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- 2 MEETING TO APPROVE: SUBCOMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS
- 3 FOR REPRESENTATIVE JUDY CHU; AND
- 4 MARKUP OF: H.R. 3596, THE "HEALTH
- 5 INSURANCE INDUSTRY ANTITRUST ENFORCEMENT ACT
- 6 OF 2009";
- 7 RATIFICATION OF IMMIGRATION RULES OF PROCEDURE
- 8 AND STATEMENT OF POLICY FOR PRIVATE
- 9 IMMIGRATION BILLS AND RULES OF PROCEDURE FOR
- 10 PRIVATE CLAIMS BILLS;
- 11 H.R. 42, THE "COMMISSION ON WARTIME RELOCATION
- 12 AND INTERNMENT OF LATIN AMERICANS OF JAPANESE
- 13 DESCENT ACT";
- 14 H.R. 1425, THE "WARTIME TREATMENT STUDY ACT"; AND
- 15 H.R. 3237, TO ENACT CERTAIN LAWS RELATING
- 16 TO NATIONAL AND COMMERCIAL SPACE PROGRAMS AS
- 17 TITLE 51, UNITED STATES CODE, "NATIONAL AND
- 18 COMMERCIAL SPACE PROGRAMS"
- 19 Wednesday, October 21, 2009
- 20 House of Representatives,
- 21 Committee on the Judiciary,

22 Washington, D.C.

- 23 The committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:15 a.m., in Room
- 24 2141, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. John Conyers
- 25 [chairman of the committee] presiding.
- 26 Present: Representatives Convers, Boucher, Nadler,
- 27 Scott, Watt, Jackson Lee, Waters, Delahunt, Wexler, Cohen,
- 28 Johnson, Pierluisi, Quigley, Chu, Gutierrez, Baldwin,
- 29 Gonzalez, Weiner, Schiff, Sanchez, Wasserman Schultz, Maffei,
- 30 Smith, Sensenbrenner, Coble, Goodlatte, Lungren, Issa,
- 31 Forbes, King, Franks, Gohmert, Jordan, Poe, Chaffetz, Rooney,
- 32 and Harper.
- 33 Staff present: Perry Apelbaum, Staff Director/Chief
- 34 Counsel; Ted Kalo, General Counsel/Deputy Staff Director;
- 35 George Slover, Legislative Counsel/Parliamentarian; Sean
- 36 McLaughlin, Minority Chief of Staff/General Counsel; Allison

37 Halataei, Minority Deputy Chief of Staff/Parliamentarian; and
38 Anita L. Johnson, Clerk.

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        Chairman Conyers. [Presiding.] Committee will come to
40 order. Good morning. I call for a quorum-quorum call.
41 Clerk will call the roll.
42
        The Clerk. Mr. Conyers?
43
        Chairman Conyers. Present.
44
        The Clerk. Mr. Berman?
45
        [No response.]
46
        Mr. Boucher?
47
        [No response.]
48
        Mr. Nadler?
49
        Mr. Nadler. Present.
50
        The Clerk. Mr. Scott?
51
        [No response.]
52
        Mr. Watt?
53
        [No response.]
54
        Ms. Lofgren?
55
        [No response.]
56
        Ms. Jackson Lee?
57
        [No response.]
58
        Ms. Waters?
59
        [No response.]
60
        Mr. Delahunt?
61
        [No response.]
62
        Mr. Wexler?
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[No response.]

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64
        Mr. Cohen?
65
        [No response.]
66
        Mr. Johnson?
67
        [No response.]
        Mr. Pierluisi?
68
69
        [No response.]
        Mr. Quigley?
70
71
        [No response.]
72
        Mr. Gutierrez?
73
        [No response.]
74
        Mr. Sherman?
75
        [No response.]
76
        Mr. Baldwin?
77
        [No response.]
78
        Mr. Gonzalez?
79
        [No response.]
80
        Mr. Weiner?
81
        [No response.]
82
        Mr. Schiff?
83
        [No response.]
84
        Ms. Sanchez?
85
        [No response.]
86
        Ms. Wasserman Schultz?
87
        [No response.]
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Mr. Maffei?

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89
         [No response.]
90
         Mr. Smith?
91
         [No response.]
92
         Mr. Sensenbrenner?
93
         [No response.]
94
         Mr. Coble?
95
         [No response.]
96
         Mr. Gallegly?
97
         [No response.]
98
         Mr. Goodlatte?
99
         [No response.]
100
         Mr. Lungren?
101
         [No response.]
102
         Mr. Issa?
103
         [No response.]
104
         Mr. Forbes?
105
         [No response.]
106
         Mr. King?
107
         [No response.]
108
         Mr. Franks?
109
         [No response.]
110
         Mr. Gohmert?
111
         [No response.]
112
         Mr. Jordan?
113
         [No response.]
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114
        Mr. Poe?
115
         [No response.]
116
        Mr. Chaffetz?
117
        [No response.]
118
        Mr. Rooney?
119
         [No response.]
120
         Mr. Harper?
121
         [No response.]
122
         Chairman Conyers. Mr. Quigley?
123
         Mr. Quigley. Here.
124
         Chairman Conyers. Ms. Baldwin?
125
        Ms. Baldwin. Here.
126
         Chairman Conyers. Mr. Scott?
127
         Judge Gonzalez?
128
         Ranking Member Smith?
129
        Mr. Harper?
130
        Mr. Schiff?
131
         Ms. Jackson Lee?
         Mr. Forbes?
132
133
         Mr. Franks?
         Ms. Chu?
134
135
        Mr. Coble?
136
         Ms. Wasserman Schultz?
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Clerk will report.

The Clerk. Mr. Chairman, including Ms. Chu, we have 16

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138

- 139 members responding to the quorum call.
- 140 Chairman Conyers. Before we begin the business at hand,
- 141 myself and the committee would like to welcome our newest
- 142 member, Dr. Judy Chu, of Monterey Park, California. She was
- 143 elected on July 14th, sworn in on July 16th, replacing our
- 144 former colleague, Hilda Solis, who has since become the
- 145 secretary of labor.
- 146 She is a Los Angelean and has served at every level of
- 147 government-of state government-in her area. Since 2006 she
- 148 was on the California State Board of Equalization, where she
- 149 was unanimously elected vice chair. And before that she
- 150 served three terms as a state assembly member and authored
- 151 landmark tax amnesty legislation that brought in nearly \$5
- 152 billion in revenue to the state of California without raising
- 153 taxes. She is also the chair of the California Asian and
- 154 Pacific Islander legislative caucus and of the Select
- 155 Committee on Hate Crimes.
- 156 Before her state assembly career she served on the
- 157 Monterey city council, 13 years, and as mayor on three
- 158 different occasions. And she was also previously a member of
- 159 the Board of the Garvey School District from 1985 to 1988.
- 160 She is a doctor of psychology and has been a college
- 161 professor for more than 2 decades.
- Her grandparents were from China; she is the first
- 163 Chinese American woman ever elected to the U.S. Congress.

- 164 And we are happy to assign to her the Immigration
- 165 Subcommittee, the Constitution Subcommittee, and the
- 166 Commercial and Administrative Law Committee.
- 167 Will we all welcome our newest member to the Congress—to
- 168 the Judiciary Committee?
- 169 [Applause.]
- 170 I recognize Ranking Member Lamar Smith.
- 171 Mr. Smith. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I would like
- 172 to join you in welcoming Judy Chu to the Judiciary Committee.
- Judy, it strikes me that you have two advantages over
- 174 the rest of us. First of all, your good judgment and common
- 175 sense has been untainted by 3 years of law school. The
- 176 second is, as the chairman pointed out, you have a Ph.D. in
- 177 clinical psychology, and it strikes me that that credential
- 178 will be put to good use in your dealing with witnesses at
- 179 hearings and in dealing with members of the committee itself.
- 180 So we appreciate your being here, and welcome to the
- 181 committee.
- 182 Chairman Conyers. Our colleague, Mr. Maffei, is
- 183 transferred to the Courts Subcommittee. Pursuant to notice,
- 184 I call up H.R. 3596, the Health Insurance Industry Antitrust
- 185 Enforcement Act for purposes of markup and ask the clerk to
- 186 please report the bill.
- 187 The Clerk. H.R. 3596, a bill to ensure that health
- 188 insurance insurers and medical malpractice insurance insurers

- 189 cannot engage in price fixing, bid rigging, or market
- 190 allocations to the detriment of competition and consumers.
- 191 [The bill follows:]
- 192 ******* INSERT *******

- 193 Chairman Conyers. Without objection, the bill will be
- 194 considered as read.
- 195 On April 4, 1989, in the Judiciary Committee, the then
- 196 chairman, Jack Brooks, introduced essentially the same
- 197 measure that is before us today, and it has been up and down
- 198 the subcommittee, the full committee, but for reasons only
- 199 history can record it never was enacted into law. So we come
- 200 here today to reconsider the same measure, and some of my
- 201 colleagues—the chairman emeritus Lamar, Bob Goodlatte, Coble—
- 202 all remember Jack Brooks. They served with and under him.
- 203 And I telephoned him to let him know that—what we were
- 204 doing. Only thing is, he didn't answer the phone, which is
- 205 not untypical of the former chairman.
- 206 But we come here with a wealth of encouragement. I ask
- 207 unanimous consent to include the comments of the National
- 208 Association of Attorneys General, of the Center for Justice-
- 209 Public Citizens Center for Justice and Democracy, the
- 210 American Hospital Association, American Association for
- 211 Justice, which are all merely communications endorsing our
- 212 undertaking of this very important step in moving H.R. 3596
- **213** along.
- There is a lot to be discussed, as we all know that the
- 215 reform of health care is now the number one topic in the
- 216 Congress and in the country, and this is not unrelated to
- 217 that subject. And so I thank my colleagues on the committee

- 218 for the attention that they have paid to this matter and we
- 219 welcome their study, any recommendations that they may have,
- 220 and hope that we can have a meaningful role in the important
- 221 efforts underway in the House of Representatives.
- I ask unanimous consent to include the remainder of my
- 223 statement in the record, and I turn now to the ranking
- 224 member, Lamar Smith, of Texas.
- 225 [The statement of Chairman Convers follows:]
- 226 ****** COMMITTEE INSERT *******

- 227 Mr. Smith. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 228 Mr. Chairman, despite your invoking the name of our
- 229 former chairman and a Texas colleague of mine, Jack Brooks, I
- 230 am afraid I still have to oppose this legislation. The
- 231 McCarran-Ferguson Act's federal antitrust exemption allows
- 232 small and medium-sized insurers to aggregate information for
- 233 underwriting purposes so they can compete effectively against
- 234 larger national companies. In other words, McCarran-Ferguson
- 235 promotes competition by making small and medium-sized
- 236 underwriters viable.
- 237 McCarran-Ferguson is not intended to reduce competition
- 238 through price fixing, bid rigging, or market allocation.
- 239 Instead, the act clarifies that insurers are regulated by the
- 240 states, which ensure that firms do not engage in these per se
- 241 antitrust violations, either through regulation or through
- 242 their own laws.
- 243 Antitrust exemption should be rarely granted or created,
- 244 and if they are necessary should be written in as limited a
- 245 way as necessary to meet a compelling public policy goal.
- 246 That said, when repealing an existing antitrust exemption we
- 247 must be very careful of the unintended consequences of our
- 248 actions. This is a real concern.
- 249 For more than 60 years the states have regulated the
- 250 business of insurance and built a record that provides
- 251 guidance about permissible activity. By inviting federal

- 252 intervention, this bill might create a dual regulatory system
- 253 that only confuses the health insurance and medical
- 254 malpractice industry.
- 255 It is doubtful that this legislation will do anything
- 256 beneficial for the customer, and I certainly do not believe
- 257 one hearing on this subject and no subcommittee markup is an
- 258 adequate basis on which to make judgments about the effects
- 259 of this bill on such an important topic. It is possible that
- 260 H.R. 3596 will be folded into a larger health care bill. To
- 261 address that subject and one under our jurisdiction, it is
- 262 better that we focus our attention on frivolous lawsuits
- 263 against medical personnel which create real problems and real
- 264 cost.
- 265 According to a study by the Harvard School of Public
- 266 Health, 40 percent of medical malpractice suits filed in the
- 267 United States are "without merit." So every doctor must
- 268 purchase malpractice insurance at great expense to protect
- 269 against frivolous lawsuits.
- 270 A Department of Health and Human Services study found
- 271 that unlimited excessive damages add \$70 billion to \$126
- 272 billion annually to health care costs. Doctors are so
- 273 concerned about frivolous lawsuits that they order
- 274 unnecessary tests and procedures that do not benefit the
- 275 patient.
- 276 HHS estimates the national cost of defensive medicine is

- 277 now more than \$60 billion. All these costs are then passed
- 278 on to patients in the price of health care. That is why some
- 279 states, including my home state of Texas, enacted tort reform
- 280 to limit the amount of excessive damages awarded in frivolous
- 281 suits.
- The result: Insurance premiums have fallen 30 to 40
- 283 percent and the availability of medical care has expanded.
- 284 That means Texans and others could pay less to have more
- 285 options and better health care.
- 286 Mr. Chairman, in closing, I believe we are rushing in
- 287 consideration of H.R. 3596. I urge members to oppose the
- 288 bill.
- 289 And I will yield back the balance of my time. Mr.
- 290 Chairman?
- 291 Chairman Conyers. Thank you very much. The chair
- 292 recognizes one of our members who has worked extensively on
- 293 the larger subject, Anthony Weiner, of New York, briefly.
- 294 Mr. Weiner. I move to strike the last word. I
- 295 appreciate being recognized.
- I think I have identified a group of about 100 or so
- 297 members of this Congress who should enthusiastically embrace
- 298 this legislation, and that is all of those members of
- 299 Congress who have been arguing on television and town hall
- 300 meetings that they want to allow insurance companies to be
- 301 able to cross over state lines to be able to offer products.

