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		proceeding, or to make any other corrections to ensure the accuracy of the record.

- 4 MARKUP ON H.R. 3301, THE NORTH AMERICAN ENERGY INFRASTRUCTURE
- 5 ACT;
- 6 H.R. 4342, THE DOMAIN OPENNESS THROUGH CONTINUED OVERSIGHT
- 7 MATTERS (DOTCOM) ACT; AND
- 8 H.R. 4572, THE SATELLITE TELEVISION EXTENSION AND LOCALISM
- 9 (STELA) REAUTHORIZATION
- 10 THURSDAY, MAY 8, 2014
- 11 House of Representatives,
- 12 Committee on Energy and Commerce
- 13 Washington, D.C.

14 The Committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:08 a.m., in
15 Room 2123 of the Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Fred
16 Upton [Chairman of the Committee] presiding.
17 Members present: Representatives Hall, Barton, Shimkus,
18 Pitts, Walden, Terry, Rogers, Murphy, Burgess, Blackburn,

19 Gingrey, Scalise, Latta, McMorris Rodgers, Harper, Lance, 20 Cassidy, Guthrie, Olson, McKinley, Gardner, Pompeo, 21 Kinzinger, Griffith, Bilirakis, Johnson, Long, Ellmers, 22 Waxman, Dingell, Pallone, Eshoo, Engel, Green, DeGette, 23 Capps, Doyle, Schakowsky, Matheson, Butterfield, Barrow, Matsui, Castor, Sarbanes, McNerney, Braley, Welch, Lujan, 24 25 Tonko, Yarmuth, and Upton. 26 Staff present: Nick Abraham, Legislative Clerk; Gary

27 Andres, Staff Director; Charlotte Baker, Deputy 28 Communications Director; Ray Baum, Senior Policy 29 Advisor/Director of Coalitions; David Bell, Staff Assistant; 30 Mike Bloomquist, General Counsel; Matt Bravo, Professional 31 Staff Member; Leighton Brown, Press Assistant; Allison 32 Busbee, Policy Coordinator, Energy and Power; Megan Capiak, 33 Staff Assistant; Patrick Currier, Counsel, Energy and Power; 34 Marty Dannenfelser, Senior Advisor, Health Policy and 35 Coalitions; Andy Duberstein, Deputy Press Secretary; Gene 36 Fullano, Detailee, Telecom; Brad Grantz, Policy Coordinator, 37 Oversight and Investigations; Kelsey Guyselman, Counsel, 38 Telecom; Sydne Harwick, Legislative Clerk; Tom Hassenboehler, 39 Chief Counsel, Energy and Power; Brittany Havens, Legislative 40 Clerk; Kirby Howard, Legislative Clerk; Peter Kielty, Deputy 41 General Counsel; Jason Knox, Counsel, Energy and Power; Grace 42 Koh, Counsel, Telecom; Brandon Mooney, Professional Staff

43 Member; David Redl, Counsel, Telecom; Chris Sarley, Policy 44 Coordinator, Environment and Economy; Charlotte Savercool, 45 Legislative Coordinator; Tom Wilbur, Digital Media Advisor; 46 Jessica Wilkerson, Legislative Clerk; Jeff Baran, Democratic 47 Senior Counsel; Phil Barnett, Democratic Staff Director; Jen 48 Berenholz, Democratic Chief Clerk; Stacia Cardille, 49 Democratic Chief Counsel; Alison Cassady, Democratic Senior 50 Professional Staff Member; Shawn Chang, Democratic Chief 51 Counsel, Communications and Technology; Caitlin Haberman, 52 Democratic Policy Analyst; Elizabeth Letter, Democratic Press 53 Secretary; Karen Lightfoot, Democratic Communications 54 Director and Senior Policy Advisor; Margaret McCarthy, 55 Democratic Professional Staff Member; and Alexandra Teitz, 56 Democratic Senior Counsel, Environment and Energy.

57

The {Chairman.} Committee will come to order.

58 At the conclusion of opening statements yesterday, the 59 chair did call up H.R. 3301, and the Bill is open for 60 amendment at any point.

