and those with chronic conditions to receive necessary medical support and assistance.

It is not just Medicaid that is at risk. Millions stand to lose health coverage because the majority is not extending the ACA's enhanced premium tax credits, which my constituent Denise wrote me about, saying she has lupus, and she won't be able to afford health insurance and treatment without those benefits.

For the American people watching at home—because, Madam Chairwoman, despite your attempts to deceive the American people by beginning this meeting in the middle of the night, know that they are still watching this majority's every single move. And the bottom line is that this bill will make your air dirtier, your water filthy, and dismantle the healthcare system so that when you inevitably have health complications from all this increased pollution, you won't even be able to afford treatment, all so that Republicans can finance trillions of dollars in tax cuts for wealthy and well-connected people.

While President Trump and his friends get jets and giveaways, he wants Americans to be forced to choose between feeding their families and paying for prescriptions. I won't stand by and watch it happen. I urge the members of this committee to follow the President's direction to protect and preserve Medicaid. Stand up for healthcare access and the hospitals in your communities and support my amendment. These cuts to Medicaid are just the beginning of harmful provisions in this bill that I am concerned will hurt my neighbors back home and hurt all of your neighbors.

On behalf of the 27,000 Federal employees I represent, I am incredibly concerned that this bill would steal their retirement benefits and strip away other protections. That is why I have also gotten an amendment to prevent a provision that would chill the reporting and appeal process with the Merit Systems Protection Board by requiring them to spend several hundreds of dollars on fees from going into effect.

Our government cannot function without a strong, healthy Federal workforce, and their ability to approve Social Security benefits, to work in our national forests, to protect against fire, and to protect our national defense is essential.

We are seeing already how gutting agencies is harmful to critical infrastructure and Tribal priorities in the Pacific Northwest. That is why I am also offering several additional amendments to ensure proper staffing at NOAA, force the administration to release Bipartisan Infrastructure Law funding appropriated by Congress, require Tribal consultation, and increase funding for critical Tribal education programs.

Unfortunately, in committee, my Republican colleagues seem to be scared to even engage in conversation or debate on this bill or any of my amendments. So that is why I am back here in front of

the Rules Committee asking if any Republicans here are willing to speak up and defend the terrible cuts included in this bill. And, if you also aren't able to find it in you to speak up about these cuts, then I urge you to make my amendments in order and let's take it to the House floor. Thank you.

The CHAIRWOMAN. I am going to take a point of personal privilege here and say I thought Members could see from the last panel and from the way I have conducted this meeting that I am trying to be very bipartisan and to respect everybody who is here. I generally do that.

I hope that is what is coming across. So I would ask people to see that we try to be a role model here and being bipartisan and not to attack Members personally. We can disagree on policy, but we don't need to attack each other personally.

Mr. Larson, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. JOHN B. LARSON, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT

Mr. LARSON. Thank you, Madam Chair. And let me thank you for your perseverance, your patience, and your practical application of getting through this process.

Let me also commend my colleagues on the Democratic side for their persistence in making the public fully aware that all legislation has consequences.

I have an amendment that's focus is on economic development, it is on tax cuts and just happens to be the Nation's number one antipoverty program for the elderly and the Nation's number one antipoverty program for children.

And Congress hasn't acted to enhance this program in over 50 years. Richard Nixon was President of the United States the last time that Social Security was enhanced. And yet it is Social Security that at its heart demonstrates the genius of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and also the Congress to put in place a plan that would be the safety net for entrepreneurialism and capitalism.

How? By making sure that every congressional district and the people within those districts, in difficult times, whether in retirement or whether through no fault of their own there were layoffs, that people were able to continue to receive a payment.

No one gets wealthy on Social Security. You all know that. But it is able to sustain families during difficult times.

And the shame here is that these are very difficult times, in post-pandemic and now in this inflationary, global inflationary period that we are going through as well. People's kitchen table discussions are: How are we going to do this?

And here is the startling fact, and I think every Member probably knows this on both sides of the aisle: 10,000, 10,000 baby boomers a day become eligible for Social Security.

On average—and you are blessed here in this committee and especially on the Republican side—the average Social Security amount of money that goes to every district weekly—excuse me, monthly—is in excess of $200 million. In the case here, it is over $300 million. That is the good news.

The bad news is it hasn't been adjusted in more than 50 years. Imagine how the people in all of our districts feel when they get these statistics.

Now, I give every Member of Congress a little card, and on that card it demonstrates not only how much people get in retirement, but what spouses, what widows, what dependent children, and disability, another thing we don't mention enough about Social Security.

I come from an insurance center of the world. And the administrative costs for insurance companies run anywhere between 16 and 28 percent, and we have some damn good insurance companies in Hartford, Connecticut.

But Social Security manages the largest insurance program in the country, maybe the world, and it does so at under 1 percent administrative cost. And to see the closing of regional offices, the shutting down of work so that people aren't able to actually talk to a human being?

You are all good people. You all have the same kind of constituents that we have. I know, Madam Chairwoman, that people like us—or at least my age—want to be able to talk to a human being, don't want to go through press button number one, press button number two, press button number three, and you are lucky if you ever get to talk to anybody.

So here is something that has to be enhanced that improves the whole economy, gives a tax cut, a real tax cut to more than 23 million Americans. There should be no double taxation of Social Security, and yet there is.

So I implore and ask your help to pass this amendment.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Larson.

Mr. Whitesides, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. GEORGE WHITESIDES, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. WHITESIDES. Thank you, Madam Chair.

I am George Whitesides, the new congressional Representative for California's 27th Congressional District.

I find it amazing that we are working on what may be the most expensive bill that the Nation has ever seen and putting it through Congress in this way, but that is for another time.

I am here because I thought it was important to bring the voices of our district to this debate.

I want to start by talking about what would happen if we do not pass this bill.

First, for folks in my area, if we don't pass this bill, most people would actually get a tax cut. That is because this bill does not fully fix the State and local tax deduction problem that President Trump created in his first term.

If we don't pass this bill then we won't add $3.8 trillion to our national debt. We won't saddle our children and our grandchildren with our own irresponsibility.

If we don't pass this bill, then we won't cause 14 million Americans to lose their health insurance coverage and millions more who will see their healthcare costs increase.

We won't hurt local hospitals, like the Antelope Valley Hospital or Palmdale Regional or Henry Mayo Hospital in my district. We won't cause emergency rooms to become even more crowded.

If we don't pass this bill, then we won't leave millions of Americans, millions of children without the ability to put food on the table.

The bottom line is that this bill threatens the most basic needs that Americans rely on. People want us to be focused instead on lowering their everyday costs and growing jobs.

I put forward two amendments to this bill that would cut costs and help grow jobs.

The first amendment would help folks in my area who have been devastated by the Chiquita Canyon Landfill. That is No. 214.

The second, No. 218, would preserve the tax incentives for hydrogen, one of the industries of the future that this bill would catastrophically damage if passed.

Let's be clear. These clean energy tax credits are not frivolous spending. They are strategic investments that are already yielding tangible benefits across our Nation. Since their passage, we have seen roughly $500 billion in new clean energy project announcements and more than 500,000 new jobs created.

This isn't just about environmental policy, it is about turbocharging American manufacturing, creating good-paying jobs, and lowering energy costs for families. In fact, if we repeal all of the clean energy tax credits, the average American family will see their energy bills increase.

Every dollar of Federal investment is stimulating 5 to 6 dollars in private investment. That is a powerful engine of economic growth, not a drain on our Treasury.

Hydrogen in particular is not just another fuel, it is a game-changer, Madam Chair. It is the critical link to decarbonizing hard-to-abate sectors that traditional renewables struggle to address, like heavy-duty trucking, steel manufacturing, and cement production. These are the industries that employ millions of Americans and are foundational to our economy.

Eliminating these hydrogen tax credits would be a catastrophic mistake. It would devastate projects already underway across the country, like the ARCHES Hydrogen Hub in my district. It would stifle innovation, cede our leadership in this burgeoning global market to competitors, like China, Europe, the Middle East, Australia. They are not letting up. They are heavily investing in their own clean hydrogen capabilities.

Estimates show that reaching our target of 10 million tons of hydrogen by 2030 could unlock up to $240 billion in investments and create over 200,000 new jobs.

These are not mere projections. They are opportunities waiting to be seized.

To pull the rug out from under these investments now would be to undermine our future. It would signal to investors that America is not a reliable partner, chilling future domestic and international investment, will raise energy costs for American households, stifling innovation, increasing pollution, and putting a meaningful portion of half a trillion dollars of new manufacturing at risk.

Let's remember, many of these investments are landing in States represented by both Republicans and Democrats—to your point, Madam Chair, about bipartisanship—demonstrating a widespread economic benefit. This should not be a partisan issue. It is an issue of American competitiveness and prosperity.

This bill hurts our future. For folks in my district, it raises their costs, cuts their healthcare, mortgages their kids' future, kills new jobs, hurts our planet.

Thank you. I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Whitesides.

Mr. Casten, welcome to the Rules Committee again.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. SEAN CASTEN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

Mr. CASTEN. A pleasure to be back, Madam Chair, Ranking Member, Members.

I am here in support of four separate amendments.

No. 376 corrects a conflict in this bill between the bill and current law, specifically Section 3 of the Natural Gas Act, which requires that any new natural gas export facility has to be in the public interest.

That law is contradicted by the pay-to-play provision in section 41004, which says that a developer who pays the lesser of $10 million or 1 percent of construction costs receives automatic approval if their review is not completed in an expedited timeline.

My amendment fixes this section by clarifying that the approval of any new LNG facility not associated with an existing free trade agreement has to get a prior determination by the Secretary of Energy that the project is in the public interest, consistent with an analysis that was just done by the DOE on a separate facility last year.

That analysis found that new LNG facilities would raise domestic natural gas prices—makes sense, tighten domestic supply, price goes up—would not facilitate national security since new exports flow predominantly to commodity brokers and U.S. adversaries in Asia. And it also quantified the massive climate risks created by those facilities.

Now, I realize that some of my Republican colleagues don't believe in climate change, and I also realize that the fossil fuel industry prefers higher fuel prices. But if you hold those views, I would ask you please to consider our national security.

Gas demand has flattened in Europe. It has peaked in Japan. It is expected to flatten in South Korea by 2030. China is now the world's largest importer. It is in China's national interest that we send them our natural gas. It is not in ours.

Amendment 380 restores the appropriated funding from the Inflation Reduction Act for electric transmission and offshore wind. This amendment is necessary to ensure that American homeowners and businesses continue to have access to affordable and reliable electricity.

Over the last decade, U.S. coal demand has fallen by over 50 percent, 5-0. Oil demand is flat over the same time period. Natural gas is losing market share.

That transition is the result of market forces, because fossil-fired plants can't compete on the margin with plants that don't pay for fuel, and markets favor cheaper energy.

Now, a company that is losing market share generally has two choices: They can change or they can go bankrupt. The fossil industry has taken a third path: Persuade Congress to block construction of assets that would expose them to competition.

So a bill that repeals incentives to build transmission is a bill that sides with the economic losers.

And I want to point out this is not just about markets, because as companies consider whether they are going to build their next factory in the U.S., we don't want them to wonder whether our grid can handle the load.

And when extreme weather knocks out the part of the grid that serves your town, I want to make sure that there is a redundant transmission path available to ensure that your family stays safe. So we need those back.

Amendment 385 would reinstate incentives for cleaner transportation options and charging facilities; also includes legislation I have introduced with Representative Matsui to spur innovation in the U.S. automotive sector.

Let's talk about global, not U.S., global automotive markets.

More than 25 percent of all cars sold this year are electric. That number is projected to rise to 40 percent by 2030. China now produces more than 60 percent of the world's electric cars and 80 percent of the batteries that power them.

The EV demand is not because the world got woke except in the sense that you have got to be damn close to comatose to prefer a car that costs more to fuel, more to maintain, and has crappier acceleration.

This bill is not going to change those trends. It simply determines whether or not we cede control of that growing market to the Chinese.

So if you count yourself among the so-called America First movement, this amendment is for you.

Finally, amendment 386 would strike section 50003 to ensure that the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, or CFPB, has the funding necessary to do their job. As drafted, that section would cut CFPB's funding by 70, 7-0, percent.

Now, recall that the CFPB was created by the Dodd-Frank Act in response to the 2008 financial crisis. That crisis was driven because we had this financial regulatory system created in the 1930s where financial firms were regulated according to their designations—are you a bank, are you a thrift, are you an insurance company, et cetera—rather than by their activities.

And as financial markets evolved, that left regulators with conflicting and frequently incompatible supervisory responsibilities. That weak supervision caused risk to migrate outside of the traditional banking system, ultimately landing on taxpayers and consumers, and so the 2008 financial crisis came.

Congress created the CFPB to ensure that wouldn't happen again, and it has been wildly effective. It has returned more than $21 billion, with a "b," dollars in relief to 205 million Americans.

But even that understates the benefit, because a cop on the corner stops more crime than he catches just by his presence. Defunding the police force will cost us a lot more than the $21 billion that they have already recovered.

And the need for this particular cop is growing as the CFPB is the primary regulator of nonbank financial technology companies. That category will soon include Elon Musk's new platform, X Money.

Now, I don't know if you know who Elon Musk is, but the more I learn about him the less I like him. Up until recently he was a special government employee who embedded people without proper security clearances in our Treasury payment system with read and write access, is now suspected to have private confidential information about the income, expenses, and bank routing numbers of every American taxpayer. He is an active supporter of neo-Nazis in Germany and White supremacists in South Africa——

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. Casten, your time——

Mr. CASTEN. And owns several companies that have economic ties to the Chinese Communist Party.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. Casten——

Mr. CASTEN. I hope you share my concern that that individual should be closely monitored.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. Casten, your time is over.

Mr. CASTEN. I encourage support for all four amendments.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. Casten.

Ms. Budzinski.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. NIKKI BUDZINSKI, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

Ms. BUDZINSKI. Thank you, Madam Chair. I appreciate this opportunity. And thank you to Ranking Member McGovern.

I am here to testify in support of amendment No. 216, which is intended to make high-speed internet access more affordable.

I want to also just take a moment, though, to say that I am, in part, here to stand up for my constituents, that there are some really damaging provisions within this bill that are going to impact them directly.

Nineteen thousand of my constituents are going to see over a thousand-dollar increase in their premiums for healthcare. Twenty-eight thousand of my constituents are going to lose healthcare coverage. And additionally, 15,000 families are going to lose access to SNAP, and many of those families are families that have children in those homes.

So I just wanted to say that I am speaking on behalf of this amendment, which gets to affordability, which I think is a bipartisan issue that we all want to address, but I would be remiss if I didn't stand up and speak out for the constituent impact that is going to be on these healthcare and SNAP provisions as well.

My amendment would lower costs, though, for working families by using a small portion of the revenue from spectrum auctions to reestablish a broadband affordability program, like the Affordable Connectivity Program.

Right now, this is what the American people need. This is what rural America needs. But instead of policies to lower costs and

make life more affordable, the President has entangled us in expensive trade wars.

Moving forward with this bill will raise prices. In fact, these trade games could cost the average American family up to $4,000 more per year. That is $4,000 to many folks that simply just do not have that money in their pocketbooks.

My amendment introduces a measure of fairness into this otherwise harmful bill. This bill—this simple amendment puts working families first.

Spectrum, the invisible radio frequencies that carry our wireless signals, is a limited public resource. The proceeds from auctioning it off should be reinvested in the public good, not to offset tax cuts for billionaires.

Let's be clear. Broadband is not a luxury, it is a necessity. Families rely on it to pay bills, do homework, and earn a living. Yet, the high cost of service remains the number one barrier to staying connected.

A recent survey found that nearly two-thirds of adults saw their internet bills rise over the past year. One in five said rising prices forced them to downgrade, switch, or cancel service altogether. Every time a family is pushed offline because of cost, we fall behind as a country.

The Affordable Connectivity Program, or ACP, was a proven solution that brought millions of Americans online. But despite its success, Republicans allowed its funding to lapse last year.

Nearly 23 million households rely on ACP, including 78,000 households in my congressional district in Illinois alone. When the program expired, many saw their internet bills spike overnight, and those who couldn't afford to pay were cut off entirely.

This was just the beginning of a wave of Republican-led price hikes that continue to hit working families. Now the President wants to unilaterally repeal the Digital Equity Act and clawback funding Congress appropriated to implement it.

These programs were designed to help seniors, veterans, rural residents, and people with disabilities get the tools and training they need to get online.

Republicans are also attempting to eliminate the requirement under the BEAD program that internet service providers offer affordable plans despite the fact that these networks are built with taxpayer dollars.

Just this month, Senate Republicans voted to permanently repeal an FCC program that would provide WiFi hot spots to schoolchildren. We have seen what these choices lead to, kids doing homework in fast food parking lots or outside of libraries, like what we saw during the pandemic, and this is just quite simply unacceptable.

We have made progress in closing the digital divide, but it is critical that we finish this job.

Study after study confirms that cost is the biggest barrier to broadband access. Any serious solution we must tackle that head on.

My amendment does just that. It delivers real relief to working families already struggling under President Trump's price hikes. I urge my colleagues to support this.

And I yield back.
[The statement of Ms. Budzinski follows:]

I'm testifying in support of Amendment #216.

My amendment would lower costs for working families by using a small portion of the revenue from spectrum auctions to reestablish a broadband affordability program like the Affordable Connectivity Program.

Right now THIS is what the American people need. This is what rural America needs.

But instead of policies to lower costs and make life more affordable, the President has entangled us in EXPENSIVE trade wars.

Moving forward with this bill WILL raise prices. In fact, these trade games could cost the average American family up to 4,000 dollars more each year. That is 4,000 dollars that too many folks simply DO NOT HAVE.

My amendment introduces a measure of fairness into this otherwise harmful bill. This simple amendment puts working families FIRST.

Spectrum – the invisible radio frequencies that carry our wireless signals – is a LIMITED, PUBLIC resource. The proceeds from auctioning it off should be reinvested in the public good… not to offset tax cuts for billionaires.

Let's be CLEAR, broadband is not a luxury – it's a NECESSITY. Families rely on it to pay bills, do homework, and earn a living.

Yet the high cost of service remains the NUMBER ONE barrier to staying connected. A recent survey found that nearly TWO-THIRDS of adults saw their internet bills rise over the past year.

One in five said rising prices forced them to downgrade, switch, or cancel service altogether. EVERY TIME a family is pushed offline because of cost, we FALL BEHIND as a country.

The Affordable Connectivity Program, or ACP, was a proven solution that brought MILLIONS of Americans online. But, despite its success, Republicans allowed its funding to lapse last year.

Nearly 23 million households relied on ACP, including 78,000 households in my congressional district in Illinois. When the program expired, many saw their internet bills SPIKE overnight—and those who couldn't afford to pay were cut off entirely.

This was just the beginning of a wave of Republican-led price hikes that continue to hit working families.

Now, the President wants to unilaterally repeal the Digital Equity Act and claw back funding Congress appropriated to implement it. These programs were designed to help seniors, veterans, rural residents, and people with disabilities get the tools and training they need to get online.

Republicans are also attempting to eliminate the requirement under the BEAD program that internet service providers offer affordable plans – DESPITE the fact that these networks are built with TAXPAYER DOLLARS.

Just this month, Senate Republicans voted to PERMANENTLY repeal an FCC program that would provide Wi-Fi hotspots to school children.

We've seen what these choices lead to: kids doing homework at fast food parking lots or outside libraries, like we saw during the pandemic. That is UNACCEPTABLE.

We have made progress in closing the digital divide – but it's CRITICAL that we FINISH THE JOB. Study after study confirms that cost is the biggest barrier to broadband access. Any serious solution must tackle that HEAD-ON.

My amendment does just that. It delivers REAL relief to working families already struggling under President Trump's price hikes. I urge my colleagues to support it. I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you very much.
Mrs. Trahan, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. LORI TRAHAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mrs. TRAHAN. Thank you.

Madam Chair, I am offering amendment 307 to safeguard access to IVF for millions of women who rely on it to start their families.

And while I appreciate the opportunity to be here and to offer this amendment, as well as this committee's perseverance, there is nothing bipartisan or transparent about this process when so much of the debate over this bill happened in the middle of the night while most Americans were sleeping. It was a blatant attempt to prevent folks from tuning in, from hearing the contents of this disastrous bill.

But people are watching. They are seeing what you are trying to do. And they are going to see how you vote on this amendment, which would simply require that the Secretary of Health and Human Services certifies that the GOP's reconciliation bill does not reduce or restrict State Medicaid programs from covering infertility treatment, because the ability to start a family should never be a privilege reserved only for the wealthy.

Like so many couples across the country, my husband and I turned to IVF to have our girls. I know the pain of hearing that pregnancy might not happen. I know the silent heartbreak, the financial strain, and, yes, the overwhelming joy when, thanks to modern medicine, I was finally able to hold my children in my arms. Every woman deserves that chance.

President Trump recently called himself the father of IVF and claimed he wants to make it easier for women to have children.

But actions speak louder than words. Just last month, this administration eliminated the CDC's Reproductive Technology Surveillance and Research Team, the very experts who tracked IVF outcomes and access for over 30 years. Without that data, we are flying blind.

And now House Republicans are threatening deep cuts to Medicaid, the very program that could make IVF accessible to working families.

Today, most Medicaid programs don't cover IVF, and for the majority of Americans without insurance coverage IVF, which can cost upwards of $15,000 per cycle, is simply out of reach.

If Republicans succeed in cutting Medicaid even further, that dream won't just remain out of reach, it will disappear completely. It will be women living paycheck to paycheck, women in rural areas, women of color, the very women already facing the steepest barriers to care who will suffer the most.

This amendment is about more than reproductive technology. It is about whether we believe that every woman, no matter her income, her ZIP Code or insurance status, deserves a fair shot at motherhood.

Unfortunately, the consequences of this bill don't stop at IVF. Every one of us here has heard stories from our constituents—mothers, daughters, families—about how hard it is to access the care that they need.

And yet this bill, crafted behind closed doors by Republicans in this Chamber and considered here in the dead of night, will only deepen that crisis.

At a time when the United States ranks last in maternal mortality among industrialized nations, when hospitals are closing and care is harder to find, this bill pours gasoline on a fire that is already raging.

Cutting Medicaid doesn't just mean cutting coverage. It means cutting off care to women when they are most vulnerable.

In my district, those failures are real. In 2023, the only maternity ward in the western part of my district closed due to staffing shortages. Then the collapse of Steward Health Care forced two more hospitals to shut down, including one that served as the primary provider for thousands of families.

These aren't hypotheticals. These are closed doors, darkened hallways, delivery rooms that will never welcome a newborn again.

According to the March of Dimes, one in 25 obstetric units has closed in just the last 2 years. Over 1,100 counties in America are now maternity care deserts, with no hospital, no OB, no place to give birth safely.

And now this bill proposes gutting the program that keeps what little is left afloat, Medicaid. If we do that, we won't just lose coverage, we will lose hospitals, we will lose doctors, and we will lose lives.

So to my colleagues, especially those who claim to support IVF, who care about mothers and family values, I just ask you to prove it. Support this amendment to protect IVF access. Reject the deep cuts to Medicaid in this bill to protect the hospitals, doctors, and services that make motherhood possible in the first place.

Because if you are serious about being pro-family, pro-mother and pro-life, then you must be serious about protecting Medicaid and you must be honest about what is at stake. I urge my colleagues to vote yes on this amendment.

And I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Davis, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. DANNY K. DAVIS, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

Mr. DAVIS. Thank you, Madam Chairwoman, Ranking Member.

The Good Book teaches us to care for the least among us. My four amendments do just that.

For parents, childcare is the work-related expense. My amendment would reimburse working parents up to $8,000 in childcare costs.

The meager current maximum of $1,200 was set at the turn of the century. Now the cost of centered-based care for two children is more than the average rent in all 50 States. Yet, the Republican bill fails to directly help struggling parents with the crushing burden of childcare.

Instead, the bill gives $731 million to businesses and ignores the tens of millions of working parents whose employers will never offer childcare. And the small temporary $500 bump in the child

tax credit excludes the poorest parents and is dwarfed by the $8,000 in relief offered by my amendment.

If Republicans want parents to work, then please accept my amendment.

The second amendment would provide life-changing help to hard-working, rent-burdened Americans earning up to $100,000.

Rent unaffordability is at an all-time high, with about half of all renters being cost-burdened, especially extremely low-income households, seniors, and rural Americans.

My amendment would create a new tax credit for low- and middle-income renters that would cover a percentage of the gap between 30 percent of their adjusted gross income and their actual rent. For renters earning less than $25,000, the credit would cover the entire 30 percent income-to-rent gap and then phase out. The Republican bill offers nothing to help struggling renters.

Supporting my amendment would provide financial relief to thousands of individuals so that they can thrive without fear of eviction.

My third amendment would provide a tax cut to tens of millions of low-income workers by enhancing the earned income tax credit. The EITC is a powerful tool to reduce poverty. Although the Republican bill gives an increased EITC for some Purple Heart recipients, it ignores the vast majority of individual workers.

Workers aged 65 and older represent one of the fastest growing groups in our labor force, millions of people, of workers, receiving and not receiving.

We would also lower the eligibility age to 19 while enhancing the credit for all childless workers.

Further, my amendment would include important flexibilities for foster and homeless workers—homeless youth. If the GOP bill can spend $211 billion on tax breaks for wealthy heirs, surely it can help vulnerable workers who are young, old, single, homeless, or foster youth.

Finally, my fourth amendment would strike the permanent tax hike on foundations that would rip $15.8 billion in charitable aid from our communities, aid that supports food banks, houses of faith, veterans, disaster relief, rural healthcare, emergency assistance during economic downturns, and other critical needs.

Policies that hurt foundations reduce grantmaking to charitable nonprofits across the country. Forefront, the association of grantmakers for the State of Illinois, estimates that the proposed tax increase on private foundations would result in $160 million less in grants made to Illinois nonprofits each year.

Charitable giving represents the best in American generosity. At the exact time when charitable giving and philanthropy are needed the most to offset the cuts in Federal investment Congress must strike this charity-reducing provision. Government should help people, not harm them.

My amendments would help lift the burdens of tens of millions of families and workers, as well as promote charitable service.

Thank you, Madam Chairwoman. I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Davis.

Mr. Norman, any questions?

Mr. NORMAN. No questions.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I just want to say to all of you, thank you, thank you, thank you for not giving in and for staying the course and fighting for your constituents and for the people of this country.

Those of us on the Democratic side on the Rules Committee are grateful that you are here, and I know the American people are grateful that you are here.

So, again, thanks so much.

I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. McGovern.

There being no—any of my colleagues?

Thank you all very much. You are now excused.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. Schweikert, Mr. Olszewski, Mr. García, Mrs. Sykes, Mr. Thompson, Ms. Simon, Mr. McGarvey, Ms. Gillen. And if you all would come down this way so we can spread out if you don't mind.

Mr. Johnson, you will be in the next group. You are not in this group, Mr. Johnson. Okay?

Mr. Schweikert, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. DAVID SCHWEIKERT, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ARIZONA

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. Thank you, Madam Chairwoman and to members of the committee. I am really impressed. I hope you are all very well-caffeinated.

Madam Chair, members, I am actually trying to do something honest and unique here. The two pieces of legislation I have, I have preliminary CBO scores that reach $2 trillion in offsets and savings over the next 10 years.

They are both morally, economically quite rational. They do good things. The problem is they take on big concerns that often scare the crap out of all of us, but they are the right thing.

So let's do the first one. I can do it fairly quickly.

For anyone who has been here for a while, you have been tracking the MedPAC reports for the last half a decade, basically making it very clear that we have a major problem in Medicare Advantage and its offsets. As you saw last night, there was another scandal that broke in the media and potentially another set of indictments and criminal activities coming.

So what happens when those of us who want the incentives of a system that manages care but benefits by helping our brothers and sisters, particularly in the seniors with their earned benefits, be healthier, that the insurers who manage it make their profit by having the population be healthier and not by constantly scoring that population as sicker and those margins.

And for those of you all the way back to the Obama years, let alone the Biden years, which that is when this one was written, they demonstrate that today Medicare Advantage is coming in at 120 percent of fee-for-service.

The design was supposed to be at 95 percent. Just divide that by the money and then do it over the decade. That there is almost a trillion and a half dollars.

We have introduced—sorry, there goes what happens when you use binders. A piece of legislation has already been introduced and

we have turned it into an amendment for your consideration, Madam Chair, that would over the decade a pilot program but also become self-executing, realign the incentives in Medicare Advantage to actually fixate on helping populations be healthier than what is today scamming the system.

There are about 20, 25 Democrats that a couple weeks ago wrote a letter basically demanding something similar to this model. There are those of us, as Republicans, who have spent almost a year with healthcare economists. To the Speaker's credit, he let me hire a healthcare Ph.D. for the Joint Economic Republicans.

This isn't Republican or Democrat. It is good policy. In just that bill, our preliminary score is $1.840 trillion.

If you want to do amazing things to help this country and do the right thing, there are these handful of policy opportunities that don't necessarily break down the left and the right. They are just great math, great delivery of services, and alignment of incentives.

Madam Chair, the second bill is one that we have worked on for about a year. As a matter of fact, the young woman sitting in the back who abandoned me was actually the primary author of this. And it is a talent-based immigration bill. Within it we added the President's Golden Visas, some other things.

This one, our preliminary score is $174 billion over 10, but in the second decade it makes amazing differences, because we do something insane in this country. We educate populations, and then we send them to their home countries to compete with us.

Why would we do that? If we know we have—the models here are saying we are going to have these sorts of GDP growth. Almost none of my economists can hit that GDP number without a major change in our demographics. And that demographic says: How do you fight with the rest of the world who is trying to steal our smart people? We need to enter in the game.

And it turns out a STEM-based, talent-based immigration system is one of the most elegant ways for productivity, for new inventions, and also for tax receipts and GDP growth.

Both of these are written more by economists than politicians. We wanted to get the alignment of the actual math together instead of some of the—forgive me—insane things I have heard people say behind the microphones here today where it is the political wedge for the next campaign.

How about for once we get the alignment of the economics and the math and do good things. And those are my pitch.

I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Schweikert.

Mr. Olszewski.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. JOHNNY OLSZEWSKI, JR., A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MARYLAND

Mr. OLSZEWSKI. Thank you Madam Chair. Thank you to the committee member, Ranking Member McGovern. I appreciate the opportunity.

Before I begin, I wanted to just address a comment earlier from the gentleman, our colleague from South Carolina. To be clear, the government is not my God. Jesus is my God.

So I just want to be clear that Democrats, we actually have faith too, and I am proud to sort of wear that and share that with all of you.

I also deeply believe in the value of work. And so you and hopefully your colleagues will love my amendment today. Because it is an indisputable fact: The more people that have access to healthcare, the better it is for everyone. It is better for families. It is better for communities. It is better for businesses.

There are a lot of reasons to vote against the reconciliation bill before you. It adds trillions to the Federal deficit to fund tax breaks for Americans who need them least. It does nothing for working-class Americans to lower costs in any real way. It will increase healthcare costs for millions of Americans, for those lucky enough to still have healthcare coverage.

The bill proposes sweeping changes to Medicaid to help offset these tax breaks for wealthy individuals and large corporations. One such change is new work requirements that would result in millions of Americans losing their health coverage entirely.

Hundreds of millions of Americans are set to literally—sorry, hundreds of Americans will literally lose their lives, according to the Center for American Progress.

These changes won't even achieve the savings that we believe our Republican colleagues think they will. That is because nearly everyone with Medicaid coverage who is able to work already is.

Ninety-two percent of adult Medicaid enrollees are either already working, in school, or serving as a caretaker, or unable to work due to illness or disability. Most are working low-wage hourly or seasonal jobs in vital industries, including healthcare, manufacturing, or agriculture, that don't offer employer-sponsored healthcare.

So it was no surprise that when States began implementing work requirements, employment did not go up. Instead, the arduous paperwork meant that even more who were working or should have been exempt lost their coverage anyways.

These are not people who are gaming the system. These are honest, hardworking people just trying to get by. But if our Republican colleagues insist on implementing new work requirements, we should also insist that work is actually available.

Anyone who needs a job to satisfy these misguided work requirements should be able to find one. So I want to connect Americans to work. I know that you all do too. For that reason, I am introducing amendment 151.

My amendment requires the Secretary of Labor to establish a national employment placement program that provides a broad range of public and private employment opportunities. And under the amendment, anyone seeking employment within the job program will be exempt from Medicaid work requirements. Americans who are seeking work in good faith will keep their healthcare coverage.

The amendment empowers the Secretary to create the program and its operation, to define acting in good faith, to determine the scope of the placement program, and all other relevant details.

The amendment is reasonable. It simply says, before you take healthcare away from able-bodied constituents, let's make sure they actually have access to a job.

Madam Chair, I have been here since early this morning, and I want to commend you for the respect and the decorum that you are keeping in this meeting, and I mean that sincerely. So thank you for the ways in which you are conducting this meeting.

I also heard you mention, though, that you want to operate in a bipartisan fashion. Bipartisanship requires consensus and agreement.

So, in that spirit, I will say that I offer one of over 500 amendments that this committee can adopt, can take up. I challenge the committee to consider a dozen or two really good ideas that have been presented to at least truly move forward in that spirit of bipartisanship.

And, with that, I thank you for the opportunity. And I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. We did have bipartisan votes in the committee. So maybe you would like to vote for the bill and make it bipartisan.

Let me see.

Mr. García.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. JESÚS G. "CHUY" GARCÍA, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

Mr. GARCÍA. Madam Chair, thank you for this opportunity. I am here to discuss the amendments that I submitted, Nos. 112 and 420.

Amendment 112 eliminates a provision that cancels unobligated funding from the Neighborhood Access and Equity Program.

This amendment is not explicitly about the devastating Medicaid cuts that the majority is trying to move forward, kicking millions of Americans off their healthcare; nor is it about the billions of dollars in cuts to food assistance that families rely on to put food on the table.

This amendment is about the way people move from point A to point B safely. It is about the glue that enables people in urban and rural districts alike to actually get their healthcare appointments or go to the store for groceries.

And if the majority is set on imposing strict work requirements as a condition for receiving Medicaid and SNAP benefits, they should be supporting my amendment. Why? Because the NAE Program helps people get to and from their jobs.

NAE was created to support infrastructure projects that increase safety and transportation access. That transportation access is the lifeline that allows a grandmother who depends on a bus to get to her doctor's appointment. And that safety focus creates a complete streets approach that protects kids when they walk to school and cyclists when they commute to work.

In fact, a city represented by one of my Republican colleagues in this room received NAE funding to build a pedestrian bridge over railroad tracks, accomplishing two goals. One, connecting two communities that were separated by said railroad tracks; and, two, protecting pedestrians and cyclists moving between communities.

The bill before you places billions of dollars for safety projects at risk nationwide. We should not be putting the safety of our constituents at risk to pay for tax cuts for the wealthy.

And if you all really want people to fulfill work requirements as a condition for Medicaid and SNAP, the very least that you can do is ensure that people get to their job safely.

I urge you to support amendment 112.

Next, I would like to discuss amendment 420. This amendment ensures that revenues from new registration fees on electric or hybrid vehicles are also spent on public transit.

Since 1982, Congress has ensured that revenue increases for the Highway Trust Fund cover authorizations under the mass transit account in addition to the highway account.

As written, all of the revenue will be deposited in the highway account, meaning transit will see its small share of the total further reduced. This moves us in the opposite direction of where we need to go.

You all may think that this is only a big city problem, but maybe big city problems aren't your top concern. But defunding public transit is just as much a problem for rural America.

In April, the transportation committee heard from the executive director of the Prairie Hills, South Dakota, transit agency, not a big city. She testified that America's rural population is declining, but rural transit ridership increased 15.6 percent in 2007 to 2019.

And who are the people relying on rural transit? Senior citizens, who take their local bus to get to the grocery store, disabled veterans trying to get to the VA, and patients who rely on non-emergency medical transportation to get to their dialysis appointments.

Amendment 420 simply directs the vehicle registration fees in the reconciliation bill to cover authorizations from both the highway account and mass transit account.

I urge your support on amendment 420.

Thank you, Madam Chair, and thank you to the members of the committee for allowing me to testify.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. García.

Mrs. Sykes, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. EMILIA STRONG SYKES, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF OHIO

Mrs. SYKES. Thank you, Chairwoman Foxx, to the ranking member, and to all the members of this committee. Thank you for allowing me to come and testify before you today.

This is my first time in the Rules Committee, and hopefully next time it won't be as long of a committee. But you all are lovely and it has been a pleasure getting to know you and hope I can acquaint myself with you further.

I am honored and proud to represent Ohio's 13th Congressional District, and we are in northeast Ohio. And I often call my district the birthplace of champions. We work hard. We are kind. We are creative. We have the Midwestern grit that people are so jealous of all over the country. And the people who I represent are worthy of my being up almost all the night and the morning to advocate on their behalf.

The people in Ohio's 13th Congressional District are looking for opportunity, and that is exactly why I came to Congress. They want the opportunity to live.

In Ohio, we have some of the highest infant mortality in the entire country. In Ohio, we have some of the highest maternal mortality in the entire country. And for Black women and for Black babies, deaths are even higher than their White counterparts.

We were proud to expand Medicaid in the State of Ohio to make sure that we had healthy moms, because if you have healthy moms you will have healthy babies. But this current reconciliation bill will put that in jeopardy and make us lose all of the gains that we have, saving the lives of these gorgeous, beautiful infants and their mothers.

We also, like many other parts of this country, have an issue with substance abuse and mental health treatment. And because of the Medicaid expansion and Medicaid itself, people are able to get the treatment that they need and want. People want to live, and I want to make sure we are giving them the opportunity.

Furthermore, Madam Chair, our seniors rely on Medicaid, many of them as their primary way in which they get their long-term care. I don't think most people thought going into this election that the mandate was that their grandmothers would be kicked out of the nursing home.

And so I am very concerned for this reconciliation bill, especially if it were to pass. And, unfortunately, as this bill continues to take access to care from my constituents, to counter this I am offering an amendment to strike the entire section addressing Medicaid from this bill that protects more than 201,000 people, including more than 83,000 children and nearly 18,000 seniors, who would risk losing coverage in my district.

Madam Chair, I heard one of the members of this panel, one of the Republican members say that if you have your health, you are pretty rich. Unfortunately, this bill will bankrupt people all over the country in more ways than one.

And I also heard some Republican members on this committee talk about the value of work. Well, here is an interesting fact for all of you.

The number one employer in Ohio's 13th Congressional District are—number one employers—are healthcare systems. And I can guarantee you, if this bill goes forward, you would be putting people out of work. Let me say that again. You would be putting people out of work in Ohio's 13th Congressional District.

The nearly 30,000 people who work for our hospital systems, who rely upon the Medicaid program to reimburse hospitals for care will be jeopardized. Their jobs and their livelihoods would be jeopardized.

So not only is this a matter of decreased care in my community. You are going to put people out on the streets, impoverish them, and decimate our local community.

That is the reason why I was willing to be up all night and stay here for hours to testify on my community, because we cannot afford this bill.

Additionally, as it stands, this bill moves to defund Planned Parenthood, wiping out access to reproductive healthcare for at least 20,000 Ohioans. With my amendment—with one of my amendments, because I have eight of them—this section of the bill would be removed, ensuring that Planned Parenthood can continue to pro-

vide healthcare access across the United States, including the clinic that is in my district in Akron, Ohio—which, by the way, is the most active clinic in the entire State of Ohio.

This reconciliation bill as it stands does not improve the lives of people of Ohio's 13th District or really anywhere in this country. And if the committee were to adopt my amendments, constituents in all of our districts would have more money in their pockets, greater access to healthcare, and more food on their tables.

My third amendment is the Lower Your Taxes Act, which is a bill that I introduced early this year and 2 years ago, and would love it to be included in the reconciliation bill. This amendment would help families across the Nation by making corporations pay their fair share and expanding the earned income tax credit and the child tax credit.

Additionally, I am offering an amendment to include the earned income tax credit lookback, which would allow all taxpayers to use their earned income from previous years for calculating EITC.

People have told us they cannot afford living in the United States, and putting more money in people's pockets in order for them to pay for gas and groceries and housing and healthcare.

Madam Chair, I see that my time is coming to an end, and I want to continue to be respectful of your committee, so I won't offer the other two. But thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak before this committee and advocate on behalf of my hometown.

Thank you, Madam Chair, and I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. You may submit your statement for the record.

Thank you very much.

Mr. Thompson, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. MIKE THOMPSON, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. THOMPSON of California. Thank you, Madam Chair and all the members, Ranking Member McGovern, for being here all day, all night, all morning.

And thanks to all of my colleagues who came to testify to ensure that our constituents would have an opportunity to have a little daylight shine on the debate regarding this terrible bill, a bill that adds to our national debt somewhere between 3.4 and 4.3 trillion dollars, and that doesn't include the interest on that debt.

It takes healthcare away from 13.7 million people. And it doesn't make them immune to being ill or injured. It just makes them uninsured. So this is going to add extra cost in the way of uncompensated care to our hospitals.

Nine million people would lose food security.

And all of this is to give a big tax cut to people who really don't need one in this environment.

Madam Chair, I have a couple of amendments.

My first amendment would strike the energy provision and restore the green energy tax credits.

The American energy resurgence is at a crossroad, and my Republican colleagues seem eager to take the country down the wrong path.

This reckless bill would gut America's clean energy production, raising the energy cost for millions of families and killing hundreds of thousands of good-paying manufacturing jobs.

Repealing these clean energy credits would raise electric costs by more than $110 per year per household. That is to all of our constituents, in red States and blue States.

And despite what my Republican colleagues say, clean energy is the industry of the future. Ninety-three percent of all new American energy supplied last year came from solar, wind, and battery storage.

When we passed the clean energy credit, we deliberately paired supply and demand side incentives. By repealing some of these credits, you put at risk the entire supply chain at a time when the need for energy has never been greater.

And just as energy demands dramatically increased with AI and crypto, my colleagues on the other side of the aisle are looking to decrease our Nation's ability to meet this demand.

Repealing these credits also cause economic pain to all American families. Whether my colleagues believe it or not, clean energy is the industry of the future, especially in Republican States and districts. Over 400,000 new clean energy jobs have been created since 2022. More than half are located in Republican districts.

And this also disadvantages us at a time when China is trying to dominate the global clean energy supply chain. Shutting off the most impactful tool we have to combat this is absolutely reckless. I would urge all of my colleagues to support this.

My second amendment deals with the—would strike the provision the Republicans stuck in this bill to eliminate the $200 tax on silencers.

At a time when Republicans are taking healthcare away from 3.7 million Americans, food assistance away from 9 million Americans, and child tax credits away from 4.5 million children, it is outrageous that they would spend $1.4 billion to make silencers cheaper.

I am disgusted that the congressional Republicans are spending $1.4 billion to make it harder for victims of mass shooters to know where their shots are coming from when they are trying to run for cover, and it is appalling that their actions will make it more dangerous for law enforcement when they respond to these mass shooters.

Madam Chair, silencers kill cops and make it easier for criminals to evade capture, but they do nothing to muffle the devastation that family members feel when they lose a loved one.

As a combat veteran, a lifelong hunter and gun owner, I can tell you this provision has nothing at all to do with hearing protection, but it has everything to do with making money for a certain segment of the gun industry. If you are concerned about protecting hearing from gunfire, buy and use earplugs.

I urge Members to support these two amendments, and this one in particular to restore the tax on silencers and to promote public safety.

And I would like to submit for the record, Madam Chair, a list of data showing where silencers were used in mass shootings to kill

cops, to kill kids, to make it more difficult for police to respond and to make our communities less safe.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Thompson. Without objection——

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you.

The CHAIRWOMAN [continuing]. That will be done.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Ms. Simon, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. LATEEFAH SIMON, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Ms. SIMON. Thank you, ma'am.

I really do appreciate the opportunity to speak to you all today, and what a day it has been.

Madam Chair and Ranking Member, allowing me to speak on behalf of my constituents is one of the great honors of my life as a new Member of the United States Congress, so thank you.

And, as you have heard from my Democratic colleagues today, the consequences, the deep—the deep, profound consequences of this bill and what the real-life consequences will have on families, families in my district and across this great Nation, are devastating.

My amendments are about, one, protecting access to reproductive healthcare; and, two, protecting our social safety net and our Federal workforce.

One, my amendment focusing on repro health, we all know that Medicaid ensures that millions of Americans, millions of working poor, low-income Americans, have access to essential reproductive healthcare, essential reproductive healthcare, including birth control, including prenatal care, including postpartum.

My amendment would prohibit cuts to reproductive health services, including counseling, birth control, prenatal care, pregnancy, and, of course, again, postpartum care. It would do so by requiring that the actuary of CMS certify that the majority's bill would not decrease access to or coverage to any of those things. Mercy, mercy. Don't touch women's reproductive healthcare.

But there is no question in any of our minds on both sides of the aisle that this bill would do exactly that, attacking women.

When we talk about the majority's pushing through the largest cuts to Medicaid in United States history, here is what it really means. It means Medicaid, now covering 40 percent of all births in this great Nation, including prenatal, including pregnancy care and postpartum.

It means that millions of people in California, my district, and across this country will lose access to contraception, to family planning, and cervical cancer screenings. My God. Cutting Medicaid would mean rolling back progress.

The second amendment that I presented—and that was voted down shamefully by my Republican colleagues in the Oversight Committee—it was an amendment that would protect access to SNAP and support Federal employee benefits. Simply put, this second amendment says that, one, if the Trump administration cuts SNAP, the budget by even one dollar, that the provisions in this bill that would cut Federal employees' salaries, their pensions, labor protections would immediately expire.

I know my time is about to expire, but I want to say one thing. Being a new Member of Congress, what has hurt me the most, what has hurt me the most, as a woman who was a teen mom, who took my daughter on the bus every single day to childcare, and I got support.

Then, as a transit-dependent person, once a month took an hour and a half bus to get $26 worth of food stamps, then would go to college and then my day job, and then pick that baby up and come back again. That baby is an attorney. She passed the bar on the first time. How dare we cut benefits of hardworking Americans.

I got to tell you the second thing that is really deeply on my heart. I learned that the childcare workers in this here building, this here building who take care of the children of Members of Congress, make $30,000. You think they can pay for a two-bedroom in Washington, D.C.?

If you haven't been poor, don't legislate for the poor. Let's step up and protect Americans who are working with their full bodies, their full spirits.

Instead, you are putting forth a bill that pathologizes the folks who need us most.

Lastly, Madam Chair, I ask every Republican in the Conference to walk with me after you vote. This weekend, get on a plane, come to the children's hospital in Oakland, and you tell the BMT nurses, you tell that mother who has a child with TMP in her nose that that child may, in fact, die. Come with me and walk with me and stand in line like I did when my husband died at the Social Security office begging for a $600 death benefit. Walk with me.

You all have an opportunity to vote your conscience, your spirit. Vote for the people. Vote for the real people of this country that keep a tapestry moving.

And I will yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Ms. Simon.

Ms. SIMON. Thank you, ma'am.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGarvey, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. MORGAN MCGARVEY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF KENTUCKY

Mr. MCGARVEY. Thank you, Madam Chair, and Ranking Member.

The Congressional Budget Office and every single credible expert who has looked at this proposal says that this bill cuts Medicaid. It takes health insurance away from millions of Americans. But, despite that, Republicans insist that this doesn't cut Medicaid.

Okay. Fine. Great. If that is the case, then my amendment should be the least controversial and most bipartisan thing we have heard today. This amendment, amendment 224, merely states that every child and disabled veteran who gets their healthcare through Medicaid gets to keep it.

The bill doesn't go forward unless children and disabled veterans are guaranteed to keep their healthcare. This is incredibly important because 40 percent of Medicaid recipients nationwide are children.

In my State of Kentucky, it is—over 40 percent of our kids rely on Medicaid for their healthcare. Veterans, 10 percent of our veterans use Medicaid to get healthcare. So, for our children who need us, for our disabled veterans who have served us, let's protect their healthcare.

The numbers don't lie about how important it is, but the numbers don't tell a story. I had a Medicaid roundtable in my hometown of Louisville, Kentucky. And June, her mom, Meg, showed up. June is a little girl. She has quadriplegic cerebral palsy. She relies on PT, OT, speech therapists so she can stay at home with her two brothers, her dogs, Vinny and Pepper, and her mom, who is the only caretaker who can make her smile.

She can't be at home getting the care and the love she needs without Medicaid. Do her parents work? Of course they do. Her mom works multiple jobs. But a couple of weeks ago June had three spine surgeries in a week. Medicaid paid for that. No family can cover these types of costs, and June wouldn't have them if it weren't for Medicaid and the Medicaid waiver she's on.

Madam Chairwoman, we simply cannot deprive June or any other child or any other family in this country of the healthcare that they need. This should not be controversial. It should be guaranteed. And my amendment does that.

And the only way this bill should go forward is if we know that our kids will not lose their healthcare.

Thank you, and I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. McGarvey.

Ms. Gillen, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. LAURA GILLEN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Ms. GILLEN. Well, good afternoon, everyone. It is a pleasure to be before the Rules Committee again. Thank you, Madam Chair. Thank you, Ranking Member McGovern.

I am testifying today to speak in support of my amendment, No. 2, which will eliminate the SALT cap and restore the full State and local tax deduction to cut taxes for my constituents and millions of American families who are being hurt by this unfair cap.

My amendment will deliver on the promise that President Trump made when he campaigned in my district on Long Island and said he would get SALT back.

Madam Chair, State and local taxes were made deductible from Federal income tax in 1913 based on the fundamental principle that Americans should not be double taxed on the same income. Double taxing Americans is simply unfair, and this principle held firm for over 100 years.

My constituents pay some of the highest taxes in the country and send far more to Washington than we get back. Many of them are facing a cost-of-living crisis right now, and they are counting on all of us to lower their taxes and bring their costs down. I came to Congress to try to make their life more affordable.

However, despite 100 years of precedent, for the past 8 years, Long Islanders have been crushed by double taxation of the SALT cap. Right now, Congress has the opportunity to correct this wrong and ease my constituents' burden by eliminating the SALT cap

that is making it so hard for families and small businesses in my district to get by.

This is about fundamental fairness for high-cost States like New York, which, again, give more to Washington than we get back. And let's just put an end to the inaccurate proposition that reinstating this full deduction of SALT is red States subsidizing New York, California, and other high-tax States. That is false. And, in fact, the exact opposite is true.

For every one dollar that New Yorkers send to the Federal Government, we only get around 86 cents back on average, while the majority of other States get more back than they send to Washington. In 2017, the year that the SALT cap was instituted, New York sent $35.6 billion more to the Federal Government in taxes than it received back in Federal spending.

Restoring SALT helps adjust this imbalance and makes sure that hardworking Americans on Long Island, in New York, and in other high-cost States are treated fairly.

Long Island is one of the most expensive places to raise a family in the United States. Having a cap on the SALT deduction has hit everyone's pocketbooks.

The President has talked about red versus blue. But I assure you, this double taxation hurts Republicans and Democrats alike in my district. It hurts union members. It hurts teachers. It hurts firefighters, and it hurts police officers.

I have heard from countless hardworking families and small business leaders in my district who have had to pay tens of thousands of dollars more in taxes making their lives even more expensive.

And, Madam Chair, by way of example, I would like to offer a letter into the record that was sent by a delegation—to every Member of the Long Island delegation, from business leaders and economic development leaders in the district asking us to reinstate the full SALT deduction.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Without objection.

[The information follows:]

May 11, 2025

The Honorable Nick LaLota
U.S. House of Representatives, District 1
122 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

The Honorable Andrew Garbarino
U.S. House of Representatives, District 2
2344 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

The Honorable Thomas Suozzi
U.S. House of Representatives, District 3.
226 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

The Honorable Laura Gillen
U.S. House of Representatives, District 4
428 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Re: Federal State and Local Tax Deduction

Dear Representatives Garbarino, Gillen, LaLota and Suozzi:

As a coalition of the region's leading business and economic development organizations, we write in support of your efforts in Congress to fully restore the state and local tax (SALT) deduction to help make Long Island more affordable for its residents and economically viable for businesses. We also write to express our deep concerns of a SALT deduction tied to income.

In 2017, when Congress passed the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act that put in place a $10,000 cap on SALT deductions, the adverse effects were felt by millions of New Yorkers. In our state, 3.4 million households deducted SALT, with an average deduction of $22,169. On Long Island, 47 percent of homeowners depended on the SALT deduction to assist their family budget with an average deduction of $19,886.

Today, there is an opportunity to fully restore the SALT deduction which would bring economic relief to Long Islanders. ABLI is advised of discussions taking place among your colleagues to compromise on SALT, specifically, to partially restore the SALT deduction by limiting it based on income.

Any deal that ties SALT to income levels will only exacerbate the current problem. Should such a proposal be implemented, high wage earners considering New York as a residence will most certainly decline to do so while our current high wage residents will have little trouble

relocating to another state where they will gain an economic advantage from a far more benign state tax structure. In New York City, the top 1000 earners pay 25 percent of all city taxes. Should an exodus occur, the tax burden would shift even more onto the middle class.

Therefore, our coalition, strongly supports of your efforts in Congress to fully restore the SALT deduction and expresses our deep concerns of a SALT deduction tied to income.

Sincerely,

Association for a Better Long Island
Commercial Industrial Brokers Society of LI
Hauppauge Industrial Association - LI
Long Island Association
Long Island Builders Institute
Long Island Contractors Association
Long Island Board of Realtors
Long Island Business Council
Nassau Council of Chambers of Commerce
Suffolk Alliance of Chambers

Ms. GILLEN. Since taking office, I have been fighting to fully restore this deduction by writing to leadership in the Senate and in the House, by testifying before the Ways and Means Committee. I joined the bipartisan SALT Caucus. I even volunteered to go to Mar-a-Lago to talk to the President about how important it is for my constituents to get the full deduction back.

And that is why I am proud to lead this amendment to lower taxes for Long Islanders and others who are harmed by the SALT cap.

My amendment has been cosponsored by 16 of my colleagues from across the country, and today I ask the members of this committee to make my amendment in order and bring an up-or-down vote on eliminating the SALT cap and cutting taxes for Long Islanders and millions of other hardworking Americans to the floor.

Thank you, and I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. Norman, any questions?

Mr. NORMAN. Congresswoman, thank you for your testimony. Now, to eliminate the SALT cap, are you talking about take the—it is 10,000 now; take it off completely?

Ms. GILLEN. That is what my amendment does. It strikes the cap altogether.

Mr. NORMAN. How is that not a tax break for the rich?

Ms. GILLEN. Oh, Congressman, in Long Island——

Mr. NORMAN. Just real quick. I have got 5 minutes. Just real quick. It is an easy answer.

Ms. GILLEN. In my district, this cap impacts middle and working-class families.

Mr. NORMAN. I get that. But, if you own five—let's say—and I am a real estate developer. If you have five houses, should I be able to deduct the local and State property tax on five houses?

Ms. GILLEN. You should be able to deduct it for all the houses that you own.

Mr. NORMAN. Okay.

Mr. McGarvey, now, you said Medicaid for everybody ought to be guaranteed. Did I understand you right?

Mr. MCGARVEY. My amendment is for children and disabled veterans only, Mr. Norman.

Mr. NORMAN. Oh, just for disabled veterans. Okay.

Mr. MCGARVEY. And children. Children and disabled veterans who are already on Medicaid should be able to keep their Medicaid. It is a guarantee that this plan doesn't kick them off.

Mr. NORMAN. You would make sure that it is not done fraudulently. If something wasn't—you know, there is a lot of fraud and abuse in the Medicaid system. Your President Biden admitted that. Was that not—I mean, if it is fraudulent, regardless of who it was for, are you for rooting that out?

Mr. MCGARVEY. I think we should get rid of all waste, fraud, and abuse. My question to you is, are you in favor of kicking kids off their healthcare? That is all this amendment does is prevent kids from getting kicked off their healthcare.

If you are not in favor of this, you are in favor of kids losing their healthcare.

Mr. NORMAN. It has got to be—you got to get the waste, fraud, and abuse out, I think.

Mr. MCGARVEY. How many kids like June who have quadriplegic cerebral palsy are fraudulently using Medicaid? We are talking about children and disabled veterans.

Mr. NORMAN. The very picture you showed is the kind that you want to be helped.

Congressman, did I understand you believe in the work requirements?

Mr. OLSZEWSKI. I disagree with the work requirements. I am simply saying, Congressman, if we are going to have them, we should make sure there are actually jobs are available.

Mr. NORMAN. Okay.

Mr. OLSZEWSKI. And, if people are seeking them in good faith, they should be able to keep their healthcare.

Mr. NORMAN. And who should judge whether a job is available?

Mr. OLSZEWSKI. My amendment fully authorizes the Secretary. It is very flexible. It allows the Secretary to promulgate all the regulations around this program to define "good faith." But I think we should agree that, if we are going to require a work requirement for health coverage, that we should at least make sure we are encouraging people to actually seek that work.

Mr. NORMAN. How would that actually—a secretary has a lot of—I assume you are talking about the Secretary of State, or what Secretary?

Mr. OLSZEWSKI. Secretary of Health.

Mr. NORMAN. Secretary of Health. Would he have time——

Mr. OLSZEWSKI. Secretary of State definitely does not have time. He has too many jobs as it is, Congressman.

Mr. NORMAN. Secretary of Health, how would he have time to go out and see—determine if there is work available. How many people—where do you live?

Mr. OLSZEWSKI. I live in the Baltimore suburbs.

Mr. NORMAN. Okay. How do you logistically put that pressure on the Secretary of Health to find work—see if work is available? Walk me through real quick how you do that.

Mr. OLSZEWSKI. Well, first of all, I would restore all the firing that the Secretary did so he actually has the staff to implement the program.

But following that—this is what I said in testimony. We know that—we actually have not seen the savings in States that have implemented these work requirements. But, if we are going to, let's provide the Secretary with the supports and allow—again, this is why the amendment is flexible. Allows the Secretary to define what that job placement program looks like and what acting in good faith looks like.

Mr. NORMAN. What if it doesn't fit what the particular person wants? How does that work?

Mr. OLSZEWSKI. That is why it is up to the Secretary. It gives full discretion to the Secretary to define what acting in good faith looks like.

So, if the Secretary says, "You need to be looking for a job; you are not acting in good faith," that person would then not be eligible

for health coverage because the program would define that. So I—yeah.

Mr. NORMAN. I can see you really—you believe that. We have all been up for kind of a long time. It would take a Secretary of Health living—not sleeping at all to try to handle all that if you have to—if he has to be the arbiter and finding whether you have got a job available, I would think——

Mr. OLSZEWSKI. With all due—sure. But, then, with all due respect, just imagine how hard it is going to be to prove that people aren't seeking work. You have the same problem by putting this requirement in the bill.

Mr. NORMAN. What they do is——

Mr. OLSZEWSKI. How is the Secretary going to do that with this requirement, without the staff, et cetera? I mean, they are the same logistical challenges of actually requiring proof of work.

Mr. NORMAN. What you normally do is you have them go in, have them sign a piece of paper that you have interviewed at a particular job and had some—and they have—the employer has to sign it. So that is the only way—I don't know how one man would be able to do that.

Mr. OLSZEWSKI. Well, then, if you are going to do that, you have got the foundation for a job program that allows people to be connected to those opportunities.