- 302 Been hearing it a lot. Well, this is the logical step to do 303 that, the argument being that if you want them to be 304 regulated like every other company, not state by state, which 305 is what happens when you suspend the antitrust exemption, you 306 have to regulate them state by state, then this is your 307 opportunity.
- 308 What the health insurance industry—and they are not 309 venal people; they are doing exactly what they are supposed 310 to be doing. They are trying to maximize the amount of money 311 they take in, minimize the amount of money that they spend 312 out. That is the way businesses operate.
- Unfortunately, the way that they are choosing to do it 314 is simply not to compete on price, and if you think that 315 there isn't some level of cooperation, to put it mildly, 316 going on, try this exercise: Try asking, say, a 57-year-old 317 man in your district to go knock on the doors of the various 318 insurance companies and ask them what their rate would be to 319 provide them with health insurance. And you will see what my 320 father found when he retired before he has old enough to be 321 eligible for Medicare: a surprising alignment of the—nearly 322 the exact same price for the services.
- Look, I think the insurance industry has to decide which 324 of the two sides of this discussion they want to be on. Do 325 they say, "We want to operate like a national company like 326 anyone else who can offer policies in Maine, and policies in

- 327 New Jersey, and policies in Montana? Or do we want to
- 328 maintain our antitrust exemption-this special status we have-
- 329 and be regulated state by state?"
- But you can't have both. You can't say, "We want to be
- 331 like every other industry except we want this special
- 332 protection that is really a quirk in the law."
- And I will say to my good friend from Texas, the ranking
- 334 member, you can make the argument that companies would be
- 335 better off and more competitive joining together in just
- 336 about any business. You can get five bodegas in New York to
- 337 say, "I would have a better job competing against the big
- 338 supermarket on the corner if we were able to join together
- 339 and conspire about prices."
- Of course. That is the very definition of why you have
- 341 antitrust laws. It is the very definition about why you have
- 342 these protections.
- Any industry can step up and say, "Hey guys, we would
- 344 really be much stronger if you didn't regulate us and didn't
- 345 apply antitrust laws to us." Duh. Yes, of course you would
- 346 be. You would be a pretty powerful company, and you would be
- 347 a pretty powerful industry. And you would be an industry
- 348 that takes about 30 percent in profits and overhead, skims
- 349 off the top, for every dollar of health care we spend in this
- 350 country.
- 351 Look, there is a reason we are here. The health

- 352 insurance industry has benefitted from the inefficiencies in
- 353 the marketplace. Some of them have been by congressional
- 354 inaction, and some of them would be called quirks, like
- 355 having antitrust exemptions when they are no rational reasons
- 356 to have it. And we are going to eliminate that quirk today.
- 357 And I thank the chairman.
- 358 Chairman Conyers. You are very welcome.
- 359 The chair recognizes the distinguished gentleman from
- 360 Virginia, Bob Goodlatte.
- 361 Mr. Goodlatte. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I
- 362 thank that chairman for bringing up the health care reform
- 363 issue in this committee. I join with the ranking member in
- 364 wondering why it is limited to this narrow area, and if fact,
- 365 if this bill would be so narrow in its scope.
- 366 Certainly this committee has jurisdiction over medical
- 367 liability reform, and it is a real curiosity why, when the
- 368 health care industry is nearly unanimous in saying that there
- 369 are tens of billions of dollars a year spent on defensive
- 370 medicine, ordering up unnecessary tests and procedures that
- 371 cost those who purchase health insurance substantial amounts
- 372 of money and could have a very direct effect on lowering that
- 373 cost, and why that has not been addressed in this committee,
- 374 notwithstanding the fact that the president of the United
- 375 States has indicated his support for tort reform in this
- 376 area. So it is surprising to me that this would be the only

- 377 area that we would bring up and address.
- 378 But I suspect it has to do with what was reported on
- 379 National Public Radio this morning, that this bill is being
- 380 brought up in an attempt to weaken the insurance industry's
- 381 opposition to massive, massive amounts of government
- 382 regulation and interference in the marketplace-not creating
- 383 more competition, but creating more government control over
- 384 the insurance industry, and that this is designed to try to
- 385 weaken their opposition to the health care bill since they
- 386 are now speaking out more forcefully about that.
- Furthermore, I think it is totally ironic that while I
- 388 am sure that most, but I know not all, the members of this
- 389 committee on the other side of the aisle support the so-
- 390 called government insurance option, which is the furthest
- 391 thing from creating real competition because it entails two
- 392 things: It entails giving the government, which is in itself
- 393 a monopoly of power, the ability not only to compete with
- 394 private insurance companies but also enhances their ability
- 395 to regulate those insurance companies at the federal level.
- 396 So to say that this measure today is going to increase
- 397 competition in the insurance industry, when you couple it
- 398 with the entire picture of what is going on in this Congress
- 399 with regard to health reform, is, in my opinion, a gross
- 400 misrepresentation of what is really going on here and why we
- 401 should be approaching this with great concern. There are

- 402 elements of the McCarran-Ferguson Act that, with careful
- 403 examination and proper hearings, we could indeed find good
- 404 reform, I think, that could take place there.
- But we certainly wouldn't want to take away the ability
- 406 of, as the ranking member mentioned, small insurance
- 407 companies to be able to gather information about accidents
- 408 and rates and costs that are necessary for them to be able to
- 409 compete in the marketplace. And that is what this does with
- 410 the exception-and I would note, with the exception-it
- 411 wouldn't stop that information from being gathered by the
- 412 states nor would it stop the states from regulating the
- 413 establishment of price setting by the insurance industry.
- 414 So to claim that this is going to open up the
- 415 marketplace and create competition, I think is definitely not
- 416 the case and I would urge members to approach this with
- 417 caution because it is going to have a lot of ramifications
- 418 that, because of the fact that no hearings have been held and
- 419 because of the fact that so little time has been spent on
- 420 this, we really don't know what the unintended consequences
- 421 of this measure are.
- 422 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 423 Chairman Convers. Thank you, Mr. Goodlatte.
- I recognize the chairman of the Constitution
- 425 Subcommittee, Jerrold Nadler, and ask him to yield to me.
- 426 Mr. Nadler. Yield to you?

- 427 I yield to the chairman.
- 428 Chairman Conyers. I would like to help our colleague
- 429 from Virginia feel better about some of the substance of this
- 430 bill. First of all, since 1984 there have been more than 12
- 431 hearings on this subject in the Judiciary Committee. Well,
- 432 some of you weren't here then, but the person that made this
- 433 statement was here.
- Number two, the public option is not to be found
- 435 anywhere on this bill-in this bill-so everybody opposed to
- 436 the public option can rest more peacefully in their bed
- 437 tonight because-
- 438 Mr. Goodlatte. Mr. Chairman?
- 439 Chairman Conyers. —the public option isn't on there.
- Mr. Goodlatte. Mr. Chairman, would you yield on that
- **441** point?
- Chairman Convers. He has the time.
- But the third thing that I would like you to note, that
- 444 medical malpractice is involved in this measure. We are
- 445 taking action on it, and it is on the second page of the
- 446 bill. I hope that the gentleman will be more relieved to
- 447 find that out.
- 448 And I thank the gentleman for yielding.
- 449 Mr. Nadler. I thank the gentleman. Reclaiming my time,
- 450 I just want to say that I agree with Mr. Goodlatte. I wish
- 451 this bill were different. I wish it eliminated the antitrust

- 452 exemption for insurance companies, period, instead of
- 453 limiting itself to the narrow scope that it has.
- 454 But we must be satisfied with what we can do, and if
- 455 because of the heightened sensitivity toward health care that
- 456 we have now-if, because we realize that contrary to the
- 457 absurd implications that we heard a few minutes ago, that we
- 458 have to allow the antitrust exemption for insurance companies
- 459 so the little companies can get together-94 percent of
- 460 Americans live in areas where there is only one or two health
- 461 insurance companies giving policies. This is a very
- 462 monopolized and oligopolized industry. They are gouging
- 463 consumers; they are gouging the doctors.
- 464 I don't think the answer to the malpractice insurance
- 465 premium crisis is to say to people who are injured, "Can't
- 466 sue." The answer is to crack down on the insurance—one of
- 467 the answers; there are several others—is to crack down on the
- 468 insurance companies that are gouging the doctors by—as they
- 469 are gouging everyone else-by raising the rates unnecessarily,
- 470 by conspiring to raise the rates against the antitrust-
- 471 because of the antitrust exemption. We are here removing and
- 472 eliminating the antitrust exemption.
- 473 Let me say one other thing: I know we are not debating
- 474 in this bill the public option, but Mr. Goodlatte talked
- 475 about it. The fact is, the public option will stand on its
- 476 own. It will have to be supported only by premiums. It is

- 477 not the power of the government coming in to compete with the
- 478 insurance companies except in the sense of setting up an
- 479 alternative that won't seek actively, as their first
- 480 principle, to gouge the consumers. That is unfair
- 481 competition in our system and we must have more of it.
- So I support the bill, and I yield back.
- 483 Chairman Conyers. Thank you.
- I would like now to recognize someone else that was here
- 485 in 1984, and that is Chairman Howard Coble.
- 486 Mr. Coble. Mr. Chairman, thank you, but I came in early
- 487 1985, so you are making me about 4 months older than I am,
- 488 and I feel sensitive about that.
- 489 Chairman Conyers. I beg the gentleman's pardon.
- 490 Mr. Coble. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I will move to
- 491 strike the last word. I won't use the 5 minutes, Mr.
- 492 Chairman, but in the language of the bill it says it is the
- 493 purpose of this act to ensure that health insurance carriers
- 494 and malpractice insurance issuers cannot engage in price
- 495 fixing, bid rigging, or market allocation to the detriment of
- 496 competition and consumers.
- Now, I may be missing something, colleagues, but I am
- 498 not convinced that they engage in price fixing and bid
- 499 rigging now. Now, I know they exchange information with one
- 500 another, which they can do because of the exemption.
- But I don't know, Mr. Chairman and colleagues, that the

- 502 mere sharing of information constitutes or comes to the level
- 503 of price rigging-bid rigging and price fixing or market
- 504 allocation to the detriment of—and if I am correct about that
- 505 I think this portion of the bill may well be redundant in
- 506 that the law addresses it now.
- 507 With that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back.
- Mr. Goodlatte. Would you yield?
- 509 Chairman Convers. Thank the gentleman-
- Mr. Coble. I yield to the gentleman from Virginia.
- Mr. Goodlatte. I thank the gentleman for yielding, and
- 512 I would just like to say to both gentlemen from New York that
- 513 I am-as they leave the room-I am encouraged by their
- 514 statements about wanting to open up competition more, and I
- 515 would hope that their comments would indicate that they would
- 516 support allowing the sale of health insurance policies across
- 517 state lines. And if, indeed, that is their claim, as Mr.
- 518 Weiner suggested, this legislation was the first step to
- 519 doing so, why don't we join together here today and take the
- 520 next step and actually pass legislation that would remove
- 521 those barriers to that kind of competition? This committee
- 522 probably has some jurisdiction over that.
- Mr. Coble. I will reclaim and yield back, Mr. Chairman.
- 524 Chairman Conyers. Thank you.
- 525 I would like now to recognize the gentleman from
- 526 Georgia, Subcommittee Chairman Hank Johnson.

- 527 Mr. Johnson. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I move to
- 528 strike the last word.
- 529 Thank you for bringing H.R. 3596, the Health Industry
- 530 Antitrust Enforcement Act of 2009, before this full committee
- 531 to be marked up. And I am proud to be an original cosponsor
- 532 of this legislation.
- This bill is an extremely important piece of
- 534 legislation. As chairman of the Courts and Competition
- 535 Policy Subcommittee, I believe that it is important to
- 536 protect the fundamentals of antitrust laws, and pursuant to
- 537 that philosophy, a hearing was held in my subcommittee back
- 538 on October the 8th of 2009-this year. And unfortunately,
- 539 however, the insurance industry representatives failed and
- 540 refused to attend.
- 541 There is no reason that the health care industry should
- 542 be exempt from antitrust laws that almost every other
- 543 industry is subject to. Health care costs are extremely
- 544 high, and they have increased a total of 87 percent in the
- 545 last 6 years alone. Now, that is health insurance premiums.
- 546 With respect to medical malpractice premiums, I suspect that
- 547 they have gone up even more.
- And this is one of the setups—this tort reform issue is
- 549 a setup to take away people's rights to be able to address
- 550 medical negligence that occurs in the courthouse. And, you
- 551 know, this has been something that has been brewing for quite

- 552 some time, particularly on the state level, and now the feds
- 553 want to overrule any states that do not impose limits on the
- 554 amount of damages or the immunity to certain parts of the
- 555 health care industry, like emergency room personnel-
- Chairman Conyers. I thank the gentleman.
- Mr. Johnson. -but they want to impose that on states.
- 558 But passage of this bill will prevent the health and medical
- 559 malpractice insurers from using the antitrust—as a shield for
- 560 price fixing, bid rigging, or market allocation, and with
- 561 this bill we are taking steps to help consumers.
- Thank you, and—
- Chairman Convers. I thank the gentleman for his
- 564 contribution.
- 565 Before I recognize the gentlewoman from California for
- 566 an amendment, I recognize Dr. Chu.
- Ms. Chu. Well, first I would like to thank Chairman
- 568 Convers for his warm welcome this morning.
- Thank you so very much.
- I am excited to be the newest member of the Judiciary
- 571 Committee and I look forward to working with all of you on
- 572 important issues that improve the lives of Americans.
- I think it is significant that my first vote in this
- 574 committee will be on a bill that is as important and life-
- 575 changing as this one. Like many of you, health care is one
- 576 of my top priorities in Congress, and I believe the only way

- 577 we can make a system with private insurance work in America
- 578 is if it is based on aggressive competition. That is why I
- 579 do support the public option, because I do believe that it
- 580 provides incentives for competitive pricing in the exchange,
- 581 and that is why I support this legislation as well.
- I think my constituents would be shocked to learn that
- 583 the antitrust exemption is even on the books. I know I was.
- 584 Price fixing, bid rigging, and market allocation go against
- 585 the core of what it means to do business in American.
- We cannot implement true health care reform if we don't
- 587 ensure a fair playing field for patients, doctors, and
- 588 insurers. Health care is expensive and out of the reach for
- 589 many, even at sticker price, and for many it is a matter of
- 590 life and death.
- This bill is, at its core, about fairness, and so I
- 592 strongly support this bill and I hope it will pass today and
- 593 be included in the final health care reform package.
- Chairman Conyers. Thank you very much.
- 595 Well, I recognize Dan Lungren for an amendment and note
- **596** that he was here in 1984.
- Mr. Lungren. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment at the
- 598 desk.
- Chairman Conyers. Clerk will report the amendment.
- The Clerk. Amendment to H.R. 3596, offered by Mr.
- 601 Daniel E. Lungren, of California. At the end, add the

- Mr. Lungren. We can have the amendment considered as 606 read.
- 607 Chairman Conyers. Without objection, so ordered. The
- 608 gentleman is recognized in support of his amendment.
- Mr. Lungren. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- Before I mention the context—or the content of my
- 611 amendment, I would just like to say, as someone who practiced
- 612 in the field of medical malpractice in the courts of
- 613 California and also the son of a doctor, I am surprised to
- 614 hear some of the comments from our friends from New York who
- 615 suggest that if you talked with most doctors they would
- 616 immediately say, "We don't want medical malpractice reform in
- 617 terms of reforming the tort system. Rather, we want you to
- 618 get rid of the antitrust exemption under McCarran-Ferguson."
- 619 I have talked with all kinds of doctors over the last 40
- 620 years. I have never heard a single one of them say that.
- Also, the complaints we-
- Mr. Nadler. Point of personal privilege.
- Mr. Lungren. Well-but the point is-the point is that we
- 624 have self-insured doctors, we have associations where doctors
- 625 got together to provide their own insurance companies, and
- 626 they found the problem was not with their competitor
- 627 insurance companies; the problem was with the tort system.
- And we have made some changes in California which are of
- 629 assistance, but talk about a red herring in this debate, to