61 The chair recognizes himself to offer an amendment, and62 the clerk will report the amendment.

63 The {Clerk.} Amendment to H.R. 3301, offered by Mr.
64 Upton of Michigan and Mr. Gene Green of Texas.

65 [The amendment of Mr. Upton and Mr. Green follows:]

67 The {Chairman.} Without objection, the reading of the 68 amendment is dispensed with, and I recognize myself for 5 69 minutes in support of the amendment.

70 I want to say that I am happy to offer this amendment 71 with my friend and colleague, Gene Green, and appreciate his 72 hard work to convince our colleagues on both sides about this 73 new approach.

74 This approach is a sincere effort to focus a targeted 75 solution to the lessons learned from the Keystone Pipeline. 76 No one can rightfully argue that the current presidential 77 permit process of the State Department is not broken, no 78 matter what side of the climate debate you are on. And for 79 the over 100 operating or proposed oil, natural gas and 80 electric transmission facilities that CRS has identified 81 crossing the U.S. border of Canada or Mexico, we can do better, and this Bill will make us do that. 82 It takes the 83 politics out of what was once a routine decision, and puts in place a new certificate of crossing for an oil pipeline or 84 85 electric transmission line that crosses the U.S. border to 86 our allies, Canada and Mexico. In fact, this amendment 87 simply puts this infrastructure on par with what already 88 happens for natural gas pipelines across the border, a 89 commonsense and very transparent approach.

And, yes, this approach includes a full NEPA analysis. In fact, it is exactly the same way that it is handled for other cross-border infrastructure. So let me say it again, it includes a NEPA analysis.

94 We heard the concerns at the subcommittee, and we are making that change. In fact, this amendment even says that 95 96 approvals cannot be done until final NEPA action is complete. 97 Yes, we put 120-day time frame on that decision, but the 98 clock does not start until after the NEPA is complete, which 99 has no time limits, but our Agencies do need to be held 100 accountable, and the timeline is there to end the abuse so 101 that politics and interference, no matter what problem might 102 be out there, no matter what any Administration is in office, 103 can no longer dictate over the policy.

104 We also heard the concerns of a standard of review of 105 the original Bill. The national security interests of the 106 U.S., and concerns about taking the oil pipeline authority 107 away from the State Department. So in an effort to 108 accommodate our friends, we are making those changes too, giving this targeted authority back to state, and moving back 109 110 to a public interest standard. Why public interest? Well, 111 as we debated last week, this standard is well understood, 112 and is the same standard that has been used without problems 113 for decades for approving natural gas cross-border

114 applications under Section 3 of the Natural Gas Act. The 115 public interest standard requires FERC to consider the health 116 and safety of the public environmental impact of the project 117 in the project area, the economic impact of the project and 118 our commitments to Canada and Mexico in promoting trade. The 119 Department of Energy also uses the public interest standard 120 for approving cross-border transmission segments. Requiring 121 this standard for oil pipelines so that all 3 types of cross-122 border energy projects can be approved under exactly the same 123 standard is, I think, a commonsense policy.

124 Why are we making these changes? John Kerry said it 125 well yesterday. He said, today it is clear, the world's new 126 energy map is no longer centered in the Middle East, but in 127 the western hemisphere. Or, as Senator Pete Domenici and 128 Jason Grumet of the Bipartisan Policy Center, and remember, 129 Jason Grumet has been a long-time presidential Obama advisor, 130 this Bipartisan Policy Center jointly noted ``The entire 131 continent stands to achieve substantial economic, 132 environmental and security benefits. But we will not realize these opportunities unless we establish the infrastructure 133 134 needed to create an integrated North American energy sector. 135 Our permitting policies are antiquated and poorly matched to 136 our rapidly-evolving needs. The fact that these executive 137 orders do not specify any particular line or standards for

138 making the determination have created a process ill-suited for the country's changing landscape.'' Seems pretty clear, 139 140 this issue is just too important to let politics continue to 141 dictate. So we have given in to the request from many on 142 this committee, and listened in the interest of trying to 143 solve this problem. And I would, therefore, hope that my 144 colleagues can all join me in supporting this amendment and 145 the Bill on final passage.