Mr. NORMAN. Ma'am, thank you. I know this is your first time. Welcome here.

Mrs. SYKES. Thank you.

Mr. NORMAN. You did a good job on presenting your amendment.

Mrs. SYKES. I have done it before. Thank you, sir.

Mr. NORMAN. I will just tell you, I think sleep is overrated. We don't need sleep. We can do this. Thank all of you for coming.

I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

Mr. McGovern.

Mr. MCGOVERN. You know, I think one of the problems in this Congress is that there is a disconnect, I think, between a lot of people who serve here, who live pretty privileged lives, and the reality of millions of people in this country who are struggling to get by.

I mean, the idea that somehow people just want to be poor, that people want to be on SNAP, that people want to be on Medicaid, that that is their life goal is just so absurd, it is beyond words.

And I support making all of your amendments in order. I am not sure I support all of Mr. Schweikert's ideas, but I——

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. You will eventually love them.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I know he is a thoughtful Member, and he should be able to make his case on the floor.

You know, I am somebody who has been advocating that our healthcare system be more oriented toward keeping people healthy, and I authored legislation that produced the second-ever White House Conference on Hunger, Nutrition and Health that we did during the Biden administration.

You might want to read that report. I mean, it has a plan to eliminate hunger, but also has a plan on how to change our healthcare system, focus more on keeping people healthy as a way, you know, not only for good healthcare but controlling costs. I

think we ought to figure out—maybe that is a bipartisan area where we can work together.

But that is precisely one of the reasons why you have been hearing me scream about not cutting programs like SNAP. Because if you want people to make healthy choices, you have to be able to afford to make those choices when they go to a grocery store. Sometimes they don't even have access to a grocery store.

I mean, the average benefit is about $2 per person per meal. I mean, you can't even buy a cup of coffee in the Capitol Complex for that. So, I mean, let's not undercut programs that give people the ability—and in the case of SNAP, they have a Double Up Bucks program, which enables people to buy, you know, fresh produce from local farmers in their areas, and they get double the value if they make those healthy choices. I think all of that is good.

Because, if not, if we start to continue to erode these programs, the cost is going to be incredible. Hungry kids don't learn in school; there is a cost to that. Senior citizens who take their medication on an empty stomach when they are told to take it with a meal, they end up in an emergency room. People develop chronic illnesses that last a lifetime. So I would love to talk to you about that.

You also said that all your ideas came from economists, not politicians. But, correct me if I am wrong, I think the golden visa idea came from a politician, Donald Trump.

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. Mr. Ranking Member, we wove that in as—as a——

Mr. MCGOVERN. Okay——

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. But we, actually, actually did a modeling with a couple economists that the total number was like 800 a year.

Mr. MCGOVERN. And I have another question, which is just pretty straightforward; I hope you can answer yes or no.

I mean, do you support adding trillions of dollars to the national debt as this bill does? And I know you know it does.

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. Mr. Ranking Member, that is actually why I just gave you a solution to that.

Mr. MCGOVERN. That is why you gave me what?

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. Gave you a solution.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I know, but I mean, I am assuming your solution may not make it to the House floor.

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. How is that possible? It is so——

Mr. MCGOVERN. Well, I am not the chair of the Rules Committee. But, I mean, it is a serious question.

I mean, there is no doubt that this bill, as written, adds trillions of dollars to the debt and—so all the deficit hawks out there who say that they want to do something about the debt, and they just kind of go along to get along, I don't really think that that helps very much.

But I mean—and, Ms. Simon, whatever you are taking and drinking, I want to do that, too. I am like—I am out of steam. But I appreciate everybody's passion here.

Ms. SIMON. Sir, can I say one thing?

Mr. MCGOVERN. I want to say this to every panel. Thank you, thank you, thank you, thank you for being here, for presenting your ideas. I think it is—I think it means a lot to people who are observing this process, and I think it is reassuring to the American

people that, you know, people get it and people are fighting for them.

I yield back. Oh, hold on.

Ms. SIMON. Just very briefly. With all the love and all the respect, why I did call folks in—I ran an organization, Young Women's Freedom Center, for over a decade. I got my MacArthur Genius Fellowship for doing that work because what we found and what we knew: Young parents don't want to be poor. They want good work. Work requirements require something on the other side, an employer who wants to give the job and provide a prevailing wage and provide the healthcare and the skill-building and the opportunity. You don't put wealth development on the poor.

And so I would love to work with you——

Mr. MCGOVERN. Sure. Yeah.

Ms. SIMON [continuing]. And every member of this committee moving forward running organizations, running re-entry programs, creating jobs, lifting folks out of poverty. We can't legislate from ideology. We need practitioners to tell folks how to do it. That is how we create real sustainable opportunities for folks to get out of poverty.

Mr. MCGOVERN. And I will just say one last thing. I mean, I don't know when it became okay to stigmatize people who are struggling in poverty, to kind of generalize in a way that they all fit into this category that none of them want to work. That is just not true. That is just not accurate in any way, shape, or form.

And maybe, you know, if some of the committees with jurisdiction that came up with some of these ideas to go after programs like SNAP and Medicaid or whatever, maybe if they actually talked to real people, you know. I mean, not individuals from some right-wing think tank, but real people, I mean, we might have a different outcome.

Thank you.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. McGovern.

Ms. Scanlon, you are recognized.

Ms. SCANLON. Thank you. And I just want to reiterate the ranking member's thanks to everyone. Everyone who has been here for so many hours with us, we really do appreciate it.

Particularly, I appreciate the emphasis in the amendments on controlling costs for people and recognizing what costs do to families. Because we did last night after 5 o'clock, we got this letter from the CBO in which they looked at—they estimated household resources and what would happen to household resources based on this bill.

And what they found was that household resources would decrease for folks who are in the lowest tenth of income distribution, and they would increase for those in the highest tenth because they are looking at both the tax cuts that are included in this bill and the cuts to benefits that families, particularly lower income families, rely upon.

So there is a lovely graph that shows just how those cuts are going to impact household income if this bill were to become law.

So thank you for your amendments to try to ameliorate some of the impact there, and I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Ms. Scanlon.

Mr. Scott, you have no questions.

Mr. SCOTT. I have no questions.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. Neguse.

Mr. NEGUSE. I thank the chairwoman and thank all the witnesses for their testimony and their thoughtful presentations to this committee.

Without belaboring the point, as I proceed to belabor the point, I do want to ask my friend from Arizona a question. I don't know that there is a Member of the House who has spent more time on the House floor bemoaning the deficit and our national debt than you, Mr. Schweikert. I know that you have a Special Order hour every week. I have watched it from time to time.

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. So you are the one?

Mr. NEGUSE. I may be—who has watched it waiting for a moment like this one where I could finally pose this question to you, which is, I have to imagine that this is a painful exercise for you in light of the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget's condemnation of this bill in terms of what it would do to the deficit.

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. And to my friend, you know you are one of the people I actually think very fondly of because you have asked some brilliant questions over the last couple years when I have done floor speeches and how things work.

But what I have found around here is we do lots of complaining and very little intellectual capital. So I started almost a year ago on part of this project, and the idea is I just showed up in front of you with slightly over 2 trillion in savings offsets, however you want to—and they are not particularly partisan. They are actually great economics and alignment of incentives, so——

Mr. NEGUSE. Just to be clear, I mean, the ranking member, I think—I don't want to speak for him, I think he indicated that we would be happy to consider that amendment. It is the chairwoman that you have to convince, not us. It is——

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. Part of my battle—and many of us are—when you end up in the majority or vice versa, you go through this, is the body doesn't really like complexity anymore or maybe it ever did. And we have really complex problems.

Understand, the movement in the interest rates today, if you look at them just even—since now, it is 2 trillion over the tenth. Just the movement in interest rates that we have seen recently is the debt we are talking about here. And I don't think we understand, how——

Mr. NEGUSE. You make a real compelling argument against this bill. I actually agree with you.

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. Actually, we have the flip side. If we don't do some of the extensions and particularly the accelerated depreciations for research and development, those things, we can't—you know, we have a demographic crisis.

Mr. NEGUSE. Why not just do those?

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. Actually, tax cuts for individuals——

Mr. NEGUSE. I mean, this is what the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget has said, right? They have essentially said that——

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. But even that has—there is three—that is about another 600 billion. So even that is $3.6 trillion, just those two things in costs. You still have to find offsets even with those.

My argument to you is, Madam Chair and Members—and maybe some Members on my side—give this a fair read because it would be the one moment we could also communicate to those bond markets that are functioning now running our country that we are doing something to offset policy.

If I can't change the policy, maybe I can find a way to pay for it.

Mr. NEGUSE. I know we have a lot of Members who have been really patient about presenting their amendments. I will just ask you this last question.

As I struggle to get some of your colleagues to provide what I would deem to be an intellectually honest answer, just, again, in terms of the impact of this bill on the deficit. So the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, they put out a press release yesterday or May 20—I don't know if that is today or yesterday, blended through multiple days. The title is "House bill would be 3 percent deficit far out of reach," and I will just read from it.

It simply says, "Treasury Secretary Scott Bessent has frequently discussed the importance of reducing annual deficits of 3 percent of GDP, which would be enough to stabilize and reduce the debt relative to the economy. Unfortunately, the House reconciliation bill, the One Big Beautiful Bill Act, would increase deficits significantly and put the 3 percent deficit target further out of reach."

You don't disagree with that, right?

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. Oh, no, no, no. The math is—look, this year——

Mr. NEGUSE. No, no. I am just asking if you agree with that, right or wrong.

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. Let's get this. This year, we are going to borrow 7.33.

Mr. NEGUSE. Sure.

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. Every tax hike proposed by the left is one and a half percent of GDP. All the austerity is 1 percent of GDP. The fact of the matter is we are not telling the truth. None of us are here telling the truth, that all the tax hikes and all the spending cuts, I can get 2 and a half for borrowing 7.3.

Moody's says—and now a couple others—in 9 budget years, we are borrowing 9 percent of GDP. Now, we can't tell our voters that because they will lose their minds if we tell them the truth that interest and demographics are the driver of debt. So unless we do the revolution——

Mr. NEGUSE. Is the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget right? I guess what I just read is wrong?

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. But in some ways that is the same numbers that just came up from CBO.

Mr. NEGUSE. Right. But this bill would increase the deficit significantly, right? You concede that.

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. This bill will increase the debt by about 2, 2.3.

Mr. NEGUSE. Okay.

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. I would add another 400—and I can do the math off the top of my head because, you know, that is my parlor

trick. I would add another 400 in interest. I just gave you 2 trillion in savings; please vote for it.

Mr. NEGUSE. I hope the chairwoman gives you a chance to consider it.

I will yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

Ms. Leger Fernández.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Thank you very much.

And thank you, Mr. Schweikert, for suggesting a lot of amendments that we know are not going to go into this bill, right.

So, in the end—there can be a lot of proposals and suggestions, but in the end, our job is to vote. And you have acknowledged that this bill will increase the deficit.

And so the question then that the ranking member asked you is: You stand up week after week—and I have sat as the presiding speaker. That is how I first got to know this man with the graph is—and said, "this is the wrong thing to do."

But what will your vote be? If you are so against increasing deficits, will you be as principled as Tom Massie who says, "I am not going to vote for this bill because it will increase deficit"? It is a yes-or-no answer.

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. No. It is actually——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Are you going to vote for this bill. Are you going to vote for this bill with deficits?

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. It is actually not a yes-or-no answer because your baseline—no, no. Let's intellectually—just a second.

Baseline borrowing is 22 trillion over the next 10. This is adding 2 and a third. But, if you don't do a series of things to actually start to actually promote growth and the technology savings—I am sorry—the differential between being at 8.8 in 10 years percent of GDP to debt; that is our baseline to go to 9.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. The question is—Mr. Schweikert——

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. No.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ [continuing]. We are not in the Special Order hour. Mr. Schweikert, we are not in a Special Order hour. We are here to ask you, this I have a question——

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. So let me—if you are going to allow me as a Member to respond——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Madam Chair.

The CHAIRWOMAN. One at a time.

Mr. SCHWEIKERT [continuing]. I will give you—I will give you a simple answer.

Leadership doesn't have my vote yet. I have whipped "no" at this point. When they come to me and say, "David, this is too big to go in this bill, but I will guarantee you an opportunity to get a fair hearing on it," I got to—you got run with that.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Oh.

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. You have got to run with that because—because the fact of the matter is, your side does the same thing, and there is very few of us who are willing to take both the political risk and the mathematical risk to do it.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. So.

So are you going to come to me and say, "Look, you are a Conservative; I am a leftist. I am going to stand with you if you get

a chance"—okay, Libertarian, whatever you want to be called—an opportunity to have a fair hearing both from the Democrats and the Republicans on things that I believe disrupt the cost curve in the future.

This is only one of a handful of things I have tried to bring. I have never been able to get a vote on them. Could I get a guarantee of the vote in the future? You might be able to—you might be able to buy my vote in this bill if I knew——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Well, you know, our side doesn't buy votes. We don't—We do not accept.

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. Really?

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. We do not accept——

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. Really? Do you want to see——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. We do not accept $400 million——

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. Do you want to see the amendments you all did during the Inflation Reduction Act?

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Mr. Schweikert, I have not asked you a question.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Stop. Stop.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Mr. Schweikert, I have not asked you a question.

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. I would almost like to take her words down for a bold lie.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. I am reclaiming my time. I am reclaiming my time. It is a simple question, and we did not get a simple answer.

And that is the thing is this—I have not asked a question. This is the issue. The question was whether or not somebody would take the political courage to vote "no" when there is a deficit and that is what they stand for?

And I need to acknowledge—I need to acknowledge the gentleman from Kentucky because the gentleman from Kentucky, you know, you are a colleague of Tom Massie, and so I know you have conversations. I often have conversations with Mr. Massie. And he really is—this is a line for him, and he is willing to have the courage of that conviction.

And I want to thank you for bringing up the story of June. And I want to thank everybody on this panel for bringing the stories of what does it look like in Ohio, the idea that, if there is not work, how do you punish people? And we are likely headed into a recession. We have had the first quarter of negative growth.

And it is absolutely true that our job is to create the opportunities and the possibility for people to realize their potential and to not starve them while they are trying to get an education or take care of their children and to not penalize them depending on where they live and in what State they live and to focus on the stories that all of you have brought to us today.

And, while there might not have been very many Republicans on the dais, you looked at the Democrats, well, we have to go out to get a little break because we have been here since 1 o'clock in the morning—I can tell you that the American people are listening. And so this panel, like the panel before it, the panel before that, the panel before that and the many more that are going to come, because I am looking at this audience, and these—these are Rep-

resentatives who know that their job isn't about charts. Their job is about bringing to the American people the stories of how this bill is going to hurt the constituents. And then you know what they are all going to do, is they are going to have the courage to vote their conscience whenever this bill makes it out of this committee.

So thank you very much.

And, Madam Chair, I want to tell you that I did say I would learn how to say [speaking foreign language] in Spanish. So [speaking foreign language] for the time.

And I am yielding back. [Speaking foreign language].

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Ms. Leger Fernández. There are, I believe, no other questions for the panel. Therefore, you are excused.

I am going to announce the next panel, and what I would like you all to do is to move down this way to leave the places in the middle so people can move.

So, Ms. Castor, Mr. Levin, Ms. Sewell, Ms. Titus, Ms. DelBene, Mr. Espaillat, Mr. Amo and Mrs. Susie Lee from Nevada. So come on down.

So I am going to call on you in the order in which I called your name to come up to the table.

Ms. Castor, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. KATHY CASTOR, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF FLORIDA

Ms. CASTOR. Well, thank you, Madam Chair. Thank you to the Rules Committee and your professional staff for the opportunity to give voice to my neighbors back home across the Tampa Bay area.

If you ask my neighbors right now what they care about, it is affordability. It is the affordability squeeze. Many of them are rebuilding their lives, their homes after the devastation of Hurricanes Helene and Milton. They are trying to figure out what the highest import taxes and tariffs in a hundred years mean on their rebuilding efforts.

And now they are confronted with this billionaire boondoggle that is going to impact the affordability of their health coverage, their electric bills.

It is really harsh news to them to hear that the Republican budget bill is going to rip away health coverage for 13.7 million Americans, and that it is going to increase electric bills. It is going to restrict nutritional assistance, healthy food for kids and older neighbors, in order to provide a major tax cut to billionaires who simply do not need it.

And then, on top of all that, this last discussion was very illuminating, let's not forget, this will add about $3 trillion to the debt. So that is going to weigh down their purchasing ability, it is going to weigh down their lives. Everyone who has kids, you are looking at this huge weight around their necks going forward.

And this bill is one that is going to hit Floridians particularly hard because we have the most neighbors who use the Affordable Care Act for affordable health care coverage. So, when you rip away that little bit of help to pay for their copayments and their premiums under this bill, that means that they could lose coverage or they are going to be paying a whole lot more.

For the 3.9 million Floridians who rely on Medicaid, it is the people we love the most, a lot of our children, our parents and grandparents in long-term care, 40 percent of all births in the State of Florida, they just look at these proposed cuts, and they say what a contrast to what Democrats focus on.

Democrats focus on making sure people have affordable health care coverage. That is what the Affordable Care Act was all about: outlawing discrimination against preexisting conditions, allowing young people to stay on their parents' plan to age 26, lowering the cost of prescription drugs, restraining the cost growth in health care.

That is why it has been so difficult to listen to the debate today—and we have done some myth-busting here. It has been difficult to hear, "No one is going to lose health coverage under the billionaire tax giveaway," but we know what the CBO has said.

And that is why I am offering a couple of amendments: one with Representative Gray that says none of the provisions of this bill can go into effect if they increase the number of uninsured individuals and then another that is focused truly on Medicaid fraud. If you all haven't followed this story out of Florida on Medicaid fraud, I encourage you to do so. We can do that by passing my amendment here.

There was a settlement for overbilling of drugs by Florida's largest Medicaid provider. They entered into a settlement agreement where the Governor took $10 million out of the $67 million settlement and funneled it to political action committees to oppose a constitutional amendment on the ballot last year that were totally unrelated. It was actually on cannabis. So he took the Medicaid dollars, funneled it through nonprofits, and then to political campaigns.

So this has been a bipartisan investigation in the Florida legislature. And, while there has been so much discussion here that there is so much fraud and waste and abuse in Medicaid, it is time to really go after some of the fraudsters in Medicaid. And I think this can be a bipartisan effort to tackle it.

But back to the affordability. And the fact is, what I am hearing from folks—it is not just from neighbors. It is from all of our hard-working providers. Most doctors' groups are opposed to the billionaire tax giveaway, nurses organizations. And I wanted to read just a few for the record that have come to my attention.

This is a letter from leading health advocates.

The CHAIRWOMAN. You have 15 seconds.

Ms. CASTOR. Okay. I am going to offer this for the record and maybe hope that a few of my colleagues will ask about these when we get to Q&A. But this isn't right. Let's put the people's interests first over the special interests.

Thank you. I yield back.

[The statement of Ms. Castor follows:]

Opening Statement of Representative Kathy Castor
House Committee on Rules
Testimony for H.R. 1

May 22, 2025

Thank you, Madam Chair. Thank you to the Rules Committee and your professional staff for the opportunity to give voice to my neighbors back home across the Tampa Bay area.

If you ask my neighbors right now what they care about, it is the high cost of living and the affordability squeeze. Many of them are rebuilding their lives and their homes after the devastation of Hurricanes Helene and Milton last fall. They are trying to figure out what the highest import taxes and tariffs in a hundred years mean to their rebuilding efforts.

And now they are confronted with this billionaire boondoggle that is going to impact the affordability of their health coverage and their electric bills.

It is really harsh news to them to hear that the Republican budget bill is going to rip away health coverage for 13.7 million Americans, and that it is going to increase electric bills. It is going to restrict nutritional assistance, healthy food for kids and older neighbors, in order to provide a major tax cut to billionaires who simply do not need it.

And then, on top of all that, this boondoggle will add about $3 trillion to the debt. That is going to weigh down my neighbor's purchasing ability, and it is going to weigh down their lives. Everyone who has kids will have a huge weight around their necks going forward.

This bill is going to hit Floridians particularly hard because we have the most neighbors who use the Affordable Care Act for affordable health care coverage. When you rip away those premium tax credits, that little bit of help to pay for their copayments and their premiums, it means that they could lose coverage or that they are going to be paying a whole lot more.

The 3.9 million Floridians who rely on Medicaid are the people we love most, including many of our children, our parents and grandparents in long-term care, 40 percent of all births in the State of Florida, neighbors with disabilities, and more. They look at these proposed cuts, and they say what a contrast to what Democrats focus on.

Democrats focus on making sure people have affordable health care coverage. That is what the Affordable Care Act was all about: outlawing discrimination against preexisting conditions, allowing young people to stay on their parents' plan to age 26, lowering the cost of prescription drugs, restraining the cost growth in health care.

That is why it has been so difficult to listen to the debate -- and why Democrats have had to do some myth-busting here. It has been difficult to hear, "No one is going to lose health coverage under the billionaire tax giveaway," but we all know what the CBO has said.

That is why I am offering a couple of health-related amendments to the Rules Committee today. The first with Representative Gray says that none of the provisions of this bill can go into effect if they increase the number of uninsured individuals. A second is focused truly on Medicaid fraud. If you all haven't followed this story out of Florida on Medicaid fraud, I encourage you to do so. We can actually combat Medicaid fraud by passing my amendment here, not by kicking people off their health care that they deserve.

There was a settlement for overbilling of drugs by Florida's largest Medicaid provider. The company entered into a settlement agreement with the State where the Governor directed $10 million out of the $67 million settlement to be unlawfully diverted to a political action committee to oppose a constitutional amendment on the ballot that was totally unrelated to Medicaid. It was a ballot initiative to legalize cannabis in the State. The Governor took the Medicaid dollars, funneled it through nonprofits, and then to political campaigns.

This has been a bipartisan investigation in the Florida legislature. And while there has been so much discussion here about so-called fraud and waste and abuse in Medicaid, it is time to really go after some of the fraudsters in Medicaid. And I think this can be a bipartisan effort to tackle it.

But back to the affordability. The fact is that what I am hearing from everyone, from our neighbors, advocates, hardworking providers, nurses organization, are that they are opposed to the billionaire tax giveaway. I am submitting several letters from leading health care advocates in opposition to H.R. 1 here today. This isn’t right, let’s put the people’s interests first over the special interests.

Thank you, I yield back.

The Chairwoman. Without objection, that will be put into the record.

[The information follows:]

Monday, May 5th, 2025

The Honorable Mike Johnson
Speaker of the House of Representatives
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable Hakeem Jeffries
Minority Leader
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable John Thune
Majority Leader
U.S. Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

The Honorable Charles Schumer
Minority Leader
U.S. Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

The Honorable Brett Guthrie
Chairman, Energy & Commerce Committee
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20510

The Honorable Frank Pallone
Ranking Member, Energy & Commerce Committee
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Speaker Johnson, Minority Leader Jeffries, Majority Leader Thune, Minority Leader Schumer, Chairman Guthrie, and Ranking Member Pallone:

The undersigned 37 organizations represent millions of patients and consumers who face serious, acute, and chronic health conditions. Together, our organizations offer unique and important perspectives on what individuals and families need to prevent disease, cure illness, and manage their health. The diversity of our organizations and the populations we serve enables us to draw upon extensive knowledge and expertise that can be an invaluable resource as Congress considers any legislation that would reform our healthcare system.

Today, on behalf of millions of patients we represent across the United States, we write with one voice to express our deep alarm and strong opposition to the devastating Medicaid cuts being considered for inclusion in the FY25 budget reconciliation package.

In March of 2017, our organizations came together to form the Partnership to Protect Coverage (PPC). Together, we agreed upon three overarching principles to guide any work to reform and improve the nation's healthcare system. These principles state that: (1) healthcare should be accessible, meaning that coverage should be easy to understand and not pose a barrier to care; (2) healthcare should be affordable, enabling patients to access the treatments they need to live healthy and productive lives; and (3) healthcare must be adequate, meaning healthcare coverage should cover treatments patients need.

Access to high-quality, affordable health insurance is essential to maintaining and improving the health of everyone living in the United States. Our organizations stress that any changes to existing law must not jeopardize the healthcare coverage that Americans currently have through employers, the private market, Medicare, Medicaid, or the Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP). Further, patients and consumers should be able to keep their existing high-quality coverage, and any policy should not undermine quality or affordability.

The policies under consideration by the Energy & Commerce Committee for inclusion in the budget reconciliation package fail this test. They would make healthcare less accessible, less affordable, and less generous—clearly violating the promise of Speaker Johnson that the House would be "very careful not to cut a benefit for anyone who is eligible to receive it and relies upon it." In fact, the hundreds of billions in proposed cuts to Medicaid would do exactly that: this legislative package includes changes that will force states to cut or altogether eliminate Medicaid benefits for workers with low incomes, children, seniors, and disabled Americans.

This deeply popular, lifesaving program covers over 70 million low-income individuals, people with disabilities, seniors, families, and adults with very low incomes. It is not simply a line item in a budget—it is a lifeline for millions of working Americans.

Healthcare Cuts Threaten Patients' Lives

The concurrent budget resolution requires that the House Energy & Commerce Committee approve a package of policies that will cut federal spending by at least $880 billion. As the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office has confirmed, this savings target is impossible to meet without large cuts to federal healthcare programs like Medicare and Medicaid. With all Medicare policies reportedly off the table, the only way the Committee can meet its target is by making bone-deep cuts to Medicaid.

Yet, the policies being considered for inclusion in the reconciliation package would force patients and families out of the program. Under these cuts, Medicaid enrollees will face layers of red tape, never-ending eligibility tests, and service delays that will jeopardize lives. These budget-driven barriers will mean fewer doctors, fewer hospitals, fewer treatments, and fewer opportunities to manage serious illnesses. While vague promises about exceptions and exemptions are rumored, we know from real-life experience that carve-outs and special arrangements have never worked. They simply add further bloat to the contracts handed out to private corporations paid to stand up yet another big government program, while reducing the funds that could and should be spent on patient care.

The real-world consequences of these cuts would be devastating:

- Brian, a young father in Texas, died of leukemia in 2022 because he couldn't afford insurance or the out-of-pocket costs of treatment - costs he wouldn't have faced if Texas had expanded Medicaid.
- Tori, a Pennsylvania mom of a 3-year-old boy with severe Hemophilia A, is able to pay her family's bills and access her son's high-cost treatment and care because of Medicaid coverage. Without it, she worries he could die from lack of access to the medication and specialty doctors needed to maintain his lifelong disease.
- A child living in Michigan with Cystic Fibrosis required oxygen at home, costing her family $500 a day, on top of medication costs of $1200/month. She had multiple hospitalizations, which eventually led to a double lung transplant. Even in a middle-income family, these exorbitant costs were affecting the family's ability to pay for necessities such as home utilities and food. Medicaid alleviated this financial burden. Now, as an adult with CF, she is thriving, working full time for the last 10 years at the hospital where she previously received her care.
- Amber lives in Iowa, and her son has Duchenne Muscular Dystrophy. Without coverage through Medicaid, they would not have access to the medications he needs to manage his condition.
- Heather and Ryan live in Texas. They faced their biggest fears when their 3-year-old son, Hutson, was diagnosed with leukemia. Hutson faced side effects from the disease and its lifesaving treatments that no toddler should have to endure - from extensive dental work, developmental issues, and mental health challenges. Medicaid saved Hutson's life. Without it, they wouldn't have been able to care for him on schedule and on plan.
- Lysa was diagnosed with stage IV lung cancer in 2011 and Medicaid paid for her first year of treatment. At the time, she was hoping to live to see her daughter graduate from high school. Almost 14 years later, Lysa is about to be a grandmother.
- Annie from Texas, diagnosed with stage 4 breast cancer at 26 years old. She would not be alive today if it were not for Medicaid. It is very difficult to find a medication that her cancer responds to, but the one that keeps her alive costs $15,000 a month. There is no generic option available. She lives in constant fear of the financial obstacles and the stress of navigating how to stay alive. Her life depends on Medicaid.
- DeAnna, a North Carolinian with blood cancer, was denied a lifesaving stem cell transplant until her state expanded Medicaid. She is alive today because Medicaid covered her treatment when she was finally able to access coverage in the state.
- John, a California native with severe Hemophilia A, relies on Medicaid and Medicare coverage due to years of joint damage common for people with his condition, and recognizes how critical this access to coverage is for maintaining his health as a husband and father of two young children. John lost his brother at only 9 years old due to a lack of access to affordable healthcare coverage to manage his same diagnosis.

- Adrian survived Shaken Baby Syndrome at just six months old. Now two years old, he lives with a tracheostomy and feeding tube. His mom, Christi, serves in the U.S. Air Force, stationed at Langley AFB in Hampton, VA. Tricare doesn't cover many of the therapies, home nursing, and specialized equipment Adrian needs to thrive. His family depends on Medicaid to help cover what Tricare doesn't.
- Debbie from Virginia experienced serious health challenges that made it unsafe to live on her own. She moved into a skilled nursing facility to get the care she needed. Without Medicaid, she couldn't afford the support that keeps her safe and living with dignity. For older adults like Debbie who are dually eligible for Medicare and Medicaid, Medicaid helps cover critical services Medicare doesn't.
- Alexa lives in Pennsylvania. When her daughter, Penny, was diagnosed with leukemia at just two years old, Medicaid gave their family the ability to access the most effective treatments for her child. Alexa says that without Medicaid, they would be buried in medical debt just trying to keep Penny alive.
- Marty lives in Ohio and knows the difference access makes. With the support of Medicaid and SNAP, he's able to work part-time, pursue a master's degree, and complete an internship critical to his future career opportunities that wouldn't be possible without these programs.
- Sharon, in Indiana, relies on Medicaid for the home health support she needs to manage her Muscular Dystrophy so she can live independently. She is afraid that cuts to Medicaid might force her to live in a nursing facility and prevent her from living an active and independent life.
- Milly, from Oklahoma, was diagnosed with breast cancer shortly after having her first child while finishing college. Because she had Medicaid, she received the treatment she needed and went on to graduate from law school, build a thriving legal career, and raise two children. Her future was made possible by Medicaid.
- Kristen, from Alaska, was diagnosed with breast cancer during the pandemic and spent 2020 undergoing radiation and multiple surgeries. Thanks to Medicaid, she was able to focus on healing without the added burden of medical debt. A year later, she got married and now has private insurance through her husband – Medicaid gave her the foundation to move forward.
- A work injury that wouldn't heal led Thomas, from Louisiana, to the ER, where he was unexpectedly diagnosed with non-Hodgkin's lymphoma. While his employer-sponsored insurance covered much of his treatment, Medicaid helped cover critical out-of-pocket costs like co-pays and medications. Now in remission, Thomas is preparing to return to work – Medicaid helped make that possible.
- Sky and her daughter, Pressley, who lives with a rare disorder called Dravet Syndrome, live in Oklahoma. Medicaid has been critical to ensuring Pressley receives the specialized care she needs to survive and thrive, including therapies, equipment, and specialists.

These stories are not anomalies. They demonstrate the real-world experience of patients across the country who depend on Medicaid to survive. As Congress considers how deep to cut Medicaid, these lives hang in the balance.

Healthcare Cuts Lack Public Support

These drastic cuts are not what the American people want. A January 2025 poll shows that 84% of Americans believe the federal government is spending too little or the right amount on Medicaid—only 15% believe it spends too much. Medicaid is especially popular among those who know it best: 81% of middle- and lower-income Americans view the program favorably. In fact, majorities of Republicans (67%), Independents (85%), and Democrats agree that Medicaid spending should be preserved or increased.

There's a reason the public supports Medicaid: Medicaid works. The evidence is clear that Medicaid saves lives and improves outcomes. It reduces infant mortality, improves survival rates for cancer patients, lowers the risk of death for people with end-stage renal disease, and reduces opioid overdose deaths. It enables earlier diagnoses and prevents more costly interventions later. Without Medicaid, patients forgo critical care due to cost—placing their health and financial well-being at risk and ultimately raising costs for everyone.

Additionally, the pending expiration of the Affordable Care Act's enhanced premium tax credits threatens to widen already dangerous gaps in coverage. If the premium tax credits are not reauthorized, and deep Medicaid cuts are signed into law, the combined effect would be catastrophic for low- and middle-income patients who are already stretched to the financial brink.

There is an effort to reassure lawmakers that even deep cuts can be safely advanced under the banner of curbing 'waste, fraud, and abuse.' They underestimate the ability of regular people across the country to see through these focus group-tested talking points. The patients and consumers we represent won't be fooled: Any cuts to Medicaid will lead to a loss of benefits. When the patients we represent lose their health coverage because of these cuts, they will be acutely aware of the reality behind lawmakers' claims that these cuts were simply eliminating government waste. Patients and consumers who are forced to navigate the broken healthcare system understand that waste exists, and they want Congress to take it on. But they know the difference between refusing to pay insurers for deceased enrollees and taking Medicaid coverage away from a woman who has to cut back her hours at work to care for an elderly parent with Alzheimer's.

The Impact of These Cuts Would Be the 119th Congress's Legacy
None of the policies under discussion offer any improvement to an already popular and effective program that serves millions of individuals and families across our country. In fact, they forecast a dangerous path to higher mortality and morbidity, more (not less) government waste, and fewer resources for the sick, elderly, poor, and vulnerable.

Again, with one voice, we urge Congress to reject the harmful and reckless Medicaid cuts being considered for inclusion in the budget reconciliation bill. We call on you to reject these dangerous cuts and reaffirm your commitment to protecting the health and economic stability of millions of Americans.

Sincerely,

AiArthritis
American Cancer Society Cancer Action Network
American Diabetes Association
American Kidney Fund
American Lung Association
Arthritis Foundation
Asthma and Allergy Foundation of America
Autoimmune Association
Cancer*Care*
Crohn's & Colitis Foundation
Cystic Fibrosis Foundation
Epilepsy Foundation of America

EveryLife Foundation for Rare Diseases
Family Voices National
Foundations for Sarcoidosis Research (FSR)
Hemophilia Federation of America
Immune Deficiency Foundation
Lupus Foundation of America
Lutheran Services in America
Muscular Dystrophy Association
National Alliance on Mental Illness
National Bleeding Disorders Foundation
National Coalition for Cancer Survivorship
National Health Council
National Kidney Foundation
National Multiple Sclerosis Society
National Patient Advocate Foundation
National Psoriasis Foundation
NMDP (formerly National Marrow Donor Program)
Pulmonary Hypertension Association
Sickle Cell Disease Association of America, Inc.
Susan G. Komen
The AIDS Institute
The Coalition for Hemophilia B
The Leukemia & Lymphoma Society
Volunteers of America
WomenHeart: The National Coalition for Women with Heart Disease

May 13, 2025

The Honorable Mike Johnson
Speaker of the House
H-232, The Capitol
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable John Thune
Senate Majority Leader
S-309, The Capitol
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable Hakeem Jeffries
House Minority Leader
H-204, The Capitol
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable Charles Schumer
Senate Minority Leader
S-230, The Capitol
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Speaker Johnson, Minority Leader Jeffries, Majority Leader Thune, and Minority Leader Schumer:

On behalf of the undersigned medical organizations representing physicians who provide essential care for patients across the lifespan, we write today to express our deep concerns with the proposed changes to the Medicaid program currently being considered by Congress. Patient care would be threatened by proposals such as altering the federal financing structure of the Medicaid program, limiting eligibility, shifting costs to states, and increasing the administrative complexity of the program.

Medicaid is not just a safety-net program—it is a critical pillar of the American health care system. It provides coverage to over 80 million Americans, including low-income children, pregnant patients, seniors, and people with disabilities. Patients rely on Medicaid for essential surgical and medical care, from emergency life-saving procedures to routine preventive services, including managing chronic conditions. Medicaid provides health care including mental health care coverage to people in every state, every county, and every congressional district. Our members provide care in rural, suburban, and urban communities in a variety of practice settings.

These proposals would cut off the access needed to care for our patients. Changes of the magnitude being proposed, combined with Medicare physician payment rates that have not kept pace with inflation, would result in loss of coverage and risk exacerbating hospital and practice closures, particularly in rural areas, putting lifesaving and routine care out of reach for millions of our patients.

As organizations that represent our nation's physicians, we see firsthand how Medicaid coverage improves health outcomes and saves lives. We urge Congress to maintain coverage to assure health care access for our patients and reject the proposed changes to the program. We welcome the opportunity to work with Congress to identify sustainable strategies to strengthen the program and improve on its promise to provide high-quality coverage and access to care for populations in need, today and in the future.

Sincerely,

American Academy of Family Physicians

American Academy of Hospice and Palliative Medicine

American Academy of Neurology

American Academy of Ophthalmology

American Academy of Pediatrics

American Academy of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation

American College of Cardiology

American College of Emergency Physicians
American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists
American College of Osteopathic Internists
American College of Physicians
American College of Rheumatology
American College of Surgeons
American Gastroenterological Association
American Orthopaedic Foot and Ankle Society
American Osteopathic Association
American Psychiatric Association
American Society for Gastrointestinal Endoscopy
American Society for Metabolic and Bariatric Surgery
American Society for Surgery of the Hand Professional Organization
American Society of Colon and Rectal Surgeons
American Society of Hematology
American Society of Nuclear Cardiology
American Society of Pediatric Nephrology
American Society of Plastic Surgeons
American Thoracic Society
American Urological Association
Association for Clinical Oncology
Association of Women in Rheumatology
College of American Pathologists
Heart Failure Society of America
HIV Medicine Association
Infectious Diseases Society of America
Medical Group Management Association
National Association of Spine Specialists
North American Society for Pediatric Gastroenterology, Hepatology and Nutrition
Renal Physicians Association
Society for Vascular Surgery
Society of American Gastrointestinal and Endoscopic Surgeons
Society of Gynecologic Oncology
The Society of Thoracic Surgeons

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. Levin.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. MIKE LEVIN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. LEVIN. Madam Chair, thank you. My colleagues have made many powerful arguments against this bill today, and I am here for a very simple reason. That is to offer what I believe is a reasonable bipartisan amendment focused on a shared goal: protecting the American people from higher energy costs.

This amendment would ensure the key provisions in this bill, particularly those that eliminate support for clean energy and roll back environmental protections cannot take effect unless the Energy Information Administration confirms that they will not increase monthly household utility bills. That is it.

If the policies in this bill are truly going to reduce costs, then this amendment simply adds a commonsense verification step to confirm it. Nothing more. But independent analysis already indicates this bill would raise energy costs for American families by at least 7 percent.

That is an average of more than $110 per year per household at a time when nearly 80 million Americans are struggling to pay their utility bills. We shouldn't be adding to that burden.

Now, some of my colleagues have asked, "Look, if clean energy is so affordable, why does it still need tax credits?" That is a good question, and the answer is this: Clean energy is already the cheapest source of power in many markets, but the transition still requires upfront investment. We need to build transmission lines, upgrade the grid, and scale American manufacturing.

The credits help unlock those investments and deliver long-term savings to consumers. At the same time, fossil fuels continue to benefit from longstanding subsidies and infrastructure that has been built and paid for over decades. Without tax credits, we are not creating a level playing field. We are favoring the status quo at the expense of innovation and competition.

These investments are not only saving families money in the long run; they are creating jobs, and not just in any one part of the country. The clean energy economy is growing in red districts and blue districts alike. Solar plants, battery storage facilities, wind farms, electric vehicle factories, grid modernization projects. These are putting people to work in rural areas, in small towns, in manufacturing hubs, and communities that have seen jobs vanish in past decades.

From Georgia to Michigan, North Carolina to California, clean energy is rebuilding America's industrial base and restoring pride and prosperity, including in places that have been overlooked for far too long. If we eliminate the tools that are making this growth possible, we don't just risk raising prices; we risk losing momentum on job creation, competitiveness, and true energy independence.

This bill also contains provisions that raise fees on renewables that will make it easier and cheaper for fossil fuel developers to access public lands. It weakens permitting protections and it undercuts the economic foundation for one of the fastest-growing sectors in our economy, all while shifting costs back to American families.

Regardless of how you feel about clean energy or climate change, I hope we can agree on this: If we are going to pass legislation that affects energy markets, we have a responsibility to ensure it doesn't drive up costs for the people we represent. That is what this amendment does.

It doesn't block the bill. It doesn't impose ideology. It simply says, "Let's get the facts first. Let's verify the real-world impact before we make irreversible changes." Our constituents expect us to be responsible stewards, not just of the environment but of their hard-earned money.

Let's show that we can work together to protect them and preserve the job growth we are finally seeing across this country. I urge my colleagues to support this amendment and to stand up for families, for fairness, and for the future.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Levin.

Ms. Sewell, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. TERRI A. SEWELL, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ALABAMA

Ms. SEWELL. Thank you, Madam Chair, for the opportunity for me to give a voice to the great people of Alabama's Seventh Congressional District on this debate.

I have two amendments. My first amendment, amendment No. 209, would extend the Affordable Care Act's premium tax credits to Americans in non-Medicaid expansion States like Alabama who are caught in this coverage gap, as well as Americans who have lost Medicaid coverage as a result of the Republicans' cut in this bill.

1.5 million Americans are in the Medicaid coverage gap. These are the working poor. They work every day, many minimum wage jobs, and they make too much money to be on Medicaid, but they don't make enough money to be able to afford health insurance. They are truly the working poor.

We must not let the ACA enhanced premium tax credits expire December 31, 2025, and we must expand the premium tax credit for low-income citizens below 138 percent of the poverty line.

I have heard from countless constituents who fall in this Medicaid coverage gap and are desperate to get healthcare. I spoke recently with one of my constituents, Kiana, who was caught in this gap. She lost her Medicaid coverage following the end of the COVID public policy emergency exemption.

When she tried to qualify for Medicaid again, she was told that she made more than the $295 a month that would make her qualify. This was no help to her. And you know what? The big billionaire boondoggle bill won't be of any help to her either.

In my State, Medicaid is a bare-bones program. You have to be really, really poor. Back home in Alabama, you must be "po"; you can't afford the O or the R in order to get Medicaid in my State.

So, instead of giving handouts to the billionaires, I would say, let us use this opportunity to increase the number of Americans who have healthcare coverage. This amendment would jump-start coverage for people who have been left out for far too long. These are parents. They are people with disabilities. Individuals who work but can't afford and don't have jobs that have healthcare benefits.

Simply put, as 10 States seem committed to denying benefits for Medicaid expansion, I want my residents in the State of Alabama who fall in this Medicaid gap to get coverage. So I would ask you to consider that amendment.

My second amendment is amendment No. 139. It strikes the $5 billion worth of private school voucher schemes that are in this bill. Under the Republican plan, donors who contribute money or stock to these voucher plans will receive a tax credit of 100 percent contribution back in the form of a discount on their tax bill.

It really is outrageous that we would actually help the wealthy and well-off pay for private schools for their own children. There is nothing in this bill that stops them from making their own children eligible to receive this private voucher.

I know this issue way too well. My home State of Alabama has adopted a dollar-for-dollar tax shelter for donations to voucher schemes. And Alabama's public schoolchildren and teachers are paying the price. The private school voucher scheme is modeled after States like Alabama.

Many southern private schools were established during and after integration. Today these same schools are benefiting from taxpayer dollars flowing, rapidly expanding voucher programs that are rampant with waste, fraud, and abuse. Instead of tackling the fraud in these programs, Republicans are hell-bent in overdrive giving tax shelters in the form of a Federal level.

There is nothing in this bill that stops Alabama's wealthiest from being able to take a tax credit on the State level and now on the Federal level. These academies do not have to live—do not have to live by the same standards as public schools.

You know, in the State of Alabama, school choice doesn't really mean a choice when you live in small rural communities that only have two schools, one that is public and all Black and one that is private and all White. That is in 2025, not in 1965. We should not be promulgating these opportunities.

Public schools don't have the same benefits. I know that my colleagues will probably ask me about these private schools in the State of Alabama. I look forward to that robust discussion.

But I ask, Madam Chair, for unanimous consent to put into the record these articles about segregated academies across the south that are getting millions in taxpayer dollars.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Without objection, Ms. Sewell.

[The information follows:]

PROPUBLICA

Segregation Academies Across the South Are Getting Millions in Taxpayer Dollars

Submitted into the record by Rep. Terri Sewell (AL-07)

Written by Jennifer Berry Hawes and Mollie Simon

Published on Nov. 18, 2024, 5 a.m. EST

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Update, Nov. 20, 2024: The North Carolina legislature has voted to override the governor's veto of funding for 54,000 children on the school voucher waitlist. The move could more than double the number of students receiving private school vouchers and send more money to segregation academies. In her speech opposing the move, Democratic Sen. Natasha Marcus pointed to ProPublica's reporting about voucher funds going to those vastly white academies: "It's not just their history. It is still their present."

Private schools across the South that were established for white children during desegregation are now benefiting from tens of millions in taxpayer dollars flowing from rapidly expanding voucher-style programs, a ProPublica analysis found.

In North Carolina alone, we identified 39 of these likely "segregation academies" that are still operating and that have received voucher money. Of these, 20 schools reported student bodies that were at least 85% white in a 2021-22 federal survey of private schools, the most recent data available.

Those 20 academies, all founded in the 1960s and 1970s, brought in more than $20 million from the state in the past three years alone. None reflected the demographics of their communities. Few even came close.

Northeast Academy, a small Christian school in rural Northampton County on the Virginia border, is among them. As of the 2021-22 survey, the school's enrollment was 99% white in a county that runs about 40% white.

Every year since North Carolina launched its state-funded private school voucher program in 2014, the academy has received more and more money. Last school year, it received about $438,500 from the program, almost half of its total reported tuition. Northeast is on track to beat that total this school year.

Vouchers play a similar role at Lawrence Academy, an hour's drive south. It has never reported Black enrollment higher than 3% in a county whose population hovers around

60% Black. A small school with less than 300 students, it received $518,240 in vouchers last school year to help pay for 86 of those students.

Farther south, Pungo Christian Academy has received voucher money every year since 2015 and, as of the last survey, had become slightly more white than when the voucher program began. It last reported a student body that was 98% white in a county that was 65% white.

Segregation academies that remain vastly white continue to play an integral role in perpetuating school segregation — and, as a result, racial separation in the surrounding communities. We found these academies benefiting from public money in Southern states beyond North Carolina. But because North Carolina collects and releases more complete data than many other states, it offers an especially telling window into what is happening across this once legally segregated region where legislatures are rapidly expanding and adopting controversial voucher-style programs.

Called Opportunity Scholarships, North Carolina's voucher program launched in 2014. At first, it was only for low-income families and had barely more than 1,200 participants. Then last fall, state lawmakers expanded eligibility to students of all income levels and those already attending private school, a move that sparked furious debate over the future of public education.

"We are ensuring that every child has the chance to thrive," Republican Rep. Tricia Cotham argued. But Democratic Rep. Julie von Haefen pointed to vouchers' "legacy of white supremacy" and called the expansion "a gross injustice to the children of North Carolina."

So many students flocked to the program that the state now has a waitlist of about 54,000 children. Paying for all of them to receive vouchers — at a cost of $248 million — would more than double the current number of participants in the program. Republicans in the General Assembly, along with three Democrats, passed a bill in September to do just that.

Gov. Roy Cooper, a Democrat, vetoed the measure. But the GOP supermajority is expected to override it before the year's end, perhaps as early as Nov. 19.

Opportunity Scholarships don't always live up to their name for Black children. Private schools don't have to admit all comers. Nor do they have to provide busing or free meals. Due to income disparities, Black parents also are less likely to be able to afford the difference between a voucher that pays at most $7,468 a year and an annual tuition bill that can top $10,000 or even $20,000.

And unlike urban areas that have a range of private schools, including some with diverse student bodies, segregation academies are the only private schools available in some rural counties across the South.

Josh Cowen, a professor of education policy at Michigan State, studies these barriers and sees where vouchers fall short for some: “Eligibility does not mean access.”

Rural roads and cotton fields surround Lawrence Academy in Merry Hill, North Carolina. The school, which opened in majority-Black Bertie County in 1968, has never reported Black enrollment higher than 3%. The area is part of the region’s Black Belt, where rich soils fueled cotton plantations.

Of the 20 vastly white segregation academies we identified that received voucher money in North Carolina, nine were at least 30 percentage points more white than the counties in which they operate, based on 2021-22 federal survey and census data.

Otis Smallwood, superintendent of the Bertie County Schools in rural northeastern North Carolina, witnesses this kind of gulf in the district he leads. So many white children in the area attend Lawrence Academy and other schools that his district’s enrollment runs roughly 22 percentage points more Black than the county overall.

He said he tries not to be political. But he feels the brunt of an intensifying Republican narrative against public schools, which still educate most of North Carolina’s children. “It’s been chipping, chipping, chipping, trying to paint this picture that public schools are not performing well,” Smallwood said. “It’s getting more and more and more extreme.”

When a ProPublica reporter told him that Lawrence Academy received $518,240 last school year in vouchers, he was dismayed: “That’s half a million dollars I think could be put to better benefit in public schools.”

If lawmakers override the governor’s veto to fund the waitlist, Smallwood’s district could suffer most. In a recent report, the Office of State Budget and Management projected Bertie County could lose more of its state funding than any other district — 1.6% next year.

Bertie County Schools Superintendent Otis Smallwood worries that vouchers will drain resources from public schools, including the ones he oversees.

Across the once legally segregated South, the volume of public money flowing through voucher-style programs is set to balloon in coming years. Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Florida and South Carolina all have passed new or expanded programs since 2023. (South Carolina’s state Supreme Court rejected its tuition grants in September, but GOP lawmakers are expected to try again with a revamped court.)

Voucher critics contend these programs will continue to worsen school segregation by helping wealthier white kids attend private schools; supporters argue they help more Black families afford tuition. But many of the states have made it hard to discern if either is happening by failing to require that the most basic demographic data be shared with the public — or even gathered.

This doesn't surprise Cowen, who wrote the new book "The Privateers: How Billionaires Created a Culture War and Sold School Vouchers." He said Southern legislatures in particular don't want to know what the data would show because the results, framed by a legacy of racism, could generate negative headlines and lawsuit fodder.

States know how to collect vast troves of education data. North Carolina in particular is lauded among global researchers for "the robustness and the richness of the data system for public schools," Cowen said.

North Carolina and Alabama are among the states that have gathered demographic information about voucher recipients but won't tell the public the race of students who use them to attend a given school. In North Carolina, a spokesperson said doing so could reveal information about specific students, making that data not a public record under the Opportunity Scholarship statue.

For its $120 million tax credit program, Georgia does not collect racial demographic information or per-school spending. ProPublica was able to identify 20 segregation academies that signed up to take part, but it's unclear how many are receiving that money or what the racial breakdown is of the students who use it.

"Why should we not be allowed to know where the money is going? It's a deliberate choice by those who pass these laws," said Jessica Levin, director of Public Funds Public Schools, a national anti-voucher campaign led by the nonprofit Education Law Center. "There is a lack of transparency and accountability."

Advocacy groups that support widespread voucher use have resisted some rules that foster greater transparency out of concern that they might deter regulation-averse private schools from participating. Mike Long, president of the nonprofit Parents for Educational Freedom in North Carolina, is among those trying to rally as much private school buy-in for vouchers as possible.

"Their fear is that if they accept it, these are tax dollars, and therefore they would have to submit to government regulation," Long said. "We've lobbied this legislature, and I think they understand it very well, that you can't tie regulation to this."

Pungo Christian Academy opened in 1968 in the small town of Belhaven. It last reported a student body that was 98% white in a county that was 65% white. Credit:Greg Kahn, special to ProPublica

The share of Black students who have received vouchers in North Carolina has dropped significantly since the program's launch. In 2014, more than half the recipients were Black. This school year, the figure is 17%.

That share is unlikely to increase if lawmakers fund all 54,000 students on the waiting list. Because lower-income families were prioritized for vouchers, the applicants who remain on the list are mostly in higher income tiers — and those families are more likely to be white.

More Black parents don't apply for vouchers because they don't know about them, said Kwan Graham, who oversees parent liaisons for Parents for Educational Freedom in North Carolina.

Graham, who is Black, said parents haven't voiced to her concerns that, "I'm Black, they don't want me" at their local private schools. But she's also not naive. Private schools can largely select — and reject — who they want.

The nonprofit Public Schools First NC has tallied admissions policies that private schools receiving vouchers use to reject applicants based on things like sexuality, religion and disability. Many also require in-person interviews or tours. Rather than overtly rejecting students based on race, which the voucher program prohibits, schools might say something like, "Come visit the school and see if you're the 'right fit,'" said Heather Koons, the nonprofit's communications and research director.

Northeast Academy, Lawrence Academy and Pungo Christian all include nondiscrimination statements on their websites.

Back when segregation academies opened, some white leaders proudly declared their goal of preserving segregation. Others shrouded their racist motivations. Some white parents complained about federal government overreach and what they deemed social agendas and indoctrination in public schools. Even as violent backlash against integration erupted across the region, many white parents framed their decisions as quests for quality education, morality and Christian education, newspaper coverage and school advertisements from the time show.

Early on, Southern lawmakers found a way to use taxpayer money to give these academies a boost: They created school voucher programs that went chiefly to white students.

Courts ruled against or restricted the practice in the 1960s. But it didn't really end.

"If you look at the history of the segregation movement, they wanted vouchers to prop up segregation academies," said Bryan Mann, a University of Kansas professor who studies school segregation. "And now they're getting vouchers in some of these areas to prop up these schools."

More recently, Lawrence and Northeast academies both grew their enrollments while receiving voucher money even as the rural counties where they operate have lost population. Over three decades of responding to the federal private schools survey, both academies have reported enrolling almost no nonwhite children. And Pungo Christian has raised its average tuition by almost 50% over the past three school years. During that time, the small school has received almost $500,000 in vouchers.

None of the three academies' headmasters responded to ProPublica's request to discuss its findings or to lists of questions. And none have ever reported more than 3% Black enrollment despite operating in counties with substantial — even majority — Black populations.

Cotton farming and other agriculture remains an important part of the economy in Northampton County, a rural expanse in northeastern North Carolina that has lost population in recent years. Despite that decline, Northeast Academy has seen its enrollment grow and has received more voucher funding each year.

One of the Democrats who helped Republicans expand North Carolina's voucher program was Shelly Willingham, a Black representative whose district includes Bertie County, home of Lawrence Academy. He said he doesn't love vouchers, but the bills have included funding for issues he does support.

He also said he encourages his constituents to take advantage of the vouchers. If there were any effort to make it more difficult for Black students to attend those schools, "then I would have a big problem," Willingham said. "I don't see that."

Another Democrat who voted with Republicans was state Rep. Michael Wray, a white businessman and former House minority whip — who graduated from Northeast Academy.

Wray, whose voting record on vouchers over the years has been mixed, did not respond to multiple ProPublica requests to discuss his views. In 2013, he voted against the budget bill that established the Opportunity Scholarships. And in a recent Q&A with the local Daily Herald newspaper, when asked if he supports taxpayer money funding private schools, he responded: "I believe that when you siphon funds away from our public school budgets, it undermines the success of our schools overall."

Democrat Rodney Pierce, a public middle school teacher, recently won a seat in the North Carolina House of Representatives.

Rodney Pierce, a Black 46-year-old father and public school teacher, saw the voucher expansion in the state budget bill Wray voted for and felt history haunt him. Pierce had only one white student in his classes last year at Gaston STEM Leadership Academy. But about 30 miles across the rural county, white children filled Northeast Academy.

Pierce taught history, with a deep interest in civil rights. He'd studied the voucher programs that white supremacists crafted to help white families flee to segregation academies.

"This stuff was in the works back in the 1960s," Pierce said.

He was so outraged that he challenged Wray, a 10-term incumbent, for his state House seat. Pierce won the Democratic primary earlier this year by just 34 votes. He faced no opponent in November, so come next year he will cut the House's support of vouchers by one vote.

"Particularly in the Black community, we care about our public schools," he said.

Many Black families also have little to no relationship with their local private schools, especially those that opened specifically for white children and are still filled with them. The only times Pierce had set foot on Northeast Academy's campus was when he covered a few sporting events there for the local newspaper.

People there were nice to him, he said, but he felt anxious: "You're in an academy you know was started by people who didn't want their children to go to school with Black children."

His own three kids attend public schools. Even with vouchers, he said, he wouldn't send them to a school founded as a segregation academy, much less one that still fosters segregation. He finds it insulting to force taxpayers, including the Black residents he will soon represent — about half of the people in his district — to pay to send other people's children to these schools.

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https://www.propublica.org/article/segregation-academies-school-voucher-money-north-carolina

Ms. SEWELL. Thank you so much. And I ask for support of both of these amendments.

[The statement of Ms. Sewell follows:]

U.S. CONGRESSWOMAN
TERRI SEWELL
REPRESENTING ALABAMA'S 7TH DISTRICT

Rules Committee

APTC and School Voucher Amendment

Madame Chairwoman, I have two amendments to offer.

Thank you, Madame Chairwoman. My first amendment would extend the Affordable Care Act's premium tax credits to Americans in non-Medicaid expansion states—like Alabama—who are caught in the coverage gap, as well as Americans who will lose Medicaid coverage as a result of Republican cuts.

We must extend the premium tax credit for low income citizens below 138% of the poverty line. I have heard from countless constituents who fall in the coverage gap and are desperate to get healthcare.

I recently spoke with one of my constituents named Kiana who is caught in the coverage gap! She lost her Medicaid coverage following the end of the COVID public health emergency. When she tried to qualify for Medicaid again she was told since she made more than $295 A MONTH—she did not qualify! There is no help for her in this Great Big Beautiful Bill.

In my home state, Medicaid is a bare bones program! You have to be less than poor to receive Medicaid! So, for many Americans that make more than the limit, you are

without options unless you can access the advanced premium tax credit.

Instead of offering handouts to billionaires, we should be finding ways to increase the number of Americans with healthcare coverage.

My second amendment strikes the **five billion dollar** private school voucher scheme from this bill.

Under the Republican plan, donors who contribute money or stock to these voucher schemes will receive 100% of the contribution back in the form of a discount on their tax bills. It's a preposterous tax benefit, not afforded to other types of charitable donations, including those to our churches.

I know this issue well - my home state of Alabama has adopted a dollar-for-dollar tax shelter for donations to voucher schemes, and Alabama's public school children and teachers are paying the price, right along with taxpayers footing the bill.

The private school voucher scheme is modeled after state programs like those in Alabama. Many southern private schools *were established during and after integration*. Today, those same schools are benefitting from taxpayer dollars flowing from rapidly expanding voucher programs that are rampant with waste, fraud, and abuse. Instead of tackling the fraud in these programs, Republicans are kicking it into overdrive by creating a similar tax shelter at the federal level.

These academies do not have to live by the same standards as public schools. They don't have to educate disabled children or provide special education classes. They don't have to release test scores. Their teachers do not have to be certified. Yet in my district, it's the public schools that are deemed as "failing" and "unsafe" while the private schools are able to keep their test scores and performance data hidden from the public.

Madame Chairwoamn, I am a proud product of *public* schools. I went to Selma *public* schools, where my mom was the librarian and my dad was the basketball coach and math teacher. I went to Selma *public* schools during the short period of time they were integrated. I was

given every opportunity to thrive as a result of the *public* school teachers and coaches who poured into my life.