- 630 say that all we really are addressing—the key question of
- 631 medical malpractice by eliminating the antitrust exemption
- 632 for insurance carriers, including those that provide medical
- 633 malpractice insurance-frankly, with all due respect, Mr.
- 634 Chairman and others, is absurd. It is absolutely absurd. I
- 635 think you could go through most of the testimony and most of
- 636 the comments by physicians across the country and have some
- 637 difficulty in finding that.
- Now, with respect to my amendment, the chairman said, in
- 639 talking about this bill, that this is a tribute to Jack
- 640 Brooks, and I did serve with Jack Brooks. But unfortunately,
- 641 the bill that is before us leaves out a very important aspect
- 642 of the legislation that Jack Brooks spoke about. The
- 643 language I have in my amendment may look familiar to some of
- 644 you who were around in the 101st Congress because it is
- 645 exactly the same language in the legislation introduced by
- 646 the former chairman of the committee, Jack Brooks, except for
- 647 the transition language, which is not really relevant to this
- 648 bill.
- I would add that this language was adopted by this
- 650 committee on October 27, 1990, as H.R. 1663. Similar
- 651 language passed this committee in the 102nd and 103rd
- 652 Congresses. And I offer this amendment as someone who is
- 653 categorically opposed to price fixing, bid rigging, and
- 654 market allocations, which would operate to the detriment of

- 655 consumers.
- My concern, however, as was Jack Brooks' concern,
- 657 relates to a desire to avoid the law of unintended
- 658 consequences. Some have observed that insurance is different
- 659 from other industries because when it is sold the insurer
- 660 does not know what the cost of the policy will be. In
- 661 addition, insurance insolvency—or insurer insolvencies—can
- 662 pose significant social costs.
- In this regard, the GAO, the Government Accounting
- 664 Office-or, Accountability Office-in its July 28, 2005 report
- 665 entitled, "Ultimate Effects of McCarran-Ferguson Federal
- 666 Antitrust Exemption on Insurer Activity Are Unclear," raises
- 667 a concern which should warrant our attention, I would hope.
- 668 Specifically, the report contained this language: Some state
- 669 regulators told us that lack of certainty about future costs
- 670 leads some insurers to underestimate their future costs and
- 671 significantly underprice their policies, potentially leading
- 672 to costly insolvencies. They said that joint rate-making
- 673 provides more information and greater certainty to insurers.
- I would suggest the last thing we would want to do with
- 675 this bill is to in any way jeopardize the solvency of smaller
- 676 insurance companies who depend on contractual arrangements
- 677 concerning the aggregation of historical loss data which
- 678 makes it possible for smaller companies to price their
- 679 policies in a manner which reflects likely costs. My

- 680 amendment would allow agreements concerning the compilation
- 681 of this historical loss as long as it would not constitute a
- 682 restraint of trade.
- Now, we began this markup with considerable deference to
- 684 the past track record of Chairman Brooks, and so I was
- 685 surprised when I looked at the bill presented to us that it
- 686 did not contain this. This really goes to the crux of the
- 687 matter, it seems to me.
- No one on this panel, Democrat or Republican, supports
- 689 the idea of bid rigging, or price fixing, or market
- 690 allocation in the antitrust context. At the same time, there
- 691 seems to be some recognition that the states can gather this
- 692 information, as if the states can do it but we are not going
- 693 to allow these organizations, these companies to do it in a
- 694 way that would give them the kind of data such that they
- 695 could make determinations as to what their rates ought to be.
- 696 For those who have ever been involved in representing
- 697 the pools that have been established in states to take care
- 698 of insolvent insurance companies, you recognize that that is
- 699 not the best way to do things. You would hope that that is
- 700 the very last resort. Insolvent insurance companies do
- 701 nothing to improve the situation of competition with respect
- 702 to the consumer.
- 703 And so for us to pass legislation which denies the
- 704 historic record showing that this kind of information

- 705 compilation serves a good social purpose, one recognized by
- 706 the former chairman of the committee, Mr. Brooks, I think
- 707 would be wrong.
- 708 So I offer this amendment in good faith to hope that
- 709 this would satisfy the concern that some have that our bill
- 710 would unnecessarily interfere with a process that has worked
- 711 well and really worked not only uncertainty but certain
- 712 financial difficulty for smaller insurance companies.
- 713 And so I would hope that I would get the support of both
- 714 sides of this rostrum on this particular amendment. And with
- 715 that, I would yield back the balance of my time.
- 716 Chairman Conyers. I want to thank the gentleman for his
- 717 gentleman-I strike the last word-because I think this is a
- 718 helpful clarification, and his interests going back to the
- 719 original discussions and the discussion today are deeply
- 720 appreciated, because it does assure insurers-smaller ones,
- 721 particularly-regarding the collection and use of historical
- 722 claims data that is important to some sectors of the
- 723 insurance industry, and it does not raise competitive
- 724 concerns. The committee has provided this assurance in the
- 725 past, and there is no reason that I can think of that we
- 726 shouldn't also do so here. And so I am pleased to accept the
- 727 amendment.
- 728 The question occurs on the amendment. All in favor, say
- 729 "aye."

- 730 [A chorus of ayes.]
- 731 Chairman Conyers. All opposed, say "no."
- 732 [A chorus of noes.]
- 733 Chairman Conyers. The ayes have it, and so ordered.
- 734 Did Mr. Pierluisi want to strike the last word? Or can
- 735 we move-
- 736 Mr. Pierluisi. Yes. I wanted to strike the last word-
- 737 but I guess we just approved the amendment, so it has become-
- 738 what I wanted to say, though, is that I wonder why you use
- 739 the word "conspiracy" as opposed to "joint venture" or
- 740 something along the same lines. I believe the word
- 741 "conspiracy," in and of itself, suggests illegal conduct, and
- 742 I am not sure you need that word there. But again, I support
- 743 the amendment and the purpose of the amendment; it was just a
- 744 matter of the word. I am not sure you are talking about
- 745 really a conspiracy. You are really talking about a joint
- 746 venture or something along those lines.
- 747 Mr. Lungren. Would the gentleman yield?
- 748 Mr. Pierluisi. Sure I will.
- 749 Mr. Lungren. I would say to the gentleman that if it
- 750 were illegal to conspire, the health care bill that is
- 751 working its way through the Congress now would be toast.
- 752 [Laughter.]
- 753 Chairman Convers. A reporting quorum being present, the
- 754 question is on reporting the bill favorably to the House.

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755 Those in favor, say "aye."
756
         [A chorus of ayes.]
757
         Chairman Conyers. Those opposed, say "no."
758
        [A chorus of noes.]
759
         Chairman Conyers. Ayes have it, and the bill is ordered
760 reported favorably.
761
        Mr. Scott. Chairman?
762
        Chairman Convers. Mr. Scott?
763
        Mr. Scott. Could we get a recorded vote, please?
764
         Chairman Conyers. A recorded vote is ordered. The
765 clerk will call the roll.
766
         The Clerk. Mr. Convers?
767
        Chairman Conyers. Aye.
768
         The Clerk. Mr. Conyers votes aye.
769
        Mr. Berman?
770
        [No response.]
771
        Mr. Boucher?
772
        [No response.]
773
        Mr. Nadler?
774
        [No reponse.]
775
        Mr. Scott?
776
        Mr. Scott. Aye.
777
        The Clerk. Mr. Scott votes aye.
778
        Mr. Watt?
779
        [No response.]
```

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780
        Ms. Lofgren?
781
        [No response.]
782
        Ms. Jackson Lee?
783
        [No response.]
784
        Ms. Waters?
785
        [No response.]
786
        Mr. Delahunt?
787
        [No response.]
788
        Mr. Wexler?
789
         [No response.]
790
        Mr. Cohen?
791
        Mr. Cohen. Aye.
792
         The Clerk. Mr. Cohen votes aye.
793
        Mr. Johnson?
794
        Mr. Johnson. Aye.
795
         The Clerk. Mr. Johnson votes aye.
796
        Mr. Pierluisi?
797
        Mr. Pierluisi. Aye.
798
         The Clerk. Mr. Pierluisi votes aye.
799
        Mr. Quigley?
800
         Mr. Quigley. Aye.
801
         The Clerk. Mr. Quigley votes aye.
802
         Ms. Chu?
803
        Ms. Chu. Aye.
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The Clerk. Ms. Chu votes aye.

804

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805
        Mr. Gutierrez?
806
        [No response.]
807
        Ms. Baldwin?
808
        [No reponse.]
809
        Mr. Gonzalez?
810
        [No response.]
811
        Mr. Weiner?
812
        Mr. Weiner. Aye.
813
        The Clerk. Mr. Weiner votes aye.
814
        Mr. Schiff?
815
        Mr. Schiff. Aye.
816
        The Clerk. Mr. Schiff votes aye.
817
        Ms. Sanchez?
818
        Ms. Sanchez. Aye.
819
        The Clerk. Ms. Sanchez votes aye.
820
        Ms. Wasserman Schultz?
821
        Ms. Wasserman Schultz. Aye.
822
         The Clerk. Ms. Wasserman Schultz votes aye.
823
        Mr. Maffei?
824
        Mr. Maffei. Aye.
825
        The Clerk. Mr. Maffei votes aye.
826
        Mr. Smith?
827
        Mr. Smith. No.
```

The Clerk. Mr. Smith votes no.

Mr. Goodlatte?

828

- 830 Mr. Goodlatte. No.
- 831 The Clerk. Mr. Goodlatte votes no.
- Mr. Sensenbrenner?
- [No response.]
- Mr. Coble?
- Mr. Coble. No.
- The Clerk. Mr. Coble votes no.
- Mr. Gallegly?
- 838 [No response.]
- Mr. Lungren?
- Mr. Lungren. Aye.
- The Clerk. Mr. Lungren votes aye.
- 842 Mr. Issa?
- [No response.]
- Mr. Forbes?
- Mr. Forbes. No.
- The Clerk. Mr. Forbes votes no.
- 847 Mr. King?
- 848 Mr. King. No.
- The Clerk. Mr. King votes no.
- Mr. Franks?
- [No response.]
- Mr. Gohmert?
- Mr. Gohmert. Aye.
- The Clerk. Mr. Gohmert votes aye.

- Mr. Jordan?
- Mr. Jordan. No.
- The Clerk. Mr. Jordan votes no.
- **858** Mr. Poe?
- 859 [No response.]
- Mr. Chaffetz?
- Mr. Chaffetz. No.
- The Clerk. Mr. Chaffetz votes no.
- Mr. Rooney?
- Mr. Rooney. Aye.
- The Clerk. Mr. Rooney votes aye.
- Mr. Harper?
- Mr. Harper. No.
- 868 The Clerk. Mr. Harper votes no.
- 869 Chairman Conyers. Mr. Watt?
- Mr. Watt. Aye.
- The Clerk. Mr. Watt votes aye.
- 872 Chairman Conyers. Thank you.
- Ms. Waters?
- Ms. Waters. Aye.
- The Clerk. Ms. Waters votes aye.
- 876 Chairman Conyers. Mr. Nadler?
- Mr. Nadler. Aye.
- The Clerk. Mr. Nadler votes aye.
- 879 Chairman Conyers. Ms. Baldwin?

- Ms. Baldwin. Aye.
- The Clerk. Ms. Baldwin votes aye.
- 882 Chairman Conyers. Mr. Wexler?
- Mr. Wexler. Aye.
- The Clerk. Mr. Wexler votes aye.
- Chairman Conyers. Anyone else wish to vote? Clerk will
- 886 report. Wait a minute.
- Oh, Mr. Franks? Excuse me.
- 888 Mr. Franks. No.
- The Clerk. Mr. Franks votes no.
- 890 Chairman Conyers. Clerk will report.
- 891 The Clerk. Mr. Chairman, 20 members voted aye, nine
- 892 members votes nay.
- 893 Chairman Conyers. The bill has passed, without
- 894 objection.
- 895 Without objection, the staff is authorized to make
- 896 technical and conforming changes. Members will have 2 days
- 897 to submit views.
- 898 With the support of the committee we are going to go to
- 899 the measure that was left undisposed at the last hearing,
- 900 H.R. 42, at which time the King amendment was pending. I
- 901 would like now to recognize Steve King in support of his
- 902 amendment.
- 903 [The amendment by Mr. King follows:]
- 904 ******* INSERT ******

- 905 Mr. King. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And this, by my
- 906 recollection, is a refresher discussion, so I will compress
- 907 our discussion on this amendment because I do believe we
- 908 completed the debate on the amendment at the time that the
- 909 committee was recessed.
- 910 But the King amendment that is pending at this point is
- 911 the amendment to H.R. 42, the Commission on Wartime
- 912 Relocation and Internment of Latin Americans of Japanese
- 913 Descent. It sets up a commission to study the transfer of
- 914 native Japanese who were brought to the United States, and
- 915 then at least the history says that they were traded off for
- 916 Americans in exchange for American prisoners of war. That
- 917 was the intent, at least.
- 918 We had discussions, and we had a hearing, we had
- 919 witnesses, but it has been a consistent position on the part
- 920 of both sides of this bill that there not be reparations
- 921 included even in the consideration of a commission that would
- 922 be set up by this bill. And yet, one of the witnesses had
- 923 made a number of writings and remarks in support of
- 924 reparations.
- 925 Now, I am taking this position that the people who were
- 926 moved in that process, it is really more their descendents
- 927 than it is they, and the United States cannot be assigning a
- 928 guilt to the descendents of people who made a judgment at a
- 929 time when we were in a global war. And so if it is the

- 930 intent, as the proponents of the bill have consistently
- 931 stated, that reparations not be included, my amendment just
- 932 simply says so, that they will not be considered if there is
- 933 a commission that is formed and this bill should pass.
- That is the substance of my amendment. It says, if you
- 935 are serious about this, if it wasn't just rhetoric—and by the
- 936 way, I do recall discussion in the last time that we
- 937 discussed this amendment that it was the intent of Japanese
- 938 internment to not include reparations. That was the way this
- 939 whole scenario started, with Japanese internment. But we
- 940 know that the American taxpayers paid reparations, and I want
- 941 to be confident that we don't make the same mistake twice if
- 942 we go down this path and we simply just put in the bill,
- 943 "Reparations will not be considered."
- 944 And I think that is consistent with at least the
- 945 philosophy of everybody on this committee, as I have listened
- 946 to them speak, and I would urge the adoption of this
- 947 amendment. And I would yield back the balance of my time.
- 948 Chairman Conyers. I thank the gentleman.
- 949 Mr. Wexler?
- 950 Mr. Wexler. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 951 I would simply say that the sponsor of the bill and all
- 952 those that have argued for the bill have made their intention
- 953 very clear in terms of the reparation issue, and Mr. King
- 954 himself, in fairness, has said that. The proponents of the

- 955 bill would simply ask that the bill itself not limit the
- 956 commission's ability to make recommendations that it deems
- 957 appropriate.
- 958 Nothing could ever be done without Congress' approval,
- 959 so that will be up to future Congresses regardless of what is
- 960 in the bill, and therefore the King amendment is just simply
- 961 not necessary. The proponents have said what it is they are
- 962 seeking and they are not seeking reparations, and that is
- 963 where we would wish it should just stand.
- 964 Chairman Convers. I thank the gentleman.
- 965 All in favor of the King amendment, indicate by saying
- 966 "aye."
- 967 [A chorus of ayes.]
- 968 Chairman Conyers. All opposed, indicate by saying "no."
- 969 [A chorus of noes.]
- 970 Chairman Conyers. The noes have it. The King amendment
- 971 failed, and King is recognized for his second amendment.
- 972 Mr. King. Mr. Chairman, I would ask a recorded vote.
- 973 Chairman Conyers. Recorded vote is called for.
- 974 The Clerk. Mr. Conyers?
- 975 Chairman Conyers. No.
- 976 The Clerk. Mr. Conyers votes no.
- 977 Mr. Berman?
- 978 [No response.]
- 979 Mr. Boucher?