146 And I would yield the balance of my minute to Mr. Green, 147 and then I will come to you.

148 Mr. Green.

Mr. {Green.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I will get my time in our order, but I just want to thank you and your staff for working with us on this legislation. It has actually been a real compromise, I think much more so than some of us on our side of the aisle would feel.

154 Obviously, Keystone is important to the area I represent 155 and the Gulf Coast, because we have the refineries, but it is 156 important to our country because Canada has always been our 157 closest ally, except, you know, back in 1812 when we burned 158 their capital, but they burned ours so it was equal. But it 159 is so important, and that is why we need to make sure we 160 structuralize our free trade agreement between our two 161 closest neighbors; Mexico and Canada.

162 And I thank you for your time.

163 The {Chairman.} Thank you.

164 At this point, I would recognize the ranking member of 165 the full committee, Mr. Waxman, for 5 minutes.

166 Mr. {Waxman.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

167 I will support this amendment because it would partially 168 address some of the Bill's major problems, but there are 169 still significant problems with the Bill.

170 For decades, the Federal Government has decided whether 171 to approve a cross-border pipeline or transmission line, 172 based on whether the proposed project is broadly in the 173 public interest. As drafted, H.R. 3301 tossed out that 174 standard, and replaced it with a much narrower standard. The 175 relevant federal agency would have to approve a project, 176 unless it finds that the project is not in the national 177 security interests of the United States.

178 By tying approval of a project to a national security 179 standard, rather than a broader public interest or national 180 interest standard, the Bill would prevent federal agencies 181 from considering the many ways a pipeline or transmission 182 project could affect communities and landowners along the 183 project's route. Energy markets, the environment, the 184 climate, other ways a project can have a real impact on 185 peoples' lives.

186 The Upton-Green amendment would fix this problem by 187 allowing federal agencies to consider factors other than 188 national security interests, so that is an improvement. 189 The original Bill included a two-pronged assault on 190 effective environmental review of cross-border oil and 191 natural gas pipelines and transmission lines. First, the 192 Bill explicitly stated that approval of cross-border 193 pipelines and transmission lines shall not constitute a major 194 federal action for purposes of the National Environmental 195 Policy Act, and second, the Bill set an arbitrary 120-day 196 deadline for agencies to approve projects, which is simply 197 not enough time to perform an adequate environmental review. 198 Either one of these provisions would effectively 199 eliminate federal environmental review of cross-border 200 projects. This amendment would delete the language that 201 explicitly exempt these--exempts these projects from NEPA 202 review, and it would start 120-day deadline after NEPA review 203 is complete, but it creates a new problem for environmental 204 review. Under this amendment, instead of conducting an 205 environmental review of the entire length of a pipeline that 206 crosses the border with Canada or Mexico, the NEPA review 207 would be limited to just the small segment of the pipeline 208 crossing the border. That is a dramatic narrowing of the 209 federal environmental review for oil pipelines.

210 For example, under this amendment, the environmental 211 review of the Keystone XL Pipeline would only examine the 212 environmental impacts of the little piece of the pipeline 213 that crosses the border with Canada, not the impacts on 214 climate change and moving all of that Tar Sands oil through 215 the middle of the United States, not the impacts on aquifers 216 or landowners in Nebraska, not the potential public safety 217 for oil spill concerns. The new language is just another way 218 of getting the federal environmental review for Tar Sands Pipelines. 219

220 There are other major problems with the Bill, even if 221 this amendment passes. The Bill would still create a 222 rebuttable presumption that Keystone XL and other Tar Sands 223 Pipelines are in the public interest, tipping the scale in 224 favor of their approval, and if the President rejects 225 Keystone XL or another pipeline because it is not in the 226 national interest, the Bill would still allow the rejected 227 applicant to reapply under the new, much weaker process. The 228 Bill also continues to exempt major expansions of existing 229 pipelines, and reversals of pipeline flows from any approval 230 process at all, and the Bill would still allow for unlimited 231 exports of liquefied natural gas through Canada and Mexico 232 with absolutely no controls or conditions.