This is the story of education across the Black Belt. Madame Chairwoman, I would like to enter into the record this article highlighting these segregated schools. These academies began popping up in the 60s and 70s as an alternative to public schools. Over time, more and more white families and those with financial means pulled their children from public schools. The language they used then was the same then as it is now - "school choice," "parents' right to freedom".

I trust that my colleagues across the aisle genuinely believe school choice is about freedom. But as your friend, I want you to hear me say that *"school choice"* in

my district shrouds a deep and dark history that I don't care to hearken back to.

I will fight every effort to take resources from public schools and to segregate my district even more than it already is.

If my colleagues truly cared about the most vulnerable in our society, they would support my amendments to extend premium tax credits to individuals in the coverage gap making marketplace coverage more affordable AND removal of this school voucher provision that is nothing more than a tax haven for the wealthy.

I encourage my colleagues to vote in favor of both these amendments.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.
Ms. Titus, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. DINA TITUS, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEVADA

Ms. TITUS. Thank you, Madam Chairman, and members of the committee.

I agree with many of the things that have been said so eloquently before me about the cuts to SNAP and Medicaid, and I have several amendments offered. They range from helicopter roundups of horses to saving the National Endowment for the Humanities.

But I am here now to advocate for an amendment that would strike a provision in the reconciliation bill that allows for the sale of at least 65,000 acres in Clark County, Nevada. Now, this—my amendment doesn't impact northern Nevada, nor does it impact Utah, where the Representatives there agree with those sales. I am talking about my district in Clark County, Nevada.

About two weeks ago, during the 11th hour of the House Natural Resources Committee meeting, Representative Amodei introduced an amendment to sell off public lands in southern Nevada. Again, this is an area that he does not represent.

He snuck this provision in during the middle of the night without consulting with me, any Members of the Nevada delegation, or the Clark County Commission. If he had, he would have known there was not support for this, and this was not a responsible way to accommodate growth or manage our natural resources.

So I am here to defend the public lands in my district and stop them from just being auctioned off by the GOP and have the money used from the option to pay down the tax breaks for the wealthy. Decisions to sell public land should not be made on a whim; they deserve careful consideration with input from the public and collaboration with the stakeholders who will be impacted by the sales.

I know this because I have worked on this issue for decades as a Member of Congress and as a State legislator. In fact, I had a bill that came to be known as "ring around the valley" when I was in the State legislature that looked at growth boundaries.

It encouraged high-density development, rewarded infill over sprawl, and required developers to contribute to the cost of infrastructure. Well, that didn't become law. It was kind of called "ring around the neck" or "ring around the collar" by some of the opponents, had a picture of me with a noose on the cover of a magazine. But, nonetheless, it started the conversation, and some of those things over time have been adopted.

Representative Amodei's amendment was an irresponsible departure from that and will just roll back our attempts to kind of balance smart growth with conservation. His proposal includes no offsets for land conservation. And, in fact, it appears that it overlaps Avi Kwa Ame, a national monument that we just got created. Nor is it a silver bullet for addressing housing needs in Nevada.

It does nothing to address the other factors that contribute to housing problems besides land costs. This includes supply chain issues, the Trump tariffs, a shrinking construction workforce, and lack of tax incentives to build affordable housing.

What is more, it does nothing to address the infrastructure that will need to be built to accommodate far-flung developments caused by sprawl, and it ignores the drain on our very valuable resource of water because there are no built-in guide rails—or guardrails.

In fact, just this month, the report from USDA's Natural Resources Conservation Service showed just how serious our lack of water is, both in Lake Powell and Lake Mead, at 33 percent capacity, down 920,000-acre feet, which equates to enough water to service 1.8 million homes.

Ms. TITUS. Furthermore, the U.S. Drought Monitor shows that areas in Clark County slated for land sales in this amendment to the reconciliation bill are in conditions that range from severe to exceptional drought, that being the most extreme.

Nor does it take into account the new guidelines, the soon-to-be-determined post-2026 operating guidelines for the Colorado River, and that has potential to shape our water allocation. If we are going to develop more land, we certainly need to take in that reality.

Finally, nearly $1 billion in estimated revenue from the sale of this land in southern Nevada would go directly, under this amendment, to the U.S. Treasury, not come back to the State to be used for outdoor recreation, preserving critical ecosystems, or wildfire protection.

So the public lands of Nevada will not be sold to benefit southern Nevada, nor will they be put up for sale by someone who represents southern Nevada. So, for all these reasons, I would ask you to take this into consideration and let the people of southern Nevada have a say in what happens to their public treasures.

I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Ms. Titus.

Ms. DelBene, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. SUZAN DELBENE, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

Ms. DELBENE. Thank you, Madam Chair and Ranking Member McGovern.

I am offering an amendment that is a proven solution to grow the middle class and significantly slash childhood poverty.

Families across the country are struggling to make ends meet, and addressing the high cost of living is the number-one concern for Americans.

My amendment would restore the largest-ever middle-class tax cut by increasing the child tax credit and making it fully refundable.

The current child tax credit leaves out one in three kids because they live in families that don't make enough money to access the full benefit. The Republican bill will leave out 17 million American children who are in families that don't earn enough to receive the full child tax credit.

This Republican billionaire-bailout bill would give the ultra-wealthy millions of dollars in tax breaks, while a two-parent family working full-time earning minimum wage wouldn't qualify for the full child tax credit.

Republicans claim to be pro-family, but they are knowingly leaving out the parents and children—the families—that are struggling the most to make ends meet.

I recently met a mom from Washington who has four adopted kids. One of her children has a severe developmental disability and requires constant care. She worked multiple jobs so she could provide for her children.

In 2021, she began receiving monthly child tax credit checks under the Democrats' American Rescue Plan. These payments allowed her to bring in extra help to care for her special-needs child so she could also spend more time with her other children and do things like take them sledding in the winter. She told me that she had finally felt like she had room to breathe with the extra money that helped support her family.

That is what families really want: the stability and certainty that they cannot only just get by but also get ahead.

Since the child tax credit payments ended in 2021, she has had to pick up more work to make ends meet again, meaning she spends less time with her kids.

This budget bill shows where people really stand and shows where Republicans really stand, and it is not with hardworking Americans. If they did, they would be giving tax cuts to the middle class, not the wealthy and the well-connected. They would be expanding programs like the child tax credit so that parents who are working full-time but still struggling to make ends meet can get the full benefit.

I urge my colleagues to support that amendment.

I also have a second amendment that will reassert Congress's authority over trade, which is based on my legislation, the Prevent Tariff Abuse Act.

President Trump has been waging a trade war around the world since he took office. This includes our close allies and economic partners like Canada, Mexico, and the European Union. These tariffs are increasing costs for small businesses and raising the price of goods that families rely on every day, like groceries and household products.

The President has callously said he could care less if prices go up because of his tariffs. Trump is openly telling Americans that they will have to live with less and pay more under his economy, and for no reason.

It is abundantly clear that there is not a plan or ultimate goal for what he wants to accomplish with these tariffs. He imposes tariffs one day, then removes or delays them the next. And this chaos is damaging to our economy and making America a difficult place to do business.

If someone comes to the White House or Mar-a-Lago to bend the knee, maybe they will get a special deal. And that reeks of corruption.

The justification the President used to enact these tariffs was the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, or IEEPA. For example, Trump imposed tariffs on Canada under the guise of a national emergency over fentanyl. But, in reality, significantly-orders-of-magnitude-more fentanyl goes into Canada from the United States than comes the other way around.

Sweeping tariffs should not be put in place at the whim of a President. There should be a vote in Congress. We used to have bipartisan support that we needed to assert our congressional constitutional authority over trade, and we had that bipartisan support when President Biden was in office, but suddenly Republicans are silent.

If a Democrat was in the White House today, would you let them raise taxes on your constituents by thousands of dollars a year without a vote in Congress?

I offer this amendment to give everyone the opportunity to make it clear that any President must come to Congress for a vote before he can put in place sweeping tariffs. We are a co-equal branch of government, and it is our job to stand up for our communities, not blindly follow the executive branch.

I urge my colleagues to support this amendment as well.

And thank you, Madam Chair. I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Ms. DelBene.

Mr. Espaillat?

STATEMENT OF THE HON. ADRIANO ESPAILLAT, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. ESPAILLAT. Thank you, Madam Chair, Ranking Member.

Madam Chair, this debate about Medicaid cuts is really a debate about life and death.

The Medicaid program is not a Democratic program; it is not a Republican program. It is an important program for constituents in red districts and blue districts. And I have 488,000 people in my district that are Medicaid recipients, and I am sure that many Members across the aisle, perhaps including yourself, have many constituents that rely on the Medicaid program.

So this is ultimately a debate about life and death.

And I feel that this bill does not live up to the promises that the majority has made to the American people. For months and weeks, we have heard how Medicaid would not be touched. Americans were told that this bill would also reduce the deficit and restore the middle class. Instead, the bill will allow for millions in tax cuts to the very wealthy and increase by $2.3 trillion the national debt.

Americans were told that the Medicaid program was safe and cuts aren't occurring. Instead, we see provisions that would cause nearly 14 million Americans to lose their healthcare, and millions more will have to pay higher premiums and copays.

Adding ineffective work requirements and lowering the Federal matching rate for Medicaid in States are just some of the provisions that will result in millions of Americans losing their health coverage.

Again, this is a debate about life and death.

The loss of coverage would have a rippling effect on healthcare. Federally Qualified Health Centers and safety-net hospitals rely heavily on Medicaid reimbursement to provide high-quality care.

In my home district, New York's 13th District, 72 federally funded health centers rely on Federal investment to serve close to a million patients. Clinics like the Boriken Health Center in Harlem, the Morris Heights Medical Center in the Bronx, and the Ryan

Health Center in Washington Heights in Manhattan are essential to the medical ecosystem of that district.

These clinics are much more than just health centers. They provide primary care. They provide preventive healthcare to kids with asthma, adults with diabetes. They host food pantries—the ranking member was in my district to see one of those at a school—because they understand that food is medicine.

Because this is a debate, ultimately, about life and death. This is not a comfortable debate. This is not an easy one. This is not one that we can laugh about. This is about life or death.

Without a strong Medicaid program, these health facilities will be forced to limit the services that they offer, they will lay off staff, and they will even have to close.

That is why I have introduced amendment 309, which would require the Health and Human Services Secretary to conduct a study and report to Congress on the effects of Medicaid cuts on the reduction of services in Federally Qualified Health Centers like the ones I described, community health centers, and safety-net hospitals.

These safety-net hospitals are the last resort for working families that are sick, that cannot provide or have the money to pay for a Cadillac health plan, a private health plan that is so expensive. That is why I have 488,000 patients. Cuts to Medicaid will increase the uninsured rates and will dismantle healthcare. We must protect safety-net programs.

I urge the adoption of this amendment.

And I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Espaillat.

Mr. Amo, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. GABE AMO, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF RHODE ISLAND

Mr. AMO. Thank you, Madam Chair, thank you, Ranking Member, and thank you to the members of the Rules Committee who have been here from darkness to light and hopefully not to darkness again.

But I have to be clear that the moral darkness of this plan remains. There is a clear contrast in values here. And budgets, as we know, are a statement of values. And my Republican colleagues have been showing, through their force, the stature of their values, and I don't find them to be high in this moment.

As Americans slept and as they awoke, they are experiencing a reality where there is a strategy, an attempt, a plan to take away healthcare for more than 3.7 million Americans, school meals for 18.3 million children, food assistance for about 11 million hungry people, and access to higher education for 4 million aspirants.

In my home State of Rhode Island alone, 28,000 people would lose health coverage by 2034; over 12,000 students would lose some or all of their Pell grant funding; and 21,000 Rhode Islanders would lose some or all of their food assistance.

These are people's lives. This is their health. This is their future.

And I will say it again, that, you know, budgets are a statement of values. And this tells tens of thousands—hundreds of thousands of Rhode Islanders that they don't matter. And that is not true.

These cuts are made all the more egregious by the fact that they are being used to finance a tax scheme that gives handouts to the richest Americans. As written, this disastrous reconciliation bill would give the richest Americans an extra $82,000 just to begin, going up for more and more and more, you know, yachts and fancy cars and trips to exotic places, while people on the other end suffer.

It, meanwhile, would also hike the lowest-earning Americans' tax rate by 19 percent. It is a moral inversion, a reverse Robin Hood scheme to steal from the poor and give to the rich.

You know, we saw the numbers from CBO, seeing household resources for the bottom 10 percent go down by 4 percent; for the top 10 percent, go up by 2 percent. And those might seem like small numbers, but the scale of the increase for the top is just immoral.

And that is why I introduced amendment 355, which would raise the top tax rate back to 39.6 percent.

And, conveniently, this is something that President Trump said himself, right? A broken clock is right twice a day.

And I think we know that we have a revenue problem. We know that this is something we will have to deal with. And we know the wealthy not only can but they should pay more. We just have to have courage. And I encourage support for this amendment from my colleagues on both sides of the aisle.

And this amendment, of course, won't solve everything. We know that this Republican bill still strips healthcare from over 13 million Americans and puts one in four SNAP recipients at risk of losing benefits. It remains a betrayal. Raise the rate, it still doesn't solve for that. But it makes it slightly less fiscally irresponsible.

Moody's cited our revenue challenges specifically in their downgrade.

Now, on to another amendment. Because, you know, the devil is really in the details here and beauty is truly in the eye of the beholder when it comes to this legislation, and I had to pay real close attention to this one to see how ugly this portion is. It is why I am proud to co-lead Congressman Mike Thompson's amendment 374, which would repeal the provision that eliminates the $200 tax on silencers.

Silencers make mass shootings worse, more deadly. They make it harder for victims and law enforcement to locate the source of the shooting. What is beautiful about that? Making them cheaper?

Not only does this provision make silencers more accessible, it would cost $1.4 billion. Here we are, stealing, seeing a theft from Republicans of healthcare so that we can eliminate silencers? It is illogical, and I can think of better uses for $1.4 billion.

Let's focus on caring for the sick and feeding the hungry and not making silencers cheaper. It is not fiscally responsible that you would do all of this while adding trillions to the national debt. And because of policies like these, we will face challenges.

So, with that, I encourage support for these two amendments, and let's get our house in order and focus on the people who need our support.

Thank you. I yield back.

[The statement of Mr. Amo follows:]

Rules Committee on Budget Reconciliation Opening Remarks
May 20-21, 2025

- Once again, Republicans have called a hearing in the dead of night.

- The darkness of night may have lifted, but the moral darkness of this budget remains.

- Budgets are a statement of values and the partisan bill my colleagues have been trying to force through this committee since the dark pre-dawn hours, and the way it is being done, is a symptom of their moral decay.

- As most of America slept my colleagues on the other side of the aisle tried to:
    - take away health care from 13.7 million Americans,
    - school meals for 18.3 million children,
    - food assistance for about 11 million hungry people,
    - and access to higher education for 4 million aspirants.

- In my state alone:
    - 28,000 people would lose health care coverage by 2034.
    - Over 12,000 students would lose some or all of their Pell Grant funding,
    - And, 21,000 Rhode Islanders would lose some or all of their food assistance.

- These are people's lives, their health, and their futures.

- I'll say it again budget's are a statement of values and this budget tells tens of thousands of Rhode Islanders that they don't matter.

- These cuts are made all the more egregious by the fact that they are being made to finance a tax scheme that gives handouts to the richest Americans.

- As written this disastrous reconciliation bill would give the richest Americans an extra $82,000 in their pocket.

- It would meanwhile hike the lowest earning Americans tax rate by 19%.

- It's a moral inversion.

- A reverse robinhood scheme to steal from the poor to give to the rich.

- That's why I introduced amendment 355, which would raise the top tax rate back to 39.6 percent. This amendment fulfills a request from President Trump himself!

- This amendment won't solve everything. This Republican bill still strips health care from over 13 million Americans and puts 1 in 4 SNAP recipients at risk of losing benefits. It's still a betrayal of the American people.

- But, it will make the bill slightly less fiscally irresponsible.

- With this big, bad, ugly bill, the devil is in the details. That's why I'm proud to co-lead Congressman Mike Thompson's amendment 374, which would repeal the provision that eliminates the $200 tax on silencers.

- Silencers make mass shootings more deadly because they make it harder for victims and law enforcement to locate the source of the shooting. Republicans want to make them cheaper.

- Not only does this provision make silencers more accessible. It would cost $1.4 billion. You heard that right, eliminating the silencer tax would cost $1.4 billion.

- I can think of a million better uses for $1.4 billion. Let's focus on caring for the sick and feeding the hungry, not making silencers cheaper.

- And it's not fiscally responsible they will do all of this AND add trillions to our national debt.

- Because of policies like these, our nation's credit score was downgraded.

- We are worsening our nation's financial situation and the financial situation of the most vulnerable Americans.

- At the end of the day, this bill is a lose-lose and we cannot let their billionaire buddies win.

- I've voted against this twice in Committee and I will vote down this bill over and over.

- I hope and pray that it fails, because if it does not, my colleagues will be allowed to fail the American people.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.
Ms. Lee, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. SUSIE LEE, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEVADA

Ms. LEE of Nevada. Thank you, Madam Chair.

I am here to ask for support to my amendment to this big, bad, billionaire bill or whatever it is called. It is not about the nearly 100,000 Nevadans who will be left without healthcare. It is not about the thousands of homebound seniors who will no longer receive Meals on Wheels. It is not about the trillions that will be added to our national deficit. It is about water, something so precious and important in my home district of southern Nevada.

My amendment aims to stop Congressman Mark Amodei and the House Republicans from moving forward with the Trojan-horse Utah land grab that jeopardizes Nevada's water security and could very well derail sensitive and complicated negotiations about the future of the Colorado River.

I am here because, 2 weeks ago, literally in the middle of the night—seems to be a recurring theme for how Republicans legislate—Rep. Amodei advanced legislation in the Natural Resources Committee to sell off hundreds of thousands of acres of Federal land in Nevada and Utah. The proceeds from those sales would go to Washington to pay for billionaire tax breaks in the budget bill.

Mr. Amodei claims that this sell-off is necessary to lower the cost of housing. I have always supported releasing more Federal land for housing in Nevada. In fact, I have introduced and passed bipartisan legislation to do exactly that. But my first problem is that this proposal really isn't about housing. The Amodei proposal doesn't require that land sold in Nevada be used for housing. In fact, there is very little information on how exactly this land would be used.

Which leads me to my second issue with the proposal. For decades, the law has ensured that proceeds from Federal land sales in southern Nevada, which, as Congresswoman Titus has said, have been negotiated and supported by local government, but—that those proceeds stay in Nevada. This proposal from Amodei would instead send these proceeds to the Federal Government, and Nevada would lose billions of dollars. This would mean less money to build more schools, water infrastructure, parks, and so much more.

In fact, Federal land sales in southern Nevada have generated about a half-a-billion dollars to date to invest directly in southern Nevada water priorities. Under Rep. Amodei's own projection, this move could divert nearly $8 billion over 10 years from Nevada. Think about it. Who would then pay for things like water and parks and schools? Nevada homeowners. So Amodei's move actually increases housing costs for Nevadans, not decreases them.

And let me remind you that Rep. Amodei does not represent any part of Clark County, and his proposal is not supported by the county government or any member of Nevada's Federal delegation elected by voters of Clark County. I would never introduce a bill to sell off land in another Congressperson's district without consulting with them.

Congresswoman Titus just proposed an amendment which I support, but I finally want to talk about the third issue with this proposal and the purpose of my amendment, which relates to Nevada and the Southwest's water security.

Arizona Congressman Greg Stanton and I have been alerted by water officials in Nevada and Arizona that the public land that Amodei wants to sell off in Utah could be used for a controversial water pipeline.

The parcels of land marked for sale in this proposal coincidentally line up with the land in Utah that has been targeted for the so-called Lake Powell Pipeline. This proposed pipeline has greatly concerned water managers in Nevada, Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Wyoming. These are six of the seven States that depend on the Colorado River, every one except Utah.

If this land is sold and the pipeline is built, this could divert 28 billion gallons of water each year from Lake Powell and the Colorado River to communities in southern Utah, away from Nevada, Arizona, and other basin States.

Look, Amodei did not consult local authorities in southern Nevada, and it shows, because he clearly doesn't understand the relationship between water and development and housing costs.

I support the Titus amendment, and I am asking you to advance my amendment to repeal the Amodei land sale in Utah so we can stop this Trojan horse to steal Nevada's water.

Thank you.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Langworthy, do you have any questions?

Mr. LANGWORTHY. I have no questions.

The CHAIRWOMAN. No.

Mr. McGovern?

Mr. MCGOVERN. Ms. Sewell, I don't know, did you have anything else you wanted to add?

Ms. SEWELL. Thank you so much. Yes.

You know, I was starting to talk about the effects of this horrible bill on public schools and the fact that these school vouchers are now being federalized. I mean, there are lots of States, including my own State, that gives tax credit to parents who put their money in a, you know, foundation. They call it a foundation. There are no requirements as to who is eligible. So what happens is that lots of parents who already have their kids in private school now will have an opportunity, one for one, to get a tax credit for that.

And in my State of Alabama, a lot of those private schools popped up as a way of avoiding all deliberate speed in Brown v. Board of Education and created these segregated academies. And so I don't want, you know, this bill to give further credence to these vouchers being about choice, when there are very little choices when you have small communities that are made up of 5,000 people and there is one public school and there is only one academy and that academy is still all-White in 2025.

And, you know, as a public-school kid and parents who were public-school teachers and my dad was a—my mom was a librarian and my dad was a high-school basketball coach—I can tell you that, in Selma, when I was growing up, the best school was Selma High School. It was Selma High School that sent kids off full-schol-

arships to Duke and to other places. It wasn't the private academy that was private but didn't have a full array of sports or debate team or any of that.

And I don't want to, as a Member of Congress, promote these vouchers which are—and this bill gives a set-aside of $5 billion for these private-school vouchers.

So thank you so much for giving me——

Mr. MCGOVERN. No. Thank you.

Ms. SEWELL [continuing]. The opportunity to talk about it. You know and I know that these private schools——

Mr. MCGOVERN. Right.

Ms. SEWELL [continuing]. Don't have to take the disabled——

Mr. MCGOVERN. Right.

Ms. SEWELL [continuing]. Or special-ed kids. They have very different standards.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Yeah. So thank you for that.

And to everybody on the panel, thank you for your amendments. Thank you for waiting around. Thank you for, again, your passion and your commitment as you are trying to make this bill better. I support them all. And I am just so, so grateful that you are here.

I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

Ms. Sewell, you just said something, though, that I have to correct, because in this bill, with the vouchers, if a student does have an IEP, that has to be honored if the student goes into a school with a scholarship.

So you are mistaken, I have to say. For the schools, that is a part of that piece of legislation. So they do have to take students who have IEPs if they are in the public schools and they have IEPs and they transfer——

Ms. SEWELL. Well, I can just tell you that, in Alabama State—because they are going——

The CHAIRWOMAN. Okay.

Ms. SEWELL [continuing]. To get a vote. And I understand what you are saying, but, clearly, because schools are mostly controlled by the States——

The CHAIRWOMAN. But, in this legislation, there is a provision on that. It may not be true in Alabama, but it is true in this legislation.

Okay. Thank you.

Ms. Scanlon, you are recognized.

Ms. SCANLON. Thank you.

I would just add, however, that the way that would be enforced would be through the Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights, which has just been gutted by the Trump administration, so——

Ms. SEWELL. That is a very good point.

Ms. SCANLON. Thank you. I did that work for a long time.

Mr. Levin, I think you mentioned that the bill would raise energy costs for families. Is that right? Can you give me that figure?

Mr. LEVIN. Yep, by 7 percent, about $110 a year.

Ms. SCANLON. Okay. So, if the energy costs for the family are going to go up by $107 per year and their tax break is going to be $265 per year, we have already eliminated half of that. And then

if they are going to have problems with their healthcare costs because we have cut Medicaid and we are eliminating the ACA credits, you begin to see how the Budget Office has determined that the prices for average families are going to go up.

Mr. LEVIN. Well, this is a lousy deal. So, if you are making—the statistics I saw is, if you are making under $51,000 a year, you are going to wind up with $700 in increased tax burden per year, and if you make over $4.3 million, your taxes are going to go down by an average of $389,000.

So the rich get richer. And that is what these folks want to do.

Ms. SCANLON. Okay.

And, Ms. Castor, you were talking—one of your amendments deals with having HHS investigate the potential for Medicaid fraud.

Isn't that something that inspectors general would do for HHS under ordinary times when we had an inspector general?

Ms. CASTOR. That is correct.

And, in fact, just today, the Senate Homeland Security and Government Affairs Committee issued a major report on the impact of Trump's firing of all of the inspectors general, the folks who—these are the cops on the beat that root out waste, fraud, and abuse.

You are right; if we don't have the cops on the beat, if we don't fund them through our appropriations, that is money lost to the taxpayer.

Ms. SCANLON. Right.

And, in the past, I think the inspector general has found Medicaid fraud in Florida to the tune of $1-point-something-billion with the Columbia hospital system?

Ms. CASTOR. That is correct. Unfortunately, Florida is a magnet for a lot of the fraudsters. We have a lot of older neighbors, a lot of retirees that are often subjected to this. But, I mean, it knows no bounds, so——

Ms. SCANLON. Uh-huh.

Ms. CASTOR [continuing]. Why don't we instead—instead of, you know, creating this false narrative that there is a hardworking person with a child with a complex condition trying to rip off Medicaid, it is often these large-scale——

Ms. SCANLON. Right.

Ms. CASTOR [continuing]. Schemes by different insurance providers or managed-care providers, and that is where the focus should be.

Ms. SCANLON. Well, and that was the presumption that I wanted to push back against, this idea that you have individuals who are out there committing fraud against Medicaid, when, in fact, the big dollars that do from time to time get wasted, get defrauded, tend to be from large-scale providers. And that is the kind of thing that we do need these inspectors to root out.

Thank you all for being here. Thank you for everyone who is still waiting in the wings. You know, we will continue the Rules rave, as we head into our 16th hour.

So thank you. I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Ms. Scanlon.

Mr. Neguse, you are recognized.

Mr. NEGUSE. Thank you, Madam Chair.

Thank you to our colleagues for your testimony, for your patience, and for being here on behalf of your constituencies.

I want to talk a bit with my colleagues from the West, with Ms. Titus and Ms. Lee, about what I think to be one of the most insidious provisions of this bill, which was this midnight public lands sale.

And both of you articulated well what makes this provision so problematic, so repugnant, something that I actually thought Republican leadership would have already removed. Perhaps we will see that in the manager's amendment; time will tell.

But I think, insofar as neither of your amendments are accepted in order and this language isn't removed from the bill, I think it would be violative of a core norm that has governed land conveyances and the consideration of land conveyances by this body for a long time.

So, just to kind of unpack that, as you know, I serve as the ranking member on the Federal Lands Subcommittee, one of the most bipartisan subcommittees in the Congress. It was the most productive subcommittee in the last Congress. We marked up more bills than any other subcommittee in the House. The vast majority of them were bipartisan, mostly on suspension, most regarding land conveyances.

Those typically are done through regular order, a legislative hearing. Were these land sales considered as part of a legislative hearing, Ms. Lee?

Ms. LEE of Nevada. No, they were not. In fact, the amendment was literally unusually dropped right before it was heard rather than at the beginning of the markup hearing.

Mr. NEGUSE. That is precisely right.

Ms. Titus, were they considered in a markup prior to being included in this bill?

Ms. TITUS. No, they weren't. And, furthermore, we were not informed about them in advance. As you well know, any kind of public land decisions go through a long process. Stakeholders come, you have public hearings, local elected officials weigh in, BLM plays a role. None of that happened. This was just dropped all of a sudden.

And to add insult to injury, it is in a district that Mr. Amodei does not represent. It is in my district. And it goes against all of the SNPLMA provisions that have been in place for years, where the money from land sales in Nevada returns to Nevada to be used to save Lake Tahoe, to do bicycle trails, energy conservation, firefighting; even some goes to education. None of that was considered.

Mr. NEGUSE. Yeah, it, as I said, violates every norm in the book. No legislative hearing, no legislative markup, introduced at the dead of night without any consultation with the colleagues whom actually represent the areas in question. It is opposed by the local counties, opposed by the congressional representation, opposed by the U.S. Senators who represent the State in question.

And I just have to say to my colleagues—and it gives me no—I don't enjoy saying it—majorities come, majorities go. And my colleagues will have reaped what they sow insofar as this measure is included. And I made that case to Chairman Tiffany on the Public Lands Subcommittee.

Just to give you a sense of what this looks like so that we just kind of understand what the future holds—I haven't had the privilege of visiting Mr. Langworthy's district. I hope one day maybe I will get an invitation. But just so he is aware, I would hope that he makes the case to Mr. Tonko and Mr. Morelle and the neighboring districts that are adjacent to his—let's say Chautauqua County, for example. Because if Mr. Morelle comes to the Public Lands Subcommittee if we are in the majority 18 months from now, and says, "You know what? I would like to pursue a wilderness designation in Chautauqua County. I don't represent Chautauqua County. Nicholas Langworthy represents Chautauqua County, but—oh, I know the county is against this measure, but that is okay. I think we should proceed," there will be no legislative hearing, there will be no legislative markup, there will be no consideration of how your constituents feel. If we applied the principle that you are applying today, that land measure would be on the floor for full consideration by the body without a moment's care for your position on it.

And so I am again in awe that we haven't been able to convince my colleagues that this is not a precedent that they want to establish. Again, I suppose we will see what happens on the floor.

The last point I will make—Ms. Lee pointed this out. I was unaware when this was introduced about the water diversion project—I mean, this is part of the reason, I suspect, why they introduced it in the dead of night—in the land sale, because it would be disastrous for the State of Arizona. And I don't know how any of my colleagues from Arizona, on the Republican or Democratic side, are going to justify a vote against protecting their water sources. It just—it makes no sense to me how they are going to rationalize that.

Had this been vetted in a legislative hearing, we would have had an opportunity to hear from the Bureau of Reclamation and the various water authorities and have the necessary sunlight to expose this. We were deprived of that opportunity.

And now you have six basin States all—including the State of Colorado—the headwaters of the Colorado River, as Ms. Lee knows, are in my district—opposing this effort. And I hope we will hear—I certainly plan on spending some time on the floor on this issue, and I would welcome my colleagues from Arizona, my Republican colleagues. If Mr. Gosar is watching somewhere in the building, I would welcome him to the floor, because I would love to hear what his response would be.

Ms. Lee.

Ms. LEE of Nevada. And, for that matter, any colleague from the West who has a large percentage of federally controlled land in their State who—traditionally, this type of move would never be made, one, without any input from a Representative from the district in which the land is—which is mine—and/or any county official.

So I know that Representative Zinke has led an effort to withdraw this amendment, and I hope that other Republicans join him.

Mr. NEGUSE. Yeah. I couldn't say it better. And I appreciated Mr. Zinke's leadership, frankly, in pushing that forward. I support his effort. And we will just have to see.

But, in the interim, if folks have ideas about, you know, potential wilderness designations in western Virginia or perhaps parts of northern Minnesota or Chautauqua County in New York, you know, we are taking ideas, and we have got 17 months, I guess, to do that.

So, anyway, I will yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. GRIFFITH [presiding]. The gentleman yields back.

I now recognize Ms. Leger Fernández.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Thank you very much.

And, you know, I think that this testimony that we have heard today, and all day long, really talks about that there are a lot of transfers going on in this bill, right? Transfers from working families to the wealthy. Transfers—in your instance, I think you wanted to talk a little bit more about the idea that we were transferring resources from public schools, and what does that then mean for the children of those public schools. The transfer of wealth away from the children who need it most, with the child tax credit, to those who need it the least, right? It would be my guess that—my kids are too old now, but—I could make do without that child tax credit, but somebody who is making $15,000 could really use it.

And, Representative DelBene—and I think this education piece, to the both of you, goes to: What does it mean for a child to have the right kind of education, but also the child tax credit removes the stress that is in the household that has high poverty. And Republicans refuse to expand—to continue the expanded child tax credit they have.

Could you just real quickly, maybe the two of you, give some quick thoughts on that impact on the children's education?

Ms. DELBENE. Well, we know, when we had the expanded child tax credit in place, we cut childhood poverty across the country almost in half in just a year. Childhood poverty costs us a trillion dollars a year in the United States, so not only is this important policy because it supports families, helps our kids get off to a great start, it also is fiscally responsible policy and actually saves us money.

So the challenge that we face in this bill is that 17 million kids across the country are left out because their parents don't make enough money to have the tax burden to get the full credit.

And what we did previously with the expanded child tax credit is we said, we are going to make sure that the families who need it the most, the lowest-income families, they may not make enough to have a huge tax burden, we are going to make sure they get the full benefit.

And what did people spend that money on? On housing, on food, on school supplies, you know, making sure their kids were doing okay. It is an incredible investment.

But those 17 million kids across our country who are in the most need, they won't receive the full benefit in the way this bill is written. We can fix that. We have done it before.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. And we need to trust families to make those decisions.

Ms. DELBENE. And we know it works——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. What is fascinating is that Republicans sort of—they want to say "no regulations," but, boy, do they regulate families.

I don't know if you want to have—you said you wanted to add something more, so that is why——

Ms. SEWELL. Yeah.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ [continuing]. I think I wanted to make sure we gave everybody a chance.

Ms. SEWELL. No, I just really wanted—I think this is a further—you know, we are further degrading public education.

I mean, you know, education is a great equalizer. It gives people opportunities. It can level the playing field. And when you take away and siphon public dollars that should go to public schools and you are giving tax credits for private schools, I think we are sending the wrong message.

And I can tell you that Head Start gives people a head start. And when you are taking money away from public education you are decreasing the amount of, you know, chemistry labs we have, better libraries that we have, books and teachers, for that matter.

And I just think that it is a transfer of wealth and of dollars from one to another. And it is sort of like Robin Hood. You are taking from the least of these and giving it to the most of these.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Thank you.

And, of course, we have—let's tax the billionaires. That would be the right way to do the transfer. And thank you very much for bringing that amendment, right? Like, if you don't want to benefit—if you want to make sure that there isn't the transfer of wealth going the wrong way, that is what your amendment does, and I thank you very much for it.

And then, finally, you know, there we are on, you know, making sure that we are losing the battle for renewable energy. And thank you for championing those.

And then, finally, the respect that we should have for due process for our immigrant population, and to say, let's stop demonizing our immigrants. Because they bring—they pick the food—somebody was saying, "Well, you know, it is the farmers, you know, who produce the food; you cannot demonize the farmers," earlier today, but, actually, who is the one who is actually picking that food and, you know, helping care for our elders, helping care for our children, all of that?

And I think that what you all did today on this panel was bring all those many aspects of this bill to light. And so I am very grateful that you did that.

And, once again, we have a roomful of colleagues who are going to bring some other great amendments to bear here.

And so, with that, I yield back.

Mr. GRIFFITH. The gentlelady yields back.

And that concludes this panel.

Thank you all for being here.

And we are going to look forward to the next panel stepping forward as we let those get out first before we have a big shift.

Starting on this end, so that we have everybody in order, Ms. Lofgren, Ms. Houlahan, Ms. Underwood, Mr. Suozzi, Ms. Rivas, Mr. Goldman, Mr. Moskowitz, and Ms. Morrison.

I know some of you all have been here for some time. We have still got at least one or two more panels to go after this.

So, Ms. Lofgren, I am going to recognize you to go ahead and get started, and hopefully everybody will settle down here real quick. The floor is yours for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. ZOE LOFGREN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Ms. LOFGREN. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman and committee.

There is a lot to dislike in this big, bad bill, but many of my colleagues have addressed some of the most pernicious elements—reducing healthcare for Americans, increasing costs for Americans, nutrition cuts for Americans.

I want to address something else with my amendments. We need to grow our economy if we want to have a prosperous country, and key to that is to make sure that our science enterprise is not destroyed.

My first three amendments deal with the Trump administration's threats to significantly cut indirect-cost funding provided to universities and other research partners by the National Institutes of Health, Department of Energy, the National Science Foundation, and other Federal agencies.

The administration has proposed capping those costs at 15 percent. That is ill-informed and completely arbitrary.

These indirect costs are not unnecessary. They are the funds that are used to pay the electricity for labs, to feed the lab animals, to make sure that the research can be done. And they are carefully negotiated in each case with the grantees.

To cap them is just to cut the science, and it is a big problem for America's future.

Many of these research universities are not just in blue States, they are in Republican-led districts and States. And it is going to hurt not only science in the country but your districts as well as all of ours.

You know, the Idaho National Labs posted something recently indicating that up to 85 percent of GDP growth in America is directly connected with science. And so the science reductions that we are seeing, that are being undertaken, are going to have a direct adverse impact to our economy and to our future prosperity.

I have an amendment dealing with broadening participation in the science area. The current administration has severely cut science agencies' work on broadening participation. In some cases, they have ignored or defied explicit congressional direction in law. And I will add that that direction was always adopted on a bipartisan basis in the Science Committee.

We have known for a long time that there are parts of the American population that are lagging behind in science participation, including people in rural communities, women. You know, we can't afford to write off any ZIP Code in the United States.

If we don't address this disparity, we are going to lose our competition with China, which has more than four times the population of America. So, if we don't include all Americans, we lose to China.

This amendment addresses the shortsighted actions by the Trump administration.

Finally, I have two amendments that deal with agriculture, the Specialty Crop Block Grants Program and Specialty Crop Research Initiative.

While the skinny farm bill has some provisions I would support in a vacuum, I have serious concerns that the bill does not do enough to ensure the competitiveness of our agricultural industry given the context of what the Trump administration is doing to the ag industry.

As the chaos of the Trump administration and DOGE's senseless cuts continue across the USDA, we are already seeing a brain drain, as highly trained staff with extremely specialized expertise leave or are fired.

At this year's joint session, I invited a Salinas scientist, a Ph.D.-level scientist, U.S. Air Force veteran, who had been fired despite receiving a recent positive performance review. His situation represented one of the many mindless firings by Trump and Musk that undermines the country's science and innovation prowess.

You know, diminishing agricultural research capacity in my district, "America's Salad Bowl," is unwise. Monterey County agriculture pumps more than $1.3 million into the local economy each hour of every day. USDA scientists, like my guest, conduct important research and development projects that boost American innovation and help keep food on our tables.

The U.S. will no longer be the envy of the world if the administration keeps firing smart, capable public servants advancing America's best interests.

Yet this reconciliation package pretends that these cuts aren't happening, and I am here to say that they are. My amendments would undo them and promote economic growth and prosperity.

And I see my time is up, so I yield back, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. GRIFFITH. I thank the gentlelady.

I now recognize the gentlelady from Pennsylvania, Ms. Houlahan, for her 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. CHRISSY HOULAHAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA

Ms. HOULAHAN. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

And I am here to speak on behalf of the close to 750,000 members of my community as well as the military in this conversation here.

This bill is simply a slap shot, an irresponsible bill, and in many cases it is quite hateful. In fact, just a few hours ago, one of my Republican colleagues described it to me as a "hot mess."

So I believe that we are at a place where we need to figure out if there are any sort of amendments that we can be doing that are commonsense and that might hopefully prevent some of the harmful and destructive fates from befalling the American people.

So I have a few amendments that I would like to introduce, and each of them prevents this bill—if it moves forward, maybe helps to hurt fewer people less, whether they are veterans or students or the middle-class Americans and anyone who might be worried

about national security. And I would argue that everyone should be worried about national security.

The first of my amendments is that none of these funds will be available if this bill increases taxes or the cost-of-living expenses for those making $400,000 or less.

I am going to say I shamefully stole this from a fellow Pennsylvanian who offered this exact amendment during the IRA. And so it feels as though what is good for the goose is good for the gander, and it feels like this should be a really good opportunity to add this amendment, and no one should disagree with that.

While Republicans claim to care about lowering grocery prices and the cost of living, the reality is that both have gone up under President Trump's leadership. My community learned that the hard way the last time Republicans jammed forward their tax bill, and, in my community particularly, it actually raised taxes for many of our families and provided giveaways to many of the wealthiest and to many large corporations as well.

So the next thing that I will offer to this big, beautiful bill is a second amendment, which is one that I actually offered during the Armed Services markup. And this amendment was offered first and named the "Delay of Effective Date of This Bill Until Pete Hegseth is No Longer the Secretary of Defense." Right?

If you have watched me over the past 6 years in Congress, you know that I am passionate about national security and you know that I have worked really hard to provide our warfighters with everything that this Nation can provide and our Armed Forces need to face the threats of today and of our future wars, which is why I cannot and we should not in good faith effectively give a blank check to the Department of Defense for 150 billion additional dollars of investment with somebody like Secretary Hegseth at the helm.

He has proven himself to be incompetent, to be reckless, to be willful, and, frankly, to be paranoid as well. And he cannot and absolutely should not be trusted with the responsibility of these, our most precious resources—our soldiers, our sailors, our airmen, our marines, and our—the Space Force—guardians—thank you—the fun uniforms.

So, until such time as Secretary Hegseth is no longer serving as our Secretary of Defense and no longer threatening our national security and that of this world, the authorization of $150 billion will not be unlocked and this bill will not be in effect.

And, finally, none of these funds may be used to dismantle the VA or benefits, including those of Coatesville VA.

At a time when President Trump and the administration has been implementing sweeping and super-chaotic structural changes at our Department of Veterans Affairs, we must ask ourselves who is indeed bearing the responsibility of this instability.

The answer, unfortunately, is sometimes that the men and women who have worn the uniform of the United States, many of whom we will observe this Memorial Day weekend, those who have faced combat and endured in some cases lifelong injuries and sacrificed not just their time but often their peace of mind, their health, their families, their well-being, and their lives, those are the people who deserve the stability, the transparency, and the un-

wavering support, not a system in disarray and an administration that views them as line items in a budget.

Which is why this amendment will ensure that none of the funds will be used to dismantle VA facilities, veterans services or benefits, including those at my Coatesville VA Medical Center.

And, finally, none of the funds authorized under this act may be expended until such time as all funding that has been allocated amongst the American Rescue Plan's Elementary and Secondary School Emergency Relief, or ESSER, has been allocated.

Specifically, in my community, the Reading, Pennsylvania, School District, $51,363,310 that were appropriated and allocated by this Congress were clawed back by this administration, forcing our STEM building, our high school STEM building, in one of the Nation's poorest areas to no longer be able to be built.

So, until such time as those funds are released—those appropriately, legally, constitutionally appropriated funds are re-released—this bill will not be enacted.

With that, those are the several opportunities that I think for improving this bill. I urge this committee to make these amendments in order, please. I urge this committee to take stock of what American people are really, actually telling us.

And I yield back the balance of my time. Thank you, Chairman.

Mr. Griffith. The gentlelady yields back.

I now recognize the gentlelady from Illinois, Ms. Underwood.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. LAUREN UNDERWOOD, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

Ms. UNDERWOOD. Thank you.

I join you today to speak on behalf of the millions of Americans who stand to lose their healthcare based on which amendments this committee decides to move forward with today.

While most of the country was asleep, the Republican majority on this committee has been working to rush this legislation through the night to please Donald Trump and hand a massive tax cut to all those billionaires that were in the front row of the inauguration.

And if that wasn't enough, you are making American families pay for it by kicking Americans off of healthcare coverage, closing nursing homes and rural hospitals, and taking no action to protect critical resources like the enhanced premium tax credits that keep families afloat.

So I, alongside my colleague Representative Horsford, am here to offer our Republican colleagues an opportunity to do the right thing, to put American families first and lower healthcare costs.

Our amendment, amendment 245, would make permanent the expiring enhanced premium tax credits that have already delivered historic savings for millions of Americans.

This amendment is based on my Healthcare Affordability Act, which I first introduced in 2019 and fought so hard to get a short-term version signed into law in the American Rescue Plan and then later extended through the Inflation Reduction Act.

Because of this legislation, more Americans than ever before have access to quality, affordable healthcare through marketplace plans. This year, we once again have record-breaking enrollment,

with more than 24 million Americans enrolling in coverage, 22 million of whom will receive tax credits to lower their out-of-pocket costs.

Families of four who get their healthcare through the Affordable Care Act are saving an average of $2,400 per year on their annual premiums thanks to these tax credits. Four out of five customers can get a plan for $10 or less per month.

Let me be clear: These tax credits benefit and are favored by Americans across the country on both sides of the aisle. In farm country, these tax credits save family farmers an average of $506 per month, over $6,000 a year for farmers. In the chair's own district—not you, Mr. Chairman, but in Chair Foxx's own district, this policy saved constituents an estimated average of $696 on their premiums in 2024.

Across the districts of every one of my Republican colleagues on this Rules Committee, these tax credits delivered at least an estimated $468 in annual savings to constituents and as high as $804 in Indiana.

It is no surprise that Donald Trump's own pollster, Mr. Fabrizio, found that these tax credits are popular and highly supported by swing and Trump voters. And they are supported by a broad range of providers, healthcare systems, and patient advocates too. Because these tax credits don't just work; they provide an essential lifeline for families across the country. And we cannot let them expire.

This tax package is already a disaster for working families, and without this amendment it is catastrophic. Without it, healthcare costs will skyrocket and over 4 million people will be priced out of healthcare. That is on top of the 8.6 million people that are already being kicked off of Medicaid by this tax bill.

I urge my colleagues across the aisle to stand in solidarity with the American families instead of billionaires by supporting this amendment.

Thank you, and I yield back.

[The statement of Ms. Underwood follows:]

Remarks for Testimony before House Rules Committee on HCAA Amendment

May 21, 2025

Thank you, I join you today to speak on behalf of the millions of Americans who stand to lose their health care based on what amendments *this* Committee decides to move forward with today.

While most of the country was asleep, the Republican Majority on this Committee has been working to rush this legislation through the night to please Donald Trump and hand a massive tax cut to all of those billionaires who were front row at his inauguration.

And if that wasn't enough – you are making American families pay for it – by kicking Americans off health care coverage, closing nursing homes and rural hospitals, and taking no action to protect critical resources – like the enhanced premium tax credits – that keep families afloat.

So, I alongside my colleague, Rep. Horsford, am here to offer our Republican colleagues an opportunity to do the right thing, put American families first, and LOWER health care costs.

Our amendment, **Amendment 245**, would make **permanent** the expiring enhanced premium tax credits that have already delivered historic savings for millions of Americans.

This amendment is based on my Health Care Affordability Act which I first introduced in 2019 and fought so hard to get a short-term version signed into law in the American Rescue Plan and extended through the Inflation Reduction Act.

Because of this legislation, more Americans than ever before have access to quality, affordable health care through their marketplace plans.

This year, we have once again seen record-breaking enrollment with more than 24 million Americans enrolling in coverage, 22 million of whom will receive tax credits to lower their out of pocket costs.

Families of four who get their health care through the Affordable Care Act are saving an average of $2,400 on their annual premiums thanks to these tax credits.

Four in five customers can now find health coverage for $10 or less per month.

And let me be clear, these tax credits benefit and are favored by Americans across the country and on both sides of the aisle.

In farm country, these tax credits saved family farmers an average of *$506 per month*, over $6,000 a year.

In the Chair's own district, this policy saved constituents an estimated annual average of $696 on their premiums in 2024.

Across the District of every one of my Republican colleagues on this Committee, these tax credits delivered at least an estimated $468 in annual savings to constituents and as high as $804 in Indiana.

It's no surprise that Trump's own pollster found that these tax credits are popular and highly supported by Swing and Trump voters.

And they're supported by a broad range of providers, health care systems, and patient advocates too.

Because these tax credits don't just work, they provide an essential lifeline for families and communities across the country, and we cannot let them expire.

This tax package is already a disaster for working families, and without this amendment, it's catastrophic.

Without it, health care costs will skyrocket and over 4 million people will be priced out of health care.

That's on top of the 8.6 million people that are already being kicked off of Medicaid by this tax cut bill.

I urge my colleagues across the aisle to stand in solidarity with American families instead of billionaires by supporting this amendment.

I yield back.

Mr. GRIFFITH [presiding]. Thank you. Gentlelady yields back.

I now recognize the gentleman from New York, Mr. Suozzi, for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. THOMAS SUOZZI, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. SUOZZI. Thank you, Mr. Acting Chairman, ranking member, and all my colleagues. I know you have had a very long night, and we appreciate you taking the time to listen to our important concerns.

I am going to talk to you about the State and Local Tax Deduction, also known as SALT. Under the current law, SALT has been—the SALT deduction has been capped at $10,000, and under the existing reconciliation bill, it has been raised to $30,000. We haven't seen the manager's amendment yet. We have talked about all the different negotiations that are going on.

But we believe that is very inadequate, or I believe it is very inadequate. In fact, six of my Republican colleagues have come out and said it is insulting to only raise it to $30,000, and they said they will not vote for this bill at that level. So I know there is a lot of negotiations going on. But I want everybody to understand the basics of the State and Local Tax Deduction.

Before 1913, the only time we had an income tax was during the Civil War. Lincoln had put it in place. It was declared unconstitutional. That was changed in 1913. We said we are going to create a Federal income tax. And the governors and the mayors of the different states and cities throughout the country said we don't want a Federal income tax, because we have to take care of our schools, and we have to pay our police officers. We have to pick up the garbage and take care of the roads, and we need a tax at the local level. We want the Federal Government to continue to raise the revenues from tariffs and from Customs and things like that.

And the Federal Government said, No, don't worry about it. We are going to create a State and local tax deduction, so that you will not be taxed at the Federal level on the taxes you have already paid at the State and local level.

And that was a covenant between the states and the Federal Government for over 100 years until 2017 when the majority party at the time, the same majority party as now, and the President put a cap on the State and local tax deduction at $10,000.

Now, that really was a body blow to a lot of different States, not just my State of New York, but also other States like New Jersey and California and Connecticut and Illinois and Massachusetts and Maryland and Michigan and Minnesota and Oregon and Pennsylvania and Virginia and Hawaii.

These States were hurt dramatically, because when we set up our government in the United States of America, we wanted our States and cities to be laboratories of democracy where they could experiment with what is the best way to run their governments, and then the Federal Government would not tax people on the expense that they were mandated to pay at the local level.

So our taxes are higher in New York State, for example, and some other high-tax States, because we have decided we want to insure our children. We have the lowest rate of uninsured children

in the United States of America in New York State. We have the lowest rate of uninsured adults. We have subways and mass transit. We pay our teachers and our firefighters and our police officers good wages and give them good benefits.

And that experiment worked. In fact, we have been a very productive State, so much so that we have contributed much more to the Federal Government in Federal income taxes than we actually get back in services from the Federal Government. We are net donors to the Federal Government.

In fact, most of the States hardest hit by the State and Local Tax Deduction cap are donors to the Federal Government, where most of the States not affected that have low taxes are net takers from the Federal Government, with the exception of Texas.

So it is just patently unfair that we broke this covenant, this idea of a federalism, where the long arm of the Federal Government reached into our local municipalities and said, We don't like the way you are taxing your people. We don't like what you are doing. We don't think you should pay your teachers. We don't think you should pay your police officers. We don't think you should pay your firefighters. We don't think that you should insure your children. In fact, the highest rate of uninsured children in the country are in Florida and Texas, low-tax States. They chose not to do that.

Now, right now, they are booming. And we are in trouble at some of our higher-tax States. People are leaving our States and going to the other States. You know what happens when people leave our States and go to the lower tax States? The people that are left behind, the middle class and the lower income people, are left holding the bag, and their taxes are either going to go up, or their services are going to be cut, and neither one of those is acceptable.

So as a matter of basic fairness, I am asking this amendment be adopted by the Rules Committee that increases the State and Local Tax Deduction cap to $80,000. Nobody wants to pay the full restoration. I understand that. As a compromise, I am suggesting that we increase the State and Local Deduction cap to $80,000. And let's pay for that. Let's not add to the deficit, as this current bill does, which is creating some of the biggest deficits in the history of the United States of America. Let's pay for it by raising the top rate for the highest income earners in America from 37 back to 39.6.

It is only fair. It is only fair that these donor States that take care of their residents, that do the best job that they can in their laboratory of democracy, are not penalized for doing what they see as being the right thing to do that was the covenant between the Federal Government and the States and local governments for over 100 years.

With that, I yield back. And I thank you for your time and attention.

Mr. GRIFFITH. The gentleman yields back.

Now I recognize Ms. Rivas from California.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. LUZ RIVAS, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Ms. RIVAS. Thank you, Mr. Chair and ranking member.

I want to start by thanking Ranking Member Pallone for providing me with the opportunity to lead this important amendment

on a subject that is quickly becoming part of our everyday lives: artificial intelligence, or AI.

From health care, to housing, to banking, AI is playing a critical role in all areas of our lives. AI is evolving every day, which is why it demands swift attention and continuous action to keep Americans safe.

State legislatures from across the country have enacted their own laws, including legislation that limits bias in the housing, health care, and financial sectors, as well as actions that protect the health and safety of users from harmful AI systems.

Despite all these positive developments, there is currently a provision in this Republican Big Bill that would issue a 10-year moratorium on States' ability to enforce AI laws. My amendment strikes this moratorium.

This 10-year ban would remove States' ability to establish or enforce State laws that help keep up with the technological evolutions of AI as well as push back on deliberate designs that could harm Americans.

Under this ban, State and local governments won't be able to enforce current, new, or updated regulations around AI use in the workplace, in procurement, guidelines, or in eliminating biases-even regulations that only impact their specific locality.

As a former State legislator, I believe we can and should learn from the States, and champion solutions that protect Americans, especially workers and children, from harmful AI systems and not put unnecessary stoppages on their progress.

Regardless of where you are on AI policy, enacting this moratorium is bad practice. AI has shown tremendous potential to improve and enhance our lives, but if we do not take immediate action to address the threats it poses on consumers as they arise today, we will not be prepared to address the threats that could arise over the next 10 years as a result.

I would like to submit a letter for the record. This letter to Speaker Johnson was signed by over 100 organizations, such as UnidosUS, the National Immigration Law Center, National Women's Law Center, and SEIU in opposition to this provision that is tucked into this bill.

In their letter to the Speaker, the organizations state that "as we have seen during other periods of rapid technological advancement, like the Industrial Revolution, the creation of the automobile, protecting people from being harmed by new technologies, including holding companies accountable when they cause harm, will spur innovation and the adoption of new technologies."

The Republican moratorium on AI will block new innovation from occurring. AI policy touches every aspect of American lives now, and most certainly will over in the next 10 years.

Thank you for considering my amendment. I urge its adoption, and I look forward to answering any questions.

[The statement of Ms. Rivas follows:]

CONGRESSWOMAN LUZ RIVAS
RULES AMENDMENT REMARKS – AS PREPARED

Thank you, Ranking Member McGovern.

I want to thank Ranking Member Pallone for providing me with the opportunity to lead this important amendment on a subject that is quickly becoming ubiquitous in our everyday lives: Artificial Intelligence.

From healthcare to housing to banking, AI is playing a critical role in all areas of life.

AI is evolving every day, which is why it demands swift attention and continuous action to keep Americans safe.

State legislatures from across the country have enacted their own laws, including legislation that limits bias in the housing, healthcare, and financial sectors, as well as actions that protect the health and safety of users from harmful AI systems.

Despite all these positive developments, there is currently a provision in the Republicans' bill that would issue a 10-year moratorium on states' ability to enforce AI laws.

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Under this ban, state and local governments won't be able to enforce current, new, or updated regulations around AI use in the workplace, in procurement guidelines, or in eliminating biases – even regulations that only impact their specific locality.

As a former state Assemblymember, I believe we can, and should, learn from the states and champion solutions that protect Americans from harmful AI systems, and not put unnecessary stoppages on their progress.

Regardless of where you are on AI policy, enacting a moratorium is bad practice.

AI has shown tremendous potential to improve and enhance our lives, but if we do not take immediate action to address the threats it poses on consumers as they arise *today*, we will not be prepared to address the threats that *could* arise over the next ten years as a result.

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In their letter to the Speaker, the organizations state that, "as we have seen during other periods of rapid technological advancement like the industrial revolution and the creation of the automobile, protecting people from being harmed by new technologies – including holding companies accountable when they cause harm – will spur innovation and the adoption of new technologies."

The Republican moratorium on AI will block new innovation from occurring.

AI policy touches every aspect of American life now, and most certainly will over the next ten years.

Thank you for considering my amendment. I urge its adoption, and I look forward to answering your questions.

Mr. GRIFFITH. And what was the date on the letter?
Ms. RIVAS. May 19th, 2025.
Mr. GRIFFITH. And without objection, so ordered.
[The information follows:]

Re: Opposition to Federal Preemption of State AI Laws

Submitted into the record by Rep. Luz Rivas (CA-29)

Led by Demand Progress and signed by over 100 organizations, including UnidosUS, the National Immigration Law Center, National Women's Law Center, and SCIU

Dated May 19, 2025

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Dear Mr. Speaker, Mr. Jeffries, and Members of Congress,

We, the undersigned organizations committed to protecting civil rights, promoting consumer protections, and fostering responsible innovation, write to express our strong opposition to a provision in the House Energy and Commerce Committee Draft Budget Resolution, passed out of committee on May 14, that would preempt state and local laws governing artificial intelligence (AI).

The scope of Section 43201(c) “Artificial Intelligence and Information Technology Modernization Initiative: Moratorium" is sweeping. As AI systems increasingly shape critical aspects of Americans’ lives—including hiring, housing, healthcare, policing, and financial services—states have taken important steps to protect their residents from the risks posed by unregulated or inadequately governed AI technologies. As we have learned during other periods of rapid technological advancement, like the industrial revolution and the creation of the automobile, protecting people from being harmed by new technologies, including by holding companies accountable when they cause harm, ultimately spurs innovation and adoption of new technologies. In other words, we will only reap the benefits of AI if people have a reason to trust it.

This total immunity provision blocks enforcement of all state and local legislation governing AI systems, AI models, or automated decision systems for a full decade, despite those states moving those protections through their legislative processes, which include input from stakeholders, hearings, and multistakeholder deliberations. This moratorium would mean that even if a company deliberately designs an algorithm that causes foreseeable harm — regardless of how intentional or egregious the misconduct or how devastating the consequences — the company making that bad tech would be unaccountable to lawmakers and the public. In many cases, it would make it virtually impossible to achieve a

level of transparency into the AI system necessary for state regulators to even enforce laws of general applicability, such as tort or antidiscrimination law.

Despite how little is publicly known about how many AI systems work, harms from those systems are already well-documented, and states are acting to mitigate those harms. Many state laws are designed to prevent harms like algorithmic discrimination and to ensure recourse when automated systems harm individuals. For example, there are many documented cases of AI having highly sexualized conversations with minors and even encouraging minors to commit harm to themselves and others; AI programs making healthcare decisions that have led to adverse and biased outcomes; and AI enabling thousands of women and girls to be victimized by nonconsensual deepfakes.

Congress's inability to enact comprehensive legislation enshrining AI protections leaves millions of Americans more vulnerable to existing threats described above such as discrimination and all of us exposed to the unpredictable safety risks posed by this nascent industry. Fortunately, states across the nation, on a bipartisan basis, have pioneered thoughtful frameworks that promote transparency, accountability, safety, and fairness in AI deployment. Two-thirds of states, including Kentucky, Ohio, North Dakota and New Jersey have considered common-sense laws that address gaps in federal protections and are crafted in close dialogue with impacted communities. Those states are filling the need for substantive policy debate over how to safely advance development of this technology.