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980
         [No response.]
981
         Mr. Nadler?
982
         [No response.]
983
         Mr. Scott?
984
         Mr. Scott. No.
          The Clerk. Mr. Scott votes no.
985
986
         Mr. Watt?
987
         [No response.]
988
         Ms. Lofgren?
989
          [No response.]
990
         Ms. Jackson Lee?
991
         [No response.]
992
         Ms. Waters?
993
         [No response.]
994
         Mr. Delahunt?
995
         [No response.]
996
         Mr. Wexler?
997
         Mr. Wexler. No.
998
          The Clerk. Mr. Wexler votes no.
999
         Mr. Cohen?
1000
         Mr. Cohen. No.
1001
          The Clerk. Mr. Cohen votes no.
1002
         Mr. Johnson?
1003
         Mr. Johnson.
                       No.
1004
          The Clerk. Mr. Johnson votes no.
```

- 1005 Mr. Pierluisi?
- 1006 Mr. Pierluisi. No.
- 1007 The Clerk. Mr. Pierluisi votes no.
- 1008 Mr. Quigley?
- 1009 Mr. Quigley. No.
- 1010 The Clerk. Mr. Quigley votes no.
- 1011 Ms. Chu?
- 1012 Ms. Chu. No.
- 1013 The Clerk. Ms. Chu votes no.
- 1014 Mr. Gutierrez?
- 1015 [No response.]
- 1016 Ms. Baldwin?
- 1017 [No response.]
- 1018 Mr. Gonzalez?
- 1019 [No response.]
- 1020 Mr. Weiner?
- 1021 Mr. Weiner. No.
- 1022 The Clerk. Mr. Weiner votes no.
- 1023 Mr. Schiff?
- 1024 Mr. Schiff. No.
- 1025 The Clerk. Mr. Schiff votes no.
- Ms. Sanchez?
- 1027 Ms. Sanchez. No.
- 1028 The Clerk. Ms. Sanchez votes no.
- 1029 Ms. Wasserman Schultz?

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1030
         Ms. Wasserman Schultz. No.
1031
          The Clerk. Ms. Wasserman Schultz votes no.
1032
         Mr. Maffei?
1033
         Mr. Maffei. No.
1034
         The Clerk. Mr. Maffei votes no.
1035
         Mr. Smith?
1036
         Mr. Smith. Aye.
1037
         The Clerk. Mr. Smith votes aye.
1038
         Mr. Goodlatte?
1039
         Mr. Goodlatte. Aye.
1040
         The Clerk. Mr. Goodlatte votes aye.
1041
         Mr. Sensenbrenner?
1042
         [No response.]
1043
         Mr. Coble?
1044
         [No response.]
1045
         Mr. Gallegly?
1046
         [No response.]
1047
         Mr. Lungren?
1048
         Mr. Lungren. Aye.
1049
         The Clerk. Mr. Lungren votes aye.
1050
         Mr. Issa?
1051
          [No response.]
1052
         Mr. Forbes?
```

Mr. Forbes. Aye.

The Clerk. Mr. Forbes votes aye.

1053

- 1055 Mr. King?
- 1056 Mr. King. Aye.
- 1057 The Clerk. Mr. King votes aye.
- 1058 Mr. Franks?
- 1059 [No response.]
- 1060 Mr. Gohmert?
- 1061 Mr. Gohmert. Aye.
- 1062 The Clerk. Mr. Gohmert votes aye.
- 1063 Mr. Jordan?
- 1064 Mr. Jordan. Yes.
- 1065 The Clerk. Mr. Jordan votes yes.
- 1066 Mr. Poe?
- 1067 [No response.]
- 1068 Mr. Chaffetz?
- 1069 Mr. Chaffetz. Aye.
- 1070 The Clerk. Mr. Chaffetz votes aye.
- 1071 Mr. Rooney?
- 1072 Mr. Rooney. Aye.
- 1073 The Clerk. Mr. Rooney votes aye.
- 1074 Mr. Harper?
- 1075 Mr. Harper. Aye.
- 1076 The Clerk. Mr. Harper votes aye.
- 1077 Chairman Conyers. Mr. Coble?
- 1078 The Clerk. Mr. Coble is not recorded.
- 1079 Mr. Coble. Aye.

- 1080 The Clerk. Mr. Coble votes aye.
- 1081 Chairman Convers. Mr. Issa?
- 1082 Mr. Issa. Aye.
- 1083 The Clerk. Mr. Issa votes aye.
- 1084 Chairman Conyers. Ms. Baldwin?
- 1085 Ms. Baldwin. No.
- 1086 The Clerk. Ms. Baldwin votes no.
- 1087 Chairman Conyers. Mr. Nadler?
- 1088 Mr. Nadler. No.
- 1089 The Clerk. Mr. Nadler votes no.
- 1090 Chairman Conyers. Ms. Waters?
- 1091 Ms. Waters. No.
- 1092 The Clerk. Ms. Waters votes no.
- 1093 Chairman Conyers. The clerk will report.
- 1094 Mr. Franks?
- 1095 Mr. Franks. Yes.
- 1096 Chairman Convers. Mr. Poe?
- 1097 The Clerk. Mr. Franks-
- 1098 Mr. Poe. Yes.
- 1099 The Clerk. Mr. Poe votes yes.
- 1100 Did you recognize Mr. Franks?
- 1101 Chairman Conyers. Yes.
- 1102 The Clerk. Mr. Franks votes yes.
- 1103 Chairman Conyers. Clerk will report.
- 1104 The Clerk. Mr. Chairman, 14 members voted aye, 16

- 1105 members voted nay.
- 1106 Chairman Conyers. The amendment is not successful.
- 1107 Mr. King is recognized.
- 1108 Mr. King. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have an amendment
- 1109 at the desk, number-
- 1110 Chairman Conyers. Clerk will report it-
- 1111 The Clerk. Amendment to H.R. 42, offered by Mr. King,
- 1112 of Iowa. In section 3b, add at the end the following flush
- 1113 sentence: The Commission shall include only members who are
- 1114 distinguished scholars and academic historians who will be
- 1115 able to provide expertise and impartiality, and who have made
- **1116** no-
- 1117 [The amendment by Mr. King follows:]
- 1118 ******* INSERT *******

- 1119 Chairman Conyers. Without objection, the amendment will
- 1120 be considered as read, and the author of the amendment is
- 1121 recognized in support of it.
- 1122 Mr. King. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And at the opening
- 1123 of the discussion into this, this is an impartiality
- 1124 amendment. I would simply remark that a committee that fails
- 1125 to put its intentions into the legislation that we pass, any
- 1126 court that might determine or the subsequent legislature that
- 1127 would try to consider our intent would also consider the
- 1128 results of recorded votes.
- 1129 And I offer that as a precursor to the discussion on
- 1130 this amendment because I believe that the interpretation will
- 1131 be that this committee voted to support reparations, and now
- 1132 I am going to ask this committee to codify their position
- 1133 with regard to impartiality on the commission that would be
- 1134 established if this bill passes.
- 1135 And so this amendment just simply says the commission
- 1136 shall include only members who are distinguished scholars and
- 1137 academic historians who will be able to provide expertise and
- 1138 impartiality, and who have made no prior judgment about the
- 1139 facts to be examined by the commission.
- 1140 And we have seen, and I think we know-most of us are
- 1141 seasoned in public policy—if you seek to get a result from a
- 1142 commission or a committee, the selection of that committee is
- 1143 key in producing the results that you might want. And if we

- 1144 are objective about this-and I don't know that we are,
- 1145 judging by the result of the last recorded vote, but if we
- 1146 are objective on this it is incumbent upon us to support this
- 1147 amendment that requires that the commissioners that would be
- 1148 appointed would be objective, impartial commissioners and
- 1149 distinguished scholars and academic historians. That should
- 1150 be the qualification criteria-
- 1151 Chairman Conyers. Would the gentleman yield?
- 1152 Mr. King. I would yield, Mr. Chairman.
- 1153 Chairman Conyers. Would this exclude former members of
- 1154 Congress from the Judiciary Committee?
- 1155 Mr. King. I hadn't contemplated such a thing, Mr.
- 1156 Chairman. I would have to consider, perhaps, any individual
- 1157 that might be a distinguished scholar, academic historian,
- 1158 and also a former member. I don't know whom that might be.
- 1159 Chairman Conyers. Are you suggesting there are none
- 1160 such on the Judiciary Committee?
- 1161 Mr. King. Certainly not, Mr. Chairman, but I can pick
- 1162 up the implications of your question.
- 1163 Mr. Goodlatte. Would the gentleman yield?
- 1164 Mr. King. I would yield to the gentleman from Virginia.
- 1165 Mr. Goodlatte. I would hope that the two are not
- 1166 mutually exclusive.
- 1167 [Laughter.]
- 1168 Mr. King. Let us put into this intent language-

- 1169 reclaiming—that any member that fits the criteria of this
- 1170 amendment, should it pass, would certainly be considered.
- 1171 But I think it is hard to find a member of this Congress, let
- 1172 alone a member of this Judiciary Committee, who has
- 1173 distinguished themselves as being completely impartial,
- 1174 judging from some of our experiences here, however we might
- 1175 try.
- 1176 And I think it does raise the point of the necessity of
- 1177 this amendment, because I think we have seen a partisan vote
- 1178 in the previous amendment that I have offered that simply
- 1179 stated the intentions that I heard come from the mouths of
- 1180 the proponents of this bill, including Mr. Lungren.
- 1181 And now, if we are really serious—and we don't even have
- 1182 to be really serious; we just have to simply be objective—we
- 1183 should have, if we are going to have a commission, a
- 1184 commission that is filled with people who have reached this
- 1185 level—the academic level, this expertise that is in my
- 1186 amendment, and not having reached a prior judgment. If there
- 1187 is no prior judgment there then they have a chance to be
- 1188 objective.
- 1189 I would point out that President Bush, some years ago,
- 1190 established a tax commission, and wanted the tax commission
- 1191 to take a look at the tax structure of the United States.
- 1192 And the purpose of that commission was to bring about the
- 1193 best type of tax structure that could have a healthy, growing

- 1194 economy. And one of the criteria for being seated on that
- 1195 commission was not having made a prior judgment.
- 1196 Now, I was a little critical of that because not having
- 1197 made a prior judgment might disqualify people-if you don't
- 1198 have an opinion maybe you don't know enough about the subject
- 1199 and that is why you haven't made a prior judgment. But we
- 1200 want to avoid the bias. The language in this says "not
- 1201 having made a prior judgment," and even though it might have
- 1202 contradicted a previous statement that I made about the tax-
- 1203 writing commission, this commission should be unbiased and
- 1204 they should be historians, they should be distinguished
- 1205 scholars. And I would urge that we codify that in this bill
- 1206 and I would urge the adoption of this amendment, and I would
- 1207 yield back the balance of my time.
- 1208 Chairman Conyers. I thank the gentleman and recognize
- 1209 Mr. Quigley.
- 1210 Mr. Quigley. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 1211 And I guess my question of the gentleman proposing the
- 1212 amendment is, if we are dealing with objectivity, I look at
- 1213 some of the language here and ask if any of this is
- 1214 potentially objective. I attended three universities, taught
- 1215 at two different universities, and I never saw anybody with a
- 1216 placard on their door that said "distinguished scholar" or
- 1217 "academic historian." They were either historians or they
- 1218 were professors.

- 1219 At some point in time we are going to have to decide who
- 1220 is distinguished and who is just a scholar, and who is a
- 1221 historian and who is an academic historian. And it almost
- 1222 sounds like in the last part of this amendment we are asking
- 1223 people to sign an affidavit of some sort that they have made
- 1224 no prior judgment about the facts to be examined. It sounds
- 1225 like someone being prepared for a jury pool. So at some
- 1226 point we have to ask ourselves who is being objective or
- 1227 subjective here, and if we are just adding words to something
- 1228 to throw a wrench into the works.
- 1229 Mr. King. Would the gentleman yield?
- 1230 Mr. Quigley. Certainly.
- 1231 Mr. King. And I thank the gentleman, and making this
- 1232 point that you could only be one, a distinguished scholar or
- 1233 an academic historian-I wouldn't know that that couldn't be
- 1234 sustained, but I would suggest that we take a look at the
- 1235 record of the names of the people that will be presented to
- 1236 be considered for appointment to the commission and evaluate
- 1237 their works and their writings and their statements to
- 1238 determine if they actually are distinguished scholars.
- 1239 I wouldn't know why you could be a-why you couldn't be a
- 1240 distinguished scholar and an academic historian. In fact, if
- 1241 you are an academic historian I don't know how you would be
- 1242 excluded from being a distinguished scholar, but as some of
- 1243 the recommendations over here on this side said is that we

- 1244 ask members of a jury to be impartial, so the impartiality
- 1245 component of this should be an automatic and should be a
- 1246 given, and I think that is actually a very important
- 1247 component of this-the impartiality-and that is a harder one
- 1248 to reach than maybe being a distinguished scholar or an
- 1249 academic historian.
- 1250 Again, I would urge this adoption, and I would yield
- 1251 back to the gentleman.
- 1252 Mr. Quigley. I respect what the gentleman suggests, but
- 1253 at some point I feel like in the middle of a Monty Python
- 1254 skit, deciding who is distinguished and who is academic and
- 1255 who is just a scholar or an historian. And I think in the
- 1256 end it is going to come down to people's good faith, and that
- 1257 is true for every commission board that we deal with.
- 1258 Chairman Convers. All in favor of the King amendment,
- 1259 indicate by saying "aye."
- 1260 [A chorus of ayes.]
- 1261 Chairman Conyers. All those opposed, say "no."
- 1262 [A chorus of noes.]
- 1263 Chairman Conyers. Noes have it. The amendment failed.
- 1264 Mr. King. Mr. Chairman?
- 1265 Chairman Conyers. A recorded vote is demanded.
- 1266 Mr. King. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 1267 Chairman Conyers. Clerk will call the roll.
- 1268 The Clerk. Mr. Conyers?