233 It is fine to adopt this amendment, but I urge my

234 colleagues to continue to oppose this unwise legislation.

235 The {Chairman.} Gentleman yields back.

Other Members wishing to speak on the amendment?
Seeing none--the gentlelady from Florida is recognized.
Ms. {Castor.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

239 Colleagues, this amendment includes some language that 240 is similar to an amendment I offered during the subcommittee 241 markup that--where it was rejected. I was planning to offer 242 a similar amendment today to ensure that approval of these 243 cross-boundary projects have to meet a public interest 244 standard.

245 As drafted, H.R. 3301 exempts many cross-border 246 pipelines and transmission projects from the requirement for 247 a Presidential permit, and changes the permitting criteria 248 for the remainder. Specifically, the Bill replaces the 249 requirement that a project be in the public interest or 250 national interest, with the requirement that the project be 251 approved, unless it is not in the national security interest 252 of the United States. And, of course, this would 253 dramatically narrow what can be considered in evaluating 254 these projects to just national security concerns. 255 Of course, national security is a critical 256 consideration, but national security is not the only

257 consideration at stake, and it certainly is not the only

258 thing that matters to states and our local communities.

259 This amendment fixes this problem by upping the standard 260 for approval from a national security test to a public 261 interest test. That will allow federal agencies to examine 262 the potential impact of these major projects on environmental 263 matters, local concerns, climate change, property rights, 264 pipeline safety, and other important areas of consideration, 265 but this amendment, unfortunately, does not fix other core 266 problems of the Bill. The Bill still eliminates effective 267 environmental review of major cross-boundary energy projects by narrowing the scope of the review to just the part of the 268 269 project that crosses the border. And the Bill still provides 270 a way for controversial Tar Sands Pipelines, including 271 Keystone, to slip through the backdoor for approval, even if 272 the Administration determines that those pipelines are not in 273 the national interest.

This Bill creates presumption that Keystone and other projects are in the national interest, and that is a subtle but significant change that makes it almost a guarantee that these projects will be approved, even if the record is complete and there are dramatic concerns remaining.

279 So while I appreciate my colleagues now agree that we 280 should fix one of the big problems with the Bill, the Bill 281 still would do more harm than good, so I urge my colleagues

282 to continue to oppose the Bill.

283 I yield back.

284 The {Chairman.} Gentlelady yields back.

285 Other Members wishing to speak on the amendment?

286 The chair recognizes gentleman from Texas, Mr. Green.

287 Mr. {Green.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

288 And like I said earlier, I appreciate the effort to work 289 together on this substitute.

290 Today in North America, we find an unprecedented 291 opportunity. More than 2 decades after we signed NAFTA, the 292 United States, Canada and Mexico are at a crossroads once 293 In 2015, the United States, through hydraulic aqain. 294 fracking, will produce more oil and gas than any other 295 nation. Canada is developing resources that would solidify 296 them as the number 1 supplier of crude oil for the United 297 States. Mexico is undergoing major changes in their energy 298 sector, and they are on the brink of an energy revolution. 299 Many have spoken about the benefits of the United North American Energy Sector. Secretary Kerry spoke about this 300 301 yesterday. Others, including a Council on Foreign Relations, 302 foreign affairs, Washington Post editorial board, the Wall 303 Street Journal, and dozens of former Republican and Democrat 304 administration officials have touted the importance of North 305 American energy. To accomplish this, we need cross-border

306 infrastructure.