Federal preemption would invalidate key state laws that protect against "high impact" AI, which is contrary to the Trump administration's executive memo aiming to protect consumers from AI harms in employment, lending, education, and beyond. Protections for civil rights and children's privacy, transparency in consumer-facing chatbots to prevent fraud, and other safeguards would be invalidated, even those that are uncontroversial. The resulting unfettered abuses of AI or automated decision systems could run the gamut from pocketbook harms to working families like decisions on rental prices, to serious violations of ordinary Americans' civil rights, and even to large-scale threats like aiding in cyber attacks on critical infrastructure or the production of biological weapons.

No person, no matter their politics, wants to live in a world where AI makes life-or-death decisions without accountability. This is underscored by the fact that state attorneys general, from all 50 states, have warned Congress that AI has been used to harm children including through child sexual abuse material. Further, many state attorneys general have also shown interest in pursuing enforcement actions based on the laws in their own states, which would be barred by this preemption language. This includes state attorneys general from Alabama, California, New Jersey, Oregon, Massachusetts, Texas, and Pennsylvania among others.

Section 43201(c) is not the only provision in this package that is of concern to our organizations, and there are some provisions on which we will undoubtedly disagree with each other. However, when it comes to this provision, we are united. You must reject this sweeping proposal. Americans deserve both meaningful federal protections and the ability of their states to lead in advancing safety, fairness, and accountability when AI systems cause harm.

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https://demandprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/05/FINAL-Letter-Opposing-AI-State-Preemption-Google-Docs.pdf

Mr. GRIFFITH. All right. I now recognize Mr. Goldman of New York.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. DANIEL GOLDMAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. GOLDMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am here to introduce two amendments, but I want to say just a couple things about the broader bill before I get to them. And most of what I am about to say is really directed at blatantly false statements that many of my Republican colleagues have said, are saying, and likely will say about this bill.

First, this bill slashes Medicaid, cuts Medicaid. More than 8 million Americans will lose their health care because of this bill. You can sugar coat it all you want with eligibility and work requirements and any waste, fraud, and abuse. But the reality is that that is dressing up a pig, and it is cutting Medicaid.

Second, the bill increases taxes for the poorest Americans, and dramatically reduces taxes for the wealthiest. If you make less than $51,000 a year, your taxes will go up $700. If you make more than $4.3 million a year, which is the top 0.1 percent of Americans, your taxes will go down by nearly $400,000. That is reducing taxes for the wealthy and increasing taxes for the poor.

Third, this bill repeals tax credits for American energy production that has resulted in hundreds of thousands of jobs created in this country, and hundreds of billions of dollars of investment in American manufacturing. The vast majority of both of those are in red districts.

These credits also reduce energy prices and increase our energy independence, two things that the America first gang endlessly talk about. And yet, this bill cuts all of that progress.

And finally, you will hear my Republican colleagues say that cuts to essential government programs are needed to reduce an exploding deficit. That's nonsense. This bill increases the deficit by at least $3 trillion, so much so that Moody's became the last of the three major ratings agencies to downgrade U.S. debt.

Now, this deficit increase will increase annual interest payments on our debt to 9 percent of total GDP in 10 years, 9 percent. That is just unsustainable. And yet, it is the Republicans who are jamming this through.

Now, my amendments address two separate things: One is a very simple amendment that I was shocked did not receive unanimous support in the Judiciary Committee, Amendment 258. It simply says that no Federal funding can be used to deport American citizens. Remarkably, every Republican in the Judiciary Committee voted against it, and I hope this committee does not.

My second amendment, Amendment 135, addresses what is truly a cruel and cynical attempt to make America hungry again. This bill does not trim SNAP around the edges. It does not cut waste, fraud, and abuse. It cuts SNAP to its core, to the tune of approximately $250 billion, which may sound like an abstract number. But there are human lives at stake. There are children who will go hungry. There are seniors who have to choose between prescription drugs and food. There are working parents who rely on that few hundred dollars a month to put food on their table.

My amendment would strike one of the most damaging provisions of this bill, a provision that would shift 75 percent of the administrative costs onto the States, up from current 50 percent split.

In my district in New York City, more than 118,000 of my constituents use SNAP to put food on the table. Across New York State, one in seven residents depend on it.

This bill wouldn't just cut the benefits. It would starve the program.

The GOP's proposed changes to SNAP would create a new burden on New York State of over $2.1 billion. And let's be real. What happens when administrative costs shoot up like that? The States can't backfill that amount of money. It is just not feasible. So what happens, of course, is benefits are cut. It is incredibly cynical. Because you will hear Republicans, and New York Republicans in particular, my colleagues, who have nearly as many SNAP beneficiaries as I do, and they will say, Oh, well, it is just putting it on the local officials, on the State. But make no mistake. It increases administrative costs, which is just cutting benefits by another name.

This program averages $6 dollars per person per day. And the work requirements that we hear so much about would actually cause 300,000 New Yorkers to lose some or——

Mr. GRIFFITH. Gentleman's time expired——

Mr. GOLDMAN [continuing]. All of their SNAP benefits. That is what this bill is doing, and my amendment would fix that. I urge the committee to support it and rule it in order.

Mr. GRIFFITH. Gentleman yields back.

I now recognize the gentleman from Florida, Mr. Moskowitz, for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. JARED MOSKOWITZ, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF FLORIDA

Mr. MOSKOWITZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

My amendment today would prohibit the executive branch from using Federal funds to eliminate FEMA, transfer its responsibilities to another agency or reduce its staffing, or funding in a way that impairs its ability to fulfill its statutory functions unless expressly authorized by Congress. In fact, my amendment today just says again what is in the Stafford Act and what is in the Homeland Security Act, which was passed after Katrina.

Trump—the President was right that FEMA needs reform. Let me say this again. The President was right that FEMA needs reform, as the chairwoman knows from her experiences in North Carolina after Hurricane Helene. But the Secretary of Homeland Security is dead wrong that FEMA should be deleted.

First of all, the Secretary is in violation right now of the Stafford Act, and in violation of the Homeland Security Act. The Secretary has no ability to pause all grants, which she has done. She has no ability to transfer any of the appropriations or restructure FEMA, as she has done. Both of those are in direct violation of the Stafford Act and the Homeland Security Act that was passed after Katrina.

So grants are paused. What does that mean that all grants are paused? That means States right now that are going into hurricane season don't know whether or not they are going to get a declara-

tion, which this administration is holding back. What happens if you don't get a declaration? Just go ask the governor of Arkansas, Governor Huckabee, who worked for the President. Took her weeks to get a declaration. You can't move. You can't respond. You can't spend money because you don't know that you are going to get reimbursed. Fiscally constrained cities and counties don't make decisions. It is analysis paralysis.

It is actually in direct contradiction with what we are trying to do. We are trying to speed up FEMA. We are trying to make it faster, right? Which why I have a bill with Byron Donalds to get FEMA out of Homeland Security. Homeland is abusing FEMA. They are using FEMA to do grants for the other 22 agencies. That is why we got to get FEMA away from Homeland Security.

They are not paying vendors. Do you know what happens when you don't pay vendors? They can't pay subcontractors. They are not going to be ready to perform in hurricane season.

They fired 30 percent or got them to retire of the work force in FEMA, most of the senior people with that experience, you have got regional offices in FEMA now that are half empty.

By the way. Remember that DOGE—remember the E at the end of DOGE? The word "efficiency"? Nothing at FEMA has been made more efficient. In fact, I would tell you that the Secretary of Homeland Security has turned FEMA into the Newark Airport. Okay? It is going to fail this summer.

And so, look. There is no doubt that FEMA needed reform. But what they have done at Homeland is they have taken something that needed help and they broke it further.

Do you know what happens if there is no FEMA to the State that the Speaker represents or Steve Scalise represents? Louisiana goes bankrupt without FEMA when there is a hurricane that comes in from the Gulf of Mexico, or the Gulf of America, comes right into Louisiana. They are bankrupt. Alabama is bankrupt. Mississippi is bankrupt. You get a, you know, an F5, F4 tornado in Tornado Alley, those States go bankrupt without FEMA.

And yet, you know, I don't see my Republican colleagues calling out the administration on how we are going to save FEMA and reform it.

Let me say this: I think the Secretary of Homeland Security has exposed the President in significant ways. And I am not in the business of protecting the President. But I am in the business of protecting the American people in the country. I don't think the President is aware of the current condition of FEMA and its potential inability to perform. We may get lucky, and hopefully we do. Hopefully we don't have a bad hurricane this season. Hopefully we don't have some unforeseen disaster, like an earthquake that hasn't happened since the 1990s.

Lord knows we had a one in 100-year pandemic in the first term of the Trump administration. Hopefully, we don't have anything like that because they have decimated FEMA in ways that we won't know until it happens. And listen, I know the chairwoman represents an area that didn't have the best experience after Helene. There is no question about that. There is dramatic improvement that needs to be done at FEMA.

But I am deeply concerned what has happened at Homeland, and I don't think the President is aware the current condition that the Secretary has put him, and the men and women that work there, and the States that are going to go to FEMA and rely on them to help them in their time of need. And those resources are going to come slower.

Think about it. You don't get to move your logistics. You don't get to move your water, your ice, your power generation, any of your stuff. And let me remind you, I did this for a living for a Republican governor. I worked for Ron DeSantis for 2-1/2 years, took my political hat off. So I am not giving you partisan coverage. I am giving you the current state of affairs in an agency that has been absolutely destroyed.

With that, Madam Chairwoman, I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Moskowitz.

Ms. Morrison, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. KELLY MORRISON, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MINNESOTA

Ms. MORRISON. Thank you, Madam Chair, Ranking Member McGovern.

My amendment today is simple. Before the House advances the largest Medicaid cut in program history, Congress needs to review how this bill will impact hospitals and Americans' access to services. My amendment simply says that the bill cannot take effect until an independent study confirms that these proposed Medicaid cuts will not result in hospital closures or reductions in service, including obstetric services.

The Medicaid policies in this bill will strip health care coverage for millions of Americans, and put essential labor and delivery services on the chopping block. Our country is already facing a worsening maternal health crisis, and carelessly ripping away women's access to care without any consideration, and it is just plain cruel.

We are already dead last in maternal mortality compared to our peer nations, and instead of putting forward a bill that will actually improve women's health and support moms and babies, my Republican colleagues have chosen to gut the program that covers more than 50 percent of births in many areas of Minnesota.

Having cared for women and their babies for over 20 years as an OB-GYN, I am appalled by how callously members of this chamber have turned their backs on their constituents.

In my home State of Minnesota, 1.4 million Minnesotans get health care coverage through Medicaid, and millions more depend on the hospitals and providers who have been unequivocally clear that the Medicaid cuts in this bill will decimate their ability to provide care, unequivocally clear that the cuts will force them to reduce services or shut down entirely.

And the reality is if hospitals are unable to keep their lights on and deliver care, we will all pay the price. People will not be able to access care. People will have more medical debt, and they will be less healthy. People will suffer. People will die. I would encourage my Republican colleagues to believe the words of the hospitals that serve their constituents, the patients that live in their dis-

tricts, and analysis after analysis that confirms that these cuts will cost millions of Americans their access to care.

So my Republican colleagues who hold majority rule of this Chamber, let's be very clear here. You can stop this right now. You can stop the hospital closures. You can stop the cuts to services. You can stop 14 million Americans from losing access to health insurance. You can stop the worsening of the maternal health care crisis and rural hospital crisis. You have the power. You can stop this.

More than a dozen of our Republican colleagues here in the House have spoken out and said they cannot support deep cuts to Medicaid. Other Republicans have called these massive cuts morally wrong. And more than a dozen State legislators from my home State of Minnesota wrote our Republican delegation and the President, making a very clear case about how this would be a disaster and beg them not to go through with these cuts.

I have a copy with me here, Madam Chair, and I request consent for this letter to be entered into the record.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Without objection.

[The information follows:]

February 20, 2025

State of Minnesota

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20500

The Honorable Brad Finstad
Congressman
United States House of Representatives
2418 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

The Honorable Michelle Fischbach
Congresswoman
United States House of Representatives
2229 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

The Honorable Tom Emmer
Congressman
United States House of Representatives
326 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Stephanie Carlton
Acting Administrator
Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services
7500 Security Boulevard
Baltimore, MD 21244

The Honorable Pete Stauber
Congressman
United States House of Representatives
145 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, DC 2051

Re: proposed Medicaid reductions

Dear Mr. President, Congressman Emmer, Congressman Finstad, Congresswoman Fischbach, Congressman Stauber, and Ms. Carlton,

Minnesota has been a leader in providing access to care and containing costs and now stands vulnerable to unworkable funding reductions with some of what is being proposed in the federal budget. A move to a per capita cap or block grant program will be workable if the reduction is modest, manageable and accompanied by extreme flexibility. Too deep of a cut is unmanageable in any instance.

Innovation is occurring in Minnesota within the current financing and waiver structure. We are moving people with disabilities into greater independence. Massive Medicaid reductions could punish Minnesota for being such a strong leader in greater efficiencies and better outcomes. It would devastate already lean areas of service we have been working to make more efficient for many years.

As Republican leaders in Minnesota, we have been partners for designing a state Health and Human Services (HHS) system that meets the needs of our great state.

Just to emphasize what you already know, Medicaid includes services and care for the seniors and those with disabilities, not just health care for the poor. Additionally, nearly 50% of all Medicaid enrollees are children. Given some of the large numbers coming out of Washington, we are concerned

that there is no practical way to accommodate some of the proposed massive reductions and still provide the kind of care these vulnerable people require.

Drastic reductions to Medicaid funding have the potential to impact the 1.4 million people we serve and place incredible pressure on our overall state budget. There are no other sources to make up the lost federal share beyond severely impacting the seniors and those with disabilities who we serve. This is contrary to how we Republicans respect the aged and the vulnerable.

Deep reductions beyond what we can absorb will also put a major strain on the state's ability to support our county-based infrastructure. In our county-based service model, via the property tax, counties already pay very significant shares of human services costs, including child protection, waiver management, chemical dependency, mental health, and state facility stays, and have little capacity to absorb any significant additional cost.

The only choices available are being forced to raise local property taxes drastically or close services.

Finally, healthcare is a major employer in rural Minnesota. Reductions in already-too-low reimbursement rates would not only limit access but would also reduce pay and services, hugely impacting rural economies and the rapidly growing aging population in Greater Minnesota.

Please remind our good leaders in Washington that simply cutting the budget is not going to take away our responsibilities to the aged, those with disabilities and mental health needs, children, and the poor.

You can make a difference in this debate. Please, please do.

Respectfully,

Senator Jim Abeler
Minnesota State Senator
District 35

Senator Bill Lieske
Minnesota State Senator
District 58

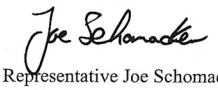
Senator Mark Koran
Minnesota State Senator
District 28

Senator Carla Nelson
Minnesota State Senator
District 24

Senator Paul Utke
Minnesota State Senator
District 5

Senator Glenn Gruenhagen
Minnesota State Senator
District 17

Representative Danny Nadeau
Minnesota State Representative
District 34A



Representative Joe Schomacker
Minnesota State Representative
District 21A

Representative Jeff Backer
Minnesota State Representative
District 09A

Representative Aaron Repinski
Minnesota State Representative
District 26A

Representative Joe McDonald
Minnesota State Representative
District 29A

Representative Dave Baker
Minnesota State Representative
District 16B

Representative Steve Gander
Minnesota State Representative
District 1B

Representative Bernie Perryman
Minnesota State Representative
District 14A

Ms. MORRISON. Thank you, Madam Chair.

And I would like to highlight just a couple of their points.

The Minnesota Republican legislators wrote, and I quote, "Too deep of a cut is unmanageable in any instance. Massive Medicaid reductions could punish Minnesota for being such a strong leader in greater efficiencies and better outcomes. Drastic reductions to Medicaid funding have the potential to impact the 1.4 million people we serve and place incredible pressure on our overall State budget." And they closed with, "Please remind our good leaders in Washington that simply cutting the budget is not going to take away our responsibilities to the aged, those with disabilities, mental health needs, children, and the poor," end quote.

So to my Republican colleagues, please hear the pleas of your State counterparts as you consider this bill today.

I also have with me here a letter from Minnesota's nonprofit hospitals. And Madam Chair, I would request consent for this letter to be entered into the record.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Without objection.

[The information follows:]

Minnesota Hospital Association

161 Rondo Ave., Ste. 1010
Saint Paul, MN 55103
www.mnhospitals.org

May 19, 2025

The Honorable Tom Emmer
U.S. House of Representatives
315 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

The Honorable Angie Craig
U.S. House of Representatives
2442 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

The Honorable Michelle Fischbach
U.S. House of Representatives
1237 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

The Honorable Betty McCollum
U.S. House of Representatives
1433 Longworth House Office Building
Washinton, DC 20515

The Honorable Brad Finstad
U.S. House of Representatives
1433 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

The Honorable Kelly Morrison
U.S. House of Representatives
1205 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

The Honorable Pete Stauber
U.S. House of Representatives
461 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

The Honorable Ilhan Omar
U.S. House of Representatives
1730 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, DC 2051

Delivered via email

Dear Members of the Minnesota House Delegation:

On behalf of Minnesota's nonprofit hospitals and health systems, we write as the house prepares to consider the budget reconciliation package. With indications that the legislation may soon reach the floor, we wanted to share our perspective one final time before a vote.

We begin with gratitude. We appreciate the many conversations we've had with each of you and your staff throughout this Congress — both in person and virtually — as well as your visits to nonprofit hospitals and health systems across the state. Your willingness to hear our concerns firsthand, and to see the care delivered in your districts every day, has meant a great deal to our members.

Our message is simple: this is a critical moment for the Medicaid program — and for the Minnesotans who depend on it. As you consider the provisions of the reconciliation bill, we urge you to reject any changes that reduce federal Medicaid funding or limit the ability of states to responsibly finance their share of the program. These decisions carry serious consequences — for patients first and foremost, and for the hospitals and systems that serve them.

Right now, our health care delivery system is under extreme strain. Over forty percent of Minnesota hospitals had negative margins in 2023. The median operating margin across the entire

state was 1.7% — a figure well below sustainability. 52 hospitals had negative margins with 40 or 77% being rural hospitals. We are seeing respected, longstanding facilities being forced to reduce services, pause programs, and grapple openly with whether they can remain open. These are not isolated issues. This is a structural crisis.

One major driver is Medicaid underpayment. On average, Minnesota hospitals are reimbursed just 68 cents for every dollar it costs to care for a Medicaid inpatient admission. And the current reimbursements are based on 2019 costs. This chronic gap is widening — and the hospitals absorbing it are now at a breaking point.

Medicaid is a lifeline for more than 1.2 million Minnesotans, including:

- Expecting mothers and newborns, with Medicaid covering a significant share of births across the state, over 50% in many areas.
- Children with special health needs, and those navigating behavioral health crises;
- Rural residents, for whom the local hospital may be the only source of care for miles;
- Tens of thousands of seniors receiving long-term care;
- Low-wage workers in jobs that don't offer coverage;

Any reduction in federal support — including cuts to the base FMAP or restrictions on provider assessments — would trigger immediate consequences. Patients will lose access. Hospitals will be forced to reduce services and will face impossible choices. And communities across our state will feel the effects, whether they are covered by Medicaid or not.

We know these are difficult budget discussions. But cutting Medicaid doesn't erase the need for care — it simply shifts the burden. To states. To hospitals. And ultimately, to the very people the program is meant to protect.

We are reattaching updated briefing materials for your reference, including data snapshots, impact summaries, and policy analysis. If there's more information you need, we stand ready to provide it at any time. Our goal is to ensure every member of the Minnesota delegation has the full picture before final decisions are made.

Once again, we thank you — for your time, for your engagement, and for your commitment to hearing directly from the patients and providers you represent. We look forward to continued partnership to protect access to care in every Minnesota community.

Sincerely,

Bob Hume

Vice President, Policy & Communications

Minnesota Hospital Association

Attachments Include:

Medicaid Materials

Economic Impact Materials

Cost of Caring Materials

Ms. MORRISON. Thank you, Madam Chair.

And I would like to highlight just a couple of their points.

They wrote, and I quote, "Any reduction in Federal support would trigger immediate consequences. Patients will lose access. Hospitals will be forced to reduce services and will face impossible choices. And communities across our State will feel the effects whether they are covered by Medicaid or not. We know these are difficult budget discussions, but cutting Medicaid doesn't erase the need for care. It simply shifts the burden to States, to hospitals, and ultimately to the very people the program is meant to protect," end quote.

Their pleas are clear. Their threats are real. The facts are undeniable. So please, on behalf of all Americans, I implore you to do the right thing. Rule this amendment in order, and stop these cuts.

I yield, Madam Chair. Thank you.

[The statement of Ms. Morrison follows:]

Rules Committee Remarks – Rep. Morrison
May 21, 2025

Thank you, M. Chair.

My amendment today is simple.

Before the House advances the largest cut to Medicaid in program history, Congress needs to review how this bill will impact hospitals and Americans' access to services.

My amendment simply says that the bill cannot take effect until an independent study confirms that these proposed Medicaid cuts will not result in hospital closures or reductions in services, including obstetric services.

The Medicaid policies in this bill will strip health care coverage away from **millions of Americans** — and put essential labor and delivery services on the chopping block.

Our country is already facing a worsening maternal health crisis — and carelessly ripping away womens' access to care without any consideration is just plain cruel.

We are already **dead last** in maternal mortality compared to our peer nations… and instead of putting forward a bill that will actually improve women's health and support moms and babies, my Republican colleagues have chosen to gut the program that covers **more than 50% of births** in many areas of Minnesota.

Having cared for women and their babies for over 20 years as an OBGYN, I am **appalled** by how callously members of this chamber have turned their backs on their constituents.

In my home state of Minnesota, 1.4 million Minnesotans get health care coverage through Medicaid.

And millions more depend on the hospitals and providers who have been **unequivocally clear** that the Medicaid cuts in this bill will decimate their ability to provide care.

Unequivocally clear that the cuts will force them to reduce services or shut down entirely.

And the reality is: if hospitals are unable to keep their lights on and deliver care, **we will all pay the price.**

People will not be able to access care.
People will have more medical debt and they will be less healthy.
People will suffer.
People will die.

I would encourage my Republican colleagues to believe the words of the hospitals that serve their constituents, the patients that live in their districts, and analysis after analysis that confirms these cuts will cost millions of Americans their access to care.

So to my Republican colleagues who hold majority rule of this chamber -- let's be very clear here:

You can stop this right now.

You can stop the hospital closures.

You can stop the cuts to services.

You can stop 14 million Americans from losing access to health insurance.

You can stop the worsening of the maternal health care crisis and rural hospital crisis.

You have the power – you can stop this!

More than a dozen of our Republican colleagues here in the House have spoken out and said that they cannot support deep cuts to Medicaid.

Other Republicans have called these massive cuts "morally wrong."

And more than a dozen Republican state legislators from my home state of Minnesota wrote our Republican delegation and the President making a very clear case about how this would be a disaster and begged them to not go through with these cuts.

I have a copy with me here. M. Chair I request consent for this letter to be entered into the record.

And I'd like to highlight a couple of their points:

The Minnesota Republican legislators wrote, and I quote:

- "Too deep of a cut is **unmanageable** in any instance."
- "Massive Medicaid reductions could punish Minnesota for being such a strong leader in greater efficiencies and better outcomes."
- "Drastic reductions to Medicaid funding have the potential to impact the 1.4 million people we serve and place **incredible pressure** on our overall state budget."
- And they closed with: "Please remind our good leaders in Washington that simply cutting the budget is not going to take away our responsibilities to the aged, those with disabilities and mental health needs, children, and the poor."
- End quote.

So to my Republican colleagues: please hear the pleas of your state counterparts as you consider this bill today.

I also have with me here a letter from Minnesota's nonprofit hospitals. M. Chair I request consent for this letter to be entered into the record.

And I'd like to highlight a couple of their points:

They wrote, and I quote:

- "Any reduction in federal support … would trigger immediate consequences."
- **Patients will lose access. Hospitals will be forced to reduce services and will face impossible choices. And communities across our state will feel the effects, whether they are covered by Medicaid or not.**"
- "We know these are difficult budget discussions. But cutting Medicaid doesn't erase the need for care — it simply shifts the burden. To states. To hospitals. And ultimately, to the very people the program is meant to protect." End quote.

Their pleas – are clear.

The threats – are real.

The facts – are undeniable.

So please, on behalf of all Americans:

I implore you to do the right thing.

Rule this amendment in order, and stop these cuts.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you very much.

Ms. Fischbach, do you have any questions?

Mrs. FISCHBACH. No.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Again, I want to thank all of you for your patience and for being here. And you remind all of us of the fact that the underlying bill, the reconciliation bill, is a lousy piece of legislation. I mean, the attacks on health care, attacks on food assistance, the attacks on public lands, the attacks on FEMA, the attacks—you know, and the indifference on AI, which is a very dangerous thing that we are about to do. I mean, basically saying we are not going to do our job in the Congress, but we are going to prevent States from doing anything to protect the citizens.

I mean, just so many things. I mean, this bill should not be coming to the floor. Your amendments are all good, and we are going to make the case that they should be made in order when we get to the point of actually reporting on a rule.

But again, I think it is so important that you stayed here and that you made the case as to how we could improve the bill.

Did you have—yeah. Go ahead.

Mr. GOLDMAN. I was just going to add something that I know is near and dear to your heart, because you are such a leader on food insecurity, and it is such a—done such incredible work.

These so-called work requirements are such a fig leaf. They are such a pretext when, in reality, the Census data shows that 82 percent of households with working-age adults who did not live—who do not live with minor children and did not receive disability benefits had earnings during the year 2023.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Right. Yeah.

Mr. GOLDMAN. This is not an issue that needs to be addressed. It is an issue that is being created so that poor Americans can struggle even more.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Yeah.

Again, and we had this discussion in the Agriculture Committee, I mean, of a single mother with a 7-year-old child, you know, who loses her job. And then she has 90 days to get another job, otherwise she loses her benefit. And the back-and-forth in the Agriculture Committee was like, Well, you know, 7-years-old, the child is in school.

Do people realize what time school gets out? I mean, if people are working? What happens during the summer? What happens during vacations? I mean, again, many people are able to juggle all this stuff. And the majority of people who are able-bodied who are on SNAP actually do work. And there are work requirements, especially for those who are able-bodied adults without dependents.

But to just be totally indifferent to what life is like for a single parent with a 7- or 8- or 9-year-old child and to just say, Oh, one glove fits all, it is just a cruel and rotten thing to do. And we are talking about food assistance. And a really, you know, meager food benefit. On average, two dollars per person, per meal. You know? And by the way, with the State cost shares, that requirement now, many States won't be able to meet that cost share. And so that $2 benefit will get even less.

I mean, you can't buy a cup of coffee in the Capitol for $2. And it is like, this is where you are going to try to get money to offset tax cuts for billionaires? Like, who does this? Like, who thought this brilliant idea up? I mean, it is—it is just such a terrible thing to do. I mean, there were other things we could do to improve programs. Every program can be improved. But this is not it. And I appreciate your amendment. I appreciate all your amendments and look forward to working with you.

I yield back.

Ms. SCANLON. Thank you. Again, wanted to—we will just waive at this point.

I want to thank you all for your amendments and for sticking around so long.

Representative Lofgren, I really appreciated your bringing attention to the fact that when cuts are made to scientific research, medical research, it doesn't just harm that research. And, of course, we have heard about, you know, ovarian cancer trials being paused, people not being able to get treatment that they were hoping would impact their issues. But we then know there is job loss when that is—when that happens. We are hearing from universities in my district that students who thought they had internships, which would make them the researchers of tomorrow, are losing those internships.

And then we are hearing from contractors and tradespeople that universities, in order to try to preserve some of the research, are diverting funding from capital projects. And then we have contractors losing those jobs and tradespeople being laid off because those things are happening.

And Rep. Houlahan, you know, we have so many veterans in southeastern Pennsylvania. I think you and I, we each have about 27-, 28,000 veterans in our district. You have got the Coatesville facility in your district. The Philadelphia VA is adjacent to my district.

And of course, we have just tried to expand the benefits available to our veterans through the PACT Act. And at the same time that we are trying to expand those benefits and make sure that people actually get the treatment that they are entitled to that they have earned through their service, we are seeing these funding cuts and the pulling back.

So thank you for amendments bringing attention to all of that and everything that people have put forward. Excuse me. Losing my voice.

I yield back.

Ms. LOFGREN. Could I just address the science issue briefly? Because we have seen reductions in physics, in mathematics, in chemistry, in computer science. And what we have seen all across the United States is universities reducing the number of doctoral students that they are admitting because they cannot see how to pay for the research.

So what is happening? Europe, Canada, and, yes, China are recruiting the scientists that we are losing. So we are going to pay a big economic price for a long time for what has already happened.

So let's stop the digging and try and recover because this is going to hit our economy in a way—really terrible, terrible impact. I thank you for——

Ms. SCANLON. Well, and you do bring up another point, which is that these foreign students coming to the U.S., when we are making them feel unwelcome, they often pay full freight.

Ms. LOFGREN. Correct.

Ms. SCANLON. Which is really, really helpful to our universities. And all of a sudden, that is an income source for——

Ms. LOFGREN. Well, the number of F–1 student applications has completely crashed. So, yeah. We are losing money because they subsidize the American students. And then we are also losing, you know—almost 50 percent of the Nobel Prize winners who are Americans in the sciences were Americans by choice, Americans born someplace else. Those people are not going to be here in our future.

Ms. SCANLON. So it is a talent drain and a financial drain.

Thank you. I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thanks, Ms. Scanlon.

Do my colleagues on my side have any questions? Okay.

Well, thank you all you very much. Seeing no one else having questions, the panel is excused. Thank you very much for coming.

If the next panel we could do—I hope you did this—start down here and move up. Ms. Ansari, Ms. Johnson, Ms. Hayes, Mr. Casar, Ms. Williams, Mr. Cisneros, Mr. Carson, and Mr. Takano. Doesn't really matter which seat you sit in. I will call you by the way you are on this list.

Ms. Ansari, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. YASSAMIN ANSARI, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ARIZONA

Ms. ANSARI. Thank you, Chairwoman Foxx and Ranking Member McGovern for allowing me the opportunity to join today's hearing.

First, let me start by saying that the fact that we have been here since the literal middle of the night at a committee markup that will determine the Federal Government's budget, something that affects every single American, is absurd. But I am proud of the showing of Democrats in this room, of colleagues who have been here for decades, alongside some colleagues who, like me, have been here for just a couple of months.

We hail from different parts of the country, different backgrounds, different ideas on policy, but we stand united against this bill and the process by which it is moving through this committee.

I urge you to support my amendment that would strike the text of the bill and replace it with the STOCK Act 2.0. This would prevent government officials and their immediate family members from being able to trade individual stocks. The original STOCK Act barred Members of Congress, the President, Vice President, and high-level staff from engaging in insider trading or otherwise using nonpublic information for their own benefit. It also included important updates to financial transparency by requiring these high-ranking government officials to disclose financial transactions to the public.

It is because of this latter provision that we discovered earlier this month that the chairman of the committee with jurisdiction over oil and gas, as well as mining lease sales, bought up to $150,000 in stock throughout the month of March. Those stocks included shares of oil companies like ExxonMobil, Chevron, BP, ConocoPhillips, Sun Corp, and Canadian Natural Resources.

They also included mining companies like BHP, Freeport-McMoRan, and Rio Tinto, for whom the largest shareholder is a Chinese, state-owned corporation.

These oil and mining stock trades took place while the chairman was writing a major portion of this very bill, the portion that is an unprecedented multibillion dollar giveaway to oil and mining companies.

Now, so many of these CEOs are set to directly benefit from this partisan budget that makes Draconian cuts to the programs on which my constituents and my Republican colleagues' constituents rely on. This is bigger than any one member benefiting from a stock trade. It is about this legislation as a whole, a budget that endorses this kind of behavior, uplifts it, and makes it into real policy that benefits the ultra rich getting richer over everything else.

Let's be clear. This so-called Big Beautiful Bill is not in the interest of the American people. It includes billions of dollars in cuts from critical programs, such as SNAP and Medicaid. Over 7.6 million Americans would lose their health insurance just from these cuts. And that doesn't include the millions of Americans that would lose access to health care when hospitals that rely on Medicaid are forced to shut down, all while giving trillions of dollars in handouts to mega corporations and the ultra wealthy.

And now, we also know that at least one member of Congress could personally and directly enrich himself from these provisions. This is corruption, plain and simple.

My amendment would strike the text of this bill and replace it with legislation that would prevent this sort of corruption from public officials. This is not a partisan issue, it is common sense. Members of Congress should not be able to use their positions of power for personal financial gain, nor should there be a perception of such.

We should not have to rely on the self-restraint of Members of Congress to resist the temptation of self-dealing and insider trading. It just should not be allowed.

Even Speaker Mike Johnson voiced his support for banning stock trading for Members of Congress last week, stating that Members of Congress should not, quote, "have any appearance of impropriety," end quote.

The oil and mining stock trade that happened while the chair was writing this bill to give away unprecedented sums to oil and mining industries most certainly has the appearance of impropriety. I sincerely hope that it is just an appearance. At a time when public trust in Congress is abysmal, we have to work harder to rebuild it.

Banning stock trades by Members of Congress is the first step. It is the lowest hanging fruit. There is absolutely no reason why Republicans on this committee should oppose this amendment. I urge the committee to make my amendments in order. Thank you.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.
Ms. Johnson, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. JULIE JOHNSON, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF TEXAS

Ms. JOHNSON of Texas. Thank you so very much, Madam Chairman, Ranking Member McGovern.

You know, there is so much to talk about in this bill, and I have several amendments, and I want to highlight two of them. But before I do that, I wanted to make some general comments on behalf of the residents of Texas 32 and the great State of Texas.

You know, our deficit is at catastrophic levels. We have had multiple committee hearings in this building that suggest we are going to be facing some very impending financial crises. Our Federal credit rating was just reduced. And this bill and the Republicans in this building are voting to add $4 trillion to the deficit in the most irresponsible way possible: on the backs of hungry children; on the backs of young mothers and families and the poor in this country to keep them from getting health care; on the backs of children and kids who want to get an education in cybersecurity; on the backs of safety of our aviation and our airports; on the backs of FEMA in States for disaster preparedness; on the backs of law enforcement officers who are being routinely terminated; on the backs of woeful areas across this government for lack of prudent and proper investment to the health and safety in the prosperity of this country.

And we are being put in a dire financial straight so that the President of the United States can reward a few of his friends with extra money in their bank account that they don't need, that they can't spend.

And the Republicans in this Congress have abdicated all the values that they have campaigned on for decades in homage to this one man. And it is a travesty to this government and to the American people that this is happening.

Democrats have been protesting this viciously all through the day and the weeks preceding this to have the American people wake up, and say, This is harming you. This bill will hurt the American people.

I have an amendment for the Affordable Care Act tax credit. Millions of people get their health care in this country because of the Affordable Care Act. Texas is one of the leading States of it. Our State and our health care system is going to be devastated. And this is a bill that is supposed to give tax cuts, but yet, we are removing one of the most critical tax cuts that the American people rely on.

It makes absolutely no sense. How can we tout the greatest tax cut bill to the American people at the same time we are cutting one of the most important tax cuts that benefits the vast majority of the American people?

And I really would like to urge this committee to restore the tax cuts of the Affordable Care Act. Millions and millions of people in the State of Texas and across this land desperately rely on that to get the desperate needs of health care. Small businesses, our new entrepreneurs, the young people who don't have—work for big cor-

porations with vast amounts of employees to have diversity of risk. They rely on the Affordable Care Act. And health insurance is already one of the leading expenses of a family in this country, and it is prohibitively expensive.

And this initiative, the Affordable Care Act and these tax credits, make it possible.

The other amendment I would like to address for this committee is to restore funding to FEMA. I sit on the Homeland Security Committee. I have heard so much testimony about the urgent need and the critical role that FEMA plays as the backstop for States and American families when nature and the disaster strike out of the blue without ability to prepare. It is the safety net that is so critically relied on by so many.

Our country will be in peril on our national security, on our preparedness, if we don't have FEMA to come in and put the pieces back together. Just today, horrible tornadoes ripped through Alabama. I mean, we are—no State is free from natural disaster.

Texas is certainly one of the States that has had to rely on FEMA the most. Hurricane Harvey decimated our Gulf Coast. Tornadoes decimate north Texas. We are the sixth largest economy in the world, the State of Texas. And without FEMA, we will be so burdened in putting our country back together that the Federal Government will also be harmed.

I appreciate the consideration for this committee, and I strongly encourage you to adopt my amendments and make them in order.

And with that, I yield back. Thank you.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Ms. Johnson.

Ms. Hayes, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. JAHANA HAYES, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT

Mrs. HAYES. Thank you.

Hungry kids don't learn. This issue has always been important to me. Unless and until you have come into your classroom on a Monday morning and seen a kid with their head down, knowing that they haven't had a decent meal since they left, you can't understand. Unless and until you find yourself automatically packing a second piece of fruit in your lunch because you expect that one of your students is going to ask you for it, you can't understand.

It changes you. It does something to you. When I came to Congress, I knew I would work to help address food insecurity. But my Republican colleagues here in this bill seek to exacerbate it.

Hunger is a policy choice. And today, we are considering legislation that makes the choice to take food away from people, from children. The reconciliation bill we are considering here today is the largest ever cut to the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program. Approximately $313 billion will be taken away from the most vulnerable in our country: hungry children, families, veterans, and seniors.

Republicans are pushing a legislative package that guts SNAP, the most efficient and effective anti-poverty program in this Nation. The cost sharing provisions in this legislation are going to shift the financial burden to States, forcing the States to cut benefits, eligibility, or both in order to reduce costs. States have always

been responsible for hiring staff and administering the benefits they receive through the Federal Government, and paying equal share with the Federal Government.

Under this bill, a workforce already facing shortages would have more responsibility to address paperwork errors with fewer funds. This bill does nothing to support workforce development, or the administrative support that will come as a result of these changes.

In my State of Connecticut, the Department of Social Services estimates that this would cost an additional $177 million per year. But based on the fiscal year 2023 error rates, the State of New York would be forced to pay $1.8 billion; Texas, $1.074 billion; Georgia, $82 million; and North Carolina, $584 million in additional costs to administer these programs.

Additionally, this legislation would prevent the Secretary of Agriculture from reevaluating the Thrifty Food Plan, which is used to determine benefit eligibility amounts. This bill also expands work requirements for older adults up to age 65 and for parents in households with children age 7 or older, which means that 4 million children between the ages of 7 and 17 who live in households that receive SNAP would be at risk of losing some type of food assistance.

While expanding these requirements, this legislation does nothing, once again, to fund workforce development programs, or increase access to childcare for these families.

I would also note that when children lose their SNAP benefits, they automatically lose their CEP, which is the community eligibility provision that allows them to get free and reduced lunch at school. So not only is food being taken away from children at home, it is being taken away from them at school.

My amendment is simple. It very prevents any cuts to SNAP that would reduce benefits for the 42 million Americans who rely on the program for food assistance. My amendment says that this legislation can only take effect once the USDA and all State agencies issue reports evaluating and certifying that any changes made to SNAP would not result in a reduction of benefits to eligible individuals or decrease in population.

SNAP serves 16 million children, 8 million seniors, and 4 million people with disabilities. I have heard over and over and over that the target is able-bodied adults without dependents who have the ability to work. If that is true, and that is the only group you are targeting, then it should be simple to make sure we are protecting children and families and seniors and those with disabilities from being cut off of these programs.

I can't understand why my Republican colleagues would not vote for that. Based on your testimony and everything that you have said in regards to SNAP, these aren't the people you are going after anyway. So we should all work together to ensure that we protect them.

I have heard Members from the other side of the aisle say that their intention is not to cut benefits. This amendment is your chance to go on the record and do just that. While I question the intent here and where we are going, I understand with fidelity the outcome and who will be affected.

In the wealthiest Nation in the world, we have the ability to feed children. We don't have a drought. We don't have a famine. We don't have a war. We have policies that intend to take food out of the mouths of children.

With that, I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Ms. Hayes.

Mr. Casar, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. GREG CASAR, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF TEXAS

Mr. CASAR. Good afternoon.

So in this terrible Republican budget bill, we are talking about saving money by cutting waste, fraud, and abuse. But then when we actually look at the bill about who is taking a cut, well, of course, we are cutting taxes for billionaires. But the people who are taking a cut is a person with a disability who will lose their health care because we say, Well, you have got a disability, but it is not quite bad enough, or you didn't fill out this piece of paper. Or we are cutting the $6 a day in food assistance to a child, because now you are 8 years old, not 7 years old, so you don't need it anymore.

You kidding me? When folks think about waste, fraud, and abuse, we aren't talking about these Americans. You want to see waste? Tens of billions of dollars get milked by Big Pharma every year off of the taxpayer and the Medicare Advantage program. We could be getting tens of billions of dollars from them.

Or if you want to talk about fraud, we could be talking about the billionaires who hide their money in offshore accounts that we should be going after.

Or if you want to talk about abuse, this bill that is supposed to be saving money has $25 billion in it for Trump's Golden Dome project that recently was reported the person most likely to get that money is Elon Musk. So while he is in the White House, playing with the President, this bill is sending potentially $25 billion to Elon Musk.

When we talk about waste, fraud, and abuse, we should be looking at those folks with lots of power who are milking the taxpayers, not the biggest Medicare cut in American history or the biggest Medicaid cut in American history. So come on, y'all.

So one of the amendments I proposed is pretty simple. Let's say if a Federal court finds that Elon Musk abused his power to be able to route money to himself, then we could save ourselves billions of dollars by automatically canceling out those billionaire tax cuts and the billions of dollars in contracts that Elon Musk has.

If nobody on this panel thinks that Elon Musk hasn't been abusing his power, then we could just put this amendment in order and take it to a vote. If Elon Musk is found to have abused his power, we can save ourselves a whole bunch of money.

And as if that isn't enough of the heart of the hypocrisy here, the Republican party that campaigned on saving people money, one, is talking about saving billionaires' money with their tax cut; and two, in this bill, they are going to jack up the premiums on health care for the people that rely on the marketplace for their health care.

And so I will hand the mic over, yield my time to any of my Republican colleagues that want to address the amount of money that their tax-paying citizens are going to have to pay in increased premiums for their health care. Anybody wants to mention—we have the numbers, everybody here has the numbers—how much your constituents are going to have to pay more every year in health care because of this bill.

I know the numbers for my district. It is going to be a 50 percent increase, over $400 in my district. And that is actually not even close to how much in many of the Republican districts there is going to be an increase. I would yield the mic.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I think we are 78 percent in my district.

Mr. CASAR. 78 percent in Mr. McGovern's district.

Maybe none of the Republican members want to mention it, but the Republican gentleman from New York will be a 44 percent increase, $2,000 a year hit to his constituents in their health care costs. The distinguished gentleman from Virginia, his constituents would face an increase in $770 a year in their health care premiums. The distinguished Republican chairwoman of this committee, a 60 percent increase in health care premiums. And that is on average.

The distinguished Republican Congresswoman here from Minnesota was recently told here by the committee on the budget that a 60-year-old couple with a joint income of $85,000 a year in her district would see an 11,000-dollar a year increase in their costs, while we are giving tax cuts to billionaires.

And what bothers me the most is that we want to hide it. Nobody wants here to talk about the fact that they are jacking up insurance costs on their own constituents while given a billionaire a tax break.

Nobody on the Republican side pushing this bill wants to have an in-person town hall and look their constituents in the face and explain to them why they want to hand Elon Musk another 25 billion-dollar contract while jacking up your health insurance costs not just by hundreds, but by thousands of dollars.

I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Casar.

Ms. Williams, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. NIKEMA WILLIAMS, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF GEORGIA

Ms. WILLIAMS of Georgia. Thank you, Chairwoman Foxx, Ranking Member McGovern.

Y'all, this meeting started at 1 a.m. and has been going through the entire night, morning, and now day. We are considering one of the most harmful bills to ever come before the House, cutting health care from 14 million Americans, taking food from the mouths of hungry children, seniors, and veterans.

My Republican colleagues were hoping that my Democratic colleagues and I would sleep through the night, as the American people slept. But what is done in the dark, y'all, comes to the light, and I am here to shed the light.

That is why I stayed up all night, and that is why I am here right now as the voice of Georgia's fighting 5th Congressional Dis-

trict. I follow in the footsteps of the late Congressman John Lewis, known as the conscience of the Congress. And if there is anything Republicans need more of these days, it is a conscience.

Because who with a conscience would rip health care away from 14 million people in this country? Who with a conscience would make the largest cut in history to food benefits for children, seniors, veterans, and people with disabilities? Who with a conscience would add $5 trillion to the deficit with nothing to show for it but billionaire tax cuts?

No one with a conscience would do any of that, but that is exactly what this Republican, so-called One Big Beautiful Bill would do.

Congressman John Lewis would be ashamed of y'all. I know that I am.

But you know what? He would be proud of his Democratic colleagues for making Good Trouble on behalf of the American people. There were 537 amendments to your so-called One Big Beautiful Bill. Just because Republicans aren't willing to change their bill to actually help the American people, that definitely still won't stop House Democrats from offering these amendments because we know that it doesn't have to be this way.

I have 16 amendments myself. One is to invest in programs to increase our housing supply and lower housing costs.

Another is to stop taxpayer funding for anti-abortion clinics that spread disinformation about women's health care.

Another is to stop Trump from cutting essential Federal workers without at least getting a report from Congress on how it will harm government services.

Another is to stop Trump from profiting off funding for presidential security, and an additional one is to increase nutrition benefits and eligibility for students.

Another is to require reports on how the policies in this bill affect low-income individuals and racial inequities.

Another is to stop January 6 insurrectionists from getting a settlement from the Federal Government for their crimes.

And yet another is to ensure that Members of Congress can continue conducting lawful oversight in ICE facilities.

Another one is to make maternal medical care, menstrual products, and broadband costs covered expenses for determining people's eligibility for food assistance.

Another is to stop Elon Musk from selling the Federal Government AI systems while he is employed by our Federal Government.

And yet another is to stop any funds in this bill from being used to unconstitutionally remove a United States citizen from this country.

Another is to require the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau to remain independent of whoever is President, Democratic or Republican.

And yet another is to keep the funding for sustainable aviation fuel which supports our aviation industry to be cleaner and more environmentally friendly.

If my Republican colleagues really want to do right by the American people, they would approve all of these amendments. I can't fix everything in this horrible bill, even with the 16 amendments

that I am offering, but these would definitely be a start. And next time, maybe Republicans should open up this Big Beautiful Bill to some big, beautiful debate in the light of day. Because it doesn't matter what your ideas are if you can't defend them in broad daylight for the American people.

You must be hiding something from the American people.

The children, seniors, and veterans in my district who will lose health care and SNAP benefits—y'all, they are more than a line item in a budget. They are real people, simply trying to survive. So don't turn your back on them to give tax cuts to billionaires.

I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Ms. Williams.

Mr. Cisneros, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. GILBERT RAY CISNEROS, JR., A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. CISNEROS. Thank you, Chairwoman Foxx, Ranking Member McGovern, and members of the Rules Committee.

I am deeply disappointed with how this hearing came about. The majority scheduled a hearing in the middle of the night to further their agenda without debate or scrutiny. But the timing of the hearing cannot hide the fact this legislation rips off the American people. It increases tax breaks for the wealthiest Americans, paid for by nearly $700 billion in cuts to Medicaid, and $267 billion cuts to SNAP.

I am here to offer four amendments to this flawed legislation to urge the committee to make them in order.

My first amendment seeks to ensure Congress is authorizing the funds needed to pay our childcare workers and maintain and modernize the facilities where they work in the Department of Defense. My amendment would increase childcare fee assistance to $200 million, add $1.3 billion for Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, and Space Force child development center facility maintenance, and include $1 billion for childcare provider compensation under the Department of Defense's modernization of the Child Development Program Staffing Model passed in the fiscal year 2025 NDAA.

I want to be clear. My amendment does not raise a top line. Instead, it will take from expensive and unnecessary program, and instead, support our servicemembers' family needs.

Mr. CISNEROS. My next amendment seeks to reassert congressional oversight into the activities of the Department of Defense. My amendment allows the Department to access the first $100 billion of the bill's funding. But before the Department can use the last $50 billion, it simply requires the Department to answer some elementary oversight questions about DOGE and the Department of Defense.

I support better efficiency and program management at the Pentagon, as I know many of my colleagues do. I have been proud to support numerous efforts to that effect and I look forward to working with my colleagues in a bipartisan way in the future. But that is not what this bill is.

Our responsibility is to conduct oversight, and so far our questions to the Department have yielded insubstantial or nonexistent answers and the administration seems unable to explain the role of DOGE in the Department of Defense.

I know the DOD is capable of giving thoughtful responses. I have sat in the witness seat before and have answered questions and I have been required to reply to congressional inquiries, which I gladly did because that was my responsibility. At the very least, we should understand what this unauthorized department is doing to one of the departments that we are supposed to be overseeing in Congress.

My third amendment seeks to expand eligibility for the employer-provided childcare tax credit. This amendment would define small business concerns in accordance with the Small Business Act for the purpose of the employer-provided childcare tax credit. This would help small businesses attract and retain employees that are working parents.

My final amendment seeks to revise the short title of the bill to the One Big Billionaire Bailout Act.

Raising a child, owning a small business, having access to affordable and quality healthcare in this economy, it is becoming more difficult with the rising cost of living.

Again, this bill, instead of helping hardworking Americans nationwide, gives a government handout to billionaires and the wealthiest Americans at the expense of everyone else.

The name matters because it tells the truth of what this fine print hides. I am happy to tell the American people who this bill really serves, because it is not them.

Again, I urge you to make these amendments in order.

Thank you. And I am happy to take any of your questions.

[The statement of Mr. Cisneros follows:]

Consolidated Remarks

Thank you, Chairwoman Foxx, Ranking Member McGovern, and members of the Rules Committee.

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The Majority scheduled a hearing in the middle of the night to further their agenda without debate or scrutiny.

But the timing of this hearing cannot hide the fact that this legislation rips off the American people.

It increases tax breaks for the wealthiest Americans, paid for by $698 billion in cuts to Medicaid and $267 billion in cuts to SNAP.

I'm here to offer four amendments to this flawed legislation and urge the Committee to make them in order.

My first amendment, amendment number 286, seeks to ensure Congress is authorizing the funds needed to pay our child care workers and maintain and modernize the facilities where they work in the Department of Defense.

My amendment would increase child care fee assistance to $200 million, add $1.3 billion for Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, and Space Force child development center facility maintenance, and include $1 billion for childcare provider compensation under the Department of Defense's

modernization of the Child Development Program Staffing Model passed in the FY25 NDAA.

I want to be clear; my amendment does not raise the topline. Instead, it will take from an expensive and unnecessary program and instead support our service members' family needs.

My next amendment, amendment number 302, seeks to reassert Congressional oversight into the activities of the Department of Defense.

My amendment allows the Department to access the first $100 billion of this bill's funding. But before the Department can use the last $50 billion, it simply requires the Department to answer some elementary oversight questions about DOGE and the Department of Defense.

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I know that DoD is capable of giving thoughtful responses, I have sat in the witness seat before and have answered questions, and I have been required to reply to Congressional inquiries, which I gladly did, because that was my responsibility.

At the very least, we should understand what this unauthorized department is doing to one of the Departments that we are all supposed to be overseeing in Congress.

My third amendment, amendment number 332, seeks to expand eligibility for the employer-provided childcare tax credit.

The amendment would define “small business concern” in accordance with the Small Business Act for the purposes of the employer-provided childcare tax credit.

This would help small businesses attract and retain employees that are working parents.

My final amendment, amendment number 257, seeks to revises the short title of the bill to the “One Big Billionaire Bailout Act."

Raising a child, owning a small business, having access to affordable and quality healthcare in this economy? It is becoming more difficult with the rising cost of living.

Again – this bill, instead of helping hard-working Americans nationwide, gives a government handout to billionaires and the wealthiest Americans at the expense of everyone else.

The name matters because it tells the truth of what the fine print hides.

I am happy to tell the American people who this bill really serves – because it is not them.

Again, I urge you to make these amendments in order.

Thank you and I'm happy to take any questions.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you Mr. Cisneros.

Mr. Takano, I will go to you next.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. MARK TAKANO, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. TAKANO. Well, thank you, Madam Chair.

Let's begin with the obvious. This bill, the so-called budget reconciliation package, is not even finished. Republican leadership is asking Members to vote on a moving target with textual changes and details still unclear. Even Republican Members don't know what is in it, but they are being told to rush this to the floor before the holiday weekend so they can hand Donald Trump a political win.

Trump made his demand clear: Unite behind what is possibly the most budget-busting piece of legislation in modern U.S. history. And now Republicans are stuck between their talking point of deficit reduction and their obligation to do whatever Donald Trump tells them to do.

Last night, the Congressional Budget Office released its score. It found that this bill would increase the deficit by $2.3 trillion over the next decade.

Let me say that again, $2.3 trillion. That would trigger automatic cuts to Medicare and other vital programs unless Congress steps in.

And who benefits? According to the CBO, the richest 10 percent of Americans would see their incomes go up, while the poorest 10 percent would see theirs go down.

So, yes, this bill deserves a name, and I would call it One Big Billionaire Payout. And while billionaires and corporations are poised to win big, the people I serve—veterans, students, and working families—are set to lose.

I am offering 10 amendments to stop the worst of this damage.

First, I have introduced an amendment to exempt disabled veterans from new Medicaid work requirements.

Now, not all veterans are eligible to receive their healthcare from VA, and currently 1.6 million veterans rely on Medicaid. This bill would subject as many as 1 million of them to bureaucratic red tape just to keep their healthcare.

Many veterans with service-connected disabilities fall below the disability rating that makes them eligible for VA care and significant barriers to employment. Punishing them for that is not reform, it is cruelty.

Second, if you are going to rip away veterans' healthcare, the least you can do is tell them. My amendment would require CMS to notify veterans who are losing Medicaid coverage.

Third, I have offered a similar amendment requiring USDA to notify veterans and servicemembers if they are kicked off SNAP. Over a million veterans rely on food assistance, and this bill, again, takes from those who served and gives to those who stockpile wealth without sacrifice.

Fourth and fifth, I propose creating websites through HHS and USDA to help veterans navigate the fallout, healthcare and nutrition resources for those losing coverage. It is a modest effort to clean up the mess this bill creates.

Sixth, I am offering an amendment to preserve nursing home staffing reforms. In 2024, CMS finalized a rule to address dangerous understaffing. This bill delays that and could cost lives. University of Pennsylvania research estimates 13,000 lives would be saved annually under that rule.

Who exactly are we protecting by delaying that? Certainly not the seniors living in those homes.

My seventh amendment strikes the repeal of the 2023 Borrower Defense Rule, a protection for student borrowers defrauded by predatory colleges. In just 1 year over 770,000 students filed claims. This bill would make it nearly impossible for future victims to get relief.

Eighth, I strike the repeal of the 90/10 rule fix, a bipartisan protection that keeps for-profit colleges from targeting veterans as dollar signs. Without it, GI Bill recipients become cash cows for worthless diploma mills and taxpayers foot the bill when these shady schools collapse.

Ninth, I proposed a certify no harm amendment which would simply require Federal agencies to confirm that these provisions won't increase fraud against student veterans before they take effect. If Republicans are so confident this bill won't hurt anyone, this should be an easy ask.

And finally, my tenth amendment includes the PROTECT Students Act codifying essential safeguards against deceptive marketing, inflated job placement claims, and outright fraud by for-profit colleges and loan services.

Let me close by reminding my colleagues that this isn't some routine budget bill. This is reverse Robin Hood. It steals healthcare from veterans, it steals food from hungry families, it steals loan protections from students, and it steals safety from nursing home residents. It does all that to give billionaires a payday with a price tag of $2.3 trillion in new debt.

This isn't about values, it is about vanity, trying to give a twice-impeached former President a talking point for his next rally.

I urge my colleagues to support these amendments and reject this sham of a bill.

I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Takano.

Mr. Carson, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. ANDRÉ CARSON, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF INDIANA

Mr. CARSON. Thank you very much, Madam Chair. And thank you, Ranking Member. Thank you for providing me the time to testify this afternoon.

I have four amendments to this reconciliation bill. My amendments protect Medicaid, passenger rail, our environment, and would protect the middle class.

I first want to speak on amendment 428, to conduct a comprehensive audit within 180 days to assess the impact of this bill's impact on income inequality in our country.

The GOP claims their tax policies will benefit the middle class. I say prove it. Prove to the American people that the tax policies in this bill will help the middle class, not the ultrawealthy.

Next, my amendment 168 addresses one of the most urgent, life-threatening issues in this bill, which is that this bill would slash healthcare for 14 million Americans.

Just this afternoon an Indianapolis woman named Joan contacted our office. She is about to turn 65, she is disabled, and she receives Medicaid to survive. She told me, "At 65 years old I have nowhere else to go, and I don't want to lose my home, and I don't want to lose my healthcare."

Yesterday evening, I spoke on the House floor about three women from my district in Indy, Arica, Bethany, and Carol Ann, who rely on SNAP and Medicaid to survive.

These are just three of the thousands of people who have reached out to us in the past few weeks. We receive messages from folks every day who are afraid for themselves, but they are also terrified for their children, other people's children, their family members, other people's family members.

That is because Indianapolis is a community that cares about one another. We look out for one another. It is what we do. It is who we are. I have always been proud of my hometown.

But I am even more proud of hearing the groundswell of support, especially over the last week, from those in Indianapolis who have overwhelmingly told me we must help our neighbors and we must protect Medicaid.

I am here today to fight for the people of Indianapolis who deserve a government that stands with them, not billionaires.

This past week our country has watched Members of Congress debate essentially who deserves to live and who deserves to die in our country. For 14 million Americans, healthcare and Medicaid cuts aren't a political discussion, they are a matter of life and death. Fourteen million Americans would lose healthcare under this current bill. That includes newborns, children, seniors, and postpartum mothers, the most vulnerable among us.

We have also watched Republican Members of Congress deny that this bill will slash Medicaid, even though a nonpartisan analysis found that the Republican budget simply would not be possible without cutting Medicaid and essential healthcare. And yet, many of my colleagues still deny that this budget will drastically cut essential healthcare.

So my message to my colleagues is prove it. You insist your bill will not hurt Medicaid. You insist this bill will not snatch healthcare out of the hands of 14 million men, women, and children. Prove it by simply passing my amendment.

My amendment would ensure none of the provisions of this bill will take effect if there is an increase in mortality rates due to reduced access to healthcare services as a result of this bill.

If Republicans truly believe this bill is not taking money away from Medicaid to give tax breaks to billionaires, then they should have no problem passing this amendment.

If Republicans believe that at a minimum we should make sure this bill does not cause Americans to die, then they shouldn't have a problem passing my amendment.

I would like to close my remarks, Madam Chair and Ranking Member, by reminding us again of Joan, Arica, Bethany, and Carol Ann in the great Hoosier State. I implore you to remember their

humanity. Fourteen million people who stand to lose their healthcare are relying on us to do the right thing—protect Medicaid, protect healthcare, protect our children.

I yield back, Madam Chair.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Carson.

Does anyone on my side wish to ask any questions?

Mr. Scott.

Mr. Griffith.