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1269
         Chairman Conyers. No.
1270
          The Clerk. Mr. Conyers votes no.
1271
         Mr. Berman?
1272
         [No response.]
1273
         Mr. Boucher?
1274
         [No response.]
1275
         Mr. Nadler?
1276
         Mr. Nadler. No.
1277
         The Clerk. Mr. Nadler votes no.
1278
         Mr. Scott?
1279
         Mr. Scott. No.
1280
         The Clerk. Mr. Scott votes no.
1281
         Mr. Watt?
1282
         [No response.]
1283
         Ms. Lofgren?
1284
         [No response.]
1285
         Ms. Jackson Lee?
1286
         [No response.]
1287
         Ms. Waters?
1288
         Ms. Waters. No.
1289
         The Clerk. Ms. Waters votes no.
1290
         Mr. Delahunt?
1291
         [No response.]
1292
```

Mr. Wexler?

Mr. Wexler. No.

- 1294 The Clerk. Mr. Wexler votes no.
- 1295 Mr. Cohen?
- 1296 Mr. Cohen. No.
- 1297 The Clerk. Mr. Cohen votes no.
- 1298 Mr. Johnson?
- 1299 Mr. Johnson. No.
- 1300 The Clerk. Mr. Johnson votes no.
- 1301 Mr. Pierluisi?
- 1302 Mr. Pierluisi. No.
- 1303 The Clerk. Mr. Pierluisi votes no.
- 1304 Mr. Quigley?
- 1305 Mr. Quigley. No.
- 1306 The Clerk. Mr. Quigley votes no.
- 1307 Ms. Chu?
- 1308 Ms. Chu. No.
- 1309 The Clerk. Ms. Chu votes no.
- 1310 Mr. Gutierrez?
- 1311 [No response.]
- 1312 Ms. Baldwin?
- 1313 [No response.]
- 1314 Mr. Gonzalez?
- 1315 [No response.]
- 1316 Mr. Weiner?
- 1317 Mr. Weiner. No.
- 1318 The Clerk. Mr. Weiner votes no.

- 1319 Mr. Schiff?
- 1320 Mr. Schiff. No.
- 1321 The Clerk. Mr. Schiff votes no.
- 1322 Ms. Sanchez?
- 1323 Ms. Sanchez. No.
- 1324 The Clerk. Ms. Sanchez votes no.
- 1325 Ms. Wasserman Schultz?
- 1326 Ms. Wasserman Schultz. No.
- 1327 The Clerk. Ms. Wasserman Schultz votes no.
- 1328 Mr. Maffei?
- 1329 Mr. Maffei. I will pass.
- 1330 The Clerk. Mr. Maffei passes.
- 1331 Mr. Smith?
- 1332 Mr. Smith. Aye.
- 1333 The Clerk. Mr. Smith votes aye.
- 1334 Mr. Goodlatte?
- 1335 Mr. Goodlatte. Aye.
- 1336 The Clerk. Mr. Goodlatte votes aye.
- 1337 Mr. Sensenbrenner?
- 1338 Mr. Sensenbrenner. Aye.
- 1339 The Clerk. Mr. Sensenbrenner votes aye.
- 1340 Mr. Coble?
- 1341 Mr. Coble. Aye.
- 1342 The Clerk. Mr. Coble votes aye.
- 1343 Mr. Gallegly?

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1344
         [No response.]
1345
         Mr. Lungren?
1346
         Mr. Lungren. Aye.
1347
         The Clerk. Mr. Lungren votes aye.
1348
         Mr. Issa?
1349
         [No response.]
1350
         Mr. Forbes?
1351
         Mr. Forbes. Aye.
1352
         The Clerk. Mr. Forbes votes aye.
1353
         Mr. King?
1354
         Mr. King. Aye.
1355
         The Clerk. Mr. King votes aye.
1356
         Mr. Franks?
1357
         [No response.]
1358
         Mr. Gohmert?
1359
         [No response.]
1360
         Mr. Jordan?
1361
         Mr. Jordan. Yes.
1362
         The Clerk. Mr. Jordan votes yes.
1363
         Mr. Poe?
1364
         Mr. Poe. Yes.
1365
         The Clerk. Mr. Poe votes yes.
1366
         Mr. Chaffetz?
```

Mr. Chaffetz. Aye.

The Clerk. Mr. Chaffetz votes aye.

1367

- 1369 Mr. Rooney?
- 1370 Mr. Rooney. Aye.
- 1371 The Clerk. Mr. Rooney votes aye.
- 1372 Mr. Harper?
- 1373 Mr. Harper. Aye.
- 1374 The Clerk. Mr. Harper votes aye.
- 1375 Chairman Conyers. Mr. Mel Watt?
- 1376 Mr. Watt. No.
- 1377 The Clerk. Mr. Watt votes no.
- 1378 Chairman Conyers. Ms. Baldwin?
- 1379 Ms. Baldwin. No.
- 1380 The Clerk. Ms. Baldwin votes no.
- 1381 Chairman Conyers. Judge Gohmert?
- 1382 Mr. Gohmert. Aye.
- 1383 The Clerk. Mr. Gohmert votes aye.
- 1384 Chairman Conyers. Mr. Franks?
- 1385 Mr. Franks. Aye.
- 1386 The Clerk. Mr. Franks votes aye.
- 1387 Chairman Conyers. Mr. Maffei?
- 1388 The Clerk. Mr. Maffei passed.
- 1389 Mr. Maffei. No.
- 1390 The Clerk. Mr. Maffei votes no.
- 1391 Chairman Conyers. Any others? Clerk will report.
- 1392 The Clerk. Mr. Chairman, 14 members votes aye, 17
- 1393 members voted nay.

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1394 Chairman Convers. The amendment is unsuccessful.
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1395 A reporting quorum being present, the question is on

1396 reporting the bill, as amended, favorably to the House.

1397 Those in favor, say "aye."

1398 [A chorus of ayes.]

1399 Chairman Conyers. Those opposed, say "no."

1400 [A chorus of noes.]

1401 Chairman Convers. The ayes have it.

1402 Mr. King. Mr. Chairman?

1403 Chairman Conyers. A recorded vote is demanded. Clerk

1404 will call the roll.

1405 The Clerk. Mr. Conyers?

1406 Chairman Convers. Aye.

1407 The Clerk. Mr. Conyers votes aye.

1408 Mr. Berman?

1409 [No response.]

1410 Mr. Boucher?

1411 [No response.]

1412 Mr. Nadler?

1413 Mr. Nadler. Aye.

1414 The Clerk. Mr. Nadler votes aye.

1415 Mr. Scott?

1416 Mr. Scott. Aye.

1417 The Clerk. Mr. Scott votes aye.

1418 Mr. Watt?

- 1419 [No response.]
 1420 Ms. Lofgren?
- 1421 [No response.]
- 1422 Ms. Jackson Lee?
- 1423 [No response.]
- **1424** Ms. Waters?
- 1425 Ms. Waters. Aye.
- 1426 The Clerk. Ms. Waters votes aye.
- 1427 Mr. Delahunt?
- 1428 [No response.]
- 1429 Mr. Wexler?
- 1430 Mr. Wexler. Aye.
- 1431 The Clerk. Mr. Wexler votes aye.
- 1432 Mr. Cohen?
- 1433 Mr. Cohen. Aye.
- 1434 The Clerk. Mr. Cohen votes aye.
- 1435 Mr. Johnson?
- 1436 Mr. Johnson. Aye.
- 1437 The Clerk. Mr. Johnson votes aye.
- 1438 Mr. Pierluisi?
- 1439 Mr. Pierluisi. Aye.
- 1440 The Clerk. Mr. Pierluisi votes aye.
- 1441 Mr. Quigley?
- 1442 Mr. Quigley. Aye.
- 1443 The Clerk. Mr. Quigley votes aye.

- 1444 Ms. Chu?
- 1445 Ms. Chu. Aye.
- 1446 The Clerk. Ms. Chu votes aye.
- 1447 Mr. Gutierrez?
- 1448 Mr. Gutierrez. Aye.
- 1449 The Clerk. Mr. Gutierrez votes aye.
- 1450 Ms. Baldwin?
- 1451 [No reponse.]
- 1452 Mr. Gonzalez?
- 1453 [No response.]
- 1454 Mr. Weiner?
- 1455 Mr. Weiner. Aye.
- 1456 The Clerk. Mr. Weiner votes aye.
- 1457 Mr. Schiff?
- 1458 Mr. Schiff. Aye.
- 1459 The Clerk. Mr. Schiff votes aye.
- 1460 Ms. Sanchez?
- 1461 Ms. Sanchez. Aye.
- 1462 The Clerk. Ms. Sanchez votes aye.
- 1463 Ms. Wasserman Schultz?
- 1464 [No response.]
- 1465 Mr. Maffei?
- 1466 Mr. Maffei. Aye.
- 1467 The Clerk. Mr. Maffei votes aye.
- 1468 Mr. Smith?

- 1469 Mr. Smith. No.
- 1470 The Clerk. Mr. Smith votes no.
- 1471 Mr. Goodlatte?
- 1472 Mr. Goodlatte. No.
- 1473 The Clerk. Mr. Goodlatte votes no.
- 1474 Mr. Sensenbrenner?
- 1475 Mr. Sensenbrenner. No.
- 1476 The Clerk. Mr. Sensenbrenner votes no.
- 1477 Mr. Coble?
- 1478 Mr. Coble. No.
- 1479 The Clerk. Mr. Coble votes no.
- 1480 Mr. Gallegly?
- 1481 [No response.]
- 1482 Mr. Lungren?
- 1483 Mr. Lungren. Aye.
- 1484 The Clerk. Mr. Lungren votes aye.
- **1485** Mr. Issa?
- 1486 Mr. Issa. Aye.
- 1487 The Clerk. Mr. Issa votes aye.
- 1488 Mr. Forbes?
- 1489 Mr. Forbes. No.
- 1490 The Clerk. Mr. Forbes votes no.
- 1491 Mr. King?
- 1492 Mr. King. No.
- 1493 The Clerk. Mr. King votes no.

- 1494 Mr. Franks?
- 1495 [No response.]
- 1496 Mr. Gohmert?
- 1497 Mr. Gohmert. Aye.
- 1498 The Clerk. Mr. Gohmert votes aye.
- 1499 Mr. Jordan?
- 1500 Mr. Jordan. No.
- 1501 The Clerk. Mr. Jordan votes no.
- 1502 Mr. Poe?
- 1503 Mr. Poe. No.
- 1504 The Clerk. Mr. Poe votes no.
- 1505 Mr. Chaffetz?
- 1506 Mr. Chaffetz. No.
- 1507 The Clerk. Mr. Chaffetz votes no.
- 1508 Mr. Rooney?
- 1509 Mr. Rooney. Aye.
- 1510 The Clerk. Mr. Rooney votes aye.
- 1511 Mr. Harper?
- 1512 Mr. Harper. No.
- 1513 The Clerk. Mr. Harper votes no.
- 1514 Chairman Conyers. Mr. Mel Watt?
- **1515** Mr. Watt. Aye.
- 1516 The Clerk. Mr. Watt votes aye.
- 1517 Chairman Conyers. Ms. Baldwin?
- 1518 Ms. Baldwin. Aye.

- 1519 The Clerk. Ms. Baldwin votes aye.
- 1520 Chairman Conyers. Ms. Wasserman Schultz?
- 1521 Ms. Wasserman Schultz. Aye.
- 1522 The Clerk. Ms. Wasserman Schultz votes aye.
- 1523 Chairman Conyers. The clerk will report.
- 1524 The Clerk. Mr. Chairman, 22 members voted aye, 10
- 1525 members voted nay.
- 1526 Chairman Conyers. H.R. 42 is reported, and without
- 1527 objection it will be reported as a single amendment in the
- 1528 nature of a substitute incorporating amendment-staff is
- 1529 authorized to make technical conforming changes and there
- 1530 will be 2 days for members to submit views.
- 1531 Pursuant to notice, I call up now H.R. 1425, Wartime
- 1532 Treatment Study Act, for purposes of markup and invite the
- 1533 clerk to report the bill.
- 1534 The Clerk. H.R. 1425, a bill to establish commissions
- 1535 to review the facts and circumstances surrounding injustices
- 1536 suffered by European Americans, European Latin Americans, and
- 1537 Jewish refugees during World War II.
- 1538 [The bill follows:]
- 1539 ******* INSERT *******

- 1540 Chairman Conyers. I would invite our colleague, the
- 1541 gentleman from Florida, Mr. Robert Wexler, sponsor of the
- 1542 bill, to make an opening statement.
- 1543 Mr. Wexler. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to thank
- 1544 you for all of your assistance on this piece of legislation
- 1545 as well as Congresswoman Lofgren for all of her extraordinary
- 1546 assistance.
- 1547 And I just want to begin with the basic understanding
- 1548 that the underlying premise of this bill is that all
- 1549 Americans should be extraordinarily proud of our nation's
- 1550 victory in World War II. And it is always appropriate to
- 1551 highlight the remarkable courage displayed by so many
- 1552 millions of Americans—tens of millions of Americans—of all
- 1553 ethnic and religious origins in terms of our nation's actions
- 1554 and behavior during the World War II period.
- 1555 We, as a nation, in the past have examined the treatment
- 1556 of Japanese Americans during this period of time. And I
- 1557 would respectfully suggest our nation is stronger as a result
- 1558 of that examination in terms of what we did and what maybe in
- 1559 the future, if faced with similar circumstances, could learn
- 1560 from that behavior so that we might do it better.
- 1561 In this vein, it is important for the Congress to
- 1562 recognize the particular hardships that certain European
- 1563 Americans and Jewish refugees endured during the World War II
- 1564 period. The bill seeks to draw attention to this forgotten

- 1565 part of our history. And what the bill requires is the
- 1566 creation of a commission to review the government's behavior
- 1567 with respect to certain communities within the very rich
- 1568 American fabric.
- 1569 And in that light, I want to thank my Republican
- 1570 colleagues for being quite proactive and well-intentioned, in
- 1571 terms of working with me throughout this process. And I
- 1572 believe at the subcommittee it received a heavy dose of
- 1573 bipartisan support, and I am grateful for that. With that, I
- 1574 can return the balance of my time.
- 1575 Mr. Nadler. [Presiding.] I thank the gentleman.
- 1576 I now yield to the distinguished ranking-I now recognize
- 1577 the distinguished ranking member of this committee.
- 1578 Mr. Smith. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. H.R. 1425, the
- 1579 Wartime Treatment Study Act, creates two commissions. The
- 1580 first, a European American commission, reviews the U.S.
- 1581 government's treatment of people of German and Italian
- 1582 descent in America during World War II. The second
- 1583 commission reviews the U.S. government's treatment of certain
- 1584 Jewish refugees during World War II as well.
- 1585 The February 1983 report of the U.S. Commission on
- 1586 Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians contains a
- 1587 chapter regarding Germans and Italians. The report states,
- 1588 "By February 16, 1942, the Justice Department had interned
- 1589 2,192 Japanese, 1,393 Germans, and 264 Italians."