307 Believe it or not, the State Department has issued 308 cross-border permits before, without much fanfare. The last 309 permit in 2009, the State Department issued stating 310 additional crude oil pipeline capacity will advance a number 311 of strategic interests in the United States. Approval of 312 such a--sends a positive economic signal about the future 313 reliability and availability of U.S. energy imports, and will 314 provide construction jobs for workers in the U.S. And in 315 their own national interest determination, the Department 316 said the U.S. will continue to reducing GHG's, while 317 conservation and energy efficiency measures like CAFE. Unfortunately, shortly after that, the politics of pipeline 318 319 decisions and the use of NEPA as a tool of destruction began. 320 In 2010, when the State Department released its first NEPA 321 analysis to Keystone XL, the draft was rejected and the 322 departments requested to better assess how Canadian policy 323 decisions could affect U.S. energy and climate policy 324 objectives. The State Department has further requested to address potential oil demand scenarios over the 50-year life 325 326 of the project. It is important to recognize that the State 327 Department's previous analysis of cross-border projects did 328 not include these assessments. The Keystone analysis was 329 supposed to include extraction process, transportation

330 construction, and activities that occur on the Canadian side 331 of the border.

332 As I mentioned in my opening statement yesterday, the 333 Obama Administration has indicated these are not activities 334 intended for assessment under the NEPA. Proponents of H.R. 335 3301 understand the importance of GHG emissions and their 336 effect on climate change, but it is important to identify the 337 reality of the situation, especially as--if we are to assess 338 Canadian policies. Canada has the right to develop their 339 natural resources found within their borders. As their own--340 as our number one supplier of crude oil, Canada would prefer 341 to send that commodity to the United States. And as a 342 sideline, five refineries that are in eastern Harris County, 343 in or near our district, were too old in the '90s to handle 344 heavy Venezuelan crude. We would much rather have that 345 heavier crude coming from Canada. However, that does not 346 mean they should stop developing if the U.S. is not capable 347 of meeting Canadian needs. In fact, I think my colleague 348 from California might want to support H.R. 3301. California 349 imports a majority of its oil. If we do not meet the 350 transportation needs of the Canadian energy sector, they will 351 export that oil to China, to dirtier refineries, and then 352 import it back to California.

353 Currently, North American transportation needs are being

354 met by trains and trucks. This is because of NAFTA. 355 Commodities can enter our country by way of rail or road 356 because of the existing free trade agreement. The rails and 357 highways are built with a focus on NEPA review. Pipelines 358 are needed to fully utilize the potential of the North 359 American energy. And I have said it before; I can have 1,000 360 car train filled with Canadian crude, and bring it across the 361 border right now without a permit, but to build a pipeline it 362 takes us 5 years to get a permit. It is estimated that the 363 industry will invest \$200 billion by 2013--'35 in energy infrastructure. In 2013, 2 million jobs were created, 364 365 sustained by \$2.27 trillion in exports, led by energy. Ιf 366 proponents of the H.R.--opponents of H.R. 3301 are concerned 367 about GHG, keep in mind that 34 percent of our emissions come 368 from the transportation sector. If opponents of H.R. 3301 369 are concerned about safety, know that from 2009 to 2013, 370 railcars carrying oil increased from 10,000 cars to 400,000 371 cars.

However, 3301 is not about rail versus pipeline. Rail is needed now more than ever, even to move more commodities and people around our country. The demand is simply too high for rail to handle all the energy transportation needs. That is why H.R. 3301 is a priority. Pipelines are being disadvantaged due to an ill-defined process promulgated by

378 executive order. H.R. 3301 creates definition, the amended 379 legislation would structuralize the application approval 380 process for cross-border facilities. The Bill sets forth 381 reasonable timelines of 120 days after the NEPA process has 382 been completed by the Department of State to issue a public 383 interest determination.

384 For those who are concerned about limited national 385 security tests, we have addressed that. For those who are 386 concerned about the brief timeline, we have addressed that. 387 For those who desire federal NEPA review for the first time, 388 we will codify in law a NEPA review for cross-border 389 pipelines. For those who want the State Department to review 390 Canadian policies and 50 years of what-ifs scenarios, we 391 don't do that in 3301, even the hopefully amended version, 392 but 3301 aims to resolve an issue.