Mr. SCOTT. I do not have any questions.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern, you are recognized.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Again, I want to thank everybody here for being in the fight. There is too much at stake. I mean, you highlighted many of the concerns that have been echoed over and over and over again today.

I mean, Jahana Hayes and I were on the Agriculture Committee when we marked up the ag section of this reconciliation bill and it was maddening. And not just because of the impact of the cuts on children, on vulnerable people, on senior citizens, on veterans, on people with disabilities, but this kind of indifference, like it is no big deal.

And it is a big deal. It is a big deal. If you can't put food on the table for your kids, that is a huge deal. That is every parent's worst nightmare. If you are a senior citizen, not being able to afford your medication and your food, that is a big deal.

And a lot of the issues that were raised by this panel point to the fact that it seems that the people who are going to suffer the most are the most vulnerable and the people who are well off and well connected and have the most are going to get even more.

And so, again, I thank you for staying. Some of you have been here like since 1 o'clock in the morning. I have seen you in the hallways at 2 o'clock in the morning. And so you have been around. But I really do think it is important that people speak up.

Mrs. Hayes.

Mrs. HAYES. I just want to say thank you for that.

But as many of you know, I spent my career as a classroom teacher, and when you are on the other side of these processes and you are in a building with children and not really understanding how these policy decisions are being made, everything from protecting them from gun violence to mental health and wraparound services to something as basic as food, understanding that Federal law prohibited the lunch lady from even giving students a sandwich at the end of the day and instead she had to throw it away, it is heartbreaking.

So then to get here and be faced with the realization that there are people who understand what these policies do and still support them. These are not oversights, these are not loopholes, these are policy choices and intentional decisions that are being made.

Right now, we are debating legislation once again. I mean, I saw it in the debt ceiling negotiations, in the CR, in every budget every year, and now on reconciliation, where we move from hypotheticals to reduce food benefits that directly impact children. And it is something that I will never understand for as long as I am in this body. I will also never stop fighting for those kids, because I understand that they deserve a chance.

And in the same breath where we are talking about subsidies and tax cuts and corporations and tax breaks and even deductions, something as basic as food should just not be an issue.

And the idea of—I have heard many people just keep throwing out waste and fraud and abuse. If that was truly the concern we would be supporting SNAP administrators and making sure that we had highly qualified staff to process these applications.

If that was truly the concern, we would be investing in workforce development to put people back to work. Because I can tell you, no one wants to be poor, and $6 per person per day is not a come up.

Mr. MCGOVERN. And if we are really interested in fraud, waste, and abuse I don't know why we don't look at the Department of Defense, which can't seem to pass an audit, but that we are giving them——

Mrs. HAYES. No, we have increased their budget.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Yeah, we are increasing their budget.

But this is a fight worth having and I am glad you are all in the fight.

With that, I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. McGovern.

Ms. Scanlon.

Ms. SCANLON. Yeah. I appreciate Mr. Carson's amendment, which really tries to get at what the underlying principles are in this bill and is this tax policy really going to help people.

And as we have been locked in our little room here for the last however long, 2 hours ago I got an article from CNBC: "DOW slides more than 800 points as spiking Treasury yields and deficit fears spur a sell-off."

And there are multiple articles out there now talking about the fact that this bill, this bill moving through with its deficit increases, although they are being used to justify all these cuts to essential services, but the fact that this is going to explode the deficit is causing another stock market dip and causing Treasury bonds—something I never thought I would spend a lot of time talking about—to spike. It just undercuts the whole argument for this bill.

So thank you for thinking about that.

Mr. CARSON. Thank you.

Ms. SCANLON. I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Ms. Scanlon.

Mr. Neguse.

Mr. NEGUSE. I have no questions.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

Ms. Leger Fernández.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Thank you.

And thank you very much. I mean, I think a lot of what we have been talking about today is what is fair, right. Of what is right for the American people, how we build back trust up.

And what we are seeing in this bill is this big transfer, this favoritism to the wealthy that is prioritizing them over the hungry kids in the classroom, over the families who need that assistance with the healthcare premiums, the Affordable Care Act. Americans love the Affordable Care Act.

And one of the ways, Representative Ansari, when you suggest we do the STOCK Act, you are essentially saying let's put trust

back in the system. Is that right? I mean, what is the impetus for that?

Ms. ANSARI. Yeah. I mean, we know that about 87 percent of Americans, both Democrats, Independents, and Republicans, believe that Members of Congress should not be trading stocks.

And when I discovered during the Natural Resources markup that the chairman of that committee for the first time in the 10 years that he has been in Congress decided to suddenly trade hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of oil and gas stocks, I was genuinely shocked.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. But it was the concept of let's put trust back in the system. And I see we have one of the sponsors who might be joining us on another one of our panels.

But I think that that is—this concept of who is benefiting and how do we actually say this is what government can do and this is how we put trust back in the system is really playing throughout all of the testimony, whether it is from veterans, healthcare, hunger, or just let's make sure that Americans trust us.

And so thank you for taking the time to make sure that Americans know what we are doing here, because I can tell you, while that is going the stock market is terrified of what they are doing here. Americans are watching what we are doing here and they are so appreciative.

And I know we are all getting lots and lots of calls and texts and outreach, because they are watching, they are watching, and the Senators are watching. I went to go get some food and the Senators are watching what we are doing in Rules. Who knew?

So thank you.

Representative Takano—Ranking Member Takano?

Mr. TAKANO. Could I just say, Representative Leger Fernández, that we could save money if we did not repeal the 90/10 rule, $1.6 billion. It is going to cost us to put veterans more at risk to be preyed upon by for-profit colleges.

And I would say to my friend Jahana Hayes, I would like to put the $1.6 billion that we would save if we did not repeal 90/10, that would protect our veterans, to put it toward feeding those kids in your classroom.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Yeah. That is what this is all about, is who do we prioritize? Let's feed the kids.

Thank you, Madam Chairwoman. I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Ms. Leger Fernández.

There being no further questions, the panel is dismissed.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Let me announce the next panel. And if you all could go down to the end again.

Mr. Ruiz, Dr. Adams, Ms. Matsui, Ms. Brown, Mr. Liccardo, Mr. Correa, Ms. Sánchez, Mr. Menendez.

Well, thank you all very much for being here this afternoon. And I will start with Mr. Ruiz.

You are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. RAUL RUIZ, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. RUIZ. Thank you, Madam Chairwoman, and thank you, Ranking Member, for letting us offer amendments to this big, ugly bill.

We all know that taking health insurance away from 13.7 million people, 12.4 million U.S. citizens, is going to cause an increase in those that are uninsured.

And we all know that when they get sick, their only place for care is going to be in the emergency department, because our EMTALA laws mandate that emergency care physicians like myself will need to take care of patients if their life, sight, or limbs are threatened.

And that uncompensated care is going to increase costs and it is going to affect everybody, whether or not you have Medicaid or private insurance.

So my amendment would require States to produce an assessment of the effects of the coverage losses from this Medicaid title on rates of uncompensated care and emergency department wait times for each hospital that receives a disproportionate share of hospital payments.

We know that the increase in the population that goes into the hospitals that are uncompensated, that goes into the emergency department, will result in longer wait times to see a physician. There will be an increase in overcrowdedness in the hospitals. The hospitals would bear a larger burden of those costs.

And hospitals will do several things to make up for that. One is they will increase their own costs. And two, they will fire healthcare providers. And three, the other thing they will do is they will start to eliminate the services that don't bring a lot of revenue into the hospital.

And those services usually are pediatrics and they are labor and delivery. So children will be affected, maternity care, women, pregnant ladies who are also covered in Medicaid will be affected because those services won't exist in the hospital.

And the final thing that they would do—and there is evidence from this—the Inland Empower Health Plan that manages 90 percent of Medicaid patients in Riverside County and San Bernardino County in California recently sent me a letter cosigned by eight hospital CEOs saying that if there are significant Medicaid cuts they would be forced to close.

So think about this. If you are having an emergency, a stroke, a cardiac ischemia, or a heart attack, and that hospital is no longer in your community, where are you going to go for emergency care? And this is those that are in private health insurance too. This is how cutting Medicaid is going to affect everybody.

The second amendment, that I co-introduced with Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, will go after fraud and reinvest in Medicaid Advantage by going after the overcoding problem that exists and take those moneys that are saved and reinvest in Medicare. And the reason why we want to invest in Medicare is to help provide the resources for providers to actually pay for the cost of care.

You see, providers have not had their reimbursements from Medicare a commensurate increase with the cost of providing care.

And therefore, since 2001 until about 2023, there has been a 26 percent cut in the reimbursements for providers.

If this continues, providers are going to take less Medicare patients in order to make sure they are able to pay their bills.

And so I know that this bill has a quasi, small, pitiful so-called doc fix where it is only 75 percent of the Medicare Economic Index or the inflation rate and then a few years after that 10 percent each year.

I want to insert my piece of legislation through this amendment that would provide the full doc fix which would tie the Medicare physician reimbursement to 100 percent of the Medicare Economic Index. Doing so will help protect Medicare for providers and seniors and strengthen the program so that more seniors can have access to that.

So if you are really about cutting fraud or cutting waste and you are really about increasing access, then you would be allowing this amendment to be germane and included into the overall big, ugly bill.

And with that, I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Ruiz.

Dr. Adams, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. ALMA S. ADAMS, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

Ms. ADAMS. Thank you, Madam Chair, and thank you to the ranking member, for the opportunity to speak this evening.

Today I am offering two amendments both rooted in things that I thought we all supported—helping families and helping students.

But let me start by saying that absolutely there is nothing about this bill that is beautiful. It is actually a big, ugly bill and probably one of the ugliest that I have seen from this Chamber.

It is ugly because it hurts people. It is ugly because it punishes children. It punishes students and working families. And it is ugly because it tries to disguise cruelty as reform.

Now, my first amendment is about SNAP. We have heard a lot about that. It is the largest and it is the most successful food security program in the Nation. It is a lifeline for 49,000 citizens in my district in North Carolina.

My SNAP amendment would prevent parents and caregivers of children as young as 7 from losing food assistance if they can't afford childcare during the summer months to avoid the existing punitive time limited work requirement of 90 days.

And that is important because when you think about children and their eating, oftentimes the only meal they get is at school. And when we think about the summer, this becomes a real critical problem. And of course children as young as 7 should not be losing food assistance because we won't provide SNAP for their parents.

Some of my Republican colleagues believe that 7 years old is some magical age in which households are not able to list them as dependents when applying for SNAP benefits.

So what my amendment would do would correct this so that households with children age 7 can be granted this protection rather than starting at 8 years old.

And the goal of the amendment, of course, is to feed more children, to make sure that children can eat. Children should not go hungry any time, they shouldn't go to bed hungry, food is an absolute necessity.

And, Madam Chair, to take food away from children, it is unconscionable. It is just downright shameful.

And so this big, beautiful, bad, ugly bill is set to cut over $300 billion from SNAP. And that is a program that, as we have heard already, helped cut child poverty in half.

And so it is a program that helps millions of Americans feed their families and a program that saves lives. I mean, the bottom line is it is a lifeline, it saves lives.

And so this big, ugly bill, as you have heard, it is Robin Hood in reverse, plain and simple. It is poor form, it is terrible policy, and it is bad politics. It is taking from the poor and giving to the rich.

But let me just turn briefly to my second amendment, which strikes the provision in this bill that would cap Federal student aid at the national median cost of attendance.

This is another example of gatekeeping disguised as reform. The median cost of college for programs of study, that is traditional. But because this cap would take away financial aid from low-income students and students of color based upon an unknown calculation from our colleagues that will dictate the future of our students.

It punishes students for failing and daring to dream bigger. It says if you want to be a doctor, if you want to be an engineer, if you want to be a teacher, and your program costs more than average, well, too bad.

Well, that is not reform. I have spent my life in education and I have taught students who benefited from SNAP as well. I have monitored students who rely on Pell. And I have watched both succeed when we choose to invest in them.

And these amendments are about those choices. Do we choose to support parents or do we punish them? Do we choose to lift students up or do we pull the ladder up behind us?

I do want to urge my colleagues to support these amendments for the sake of our Americans, for the sake of our families, for the sake of children, for the sake of students. We need to feed families and we need to make education assessable by funding students.

Thank you for this time.

And, Madam Chair, I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Dr. Adams.

Ms. Matsui, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. DORIS O. MATSUI, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Ms. MATSUI. Madam Chair, Ranking Member McGovern, I have two amendments on this rule. I would like to offer these two amendments.

My first amendment is simple. It protects Medicaid eligibility for pregnant people, children, parents of dependent children, and people with disabilities.

Republicans keep insisting that their bill won't harm vulnerable Americans, that it won't touch people who really need Medicaid. But that is simply not true. They should have—that is not true. They said they should have no problem supporting—then they should have no problem supporting my amendment.

These are the very groups Republicans claim they want to protect. But if they are serious, they should support it. But I doubt they will because the only way to claim $800 billion in savings is to keep people like Christine, who is a single mom in my district, and millions of others off their coverage.

Let's take a second to think about what this means in a person's life, not just as a line item on a spreadsheet.

Christine is a single mom doing everything she can to support her two kids. She has been interviewing for jobs but has struggled to land full-time work.

In the meantime, Medicaid is how she keeps her family healthy. Because of Medicaid her children get regular checkups; her son even recently got braces. That is what Medicaid means to this family and not a number on a chart but a healthier future.

This bill is filled with red tape and impossible bureaucratic hurdles. It would throw families off of Medicaid and rip away lifesaving care, not just from parents, but from children whose healthcare is tied to their parents.

Of the more than 13 million people who will lose their care under this bill, 4.7 million would be because of the red tape requirements in this bill. That would undoubtedly include parents, it will undoubtedly include children, and it will undoubtedly include people with disabilities.

So if Republicans are serious about protecting the people they claim to care about, they should support my amendment.

And just as this bill undermines healthcare, it is also weakening our digital security.

My second amendment addresses a critical threat—cybersecurity failures that put Americans at risk. It would require Cabinet-level officials to receive basic cybersecurity training before auctioning off critical spectrum. That includes following rules about secure communication, rules this administration has routinely ignored.

Cyber attacks like Salt Typhoon just show how vulnerable we are. Yet instead of strengthening our cyber defenses, the Trump administration is gutting them and turning a blind eye to basic security protocols.

We cannot allow sensitive data, health records, or public safety systems to be compromised because this administration refuses to take cybersecurity seriously.

So let's be clear: Both of my amendments protect American families; one defends their healthcare, the other defends their digital safety. If my Republican colleagues truly care about protecting families, they would vote yes on both.

I yield the balance of my time.

[The statement of Ms. Matsui follows:]

Madam Chair… I have an 2 amendments for the rule…

“Amendment Number 229.” And “Amendment Number 255.”

Thank you Madam Chair,

I would like to offer two amendments this morning. My first amendment is simple: it protects Medicaid eligibility for pregnant people, children, parents of dependent children, and people with disabilities.

Republicans keep insisting that their bill won’t harm vulnerable Americans—that it won’t touch people who “really need

Medicaid." But if that's truly the case, then they should have no problem supporting my amendment.

These are the very groups Republicans claim they want to protect. So if they're serious, they should support it. But I doubt they will—because the only way to claim $800 billion in "savings" is to kick people like Christina—a single mom in my district—and millions of others off their coverage.

Let's take a second to think about what this means in a person's life, not just as a line item in a spreadsheet.

Christina is a single mom doing everything she can to support her two kids. She has been interviewing for jobs but has struggled to land full-time work.

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Because of Medicaid, her children get regular checkups. Her son even recently got braces. That's what Medicaid means to this family—not a number on a chart, but a healthier future.

This bill is filled with red tape and impossible bureaucratic hurdles. It would throw families off Medicaid and rip away life-saving care —

not just from parents, but from children whose health care is tied to their parents'.

Of the more than 13 million people who will lose their care under this bill 4.7 million would be because of the red tape requirements in this bill.

That will undoubtably include parents, it will undoubtably include children and it will undoubtably include people with disabilities.

So if Republicans are serious about protecting the people they claim to care about, they should support my amendment.

PAUSE – Move to second amendment

And just as this bill undermines health care, it also weakens our digital security. My second amendment addresses a critical threat: cybersecurity failures that put Americans at risk.

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Cyberattacks like Salt Typhoon show just how vulnerable we are. Yet instead of strengthening our cyber defenses, the Trump administration is gutting them.

We cannot allow sensitive data, health records, or public safety systems to be compromised because this administration refuses to take cybersecurity seriously.

So let's be clear: both of my amendments protect American families. One defends their health care. The other defends their digital safety.

If my Republican colleagues truly care about protecting families, they should vote yes on both.

I yield the balance of my time.

TPs for Q&A

Q: Doesn't this bill exempt pregnant people, people with disabilities, and parents? Don't you agree able-bodied adults should work?

- **The bill sets up impossible hurdles for people to pass in order to gain coverage.**
- **No "exemption" or waiver can undo the harm this bill will do.**
- **95% of people on Medicaid are already working, or should be covered under one of those exemptions – which means those people must be targeted by this bill.**
- **The 4.7 million people kicked off their coverage will certainly include people who should be exempt, but can't find their way through the maze of paperwork traps and red tape.**
- **We've seen this play out in Arkansas and Georgia.**

Q: Wouldn't this amendment increase the score? How much would this cost? Republicans are focused on cutting back wasteful government spending.

- **The only way this bill is able to achieve $800 billion in spending cuts is by kicking over 13 million Americans off their health coverage.**
- **Yes, my amendment would prevent some of those people from losing coverage.**
- **But my constituents – and yours – know that this spending is not waste, fraud, or abuse.**
- **It's care for our most vulnerable – pregnant people, parents, people with disabilities, and kids.**
- **Not to mention, these work requirements will likely add billions in administrative costs for states. They are one of the most wasteful policies we can pursue.**
- **90% of spending in Georgia's failed work requirement experiment has gone towards administrative costs, not providing health care.**

Q: What exactly does this amendment do regarding state eligibility levels?

- **This bill will rip massive holes in states' budgets and force them to make drastic changes.**
- **My amendment requires a "maintenance of effort" to ensure that states keep the same levels of eligibility for parents, pregnant moms, people with disabilities, and kids.**
- **These are categories for which states can set their own income thresholds, down to a certain point.**
- **For example, for parents, my state has expanded eligibility up to 109 percent of Federal Poverty – but in Florida, it's only 26 percent.**
- **This amendment means that states can't lower those eligibility levels to kick more vulnerable people off the rolls.**

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you very much, Ms. Matsui.
Ms. Brown, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. SHONTEL M. BROWN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF OHIO

Ms. BROWN. Thank you, Madam Chair, for the opportunity to speak on this amendment.

My amendment would strike an especially harsh provision in this bill that is rooted in cruelty, not policy.

This simple, straightforward amendment would strike the work requirement provision in this big, bad, ugly bill that lowers the age of what we call a dependent child from 18 to 7, from 18 years old to 7 years old.

So I am abundantly clear, we are saying that 8-, 9-, and 10-year-olds are no longer considered dependent children.

Where did this come from? Why is this necessary? Since when is a first-grader not a dependent child?

Preventing families with children as young as 7 from losing food assistance, that is what we are debating here. This isn't about waste, fraud, or abuse, and we all know it. It is the excuse, not the reason.

So I would like to invite the Republicans on this panel to explain to me, to my colleagues, and to the American people how exactly does taking food away from struggling families with young children make this country safer, stronger, more secure, healthier, or even great again, because the Republicans on the Agriculture Committee couldn't answer that question. And maybe that is because they didn't even bother to speak up when asked.

Well, my guess is you can't answer that question either, because the answer doesn't exist.

There is no national security strategy that says that hungry families are a path to stability in this country.

There is no economic model that says that kids going to bed with empty bellies will suddenly lead us to prosperity.

The only reason for this provision is to put some cash in the bank so Republicans can turn around and hand out tax cuts for the wealthiest in this country.

Right now, SNAP rules allow parents and caregivers with kids under the age of 18 some flexibility. If they can't meet the 80-hour-a-month work requirement because they are raising a kid, caring for family, or stuck in a job with unpredictable hours, they don't lose access to food.

This bill changes that. It pulls away basic benefits from the moment a child turns 7—7. That is a cold, calculated cut that targets struggling families.

This provision alone will make this bill reckless, but combined with the sweeping cuts to family services my Democratic colleagues have been highlighting all day and all night, it is not just irresponsible, it is cruel.

This bill doesn't serve working Americans, it punishes them. If you don't own a yacht or fly on a private jet this bill makes your life harder, not easier. It makes your life worse, not better. And it gives you a shove down, not a hand up.

This is a backwards, out-of-touch policy that ignores the real lives of working families. These provisions ignore the daily struggles parents face as they juggle low-wage jobs, childcare gaps, and unpredictable schedules just to keep food on the table. It doesn't encourage stability or self-sufficiency, it punishes poverty. And it sends a dangerous message: If you are struggling, you are on your own.

I hope you will support my amendment, and perhaps more importantly, I hope you find it in you to really take the negative impact of this entire bill into consideration and vote no.

And with that, Madam Chair, I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you Ms. Brown.

Mr. Liccardo, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. SAM T. LICCARDO, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. LICCARDO. Thank you, Madam Chairwoman and Ranking Member, and thank you to all the members of this committee for your endurance over these last 17 hours.

I urge the committee to make my amendments in order, to take those amendments, amendments 50, 51, and 166. But rather than delving into the details of those amendments, I would like to express a larger concern about what I call the big, bloated, borrowing bill. I would like to talk about what this budget and its borrowing does to our children.

In March, I visited Meadows Elementary in East San Jose where I read a favorite book, "The Giving Tree," to a group of fourth-graders in a high-need neighborhood in East San Jose.

Afterward, a tall girl sitting in the front asked me what it is that we do in Congress to help kids like them. I talked to her about school lunches. I talked to her about helping her and her mom when they go to the doctor. And I talked to her about how when she has dreams to go to college we can help her with what we call Pell grants.

No longer, not if this budget is approved.

You have heard from my colleagues over the last 17 hours about what this proposed budget will do for our children. Yesterday the Urban Institute issued a report revealing that the reconciliation bill could cause up to 18.3 million children to lose their access to free school meals.

We know many of those children will rely on that meal as their only and their best source of nutrition. We also know that children comprise 40 percent of the estimated 9.7 to 14 million Americans who will lose their health insurance because of these cuts.

A Packard Foundation report just revealed that 914,000 children alone will lose their health insurance because of their parents getting knocked out as a result of the work requirement, or at least not being able to complete the laborious paperwork for that.

I know you have heard all of this in one form or another from my Democratic colleagues over the last 17 hours, but I want to actually talk about what you are hearing from your Republican colleagues.

What I am told that you have heard from some your colleagues—quietly in caucus meetings of course, only a few of them have spo-

ken in public—is that this is the most fiscally irresponsible budget in U.S. history. It will add, according to the CBO, $479 billion to next year's deficit and it will add as well another $3 trillion of course to our debt over the next 10 years, accelerating a prodigious rate of accumulating debt.

That is not just of course their opinion or my opinion. It is the opinion of the market, which has told us clearly. Last week Moody's downgraded U.S. Treasuries for the first time in my lifetime based on its assessment of, quote, "current fiscal proposals."

Tomorrow's Wall Street Journal is already online, if you would like to check it out. The lead story on the markets, and I am quoting: "A weak auction for 20-year bonds exacerbated worries about rising deficits in Washington and drove sharp declines for stocks and bonds, sending the Dow Jones down more than 800 points and the 30-year Treasury bond yield to its highest level in 2 years."

This fiscal irresponsibility will bring a parade of horribles, to be sure, but among them will be the fact that it is going to cost more for Americans to invest and borrow, because as we continue to squeeze out private sector borrowing, we will see those rates rise.

In this case, both Democratic and Republican critics of this bill are correct. Two things can be true. We can be bipartisan about this. This is a colossally awful budget.

And we should be bipartisan about supporting our children as well, because our kids are neither Republican nor Democratic, they need all of us to get it right for them.

So let me attempt to bring these two threads together in one bipartisan message. This budget will hurt our children, because not only are you cutting spending of our money for them, but you are cutting spending—you are spending their money for us. In other words, you are stealing our children's future.

And there is one reason why you are inflicting so much pain and one reason only, and that is because Donald Trump has painted himself and all of you into a corner with a promise for a $5 trillion tax cut that you don't know how to pay for and you cannot cut enough to pay for. But the billionaires will do very well.

On the other hand, history will never forgive us collectively, and our children shouldn't either.

Thank you. I yield my time.

Mr. GRIFFITH [presiding]. The gentleman yields back.

I now recognize the gentleman from California, Mr. Correa.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. J. LUIS CORREA, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. CORREA. Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, the hour is late. You should get the Marco Polo Award, not for distance but rather for stamina, 17 hours.

I do have five amendments. I am looking to be brief, but these amendments are very important. These deal with a very important American issue, which is immigration.

The first amendment, No. 59, will deal with our men and women in uniform. Less than 1 percent of Americans serve in our Armed Forces. Imagine a situation where a soldier stationed overseas all

of a sudden gets a phone call that his spouse has been arrested by ICE and deported because he or she isn't documented.

That is not the way we want to treat our soldiers, our men and women in uniform. They make enough sacrifices. But to have their spouses deported is unconscionable and un-American.

My amendment would simply say that the Secretary of Homeland Security may not use any funds under this subtitle to remove an alien who is a spouse of a member of the Armed Forces on Active Duty.

This is an important issue. I hope this committee will look upon it as an important issue for the men and women in uniform.

Mr. Chairman and Ranking Member, my second amendment, No. 61, deals with immigration as well. The question is, why would ICE agents go to schools, elementary schools, to enforce ICE laws to deport individuals? Why would you want to terrorize children?

My amendment simply says none of the funds made available by this title may be used to conduct an immigration enforcement action at an elementary school.

Why in God's name would ICE show up to an elementary school to threaten to deport children?

Mr. Chairman and Ranking Member, my third amendment, No. 64, deals with those men and women who defend our country, homeland security officers, at our borders, at our ports of entry. What we ask is you respect their collective bargaining rights.

My amendment says none of the funds made available by this title may be used to undermine or cancel any collective bargaining agreements covering an employee of the Department of Homeland Security.

And again here, Mr. Chairman and Ranking Member, we have individuals that sometimes work 16-hour shifts because they are so short in terms of personnel. They deserve to be represented by a collective bargaining contract.

Mr. Chairman and Ranking Member, my next amendment, No. 230. We often say in this country all gave some and many made the ultimate sacrifice when we are honoring our veterans.

Again, less than 1 percent of Americans actually serve our Nation. A lot of our veterans go off and fight, come back with invisible wounds that later on turn into PTSD and they get into trouble with the law.

A lot of these veterans, green card holders, when they join the military are promised that they will be American citizens when they are honorably discharged. Such is not the case.

Veterans that take an oath to the United States of America, veterans that are ready to lay it all down, make the ultimate sacrifice for our country, and then they are deported because they are found guilty of a crime involving moral turpitude.

Mr. Chairman, my bill simply says none of the funds made available by this subtitle may be used to remove from the United States a veteran who was honorably discharged unless an immigration judge has determined after weighing all equities that that individual should be removed.

All what I am asking is before you deport this veteran look at his whole history of service to our country.

And finally, Mr. Chair and Ranking Member, my final amendment essentially says that no amount of money in this subtitle should be used or can be used to deport or remove an individual to a country other than the country of that individual's nationality or last habitual residence unless a removal order to that country is issued by an immigration judge.

Mr. GRIFFITH. The gentleman's time is up.

Mr. CORREA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. GRIFFITH. Thank the gentleman.

I recognize Ms. Sánchez of California.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. LINDA T. SÁNCHEZ, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Ms. SÁNCHEZ. I want to begin by thanking the Rules Committee for the opportunity to offer amendments to this fluid, false, and, frankly, offensive bill.

Our Tax Code should create opportunity and fairness, but this bill does the exact opposite. It bottoms out the middle class and it strangles working families. It cruelly targets immigrants that are lawfully present in the United States and have been working here for years. It targets children simply because of their parents' immigration status. And this isn't just misguided, it is cruel.

The first provision I want to discuss is a promise to preserve taxpayer dollars from going towards undocumented immigrants.

The Joint Committee on Taxation said on the record that this bill does nothing to, quote, unquote, remove taxpayer benefits for illegal immigrants, rendering the title of this section patently false and misleading. And that is why I submitted an amendment striking these sections.

Undocumented immigrants are already ineligible for coverage under the Affordable Care Act and Medicare. What Republicans are actually doing is taking away health coverage from legally present individuals who pay taxes and work in the country legally. There is already a 5-year bar before a legally present noncitizen can purchase marketplace coverage—purchase marketplace coverage, they are not given coverage.

The reality is that immigrants are actually subsidizing these premium tax credits and other Federal programs like Medicare for U.S.-born people. They are paying more into the system than they are actually utilizing in health coverage due to their higher uninsured rate and lower health utilization rate. And this bill just worsens that disparity.

If we don't strike these sections, we are only going to see more uncompensated care, more preventable deaths, and more contagious disease, and increases in everyone's healthcare premiums, as Dr. Ruiz said earlier.

These are legally present asylum seekers, refugees, humanitarian parolees, temporary protected status holders, and Dreamers, recipients who have been in the country for decades and who will no longer have healthcare coverage under this bill.

In California alone, temporary protected status holders contribute $235 million in Federal taxes and $170 million in State and local taxes. In Florida, temporary protected status holders con-

tribute $198 million in Federal taxes and $113 million in State and local taxes.

And if my Republican colleagues are so concerned about government handouts, I want to point to them the newly established expedited resettlement pathway for South Africans, because that immigration pathway grants them access up to 12 months of health insurance if they don't qualify for Medicaid. Talk about a handout.

And if Republicans are going to prohibit legally present individuals who have been contributing to our economy for years and even decades from purchasing marketplace coverage, buying it with their own money, out of their own pocket, and you guys are going to prohibit that. The hypocrisy of the Republicans never fails to surprise me.

My second amendment addresses the denial of the child tax credit for U.S. citizen children if one parent does not have a Social Security number.

The child tax credit was created to help children, providing essential support for food, clothing, shelter, and childcare. It has been one of the most effective tools in reducing child poverty in the United States. But this bill will strip that support away from 2 million U.S. citizen children, simply because one of their parents isn't a citizen.

This provision disproportionately harms Hispanic children, many in my district who already face higher poverty rates. Nearly one in four Hispanic children lives in poverty, and that is three times the rate of White children.

Why are we denying these children a shot at a better life to give tax credits to billionaires who don't need it?

This provision is cruel and unconstitutional. Punishing U.S. children for their parents' immigration status violates the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment.

My amendment would fix this by ensuring that those 2 million children still receive the benefits of the child tax credit they deserve and that their parents have paid into.

Republicans love to say promises made, promises kept. Well, this does nothing to lower healthcare costs.

A 65-year-old mother and grandmother from Santa Fe Springs in my district is a survivor of triple-negative breast cancer. Medicaid helped her cover every surgery, every hospital stay, every medication. She told me that she could have died without Medicaid coverage. And to add insult to injury, this bill literally gives a tax cut of $255,000 for the top 0.1 percent.

That is unconscionable, and I urge the committee to adopt my amendments.

And I yield back.

[The statement of Ms. Sánchez follows:]

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Amendment Testimony
Rules Committee Meeting
Wednesday, May 21, 2025
Rep. Linda T. Sánchez

Thank you for the opportunity to testify on several different provisions in this fluid, false, and frankly, offensive bill.

Our tax code should create opportunity and fairness.

But this bill does the opposite. It bottoms out the middle class, and strangles working families.

It cruelly targets immigrants that are lawfully present, and have been working in the United States for years.

It targets children simply because of their parents' immigration status.

This is not only misguided. This is cruel.

The first provision I want to discuss – is a promise from President Trump and Republicans to preserve "taxpayer dollars" from going toward undocumented immigrants.

Well this bill does **nothing to prevent taxpayer dollars going toward undocumented immigrants.**

The Joint Committee on Taxation said on the record that this bill does nothing to "remove taxpayer benefits for illegal immigrants," rendering the title of this section patently false.

That is why I submitted an amendment striking these sections.

Undocumented immigrants are already ineligible for coverage under the Affordable Care Act and Medicare.

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Wednesday, May 21, 2025
Rep. Linda T. Sánchez

What Republicans are actually doing, is taking away health care coverage from legally present individuals who pay taxes, and work here legally.

There is already a FIVE-YEAR bar before a legally present noncitizen can purchase marketplace coverage.

The reality is, immigrants are actually SUBSIDIZING these premium tax credits and other federal programs like Medicare for U.S. born people.

They are paying more into the system than they actually utilize in health coverage due to their higher uninsured rate and lower health utilization rate.

And this bill will just worsen this disparity.

These are legally present asylum seekers, refugees, humanitarian parolees, temporary protected status holders, DACA holders who have been in the country for decades, and will no longer have health coverage.

In California, TPS holders contribute $2.7 billion to our GDP, and they have on average been legally present for 22 years.

In Texas, TPS holders contribute $2.2 billion to Texas' GDP, and they have been in the state of Texas for **an average of 20 years.**

If my Republican colleagues are so concerned about government handouts, I want to point them to the newly established expedited resettlement pathway for South Africans.

Which grants them **access to up to 12 months of health insurance** if they do not qualify for Medicaid.

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Wednesday, May 21, 2025
Rep. Linda T. Sánchez

And Republicans want to prohibit legally present individuals who have worked hard and contributed to our economy for years from purchasing marketplace coverage?

The hypocrisy of Republicans never fails to surprise me.

The second provision I want to address denies U.S. citizen children the Child Tax Credit if one or both parents are not U.S. citizens.

The Child Tax Credit was created to help children, providing essential support for food, clothing, shelter, and childcare.

It has been one of the most effective tools in reducing child poverty.

But this bill would strip that support from two million U.S. citizen children simply because one parent isn't a citizen.

This provision disproportionately harms Hispanic children, who already face higher poverty rates.

Nearly 1 in 4 Hispanic children lives in poverty, three times the rate of white children.

Why are we denying these children a shot at a better life to give tax cuts to billionaires who don't need it?

This provision is cruel, misguided, and unconstitutional.

Punishing U.S. citizen children for their parents' immigration status violates the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment.

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My amendment would fix this by ensuring these two million children still receive the benefits of the Child Tax Credit they deserve.

Republicans like to say – promises made, promises kept.

Well - this bill does nothing to lower health care costs.

It does nothing to remove taxes on Social Security benefits.

It does nothing to lower health costs for working families.

No - Instead, this bill cuts health coverage for over 13 million people, targets essential programs for working families, adds 3.8 trillion to the federal deficit, all to line the pockets of billionaires.

I encourage you all to listen to your constituents, listen to the hospitals in your districts, and work with Democrats to build up working- and middle-class Americans, instead of your billionaire donors.

Thank you, Madam Chair.

Mr. GRIFFITH. Gentlelady yields back.

I now recognize the gentleman from New Jersey, Mr. Menendez.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. ROBERT MENENDEZ, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. MENENDEZ. Thank you, Chairwoman Foxx, Ranking Member McGovern, and members of the Rules Committee, for the opportunity to testify about my important amendments to a Republican bill that would harm far too many Americans. I am offering two amendments today. The first is number 201, and the second is number 306. Amendment number 201, which strikes section 44201 from this bill. Section 44201 would make permanent the Trump administration's de facto ACA repeal that would make healthcare more expensive and less accessible for so many of our constituents.

Since the ACA's passage in 2010, Republicans have attempted over 70 times to repeal or weaken the bill, including efforts to weaken commonsense protections against discrimination of those with pre-existing conditions, like asthma or diabetes. And now we are seeing yet another attempt by Republicans to weaken the ACA and create barriers to care for hard-working individuals and their families.

On March 10th, the Trump administration issued the so-called marketplace integrity and affordability proposed rule. Ironically, this rule would make healthcare less affordable and less accessible by raising premiums, cutting financial assistance, and creating new bureaucratic paperwork requirements. If this rule takes effect, hardworking Americans across the country will face significant premium hikes, nearly $3 billion over the next several years and greater barriers when they try to enroll on November 1st.

But it is not just premiums that go up. Out-of-pocket costs will rise by 15 percent with higher deductibles, higher co-pays, and more people delaying or skipping care simply because of cost. On top of that, the rule lowers coverage standards, letting insurers offer weaker plans that cover less care, meaning even with flat premiums, patients pay more out of pocket.

So this is not just my opinion. An internal analysis from the first Trump administration warned that these changes will cause coverage losses, premium spikes, and significant market disruption. The administration has also admitted that under this rule, 2 million individuals will lose healthcare coverage in 2026. This rule is a direct attack on the people that the ACA was designed to protect. It targets working families, low-income individuals, and people with chronic conditions. This rule isn't about integrity. It is about exclusion. So no, we shouldn't codify this harmful rule into law. We should stop it. I urge my colleagues to support this amendment.

The second amendment I would like to discuss today would strike the section of this bill that repeals and rescinds grant funding for reducing air pollution at schools, and I have to repeat this fact. My second amendment would strike the section of this bill, this Republican bill, that repeals and rescinds grant funding for reducing air pollution at schools. At schools. We have an administration that claims to be promoting an agenda that will make our nation and families healthier.

As a father and a legislator, there is nothing more important to me than protecting our Nation's children, but the bill we are marking up today does the opposite. When parents send their kids to school, the last thing that they should worry about is the air in their children's classrooms.

We know that indoor air poses both serious health risks to children and air pollution can affect educational outcomes. According to data from Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, whose funding the Trump administration is proposed cutting in half, in a classroom of 30 children, three are likely to have asthma. One study found a decline in children's test scores for every increase in particulate matter in their school's air, and air quality at schools tends to be worse indoors than it is outside.

So what did Democrats do? We created tools to address this challenge. The IRA authorized a grant program that provides essential funding and technical assistance to improve air quality of schools. It seems straightforward to me, even at this hour, why we need this program. Yet Republicans voted against authorizing it 3 years ago, and every Republican on the Energy and Commerce Committee voted against my amendment in our markup last week.

Meanwhile, they are cutting Medicaid for nearly 14 million people, as I mentioned earlier, dismantling critical agencies that are charged with protecting public health. So I would like my colleagues on the other side of the aisle to explain to me and the American people how does this bill make our children healthier? How, in cutting these programs, will our children breathe cleaner air? How does making children sick support American families? This issue should be common sense. It should be bipartisan. It should be easy to vote yes on my amendment that preserves this vital program. I appreciate you, and I yield back.

Mr. GRIFFITH [presiding]. Gentleman yields back.

Questions? Sorry. Getting ahead of myself. Mr. McGovern.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Eating a Swedish fish.

Mr. GRIFFITH. I did that on purpose.

Mr. MENENDEZ. It is going to cost more with tariffs to have the Swedish fish.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I just want to say to everybody thank you for being here. Thank you for your patience. I support all your amendments. I am proud of all of you for coming to this committee and presenting the amendments you did, because I think they represent our values. And as I said at the beginning of this hearing, the underlying bill doesn't represent my values, doesn't represent our values, and so whatever we can do to help advance your amendments we will do, but thank you very much. I yield back.

Mr. GRIFFITH. Gentleman yields back.

Ms. Scanlon.

Ms. SCANLON. Yes. I echo the ranking member's remarks, and I wanted to particularly thank Representative Sánchez for bringing forward that amendment that is just so despicable in clawing back benefits from children based on who their parents are. It is un-American. That is all I can say.

Ms. SÁNCHEZ. It also violates the Constitution, but that doesn't seem to bother certain members.

Ms. SCANLON. Well, I appreciate the amendment.

Thank you. I yield back.

Mr. GRIFFITH. Gentlelady yields back.

Now recognize Ms. Leger Fernández.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Thank you very much. You know, I noted, Representative Correa, that you kind of said something that we are all hearing. We keep hearing from Republicans that they don't like this bill, they whisper to it, they complain about it. They are so terrified of Trump that they are not having the courage to actually vote no. But we will see. We will see.

But, you know, with regards to the amendments proposed with regards to immigration, I just wanted to seek unanimous consent to enter into the record an article in Defense One, and Defense One, as you know, is a highly regarded military publication titled, "Immigrants Show Greater Willingness to Join the Military, Study Shows."

Mr. GRIFFITH. Without objection, so ordered.

[The information follows:]

Defense One

Immigrants show greater willingness to join the military, study shows

Submitted into the record by Rep. Teresa Leger Fernandez (NM-03)

Written by Patrick Tucker

Published on October 22, 2024

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Immigrants to the U.S. are more willing to "fight for the country" than the native-born, according to a multinational study that may have resonance amid military recruitment struggles and an election charged with rhetoric and misinformation.

Some 60 percent of U.S. respondents expressed a willingness to fight for their country, and immigrants were nearly 30 percent more likely to do so than native-born citizens, according to the study, whose results were described in the September issue of Armed Forces & Society.

The researchers compared multiple surveys across several years including 2024, looking at Americans' and Canadians' responses to questions about background, self-identity, religious beliefs, feelings of national pride, and more. The study was conducted by Christopher Simon of the University of Utah, Nicholas P. Lovrich of Washington State University, Kenneth G. Verboncoeur, of the U.S. Army, and Michael C. Moltz of Shippensburg University.

The authors write that demographics will lead many Western militaries to recruit more immigrants.

"Recruitment shortfalls plaguing prominent Western militaries employing the all-volunteer force model raise concerns about the maintenance of force size and readiness. Faced with aging populations, many developed nations will increasingly rely on immigrant youth to address recruitment shortfalls," the authors write.

(So far, in the United States, most services report being on track or above their 2024 goals to date but fell beneath their 2023 goals.)

The survey also indicates that immigrants are more civic-minded and oriented toward public service than the native-born populations of the countries in which they reside. That belies many claims by GOP presidential candidate Donald Trump, who has made derogation of immigrants a chief theme of his campaign.

Immigrants' propensity to "fight" appears to be less about their affinity for the military than for the society they have joined, the authors write.

"The evidence presented here would indicate that immigrant willingness to fight is associated primarily with building civic connectedness in the host nation and is not a function of militarism or nationalism," they wrote.

While military service has long been a way for documented immigrants to speed up the naturalization process, much of the current national immigration debate has focused on undocumented immigrants, who are generally not allowed to join the military. Their wait for legal status averages about two years, and grew longer during the Trump administration.

On the campaign trail, Trump has vowed mass deportations of even legal immigrants at gunpoint by the National Guard. It's hard to imagine such a policy gaining support among the immigrant community interested in military service.

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https://www.defenseone.com/policy/2024/10/immigrants-show-greater-willingness-join-military-new-study-shows/400469/

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. And another article I think that goes to Representative Sánchez's points, there is lots of these different articles, but really, the point was made by you. It has been made in some of the earlier titles, but we haven't talked enough about it, and so that is why I wanted to—I know we are trying to move on, but I wanted to take some time to acknowledge that this idea that immigrants are the reason you have to cut Medicaid for everybody because they are somehow gaming the system when they do not receive any Federal dollars, and indeed, the article that I would seek unanimous consent to, it is just one of many that center on budget and policy priorities, immigrants contribute greatly to the Social Security trust fund solvency which demonstrates—Mr. Chairman, I seek unanimous consent.

Mr. GRIFFITH. What was the date? I am sorry.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. I am sorry?

Mr. GRIFFITH. The date on the article.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. The date of the article, April 23, 2025.

Mr. GRIFFITH. Without objection, so ordered.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Thank you. And thank you for helping clarify that, because I think it is really important that these are recent articles, because they are showing that immigrants contributions are key, and this one shows that if it weren't for immigrants who pay taxes, but often don't receive any of the benefits, our Social Security would be in deeper trouble than it already is. And you look at that across the board over and over, and so I am going to introduce these articles, and I know we want to move forward because we have all these wonderful members who are coming here to tell us all the other new things. This is the great thing about these hearings is we are hearing all of these unique factors that you all are bringing to the fact that we are ignoring our cybersecurity, he got rid of—Trump got rid of—right? You are laughing, because I didn't even have to say it, right? Because it is shameful that we have made ourselves more at risk because of what he has done in terms of opening up our vulnerabilities to Russia.

That is one of your concerns, correct, Representative Matsui? Thank you for much for raising those. I didn't know if you wanted to do anything else that quickly on either of those.

Ms. SÁNCHEZ. If I could just respond, it is the biggest lie in the world that immigrants take more from the system than they pay in. Immigrants pay into the system. They work hard. They pay taxes. They are not even eligible for those benefits, and yet, other Americans are told the reason why there is waste, fraud, and abuse is because of immigrants. It is patently false. It is lies and it is meant to divide our country, and so the amendments that I am introducing are trying to strike those provisions that treat immigrants unfairly, immigrants who pay into the system and are not eligible for the benefits.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. And in this article from Defense One, it is interesting the articles you start reading once you get to Congress. Like, who knew I would start reading military articles? But, you know, that U.S. are more willing to fight for their country. And what they are fighting, for as it goes in to discuss, is the ideals of the country, the ideals of the Constitution, and that is something that I think we need to remember that we are dealing with a tax

bill in cutting essential benefits, but they are wrapping it around elements that are undermining the ideals of this country as a place where we create opportunity for everybody, whether you are native born from West Virginia or you are an immigrant or married.

I would only suggest that, and maybe I could discuss it with you later, the idea that it should be any family who is not just the spouse, but also the children who are married into the military, but with that, you wanted to say something?

Mr. MENENDEZ. I just want to just join my colleague Congresswoman Matsui to your point about cybersecurity. I mean, this is—when I was on Homeland Security on the Cybersecurity Subcommittee, this was something that had bipartisan support, and this is something that we should all be in agreement on. We are watching an administration dismantle CISA and our cybersecurity workforce at a time that we need to be growing it, and instead of having a strong Federal response to all the attacks that we are seeing, both in both private and public sector to our critical infrastructure, we are saying that the States and municipalities have to handle it when they don't have the resources to?

And so, I appreciate Congresswoman Matsui's leadership on this issue and her amendment, because it is something that should have bipartisan support, because it has historically had bipartisan support because it is an issue of national security. And the fact that we can't agree on this amendment that everyone in the administration, especially when you are enabling people from DOGE to have access to some of the most sensitive personal data of all Americans, right, from red and blue States across the country, whether it is HUD or the VA or the IRS, we should have some level of cybersecurity awareness and training for those individuals. So I thank the Congresswoman for her leadership on this issue and should be something that should have bipartisan support, and I thank you for raising it as well.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Thank you very much, and once again, we aren't hearing any Republicans complain about any of the kind of transgressions that would have normally had an outcry, a bipartisan outcry, but with that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

Mr. GRIFFITH. Gentlelady yields back. Now recognize Mr. Scott.

Mr. SCOTT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

There are legitimate differences of opinion on different issues. Many of my friends are Democrats. I travel with them overseas. We have different ideas about how to solve the same problem. So they are legitimate questions, differences about how we would handle the issues.

But I can tell you as someone who is in the rooms where there are no telephones where we are dealing with the cybersecurity-related issues, there is no breakdown on the cybersecurity right now. There is just not. So we can have our debates and our difference of opinion, but I can tell you this, the administration is committed on cybersecurity, just as I believe the previous administration was committed on cybersecurity, and I just—it is just a—we have differences of agreements on other things, but that is the one that I have listened to that I think—that accusation is just—as someone who is in the room, I very much think that is a false accusation.

Ms. MATSUI. Can I comment on that?

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Chair, I yield the remainder of my time. I am not interested in debate.

Mr. GRIFFITH. Gentleman has yielded back, and I understand we can do this, but I am looking at possibly two more panels before we finish, so happy for you all to have a conversation and discussion or disagreement, but this panel is concluded. Thank you.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chair. I would note that our Democrat expert did have a response.

Mr. GRIFFITH. Note—the response will be noted. Thank you.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Hopefully we will hear more from her later.

Mr. GRIFFITH. What we have been trying to do is when I start calling off the names from the next panel, it will be starting on this end with chair number one, Mr. Khanna, Ms. McClellan, Mr. Courtney, Mr. Frost, Ms. Brownley, Mr. Magaziner, Mr. Garamendi, and Ms. Elfreth.

I know it is still a little busy, but if we can and go ahead and get started. Mr. Khanna of California, are you ready?

Mr. KHANNA. I am.

Mr. GRIFFITH. Recognized for five minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. RO KHANNA, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. KHANNA. Thank you, Mr. Chair. I have a commonsense bipartisan amendment. No American child under the age of 18 should lose their healthcare because of this bill. As you know, 42 percent of Americans—America's children rely on Medicaid. The chairman of the Energy and Commerce Committee said no one is going to lose their healthcare, no kids are going to lose their healthcare.

President Trump keeps saying, It is all about waste, fraud, and abuse. We are just going after waste, fraud, and abuse. Representative Crenshaw says, No kids are going to lose their health insurance. And a number of Republicans wrote in a letter to the Speaker that they should make sure no kids lose their health insurance.

But the reality is, independent estimates are that 800,000 kids in this country are going to lose their healthcare. I think we can all agree that any child born in America should have healthcare. So if the Republicans agree that kids shouldn't lose healthcare, why not just have a simple amendment in this bill saying we guarantee that no kid is going to lose healthcare?

Now, you ask why is it that kids are going to lose healthcare? Why the estimates of 800,000? The reality is that the work requirements were tried in Arkansas and what they saw is when parents were kicked off healthcare because of bureaucratic reasons, the kids lost the healthcare, too. It is not theoretical. Thousands of kids in Arkansas lost their healthcare. And this to me seems like the easiest thing, easiest way that we can answer this question. Just guarantee to the American public that not a single American kid is going to lose healthcare with this bill. And that would answer the question, would make good on all of the promises. It would make good on the promise that Trump is saying it is only waste, fraud, and abuse. He certainly does not want to deprive American kids born here of healthcare.

Let me end with this point. I was in Allentown. There was a sixth grader. She stood up and she said her name was Sophia. I won't say her last name, but her name was Sophia, and she said I am scared. I am scared. Can you assure me that I won't be afraid? And she said she is afraid because her grandmother is on Medicare, and she said she is afraid because she has a single mother is raising her and she was concerned about her own healthcare.

I want this amendment to pass so I can tell Sophia, she doesn't have to be afraid about losing her own healthcare and kids like Sophia should not be afraid of losing their healthcare across this country.

Mr. GRIFFITH. Gentleman yields back? Gentleman yields back.

Mr. KHANNA. Yes.

Mr. GRIFFITH. Now recognize the gentlelady from Virginia, Ms. McClellan.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. JENNIFER MCCLELLAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF VIRGINIA

Ms. MCCLELLAN. Thank you, Mr. Chair and Ranking Member McGovern for allowing further amendments to this bill. My amendment would ensure that the proceeds of any spectrum licensing allocation or auction won't line the pockets of the President, a special government official, any other government official, or their families. It would also ensure that the FCC does not collude with the President or any other government official or their family to influence the outcomes of their personal legal battles. But spoiler alert, this amendment is probably not going to pass.

So I want to take the rest of my time to talk about this big bad billionaire bonus that benefits the wealthiest 10 percent of Americans at the expense of the poorest 10 percent. It shifts costs to States that are already struggling to fill massive holes that they are seeing from the Trump administration's funding freezes. They are trying to take on the burden of more responsibility shifted to them, whether from the Department of Education or these new work requirements or now to pay for nutrition benefits for the first time ever. States are going to be left in the untenable position of having to raise their own taxes or gutting even more services as a result. This bill does nothing to address the underlying costs of healthcare, childcare, groceries, energy bills, or anything else.

And why are we rushing through this bill to the point where the bulk of it is being discussed in the middle of the night while everybody else is sleeping? What is the rush? Are the wealthiest few in that big of a hurry to get richer? Is there a flash sale on yachts that I don't know about?

We have had these markups in the middle of the night that include provisions that Republicans didn't even know about, like the Republicans on the Energy and Commerce Committee who were caught off guard by the Medicaid provisions imposing co-pays of up to $35 on an individual who earns up to $300 a week. They didn't know that if somebody was kicked off of Medicaid because they couldn't meet burdensome work paper requirements to prove that they are working, like the 18,000 Arkansas individuals who were kicked off when they couldn't meet work requirements, even though they were working. These folks that get kicked off wouldn't

be eligible for subsidies to purchase marketplace plans that they otherwise couldn't afford, and that came as a surprise to my colleagues in the E&C committee in the middle of the night.

And somewhere between the ENC marathon markup and here, a provision was added that would cut the Federal match for Medicaid in States that dare to provide healthcare to lawfully present immigrants. That means that Virginia that covers lawfully present pregnant women and children, could face a cut in the Federal match that would trigger an unwinding of Medicaid expansion that cost—would cost hundreds of thousands of Virginians their health insurance, put our providers, especially our rural hospitals, at risk of closing their doors.

Now I heard there will be at least one manager's amendment that might fix that, but who knows? Who knows what will happen once the Freedom Caucus—I think they have already returned from the White House, but who knows what they have demanded, and what they have gotten. And they want to kick even more people off of their health insurance.

But what else is buried in this bill? What is going to be buried in the manager's amendment? What is going to be buried in the bill that we see for the first time on the floor that we won't have time to take back to stakeholders or the American people? And will there be—will this be another one of those moments where we rush through a big, massive bill and then hope that the Senate saves the House from its worst impulse? Plain and simple, I ask again, what is the rush? What is the rush of a bill that will harm children? That will say to a family now you—even though you legally cannot leave your child at home when they are 7, 8, 9, 10, we are going to assume that you can go to work once they reach 7, even though I can tell you when my son was 7, if left at home to take care of himself, he probably would have burned the house down.

Have we thought through the unintended consequences of some of the provisions that are buried in this bill surprising even Republicans that don't like it? I hope we take our time, we do this right, because, you know, if we mess it up, the harm is not going to be to us. It is going to be to the most vulnerable that we represent. And with that, I yield back.

Mr. GRIFFITH. Gentlelady yields back.

Now recognize Mr. Courtney of Connecticut for five minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. JOE COURTNEY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT

Mr. COURTNEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Ranking Member McGovern and all the members of the panel. I have a simple straightforward amendment focused on the Air Force One program, which falls under the jurisdiction of the Seapower and Projection Forces Subcommittee of the House Armed Services on which I serve as rank ranking member. This amendment would prohibit funds made available by this act from being used for the purpose of modifying an aircraft acquired from a foreign source for use as executive airlift aircraft or for transferring such aircraft to a nongovernmental entity, such as a museum.

This provision is in response to the President's sudden decision to accept a Boeing 747 from Qatar to serve as a so-called bridge

replacement for the current Air Force One aircraft. The White House has portrayed this idea as a free Air Force One plane. Nothing could be further from the truth. I can say this with complete certainty, because in 2018 during the first Trump administration, Congress authorized the purchase of two Boeing 747 aircrafts that Boeing had originally built as commercial passenger planes for an airline that went bankrupt. The cost of upgrades and retrofitting for these two planes to replace the Air Force One fleet totaled $3.9 billion.

The work included stripping the plane's interior down to the studs, hardening the plane's defenses, installing encrypted communications technology, and building out space for what is essentially a flying command and control center, not just for our nation's military and intelligence agency, but for the entire Federal Government.

Earlier this month, Acting Assistant Secretary of the Air Force, Darlene Costello, testified before our subcommittee that Boeing has a workable plan for the Air Force to deliver these two planes by 2027. It is important to note that the final cost at this point has already exceeded $3.9 billion to the tune of millions of dollars, hundreds of millions of dollars of cost overruns.

A few hours ago, the White House confirmed that the President has unilaterally accepted a third plane. We have all seen the pictures of this aircraft that is not even close to being ready to fly as Air Force One, and clearly, it is going to require much of the same time and expense to be stripped down and upgraded as the two jets already under contract with the Air Force, which are on track for delivery during the President's current term. This scheme was not free and the new scheme is not going to be free either. It is going to cost the taxpayers a lot of money.

The relevance to this reconciliation package is that the structure of Title II—covering the Armed Services provisions—provides little to no controls on how funds are used across programs.

Again, during the markup, we had a lot of back and forth with committee staff about the fact that the Office of Management and Budget is going to be basically free to spend that $150 billion with little or no controls or restraint, and we know that this budget director from the first Trump administration was brazenly reprogramming money with no congressional authorization over and over again.

Madam Chair, there are a host of other reasons for Congress to approve this amendment, particularly the constitutional prohibition in Article I, section 9, clause 8, that bars any official from accepting gifts or emoluments from another government without approval of Congress.

Obviously, Congress has not even come close to approving this gift. That prohibition as well as the significant cost of retrofitting a third Air Force One screams out for Congress to exercise its Constitutional duty and put the brakes on this scheme. My amendment will do that and I respectfully ask my colleagues to make it in order.

And Madam Chair, I have an article from Forbes magazine, hardly a Democratic media outlet, titled, "Why the Qataris are Happy to Dump Their 747 on Trump," dated May 15th.

[The statement of Mr. Courtney follows:]

Amendment 290 - Courtney

Thank you, Chairwoman Foxx, Ranking Member McGovern, and Members of this panel. I have a simple, straightforward amendment focused on the Air Force One program, which falls under the jurisdiction of the Seapower and Projection Forces subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee, of which I serve as Ranking Member.

This amendment would prohibit funds made available by this Act from being used for the purposes of modifying an aircraft acquired from a foreign source for use as an executive airlift aircraft or for transferring such an aircraft to a non-governmental entity. This provision is in response to the President's sudden decision to accept a Boeing 747-8 from Qatar to serve as a replacement for the current Air Force One aircraft -- the VC-25A. The White House has portrayed this idea as a “free” Air Force One plane. Nothing could be further from the truth.

I can say this with complete certainty because in 2018, Congress authorized the purchase of two Boeing 747 aircraft that the company originally built as commercial passenger planes for an airline that went bankrupt. The cost of upgrades and retrofitting for those two planes to replace the Air Force One fleet which the first Trump Administration requested at the time, and Congress appropriated, totaled $3.9 billion. This work included stripping the planes’ interior down to the studs, hardening the planes’ defenses, installing encrypted communications technology, and building out space for what is essentially a flying command and control center for not just our nation’s military and intelligence agencies, but the entire Federal government.

Earlier this month, Acting Assistant Secretary of the Air Force, Darlene Costello, testified to the Seapower subcommittee that Boeing is working with the Air Force to achieve a delivery date by 2027. It is important to note that the final cost exceeded $3.9 billion, to the tune of hundreds of millions of dollars.

A few hours ago, the White House confirmed that the President has unilaterally accepted a third plane. We have all seen in the pictures that this aircraft is not even close to being ready to fly as Air Force One, and clearly, it will require much of the same time and expense to be stripped down and upgraded as the two jets under contract with the Air Force, which are on track for delivery during the President's current and final term in office. I want to be clear – this scheme is not free. It's going to cost the taxpayer money.

The relevance to this reconciliation package is that the structure of Title II -- covering the Armed Services provisions -- provides little to no controls on how funds are used across programs. Numerous amendments were introduced during the markup that would have provided for established guardrails on this package, but none were included in the final language. Since the defense spending was not allocated to specific accounts at the Department of the Defense, OMB has greater autonomy to move money around at will.

Madame Chair, there are a host of other reasons for Congress to approve this amendment, particularly the constitutional prohibition in Article 1, section 9, clause 8 that bans any official from accepting gifts or emoluments from another government without approval of Congress. Obviously, Congress has not even come close to approving this gift. That

prohibition, as well as the significant cost retrofitting a third Air Force One, screams out for Congress to exercise its constitutional duty and put the brakes on this scheme. My amendment will do that, and I respectfully ask my colleagues to make it in order.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Without objection, it will be yielded part of the record.