- 1590 The push for such a commission is nothing new. In fact,
- 1591 as a response to requests for a commission to look at
- 1592 America's World War II policies regarding Italian Americans,
- 1593 Congress enacted the Wartime Violation of Italian American
- 1594 Civil Liberties Act of 2000. That bill required the attorney
- 1595 general to conduct a comprehensive review of the treatment by
- 1596 the United States government of Italian Americans during
- 1597 World War II and to submit to Congress a report that
- 1598 documents the findings of such a review. The attorney
- 1599 general issued the report on November 7, 2001.
- 1600 One of my concerns is that the European American
- 1601 commission is required to "recommend appropriate remedies"
- 1602 for the individuals affected by these government policies.
- 1603 At the subcommittee markup, the ranking member offered an
- 1604 amendment to prohibit reparations from being recommended by
- 1605 the commission as a remedy. It was voted down along party
- 1606 lines.
- 1607 I understand that the bill's author, the gentleman from
- 1608 Florida, assured the subcommittee in writing that he did not
- 1609 intend for the bill to lead to reparations. So I don't
- 1610 understand why the subcommittee rejected the ranking member's
- 1611 amendment explicitly addressing this.
- 1612 The possible biased nature of the proposed commission
- 1613 members is also troubling. An amendment designed to address
- 1614 this issue was accepted during the subcommittee markup. That

- 1615 was a step in the right direction.
- 1616 However, the amendment does not require that the members
- 1617 be impartial, only that they have professional expertise
- 1618 relating to the issue at hand. This in no way assures
- 1619 impartial and unbiased decision making.
- 1620 I am also concerned that we continue to second guess the
- 1621 decisions made by the administration faced with the realities
- 1622 of being attacked by a foreign country. Measures like this
- 1623 do not help move America forward. The American people do not
- 1624 elect us to be mired in the past; they elect us to safeguard
- 1625 their future.
- 1626 We should find ways to strengthen America, not regularly
- 1627 issue apologies for actions that were taken by our government
- 1628 to ensure our security. I urge my colleagues to oppose the
- 1629 legislation and yield back, Mr. Chairman.
- 1630 Chairman Conyers. [Presiding.] I thank the gentleman.
- 1631 The gentleman from New York, Mr. Nadler?
- 1632 Mr. Nadler. Thank you.
- 1633 I support the legislation. I would simply point out
- 1634 that one obvious way to strengthen this country is to learn
- 1635 from our mistakes—to admit our mistakes and learn from them
- 1636 so that we don't repeat them. And yes, World War II was a-is
- 1637 often referred to as the last good war, in the sense of
- 1638 nobody denies—almost nobody—denies its justification, denies
- 1639 that we had no alternative, and that we are fighting truly

- 1640 evil regimes.
- 1641 Having said that, we did things in that war, as we have
- 1642 in most of our other wars, that we shouldn't have done.
- 1643 Mistakes were made in good faith. That may be. I assume
- 1644 they were. But mistakes were made and we can learn from our
- 1645 mistakes and try to, through learning through those mistakes,
- 1646 increase the odds that next time we have an impassioned
- 1647 public.
- 1648 And one of the problems in a war is that the public and
- 1649 the decision-makers become impassioned, hatred arises, all
- 1650 kinds of emotions, and actions are taken that might not be
- 1651 taken on pure logic. And one of the things that behooves
- 1652 this country to do is to try to act in such a way that you
- 1653 reduce the likelihood that we will make unfortunate decisions
- 1654 in the light of passions on some future occasion when
- 1655 passions are justified for other reasons.
- 1656 And so this kind of commission to study what we did
- 1657 before, when we made a mistake, if we made a mistake, to the
- 1658 extent we made a mistake, why we made a mistake, and perhaps
- 1659 how to avoid that in the future makes eminent sense to
- 1660 strengthen this country, to strengthen our reputation, to
- 1661 strengthen our protection of liberties in the future.
- 1662 So I very much support this as well as, of course, to
- 1663 afford justice to any survivors of mistakes made 70 years
- 1664 ago, if they may still be around. That too. But

- 1665 specifically for the future, it is important that we pass
- 1666 this legislation. So I urge its passage and I yield back.
- 1667 Chairman Conyers. The gentleman supports the bill and
- 1668 opposes the amendment.
- 1669 Mr. Nadler. I certainly do.
- 1670 Chairman Conyers. Is there any further discussion?
- 1671 Mr. King. Mr. Chairman?
- 1672 Chairman Conyers. Yes?
- 1673 Mr. King. I move to strike the last word.
- 1674 Chairman Convers. Gentleman is recognized.
- 1675 Mr. King. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 1676 I oppose this bill, and as I have stated and as the
- 1677 Ranking Member Smith has stated, the executive branch has
- 1678 addressed the issue of World War II internment many times.
- 1679 We have even addressed it with regard to Italian Americans.
- 1680 In the year 2000, Congress passed and the president
- 1681 signed the Wartime Violation of Italian American Civil
- 1682 Liberties Act. The bill directed the attorney general to
- 1683 conduct a comprehensive review of the treatment by the
- 1684 federal government of Italian Americans during World War II
- 1685 and to report to Congress on the findings of the review.
- 1686 Such a report was issued in November of 2001 finding
- 1687 that—and I quote—"after the December 7, 1941 attack on Pearl
- 1688 Harbor, citizens and aliens of Italian descent were subjected
- 1689 to a restriction including curfews, searches, confiscations

- 1690 of property, a loss of livelihood, and internment." Finding 1691 of the commission, 2001.
- The report goes on to say: And individuals residing in
- 1693 prohibited zones were required to move from their homes and
- 1694 were excluded from certain areas, and persons of Italian
- 1695 ancestry who were not United States citizens were declared
- 1696 enemy aliens and were required to carry identification cards
- 1697 designating them as such. In addition, the report points out
- 1698 that these wartime restrictions were sanctioned by the Alien
- 1699 Enemy Act of 1798, Presidential Proclamation number 2527,
- 1700 Executive Order 9066, and other regulations.
- 1701 So I don't understand why we have to rehash the issue
- 1702 except that this group and their descendents want the same
- 1703 treatment as the Japanese Americans received. That is, Mr.
- 1704 Chairman, reparations.
- 1705 Again, I don't understand how a monetary payment by
- 1706 individuals who had nothing to do with the actions of the
- 1707 U.S. government during World War II and likely had not yet
- 1708 been born can make the situation any better. H.R. 1425
- 1709 creates a commission to again study the treatment of Italian
- 1710 Americans as well as individuals of German, Hungarian,
- 1711 Romanian, and Bulgarian descent. It also requires that
- 1712 commission to issue a report on its findings.
- 1713 Now, aside from the fundamental flaw of even creating
- 1714 such a commission, the bill also contains additional flaws.

- 1715 It directs the commission to recommend "appropriate
- 1716 remedies." It lacks acknowledgement of the justified reasons
- 1717 that existed for such U.S. government activities, and its
- 1718 findings basically direct the commission as to the outcome
- 1719 that it should reach.
- 1720 As I stated previously during my statement on the
- 1721 previous bill, which was H.R. 42, the president has left the
- 1722 responsibility to protect—has the responsibility to protect
- 1723 the population from future attack and from the theft of
- 1724 military and intelligence secrets and acts of sabotage by our
- 1725 enemies. If he didn't do so, he would be abdicating his duty
- 1726 to protect Americans from those who want to do them harm.
- 1727 And so, Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to this bill, and I
- 1728 do have some amendments to the bill, but I would yield back
- 1729 the balance of my time and take my turn.
- 1730 Chairman Conyers. I thank the gentleman and recognize
- 1731 Mr. Jordan-Mr. Chaffetz.
- 1732 Mr. Chaffetz. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate
- 1733 it.
- 1734 I would move to strike the last word.
- 1735 Chairman Convers. Gentleman is recognized.
- 1736 Mr. Chaffetz. I simply want to thank Mr. Wexler and his
- 1737 staff for the work that we did in offering up an amendment
- 1738 that was accepted at the subcommittee level. I appreciate
- 1739 that, and as a consequence I have a comfort level with this

- 1740 bill and look forward to supporting it.
- 1741 My only concern moving forward if this bill were to go
- 1742 to the floor of the House is the potential scoring. We are a
- 1743 country that is \$12 trillion in debt. We are upside down so
- 1744 financially in this country that while I see value in being
- 1745 able to do this, at a time with such high debts and deficits
- 1746 I would have trouble spending even one dime on this type of
- **1747** effort.
- 1748 We are in country in need of making decisions and being
- 1749 fiscally prudent. We are not, as a whole. But I wanted to
- 1750 be on the record and let Mr. Wexler and others know I am
- 1751 supportive of the bill-the goals and ideals that we are
- 1752 trying to accomplish here.
- 1753 I do concur with Mr. King that this should not be an
- 1754 avenue or a stair step, if you will, to reparations. But I
- 1755 think understanding, as Mr. Nadler and others have pointed
- 1756 out, understanding our history of our country makes us
- 1757 stronger, and look forward to supporting it as it is moving
- 1758 forward with the concern about how it might be scored in the
- 1759 future.
- 1760 And again, thank Mr. Wexler for his willingness to work
- 1761 together.
- 1762 Thank you, Mr. Chair.
- 1763 Chairman Conyers. The vote occurs on the King
- 1764 amendment. All in favor, say "aye."

- 1765 [A chorus of ayes.]
- 1766 Chairman Conyers. All opposed, say "no."
- 1767 [A chorus of noes.]
- 1768 Mr. King. Mr. Chairman, parliamentary inquiry.
- 1769 Chairman Conyers. Oh, I am sorry. Excuse me. We can't
- 1770 vote it down anyway. There was no amendment.
- 1771 Chair recognizes Mr. King.
- 1772 Mr. King. I think we went fire, ready, aim that time,
- 1773 Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment at the desk
- 1774 designated-
- 1775 Chairman Conyers. Clerk will report the amendment.
- 1776 The Clerk. Amendment to the amendment in the nature of
- 1777 a substitute to H.R. 1425, offered by Mr. King, of Iowa.
- 1778 Page 10, line seven, add after the period the following:
- 1779 "For purposes of this Act, 'appropriate remedies' shall not
- 1780 include any monetary-"
- 1781 [The amendment by Mr. King follows:]
- 1782 ******* INSERT *******

- 1783 Chairman Conyers. Without objection, the amendment will
- 1784 be considered as read, and the gentleman is recognized in
- 1785 support of his amendment.
- 1786 Mr. King. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I think we will be
- 1787 familiar with the argument. This is the "no reparations"
- 1788 amendment to this particular commission that would be set up
- 1789 by this bill for the list of different nationalities that-
- 1790 Chairman Conyers. Would the gentleman yield?
- 1791 Mr. King. I would yield.
- 1792 Chairman Conyers. Has there not been discussion about
- 1793 reparations and an agreement reached?
- 1794 Mr. King. Mr. Chairman, on the previous bill, yes. On
- 1795 this bill, no. Not as far as an amendment is concerned.
- 1796 Thank you, Mr. Chairman. In continuing, I did raise the
- 1797 issue in my opening statement, so I understand the question,
- 1798 and this is the amendment that addresses that particular
- 1799 subject. And we are familiar with the argument and it is
- 1800 this: that the proponents of the bill will argue that they
- 1801 are not for reparations, and they might write a letter and
- 1802 state that they are not for reparations, but for some reason
- 1803 they are extremely reticent about establishing that into the
- 1804 text of the bill.
- 1805 We are supposed to write the legislative intent in this
- 1806 legislation, and then the balance of the record that we have
- 1807 fills out some of the details, and we seek to do that so

- 1808 courts don't have to make decisions on the intent of
- 1809 Congress. And yet, as I hear the discussion it is, "No, we
- 1810 are not for reparations," and I think one of the reasons is
- 1811 because the proponents of the bill understand that with
- 1812 Japanese reparations the same statement was made and it has
- 1813 to come in under the radar, and then eventually the bait and
- 1814 switch will take place.
- 1815 And I believe that this is a bait and switch bill that
- 1816 sets up reparations—it leaves the door open for reparations.
- 1817 In fact, it encourages reparations because it says
- 1818 "appropriate remedies." And so my amendment specifically
- 1819 addresses the issue of appropriate remedies and says they
- 1820 shall not include any monetary compensation.
- 1821 And in response to Mr. Wexler's statement on the
- 1822 previous bill, that it is unnecessary to have the legislation
- 1823 say what we mean, I am amazed by that, that we can't simply
- 1824 adopt an amendment that stipulates what appears to be at
- 1825 least the stated intent of the proponents of the bill. And I
- 1826 think the public would also be a bit astonished, Mr.
- 1827 Chairman, to think that this committee would refuse to codify
- 1828 the things we say we believe in and make the argument that,
- 1829 "Well, of course we already know that we don't really intend
- 1830 reparations so therefore there is no reason to write in the
- 1831 bill the intention of the commission in the first place."
- 1832 Well, then there is no purpose for the bill if we

- 1833 already know, unless we simply have to fund a commission, not
- 1834 establish or authorize a commission. It lays out the-with
- 1835 specificity this commission, and we need to lay out with
- 1836 specificity that it is the will and the intent of this
- 1837 committee that there not be reparations paid under this bill.
- 1838 And if we do vote down an amendment that says so, then their
- 1839 only conclusion that can be drawn is that it is the intent of
- 1840 this Judiciary Committee that there be reparations.
- 1841 And I think it is completely unjust to tax a generation
- 1842 of people that were likely unborn at the time that these
- 1843 incidents took place, let alone the question of passing
- 1844 judgment from the perspective of 2009 on people that made
- 1845 decisions in 1942. We simply cannot have that kind of
- 1846 judgment.
- 1847 I think Franklin Delano Roosevelt did a great job in
- 1848 World War II. I think he was instrumental in a magnificent
- 1849 global victory, and it may have been the most glorious time
- 1850 ever in the history of the United States. And I support most
- 1851 of the decisions that he made.
- 1852 He failed elsewhere, but when he got to be the commander
- 1853 in chief in the Second World War he made a lot of good
- 1854 decisions, and America is far better for it. And now we are
- 1855 wallowing in something that we are going to try to find some
- 1856 quilt that we can pull back from the 1940s and impose the
- 1857 reparations of that on the people that will be born in 2009,

- **1858** 2010, and beyond.
- 1859 And I think that a Congress that has problems in the
- 1860 here and now should be focused in the here and now and in the
- 1861 future, not on the past. I urge the adoption of this
- 1862 amendment—the amendment that just simply says, no
- 1863 reparations, the intent of the people in this committee. And
- 1864 I yield back the balance of my time.
- 1865 Chairman Convers. Before recognizing Mr. Wexler, the
- 1866 committee notes the appearance of Mr. Delahunt, and we are
- 1867 grateful for his deigning to come and be with us for a while
- **1868** today.
- 1869 Mr. Wexler?
- 1870 Mr. Wexler. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 1871 First, I just want to thank Mr. Chaffetz for his earlier
- 1872 remarks. I agree with his analysis entirely, and I have an
- 1873 amendment later that we will consider that adopts precisely
- 1874 what the ranking member of the subcommittee wishes done.
- 1875 As to the current amendment, this is not bait and
- 1876 switch. There is nothing in the bill that provides for
- 1877 reparations. If Congress were to do such a thing it would
- 1878 require separate legislation, it would require an entirely
- 1879 different process, none of which is in this bill.
- 1880 Both myself and the Senate sponsor, Senator Feingold,
- 1881 have said in both oral testimony and discussions to our
- 1882 respective committees, we do not seek reparations. We could

1883 not be more unequivocal. I have also put it in writing to 1884 the subcommittee. I do not seek reparations. I cannot be 1885 more specific than that.

1886 With respect to the commission itself, the purpose is to 1887 examine the facts and circumstances of what occurred. This 1888 is not an effort in finding apologies, or finding fault, or 1889 finding anything punitive. Just the opposite. This is an 1890 attempt to make certain that all of the actions, both good, 1891 indifferent, bad, whatever it may be, that were taken can be 1892 exposed in an academic and in an appropriate setting so that 1893 we can learn. That is the entire exercise.

1894 And with respect to German Americans, with respect to a 1895 number of European Americans, there is a history that needs 1896 to be in a formal way exposed so that we can learn from it. 1897 With respect to Jewish refugees in certain instances, again, 1898 there were actions taken that our country can learn from. 1899 And I started by saying that the degree of appreciation 1900 and the level that each and every American should feel in 1901 terms of being proud about our nation's record during World 1902 War II is an absolute—an absolute. But there are certain 1903 instances where we as a nation, in fact, may have required 1904 people of Austrian or German descent to leave our country-1905 Jewish Germans, Jewish Austrians—and they were required to 1906 leave and to go back into a circumstance that I think, if 1907 exposed, we can learn from.

- 1908 That is the point of this bill, and in that regard I
- 1909 would ask that we defeat Mr. King's amendment.
- 1910 Chairman Convers. The vote occurs on the King
- 1911 amendment. All in favor, say "aye."
- 1912 [A chorus of ayes.]
- 1913 Chairman Conyers. All opposed, say "no."
- 1914 [A chorus of noes.]
- 1915 Chairman Conyers. Noes have it.
- 1916 Mr. King. Mr. Chairman?
- 1917 Chairman Conyers. And the recorded vote is required.
- 1918 The clerk will call the roll.
- 1919 The Clerk. Mr. Conyers?
- 1920 Chairman Conyers. No.
- 1921 The Clerk. Mr. Conyers votes no.
- **1922** Mr. Berman?
- 1923 [No response.]
- Mr. Boucher?
- 1925 [No response.]
- 1926 Mr. Nadler?
- 1927 Mr. Nadler. No.
- 1928 The Clerk. Mr. Nadler votes no.
- **1929** Mr. Scott?
- 1930 Mr. Scott. No.
- 1931 The Clerk. Mr. Scott votes no.
- **1932** Mr. Watt?

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1933
         [No response.]
1934
         Ms. Lofgren?
1935
         [No response.]
1936
         Ms. Jackson Lee?
1937
         [No response.]
1938
         Ms. Waters?
1939
         Ms. Waters. No.
1940
         The Clerk. Ms. Waters votes no.
         Mr. Delahunt?
1941
         Mr. Delahunt. No.
1942
1943
         The Clerk. Mr. Delahunt votes no.
1944
         Mr. Wexler?
1945
         Mr. Wexler. No.
         The Clerk. Mr. Wexler votes no.
1946
1947
         Mr. Cohen?
1948
         Mr. Cohen. No.
1949
         The Clerk. Mr. Cohen votes no.
1950
         Mr. Johnson?
1951
         Mr. Johnson. No.
1952
         The Clerk. Mr. Johnson votes no.
1953
         Mr. Pierluisi?
1954
         Mr. Pierluisi. No.
1955
         The Clerk. Mr. Pierluisi votes no.
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1956

1957

Mr. Quigley?

Mr. Quigley. No.

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1958
         The Clerk. Mr. Quigley votes no.
         Ms. Chu?
1959
1960
         Ms. Chu. No.
1961
         The Clerk. Ms. Chu votes no.
1962
         Mr. Gutierrez?
1963
         [No response.]
1964
         Ms. Baldwin?
1965
         [No response.]
1966
         Mr. Gonzalez?
1967
         [No response.]
1968
         Mr. Weiner?
1969
         Mr. Weiner. No.
1970
         The Clerk. Mr. Weiner votes no.
1971
         Mr. Schiff?
1972
         Mr. Schiff. No.
1973
         The Clerk. Mr. Schiff votes no.
1974
         Ms. Sanchez?
1975
         Ms. Sanchez. No.
1976
         The Clerk. Ms. Sanchez votes no.
1977
         Ms. Wasserman Schultz?
1978
         [No response.]
1979
         Mr. Maffei?
1980
         [No response.]
1981
         Mr. Smith?
```

Mr. Smith. Aye.

1982

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1983
         The Clerk. Mr. Smith votes aye.
1984
         Mr. Goodlatte?
1985
         Mr. Goodlatte. Aye.
1986
         The Clerk. Mr. Goodlatte votes aye.
1987
         Mr. Sensenbrenner?
1988
         [No response.]
1989
         Mr. Coble?
1990
         Mr. Coble. Aye.
1991
         The Clerk. Mr. Coble votes aye.
1992
         Mr. Gallegly?
1993
         [No response.]
1994
         Mr. Lungren?
1995
        [No response.]
         Mr. Issa?
1996
1997
         Mr. Issa. Aye.
1998
         The Clerk. Mr. Issa votes aye.
1999
         Mr. Forbes?
2000
         Mr. Forbes. Aye.
2001
          The Clerk. Mr. Forbes votes aye.
2002
         Mr. King?
2003
         Mr. King. Aye.
2004
          The Clerk. Mr. King votes aye.
2005
         Mr. Franks?
2006
         [No response.]
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2007

Mr. Gohmert?

- 2008 Mr. Gohmert. Aye.
- 2009 The Clerk. Mr. Gohmert votes aye.
- 2010 Mr. Jordan?
- 2011 [No response.]
- 2012 Mr. Poe?
- 2013 Mr. Poe. Aye.
- The Clerk. Mr. Poe votes aye.
- 2015 Mr. Chaffetz?
- 2016 [No response.]
- 2017 Mr. Rooney?
- 2018 Mr. Rooney. Aye.
- 2019 The Clerk. Mr. Rooney votes aye.
- 2020 Mr. Harper?
- 2021 Mr. Harper. Aye.
- The Clerk. Mr. Harper votes aye.
- 2023 Chairman Conyers. Mr. Mel Watt?
- 2024 Mr. Watt. No.
- The Clerk. Mr. Watt votes no.
- 2026 Chairman Conyers. Ms. Baldwin?
- 2027 Ms. Baldwin. No.
- 2028 The Clerk. Ms. Baldwin votes no.
- 2029 Chairman Conyers. Mr. Maffei?
- 2030 Mr. Maffei. No.
- 2031 The Clerk. Mr. Maffei votes no.
- 2032 Chairman Conyers. Clerk will report.

- 2033 The Clerk. Mr. Chairman, 10 members votes aye, 17
- 2034 members voted nay.
- 2035 Chairman Conyers. The amendment is unsuccessful.
- 2036 Mr. King has one more amendment. Ms. Jackson Lee has
- 2037 one amendment.
- 2038 The chair recognizes Mr. Wexler for an amendment.
- 2039 Mr. Wexler. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- This will be quick and it speaks to the issues that Mr.
- 2041 Chaffetz-
- 2042 Chairman Conyers. Clerk will report the amendment.
- 2043 Mr. Wexler. Yes, please. Thank you.
- The Clerk. Amendment to the amendment in the nature of
- 2045 a substitute to H.R. 1425, offered by Mr. Wexler, of Florida.
- 2046 Page 16, line 15, insert "in Europe" after "genocide." Page
- 2047 20, strike lines 9 through-
- 2048 [The amendment by Mr. Wexler follows:]
- 2049 ******* INSERT *******

- 2050 Chairman Conyers. Without objection, the amendment will
- 2051 be considered as read, and the gentleman-the author of the
- 2052 bill is recognized for his amendment.
- 2053 Mr. Wexler. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. This will be
- 2054 quick.
- 2055 As was stated earlier, the amendment does two things:
- 2056 one, clarifies that the review, as it relates to the Jewish
- 2057 refugee commission, will be related to the persecution or
- 2058 genocide in Europe, and so we added that as a result of
- 2059 discussions with the ranking member at the subcommittee level
- 2060 as well as others. And second, as the ranking member of the
- 2061 subcommittee pointed out, he was concerned about any
- 2062 financial implications, so we made it clear that the \$1.2
- 2063 million that was already appropriated to the Department of
- 2064 Justice, there is striking to that language so, as has been
- 2065 reported, the bill is budget neutral and the pay for the
- 2066 commission members is zero, so there is no budgetary-should
- 2067 be no budgetary issues, no mandatory costs, and that is the
- 2068 effect of the amendment.
- 2069 Chairman Conyers. Chair recognizes Lamar Smith.
- 2070 Mr. Smith. Mr. Chairman, just briefly, I do support the
- 2071 amendment. It doesn't change the bill substantively, and I
- 2072 think it actually improves the bill. Appreciate the
- 2073 gentleman offering and yield back.
- 2074 Chairman Conyers. All in favor of the amendment, say

```
2075 "aye."
2076
         [A chorus of ayes.]
2077
         Chairman Conyers. All opposed, say "no."
2078
         [A chorus of noes.]
2079
         Chairman Conyers. Ayes have it. The amendment is
2080 carried.
2081
         And Steve King is recognized for another amendment.
2082
         Mr. King. Mr. Chairman, amendment number two is at the
2083 desk.
2084
         Chairman Conyers. Clerk will report the amendment.
2085
         The Clerk. Amendment to the amendment in the nature of
2086 a substitute to H.R. 1425, offered by Mr. King, of Iowa.
2087 Page 5, line 25, strike "without bias" and insert "with
2088 impartiality and without bias, and have made no prior
2089 judgment about-"
2090
          [The amendment by Mr. King follows:]
2091 ******* INSERT *******
```

- 2092 Mr. King. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that
- 2093 the amendment be considered as read.
- 2094 Chairman Conyers. Without objection, so ordered. The
- 2095 gentleman is recognized in support of his amendment.
- 2096 Mr. King. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. This is the
- 2097 impartiality amendment that mirrors the amendment in the
- 2098 previous legislation in H.R. 42. This is, of course, to the
- 2099 European component of this H.R. 1425, and it established the
- 2100 point that the commissioners, if this bill should pass, would
- 2101 be established without bias and would require that they
- 2102 demonstrate impartiality and that have made no prior judgment
- 2103 about the facts to be examined by the commission. And so it
- 2104 strikes the word "without bias."
- 2105 And again, it clarifies the American commission must be
- 2106 impartial and not made a prior judgment about the fact to be
- 2107 reviewed and reported by the commission. And I want to
- 2108 emphasize this, that I appreciate the willingness of the
- 2109 bill's author to work with the gentleman from Utah, and that
- 2110 took place before the subcommittee markup to address these
- 2111 concerns, but I think that further clarification is
- 2112 necessary, and that is the purpose for this amendment.
- 2113 If the commission is stacked with members who have
- 2114 already determined their actions, their intent, then this
- 2115 will be going through the motions to reach a preconceived
- 2116 conclusion, and this amendment will at least take a

- 2117 significant step towards ensuring that those who would be
- 2118 appointed to and seated on the commission would be as
- 2119 objective as possible.
- 2120 And I remember the discussion from the amendment on the
- 2121 previous bill on impartiality, and if we have a scholar that
- 2122 is appointed or someone who reaches the credentials of this
- 2123 commission who is appointed who has a record of, let us say,
- 2124 calling for reparations, then I would suggest that they were
- 2125 disqualified from sitting on this commission.
- 2126 I think if we have someone who has a clear record of
- 2127 having reached a biased conclusion or a conclusion that
- 2128 doesn't consider the arguments for each side of this-and I
- 2129 have made some of the arguments in defense of Franklin Delano
- 2130 Roosevelt-I don't do that every day, Mr. Chairman, but today
- 2131 I do-and so I think that if we see the bias in their record
- 2132 that they should, by the language in this amendment, be
- 2133 prohibited from sitting on the commission. And it encourages
- 2134 a search for people who are objective.
- 2135 And we know that we can appoint a commission and get the
- 2136 result we want just simply by choosing the people that sit on
- 2137 it, and we want to avoid that if this is an objective
- 2138 proposal here. And I do appose the underlying bill to be
- 2139 full disclosure on this, because I think to go back and dig
- 2140 up history, we should let the historians do that, not the
- 2141 commissioners. I am opposed to reparations. I am for

- 2142 impartiality.
- 2143 And by the way, I would point out, Mr. Chairman, the
- 2144 contemporary issues that we have could be using the time of
- 2145 this committee very well, and we know that there is a high
- 2146 level of public focus on, let us say, election corruption and
- 2147 fraud within large public organizations, including ACORN, and
- 2148 I would suggest we use this committee's time for that, not
- 2149 for this. But I urge the adoption of my amendment that would
- 2150 require impartiality on the commission, and I would yield
- 2151 back the balance of my time.
- 2152 Chairman Conyers. Thank you.
- 2153 Mr. Wexler?
- 2154 Mr. Wexler. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- I am in opposition to Mr. King's amendment, and I do
- 2156 thank the gentleman from Iowa for his kind words and the
- 2157 acknowledgment that I and others who worked with the ranking
- 2158 member at the subcommittee to resolve these issues. In fact,
- 2159 Mr. Chaffetz, at the subcommittee, offered an amendment which
- 2160 I supported and was adopted by voice vote which, in essence,
- 2161 did what Mr. King is asking. And that is, the commissioners
- 2162 must be impartial, they must have professional expertise
- 2163 relating to the issues addressed by the commission, and these
- 2164 will be the people that are chosen by the president, the
- 2165 speaker of the House, the president pro tem, all in concert
- 2166 and based on recommendations from the majority and minority

- 2167 leaders of the respective bodies.
- 2168 So we have already taken care of whatever concerns there
- 2169 are. And I would ask that we reject the amendment and move
- 2170 on to pass the bill. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 2171 Chairman Conyers. The vote occurs on the King
- 2172 amendment. All in favor, say "aye."
- 2173 [A chorus of ayes.]
- 2174 Chairman Conyers. All opposed, say "no."
- 2175 [A chorus of noes.]
- 2176 Chairman Conyers. The amendment is unsuccessful, and a
- 2177 reporting quorum being present, the question is on reporting
- 2178 the bill, as amended, favorably to the House. Those in
- **2179** favor, say "aye."
- 2180 [A chorus of ayes.]
- 2181 Chairman Convers. Those opposed, say "no."
- 2182 [A chorus of noes.]
- 2183 Chairman Convers. The ayes have it and the bill-
- 2184 Mr. King. Mr. Chairman?
- 2185 Chairman Conyers. —as amended, is ordered reported
- 2186 favorably—
- 2187 Mr. King. Mr. Chairman?
- 2188 Chairman Conyers. —and a recorded vote is requested.
- 2189 Clerk will call the roll.
- 2190 The Clerk. Mr. Conyers?
- 2191 Chairman Conyers. Aye.

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2192
          The Clerk. Mr. Conyers votes aye.
2193
         Mr. Berman?
2194
         [No response.]
2195
         Mr. Boucher?
2196
         [No response.]
2197
         Mr. Nadler?
2198
         [No reponse.]
2199
         Mr. Scott?
2200
         Mr. Scott. Aye.
2201
          The Clerk. Mr. Scott votes aye.
2202
         Mr. Watt?
2203
         Mr. Watt. Aye.
2204
         The Clerk. Mr. Watt votes aye.
2205
         Ms. Lofgren?
2206
         [No response.]
2207
         Ms. Jackson Lee?
2208
         [No response.]
2209
         Ms. Waters?
2210
         Ms. Waters. Aye.
2211
          The Clerk. Ms. Waters votes aye.
2212
         Mr. Delahunt?
2213
         [No response.]
2214
         Mr. Wexler?
2215
         Mr. Wexler. Aye.
```

The Clerk. Mr. Wexler votes aye.