[The information follows:]

Forbes

Why The Qataris Are Happy To Dump Their 747 On Trump

Submitted into the record by Rep. Joe Courtney (CT-02)

Written by Jeremy Bogaisky

Published on May 14, 2025

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The president may be thirsting for a new four-engine jumbo jet, but many governments and royal families are unloading their fuel-guzzling palaces in the sky.

The royal family of Qatar, owner of one of the largest private jet fleets in the world, has been quietly getting rid of some of its biggest planes. It may have found the perfect taker for one of its Boeing 747 jumbo jets in President Donald Trump, who has been frustrated with the multi-year delays in replacing Air Force One.

While many have speculated that the Qataris have offered Trump the luxurious plane to curry favor with the famously transactional president, there may be a simpler rationale: they just don't want it anymore.

The royals have failed to sell the plane, which was put on the market in 2020, according to an archived listing. Giving it away could save Qatar's rulers a big chunk of change on maintenance and storage costs, aviation experts told Forbes. Making Trump happy would be an added bonus.

Qatar, which has given away another blinged-out 747 and may have mothballed two more, epitomizes the fading demand for these huge, fuel-guzzling, highly personalized airplanes. There aren't many who want to buy them, and many of the governments and royal families who own them have been trying to ditch them over the past decade.

"Qatar, like many modern states, is shifting toward leaner, more versatile aircraft, which offer better economics and more discreet presence for official travel," Linus Bauer, managing director of the Dubai-based aviation consulting firm BAA & Partners, told Forbes. Giving the plane to Trump would be "a creative disposal strategy" that marks "a farewell to a bygone model of geopolitical theater in the skies."

The arid peninsula off Saudi Arabia in the Persian Gulf, similar in size to Connecticut, boasts deep reserves of oil and gas that have made the country the fourth-wealthiest in the world by per capita GDP and enriched its rulers, the House of Thani. The family has plowed some of their wealth into an extravagant fleet of roughly a dozen Airbus and Boeing airliners converted into luxurious rides for a small number of passengers, as well as smaller business jets from Bombardier and Dassault.

That includes the 747 coveted by Trump, which was given the tail number A7-HBJ, the initials of billionaire Hamad bin Jassim bin Jaber Al Thani, who served as prime minister of Qatar from 2007 to 2013. It's one of three 747-8s currently in the royal air fleet, which is managed by an entity called Qatar Amiri Flight. When the plane was bought in 2012, its list price was $367 million, not including the interior, which took three years to complete and likely cost tens of millions of dollars.

Unlike the passenger version of the 747-8, which can seat 467 people, the HBJ jet is a flying mansion designed for just 89 passengers, with two bedrooms, entertainment and meeting rooms, and a sumptuous beige and cream-colored interior created by the Parisian design house Cabinet Pinto that features furnishings made of sycamore and wakapou wood, silk fabrics and natural leather.

The luxurious interior of the Qatari 747 took three years to complete. The design was inspired by Art Deco and French saddle makers. It features electronically controlled reclining seats, custom rugs from the Hong Kong firm Tai Ping and art by Alexander Calder.AMAC Aerospace

The 747, which entered service in 1970, revolutionized air travel by making long-distance air travel affordable for a mass market. But its four big engines make for high costs in an era of higher fuel prices. As of 2019, the VIP version of the 747-8 cost an eye-popping $23,000 an hour to operate, according to Corporate Jet Investor.

Over the past decade, airlines have been retiring the 747 and Airbus' four-engine A340 in favor of more efficient twin-engine widebodies like the Boeing 787 and Airbus A350, as well as longer-range narrowbodies. Like Qatar, a number of royal families and governments have also been moving away from fuel-guzzling, four-engine palaces in the sky, including Saudi Arabia, Brunei, the UAE and Germany.

Beyond poor fuel efficiency, large ostentatious planes are a security risk, notes Richard Aboulafia, an aerospace consultant with Aerodynamic Advisory. "These things are big targets." And bigger planes can only land on longer runways, limiting their usage. "There are a lot more airports you can get into if you have a narrowbody, and many more still if you have a traditional business jet," he said.

The 747 the Qataris may give Trump only flew 1,069 hours in the five years before it was put on the market in 2020, according to a brochure for the plane from AMAC Aerospace, which built its interior.

One of the Qataris' other two VIP 747-8s hasn't been showing up on flight tracking services, indicating it may have been pulled from active service, said Bauer. In 2018, Qatar gave a similar 747-8 to Turkish President Reycep Tayyip Erdogan and offloaded an older 747-SP to an asset management firm, which appears to have put the plane in storage.

The massive, highly customized planes, with idiosyncratic interior decorating, are not easy to sell. "The market is incredibly illiquid for a jet like this," said Aboulafia.

The poster child is a lavish 747-8 commissioned for Saudi Crown Prince Sultan bin Abdulaziz Al Saud before his death in 2011. It was scrapped for parts in 2022 with just 42 hours of flight time.

The active Saudi royal 747 fleet is down to one, with two listed as mothballed in the last three years. Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman is using smaller aircraft like the Boeing 737 and 787-8.

The 747-8 is still in high demand to carry cargo given its huge internal volume. Two-thirds of the 155 that Boeing sold were configured as freighters, including the final one that left the factory in 2023. But planes like Qatar's 747-8s are ill-suited to be converted into freighters since they were structurally and mechanically optimized for long-range flight with few passengers and custom interiors, said Bauer.

"It would require gutting the interior, reinforcing the floor, cutting a cargo door, and re-certifying structural integrity — an extremely expensive and complex process," he said.

Giving the 747-8 to the U.S. would also allow the Qataris to avoid maintenance costs that are only getting higher with the 747 fleet shrinking worldwide and fewer mechanics available who know how to work on them, said John Goglia, a former airline mechanic and member of the U.S. National Transportation Safety Board. The 2020 sales brochure noted that the plane was due for a landing gear overhaul in 2024 and a 12-year check in 2027. A check in which the airplane and engines are taken apart, typically carried out every six to 12 years, can take months to complete and cost millions of dollars. "The numbers are staggering," said Goglia.

By contrast, Trump, who's incensed that Boeing is years behind schedule on a $3.9 billion contract to fit out two 747s to serve as presidential jets, on Tuesday claimed that the Qatari plane would save American taxpayers hundreds of millions of dollars. "Only a FOOL would not accept this gift on behalf of our Country," Trump wrote on his social-media platform Truth Social.

Aerospace experts aren't so sure. The plane would need to be stripped down and swept for bugs. Then, unless the administration is willing to accept the risks of lighter security, it would need to be built up to the Air Force's requirements to serve as an airborne command center, with encrypted communications systems, shielding to protect the electronics from the effects of a nuclear blast and defenses against missiles. That's a process that Boeing,

despite all its delays, is years down the road already with the two planes it began work on in 2018 during Trump's first term.

It would take at least five years starting again from scratch, Aboulafia estimates, unless security requirements were relaxed.

"I can't imagine any well-trained senior Air Force officer saying this is a good idea," he said. Democrats and some Republicans are also alarmed over the ethics of accepting such an expensive gift from a foreign country.

Boeing's target for delivery of the new presidential planes, originally 2024, has slipped to 2028 or 2029, but the company recently told the Air Force it could advance completion to 2027 if requirements are relaxed. The Trump administration tasked billionaire Elon Musk with finding ways to speed up the process.

Boeing has struggled with problems with suppliers for interior components of the jet, the wiring design, and finding workers with security clearances to work on such a sensitive project.

For Qatar, a small nation with powerful neighbors like Iran and Saudi Arabia, the potential gift is another example of how it makes liberal use of its ample financial resources to cultivate allies. Qatar has spent billions of dollars to support a garrison of 10,000 U.S. troops at its Al Udeid air base, the largest American bastion in the Middle East. Qatar has also donated billions to U.S. universities and think tanks and established business ties with the Trump family. A Trump-branded golf course is in the works in Qatar, and a Qatari sovereign wealth fund has made multiple investments with Jared Kushner, Trump's son-in-law.

If Trump does take the 747, the Qataris will still have plenty of other planes to get around on in the Amiri Flight stable, as well as access to Qatar Airways' fleet of executive jets, notes business aviation consultant Brian Foley. "I don't think they'll miss it."

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https://www.forbes.com/sites/jeremybogaisky/2025/05/14/qatar-747-trump/

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. Frost, you are next. Okay. I am just going by the list given to me, so if you want to go again, you are fine.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. SARAH ELFRETH, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MARYLAND

Ms. ELFRETH. Thank you, Madam Chair, Ranking Member McGovern, and members of the committee, thank you for spending nearly 20 hours at this hard work. I greatly appreciate it. I am sure everybody on this panel does discussing many of the very concerning cuts in policy implications of this bill, staring down policies that will result in as many as 14 million people losing their health insurance and food assistance, the elimination of IRA provisions aimed at lowering energy costs, adding trillions of dollars to the deficit, which we only just found out a few hours ago from CBO which will trigger $500 billion in Medicare cuts all to pay for tax breaks for the wealthiest Americans and corporations.

I am here to request the committee accept the following two amendments aimed at protecting our national security, amendment 102 and 108. First, amendment 102 is a commonsense provision recommended by the DOD itself to protect our national security and ensure military readiness when considering coastal leases for sale. The bill before us proposes a fire sale on public lands and waters to the lowest bidders for the purpose of more drilling and yet offers no guarantee that any of those resources will benefit Americans or lower energy costs.

On the House Natural Resources Committee, we often talk about national security and how our ability to produce our own energy allows us not to rely on foreign adversaries, but selling off or coastal waters, surrounding our military installations directly contradicts these efforts and instead endangers our national security by prohibiting the military's ability to train and navigate freely.

And here's how I know this. Because in 2015 the DOD analyzed every offshore drilling block in the roles and activities critical for military readiness and national security, and they determined that what, if any level of drilling activity, can be done without impeding their critical work.

My amendment would require the Federal Government to implement the findings of this DOD report when selling offshore drilling leases for coastal waters. Due to the sensitive training and work of our installations, all of these blocks on the East and West Coast were classified by DOD as requiring either a total prohibition or very specific conditions for leasing.

But even if everything on this drilling—these drilling sites were to go exactly as planned, the mere presence of these rigs would cause immediate threats to our military readiness and national security, and that is just not a risk we should be willing to take. I implore this committee to address the very real threat by supporting this amendment.

My second amendment before you, amendment 180, as was just discussed by my colleague, we understand that the bill provides extra $150 billion to the DOD, and frankly, I don't trust the Secretary with $150, let alone $150 billion, but my second amendment, preservation of historical items, is very simple. It prohibits the DOD from spending any of these funds until a panel of experts re-

views all artifacts and documents flagged for destruction on censorship.

Earlier this year, the DOD, under the direction of Secretary Hegseth, began removing books, images, and stories of historical events, and heroes from our military academies. The Department removed these items as part of a crusade against what they consider promoting, quote, diversity—"divisive concepts." Yet protecting the history and accurately telling the stories of our nation is critical to our national security. It is concerning that under Secretary Hegseth's guidance, the DOD has removed images and stories often by mistake. We all read the headlines of articles and images highlighting the accomplishments of the Navajo code talkers who fought in the Pacific Island campaign that were removed. Pictures of the Enola Gay, the plane that dropped the Atomic bomb in Japan, were removed because of the word gay.

At the U.S. Naval Academy in my own district, we have seen nearly 400 books from their libraries removed that explored themes of gender, race, and diversity. Maya Angelou's, "I know Why the Caged Bird Sings," was removed, yet Hitler's "Mein Kampf" and Mussolini's, "The Doctrine of Fascism" remain. We are spending precious time, energy, and resources on erasing the history of our great Nation instead of preparing for the next conflict or taking seriously the handling of sensitive national security information.

Military that looks like our country and receives an education that teaches the accurate history of this Nation is critical to our ability to influence strong Democratic principles abroad. If our servicemembers don't learn from history, they are doomed to repeat the mistakes of the past. I urge support for both these amendments and yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Ms. Elfreth.

Mr. Frost, you are recognized for five minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. MAXWELL FROST, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF FLORIDA

Mr. FROST. Thank you so much for the opportunity to testify. I got here at 1:00 a.m. When I pulled up, I was surprised to see a crowd of about 150, maybe 175 people right outside the Capitol steps protesting what—this bill and protesting cuts to Medicaid, protesting cuts to food assistance, and I started walking around and speaking with people and I found folks who were here from all across the Nation of all different ages, all different ethnicities, races, religions. I met Democrats, I met Republicans, I met independents, I met people who aren't registered to vote.

And the word I heard from people the most, especially—you know, it started to rain. We stayed out there talking to people. The word I heard the most was betrayal, and people feel—felt betrayed, and a lot of these folks had already planned this trip to D.C. for a long time. They didn't even know that this vote would go on, but when they found out that the Republican majority would be hosting a key hearing on this budget, which the budget shows the morals of a nation and the character of a nation, and they heard it was happening at 1:00 a.m. in the middle of the night, these people, in the middle of their vacation, their advocacy trips on other things, and all this, decided to come out in the rain with their families to

say we don't want to be betrayed. We want our healthcare. We want the nutritional assistance. We want a budget that reflects the values of this country, and we don't want a bill that will facilitate the single largest transfer of wealth from the working poor and the working class to the ultra wealthy in the history of your nation.

It is dark and twisted that many Republican politicians want to take away healthcare, make food more expensive, restrict a child tax credit, all to enrich billionaires and mega corporations. If this bill passes, kids will go hungry. If this bill passes, people will die. And I heard this directly from people that were out there protesting, talking about the impacts that these cuts—cuts to Medicaid would have on their lives and their children.

I also know that bill is unpopular because I have been traveling this country going to Republican districts and speaking with constituents who have a Republican representative who refuses to host a town hall. I was actually in Michigan because—in Representative John James' district, and one of his constituents shared, quote, my daughter is a young woman who was born with cerebral palsy, mild cognitive impairments, and autism. She depends on Medicaid services for her health, safety, and well-being. She is unable to work or take care of herself. Without Medicaid, she is totally at risk. Cutting Medicaid to give tax cuts to wealthy billionaires is not only cruel and unethical, but it puts vulnerable people like my daughter at risk of severe mental and physical health problems.

I am in this hearing to offer support for Democratic amendments that would reverse the damage of this horrible bill that is a scam, and I personally have two amendments that I would like you to consider. One of them, the first prevents the committee on oversight and government reform portion of this bill from taking effect if Donald Trump violates a Supreme Court order. The rule of law is fundamental to any functioning country, and the only thing that can guarantee people's safety and security. Without the rule of law, there is chaos, corruption, anarchy. And the President loves to talk about the rule of law, but then he goes on to completely ignore and defy Supreme Court orders that are telling him to do stuff.

If any working person at home were to ignore a judge, what would happen to them? No politician is above the law, including Donald Trump. Our democracy and our rights are hanging literally by a thread in part because Trump has lost over and over again in court, because his illegal acts are prohibited by Federal judges and by law, and these have been decisions coming from Federal judges appointed by both Democrats and Republicans.

My other amendment overturns a portion of the bill that eliminates attacks on silencers that has existed since 1934. Republicans want to make it cheaper and easier for the next mass shooter to carry out their plans and kill innocent people. Silencers make it harder for law enforcement to quickly and effectively respond to active shooter situations since it makes it more difficult to recognize the sound of gunfire and locate the source of the gunshots.

This bill is a giveaway to billionaire donors and apparently also wants to continue to enrich gun manufacturers who want to make even more money and profit even more off of the death of our children and our people. I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Frost.

Mr. Magaziner.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. SETH MAGAZINER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF RHODE ISLAND

Mr. MAGAZINER. Thank you, Madam Chair. I am here tonight to speak on two amendments I will be offering on the Republican billionaire tax giveaway bill. As written, this bill is the single biggest transfer of wealth from working people to the ultra rich in the history of our country. People are struggling to make ends meet. High costs are impacting everybody. The cost of food, the cost of medicine, the cost of rent.

The people I speak to in Rhode Island every day feel like they are working harder and harder, but they cannot afford to keep up, and recently, the Trump administration made it even worse with these reckless tariffs that are making everything even more expensive.

But you know who is not struggling? The billionaires. The people at the very top are doing quite well for themselves. Yet this Republican tax bill will make it even worse. Under this plan, and listen to this, this is from the non-partisan CBO. Under this bill, people who make more than $5 million a year will get an extra $100,000 plus on their income every year.

But a middle class household, if you make—your family makes $70,000, $80,000, $90,000 a year, you will see, on average, $45 a year. So we're giving millionaires over $100,000 a year more money. The middle class gets $45 on average. How is that fair?

And if you are a family that is trying to work your way into the middle class, you are making $30,000, $40,000, according to the CBO, you will lose more than $1,000 a year once the cuts to Medicaid and SNAP are factored in. So this Republican tax bill is literally taking thousands of dollars per family from working people and transferring it to the super rich. My first amendment will reverse this.

Under my amendment, families who earn less than $500,000 a year, the majority of Americans, most Americans, will get a tax break. We would lower your tax bracket 2 percent. If you're at 22 percent, we make it 20. If you are at 12 percent, we make it 10. And we would pay for it by adopting Donald Trump's suggestion to put a new tax bracket for people making more than $2.5 million a year at the 39.6 percent tax level. This is a matter of basic fairness. Let's ask the people making millions of dollars a year to pay their fair share so that the middle class can get a tax break.

And I find it very interesting that my Republican colleagues can't summon the courage to stand up to Donald Trump on almost anything. When Donald Trump says Oh, no, I really won the 2020 election, we should overturn the election results, over 100 of our Republican colleagues said yes, sir, we will try to overturn the election for you. When he enacted these massive tariffs, which are a huge tax on the middle class, our Republican colleagues were either silent or submissive. When he cozies up to dictators like Vladimir Putin and throws our allies under the bus, crickets from our Republican colleagues. But when he suggested Hey, let's increase taxes on the millionaires to help pay for this bill, well, that was too much for our Republican colleagues. That was the first time

that they said, Oh no, Mr. President, you have gone too far. Really? So look, I am going to agree with the President on this one. Let's put that tax bracket, that higher tax bracket on people making more than $2.5 million a year, and instead, give real tax relief to the middle class.

My second amendment addresses another unfairness in this bill. Understand this. This bill is an across-the-board cut to SNAP benefits, to food aid. Our Republican colleagues like to say it is just waste and fraud or it is just going after people who are bilking the system. False. There is a 5 percent cut across the board for every State, regardless of error rate. My second amendment would eliminate that across the board 5 percent cut for every State and pay for that by eliminating the provision that gives an exemption on inheritances over—up to $30 million on the inheritance tax.

How about instead of cutting food for hungry families, for working people, we say to the children of millionaires, you know what? You don't need a tax exemption up to $30 million of your inheritance. Let's go back to the $5 million exemption that existed before 2016. We will let those children of millionaires still get the $5 million tax free inheritance that they used to get, but not 30. Instead, we are going to feed hungry families by canceling these SNAP cuts. I urge adoption of these amendments to make this a favor bill, and I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. Garamendi, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. JOHN GARAMENDI, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. GARAMENDI. Thank you, Madam Chair. You have heard hours and hours of amendments, all of which, in one way or another, would improve a terrible piece of legislation. It has been said by others way back when I was in the California legislature, if it is a bad piece of legislation, don't amend it. Just kill it. This bill deserves to be killed.

You are operating under the direction of President Trump, and in that process, you are conducting the biggest theft in U.S. history. This budget reconciliation bill is the largest transfer of wealth from the country's most vulnerable people to its richest people at a time when Trump's tariffs are already causing prices to rise.

House Republicans are making the lives of millions of Americans even more difficult by passing a bill that rips healthcare, rips healthcare from nearly 14 million Americans who rely on Medicaid, including over 300,000 in my own district, and I dare say in each and every one of your districts, whether you are a Democrat or Republican, the numbers are similar.

This bill, and therefore you, are stealing food from the tables at the schools. Over 18 million children will not have school lunch programs and other food available to them in their schools. Why? So that you can finance $150 billion for the Pentagon's new slush fund. Mr. Courtney already has given you the details on how that would work because of the way in which you are structuring the use of that $150 billion. We know that the Pentagon is already wasting money on very dangerous projects. Why are they allowed? Why are they using the Pentagon to deport aliens, the deportation

flights? The Sentinel intercontinental ballistic missile, $150 billion minimum and another $20 billion for a new nuclear bomb to be used there. Don't need it for 15 to 20 years. The Minuteman 3 can serve that purpose.

How about another boondoggle? A Golden Dome. Hello? Does anybody know anything about missile defense systems? You want to talk about the $30 billion we have already spent on the missile defense system that doesn't work? It was canceled 2 years ago and so we are going to start anew. Now we will have a Golden Dome. Oh, boy.

Now, this bill does not pay for itself. Where are the deficit hawks? They used to be across this entire room. All of you used to be deficit hawks. Somewhere between $3.5 trillion to $5 trillion will be added to the national debt as a result of this legislation. Hello, deficit hawks, where did you go? What happened to you? You frightened of Trump? Is that it?

Franklin D. Roosevelt once said the test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much. It is whether we provide enough for those who have too little. This piece of legislation goes exactly the other direction. It adds to the wealth of those who have much and it literally and actually takes away from those who have little.

The Congressional Budget Office yesterday confirmed that the bill will raise the incomes, will increase the wealth, the incomes for the wealthiest 10 percent of Americans while simultaneously cutting the incomes for the poorest 10 percent. What in the world are you doing? Why would you do such a thing? Why would you increase the wealth of those who already have much while simultaneously taking away from those who have too little? How do you do it? You gut Medicare.

You have heard from my colleagues. The SNAP program, used to call it food stamps. That is real food and there are already real regulations on what those SNAP programs can be used for. Head start. It goes on and on, and it is a disgrace. It is a disgrace.

And let's recognize what it is you are doing. The facts—people are struggling, already struggling. You pass this legislation, and the struggle will be worse for those who are in the bottom of our economic system. The fact that so many Republicans have voted actively to harm your own constituents just to curry the favor of Donald Trump, it is shameful. There is no other way to describe it. How could you possibly face yourself when you look in the mirror and recognize what you are actually doing to Americans? Millions of Americans. It is a disgrace.

The Democrats are doing everything we can to stop this disgraceful piece of legislation. I am proud to stand with my Democratic colleagues. I am proud that they are taking their time and your time, and I do have amendments. But I won't have the time. They are in the record.

The CHAIRWOMAN. You were long past your time, John. Julia. I let you get by with a little too much.

Ms. Brownley.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. JULIA BROWNLEY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Ms. BROWNLEY. Thank you, Madam Chair and Ranking Member McGovern. Before addressing my amendment, I wanted to really echo all of the arguments made by my colleagues in strong opposition to this big bad billionaire bill. This bill serves as a Trojan horse to jam through hundreds of billions of dollars in Medicaid cuts that will devastate 265,000 Ventura County residents in my district, and 14 million Californians who depend on Medicaid to access their healthcare. These cuts will harm children, disabled adults, low-income seniors, and they will result in hospital closures across our country. And there are many other egregious sections of this bill that will have devastating, devastating impacts to the American people for many, many years.

My amendment today would redirect $1 billion from this bill to fund climate monitoring, weather forecasting, and disaster preparedness programs at NOAA. I would challenge my Republican colleagues to find constituents in their districts who want to lose access to accurate weather monitoring, particularly as we head into the busiest time for severe storm predictions like tornadoes and hurricanes. Just this past weekend, deadly tornadoes tore through States from Kansas to Kentucky, the same weekend when reports came out that for the first time in the past 50 years, local, national weather service offices would no longer have the capacity to monitor weather around the clock in parts of the country due to reckless DOGE cuts. I have got a map right here that shows the places in the United States that no longer have access to 24/7 weather monitoring.

This is not some partisan talking point. It is a matter of life and death. Programs like the National Weather Service are what we promise to the American people in exchange for their hard-earned dollars, not tax cuts to the wealthiest 1 percent, while the President tanks our economy to help his billionaire friends scam the system and profit off the American public. The mindless destruction of America's critical government programs only makes our country weaker, it makes it less safe, and less prosperous. It is just plain irresponsible, and it cannot stand.

I am offering this amendment as a necessary course correction to invest back into communities and to our public safety. The forecasts NOAA produces are critical across almost all sectors of America's economy, from safe air travel, managing our water supplies, supporting the outdoor recreation industry, to seasonal forecasts that help farmers decide when to plant and when to harvest their crops. And perhaps most importantly, NOAA uses these forecasts to issue all the tornado, hurricane, flood, and extreme wildfire condition warnings during extreme weather events, extreme weather events that are only going to get worse. The growers in my district certainly know this. They are the ones on the front line responding to the climate impacts that cause shifting production seasons, the reduction of available water, and creates more intense and frequent natural disasters.

The Republicans proposals will exasperate the climate crisis while taking away funding for vulnerable communities to prepare for natural disasters. In the face of this Trump tax scam that

threatens our clean air, safe water, public health, and economic prosperity, I am proposing we instead invest in programs that will keep our communities safer and ready to respond to extreme weather.

With that, Madam Chair, I urge this committee to adopt my amendment, and I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you very much. I thank our witnesses for being here, our panel for being here. Does anyone on our side of the aisle wish to ask a question?

Mr. McGovern, you are recognized.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Again, I just thank this panel. I appreciate you being here, and I know some of you were here at 1:00 in the morning. I remember seeing you. And I just want to, again, say what I have said to previous panels, thanks for sticking it out. I think it matters. I think people are paying attention. I think it is important that we are fighting back, especially against a bill that we find so egregious, and so I just—we will support the amendments. We will have your back. And I wanted to say thank you.

Madam Chair, before I yield back, I don't know whether you have any updates on schedule. I have been trying to read news reports as to whether or not Republicans have come to an agreement on a manager's amendment, and I don't know if you have it and when we might be—what you anticipate the schedule of the evening to be.

The CHAIRWOMAN. I believe we do have an agreement on the manager's amendment, but I am not exactly sure the schedule, because I have not been able to—I came in—we are trading places. I will give you an update.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Is your expectation that Rules will reconvene tonight?

The CHAIRWOMAN. Yes.

Mr. MCGOVERN. And if that is the case, is it your expectation that a bill will be on the floor tonight?

The CHAIRWOMAN. Yes.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Okay. We started at 1:00 in the morning. We will finish at 2:00 in the morning, but okay. All right. I thank the gentlelady and I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Ms. Scanlon.

Ms. SCANLON. Yes, thank you.

The CHAIRWOMAN. I did more than wave this time.

Ms. SCANLON. I got it at this point.

Mr. Courtney, I appreciate your amendment with respect to this Qatari royal family plane that the President is trying to accept. In the Judiciary Committee, we have focused on the fact that it is a pretty clear violation of the foreign emoluments clause, but I appreciate the fact that you are bringing up that it is actually a huge waste of taxpayer dollars. Can you just talk about that for a minute?

Mr. COURTNEY. Sure. So there probably is no worse way to build an Air Force One than to take a plane that has already been fitted out and then have to strip it down and then just sort of create all of the special characteristics of Air Force One. We know this because that is what we have done with the two planes that are, you know, in process.

By the way, it looks like they will be delivered while President Trump is still President, so there is no need for a bridge plane. He is going to get his planes in 2027. So yeah, just building a third Air Force One is a complete waste of money.

Ms. SCANLON. Right. It seems offensive to our armed forces who are responsible for maintaining the plane. Obviously, it has all of the indicia of something unseemly. And then, of course, there is the national security concerns as well, so I appreciate your raising the wastefulness and the abuse of the taxpayer dollars there.

Rep McClellan, I know you were testifying about your bill, and I was wondering if there were implications with respect to burden on the State?

Ms. MCCLELLAN. Oh, yes. So, you know, I spent—I was the State appropriator. I was in the State legislature when we expanded Medicaid, and, you know, States can't print money and they have to have a balanced budget, and this bill shifts a lot of costs to the State for nutrition programs, for some Medicaid spending, but you have got to look at that in a broader context.

So first, let me talk about the work requirements. States have had the ability to impose work requirements for seven years. Only two have done it. One I already talked about. Georgia spent more money on the administrative costs than it did on the costs of healthcare. And as a matter of fact, ProPublica and Current did an analysis that showed that three quarters of the nearly $87 million they spent on the program went to consultants. That is why States haven't done it, because the administrative cost to set it up and run it is high.

But now you have EPA grants that have been categorical EPA grants that are being cut, so the States have to worry about how are we going to deal with clean air and clean water. Take a State like Virginia that has the second highest number of Federal workers. Analysis has already shown our employment rate has gone up. Our GDP is expected to slow. We are seeing the economic impacts of what the administration has already done, so they are now worried—Virginia doesn't have a surplus, it is not going to have a surplus because now we are going to have all these other costs coming down from the Federal Government.

Oh, by the way, this bill handcuffs the State's ability to increase the provider tax, and while you are doing all of that, you are handcuffing the State's ability to regulate in any way AI, which is a whole other conversation, but I just wanted to throw that in there. The party that says let's just give everything back to the States is giving the States a massive hole in their budget and handcuffing their ability to fill it, and they are going to do one of two things: They are either going to raise their taxes or they are going to significantly cut not just Medicaid services, but education, environmental protection, transportation, infrastructure, and—public safety. This is—this bill and the actions of the Trump administration already are blowing massive holes in State budgets that somebody's got to pay, and it is going to be through increased State and local taxes.

Ms. SCANLON. Thank you for that. I am hearing similar concerns from our Pennsylvania State legislatures, especially as there is money that has been appropriated and contracts that have been

awarded and suddenly they have been canceled by DOGE or the White House or Office of Management and Budget or whoever it is that is impounding money illegally. So people already have projects underway, and all of a sudden, the rug is being pulled out from under them. And then we are seeing these additional issues where, all of a sudden, there is going to be this huge cost shift that is a real bait and switch or kicking the can down the road, whatever, but——

Ms. BROWNLEY. I think it is a giant sucking sound.

Ms. SCANLON. Yeah. Okay. Well, thank you, and thank you all for being here and bearing with us tonight. Okay.

I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Ms. Scanlon.

Mr. Neguse, you are recognized.

Mr. NEGUSE. Sorry. A lot of paperwork over here, Madam Chair. It has been a long day. I have no questions. Thank you all for your testimony and your amendments, and, of course, I support the amendments.

I just want to follow up on a point that the ranking member mentioned: We have been here now for 19 hours, I guess, close to 24 hours straight, started at 1 a.m., and as the ranking member said, it sounds like we may very well end at 1 a.m. or 2 a.m. with a vote in the dead of night on the floor on a 1,000 page bill that would have traumatic negative consequences for the American people.

But I don't know that I could say it any better than one of your colleagues, Madam Chair, and that is Representative Massie, who posted on social media just a little while ago, I will quote, "Major provisions of the big, beautiful bill are still being negotiated and written. Yet we are being told we will all vote on it today. Shouldn't we take more than a few hours to read a bill this big and this consequential?"

Now, what is interesting is that a commentator responded to that tweet and said, "Wasn't that a promise, too, that you all would get 48 hours to read new bills before voting?" And Mr. Massie's response, "Yes, it is in our rules that we will have 72 hours to read every bill. Yet it has been circumvented this week by a manager's amendment, which substantially changes the bill but should only contain technical clarifications, and a rule, called same-day rule, has also been suspended," which, of course, we know was done yesterday.

Here is the point: We have seen this movie before. We, I suppose, will wait here with bated breath for the manger's amendment to be submitted to this committee. I suspect that that manager's amendment is not going to have technical corrections and changes to the rule print but, instead, will be fundamental changes to this bill. And we, the House Democrats, and ultimately the American public, will be compelled to reckon with and try to discern what those changes are and the impact the changes will have on our constituents in the dead of night.

And so I would encourage the majority to reconsider—and I would hope—we weren't able to convince the Speaker to hold this hearing at a regular hour, the way that all the other markups work. We failed in that effort. Perhaps we would be more success-

ful in persuading the Speaker to put the bill on the floor in the morning so that the American people can actually have a chance to listen to the debate that unfolds on the House floor.

With that, I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

Ms. Leger Fernández, you are recognized.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Thank you.

And, once again, I think we heard from this panel a range of ideas that only through showing up and testifying and actually speaking—we had very little Republican participation because, you know, as we noticed this morning, they don't even want to read out loud their own bill. They are so ashamed of what is in the bill that they refuse to read out loud their bill.

But what you all have done is come to us with provisions so that we cannot have the kind of corruption from Qatar that we are seeing, so that we can protect States' rights and States' budgets and some kind of respect for the relationship they have and the obligation the Federal Government has.

And, oh, my God, the silencer thing, thank you so very much for bringing that up today. And, yes, there are ways of addressing the deficit and actually protecting the middle class that we could get to, but they don't really want to get to because, as you had pointed out, it is all about the wealthy. Everything they do is about the wealthy. There is all kinds of other stuff. And do they have their heads in the sand or what? Like not in the sand. They are like ignoring the danger around us for money. Right. So they are—the risks that they are imposing on the American people is just astounding.

And, you know, we came in at night. I don't know if there was a moon, or there wasn't a moon, and then there was a sun or maybe not a sun, and now there is maybe not a moon and not a moon, but what it is, is definitely, definitely, even the Republicans are in the dark because, as we can see from these streets, they haven't seen any final language. They think this is in there. They think that is not in there. And I heard that maybe they all want to go to some meeting, and they all have to leave to go do something better than stand up for their constituents. So that is why we are rushing this because they all have Memorial Day plans. Really. It is disgusting what they are doing.

With that, I yield back. And thank you for coming.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Ms. Leger Fernández.

I thank the panel for being here. We have, I believe, one more panel, and so I will tell you, you are excused.

If I could ask you all to do the same thing the last panel did. We have seven, I believe, not counting Mr. McGovern, or—he is going to stay here. So if you will go down, Mr. Bynum—Ms. Bynum. Excuse me. Mr. Johnson, Ms. Pou, Mr. Landsman, Mr. Beyer, Mr. Bishop. Somewhere in that order.

It is okay. It is okay. Before our people would bunch up, up here, and folks couldn't get down that way, and so we were just trying to get people balanced out just a little bit. Okay.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. JANELLE S. BYNUM, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF OREGON

Ms. BYNUM. Madam Chair and Mr. Ranking Member and members of the committee, I want to start off by saying just how laughable it is to be calling this bill beautiful. And I would like to replace that word with "trash." It is a trash bill, and here is why: It is a bill that threatens $300 billion in cuts to food assistance. It is a bill that puts healthcare further and further out of reach for nearly 14 million people. It is a bill that will make it so that families have to choose between putting food on the table or filling a prescription. It is a bill that does nothing to lower costs or address the housing crisis.

Madam Chair, I came here today to try and make this trash bill just a little bit better, to try and protect my constituents from its harmful cuts. But I have little faith that the authors of this trash care enough about the American people to do it, especially since this committee tried to do it in the middle of the night. And, as my Democratic colleagues have shown us today, sunlight is the best disinfectant.

You see, this isn't the first time I have tried to make this bill better, and it wouldn't be the first time that my Republican colleagues chose to put billionaires over their constituents and mine. I first introduced these amendments in the House Financial Services Committee, and they were voted down by my Republican colleagues.

My amendments are aimed at protecting Americans and making life more affordable. And you would think members on the Financial Services Committee would be down for that. You would think all members would be down for that, Madam Chair.

So now I ask my Republican colleagues on this committee, are you, are you willing to protect our students and our families? Are you willing to make healthcare more affordable and more accessible? Are you willing to lower costs for your constituents? And, if so, I look forward to you supporting my amendments.

Instead of cutting food assistance for students and families, I am trying to make sure that, when they take out loans, they will be protected from predatory lending and unfair practices. Instead of ripping away access to healthcare, I am trying to lower healthcare costs by capping out-of-pocket costs. Instead of taking seniors and taking food off of their tables, I am supporting an effort from my colleague, Congressman Jonathan Jackson, to strike the section of the bill that would expand work requirements for seniors on SNAP.

And, instead of increasing costs on those struggling the most in an effort to make the rich richer, I am fighting to lower costs for my constituents and all Americans.

Madam Chair, I brought the data. Let me tell you what the numbers look like. In your district, 201,000 people will lose healthcare because of this bill. That is 27 percent of your constituents. In Fischbach's district, it is over 165,000. Rep. Norman, 148,000 people will lose healthcare in his district. Rep. Roy, 56,000 people use SNAP to feed their families. And, in Rep. Houchin's, it is 54,000. Over 83,000 kids get healthcare through Medicaid in Rep. Langworthy's district. And Rep. Scott, it is 124,000 kids. And Rep. Jack's, it is 88,000 kids. And, in Rep Griffith's, it is nearly 107,000.

I know where my priorities are. It is with my constituents. And I will be voting against this trash bill because I stand with America's children and America's families.

Madam Chair, I respectfully urge you to do the same and get your colleagues focused on serving the American people. I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Ms. Bynum.

Mr. Johnson, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. HENRY C. "HANK" JOHNSON, JR., A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF GEORGIA

Mr. JOHNSON of Georgia. Thank you, Madam Chair, Ranking Member.

I know that meteorologically speaking we are in springtime, but legislatively speaking, a dark ice-cold winter has descended upon America. The biting cold winds of MAGA are frozen hearts that shut off warmth and sustenance for the needy, the working poor, and the poor while they consort with the billionaires and millionaires, who frolic in their warm mansions and on their luxury yachts in warm seas, never satisfied with the luxuries they enjoy for ease and comfort.

The cold winds howl as MAGA rams through the House what Trump has commended to be named the big, beautiful bill. It is the big, ugly GOP tax scam, which rips away healthcare from 14 million Americans, takes food away from 3 million people every month, and drives up the cost of everyday essentials with its tariffs, which is a tax paid by those same folks who are losing their healthcare and food stamps, all to hand massive tax breaks to billionaires like Elon Musk.

With this bill, billionaires win, and working families lose. And, as House MAGA Republicans move to snatch food and healthcare from those in need just to pay for tax cuts for the wealthy, billionaire Donald Trump today accepted an obscenely expensive emolument, a $400 million luxury jet paid for by corrupt Middle Eastern Sheikhs.

Madam Chair, my first amendment would strike section 70302 and restore Federal courts' ability when necessary to hold government officials in contempt in cases where they violate a person's constitutional rights.

We all know the reason Republicans added this section. Federal judges have issued over 150 court orders that block or pause the Trump administration's lawless and unconstitutional actions. Trump keeps losing in court. So Republicans want to rig the system so that Trump can ignore judges' orders against him.

Without my amendment, this bill prohibits a court from enforcing the orders that it issues, turning courts into paper tigers. This bill says that, unless you hand over a lot of money when Donald Trump and his administration violate your rights, they can just keep on violating them. It is one more way Republicans and the Trump administration want to trample on the rights of ordinary people who are not wealthy and do not—and do so with impunity.

This country is built on the rule of law. The judicial branch is essential to ensuring that the violation of one's constitutional

rights can be vindicated by the courts. That is why we need my amendments, so that any time Trump or a future President violates the law, Americans can go to court and stop it before any more harm is done because this country is about we the people, not about Donald Trump, the king.

And I also offer a second amendment which would allow funds to be used to provide lawyers for unaccompanied immigrant children. Picture this, a 2-year-old sucking her thumb while clutching a teddy bear standing in front of the immigration judge sitting high and looking down from the bench while a seasoned lawyer working for the government argues that the unaccompanied child should be sent back to El Salvador, where the dictator holds her parents in a hellhole prison for being politically incorrect. This amendment just makes sense. It would allow legal representation for unaccompanied children.

We do not allow children to represent themselves in any other legal proceedings, and immigration courts should be no different. In these cases, the government is represented by a lawyer. So how can we expect kids without lawyers to assess their own eligibility for humanitarian relief, prepare their own cases, and advocate for themselves during adversarial hearings?

Do we expect that toddler sucking her thumb and clutching her worn and tattered teddy bear to represent herself? Really. There have been longstanding bipartisan support efforts to provide counsel to unaccompanied children because Congress has realized for years that legal representation is essential to ensure that children have meaningful access to asylum and other protections.

And, with that, Madam Chair, and Mr. Ranking member, I yield back.

[The statement of Mr. Johnson of Georgia follows:]

Statement for Amendments at Rules Committee

(Reconciliation Bill)

Intro

We are here in the dead of night because Republicans are afraid of Americans finding out what's in this bill. That's why, under the cover of darkness, they are shepherding through their GOP Tax Scam, which rips away health care from 14 million Americans, takes food away from 3 million people every month, and drives up the cost of everyday essentials—all to hand massive tax breaks to billionaires like Elon Musk. With this bill, billionaires win and working families lose.[1]

[1] Everything before this came from the DPCC one pager.

Contempt-related Amendment

First, I offer an amendment that would strike Section 70302. My amendment would restore federal courts' ability to hold government officials in contempt any time they violate court orders.

We all know the reason Republicans added this section. Federal judges have issued over 150 court orders that block or pause the Trump Administration's lawless and unconstitutional actions. Trump keeps losing in court, so Republicans want to rig the playing field so that Trump can ignore judges' orders against him. Without my amendment, this bill says that courts cannot enforce the orders they have already issued. And in future cases, this bill says that unless you hand over a lot of money when Donald Trump and his

administration violate your rights, they can just keep on violating them. It's one more way that Republicans and the Trump Administration want to trample on your rights unless you're rich. They want to bar the courthouse door so that no one can stop Trump from acting like a king.

But this country is built on the rule of law. The judicial branch is essential to ensure that the rights guaranteed under our Constitution mean something. That is why we need my amendment, so that any time Trump or a future president violates the law, Americans can go to the court and stop it before any more harm is done. Because this country is about "we, the people" not about "Donald Trump, the king."

Counsel for Kids Amendment

I also offer a second amendment, which would allow funds to be used to provide lawyers for unaccompanied immigrant children.

This amendment just makes sense. We do not allow children to represent themselves in other legal proceedings, and immigration court should be no different. In these cases, the government is represented by a lawyer. How can we expect kids without lawyers to assess their own eligibility for humanitarian relief, prepare their own cases, and advocate for themselves during adversarial hearings? We

expect a toddler to clutch a teddy bear, not to act as a lawyer.

Plus, the National Association of Immigration Judges assert that they conduct proceedings more expeditiously and resolve cases more quickly when children are represented by attorneys. Don't we all want these cases resolved?

There has been longstanding, bipartisan support for efforts to provide counsel to unaccompanied children, because Congress has realized for years that legal representation is essential to ensure that children have meaningful access to asylum and other protections.

I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Johnson.
Ms. Pou, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. NELLIE POU, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY

Ms. POU. Thank you, Madam Chair, and Ranking Member McGovern. I want to thank all my colleagues who have spoken over the past 19 hours providing amendments to improve this big, bad, ugly bill.

I come before you today to discuss my deep concerns with the legislation the committee is considering today, and the amendments I have offered tried to improve it.

This bill is heavily skewed to give huge tax breaks to the wealthiest one-tenth of the 1 percent of Americans. Any tax cuts that Congress provide should favor the middle class and all other hardworking Americans, and this bill does not do that at all.

This bill will cause New Jersey families to go hungry, around 83,000 people in my district, the Ninth District, including children, working parents, seniors, and veterans buy food with SNAP. The SNAP cuts here will mean thousands of our neighbors won't be able to feed their families.

The price tag in this bill is enormous, costing taxpayers $4 trillion. But, instead of lowering costs and supporting families, it will make their day-to-day lives harder.

This legislation includes massive cuts to Medicaid, which covers more than 1.7 million New Jerseyans, including over one-third of all children in the State. This bill could lead to one in five New Jerseyans on Medicaid losing their coverage. This means losing checkups, treatments for chronic diseases like diabetes, access to lifesaving medication. Cuts to Medicaid will hit particularly hard mothers and families in our poorest communities.

That is why I have offered an amendment to require States to provide 12 months of continuous healthcare coverage for pregnant and postpartum women who qualify for Medicaid and CHIP.

My State, New Jersey, already provides this coverage. Two out of three maternal deaths in America happens in the days following childbirth. Healthcare at this time means the difference between life and death.

My amendment, No. 84, builds on the work of my colleagues, including Representative Robin Kelly and the Black Maternal Health Caucus. I am grateful for their leadership. This is a commonsense provision. If you support women and working families, there is no reason to oppose this.

I have offered five additional amendments to this legislation that will make, first, make air traffic safer and more reliable by preventing mass layoffs at FAA and NTSB, reduce flooding by increasing funding for clean water grants, ensure transportation improvements continue progressing by preventing funding cuts, improve public safety by making sure that FEMA grants continue without delays and unnecessary red tape, and, finally, provide funding for transit and other infrastructure improvements to prepare for the World Cup in my district next year.

Madam Chairwoman, I encourage the entire committee to rule these amendments in order. Thank you, and I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you very much.
Mr. Landsman, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. GREG LANDSMAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF OHIO

Mr. LANDSMAN. Thank you, Madam Chair and Ranking Member, all of you. This is a terrible bill. It is so terrible that I have amendments that will attempt to protect children's hospitals, rural hospitals and Americans with cancer. That is how bad the bill is, that all three need protection.

The bill, as you all know, would gut Medicaid by anywhere between $700- to $900 billion. That is 9 million Americans who will lose their health insurance. On top of that, another $360 billion in Affordable Care subsidies, that is another 5 million Americans who will lose their healthcare. Anywhere between $230- to $300 billion in food assistance, millions and millions of Americans, mostly children, will lose food. And it adds trillions to our deficit, all to pay for tax cuts that overwhelmingly support the wealthiest people in this country and big corporations.

When you rip healthcare away from millions of Americans, it means that some people will die. Kill the bill—not Americans.

My first amendment prohibits Medicaid provider taxes from being capped in any State where those caps would harm a children's hospital. I have in my district the second-best children's hospital in the country. I don't want it to be negatively affected at all; 50 percent of its revenue comes from Medicaid. If this bill passes, it will demonstrably harm our children's hospital and the children and families they serve.

The second amendment prohibits Medicaid provider taxes from being capped in States where rural hospitals will be negatively affected. I have in my district hospitals that serve rural communities. They will be decimated.

And my third amendment inserts that in no case may a dedication, cost sharing or similar charge be imposed under the State plan with respect to cancer care services. As you know, there is a new fee for low-income families. When they get treatment, they have to pay more money. This says, if it is cancer treatment, they shouldn't have to pay.

The fact that these amendments are being put forward suggests that this is a terrible bill, and there is a better way. We all want and will support tax relief for working people, middle-class families, farmers, small businesses. All of that can be paid for by simply adjusting just a little bit the TAX CODE for the wealthiest in this country and big corporations.

A minimum billionaire tax alone, call it the Elon tax, would generate over $500 billion. Adjusting the corporate tax rate just a little bit, $1.3 trillion, you can do all of the tax relief for everyone that needs it without touching anyone's healthcare, messing with food or touching the deficit, and we get a bipartisan agreement on waste, fraud and abuse, the border, and this thing gets 350 votes.

On the other hand, if you all move forward with this bill, as Senator Hawley said, it will be devastating to people; it will hurt people; some will die; and it is political suicide. Kill the bill. That I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Landsman.
Mr. Beyer, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. DONALD S. BEYER, JR., A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF VIRGINIA

Mr. BEYER. Madam Chair, Ranking Member McGovern, all the committee members, first of all, thank you for being here 19 hours and 20 minutes already. It is incredibly generous of you to do that.

Madam Chair, I am testifying on four energy amendments, which really are classically Republican amendments, that I think any of my friends, Republican colleagues on Ways and Means, could be introducing because this bill is not just catastrophic for the future livability of the planet, but it is catastrophic for energy dominance, for economic growth, and for the stated Republican energy agenda.

This bill is much worse on energy than I thought it was going to be because it doesn't recognize the energy realities on the ground. So this is not a serious bill.

My first amendment is to protect the consumer energy tax credits. These are the tax credits that 3 million American families took advantage of in 2023. And every homeowner knows the cost to replace an HVAC or the water heater or the windows, and these are the very credits that make these home improvements affordable.

While many Americans have struggling with the cost of living, I think one of the big reasons why Donald Trump won in November, this bill actually steals away the very credits that make the things more affordable, all for tax cuts for billionaires who won't even notice the change to their balance sheets.

My second amendment restores the energy investment tax credit and the production tax credits, the EITC and PTC. It is confusing to me because these have been long held tax credits that were passed in a bipartisan way. Republicans have always supported them. They weren't part of the IRA. They existed long before the IRA. And it doesn't make any sense they are being attacked.

The average American resident or consumer is going to see their electricity bill by way more than $100 next year, and then the business communities a lot higher increases, all the small businesses.

Not only did these tax credits help keep the energy prices low, but they also increase the capacity of the energy grid. So they estimate that, between now and 2035, our energy capacity will shrink the potential by as much as 72 percent.

I co-chair the bipartisan AI Caucus with Mike McCaul, Jay Obernolte, and eliminating the EITC and the PTC is going to be the biggest threat to AI growth. We all know, in all the AI meetings we have right now, that the big thing that holds it back right now is the energy needed to drive all those data centers. But it is just basic math. The energy capacity is not going to be there unless we have the EITC and the PTC. All the other things, the renewables, the bringing LNG online—that is not going to do it in time.

My third amendment prevents the nuclear hydrogen and domestic manufacturing tax credits from being eliminated. These are Republican priorities. I knew the Ways and Means markup was unserious when I saw these provisions in the bill.

Why are Republicans trying to kill nuclear fission? I thought we were trying to bring SMRs back. Why are they trying to kill the very promising fusion industry?

Again, we have a huge bipartisan Fusion Caucus, led by Chuck Fleischmann and Jay Obernolte, and this will kill that.

And then hydrogen, hydrogen is a critical part of the oil and gas industry.

And then, finally, why do Republicans want to kill domestic manufacturing? I know this is what President Trump says he wants, to bring the manufacturing jobs back. But between tariffs and this reconciliation bill, 50,000 energy jobs have already been lost or delayed or canceled, and $56 billion of energy investments have been stalled or canceled.

At the end of 2024, we had annual investments in American factories at nearly $150 billion, but when we try to kill these energy jobs and this manufacturing, why do we do this when the President says this is his priority? And, by the way, most of these are in Republican Congressional Districts. They are helping the people who voted for Donald Trump. It doesn't make any sense.

Instead, these tax cuts are going to kill hundreds of thousands of good-paying jobs. They are going to send U.S. manufacturing overseas by eliminating the landscape that made domestic investment attractive.

And, not to mention, the 45X tax credit, which is the bill that kills—that has been so supportive of the mining industry. And, again, I can't understand why my Republican friends are attacking the mining industry.

Finally, my last amendment is to protect traditional Republican priorities that my friends on Ways and Means couldn't do behind the scenes, but I know that they were offering it. The first was to restore the transferability provisions. That was a Republican-led priority.

The second is changing place and service to the beginning of construction. Again, very business friendly; Republicans tried to do it.

And the third was to use an existing Republican proposal to amend the FEOC to make it more workable.

All told, this bill is a disaster for energy dominance, which I understand the President says is his priority. The GOP is ripping away these energy credits from American families and stifling economic growth while blowing a $5 trillion hole in the budget, all to give tax cuts for billionaires.

It hurts most American families, especially those who voted for Donald Trump. And I encourage the Rules Committee to make these four amendments in order, and I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Beyer.

Mr. Bishop, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. SANFORD D. BISHOP, JR., A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF GEORGIA

Mr. BISHOP. Thank you, Chairwoman Foxx, Ranking Member McGovern, members of the committee. This is not a big, beautiful bill. It is a big, fat, ugly bill. It has wrinkles, warts, festering sores and scars. And, while Republicans are trying to put make-up and lipstick on this ugly creature to enhance its appearance, it is still

ugly. And I am here this evening to try and remove just a couple of warts with two amendments.

The first is an amendment that addresses food insecurity experienced by most families by removing the barriers they face in applying for SNAP benefits. According to the most recent estimates by the Department of Defense, 28 percent, or nearly one in three of U.S. military families face food insecurity. Junior enlisted military families of color struggle to put food on the table.

This phenomenon even affects double military families, young couples just starting out where both spouses are enlisted. Experts believe that many families suffer in silence due to the stigma surrounding hunger and receiving nutrition benefits. Meanwhile, food pantries and food banks operate on or near every single military base in the United States. Military spouse unemployment is seven times the national average as well. Frequent moves associated with the military lifestyle and the lack of affordable childcare also strain household finances for low-ranking, low-paid military families.

My amendment would address food insecurity among Active Duty servicemembers by excluding the basic allowances for housing from SNAP income eligibility. These men and women of Armed Forces cannot use the basic allowance for housing to feed themselves or their families. It can only be used for housing. It makes no sense that we are including the BAH as proof that junior servicemembers make too much. They were making minimum wage before this latest NDAA raised that pay.

Even with the recent pay increase, our troops are using that increase for the exorbitant cost of childcare, not for food. It is a tragedy that men of our Nation's military can't afford to put food on the table and face serious barriers to assistance. Those who fight for our freedom should not have to fight for food.

My second amendment will right a wrong that the Republican leadership in the House of Representatives has been dragging its feet to correct. This amendment would simply insert the language of Senate bill 1077, which allows the District of Columbia to keep its budget intact rather than impounding local revenue that was collected by the city to fund its police officers, firefighters, teachers, medical services, and all the essential services the city provides for its residents and visitors.

As you all know, the measure passed the Senate unanimously by voice vote, but House Republicans have refused to consider it, despite President Trump strongly supporting the measure. I am not suggesting that my colleagues should support it simply because President Trump does, but I say this to point out the overwhelming support this provision enjoys.

It is time to stop playing politics with the citizens of our Nation's Capital. This is the seat of our Federal Government, housing our three co-equal branches—the Congress, executive branch, and the judiciary—and it should be given the equal dignity and respect that any other political jurisdiction in our country enjoys.

It is their local tax dollars, and they should be allowed to use them as Congress has authorized in the D.C. Home Rule Act.

Remove this wart, remove these two warts, and pass a bill that takes care of the American people. I urge the adoption of these two

amendments to remove these two warts on an ugly, ugly bill. I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Bishop.

Mr. McGovern, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. JAMES P. MCGOVERN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. MCGOVERN. Thank you, Madam Chair.

So over 100 members have testified today on this bill, and I will be 101. And we have testified, we have come to the Rules Committee to testify, not to hear our voices but because we all profoundly disagree with this bill.

And, Madam Chair, my amendment would restore NIH grant funding that has been already appropriated, including funding that has already been awarded. This is not some hypothetical issue. This is real. Over 1,000 NIH scientists have been fired. Billions and billions of dollars' worth of research has been canceled. This is NIH research into cancer, Alzheimer's, Parkinson's, all cut off. Canceled by this administration. Canceled by DOGE.

And there are active medical research projects, including clinical trials, that cannot stop without people dying. And that is what we are talking about here. There are people out there who have no treatment options if NIH funding abruptly stops. Nothing. This is life or death for those people. Literally life or death. I mean, what are they supposed to do?

Trump's cuts to NIH mean cures and breakthroughs are already slipping further and further out of our reach. These scientists can't just stop research and pick it back up in a few years like nothing happened. This sets us back decades and decades.

I talked to researchers in my district who have already said that they are considering leaving the country because of how unpredictable funding might be going forward. And, if they can't even be sure that they are—that the grant that they have been awarded will be fulfilled, then why would they try to keep pursuing those research opportunities in the United States?

I have been around Congress a long time, and I could tell you that, no matter who is in the majority, who the President is, supporting medical research has always been a bipartisan effort because diseases like cancer don't care about political affiliation. NIH is not just some line item. I mean, there are real people behind the work that they do, and there are people whose lives are prolonged and saved because of the work that they do.

This is personal to me. Five years ago, my daughter Molly was diagnosed with a rare cancer, and there was no surefire treatment, but she was accepted into an NIH clinical trial, and she received excellent care. As all of you know, a few weeks ago, she passed away due to complications from her cancer at the age of 23. And we are so devastated by her loss, but we are so grateful that we got to spend more time with her because of the NIH clinical trial that she was in, a clinical trial made possible because, for decades, Congress has provided funding to the NIH in a bipartisan way.

And how can anyone justify firing NIH doctors and scientists? How can they look our family and other families in the eye and jus-

tify these cynical cruel NIH cuts? I mean, this is about our priorities as a Nation, and this Congress is cutting taxes for billionaires. This Republican Congress is cutting taxes for billionaires at the same time this President is gutting NIH. And this Congress, this Republican Congress is cutting healthcare. And I just find that totally wrong.

So approving this amendment won't fix this disaster of a bill, but it will at the very least address Trump's cuts to lifesaving medical research that I find unconscionable and immoral. And, for the countless other people out there, the moms and dads and kids who rely on clinical trials for the hope of just one more month, just one more day, this amendment one day could save their life, and I would urge my colleagues to support this amendment.

I yield back my time.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. McGovern. Anybody over here have anything?

No? Ms. Scanlon.

Ms. SCANLON. I just want to, once again, thank all of our colleagues for coming in, for bearing with us, for helping us approach the 24-hour mark, and thank you for your testimony.

And, Mr. Johnson, I think I am a cosponsor with you on your amendment. Sorry. I think I am a cosponsor with you on your amendment with respect to the Judiciary Committee amendments that you offered, so thank you for bringing them forward again. I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Ms. Leger Fernández.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Thank you, Madam Chair. Thank you everybody for presenting your amendments.

Thank you, Ranking Member. You know, it is really hard to have the courage to ask your colleagues to do not only what is right but things that arise that are so personal and raise the vulnerabilities that we all know.

And today we felt the need for this amendment, and we have all felt it in our lives. And the Republicans have felt it in theirs. And they know this is right to support something like this. Thank you, Ranking Member. And I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Ms. Leger Fernández.

Well, I am going to make a couple of comments. First, Mr. McGovern, I—one of my first jobs was working in Chapel Hill in the pathology department where I learned where the clotting factor for hemophilia was found, and much of the money for that research came from the NIH, along with foundations. And so I am very, very supportive of funding for the NIH and the work that it does. And I know that it does lifesaving things. And I am very glad that the work there extended Molly's time with you. I think that is very important.

However, I am concerned about what has been said about this bill and what it is going to do, the extreme comments that have been made about it and how I believe that it is scaring people out there in the country unnecessarily.

The words I have heard, particularly today, are "cut," "rip," "gut," "kill," "cruel," "stealing food," "losing coverage," "jam through," "biggest transfer of wealth from vulnerable to wealthy

people," "irresponsible." That is not the way we ought to be talking about this bill.

And I want to remind you of some words that were used in 2017 by our colleagues, and I think it is important, words used about the Tax Cut and Jobs Act, then House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi infamously predicted Armageddon for America. Former Clinton Treasury Secretary Larry Summers described pro-growth forecast as tooth fairies and predicted a long recession. He was joined by discredited New York Times columnist Paul Krugman, who guaranteed a global recession with no end in sight. They were wrong. Instead, we got one of the greatest economic expansions in history.

In the 2 years immediately after the passage of the TCJA, wages increased 4.9 percent, the fastest 2-year growth in real wages in 20 years.

The Washington Post gave Speaker Pelosi two Pinocchios for falsely claiming that 86 million middle-class families will see a tax increase. I can go on and on about the comments that were made then that did not come true.

I really wish we could have been a little more temperate about this because even people in my district that I know very well were scared very much about this bill, and I don't think the bill is going to be—do the dire things that we have heard.