2216

- 2217 Mr. Cohen?
- 2218 Mr. Cohen. Aye.
- The Clerk. Mr. Cohen votes aye.
- 2220 Mr. Johnson?
- 2221 Mr. Johnson. Aye.
- The Clerk. Mr. Johnson votes aye.
- 2223 Mr. Pierluisi?
- 2224 Mr. Pierluisi. Aye.
- The Clerk. Mr. Pierluisi votes aye.
- 2226 Mr. Quigley?
- 2227 Mr. Quigley. Aye.
- 2228 The Clerk. Mr. Quigley votes aye.
- 2229 Ms. Chu?
- 2230 Ms. Chu. Aye.
- 2231 The Clerk. Ms. Chu votes aye.
- 2232 Mr. Gutierrez?
- 2233 [No response.]
- 2234 Ms. Baldwin?
- 2235 [No reponse.]
- 2236 Mr. Gonzalez?
- 2237 [No response.]
- 2238 Mr. Weiner?
- 2239 Mr. Weiner. Pass.
- The Clerk. Mr. Weiner passes.
- 2241 Mr. Schiff?

- 2242 Mr. Schiff. Aye.
- The Clerk. Mr. Schiff votes aye.
- Ms. Sanchez?
- 2245 Ms. Sanchez. Aye.
- The Clerk. Ms. Sanchez votes aye.
- 2247 Ms. Wasserman Schultz?
- 2248 [No response.]
- 2249 Mr. Maffei?
- 2250 Mr. Maffei. Aye.
- The Clerk. Mr. Maffei votes aye.
- 2252 Mr. Smith?
- 2253 Mr. Smith. No.
- The Clerk. Mr. Smith votes no.
- 2255 Mr. Goodlatte?
- 2256 [No response.]
- 2257 Mr. Sensenbrenner?
- 2258 [No response.]
- **2259** Mr. Coble?
- 2260 Mr. Coble. No.
- The Clerk. Mr. Coble votes no.
- 2262 Mr. Gallegly?
- 2263 [No response.]
- 2264 Mr. Lungren?
- [No reponse.]
- 2266 Mr. Issa?

- 2267 Mr. Issa. Aye.
- 2268 The Clerk. Mr. Issa votes aye.
- 2269 Mr. Forbes?
- 2270 Mr. Forbes. No.
- The Clerk. Mr. Forbes votes no.
- 2272 Mr. King?
- 2273 Mr. King. No.
- 2274 The Clerk. Mr. King votes no.
- 2275 Mr. Franks?
- [No response.]
- 2277 Mr. Gohmert?
- 2278 [No response.]
- 2279 Mr. Jordan?
- [No response.]
- **2281** Mr. Poe?
- 2282 [No response.]
- 2283 Mr. Chaffetz?
- [No response.]
- **2285** Mr. Rooney?
- 2286 Mr. Rooney. Aye.
- The Clerk. Mr. Rooney votes aye.
- 2288 Mr. Harper?
- 2289 Mr. Harper. No.
- 2290 The Clerk. Mr. Harper votes no.
- 2291 Chairman Conyers. Ms. Baldwin?

- 2292 Ms. Baldwin. Aye.
- 2293 The Clerk. Ms. Baldwin votes aye.
- 2294 Chairman Conyers. Mr. Goodlatte?
- 2295 Mr. Goodlatte. No.
- 2296 The Clerk. Mr. Goodlatte votes no.
- 2297 Chairman Conyers. Mr. Weiner?
- 2298 Mr. Weiner. Aye.
- 2299 Chairman Conyers. Mr. Nadler?
- 2300 The Clerk. Mr. Weiner votes aye.
- 2301 Mr. Nadler. Aye.
- The Clerk. Mr. Nadler votes aye.
- 2303 Chairman Conyers. Clerk will report. Wait a minute.
- 2304 Mr. Boucher?
- 2305 Mr. Boucher. No.
- The Clerk. Mr. Boucher votes no. Mr. Boucher votes
- 2307 yes.
- 2308 Chairman Conyers. Judge Poe?
- 2309 Mr. Poe. No.
- 2310 The Clerk. Mr. Poe votes no.
- 2311 Chairman Conyers. Clerk will report.
- 2312 The Clerk. Mr. Chairman, 19 members voted aye, seven
- 2313 members voted nay.
- 2314 Chairman Conyers. The bill is successful, and without
- 2315 objection, it will be reported as a single amendment in the
- 2316 nature of a substitute incorporating amendments adopted, and

- 2317 staffs are authorized to make technical and conforming
- 2318 changes, and members have 2 days to submit views.
- 2319 We have only two quick matters to dispose of before we
- 2320 adjourn. H.R. 3237, to enact laws relating to national and
- 2321 commercial space programs, is called up for purposes of
- 2322 markup. The clerk will please report the bill.
- 2323 The Clerk. H.R. 3237, a bill to enact certain laws
- 2324 relating to national and commercial space programs as Title
- 2325 51, United States Code, "National and Commercial Space
- 2326 Programs."
- 2327 [The bill follows:]
- 2328 ******** INSERT *******

- 2329 Chairman Conyers. I thank the gentlelady. I will ask
- 2330 that my statement be put in the record.
- 2331 [The statement of Chairman Conyers follows:]
- 2332 ******* COMMITTEE INSERT *******

- 2333 Chairman Conyers. And I yield to Lamar Smith.
- 2334 Mr. Smith. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 2335 Mr. Chairman, I support, and I am also a cosponsor of
- 2336 H.R. 3237, a bill proposed by the Office of Law Revision
- 2337 Counsel to enact Title 51 or the U.S. Code as positive law.
- 2338 Our committee has jurisdiction over law revision bills. That
- 2339 is why we are considering this today.
- 2340 While numerous laws have been enacted over the years
- 2341 dealing with national and commercial space programs, there is
- 2342 no distinct title in the U.S. Code to consolidate these laws.
- 2343 This is because the U.S. Code was established in 1926, long
- 2344 before space programs were even imagined. This bill would
- 2345 put all of these laws into one title within the code.
- 2346 H.R. 3237 and similar law revision bills are important
- 2347 because they ensure that the U.S. Code is up to date,
- 2348 accurate, and usable. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I yield
- 2349 back.
- 2350 Chairman Conyers. If there are no further comments, all
- 2351 in favor of-chair yields to Mr. Cohen.
- 2352 Mr. Cohen. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 2353 In the spirit of bipartisanship, I would like to offer
- 2354 an amendment I think we can all agree on, and that is that
- 2355 nothing in the space program will allow ACORN to participate
- 2356 in any meaningful manner.
- 2357 Chairman Conyers. The gentleman, I presume, is serious

- 2358 and wants this amendment reported.
- 2359 Mr. Watt. I object, if he is asking for unanimous
- 2360 consent.
- 2361 Mr. Cohen. I will withdraw.
- 2362 Chairman Conyers. I thank the gentleman.
- 2363 All in favor of the bill under consideration, indicate
- 2364 by saying "aye."
- 2365 [A chorus of ayes.]
- 2366 Chairman Conyers. All opposed, say "no."
- [A chorus of noes.]
- 2368 Chairman Conyers. The ayes have it, and the bill is so
- 2369 ordered, and without objection we will have the appropriate 2
- 2370 days to submit additional views, and the staff will be
- 2371 authorized to make any conforming changes that may be
- 2372 necessary.
- 2373 We now call up the rules of procedure and statement of
- 2374 policy adopted in the Subcommittee on Immigration for
- 2375 consideration of private immigration bills and ask the clerk
- 2376 to report.
- 2377 The Clerk. Subcommittee on Immigration, Citizenship,
- 2378 Refugees, Border Security, and International Law, Rules of
- 2379 Procedure and Statement of Policy for Private Immigration
- 2380 Bills.
- 2381 [The rules follow:]
- 2382 ******** INSERT ********

2383 Chairman Conyers. I will put my statement in the

2384 record.

2385 [The statement of Chairman Conyers follows:]

2386 ****** COMMITTEE INSERT *******

- 2387 Chairman Conyers. —and recognize Lamar Smith.
- 2388 Mr. Smith. Thank you again, Mr. Chairman. I do support
- 2389 the ratification of these rules. Mr. Chairman, they are
- 2390 substantially the same as those that we have used in past
- 2391 years. The only difference, I believe, in these rules is
- 2392 that we have updated the citations to the law, and so I urge
- 2393 my colleagues to support it and yield back.
- 2394 Chairman Convers. Thank you.
- 2395 Chair recognizes Sheila Jackson Lee.
- 2396 Ms. Jackson Lee. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I
- 2397 was unavoidably detained on our major and important
- 2398 legislation that I am totally in support of, and I would like
- 2399 to register my vote as "aye" for H.R. 3596.
- 2400 I was meeting with the Department of Justice on some
- 2401 crisis issues in Texas. Mr. Chairman, you have been to Texas
- 2402 and you know that our criminal justice system is challenged.
- 2403 So we were having that meeting and I want to vote "aye."
- 2404 And I also, Mr. Chairman, want to thank you for that
- 2405 legislation and to add to the work that you have done in this
- 2406 committee, we will be in 2141 on Tuesday, October 27th to
- 2407 address the question of the impact of health care reform on
- 2408 the uninsured, and I would hope that our colleagues would
- **2409** join us at 9 a.m., October the 27th, 2009.
- 2410 I would ask unanimous consent that my vote for H.R. 3596
- 2411 be registered as "aye."

- 2412 Chairman Conyers. Without objection.
- 2413 Ms. Jackson Lee. I have two others: I would like to
- 2414 have my vote registered for H.R. 42, if I had been present,
- 2415 because I had been detained, as "aye."
- 2416 Chairman Convers. Without objection.
- 2417 Ms. Jackson Lee. H.R. 1425 as "aye."
- 2418 Chairman Conyers. Same.
- 2419 Ms. Jackson Lee. And it seems as if I came in as you
- **2420** were voting on H.R. 3237, as "aye."
- 2421 And my last comment, Mr. Chairman, on both H.R. 42 and
- 2422 H.R. 1425, both of these are legislative initiatives that I
- 2423 support. But as I indicated earlier when we had started this
- 2424 legislation a week or so ago, issues that you worked on
- 2425 dealing with reparations, issues dealing with the whole
- 2426 addressing of slavery in the United States also needs to be a
- 2427 part of this committee's agenda, moving your legislation
- 2428 forward and moving legislation forward that addresses those
- 2429 punitive issues in this country that have yet, I believe, to
- 2430 be fully addressed.
- 2431 And supporting these legislative initiatives, I think,
- 2432 brings to mind that we have still more work to be done. And
- 2433 I look forward to working with you, Mr. Chairman, maybe even
- 2434 going to the floor as we look at how we can best address many
- 2435 issues of discrimination that unfortunately in our nation
- 2436 still hold.

- 2437 So I thank you for yielding to me, and I would finally
- 2438 encourage our members to join us, because what you will hear
- 2439 is a reemphasis of the legislation that we just passed out of
- 2440 this committee dealing with health care and antitrust issues
- 2441 when you hear what happens to people who don't have
- 2442 insurance, who have been dropped from insurance, and
- 2443 physicians who have been negatively impacted. And that will
- 2444 be next week, October 27th, at 9 a.m., in 2141 Rayburn.
- 2445 Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I yield back.
- 2446 Chairman Conyers. The question is on the ratification
- 2447 of the rules of procedure and statement of policy for
- 2448 considering private immigration bills. All in favor will
- 2449 signify by saying "aye."
- 2450 [A chorus of ayes.]
- 2451 Chairman Conyers. All opposed, say "no."
- 2452 [A chorus of noes.]
- 2453 Chairman Conyers. The ayes have it, and the rules and
- 2454 statement of policy are ratified.
- 2455 This concludes our agenda for—wait a minute. Oh, I have
- 2456 one-excuse me.
- I have one further item, and call up the rules of
- 2458 procedure adopted in the Subcommittee on Immigration for
- 2459 consideration of private claim bills to consider for
- 2460 ratification and invite the clerk to report.
- 2461 The Clerk. Subcommittee on Immigration, Citizenship,

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2462 Refugees, Border Security, and International Law, Rules of
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2463 Procedure for Private Claims Bills.

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2464 [The rules follow:]
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2465 ******** INSERT *******

2466 Chairman Conyers. I am going to insert my statement in

2467 the record.

2468 [The statement of Chairman Conyers follows:]

2469 ****** COMMITTEE INSERT *******

- 2470 Chairman Conyers. —and invite Lamar Smith to make a
- 2471 statement or insert his.
- 2472 Mr. Smith. Mr. Chairman, I support them and yield back.
- 2473 Chairman Conyers. These rules are identical to the
- 2474 rules ratified by this committee in the last Congress and in
- 2475 previous Congresses with minor changes recommended by the
- 2476 Congressional Research Service to update references to the
- 2477 United States Code and to correct clerical errors.
- 2478 And so all other statements will be included in the
- 2479 record. If there are no amendments, I want to invite all
- 2480 those in favor of this ratification of private claims bill
- 2481 rules to say "aye."
- 2482 [A chorus of ayes.]
- 2483 Chairman Conyers. And those opposed to say "no."
- 2484 [A chorus of noes.]
- 2485 Chairman Conyers. The ayes have it and the rules are
- 2486 ratified, and-
- 2487 Ms. Jackson Lee. Mr. Chairman?
- 2488 Chairman Conyers. —the clerk will make any conforming
- 2489 statement-will make any changes, and members will have 2
- 2490 additional days to submit views-
- 2491 Ms. Jackson Lee. Mr. Chairman?
- 2492 Chairman Conyers. Yes, the gentlelady from Texas?
- 2493 Ms. Jackson Lee. Mr. Chairman, the work that you have
- 2494 done and the collective members on this Health Insurance

- 2495 Industry Antitrust Enforcement Act, I would ask unanimous
- 2496 consent if I might be added as a cosponsor of H.R. 3596?
- 2497 Chairman Conyers. Without objection. We would be
- 2498 delighted to add your name to that-
- 2499 Ms. Jackson Lee. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 2500 Chairman Conyers. —as a sponsor.
- 2501 I thank the committee, and it now stands adjourned.
- 2502 [Whereupon, at 12:15 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]