So I think there has been a concentrated effort to mislead people about what is happening here, and I am going to ask my colleagues to work with us. I believe this bill will pass in a fashion close to what it is now. But we will continue to work on it, and we will continue to work together throughout this entire session to make sure that, if there are things that have gone wrong in here, that we make sure we don't have the cataclysms and the Armageddon that has been described here, which really, really trouble me because they help divide our country more and more. And we don't need that. We don't need to divide ourselves, and we don't need to divide the country any more than it already is.

So, with that, I yield back my time.

Anyone else seeking to testify on H.R.1.

Seeing none, this closes the hearing portion of our meeting. And our panel is relieved. The chair—committee stands in recess until 8:50 p.m.

[Recess.]

The CHAIRWOMAN. The committee will reconvene. My colleagues have now seen the manager's amendment that will be self-executing in this rule. You have all received a copy of the amendment. The amendment makes a number of technical and conforming changes to clarify references and cure Byrd fatalities.

Additionally, the amendment makes a few substantive changes, including adjusting the implementation date for Medicaid work requirements, providing additional funding to States for border security actions they have taken, striking the Oversight Committee requirements that Federal pensions take an average of an employee's highest 5 earning years, striking the sale of public lands in Nevada and Utah, caps the SALT deduction at $40,000 per household for incomes up to $500,000. The chair will be in receipt of a motion from the gentlewoman from Indiana, Mrs. Houchin.

Mrs. HOUCHIN. Thank you, Madam Chair.

Madam Chair, I move the committee grant H.R.1, the one Big Beautiful Bill Act a closed rule. The rule waives all points of order against consideration of the bill. The rule provides that an amendment in the nature of a substitute consisting of a text of Rules Committee Print 119–3, modified by the amendment printed in the Rules Committee report, shall be considered as adopted and the bill, as amended, shall be considered as read.

The rule waives all points of order against provisions in the bill, as amended. The rule provides 2 hours of general debate equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Budget, or their respective designees, and the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Ways and Means, or their respective designees.

The rule provides one motion to recommit.

Finally, the rule provides that clause 5(b) of rule XXI shall not apply to the bill or amendments thereto.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you very much, Mrs. Houchin. We now go to motion.

Is there any discussion or amendment to the rule.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Yes, Madam Chair.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern.

Mr. MCGOVERN. So, again, we spent 20 hours debating this bill, and many of the 500 amendments submitted to it as well. We began at 1 a.m. We have been fully transparent about our views. Over 100 Democrats testified before this committee expressing our profound opposition to this bill, and our deep disappointment in the process.

On the other hand, Republicans went off and debated with themselves in some secret back room. Now we are back here in the dead of night, and they want the only amendment—they want the only amendment to move forward to be the one that they wrote in secret. It is a 40-page manager's amendment. I have no idea what the implications are of the changes that are being made. We are not going to get a CBO score on the changes before we vote. And, again, the manager's amendment isn't some boring compilation of technical fixes. It makes huge changes to key portions of the bill. And how in the world are Members supposed to understand what they are about to vote on. I mean, are you going to explain every provision of this?

Our old colleague, Mr. Massie, understands it. I mean, Mr. Neguse quoted him earlier. He said, "Shouldn't we take more than a few hours to read a bill this big and this consequential," end quote. You know, Congress Massie is right. We have had only minutes to review this amendment before voting on it without even a comparative print. We don't even have a comparative print to show what is changing.

CBO spent days and days carefully putting together data about what the previous version of this bill would do. I know it didn't show what you were hoping it would show, but it seems vital for us to get updated data on a bill that is set to rob the middle class in order to pay off the rich.

So there is no pressing deadline here. That is what is so puzzling to us. I mean, just your own made-up deadline to pass this bill be-

fore Memorial Day. We could do this bill tomorrow or the next day. We could do it when we come back from Memorial Day.

So, you know, we should recess and give everyone the time needed to understand these changes. This is a big deal. This is consequential. And we are moving forward with major changes, and we are just supposed to take, you know, your word for it that it is no big deal.

So you know what? I move that we adjourn because we have to take the time to be able to—to be able to do this.

Mr. GRIFFITH. Point of order. Motion to adjourn has been made. It is not debatable. No comments after that can be allowed, Madam Chair.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Say that again.

Mr. GRIFFITH. The gentleman made a motion to adjourn, and then wanted to explain it. But you can't debate a motion to adjourn. So, once the motion is made, all discussion ends.

The CHAIRWOMAN. I understand.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Stop the debate, everyone, when you can. I get it.

Mr. GRIFFITH. That is the rule going back to Parliament.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I get it. Yep. I get it.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion to adjourn.

All those in favor, say aye.

All those oppose, no.

In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Can I ask for a roll call, or am I going to be silenced on that?

The CHAIRWOMAN. You may ask for a roll call.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I will ask for a roll call.

The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will call the roll.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach?

Mrs. FISCHBACH. No.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach, no.

Mr. Norman?

[no response.]

The CLERK. Mr. Roy.

[no response.]

The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin.

Mrs. HOUCHIN. No.

The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin, no.

Mr. Langworthy?

Mr. LANGWORTHY. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.

Mr. Scott?

Mr. SCOTT. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.

Mr. Griffith?

Mr. GRIFFITH. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.

Mr. Jack?

Mr. JACK. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.

Mr. McGovern?

Mr. MCGOVERN. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.
Ms. Scanlon?
Ms. SCANLON. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.
Mr. Neguse?
Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.
Ms. Leger Fernández?
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.
Madam Chair?
The CHAIRWOMAN. No.
The CLERK. Madam Chair, no.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the tally.
The CLERK. Four ayes, seven nays.
The CHAIRMAN. The amendment is not—the motion to adjourn is not agreed to.
Is there further discussion or amendment.
Mr. MCGOVERN. Yes.
Madam Chairwoman, I have an amendment to the rule. I move the committee make in order amendment No. 378, offered by myself, which requires NIH to restore all awarded unspent but obligated, appropriated NIH grant funding.
The CHAIRWOMAN. You have heard the motion from the ranking member. Is there further discussion?
All those in favor, say aye.
All those opposed, say no.
In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it.
Mr. MCGOVERN. I ask for a roll call.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The gentleman asks for a roll call. The clerk will call the roll.
The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach?
Mrs. FISCHBACH. No.
The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach, no.
Mr. Norman?
[no response.]
The CLERK. Mr. Roy.
[no response.]
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin.
Mrs. HOUCHIN. No.
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin, no.
Mr. Langworthy?
Mr. LANGWORTHY. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.
Mr. Scott?
Mr. SCOTT. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.
Mr. Griffith?
Mr. GRIFFITH. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.
Mr. Jack?
Mr. JACK. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.
Mr. McGovern?

Mr. MCGOVERN. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.
Ms. Scanlon?
Ms. SCANLON. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.
Mr. Neguse?
Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.
Ms. Leger Fernández?
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.
Madam Chair?
The CHAIRWOMAN. No.
The CLERK. Madam Chair, no.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the tally.
The CLERK. Four ayes, seven nays.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The noes have it. The amendment is not agreed to. Are there—is there further discussion on the——
Mr. MCGOVERN. Yes. I have an amendment to the rule, Madam Chair.
The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern, you are . . .
Mr. MCGOVERN. I move the committee strike the final sentence of the rule, which states that clause 5(b) of rule XXI, the House rule requiring a supermajority vote to increase income taxes does not apply to this bill.
We have just spent hours and hours showing that this tax scam will mostly benefit the ultra wealthy while it will hurt the lowest earners. We have presented unbiased nonpartisan analysis from the Joint Committee on Taxation, from the Congressional Budget Office, and from outside experts, and here is one final piece of proof: Republicans have to rig the rules to move their bill forward, even though it increases taxes for many families.
I will try to explain—I will explain in plain English, the House rules require a supermajority vote, three-fifths, for any bill that increases income taxes. And guess what? Republicans are turning that rule off for this bill. You are turning it off—not as part of a standard waiver of all points of order, but specifically and intentionally.
And why do they have to do that? Because they know that this bill will increase taxes on those families who are struggling the most to put food on the table. And they want to rig the rules so they can pass it with a party line vote, anyway, despite the House rule against it.
This bill is a Republican scam, and the American people aren't going to fall for it. So I urge a "yes" vote on my amendment to ensure that we follow the House rules, and I yield back.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The gentleman yields back.
Any further discussion? Mr. Neguse.
Mr. NEGUSE. Thank you, Madam Chair. I would like to be heard on the amendment.
I support the gentleman's amendment, and I think it begs a larger question with reference to the manager's amendment that we are considering. We have had a very fulsome discussion over the course of the last 20 hours on the bill that was before this com-

mittee. We now have, I believe, a 40-some odd page manager's amendment that has been submitted. Here it is. Just got it. And I know my colleagues seemed very willing to explain the various provisions of the underlying bill, and so I wonder if, if any of them would be willing to help explain to me the changes in the manager's amendment. If Mr. Scott or Mr. Norman could perhaps give us some clarity about what this manager's amendment attempts to do to the underlying bill. I mean, we just got it. So, you know, we are going to be asked to vote on it. I assume you all—and maybe who we need to have come in to explain it is Mr. Roy. I mean, Mr. Roy has not been in this hearing, I think, for the vast majority of it, the last 20 hours that we have been sitting here. I assume he is negotiating this.

Mr. NORMAN. He is working.

Mr. NEGUSE. So I assume he explained to you what he now asking you all to vote for. Can someone explain to us what this manager's amendment attempts to do?

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. Neguse?

Mr. NEGUSE. Yes.

The CHAIRWOMAN. I gave you the summary. There has been a lot of discussion about it being a 1,000-page bill. But we all know, all of those components were out there for a long time.

And so I want to—look at a 40-page bill. We all know that that is not 40 pages. Eight—you know, not a large amount.

Mr. NEGUSE. Sure.

The CHAIRWOMAN. So much of it is technical. Mr. McGovern said there is not a lot that is technical. I would—I have given you what are the major substantive changes in the bill. We are happy to give you a copy of that. But——

Mr. NEGUSE. Is that a summary document that you have? Yeah, if you could provide that to us, that would be helpful.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Sure.

Mr. NEGUSE. I guess I am just trying to get a sense of—and maybe my colleagues on the other side of the aisle already know—where did this bill end up on SALT? Where did it end up with the IRA phase-outs? All of the variety of issues that have been, you know, debated the last couple of days—I just think it is unfortunate that Members would have to, you know, find out from online, on Twitter.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Would the gentleman——

The CHAIRWOMAN. I can read this to you.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I am just trying to understand, what does it mean, you know, to strike "MAGA" and insert "Trump"? Like, what is that about? In the manager's amendment.

Mr. GRIFFITH. I can answer that question, Madam Chair.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Yeah, I mean, this is why you don't, you know, hand something like this to people and then rush into a markup.

But what is—anyways, if people can explain some of this stuff, that would be helpful.

Mr. NEGUSE. Who was it that said they could explain the——

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Griffith.

Mr. NEGUSE. Sure.

Mr. Griffith?

Mr. GRIFFITH. If the chairwoman wants me to.

Mr. NEGUSE. I am happy to yield a moment from my time——

The CHAIRWOMAN. I am happy to recognize you, Mr. Griffith.

Mr. GRIFFITH. Yeah. So——

Mr. NEGUSE. It was my time, but I don't——

Mr. GRIFFITH. All that language was in the original bill. And they were creating this new trust that you would—for a child born in, I think, a 4- or 5-year period—I don't remember now if it was a 4-year period or a 5-year period—you could set up a trust. There were all kinds of rules about the qualifications of the trustee. It had to be a bank, et cetera, et cetera.

And the name of the trust originally was going to be the "MAGA Trust" that you set up for the child, and the government was going to put in, I believe, if I remember correctly, it was $1,000 for each child where the family set this up, and they were going to call them "MAGA Trusts."

Mr. MCGOVERN. And why the name change?

Mr. GRIFFITH. The wisdom was to change that to the "Trump Trusts."

Ms. SCANLON. Oh, hell no.

Mr. NEGUSE. You are going to name these accounts——

Mr. MCGOVERN. Why?

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. So the Cory Booker idea—this was Cory Booker's idea. It is his "Baby Bond."

Ms. SCANLON. But——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Now, he was willing to call it "Baby," but Trump——

The CHAIRWOMAN. Can we just have one person at a time, please?

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Sorry about that.

Mr. NEGUSE. No, you are right.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. I am sorry.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

Mr. NEGUSE. Thank you, Mr. Griffith, for that explanation. It is nice to have that clarity.

And I suspect those who might be watching online can now understand that—so, to put a finer point on it, the "MAGA Baby Bonds" are now going to be named the "Trump Baby Bonds." That is what Republicans have spent the better part of the last 24 hours negotiating at the White House. Apparently the President got his way, and these new savings accounts will be named in his honor.

It is—for all the talk of my colleagues, you know, not treating him like a king, it sure seems like you are attempting to do so. I have never heard of—you all would be screaming bloody murder if we named savings accounts after Barack Obama, the new trust accounts for your children and your grandchildren, "Obama Accounts."

The CHAIRWOMAN. Well, I do think——

Mr. NEGUSE. I would love to see the reaction.

But, anyway, I will—I am happy to yield back the balance of my time, and others want to be heard on the amendment. So thank you, Madam Chair.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Okay.

Ms. Scanlon.

Ms. SCANLON. Yeah, just with respect to that, instead of the "MAGA Trust" or the "Trump Trust," why don't we call it the "Trump Diaper Savings"? It could be "TDS." Because I think the only way you end up with a stupid name like this is if you have TDS. So let's call it the "Trump Diaper Savings."

The CHAIRWOMAN. Well, you would need to offer an amendment to do that, I believe, Ms. Scanlon.

Ms. SCANLON. Oh, I don't think it is worth anyone's time. It is not going anywhere.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Do we have a pending amendment?

The CHAIRWOMAN. No, we—I believe——

Mr. NEGUSE. We are on his amendment.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Right. And I would like to speak to his amendment.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Yes.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. So, I mean, I think the reason we are talking about the amendment is that Republicans are going to raise taxes.

Right, Mr. McGovern?

Mr. MCGOVERN. Right.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern made an amendment to take out the last line——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Right. And the reason that that needs to be taken out is because the requirement, if I am correct——

Mr. MCGOVERN. Right.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. I am going to read this. They are taking out consideration of retroactive tax rate increase. "It shall not be in order to consider a bill, joint resolution, et cetera, carrying a retroactive Federal income tax rate increase."

The only reason you need to get rid of that section is because you are having a tax rate buried somewhere in here. So there is a tax rate increase. That is what you are doing.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Yes.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. So not only are you—I mean, you need to think about that. And the problem is, you don't know what is in this, but this is snuck in here. And your Republican colleagues should know that.

So, Representative McGovern, I mean——

Mr. MCGOVERN. So they are making it easier to raise taxes on struggling families.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Exactly.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Yeah. I mean, that is what this is. So that is what we are voting on. Otherwise, why would you waive it, why would you have to waive it?

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Yeah.

The CHAIRWOMAN. I believe the explanation is that it is very precautionary because of the name——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Oh.

The CHAIRWOMAN [continuing]. Of the trust.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Oh, it is precautionary.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Because of the name of the trust.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. So the trust is a tax increase?

Mr. MCGOVERN. We are talking——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. So, clearly, there is some kind of tax increase in this bill.

Mr. MCGOVERN. No, but we are talking about two different things right now.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. No, no, no.

Mr. MCGOVERN. You are talking about the "MAGA Trump" thing. I am going back to—we have a pending amendment.

The CHAIRWOMAN. That is what we are—and that is what we are talking about, why do we have that line in there.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Well, you have to approve a tax increase—you are approving a tax increase because you are increasing somebody's taxes for the "Trump Baby Bonds"? I mean, this is getting even more confusing. That doesn't—your explanations——

Mr. NORMAN. Madam Chairman?

The CHAIRWOMAN. Excuse me. There is a better explanation, and that is: Because we are not—because we are continuing the tax cuts that were in the TCJA, it is being done as a cautionary measure——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. But——

The CHAIRWOMAN [continuing]. To make sure that there is nothing seen in here that——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. But, Madam Chair——

The CHAIRWOMAN [continuing]. Implicates a tax increase.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Yeah. But, Madam Chair, if you are describing those——

Mr. NORMAN. Madam Chair?

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ [continuing]. As tax cuts, you would not need an authorization for a tax rate increase. This is about increasing your taxes. So you are authorizing the increase of taxes without the required vote in the rules.

The CHAIRWOMAN. I think we have been very clear that we do not intend to increase taxes in this bill.

Mr. Norman?

Mr. NORMAN. Madam Chair, I am pretty sure that, you know, we have been sitting up here——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. I haven't waived my time——

Mr. NORMAN. Excuse me. We have been sitting up here for however many hours, 20 hours. We are not going to——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Mr. Norman——

Mr. NORMAN. There is nothing that would convince——

The CHAIRWOMAN. Hold on, Mr. Norman.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Mr. Norman——

Mr. NORMAN [continuing]. Either one——

The CHAIRWOMAN. Would you yield to Mr. Norman?

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. He hasn't asked me yet.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

Mr. NORMAN. There is nothing that——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. He still hasn't asked me.

I mean, Mr. Norman—right? If you had asked me, I would probably yield to you, but I have the time, so——

Mr. NORMAN. Would you yield?

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. I would, Mr. Norman. Thank you very much.

Mr. NORMAN. Thank you.

I don't think there is any question that whatever we say to explain anything is going to make my good friends from the other side of the aisle vote for anything that we have put forward. So what I would ask is we call for the question, and let's move through this.

Thank you for yielding. And that is my request.

I yield back, Ms.——

Mr. MCGOVERN. Would the gentlelady yield?

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. I would of course yield, Mr.——

Mr. MCGOVERN. Again, the House rules require a supermajority vote, three-fifths, for any bill that increases income taxes. And you are turning that rule off for this bill, not as a part of a standard waiver of all points of order, but specifically and intentionally.

And the only reason why you would do that is because you know that this bill will increase taxes on those families who are struggling the most to put food on the table.

And so that is this amendment. I think we ought to have a vote on it. And, again, none of the explanations have cleared anything up. So I think we ought to have a vote on it.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Right.

And, just to be clear, what you are voting on is that you want to keep a provision that allows you to increase taxes without the required three-fifths vote.

You all decided you didn't want to raise taxes willynilly, but that is what the amendment is. And I am supportive of the amendment, because we shouldn't be raising taxes on people who don't even know what they are doing. But this bill does raise taxes.

Thank you very much, and I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

And I believe that we will be proven right again, as we were in 2017. So I have no problems voting against Mr. McGovern's amendment, because, once this bill is all out there and it is passed, there will be no tax increases in it. And our friends can continue to speculate, but they won't be there.

Mr. MCGOVERN. But just in case, you are going to waive this rule. So I would like a vote on it.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Yes, sir. Okay.

Mr. Scott, do you wish to say something? Or can we vote on Mr. McGovern's motion?

Mr. SCOTT. Oh, I move—what is his motion?

The CHAIRWOMAN. Okay. Mr. McGovern has moved to take out the last line in the rule, which says, clause 5(B) of rule XXI shall not apply to the bill or amendment thereto.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Absolutely. You got it right. Absolutely.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Okay.

So, all in favor of Mr. McGovern's motion, say aye.

All those opposed, say no.

In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I would ask for a roll call.

The CHAIRWOMAN. And Mr. McGovern asks for a roll call. The clerk will call the roll.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach.

Mrs. FISCHBACH. No.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach, no.

Mr. Norman?
Mr. NORMAN. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Norman, no.
Mr. Roy?
[No response.]
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin?
Mrs. HOUCHIN. No.
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin, no.
Mr. Langworthy?
Mr. LANGWORTHY. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.
Mr. Scott?
Mr. SCOTT. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.
Mr. Griffith?
Mr. GRIFFITH. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.
Mr. Jack?
Mr. JACK. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.
Mr. McGovern?
Mr. MCGOVERN. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.
Ms. Scanlon?
Ms. SCANLON. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.
Mr. Neguse?
Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.
Ms. Leger Fernández?
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.
Madam Chair?
The CHAIRWOMAN. No.
The CLERK. Madam Chair, no.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the tally.
The CLERK. Four yeas, eight nays.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The amendment is not agreed to.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Chair, I have another amendment to the rule.

I move the committee make in order amendment No. 233, offered by Democratic Leader Jeffries, which strikes all provisions that would cause millions of Americans to lose healthcare and food assistance.

Leader Jeffries testified passionately before this committee about the devastating effect that this bill would have on American families. And out of respect for his position as the leader of the Democratic Caucus and for the millions of Americans who will be hurt by this bill, Republicans should allow Leader Jeffries to offer his amendment on the floor for an up-or-down vote.

And I urge a "yes" vote on my amendment, and I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. McGovern.

Is there any further discussion on Mr. McGovern's amendment for including Mr. Jeffries' amendment?

Hearing none, the question is on the motion from Mr. McGovern.
All those in favor, say aye.
All those opposed, say no.
In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it. The amendment is not agreed to.
Mr. MCGOVERN. I ask for a roll call.
The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern requests a roll call. The clerk will call the roll.
The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach?
Mrs. FISCHBACH. No.
The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach, no.
Mr. Norman?
Mr. NORMAN. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Norman, no.
Mr. Roy?
[No response.]
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin?
Mrs. HOUCHIN. No.
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin, no.
Mr. Langworthy?
Mr. LanGWORTHY. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.
Mr. Scott?
Mr. SCOTT. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.
Mr. Griffith?
Mr. GRIFFITH. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.
Mr. Jack?
Mr. JACK. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.
Mr. McGovern?
Mr. MCGOVERN. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.
Ms. Scanlon?
Ms. SCANLON. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.
Mr. Neguse?
Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.
Ms. Leger Fernández?
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.
Madam Chair?
The CHAIRWOMAN. No.
The CLERK. Madam Chair, no.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the tally.
The CLERK. Four yeas, eight nays.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The amendment is not agreed to.
Mr. McGovern, you are recognized.
Mr. MCGOVERN. I have an amendment to the rule.
I move the committee make in order amendment No. 245, offered by Representative Underwood, which makes the enhanced pre-

mium tax credits that lower the cost of health insurance plans offered on the ACA marketplace permanent.

This amendment is simple. It will prevent millions of working Americans from losing their healthcare coverage and keep healthcare costs from skyrocketing.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. McGovern.

Is there any further discussion on Mr. McGovern's amendment?

Hearing none, the question is on the amendment.

All those in favor, signify by saying aye.

All those opposed, no.

In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I ask for a——

The CHAIRWOMAN. The noes have it. The amendment is not agreed to.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I ask for a recorded vote.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern asks for a recorded vote. The clerk will call the roll.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach?

Mrs. FISCHBACH. No.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach, no.

Mr. Norman?

Mr. NORMAN. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Norman, no.

Mr. Roy?

[No response.]

The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin?

Mrs. HOUCHIN. No.

The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin, no.

Mr. Langworthy?

Mr. LANGWORTHY. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.

Mr. Scott?

Mr. SCOTT. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.

Mr. Griffith?

Mr. GRIFFITH. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.

Mr. Jack?

Mr. JACK. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.

Mr. McGovern?

Mr. MCGOVERN. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.

Ms. Scanlon?

Ms. SCANLON. Aye.

The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.

Mr. Neguse?

Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.

Ms. Leger Fernández?

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.

The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.

Madam Chair?

The CHAIRWOMAN. No.

The CLERK. Madam Chair, no.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the tally.
The CLERK. Four yeas, eight nays.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The amendment is not agreed to.
Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Chair——
The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern, you are recognized.
Mr. MCGOVERN [continuing]. I have an amendment to the rule.
I move the committee make in order amendment No. 267, offered by Representative DelBene, which makes the child tax credit fully refundable and increases the credit amount from $2,000 per child to $6,360 for newborns, $4,320 for children ages 1 through 6, and $3,600 for children ages 6 through 17.
The Democrats passed a historic change to the child tax credit in 2021, cutting child poverty in half.
Under the Republican bill today, families making $400,000 a year get the full child tax credit but lower-income families may get nothing or just a fraction of that due to how the Republicans structure the credit.
The official, nonpartisan Joint Committee on Taxation estimated that, next year, if the Republican bill were to pass, 17 million children who are American citizens would be blocked from getting the full value of the child tax credit.
So I urge a "yes" vote on my amendment, and I yield back.
The CHAIRWOMAN. Is there any further discussion on the amendment?
Hearing none, I call for the vote.
All those in favor, say aye.
Those opposed, say no.
In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it.
Mr. MCGOVERN. I ask for a roll call.
The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern requests a roll call. The clerk will call the roll.
The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach?
Mrs. FISCHBACH. No.
The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach, no.
Mr. Norman?
Mr. NORMAN. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Norman, no.
Mr. Roy?
[No response.]
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin?
Mrs. HOUCHIN. No.
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin, no.
Mr. Langworthy?
Mr. LANGWORTHY. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.
Mr. Scott?
Mr. SCOTT. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.
Mr. Griffith?
Mr. GRIFFITH. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.
Mr. Jack?
Mr. JACK. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.
Mr. McGovern?
Mr. MCGOVERN. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.
Ms. Scanlon?
Ms. SCANLON. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.
Mr. Neguse?
Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.
Ms. Leger Fernández?
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.
Madam Chair?
The CHAIRWOMAN. No.
The CLERK. Madam Chair, no.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the tally.
The CLERK. Four yeas, eight nays.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The amendment is not agreed to.
Is there further discussion or amendment?
Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Chair, I have an——
The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern?
Mr. MCGOVERN [continuing]. Amendment to the rule.

I move the committee make in order amendment No. 250, offered by Representative Doggett, which reduces the cost of the bill by about half by ensuring only the 98 percent of taxpayers earning $400,000 or less each year receive a tax break and the 2 percent of taxpayers earning over $400,000 do not receive any new tax breaks.

Madam Chair, if Republicans want to put their money where their mouth is and provide tax relief for working families, not the millionaires and billionaires, they should support this amendment.

This amendment would allow taxpayers earning $400,000 or less to receive the tax relief under the Republican proposal but block the 2 percent of earners in America from receiving another tax break.

This alone would save American taxpayers trillions of dollars. But I fear Republicans are too beholden to their wealthy donor class to go for it.

But, nonetheless, I urge a "yes" vote on this.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Is there any further discussion on the amendment?

Hearing none, the question is on the amendment.

All those in favor, signify by saying aye.

Those opposed, say no.

In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it. The amendment is not agreed to.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I ask for a roll call, Madam Chair.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern requests a roll call. The clerk will call the roll.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach?
Mrs. FISCHBACH. No.
The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach, no.
Mr. Norman?

Mr. NORMAN. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Norman, no.
Mr. Roy?
[No response.]
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin?
Mrs. HOUCHIN. No.
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin, no.
Mr. Langworthy?
Mr. LANGWORTHY. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.
Mr. Scott?
Mr. SCOTT. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.
Mr. Griffith?
Mr. GRIFFITH. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.
Mr. Jack?
Mr. JACK. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.
Mr. McGovern?
Mr. MCGOVERN. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.
Ms. Scanlon?
Ms. SCANLON. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.
Mr. Neguse?
Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.
Ms. Leger Fernández?
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.
Madam Chair?
The CHAIRWOMAN. No.
The CLERK. Madam Chair, no.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the total.
The CLERK. Four yeas, eight nays.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The amendment is not agreed to.
Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Chair?
The CHAIRWOMAN. The noes have it.
Mr. McGovern.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Chair, so we got the manager's amendment, what, about a half an hour ago, and we are still trying to, you know, comb through it to see, you know, what the changes are and what the impacts are going to be, but there seems to be tens of billions of additional healthcare cuts in this manager's amendment.

So you are rushing it in the dark of night, and it will kick people off their healthcare, and I find that not only concerning, quite frankly, I find it disgusting, again, all to give tax breaks to billionaires.

So I have another amendment to the rule. I move the committee make in order amendment No. 40, offered by Representative Chu, which ensures that no one earning more than $10 million per year receives a tax cut.

Republicans just voted down a motion to protect tax relief for families making under $400,000 a year. This new amendment would ensure that those making over $10 million per year would not get a tax cut.

So, under this bill, people making over a million dollars a year would get, on average, an $82,000 tax cut compared to those making less than $50,000, who will get less than $1 per day.

So, if the Republicans want to spend hundreds of millions of dollars on tax giveaways to those making over $10 million a year, I think we will just wait and see.

So I urge a "yes" vote on this.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Is there any further discussion on the amendment?

I will just point out that, Mr. McGovern, in a similar situation—we have a 40-page manager's amendment. The Democrats dumped on us a 309-page manager's amendment, and we voted on it immediately.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Yeah. I don't think it had anything to do with tax cuts for millionaires and billionaires, but——

The CHAIRWOMAN. Well, it was a 309-page manager's amendment.

Any further discussion?

Okay.

All those in favor of Mr. McGovern's amendment, say aye.

All those opposed, say no.

In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I ask for a roll call.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern requests a roll call. The clerk will call the roll.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach?

Mrs. FISCHBACH. No.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach, no.

Mr. Norman?

Mr. NORMAN. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Norman, no.

Mr. Roy?

[No response.]

The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin?

Mrs. HOUCHIN. No.

The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin, no.

Mr. Langworthy?

Mr. LANGWORTHY. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.

Mr. Scott?

Mr. SCOTT. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.

Mr. Griffith?

Mr. GRIFFITH. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.

Mr. Jack?

Mr. JACK. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.

Mr. McGovern?

Mr. MCGOVERN. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.
Ms. Scanlon?
Ms. SCANLON. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.
Mr. Neguse?
Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.
Ms. Leger Fernández?
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.
Madam Chair?
The CHAIRWOMAN. No.
The CLERK. Madam Chair, no.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the total.
The CLERK. Four yeas, eight nays.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The noes have it. The amendment is not agreed to.
Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Chair.
The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern, you are recognized.
Mr. MCGOVERN. I have an amendment to the rule.
I move the committee make in order amendment No. 283, offered by Representative Gomez, which establishes a 39.6-percent tax bracket for income over a million dollars.
So, okay. So, for those following along at home, Republicans have just voted down our amendment to limit tax cuts to those making under $400,000 per year, and they blocked another amendment to ensure people making over $10 million a year won't get a tax cut.
So let's see how far they will take this. This amendment would block Republicans from giving another tax cut to Americans making over a billion dollars per year in income. That is "billion" with a "B."
Republicans are kicking millions of Americans off their healthcare and SNAP benefits in order to finance tax cuts that will help billionaires.
So I am giving Republicans one last chance to redeem themselves by voting in favor of this amendment.
The CHAIRWOMAN. Any further discussion?
But I will point out, Mr. McGovern, this is the only—you are the only one who is pushing for a tax increase——
Mr. MCGOVERN. On millionaires? Yeah.
The CHAIRWOMAN [continuing]. In this piece of legislation.
Mr. MCGOVERN. Yeah.
The CHAIRWOMAN. We will be voting "no," you will be voting "yes" on a tax increase.
So the——
Mr. MCGOVERN. I didn't—is Trump in favor of giving billionaires a tax cut? Yeah, I don't know.
Mr. NEGUSE. I would like to be heard.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The motion——
Mr. MCGOVERN. He wanted to be heard, Madam Chair.
The CHAIRWOMAN. I am sorry, Mr. Neguse.
Mr. NEGUSE. Thank you, Madam Chair.
Just with respect to the ranking member's amendment, it is certainly something I support, but, again, just to clarify—and we had

this discussion previously—the ranking member proposed an amendment that would have deleted the exemption to the three-fifths rule that you all defeated.

So, if you did not intend to increase income taxes, then you would not have needed to include a waiver of that rule.

The House rules are very clear that any income-tax increase requires three-fifths support of the full House. So, if you want to increase income taxes, you have to get three-fifths of the House to support it.

You all decided that you did not want that rule to apply to this bill. And the only reason why you would do so is because you know that your bill does, in fact, increase income taxes. Otherwise, there would be no point in seeking that waiver.

So, yes, Mr. McGovern's amendment seeks to increase taxes on billionaires. And that is very different than the middle-income tax increases that you all have or at least are concerned about being embedded within your bill, given the pursuit of the exemption to that rule that you pursued.

Mr. MCGOVERN. And——

Mr. NEGUSE. Mr. McGovern, I am happy to yield to you.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Yeah, and I would just say, as we pointed out multiple times, the CBO letter that we all received showing how this bill would impact the bottom 10 percent and the top 10 percent. As you can see here, the top 10 percent do really well; the bottom 10 percent actually get hurt under this bill.

So, maybe if you voted for this, we could take some of that money and help the bottom 10 percent so they don't get screwed like they are getting in this letter here.

So I would urge a "yes" vote on this.

Mr. NEGUSE. Yeah.

And I would just simply conclude by saying, you know, we didn't have enough time to go through the historical record, but I actually do think that that vote you all took a few minutes ago was unprecedented. I don't know that Mr. Norman has ever voted to waive the income-tax three-fifths vote requirement in this House. I mean, I don't—and I certainly know Mr. Roy has not done that, which I suspect is why he is not here right now, because he didn't want to be on record on that particular vote, and I understand why.

But, in any event, I digress. I will yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. You all digress a lot. And you are supposing something; we are voting on—we are voting on facts.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Okay.

The CHAIRWOMAN. So——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Madam Chair. Madam Chair. I would like to be heard on the amendment.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Ms. Leger Fernández, are you seeking recognition?

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Yes, Madam Chair. I would like to be heard on Mr.——

The CHAIRWOMAN. You are recognized.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Thank you so very much.

I think the really key thing is—one is, you just voted to allow you to increase taxes with a simple majority. And, unlike what you are doing, Mr. McGovern is being very clear—Mr. Gomez is being

very clear about who he thinks should pay a teeny bit more in taxes, and that is the ultra-wealthy.

So it is a very clear vote. I mean, if you want to argue—because we have heard Republicans argue that this does not benefit the wealthy more than others—well, this is a way to actually allow it to go to a vote. It is very clear, very transparent. I have a similar amendment.

And I am going to yield some time to my ranking member.

Mr. MCGOVERN. No. Again, we are looking at this print. I mean, I——

The CHAIRWOMAN. Does Ms. Leger Fernández——

Mr. MCGOVERN. Yeah, she yielded me——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. I just yielded some time to my ranking member, yes. Thank you.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I mean, at the bottom of page 16, the manager's amendment strikes 10 pages from your bill that was the REINS Act.

And if I remember correctly, Mr. Norman, as I recall, you said that that was the most important bill to curtail Federal regulations. That is your quote. And I don't know whether you know this or not, but the REINS Act was stricken from the bill.

The CHAIRWOMAN. We are aware of that, because of the "Byrd Bath" issue. It has been not completely stricken but redone to——

Mr. MCGOVERN. It has. I can't——

The CHAIRWOMAN. It has been redone in order to survive a "Byrd Bath."

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. But——

The CHAIRWOMAN. So we are aware of that. That is one of the technical changes in the 40 pages.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Yeah. Well, I—well, whatever.

Anyway, I urge a "yes" vote on my amendment.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Okay.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. I support your amendment.

And if anybody else wanted to speak, I would yield them time, but, seeing none, I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. On Mr. McGovern's amendment to raise taxes, all those in favor, say aye.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. On the billionaires.

Mr. MCGOVERN. On billionaires.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Billionaires. Billionaires.

Mr. MCGOVERN. And not on——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. The billionaires tax.

Mr. MCGOVERN [continuing]. Not on poor people.

The CHAIRWOMAN. All those opposed, vote no.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I ask for a roll call.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Okay.

Mr. McGovern requests a roll call vote. The clerk will call the roll.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach?

Mrs. FISCHBACH. No.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach, no.

Mr. Norman?

Mr. NORMAN. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Norman, no.

Mr. Roy?
[No response.]
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin?
Mrs. HOUCHIN. No.
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin, no.
Mr. Langworthy?
Mr. LANGWORTHY. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.
Mr. Scott?
Mr. SCOTT. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.
Mr. Griffith?
Mr. GRIFFITH. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.
Mr. Jack?
Mr. JACK. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.
Mr. McGovern?
Mr. MCGOVERN. Yes.
The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.
Ms. Scanlon?
Ms. SCANLON. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.
Mr. Neguse?
Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.
Ms. Leger Fernández?
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.
Madam Chair?
The CHAIRWOMAN. No.
The CLERK. Madam Chair, no.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the tally.
The CLERK. Four yeas, eight nays.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The amendment is not agreed to.
Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Chair.
The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern.
Mr. MCGOVERN. I have an amendment to the rule.

I move the committee make in order amendment No. 29, offered by Ranking Member Craig, which strikes harmful provisions that would slash $300 billion in food assistance for children, seniors, and veterans.

Madam Chair, as I said earlier, this bill is a disaster. It is a disaster for the 16 million children, 8 million seniors, 4 million people with disabilities, and over 1 million veterans who rely on SNAP to put food on the table.

This bill that you have here will cut the modest food benefits of about $2 per meal for millions of people in this country who need a little extra help to get by.

The SNAP cuts contained in this bill also threaten access to school meals, because if kids get kicked off of SNAP, they are no longer directly certified to receive school meals.

SNAP supports the people who matter the most to us—our moms and dads, our kids and grandparents. Cutting benefits means fami-

lies will go hungry, farmers will suffer, and healthcare costs will go up.

Support this amendment if you want to protect nutrition assistance for regular people. I urge a "yes" vote.

The CHAIRWOMAN. You have heard the motion from Mr. McGovern.

All those in favor, say aye.

All those opposed, say no.

In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it. The amendment is not agreed to.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Chair, I have an amendment to the rule—oh, can I get a recorded vote, please?

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern requests a recorded vote. The clerk will call the roll.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach?

Mrs. FISCHBACH. No.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach, no.

Mr. Norman?

Mr. NORMAN. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Norman, no.

Mr. Roy?

[No response.]

The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin?

Mrs. HOUCHIN. No.

The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin, no.

Mr. Langworthy?

Mr. LANGWORTHY. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.

Mr. Scott?

Mr. SCOTT. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.

Mr. Griffith?

Mr. GRIFFITH. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.

Mr. Jack?

Mr. JACK. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.

Mr. McGovern?

Mr. MCGOVERN. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.

Ms. Scanlon?

Ms. SCANLON. Aye.

The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.

Mr. Neguse?

Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.

Ms. Leger Fernández?

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.

The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.

Madam Chair?

The CHAIRWOMAN. No.

The CLERK. Madam Chair, no.

The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the tally.

The CLERK. Four yeas, eight nays.

The CHAIRWOMAN. The amendment is not agreed to.
Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Chair.
The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern.
Mr. MCGOVERN. I have an amendment to the rule.
I move the committee make in order amendment No. 32, offered by Representative Hayes, which prevents any cuts to the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program from taking effect until certification that these provisions will not result in a reduction of benefits.
Madam Chair, throughout the course of this debate and in the Agriculture Committee, Republicans insisted that they aren't taking benefits away from people who need them. Agriculture Committee Chairman Thompson said over and over again there wouldn't be cuts to benefits. And yet we are considering a bill that would cut SNAP benefits by $300 billion.
This isn't about integrity or any other nonsense that the Republican spin machine is trying to sell to people back home. This bill will take food away from kids, working families, and people with disabilities, full stop. There is no way to achieve the kind of cuts Republicans are making without cutting benefits for those populations of people.
And if you really do believe that this bill doesn't cut benefits, then this amendment should be a no-brainer.
Protect SNAP for the millions of Americans who rely on modest food benefits to feed their families by voting "yes'" on this amendment.
The CHAIRWOMAN. Is there further discussion?
I say only that integrity means a lot to Republicans, and integrity of programs is key to us. And that is what we are doing in this legislation, is we are going to do everything we can to get integrity in programs to save the programs.
All those in favor of Mr. McGovern's amendment, say aye.
Those opposed, say no.
In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it.
Mr. MCGOVERN. I ask for a roll call.
The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern requests a roll call. The clerk will call the roll.
The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach?
Mrs. FISCHBACH. No.
The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach, no.
Mr. Norman?
Mr. NORMAN. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Norman, no.
Mr. Roy?
[No response.]
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin?
Mrs. HOUCHIN. No.
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin, no.
Mr. Langworthy?
Mr. LANGWORTHY. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.
Mr. Scott?
Mr. SCOTT. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.

Mr. Griffith?
Mr. GRIFFITH. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.
Mr. Jack?
Mr. JACK. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.
Mr. McGovern?
Mr. MCGOVERN. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.
Ms. Scanlon?
Ms. SCANLON. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.
Mr. Neguse?
Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.
Ms. Leger Fernández?
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.
Madam Chair?
The CHAIRWOMAN. No.
The CLERK. Madam Chair, no.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the tally.
The CLERK. Four yeas, eight nays.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The amendment is not agreed to.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Chair, I have an amendment to the rule.

I move the committee make in order amendment No. 33, offered by Representative Brown, which prevents families with children as young as 7 years of age from losing food assistance.

Madam Chair, families with kids who are under 7 face barriers for childcare. Many in rural areas may face transportation issues and a lack of jobs, which makes finding employment tough. Cutting parents with kids as young as 7 off of food assistance decimates the entire family's food budget. It means the whole family will have less money for food.

So, if you want to protect kids from losing access to nutritious food, please vote "yes" on this amendment. If you think it is more important to give billionaires another tax break at the expense of hungry kids, then you can vote "no."

The CHAIRWOMAN. Further——

Mr. SCOTT. Madam Chair.

The CHAIRWOMAN [continuing]. Discussion on Mr. McGovern's amendment?

Mr. SCOTT. Madam Chair, I just want to point out——

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. Scott.

Mr. SCOTT [continuing]. That this is in the provisions dealing with the Able-Bodied Adults Without Dependents of the law. And I want to just make sure that everybody knows that you don't have to meet all of the requirements; you can meet any of the requirements and you receive the exemption—any of the requirements and you receive the exemption.

The age 7 has absolutely nothing to do with the child. It has to do with an automatic waiver for the adults in the household. That is it. Anything else that they tell you is just simply not true.

Mr. MCGOVERN. No. With due respect, we heard that from the chairman, and he is wrong. And you are wrong as well. So, I mean, that somehow that lowering the age to 7 doesn't——

Mr. SCOTT. "A person is not"—I can read it from the—"A person is not subject to the ABAWD work requirement if they are any of the following: younger than age 18, or age 63 or older"—the "63 or older" is the change.

Exempt from the general work requirement rules: pregnant, experiencing physical or mental barriers to work, experiencing homelessness, a veteran age 24 or younger, in the foster care when you turn age 18, living with someone under the age of 7 in their SNAP household.

You can meet any of those——

Mr. MCGOVERN. You are taking——

Mr. SCOTT [continuing]. And you are exempt. That is it.

Mr. MCGOVERN. You are taking food away from the——

Mr. SCOTT. I yield.

Mr. MCGOVERN. You are taking food away from the parent, and, therefore, you are taking food away from the family.

I mean, I don't understand why this is so hard to get your mind around. The bottom line is, you are decreasing the amount of food assistance going to a family who has a 7-year-old child.

Mr. SCOTT. With all due respect, Mr. McGovern, all you have to meet is one of these to get the automatic waiver. And if you don't get the automatic waiver, you can still apply for the other waiver.

With that, I yield.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Scott.

You have heard the motion from Mr. McGovern.

All those in favor, say aye.

Those opposed, say no.

In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I ask for a roll call vote on that.

The CHAIRWOMAN. All right.

Mr. McGovern requests a roll call. The clerk will call the roll.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach?

Mrs. FISCHBACH. No.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach, no.

Mr. Norman?

Mr. NORMAN. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Norman, no.

Mr. Roy?

[No response.]

The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin?

Mrs. HOUCHIN. No.

The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin, no.

Mr. Langworthy?

Mr. LANGWORTHY. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.

Mr. Scott?

Mr. SCOTT. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.

Mr. Griffith?

Mr. GRIFFITH. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.

Mr. Jack?
Mr. JACK. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.
Mr. McGovern?
Mr. MCGOVERN. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.
Ms. Scanlon?
Ms. SCANLON. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.
Mr. Neguse?
Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.
Ms. Leger Fernández?
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.
Madam Chair?
The CHAIRWOMAN. No.
The CLERK. Madam Chair, no.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the total.
The CLERK. Four yeas, eight nays.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The amendment is not agreed to.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Chair, I have an amendment to the rule.

I move the committee make in order amendment No. 25, offered by Representative McClain Delaney, which prevents sections 1001 through 100012 from taking effect until certification that these provisions will not result in a decrease in benefits for households with children under the age of 18.

And if Mr. Scott is so confident that there are all these waivers, then this should be something he should vote for.

This bill cuts the food budgets of families with kids in two ways. First, it imposes new time limits on SNAP for parents with kids over the age of 7. Second, it shifts the cost of benefits over to the States, who simply do not have the hundreds of millions of dollars—in some of the cases, up to a billion dollars—laying around to pay for the benefits. So, if States can't meet their cost-share, then they will have no choice but to reduce the benefit for the people who receive SNAP in their States.

So, again, this should be an easy amendment for Republicans to vote for, and I would urge a "yes" vote.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Any further discussion on the amendment? If not, hearing none, the question is on the amendment.

All those in favor, signify by saying aye.

Those opposed, say no.

In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it. The amendment is not agreed to.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I ask for a roll call.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern requests a roll call. The clerk will call the roll.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach?
Mrs. FISCHBACH. No.
The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach, no.
Mr. Norman?
Mr. NORMAN. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Norman, no.
Mr. Roy?
[No response.]
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin?
Mrs. HOUCHIN. No.
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin, no.
Mr. Langworthy?
Mr. LANGWORTHY. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.
Mr. Scott?
Mr. SCOTT. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.
Mr. Griffith?
Mr. GRIFFITH. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.
Mr. Jack?
Mr. JACK. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.
Mr. McGovern?
Mr. MCGOVERN. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.
Ms. Scanlon?
Ms. SCANLON. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.
Mr. Neguse?
Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.
Ms. Leger Fernández?
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.
Madam Chair?
The CHAIRWOMAN. No.
The CLERK. Madam Chair, no.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the tally.
The CLERK. Four yeas, eight nays.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The amendment is not agreed to.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Chair, I have an amendment to the rule.

I move the committee make in order amendment No. 184, offered by Ranking Member Scott and myself, which prohibits the bill from going into effect unless cuts to Medicaid and SNAP would not result in fewer families being eligible for free school meals.

Madam Chair, a new report by the Urban Institute warned that up to 18.3 million kids could lose access to free school meals because of this awful bill.

For many kids, free school meals provide them with the most nutritious food that they are able to access on any given day. Because of the way SNAP interacts with school meals in many States, children who lose SNAP benefits also lose direct eligibility for free and reduced meals at school.

When we last considered the budget, members on this committee insisted that Republicans were not going to cut school meals. And yet we have a report right here telling us that millions of kids may

lose access because of the changes the Republicans are making to nutritional assistance.

So vote "yes" on this amendment if you want to protect school meals for kids.

And I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Is there any further discussion?

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Madam Chair.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Ms. Leger Fernández.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Thank you, Madam Chair.

I think this really goes to what do we expect of our children when they go to school? And we know that there is study after study that says that children who are hungry cannot learn as well.

When we invest in our children, we are investing in our future, and to deprive schoolchildren of school meals is simply not consistent with what I think we should be as a Nation.

And so I am thankful for the ranking member for his amendment that really prioritizes the need to make sure that we have healthy schoolchildren. And I urge a "yes"' vote on his amendment.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Ms. Leger Fernández.

You have heard the motion.

All those in favor, say aye.

All those opposed, say no.

In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I ask for a roll call, Madam Chair.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern requests a roll call. The clerk will call the roll.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach?

Mrs. FISCHBACH. No.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach, no.

Mr. Norman?

Mr. NORMAN. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Norman, no.

Mr. Roy?

[No response.]

The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin?

Mrs. HOUCHIN. No.

The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin, no.

Mr. Langworthy?

Mr. LANGWORTHY. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.

Mr. Scott?

Mr. SCOTT. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.

Mr. Griffith?

Mr. GRIFFITH. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.

Mr. Jack?

Mr. JACK. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.

Mr. McGovern?

Mr. MCGOVERN. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.

Ms. Scanlon?

Ms. SCANLON. Aye.

The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.
Mr. Neguse?
Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.
Ms. Leger Fernández?
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.
Madam Chair?
The CHAIRWOMAN. No.
The CLERK. Madam Chair, no.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the tally.
The CLERK. Four yeas, eight nays.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The amendment is not agreed to.
Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Chair, I have an amendment to the rule.

I move the committee make in order amendment No. 68, offered by Representative Vasquez, which inserts the text of the Affordable Insulin Now Act from the 118th Congress, which was H.R. 1488, which limits cost-sharing for insulin under private health insurance for a month's supply of selected insulin products at $35, or 25 percent of a plan's negotiated price, after any price concessions, whichever is less.

The CHAIRWOMAN. You have heard the amendment by Mr. McGovern. Is there any further discussion?
Ms. Leger Fernández.
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Madam Chair, the $35 a month insulin cap was so important, especially in Native American communities with a high diabetes rate, especially in Latino communities which also have a high diabetes rate.

We actually have something similar in New Mexico, and it really did make a difference. It helped people to make sure they took their insulin and didn't ration it. Because you need to take that insulin, and when it gets too expensive, people can't afford it.

So this was, I think, a wonderful thing that the Democrats did in the 118th, but it is something that we should all want, because diabetes is running rampant in all of our communities, especially rural communities.

So I support Mr. McGovern's amendment and urge a "yes'" vote.
The CHAIRWOMAN. All those in favor of Mr. McGovern's amendment, say aye.
Those opposed, say no.
In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it.
Mr. MCGOVERN. I ask for a roll call.
The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern requests a roll call. The clerk will call the roll.
The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach?
Mrs. FISCHBACH. No.
The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach, no.
Mr. Norman?
Mr. NORMAN. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Norman, no.
Mr. Roy?
[No response.]
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin?

Mrs. HOUCHIN. No.
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin, no.
Mr. Langworthy?
Mr. LANGWORTHY. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.
Mr. Scott?
Mr. SCOTT. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.
Mr. Griffith?
Mr. GRIFFITH. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.
Mr. Jack?
Mr. JACK. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.
Mr. McGovern?
Mr. MCGOVERN. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.
Ms. Scanlon?
Ms. SCANLON. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.
Mr. Neguse?
Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.
Ms. Leger Fernández?
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.
Madam Chair?
The CHAIRWOMAN. No.
The CLERK. Madam Chair, no.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the tally.
The CLERK. Four yeas, eight nays.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The amendment is not agreed to.
Mr. McGovern.
Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Chair, I have an amendment to the rule.

I move the committee make in order amendment No. 42, offered by Representative Chu, which strikes the provisions in the bill that increase costs, increase red tape, and make it harder for people to get coverage, and cause coverage loss on the ACA Marketplace.

The CHAIRWOMAN. You have heard the amendment by Mr. McGovern. Further discussion?
All those in favor, say aye.
All those opposed, no.
In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it.
Mr. MCGOVERN. I ask for a roll call.
The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern requests a roll call. The clerk will call the roll.
The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach?
Mrs. FISCHBACH. No.
The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach, no.
Mr. Norman?
Mr. NORMAN. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Norman, no.
Mr. Roy?

[No response.]
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin?
Mrs. HOUCHIN. No.
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin, no.
Mr. Langworthy?
Mr. LANGWORTHY. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.
Mr. Scott?
Mr. SCOTT. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.
Mr. Griffith?
Mr. GRIFFITH. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.
Mr. Jack?
Mr. JACK. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.
Mr. McGovern?
Mr. MCGOVERN. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.
Ms. Scanlon?
Ms. SCANLON. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.
Mr. Neguse?
Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.
Ms. Leger Fernández?
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.
Madam Chair?
The CHAIRWOMAN. No.
The CLERK. Madam Chair, no.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the tally.
The CLERK. Four yeas, eight nays.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The amendment is not agreed to.
Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Chair.
The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern, you are recognized.
Mr. MCGOVERN. I have an amendment to the rule.

I move the committee make in order amendment No. 242, offered by Representative Gomez, which extends eligibility for the ACA Premium Tax Credit to include children and pregnant women, including those losing Medicaid coverage.

This amendment is simple. It ensures that children and pregnant women are not harmed by the Republican attack on health insurance coverage. It will prevent millions of children and pregnant women from losing their healthcare coverage and mitigate Republicans' deliberate healthcare cost increases.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Is there any further discussion to Mr. McGovern's amendment?

All those in favor, say aye.

Those opposed, say no.

In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it. The amendment is not agreed to.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I ask for a roll call, Madam Chair.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern requests a roll call. The clerk will call the roll.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach?

Mrs. FISCHBACH. No.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach, no.

Mr. Norman?

Mr. NORMAN. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Norman, no.

Mr. Roy?

[No response.]

The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin?

Mrs. HOUCHIN. No.

The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin, no.

Mr. Langworthy?

Mr. LANGWORTHY. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.

Mr. Scott?

Mr. SCOTT. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.

Mr. Griffith?

Mr. GRIFFITH. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.

Mr. Jack?

Mr. JACK. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.

Mr. McGovern?

Mr. MCGOVERN. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.

Ms. Scanlon?

Ms. SCANLON. Aye.

The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.

Mr. Neguse?

Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.

Ms. Leger Fernández?

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.

The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.

Madam Chair?

The CHAIRWOMAN. No.

The CLERK. Madam Chair, no.

The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the tally.

The CLERK. Four yeas, eight nays.

The CHAIRWOMAN. The amendment is not agreed to.

Are there further amendments?

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Chair, I have an amendment to the rule.

I move the committee make in order amendment No. 215, offered by Representative Rivas, which strikes the provision creating a moratorium on States or political subdivisions from enforcing any law or regulation limiting, restricting, or regulating artificial intelligence models, artificial intelligence systems, or automated decision systems entered into interstate commerce.

Madam Chair, this amendment would strike the awful provision in this bill that makes sure that AI companies continue to operate lawlessly.

As it is currently written, the Republican budget reconciliation package will place a 10-year moratorium on State-level AI regulation. This is wrong, and it must be removed.

I hear from my constituents every single day that they are worried about AI. They are worried about how it will affect their jobs, their families, their government, their healthcare, and their children. People are scared and excited about what AI will do to the world around them.

Now, Republicans slipped a provision in this bill that says to all States, red or blue, your legislation on AI doesn't count. Throw it in the trash.

This is sneaky, and it is authoritarian. This is a bad faith effort to leave AI unregulated under the guise of dispelling regulatory burdens.

I mean, truth be told, this body ought to legislate on this topic, but no one has had the guts to do it.

So the States have stepped up, and they have taken this matter into their hands. And your going in and basically telling States that what they have done doesn't matter I think is terrible.

So I urge a "yes" vote on my amendment.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Is there further discussion on Mr. McGovern's amendment?

Mr. SCOTT. Madam Chair.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCOTT. I agree, Congress needs to legislate on this, but it is not possible to do it at the State level. So I am opposed to this.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Okay. Thank you very much, Mr. Scott.

The vote is on Mr. McGovern's amendment.

All those in favor, say aye.

All those opposed, say no.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Roll call.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern requests a roll call. The clerk will call the roll.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach?

Mrs. FISCHBACH. No.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach, no.

Mr. Norman?

Mr. NORMAN. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Norman, no.

Mr. Roy?

[No response.]

The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin?

Mrs. HOUCHIN. No.

The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin, no.

Mr. Langworthy?

Mr. LANGWORTHY. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.

Mr. Scott?

Mr. SCOTT. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.

Mr. Griffith?

Mr. GRIFFITH. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.
Mr. Jack?
Mr. JACK. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.
Mr. McGovern?
Mr. MCGOVERN. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.
Ms. Scanlon?
Ms. SCANLON. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.
Mr. Neguse?
Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.
Ms. Leger Fernández?
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.
Madam Chair?
The CHAIRWOMAN. No.
The CLERK. Madam Chair, no.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the total.
The CLERK. Four yeas, eight nays.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The amendment is not agreed to.
Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Chair.
The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern.
Mr. MCGOVERN. I have an amendment to the rule.

I move the committee make in order amendment No. 202, offered by Representative Ocasio-Cortez, which Subtitle A of Title IV shall not go into effect until the Inspector General of the Department of Energy certifies that the implementation of sections 41002 and 41004 of this subtitle will not result in increased risks of corruption or "pay to play" politics that would adversely impact the integrity of the permitting processes of the Department of Energy and the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission.

Madam Chair, these unbelievable provisions essentially mean that you can give the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission $10 million and they automatically have to approve your pipeline; or that you can give DOE a million dollars and they automatically find that your LNG exports are in the public interest and can move forward.

And guess what? Every State and local government no longer has a say. They have to approve your pipeline if you pay $10 million.

This is a "pay to play" permitting bribery scheme, plain and simple, and it is becoming all too commonplace in this administration.

And so I urge a "yes" vote on my amendment.

And I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Further discussion?

All those in favor of Mr. McGovern's amendment, say aye.

Those opposed, say no.

In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I ask for a roll call.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern requests a roll call. The clerk will call the roll.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach?

Mrs. FISCHBACH. No.
The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach, no.
Mr. Norman?
Mr. NORMAN. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Norman, no.
Mr. Roy?
[No response.]
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin?
Mrs. HOUCHIN. No.
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin, no.
Mr. Langworthy?
Mr. LANGWORTHY. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.
Mr. Scott?
Mr. SCOTT. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.
Mr. Griffith?
Mr. GRIFFITH. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.
Mr. Jack?
Mr. JACK. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.
Mr. McGovern?
Mr. MCGOVERN. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.
Ms. Scanlon?
Ms. SCANLON. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.
Mr. Neguse?
Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.
Ms. Leger Fernández?
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.
Madam Chair?
The CHAIRWOMAN. No.
The CLERK. Madam Chair, no.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the total.
The CLERK. Four yeas, eight nays.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The amendment is not agreed to.
Further discussion or amendment?
Ms. SCANLON. Madam Chair.
The CHAIRWOMAN. Ms. Scanlon, you are recognized.
Ms. SCANLON. I have an amendment to the rule.

I move the committee make in order amendment No. 374, offered by Representative Mike Thompson, which would strike section 112029, which eliminates the $200 tax on silencers, which has been in place since 1934.

Before we proceed to discuss this, could I ask, are any of our colleagues, are you aware of any changes that might have been made in the manager's amendment to this provision regarding silencers?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes.

Ms. SCANLON. You are? Okay. So you understand that the manager's amendment, which we just got less than an hour ago, re-

moves silencers from the requirements of the National Firearms Act, which was passed in 1934, and which since that time has required that silencers be subject to a background check and be registered and, up until the time of the underlying bill, also had a $200 registration fee.

But all of a sudden—we started this hearing by noting that nobody calls a hearing for 1 o'clock in the morning unless they are trying to hide something. So now we are 21 hours later. We have seen the sun come up—or a little cloudy. We have seen the sun go down.

So now here we are again, in the dark of night, and all of a sudden there is a magical amendment in the manager's amendment that is going to put more dangerous firearm equipment out on the streets.

So here we are. You are sneaking this provision in that not only gets rid of the firearm registration fee for a silencer but also removes the requirement that they have to be registered at all.

You know, over 400 silencers were found on or traced to violent crime scenes in 2023 alone. So in addition to removing silencers from the definition in the National Firearms Act, there is no discussion of why such a policy change would happen.

Mr. SCOTT. Ma'am, if you would yield for just a second.

Ms. SCANLON. Also, the removal of the excise tax here is going to cost American taxpayers $1.5 billion. So it is a brazen attempt to make it easier to commit violent crimes.

So I think this is sneaky. I think it is a radical policy change with no explanation for why this longstanding Federal policy should be overturned in the middle of the night.

I would urge a "yes" vote on my amendment.

I would yield to Mr. McGovern.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. Scott.

Mr. SCOTT. It is actually not a silencer. It is a suppressor. It doesn't——

Ms. SCANLON. I am sorry. It is still my time.

If we look at the manager's amendment, it says that the section is amended by striking any silencer. The whole National Firearms Act——

Mr. SCOTT. Okay. Then I apologize. I won't argue with you.

Ms. SCANLON. And you can look up the National Firearms Act. I am sorry. It is still my time, and I am yielding to Mr. McGovern.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I would just say I support——

Mr. SCOTT. Never mind, then. I thought you wanted to engage in a debate. I am opposed to it.

Ms. SCANLON. I had yielded to him first.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Of course you are.

I mean, I support the gentlelady's amendment because, quite frankly, what is in this reconciliation bill? It does more to support assassins than it does American families.

Well, you know what? Talk to law enforcement. Talk to people who have been victims of gun violence. I know you think it is funny, but I don't.

With that, I yield back to the gentlelady.

Ms. SCANLON. Okay.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Any further discussion?

Ms. SCANLON. I will yield back.

Mr. NEGUSE. I would like to be recognized, Madam Chair, on the amendment.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. Neguse, you are recognized.

Mr. NEGUSE. Thank you, Madam Chair.

I guess—and I am happy to engage in a debate with my colleague. I always enjoy debating with Mr. Scott.

The confusion I have about this particular provision—obviously, for all of the reasons that Ms. Scanlon and Ranking Member McGovern stated—I think this is a dangerous, deeply problematic provision that you all have put into this piece of legislation.

The question I have is, this was not in the bill that we were marking up. So whose vote was bought with this provision that silencers will no longer need to be registered with the ATF or subject to background checks? Purchasers, that is to say.

Like, who was—what Member was on the fence about this bill and then went to Republican leadership and said, "I know you are eliminating the tax on silencers, but if you can just eliminate all regulation of silencers, I will vote for this bill"?

Mr. SCOTT. It did not eliminate all regulations of silencers.

Mr. NEGUSE. Sure.

Mr. SCOTT. It is still subject—no, it doesn't.

Mr. NEGUSE. No, no, no, no.

Mr. SCOTT. You don't know anything about this one, brother.

Mr. NEGUSE. I haven't yielded to you yet, Mr. Scott.

Mr. SCOTT. I have 10 of them.

[Crosstalk.]

Mr. NEGUSE. I haven't yielded to you yet, Mr. Scott.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Wait. Wait.

Mr. NEGUSE has the time.

Mr. NEGUSE. Thank you, Madam Chair.

This provision very clearly states that you no longer have to register silencers with the ATF. Is that wrong? Is that incorrect?

Mr. SCOTT. That does not mean that you will go through—will not go through a background check.

Mr. NEGUSE. I understand.

Mr. SCOTT. It will be sold the same way a rifle is.

Mr. NEGUSE. That is not the question I asked, Mr. Scott. I asked——

Mr. SCOTT. Don't yell at me. I gave you an answer. You don't like it. It is over with.

Mr. NEGUSE. This provision very clearly states——

The CHAIRWOMAN. Let Mr. Neguse ask a question and answer it, please, Mr. Scott.

Mr. NEGUSE. The National——

Mr. SCOTT. I am done.

Mr. NEGUSE. The National Firearms Act, for 100 years, since the days of Al Capone, who was the impetus behind the National Firearms Act in the first instance, has required registration for those purchasing silencers.

That was the case up until 45 minutes ago when Republicans negotiated the elimination of that registration requirement. Fairly straightforward.

I don't really know who in the Republican caucus was adamant that this provision was the key to unlocking their support.

The CHAIRWOMAN. And I don't believe anyone here—excuse me for interrupting—but I don't think anybody here knows that either, Mr. Neguse.

Mr. NEGUSE. Got it. Well, that is helpful. Thank you, Madam Chair. That was a helpful answer. And we might find out on the floor during debate.

I mean, hopefully—I guess what I will say—and I will close here, because I know many of our colleagues are watching as they are waiting to get to the floor for the debate—that perhaps whoever it was that made this request of Speaker Johnson and said, "I need this provision so that I can vote for this bill," that they might come to the floor and help explain to the American public why that was.

Ranking Member?

Mr. MCGOVERN. Maybe we can just follow the money. And——

Mr. NEGUSE. That is another way to do it too.

I yield back the balance of my time. Thank you, Madam Chair.

The CHAIRWOMAN. There is a motion on the floor from Ms. Scanlon.

All those in favor, say aye.

All those opposed, say no.

In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it.

Ms. SCANLON. I ask for a roll call vote.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Ms. Scanlon requests a recorded vote. The clerk will call the roll.

The Clerk. Ms. Fischbach?

Ms. FISCHBACH. No.

The CLERK. Ms. Fischbach, no.

Mr. Norman?

Mr. NORMAN. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Norman, no.

Mr. Roy?

[No response.]

The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin?

Mrs. HOUCHIN. No.

The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin, no.

Mr. Langworthy?

Mr. LANGWORTHY. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.

Mr. Scott?

Mr. SCOTT. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.

Mr. Griffith?

Mr. GRIFFITH. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.

Mr. Jack?

Mr. JACK. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.

Mr. McGovern?

Mr. MCGOVERN. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.

Ms. Scanlon?

Ms. SCANLON. Aye.

The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.
Mr. Neguse?
Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.
Ms. Leger Fernández?
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.
Madam Chair?
The CHAIRWOMAN. No.
The CLERK. Madam Chair, no.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the total.
The CLERK. Four yeas, eight nays.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The amendment is not agreed to.
Ms. Scanlon, you're recognized.
Ms. SCANLON. I have an amendment to the rule. I move the committee make in order amendment No. 27 offered by Representative Johnson which strikes bill text that would prevent the courts from enforcing a contempt citation against the government for failure to comply with an injunction or a temporary restraining order.
As we discussed previously when some of our colleagues were here, certainly Representative Johnson, this is a critical part of separation of powers that the courts be able to effectuate their decisions. So I urge a yes vote.
The CHAIRWOMAN. Any further discussion?
All those in favor of the motion by Ms, Scanlon, say aye.
Those opposed, say no.
In the opinion of the chair——
Ms. SCANLON. I ask for a roll call vote.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will call the roll.
The CLERK. Ms. Fischbach?
Ms. FISCHBACH. No.
The CLERK. Ms. Fischbach, no.
Mr. Norman?
Mr. NORMAN. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Norman, no.
Mr. Roy?
[No response.]
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin?
Mrs. HOUCHIN. No.
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin, no.
Mr. Langworthy?
Mr. LANGWORTHY. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.
Mr. Scott?
Mr. SCOTT. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.
Mr. Griffith?
Mr. GRIFFITH. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.
Mr. Jack?
Mr. JACK. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.
Mr. McGovern?
Mr. MCGOVERN. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.
Ms. Scanlon?
Ms. SCANLON. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.
Mr. Neguse?
Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.
Ms. Leger Fernández?
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.
Madam Chair?
The CHAIRWOMAN. No.
The CLERK. Madam Chair, no.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the total.
The CLERK. Four yeas, eight nays.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The amendment is not agreed to.
Ms. Scanlon, you are recognized.

Ms. SCANLON. I have an amendment to the rule. I move the committee make in order amendment No. 150 offered by myself, which prohibits funds from Title VII, Subtitle A immigration matters from being used to implement or defend executive order 14160 entitled Protecting the Meaning and Value of American Citizenship.

President Trump has executed a blatantly unconstitutional executive order which purports to revoke the 14th Amendment's guarantee of birthright citizenship, a right that reflects the foundational American value that we don't define our nationhood by bloodlines or parentage, but by our shared democratic values. And therefore, no funds under this bill should be used to enforce it.

In the U.S., birthright citizenship is guaranteed by the citizenship clause in the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. It was ratified in 1868. The clause's very first sentence in the 14th Amendment provides that all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States and of the State where they reside.

On January 20 of this year, President Trump issued a prospective executive order declaring that for certain persons born in the United States, neither the 14 Amendment nor the Federal statute incorporating similar language, conferred U.S. citizenship. Specifically, this executive order sought to exclude from U.S. citizenship two categories of persons whose fathers are not citizens or lawful permanent residents. Those whose mothers were unlawfully present in the United States on their date of birth and those whose mothers were lawfully present in the country at the time of birth, but only on a temporary basis, such as a mother present in the U.S. on a student, work or tourist visa. A really tortured definition and description of who he intended this executive order to impact.

Every court which has looked at this executive order has found it to be unconstitutional and unenforceable. The executive order has been enjoined by four different judges appointed by Presidents Reagan, Bush, Obama and Biden. Two circuits have agreed to keep the executive order enjoined and now implementation is pending before the Supreme Court.

You know, right-wing extremists have repeatedly failed to convince the public or Congress to end birthright citizenship through legal means, so now they are trying to cheer on from the sidelines, as the President tries to change the Constitution without the American people's consent.

So I would offer this amendment. It is straight up preventing the use of taxpayer funds from force and unconstitutional executive order. And I would yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Is there any further discussion on the amendment by Ms. Scanlon?

Hearing none, all those in favor, say aye.

Those opposed, say no.

In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it.

Ms. SCANLON. I would ask for a recorded vote.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Ms. Scanlon asks for a recorded vote. The clerk will call the roll.

The CLERK. Ms. Fischbach.

Ms. FISCHBACH. No.

The CLERK. Ms. Fischbach, no.

Mr. Norman?

Mr. NORMAN. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Norman, no.

Mr. Roy?

[No response.]

The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin?

Mrs. HOUCHIN. No.

The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin, no.

Mr. Langworthy?

Mr. LANGWORTHY. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.

Mr. Scott?

Mr. SCOTT. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.

Mr. Griffith?

Mr. GRIFFITH. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.

Mr. Jack?

Mr. JACK. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.

Mr. McGovern?

Mr. MCGOVERN. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.

Ms. Scanlon?

Ms. SCANLON. Aye.

The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.

Mr. Neguse?

Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.

Ms. Leger Fernández?

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.

The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.

Madam Chair?

The CHAIRWOMAN. No.

The CLERK. Madam Chair, no.

The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the total.
The CLERK. Four ayes, eight nays.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The amendment is not agreed to.
Ms. Scanlon, you are recognized.
Ms. SCANLON. I have an amendment to the rule. I move the committee make in order amendment No. 238 offered by minority whip Clark, which strikes the section that defunds Planned Parenthood, and would reduce access to lifesaving cancer screenings and reproductive healthcare. This bill includes a provision that it directly blocks Medicaid patients from receiving care at Planned Parenthood, the Nation's largest provider of reproductive health services. Of course, we all know that Medicaid is already not allowed to cover abortions. So this provision is a clear attack on women and their healthcare writ large.
I urge a yes vote on my amendment. And I yield back.
The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you. You have heard the amendment offered by Ms. Scanlon.
Is there any further discussion?
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Madam Chair.
The CHAIRWOMAN. Yes, Ms. Leger Fernández you are recognized.
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Thank you very much.
I just want to point out that one of the concerns that the Democrats have is that throughout this bill, there is a constant attack on women's healthcare. I will be offering an amendment later about the Manager's amendment, but, you know, to not fund the place where women get healthcare, cancer screenings, pap smears, mammograms, basic care that women need and Planned Parenthood is often the only place they can get it, especially in rural areas. I would urge you to think about the women in your districts and their need for healthcare and prioritize that. And for that reason I support this amendment.
The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.
You have heard the amendment from Ms. Scanlon.
All those in favor, say aye.
Those opposed, no.
In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it.
Ms. SCANLON. I ask for a recorded vote.
The CHAIRWOMAN. Ms. Scanlon has requested a recorded vote. The clerk will call the roll.
The CLERK. Ms. Fischbach?
Ms. FISCHBACH. No.
The CLERK. Ms. Fischbach, no.
Mr. Norman?
Mr. NORMAN. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Norman, no.
Mr. Roy?
[No response.]
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin?
Mrs. HOUCHIN. No.
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin, no.
Mr. Langworthy?
Mr. LANGWORTHY. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.
Mr. Scott?

Mr. SCOTT. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.
Mr. Griffith?
Mr. GRIFFITH. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.
Mr. Jack?
Mr. JACK. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.
Mr. McGovern?
Mr. MCGOVERN. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.
Ms. Scanlon?
Ms. SCANLON. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.
Mr. Neguse?
Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.
Ms. Leger Fernández?
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.
Madam Chair?
The CHAIRWOMAN. No.
The CLERK. Madam Chair, no.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the total.
The CLERK. Four yeas, eight nays.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The amendment is not agreed to.
Ms. Scanlon, you are recognized.
Ms. SCANLON. Thank you. I have an amendment to the rule. I move the committee make in order amendment No. 411, offered by myself, which strikes section 42106 which repeals and rescinds funds to address air pollution in schools.
I yield back.
The CHAIRWOMAN. Is there any further discussion on the amendment?
Hearing none, the vote is on the motion by Ms. Scanlon.
All those in favor, say aye.
Those opposed, say no.
In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it.
Ms. SCANLON. I ask for a roll call vote.
The CHAIRWOMAN. Ms. Scanlon requests a recorded vote. The clerk will call the roll.
The CLERK. Ms. Fischbach?
Ms. FISCHBACH. No.
The CLERK. Ms. Fischbach, no.
Mr. Norman?
Mr. NORMAN. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Norman, no.
Mr. Roy?
[No response.]
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin?
Mrs. HOUCHIN. No.
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin, no.
Mr. Langworthy?
Mr. LANGWORTHY. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.
Mr. Scott?
Mr. SCOTT. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.
Mr. Griffith?
Mr. GRIFFITH. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.
Mr. Jack?
Mr. JACK. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.
Mr. McGovern?
Mr. MCGOVERN. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.
Ms. Scanlon?
Ms. SCANLON. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.
Mr. Neguse?
Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.
Ms. Leger Fernández?
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.
Madam Chair?
The CHAIRWOMAN. No.
The CLERK. Madam Chair, no.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the total.
The CLERK. Four yeas, eight nays.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The amendment is not agreed to.
Ms. Scanlon, you are recognized.

Ms. SCANLON. Madam Chair, I have an amendment to the rule. I move the committee make in order amendment No. 71 offered by Representative Raskin which prevents Title VII from taking effect until the Attorney General certifies that any grant administered by the Office of Justice Programs with the Department of Justice that was terminated after January 20, 2025, has been reinstated.

Last month, President Trump's Department of Justice abruptly cut hundreds of millions of dollars in grant funding that had previously been awarded to support law enforcement, crime prevention and public safety program across the country, despite broad bipartisan support for these grant programs administered by the Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs and President Trump's repeated promises to the American people that he would prioritize public safety, support victims of crime and address the opioid crisis. His own Department of Justice abruptly informed more than 300 OJP grantees that there were, quote, "no longer effectuated the program goals or agency priorities and does not align with this administration's priorities," end quote.

Organizations in at least 37 States across the country lost funding, red States and blue States, and urban, suburban, and rural areas, and the work of those organizations which benefits jurisdictions all across our country would help ensure that all citizens have access to effective system of safety and justice, regardless of where they live.

The terminated grants totaling an estimated $500 million provided Federal support for violence reduction, policing and prosecution, victim services, juvenile justice and child protection, substance use and mental health treatment, corrections and reentry, justice system enhancements, research and evaluation, and other State and local-level public safety functions.

During the House Judiciary Committee's consideration of the reconciliation bill on April 30, Ranking Member Raskin and committee Democrats tried to restore that funding. Our Republican colleagues rejected it, but cutting funding for these vital programs threatens public safety, harms victims and survivors of violent crime, and hinders crime prevention efforts.

So I urge a yes vote on the amendment. And I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. You have heard the motion by Ms. Scanlon.

All those in favor, say aye.

Those opposed, say no.

In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it.

Ms. SCANLON. I ask for a roll call vote.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Ms. Scanlon requests a roll call. The clerk will call the roll.

The CLERK. Ms. Fischbach?

Ms. FISCHBACH. No.

The CLERK. Ms. Fischbach, no.

Mr. Norman?

Mr. NORMAN. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Norman, no.

Mr. Roy?

[No response.]

The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin?

Mrs. HOUCHIN. No.

The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin, no.

Mr. Langworthy?

Mr. LANGWORTHY. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.

Mr. Scott?

Mr. SCOTT. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.

Mr. Griffith?

Mr. GRIFFITH. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.

Mr. Jack?

Mr. JACK. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.

Mr. McGovern?

Mr. MCGOVERN. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.

Ms. Scanlon?

Ms. SCANLON. Aye.

The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.

Mr. Neguse?

Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.

Ms. Leger Fernández?

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.

The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.
Madam Chair?
The CHAIRWOMAN. No.
The CLERK. Madam Chair, no.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the total.
The CLERK. Four yeas, eight nays.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The amendment is not agreed to.
Ms. Scanlon, you are recognized.
Ms. SCANLON. Thank you. I have an amendment to the rule. I move the committee make in order amendment No. 35, offered by Representative Jayapal which prevents, prohibits the use of funds in subtitle A of Title VII from being used by Immigration and Customs Enforcement to detain or deport U.S. citizens.
The amendment is straightforward, it should be uncontroversial. It would ensure that none of the funds in this bill are used to detain U.S. citizens for immigration and enforcement.
Reports of U.S. citizens being wrongfully arrested and detained started coming out just days after this administration was sworn in. Some citizens have been detained for merely speaking Spanish. Others were held for days, despite consistently telling the Department of Homeland Security that they were citizens.
ICE detention of U.S. citizens because of reckless and lawless immigration enforcement is both unconstitutional and dangerous. Even ICE acknowledges that it has no authority to arrest and detain U.S. citizens. Their internal guidance says as a matter of law, ICE cannot assert its civil immigration enforcement authority to arrest or detain a U.S. citizen. Nevertheless, we have seen detentions of U.S. citizens occur. We have heard about deportation of children U.S. citizens. So Congress has a duty to act. We have to ensure the government funding, taxpayer dollars doesn't support illegal or unconstitutional actions. Therefore, I offer this amendment and urge a yes vote.
I yield back.
The CHAIRWOMAN. Any further discussion on the amendment?
Hearing none, all those in favor, say aye.
Those opposed, no.
In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it.
Ms. SCANLON. I ask for a roll call vote.
The CHAIRWOMAN. Ms. Scanlon requests a recorded vote. The clerk will call the vote.
The CLERK. Ms. Fischbach?
Ms. FISCHBACH. No.
The CLERK. Ms. Fischbach, no.
Mr. Norman?
Mr. NORMAN. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Norman, no.
Mr. Roy?
[No response.]
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin?
[No response.]
The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy?
Mr. LANGWORTHY. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.
Mr. Scott?

Mr. SCOTT. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.
Mr. Griffith?
Mr. GRIFFITH. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.
Mr. Jack?
Mr. JACK. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.
Mr. McGovern?
Mr. MCGOVERN. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.
Ms. Scanlon?
Ms. SCANLON. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.
Mr. Neguse?
Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.
Ms. Leger Fernández?
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.
Madam Chair?
The CHAIRWOMAN. No.
The CLERK. Madam Chair, no.
The CHAIRWOMAN. Clerk will report the total.
The CLERK. Four yeas, seven nays.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The amendment is not agreed to.
Mr. Neguse, you are recognized.
Mr. NEGUSE. Thank you, Madam Chair.

I have one amendment that I had planned to introduce. The necessity for that amendment has been obviated, but I wonder if I might be recognized for a minute just to explain why and then I will hand it off to Ms. Leger Fernández.

I had intended to offer an amendment with respect to the provision in, two provisions within the bill that would have overturned resource management plans in Colorado, and secondly, the land conveyance issue that we had discussed at great length earlier today. Both of those provisions were removed from the underlying bill. And so I want to thank Representative Zinke who was very adamant in building a coalition necessary to make the case about removing those provisions.

I also want to thank Representative Lee, Representative Horsford and Representative Titus, each of whom were also, as you know, Madam Chair, from their testimony today, very engaged in making the case that this is not a precedent that the committee should adopt. I am happy to thank Mr. Langworthy as well. I don't know if my Chautauqua reference is perhaps played a role in that. But——

Mr. LANGWORTHY. It put it right over the top.

Mr. NEGUSE. I am sure that put it right over the top, in any event. So I am glad that that provision is no longer in this larger bill, and so I will not pursue the amendment.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Mr. Neguse.

Are there any further amendments?

Ms. Leger Fernández, you are recognized.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Thank you, Madam Chair.

And I want to offer my first amendment, where I move the committee to add a south executed second degree amendment to the manager's amendment, striking the assertion of a new section 44202, which is on page 14 of your manager's amendment, because this would result in at least 300,000 people losing healthcare coverage. And, more importantly, this is the Republicans' attempt to have a national abortion ban. This is their attempt to have a national abortion ban because it would eliminate abortion coverage for marketplace plans or prohibit cost-sharing reduction for plans that maintain abortion coverage. So what you are basically doing is saying, if anybody is getting their health coverage through the marketplace, you are putting a disincentive on there so they will not be able to provide abortions. It is a very sneaky amendment in the manager's amendment. But I think we all need to call it out. And so that is why it is the first amendment I am bringing because that is, in effect, what it does. And I think that we heard today from Rep. Clark about the difficulty of getting reproductive healthcare. And this is extraordinary in what it would do.

And I shared my own personal story, which, given the kind of healthcare I was undergoing, could have resulted in what might have been considered an abortion, despite the fact that I was just trying to save my life. So these are the kinds of unintended consequences, but this is a very intentional consequence of what is in this bill. And so I urge that Americans understand what is happening here and that women understand what is happening there in this bill. And, at the last minute, what, we got it, you know, a couple of hours ago, and they are going to vote on it in a few hours—they have promised us.

I yield back

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Ms. Leger Fernández.

You have heard the motion by Ms. Leger Fernández.

All those in favor, say aye.

All Those opposed, no.

In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Roll call vote, Madam Chair.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Ms. Leger Fernández requests a recorded vote.

The clerk will call the roll.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach?

Mrs. FISCHBACH. No.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach, no.

Mr. Norman?

Mr. NORMAN. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Norman, no.

Mr. Roy?

[No response.]

The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin?

[No response.]

The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy?

Mr. LANGWORTHY. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.

Mr. Scott?

Mr. SCOTT. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.
Mr. Griffith?
Mr. GRIFFITH. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.
Mr. Jack?
Mr. JACK. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.
Mr. McGovern?
Mr. MCGOVERN. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.
Ms. Scanlon?
Ms. SCANLON. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.
Mr. Neguse?
Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.
Ms. Leger Fernández?
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.
Madam Chair?
The CHAIRWOMAN. No.
The CLERK. Madam Chair no.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the total.
The CLERK. Four yeas, seven nays.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The amendment is not agreed to.
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Madam Chair.
The CHAIRWOMAN. Ms. Leger Fernández, you are recognized.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. I have an amendment to the rule. I move the committee make in order amendment No. 47, which is offered by Representative Sykes. Representative Sykes appeared before us and made an impassioned claim as to why we needed to protect Medicaid. And we have heard those on the dais say, "But this is not really cutting Medicaid." Well, this amendment is your chance to actually vote consistent with some of those statements.

So, Madam Chair, I urge a "yes" vote so that we can actually have a debate on the floor on Representative Sykes' amendment.

And I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. You have heard the motion by Ms. Leger Fernández.

All those in favor, say aye.
All Those opposed, no.
In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it.
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Roll call vote, please.
The CHAIRWOMAN. Ms. Leger Fernández requests a roll call vote. The clerk will call the roll.
The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach?
Mrs. FISCHBACH. No.
The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach, no.
Mr. Norman?
Mr. NORMAN. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Norman, no.
Mr. Roy?
[No response.]
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin?

Mrs. HOUCHIN. No.
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin, no.
Mr. Langworthy?
Mr. LANGWORTHY. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.
Mr. Scott?
Mr. SCOTT. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.
Mr. Griffith?
Mr. GRIFFITH. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.
Mr. Jack?
Mr. JACK. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.
Mr. McGovern?
Mr. MCGOVERN. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.
Ms. Scanlon?
Ms. SCANLON. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.
Mr. Neguse?
Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.
Ms. Leger Fernández?
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.
Madam Chair?
The CHAIRWOMAN. No.
The CLERK. Madam Chair, no.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the total.
The CLERK. Four yeas, eight nays.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The amendment is not agreed to.
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Madam Chair.
The CHAIRWOMAN. Any further amendments?
Ms. Leger Fernández, you are recognized.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Madam Chair, I have an amendment to the rule. I move the committee make in order amendment No. 485, offered by Representative Beyer, which strikes the elimination of the electricity investment protection tax credits in order to keep electricity prices low. This reconciliation bill amounts to a full repeal of clean energy tax credits Democrats established through Inflation Reduction Act. But the thing is this is a way of lowering costs for American families.

According to the Department of Energy, in just the last 10 years, costs have declined significantly for many technologies, including distributed solar down 26 percent, land-based rent down 41 percent, utility scale solar down 73 percent. What other kind of energy is going down in these kinds of degrees? So the Inflation Reduction Act, the renewable energy, the clean energy that Americans want, it is also saving Americans money. In fact, in New Mexico, where, as you know, I have explained we also are a fossil-fuel-producing State, we are developing clean energy power plants, manufacturing facilities. We are creating jobs. We are lowering costs. People want us to keep doing this. But Republicans want to go back in time.

You know, I feel like we are in the 19th century, and Republicans are arguing that gas lamps are better than electric light bulbs.

And gesundheit and God bless, Madam Chair. So, when Republicans talk about energy dominance, why are they giving up on the energy of the future if we want to be truly energy dominant and compete in what is expected to be, listen to this, a $2 trillion global clean energy market?

If you do not keep these credits in existence, you are basically saying, "China, take it all. You lead the world." Well, I don't think we should do that. We have the resources here. Let's vote in favor of the amendment or at least let our Members decide whether they should keep it.

With that, Madam Chair, I urge a "yes" vote and yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you, Ms. Leger Fernández.

You have heard the motion for Ms. Leger Fernández.

All those in favor, say aye.

All those opposed, say no.

In the opinion of the chair, the noes. The noes have it.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Recorded vote.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Ms. Leger Fernández requests a recorded vote.

The clerk will call the roll.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach?

Mrs. FISCHBACH. No.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach, no.

Mr. Norman?

Mr. NORMAN. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Norman, no.

Mr. Roy?

[No response.]

The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin?

Mrs. HOUCHIN. No.

The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin, no.

Mr. Langworthy?

Mr. LANGWORTHY. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.

Mr. Scott?

Mr. SCOTT. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.

Mr. Griffith?

Mr. GRIFFITH. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.

Mr. Jack?

Mr. JACK. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.

Mr. McGovern?

Mr. MCGOVERN. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.

Ms. Scanlon?

Ms. SCANLON. Aye.

The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.

Mr. Neguse?

Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.

Ms. Leger Fernández?
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.
Madam Chair?
The CHAIRWOMAN. No.
The CLERK. Madam Chair, no.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the total.
The CLERK. Four yeas, eight nays.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The amendment is not agreed to.
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Madam Chair.
The CHAIRWOMAN. Ms. Leger Fernández.
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. I have an amendment to the rule. I move the committee make in order amendment No. 483, offered by myself, which protects State budgets and education and healthcare funding from reductions and oil and gas revenues.

So, basically, what we did in the House Natural Resources is we reduced oil and gas royalty rates. Now the problem is that oil-and-gas-producing States share in the Federal royalty rates. So, for those States who have Federal lands, they are going to be receiving less royalties. And let's look at how this happened. Act one, Trump promised to scrap climate laws and to do what oil and gas wanted if U.S. oil bosses donated $1 billion to the Trump campaign. Act number two, Trump starts living up to that promise. He takes aim at city and State climate laws in an executive order. And now, act number three, cuts to oil and gas royalty rates in the budget reconciliation. And they are going to reduce the money flowing to States.

And, you know, my colleague across the aisle pointed out that New Mexico does receive oil and gas, but what this would do and our land commissioner, whose job it is to try to make sure we get as much money off of those oil and gas leases, wrote a letter, and House Natural Resources pointing out that this would be almost a 400—almost a half-trillion dollar hit to our State because of what we will be doing here.

So, on behalf of my State, of Colorado, of North Dakota, of all of those other States that have oil and gas producing, I urge a "yes" vote on my amendment and I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. You have heard the amendment from Ms. Leger Fernández.

All those in favor, say aye.

Those opposed, say no.

In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it. The noes have it.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. A recorded vote.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Ms. Leger Fernández requests a recorded vote. The clerk will call the control.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach Mrs. Fischbach no. Mr. Norman Mr. Norman no. Mr. Roy Mr. Roy. Mrs. Houchin Mrs. Houchin no. Mr. Langworthy Mr. Langworthy no. Mr. Scott Mr. Scott no. Mr. Griffith Mr. Griffith no. Mr. Jack Mr. Jack no. Mr. McGovern Mr. McGovern aye. Ms. Scanlon Ms. Scanlon aye. Mr. Neguse Mr. Neguse aye. Ms. Leger Fernández Ms. Leger Fernández aye. Madam Chair Madam Chair no.

The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the total.

The CLERK. Four yeas, eight nays.

The CHAIRWOMAN. The amendment is not agreed to.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Madam Chair, I would offer as my last one amendment, there are so many issues that we heard about today that deserve to have a vote on the floor. The amendments, there used to be a time when I remember we would show up, and there would be votes. You would have to make decisions. But what happens in Rules now is there is never any amendments; they are all closed rules. But this one I think is really key, and I am going to offer it as my last amendment because this actually goes to the fact that, when we look at that chart that shows that working families, low-income families are going to—they are going to basically get a tax hike, in essence; they are going to lose out under this bill. But we could change that. We could change that if we struck section 11004, the extension of the increased child tax credit, and replaced it with H.R. 2763, the American family Act. And what this would do is this would put the full child tax credit fully refundable in the bill. If we care about lifting children out of poverty, making sure that families get to decide. And, not only that, making sure that those who earn less get the full child tax credit so that it is not just the wealthy who are getting the full child tax credit, it makes a lot of sense.

And, you know, this is one of those things where you guys just put "Trump" on the baby bonds; we should have put "Biden" on the child tax cut that we passed, right? That is the thing is we just believe in making a difference for people, not plastering names all over the place. It was good law when we had it, when the Democrats passed it, and it existed with Biden. We should bring it back.

And, with that, Madam Chair, I yield back.

Before I yield back, though.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I have one more amendment.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Oh, you are going to do an amendment? Okay.

In that case, I yield back.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Thank you.

Oh, a question on your amendment, yes. You made an amendment.

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. I have an amendment to the rule. I move the committee make in order——

The CHAIRWOMAN. All right. Thank you. Yes, okay.

All those in——

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Thank you for catching that.

The CHAIRWOMAN. All those in favor of Ms. Leger Fernández' amendment, say aye.

Those opposed, say no.

In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Do you want a roll call?

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Roll call vote.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Ms. Leger Fernández' requests a roll call. The clerk will call the roll.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach?

Mrs. FISCHBACH. No.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach, no.

Mr. Norman?

Mr. NORMAN. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Norman, no.
Mr. Roy?
[No response.]
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin?
Mrs. HOUCHIN. No.
The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin, no.
Mr. Langworthy?
Mr. LANGWORTHY. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.
Mr. Scott?
Mr. SCOTT. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.
Mr. Griffith?
Mr. GRIFFITH. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.
Mr. Jack?
Mr. JACK. No.
The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.
Mr. McGovern?
Mr. MCGOVERN. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.
Ms. Scanlon?
Ms. SCANLON. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.
Mr. Neguse?
Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.
The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.
Ms. Leger Fernández?
Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.
The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.
Madam Chair?
The CHAIRWOMAN. No.
The CLERK. Madam Chair, no.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the tally.
The CLERK. Four yeas, eight nays.
The CHAIRWOMAN. The amendment is not agreed to.
Mr. McGovern, you are recognized.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Chair, I just have another amendment to the rule. I move the committee make in order amendment No. 2, offered by Representative Gillen, which strikes the limitation on the State and local tax deduction.

But, before we vote on this last amendment, I just want to recap some of what just happened here tonight. So Republicans on this committee voted against raising taxes on billionaires, voted against following a House rule that requires a three-fifths vote to raise income taxes, you know, just in case this great beautiful bill of theirs raises taxes on regular working people, which I think we all believe it does. But they have insulated themselves by voting—by basically waiving the three-fifths requirement. And Republicans voted against protecting Medicaid benefits. They voted against protecting SNAP benefits for children. And so I guess more children will have to go hungry. And they voted against an amendment to restore NIH funding for critical cancer research and other important medical research. And I think this is all shameful. So these votes basi-

cally show us where your priorities and your values are. And, as I said at 1 o'clock in the morning, when you vote for this, you own it.

And so, with that, Madam Chair, I urge a "yes" vote on my amendment and urge you to call the question.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Okay. You have heard the motion by Mr. McGovern.

All those in favor, say aye.

Those opposed, say no.

In the opinion of the chair, the noes have it.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I ask for a roll call.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern requests a roll call vote. The clerk will call the roll.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach?

Mrs. FISCHBACH. No.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach, no.

Mr. Norman?

Mr. NORMAN. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Norman, no.

Mr. Roy?

[No response.]

The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin?

Mrs. HOUCHIN. No.

The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin, no.

Mr. Langworthy?

Mr. LANGWORTHY. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, no.

Mr. Scott?

Mr. SCOTT. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Scott, no.

Mr. Griffith?

Mr. GRIFFITH. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, no.

Mr. Jack?

Mr. JACK. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Jack, no.

Mr. McGovern?

Mr. MCGOVERN. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, aye.

Ms. Scanlon?

Ms. SCANLON. Aye.

The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, aye.

Mr. Neguse?

Mr. NEGUSE. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, aye.

Ms. Leger Fernández?

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. Aye.

The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, aye.

Madam Chair?

The CHAIRWOMAN. No.

The CLERK. Madam Chair, no.

The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the total.

The CLERK. Four yeas, eight nays.

The CHAIRWOMAN. The amendment is not agreed to.

Hearing no further discussion, the question is on the motion from the gentlewoman from Indiana.

All those in favor, signify by saying aye.

Those opposed, say no.

In the opinion of the chair, the ayes have it. The motion is agreed to.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I ask for a roll call.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Mr. McGovern requests a roll call. The clerk will call the roll.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach?

Mrs. FISCHBACH. Aye.

The CLERK. Mrs. Fischbach, aye.

Mr. Norman?

Mr. NORMAN. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. Norman, aye.

Mr. Roy?

[No response.]

The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin?

Mrs. HOUCHIN. Aye.

The CLERK. Mrs. Houchin, aye.

Mr. Langworthy?

Mr. LANGWORTHY. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. Langworthy, aye.

Mr. Scott?

Mr. SCOTT. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. Scott, aye.

Mr. Griffith?

Mr. GRIFFITH. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. Griffith, aye.

Mr. Jack?

Mr. JACK. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. Jack, aye.

Mr. McGovern?

Mr. MCGOVERN. Hell no.

The CLERK. Mr. McGovern, no.

Ms. Scanlon?

Ms. SCANLON. No.

The CLERK. Ms. Scanlon, no.

Mr. Neguse?

Mr. NEGUSE. No.

The CLERK. Mr. Neguse, no.

Ms. Leger Fernández?

Ms. LEGER FERNÁNDEZ. I think I will go with a hell no.

The CLERK. Ms. Leger Fernández, no.

Madam Chair?

The CHAIRWOMAN. Aye.

The CLERK. Madam Chair, aye.

The CHAIRWOMAN. The clerk will report the total.

The CLERK. Eight yeas, four nays.

The CHAIRWOMAN. The ayes have it. The motion to report is agreed to. Accordingly, the gentlewoman from Indiana, Mrs. Houchin will be managing this rule for the majority.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I will for the minority.

Can I ask just one question? What is the schedule?

The CHAIRWOMAN. We will be going to the floor right now.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Are we doing just the rule tonight, or are we doing the rule and the bill tonight?

The CHAIRWOMAN. I am not clear, but I believe there is a chance we will do the bill tonight.

Mr. MCGOVERN. All right.

The CHAIRWOMAN. Okay.

Mr. GRIFFITH. Aren't you glad we started at 1 o'clock?

The CHAIRWOMAN. Usually about 20 minutes.

Without objection, the committee is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 10:43 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]

CONGRESSWOMAN LUZ RIVAS
RULES AMENDMENT REMARKS – AS PREPARED

Thank you, Ranking Member McGovern.

I want to thank Ranking Member Pallone for providing me with the opportunity to lead this important amendment on a subject that is quickly becoming ubiquitous in our everyday lives: Artificial Intelligence.

From healthcare to housing to banking, AI is playing a critical role in all areas of life.

AI is evolving every day, which is why it demands swift attention and continuous action to keep Americans safe.

State legislatures from across the country have enacted their own laws, including legislation that limits bias in the housing, healthcare, and financial sectors, as well as actions that protect the health and safety of users from harmful AI systems.

Despite all these positive developments, there is currently a provision in the Republicans' bill that would issue a 10-year moratorium on states' ability to enforce AI laws.

My amendment strikes this moratorium.

This 10-year ban would remove states' ability to establish or enforce state laws that help keep up with the technological evolutions of AI, as well as push back on deliberate designs that could harm Americans.

Under this ban, state and local governments won't be able to enforce current, new, or updated regulations around AI use in the workplace, in procurement guidelines, or in eliminating biases – even regulations that only impact their specific locality.

As a former state Assemblymember, I believe we can, and should, learn from the states and champion solutions that protect Americans from harmful AI systems, and not put unnecessary stoppages on their progress.

Regardless of where you are on AI policy, enacting a moratorium is bad practice.

AI has shown tremendous potential to improve and enhance our lives, but if we do not take immediate action to address the threats it poses on consumers as they arise *today*, we will not be prepared to address the threats that *could* arise over the next ten years as a result.

I'd like to submit a letter for the record.

This letter to Speaker Johnson was signed by over 100 organizations such as UnidosUS, the National Immigration Law Center, National Women's Law Center, and SEIU, in opposition to this provision tucked into this bill.

In their letter to the Speaker, the organizations state that, "as we have seen during other periods of rapid technological advancement like the industrial revolution and the creation of the automobile, protecting people from being harmed by new technologies – including holding companies accountable when they cause harm – will spur innovation and the adoption of new technologies."

The Republican moratorium on AI will block new innovation from occurring.

AI policy touches every aspect of American life now, and most certainly will over the next ten years.

Thank you for considering my amendment. I urge its adoption, and I look forward to answering your questions.

Rules Committee Remarks – Rep. Morrison
May 21, 2025

Thank you, M. Chair.

My amendment today is simple.

Before the House advances the largest cut to Medicaid in program history, Congress needs to review how this bill will impact hospitals and Americans' access to services.

My amendment simply says that the bill cannot take effect until an independent study confirms that these proposed Medicaid cuts will not result in hospital closures or reductions in services, including obstetric services.

The Medicaid policies in this bill will strip health care coverage away from **millions of Americans** — and put essential labor and delivery services on the chopping block.

Our country is already facing a worsening maternal health crisis — and carelessly ripping away womens' access to care without any consideration is just plain cruel.

We are already **dead last** in maternal mortality compared to our peer nations… and instead of putting forward a bill that will actually improve women's health and support moms and babies, my Republican colleagues have chosen to gut the program that covers **more than 50% of births** in many areas of Minnesota.

Having cared for women and their babies for over 20 years as an OBGYN, I am **appalled** by how callously members of this chamber have turned their backs on their constituents.

In my home state of Minnesota, 1.4 million Minnesotans get health care coverage through Medicaid.

And millions more depend on the hospitals and providers who have been **unequivocally clear** that the Medicaid cuts in this bill will decimate their ability to provide care.

Unequivocally clear that the cuts will force them to reduce services or shut down entirely.

And the reality is: if hospitals are unable to keep their lights on and deliver care, **we will all pay the price.**

People will not be able to access care.
People will have more medical debt and they will be less healthy.
People will suffer.
People will die.

I would encourage my Republican colleagues to believe the words of the hospitals that serve their constituents, the patients that live in their districts, and analysis after analysis that confirms these cuts will cost millions of Americans their access to care.

So to my Republican colleagues who hold majority rule of this chamber – let's be very clear here:

You can stop this right now.

You can stop the hospital closures.

You can stop the cuts to services.

You can stop 14 million Americans from losing access to health insurance.

You can stop the worsening of the maternal health care crisis and rural hospital crisis.

You have the power – you can stop this!

More than a dozen of our Republican colleagues here in the House have spoken out and said that they cannot support deep cuts to Medicaid.

Other Republicans have called these massive cuts "morally wrong."

And more than a dozen Republican state legislators from my home state of Minnesota wrote our Republican delegation and the President making a very clear case about how this would be a disaster and begged them to not go through with these cuts.

I have a copy with me here. M. Chair I request consent for this letter to be entered into the record.

And I'd like to highlight a couple of their points:

The Minnesota Republican legislators wrote, and I quote:

- "Too deep of a cut is **unmanageable** in any instance."
- "Massive Medicaid reductions could punish Minnesota for being such a strong leader in greater efficiencies and better outcomes."
- "Drastic reductions to Medicaid funding have the potential to impact the 1.4 million people we serve and place **incredible pressure** on our overall state budget."
- And they closed with: "Please remind our good leaders in Washington that simply cutting the budget is not going to take away our responsibilities to the aged, those with disabilities and mental health needs, children, and the poor."
- End quote.

So to my Republican colleagues: please hear the pleas of your state counterparts as you consider this bill today.

I also have with me here a letter from Minnesota's nonprofit hospitals. M. Chair I request consent for this letter to be entered into the record.

And I'd like to highlight a couple of their points:

They wrote, and I quote:

- "Any reduction in federal support … would trigger immediate consequences."
- **Patients will lose access. Hospitals will be forced to reduce services and will face impossible choices. And communities across our state will feel the effects, whether they are covered by Medicaid or not.**"
- "We know these are difficult budget discussions. But cutting Medicaid doesn't erase the need for care — it simply shifts the burden. To states. To hospitals. And ultimately, to the very people the program is meant to protect." End quote.

Their pleas – are clear.

The threats – are real.

The facts – are undeniable.

So please, on behalf of all Americans:

I implore you to do the right thing.

Rule this amendment in order, and stop these cuts.

The Partnership to Protect Coverage Urges Congress to Not Cut Our Health Care

- May 20, 2025 -

On behalf of millions of patients and consumers we represent across the United States who face serious and chronic health conditions, our organizations urge Congress to oppose cuts that will terminate healthcare for millions and compromise the integrity and affordability of Medicaid and the Marketplace. As drafted, the reconciliation package would terminate coverage for millions of people enrolled in Medicaid and marketplace coverage at a time when they are already struggling to afford soaring healthcare costs.

There is an effort to reassure lawmakers that these deep cuts can be safely advanced under the banner of curbing 'waste, fraud, and abuse.' When the patients we represent lose their health coverage because of these cuts, they will be acutely aware of the reality behind lawmakers' claims.

Medicaid and the ACA are not line items in a budget—they are literally lifelines for the patients we serve:

- Brian, a young father in Texas, died of leukemia in 2022 because he couldn't afford insurance or the out-of-pocket costs of treatment - costs he wouldn't have faced if Texas had expanded Medicaid.
- Tori, a Pennsylvania mom of a 3-year-old boy with severe Hemophilia A, is able to pay her family's bills and access her son's high-cost treatment and care because of Medicaid coverage. Without it, she worries he could die from lack of access to the medication and specialty doctors needed to maintain his lifelong disease.
- A child living in Michigan with Cystic Fibrosis required oxygen at home, costing her family $500 a day, on top of medication costs of $1200/month. She had multiple hospitalizations, which eventually led to a

double lung transplant. Even in a middle-income family, these exorbitant costs were affecting the family's ability to pay for necessities such as home utilities and food. Medicaid alleviated this financial burden. Now, as an adult with CF, she is thriving, working full time for the last 10 years at the hospital where she previously received her care.

- Amber lives in Iowa, and her son has Duchenne Muscular Dystrophy. Without coverage through Medicaid, they would not have access to the medications he needs to manage his condition.
- Heather and Ryan live in Texas. They faced their biggest fears when their 3-year-old son, Hutson, was diagnosed with leukemia. Hutson faced side effects from the disease and its lifesaving treatments that no toddler should have to endure - from extensive dental work, developmental issues, and mental health challenges. Medicaid saved Hutson's life. Without it, they wouldn't have been able to care for him on schedule and on plan.
- Lysa was diagnosed with stage IV lung cancer in 2011 and Medicaid paid for her first year of treatment. At the time, she was hoping to live to see her daughter graduate from high school. Almost 14 years later, Lysa is about to be a grandmother.
- Annie from Texas, diagnosed with stage 4 breast cancer at 26 years old. She would not be alive today if it were not for Medicaid. It is very difficult to find a medication that her cancer responds to, but the one that keeps her alive costs $15,000 a month. There is no generic option available. She lives in constant fear of the financial obstacles and the stress of navigating how to stay alive. Her life depends on Medicaid.
- DeAnna, a North Carolinian with blood cancer, was denied a lifesaving stem cell transplant until her state expanded Medicaid. She is alive today because Medicaid covered her treatment when she was finally able to access coverage in the state.
- John, a California native with severe Hemophilia A, relies on Medicaid and Medicare coverage due to years of joint damage common for people with his condition, and recognizes how critical this access to coverage is for maintaining his health as a husband and father of two young children. John lost his brother at only 9 years old due to a lack of access to affordable healthcare coverage to manage his same diagnosis.
- Adrian survived Shaken Baby Syndrome at just six months old. Now two years old, he lives with a tracheostomy and feeding tube. His mom, Christi, serves in the U.S. Air Force, stationed at Langley AFB in Hampton, VA. Tricare doesn't cover many of the therapies, home nursing, and specialized equipment Adrian needs to thrive. His family depends on Medicaid to help cover what Tricare doesn't.
- Debbie from Virginia experienced serious health challenges that made it unsafe to live on her own. She moved into a skilled nursing facility to get the care she needed. Without Medicaid, she couldn't afford the support that keeps her safe and living with dignity. For older adults like Debbie who are dually eligible for Medicare and Medicaid, Medicaid helps cover critical services Medicare doesn't.
- Alexa lives in Pennsylvania. When her daughter, Penny, was diagnosed with leukemia at just two years old, Medicaid gave their family the ability to access the most effective treatments for her child. Alexa says that without Medicaid, they would be buried in medical debt just trying to keep Penny alive.
- Marty lives in Ohio and knows the difference access makes. With the support of Medicaid and SNAP, he's able to work part-time, pursue a master's degree, and complete an internship critical to his future career opportunities that wouldn't be possible without these programs.
- Sharon, in Indiana, relies on Medicaid for the home health support she needs to manage her Muscular Dystrophy so she can live independently. She is afraid that cuts to Medicaid might force her to live in a nursing facility and prevent her from living an active and independent life.
- Milly, from Oklahoma, was diagnosed with breast cancer shortly after having her first child while finishing college. Because she had Medicaid, she received the treatment she needed and went on to graduate from law school, build a thriving legal career, and raise two children. Her future was made possible by Medicaid.
- Kristen, from Alaska, was diagnosed with breast cancer during the pandemic and spent 2020 undergoing radiation and multiple surgeries. Thanks to Medicaid, she was able to focus on healing without the added

burden of medical debt. A year later, she got married and now has private insurance through her husband – Medicaid gave her the foundation to move forward.

- A work injury that wouldn't heal led Thomas, from Louisiana, to the ER, where he was unexpectedly diagnosed with non-Hodgkin's lymphoma. While his employer-sponsored insurance covered much of his treatment, Medicaid helped cover critical out-of-pocket costs like co-pays and medications. Now in remission, Thomas is preparing to return to work – Medicaid helped make that possible.
- Sky and her daughter, Pressley, who lives with a rare disorder called Dravet Syndrome, live in Oklahoma. Medicaid has been critical to ensuring Pressley receives the specialized care she needs to survive and thrive, including therapies, equipment, and specialists.

Patients with chronic diseases have no uniform experience; but each one is deserving of care. Efforts to parse who is deserving of care and who is not will wreak havoc on the lives of the patients we represent.

If these cuts become law, millions stand to lose coverage entirely, hitting low and moderate-income patients and families hardest. At a time when costs for American households are already stretched to the breaking point, we cannot afford to rip away any pathway to high-quality, affordable coverage.

We urge congressional leaders to reject these cruel and reckless policies that would cut or terminate healthcare for millions of American families. Now is the time to protect the health and economic security of the American people – not take away the care they need to survive.

For more about the Partnership to Protect Coverage, click here.

To view our letters and statements, click here.

AMERICAN ACADEMY of NURSING

May 9, 2025

The Honorable Brett Guthrie
Chair
House Committee on Energy and Commerce
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

The Honorable Jodey Arrington
Chair
House Committee on the Budget
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

The Honorable Frank Pallone, Jr.
Ranking Member
House Committee on Energy and Commerce
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

The Honorable Brendan Boyle
Ranking Member
House Committee on the Budget
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Chairs Guthrie and Arrington and Ranking Members Pallone and Boyle,

The American Academy of Nursing (Academy) writes to express grave concern over substantial cuts that will impact Medicaid as a result of the House budget resolution directing the House Committee on Energy and Commerce (Committee) to reduce the federal deficit by $880 billion over ten years to the outlays under its jurisdiction.[1] With more than 3,200 Fellows, the Academy—an honorific society and policy organization—represents nursing's most accomplished leaders in policy, research, administration, practice, and academia. Collectively with our Fellows and partners, the Academy aims to create solutions that matter, inspire change that propels transformation, and envision a healthier future. Our organization believes the impact of such significant cuts would impact care for those who need it most.

Congressional Budget Office projections show that federal Medicaid spending accounts for 93% of the mandatory outlays over the next ten years under the Committee's jurisdiction.[2] Given the magnitude of the $880 billion in cuts the Committee has been directed to make, it is inevitable that Medicaid spending will need to be reduced. Drastic cuts to Medicaid would cause substantial harm to millions of people across the United States who rely on Medicaid for their health care. Furthermore, a recent poll shows that people across the United States recognize the critical role of Medicaid and 71% disagree that Medicaid funding should be cut to reduce government spending.[3] **The Academy strongly recommends your Committees and all of Congress avoid cuts to this vital program and take action to protect this essential funding.**

Access to Care

Medicaid covers 20% of people living in the United States (over 71 million people) and is a key source of coverage for people with low income, disabilities, and mental illness, as well as children, mothers, and older adults.[4,5] While Medicaid is a state-administered program, it is funded by both state and federal dollars and federal spending is essential. Federal funding in its current structure of a percentage match through the Federal Medical Assistance Percentage (FMAP) adapts to changes in Medicaid enrollment or costs, ensuring that the program remains dynamic and responsive to the needs of enrollees.

However, to cut federal spending on Medicaid, mechanisms such as restricting states' use of provider taxes, restricting state directed payments, implementing work requirements, or block grants and per

capita caps on spending are being considered. These proposals would substantially restrict federal spending on Medicaid, harming states and enrollees. For example, block grants or per capita caps on spending would limit federal spending either on the total amount or per enrollee. Reducing spending through these mechanisms would be extremely detrimental to states' ability to meet the health care needs of their populations, which can differ greatly, and would constrain their ability to respond to emerging health related threats.[6] To adapt to higher enrollment or costs, states would need to spend more of their own funds to account for the fixed federal funding and if unable to do so, states would face difficult cost cutting choices to meet a balanced budget. This could include cutting enrollment or optional benefits, ultimately reducing the number of people who are able to receive coverage or reducing the valuable health care services available to enrollees. Reductions in coverage are harmful to health. Maintaining and promoting Medicaid coverage is essential to ensure that populations receive health care that meets their needs.

Child Health

Nearly 40 million children in the United States are covered through Medicaid or the Children's Health Insurance Programs (CHIP),[5] covering 40% of children overall, almost 50% of children with special health care needs, and 80% of children living in poverty.[4] Medicaid ensures children have access to services and screenings that set them up for health across the lifespan, including with Early Periodic Screening Diagnosis and Treatment (EPSDT) services. These include critical physical, mental, developmental, dental, hearing, vision, and other screening tests and treatment along with other services such as immunizations, laboratory tests, and health education.[7] Access to Medicaid and CHIP improves health outcomes for children. Examples include reducing infant mortality by 50%[8] and higher survival rates for young adults with cancer.[9] Medicaid and CHIP coverage also contribute to improvements in school performance and long-term educational attainment.[10] Cuts to Medicaid would seriously harm children's health and could result in missed opportunities to prevent diseases through immunizations or diagnose and treat conditions early on. Families need access to timely, developmentally appropriate and essential care, including regular health care visits for their children.

Older Adults and Long-Term Care

Medicaid is critical for older adults as a primary payer for long-term care, including nursing home and home care services, as Medicare generally does not cover these long-term services and supports (LTSS).[11] LTSS makes up a large share of Medicaid spending in relation to the size of the population served: in 2020, 34.1% of Medicaid spending went to LTSS and 10.3% of total enrollees received LTSS.[12] While nursing facility care is a mandatory benefit, home and community-based services are generally an optional benefit.[12] Therefore, as states are forced to make cuts, home and community-based services (HCBS) that are key to older adults' health and well-being are at risk of being cut. These services allow individuals to remain in their homes, minimize disruption and maximize quality of life and are often more cost-effective than institutional care. Removing services that benefit older adults is harmful, particularly given that older adults often have complex care needs and are more likely to live on a fixed income and rely on Medicaid benefits. The Academy has consistently called for increased support for older adults to live healthy lives and have the choice in their care as they age, including support to live in their home and community.[13] Nurse-led initiatives such as the Community Aging in Place: Advancing Better Living for Elders (CAPABLE) program can play an important role by enabling older adults to live at home with autonomy by implementing client-directed changes in their environment that support health.[14] Additionally, Nurses Improving Care for Healthsystems Elders (NICHE) is an evidence-based professional practice model that supports nurse-led innovation in knowledge transfer among clinicians and has led to care improvements for older adults.[15] These programs are examples of innovative initiatives that have been designated as Academy Edge Runners for their demonstrated ability to reduce

costs and improve health care quality though the leadership and ingenuity of nurses. [16] Ensuring that older adults have access to care, including in the home and community-based settings, should be an essential priority and Medicaid is key to protecting these services.

People with Disabilities

Medicaid is an important source of coverage for people with disabilities: 15 million, or 35% of the total population of people with disabilities, are enrolled in Medicaid.[17] People with disabilities enrolled in Medicaid often rely on their coverage for LTSS, which can include home health aide services, personal care services, and transportation.[17] As technology and care advances to enable people with disabilities to live longer, healthier lives, this is predicted to result in an increased demand for LTSS in the future.[11] Older adults and people with disabilities account for a greater share of Medicaid spending than other groups, however, given their often complex care needs and use of LTSS,[4] putting them at particular risk of any cuts to Medicaid spending. It is critical to protect the availability of funding to ensure people with disabilities receive the health care coverage and services that enable them to live healthy lives.

Mental Health

Millions of adults and children across the U.S. are experiencing mental health challenges.[18] Furthermore, suicide rates in the U.S. have risen, with a 12.7% increase from 2012 to 2022, with suicide being the second leading cause of death among youth ages 10 to 24.[19,20] Medicaid is the single largest payer for mental health services in the United States[21] and covers nearly one in three adults living with mental illness; i.e. 15 million people.[22] Medicaid also provides significant financing for the delivery of school-based behavioral services, providing access to approximately 4 in 10 children nationwide.[23] Reducing coverage for people with mental illness would result in disruptions to essential care and be devastating to health. The Academy is on record in support of policies that promote access to mental health care, including incorporating mental health into primary care services and screenings and growing partnerships between health professionals and communities to expand access to mental and behavioral health resources.[24] Continued support and expansion of mental health care resources through Medicaid is essential.

Maternal Health

The Academy stands firmly in support of ensuring access to health insurance throughout the perinatal period to promote health for mothers and infants.[25] Medicaid is a primary payer for births in the United States—more than two out of five mothers who gave birth in 2021 had Medicaid as the principal source of payment for the delivery (41%).[26] Promoting access to health care is critical to ensure mothers can prevent and address complications during and after pregnancy, making it an important step to improve the rate of maternal mortality and poor perinatal health outcomes in the United States. Studies have shown that Medicaid expansions that increased coverage (adopted by forty states and the District of Columbia) led to increased coverage rates before, during, and after pregnancy; increased access to prenatal and postpartum care; and better birth and postpartum outcomes.[27] Furthermore, while states are required to provide Medicaid coverage for 60 days after birth, forty-eight states and the District of Columbia have opted to expand postpartum Medicaid coverage to 12 months.[28] When facing difficult cost cutting decisions, states may reduce postpartum Medicaid coverage or otherwise reduce benefits available to mothers. Cuts to Medicaid put families' health at risk. Medicaid coverage is an important step to address maternal and infant health and should be protected.

Increased Economic Costs for States

While drastic cuts to Medicaid would cause substantial harm to people across the United States, it would also harm the economy. Loss of Medicaid funding will cause a ripple affect across state economies. It is

estimated that states' gross domestic products (GDPs) would be about $95 billion smaller, and the total economic output lost would be even deeper ($157 billion).[29] The average state's reduction in its GDP for 2026 would be $1.9 billion.[29] An estimated 888,000 jobs could be lost in 2026.[29] More than half of this total would be health care related at hospitals, clinics, doctors' offices, pharmacies, and nursing homes. This means there would be fewer health professionals available to provide care for both public and privately insured individuals with rural hospitals, pharmacies, and nursing homes suffering the most losses. These job losses are not isolated to the health care sector as another 411,000 jobs would also be lost to other industries including retail, construction, and manufacturing. [29]

Hospitals in states that expanded their Medicaid programs experienced lower rates of uncompensated care for the uninsured. These costs were approximately 2.7% of operating costs compared to 7.3% for hospitals in non-expansion states.[30] States with expanded Medicaid programs spent less on their programs for people with mental health and substance use disorders as the funding was already available within the Medicaid program.[31] Additionally, state tax revenues would decrease by as much as $7 billion due to a reduction in individual and business income.[29] As state budgets must be balanced, non-health related priorities such as education and infrastructure would be impacted as well. States will need to make additional difficult decisions beyond cuts to Medicaid.

The Academy strongly urges you to avoid cuts to Medicaid and take action to protect this essential program. We stand ready to work with you to provide expertise and shape policy solutions that champion health and well-being ensuring healthy lives for all people. If you have any questions or need additional information, please feel free to contact the Academy's Chief Policy Officer, Christine Murphy, at cmurphy@aannet.org.

Sincerely,

Linda D. Scott, PhD, RN, NEA-BC, FADLN, FNAP, FAAN
President, American Academy of Nursing

CC: U.S. House Committee on Energy and Commerce
U.S. House Committee on the Budget

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