393 There are 10 cross-border facilities waiting for 394 approval. Some have waited 2 years just for the change of 395 names. To maximum the benefits and capitalize on the 396 opportunity to secure our energy suppliers now and in the 397 future, we must provide the Department of State with 398 H.R. 3301 does this while protecting public direction. interest in the environment, and I urge you to support the 399 400 Upland-Green amendment.

401 And I yield back my time.

402 The {Chairman.} Gentleman's time has expired.

403 Other Members wishing to speak on the amendment?

404 Seeing none, if there is no further discussion, the vote 405 occurs on the amendment.

406 All those in favor, so signify by saying aye.

407 All opposed, say no.

408 The ayes have it, and the amendment is agreed to. 409 I would ask unanimous consent at this point that the 410 Upton-Green amendment considered as the base text for any 411 further agreements to H.R. 3301. So ordered. I would also 412 ask that all technical and conforming changes necessary be 413 made in order. And without objection, agreed to as well. 414 Are there other amendments to H.R. 3301? 415 Gentleman from California. 416 Mr. {McNerney.} I have an amendment at the desk. 417 The {Chairman.} The clerk will report the title.

418 The {Clerk.} Amendment to H.R. 3301, offered by Mr.

419 McNerney of California.

420 [The amendment of Mr. McNerney follows:]

422 The {Chairman.} Without objection, the amendment will 423 be considered as read. The staff will distribute the 424 amendment.

425 And the gentleman from California is recognized for 5 426 minutes in support of his amendment.

427 Mr. {McNerney.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

428 Under current law, if a company wants to export natural 429 gas, it must first obtain approval from the Department of 430 Energy. Excuse me. For company--for countries without free 431 trade agreement with the United States, the DOE examines 432 whether the proposed export is in the public interest for 433 countries with a free trade agreement. With the United 434 States, including Canada and Mexico, the DOE is required to 435 deem export applications consistent with the public interest, and grant them without delay. The DOE testified that these 436 437 applications are relatively simple filings, and that the 438 Department responds within 2 to 4 weeks of a request. The 439 approvals can include conditions such as prohibitions against 440 simply using Canada or Mexico as a pass-through before 441 shipping gas to another country.

442 Section 4 of the Bill would modify this straightforward 443 approval process for LNG exports to Canada and Mexico. The 444 Bill amends current law to completely exempt a company

445 exporting natural gas to Canada or Mexico from any approval 446 at all. This unnecessary change would have significant 447 consequences. Under the Bill, the DOE would no longer be 448 able to include any conditions on the approvals. As a 449 result, the Bill allows unrestricted exports of LNG to Canada 450 or Mexico, and from there, it could be re-exported to any other country. These unlimited LNG exports through Canada 451 452 and Mexico would no longer be subject to any DOE approval, 453 review or conditions. There would be on public interest 454 determinations or analyses of impacts on domestic natural gas 455 prices, and the American consumers and manufacturers.

Canada and Mexico are two of our most important allies and trading partners, and we can easily send them natural gas now. There is no reason to allow for uncontrolled and unlimited LNG exports through Canada and Mexico. My amendment strikes Section 4 of this Bill, thereby eliminating the language that allows unlimited LNG exports to any destination with any public interest determination.

463 I urge my colleagues to support this amendment.

464 The {Chairman.} Gentleman yields back?

465 Mr. {McNerney.} Gentleman yields back.

466 The {Chairman.} Chair recognizes himself for 5 minutes 467 in opposition to the amendment.

468 I would just note that, because of NAFTA, the U.S. does

469 have free trade agreements, we know, with both Canada and 470 Mexico. Currently under the Natural Gas Act, a company has 471 to apply import or export of natural gas to free trade 472 agreements, and those applications shall be granted without 473 modifications or delay. That is the language.

474 So we have been importing and exporting natural gas to 475 and from Mexico and Canada for over 80 years. I know that it has been beneficial to all these--all three countries for 476 477 decades. It should be encouraged, not stifled. In fact, 478 according to EIA, 20 percent of California's natural gas 479 indeed comes from Canada. So nothing in this Bill as amended 480 removes the ability of FERC to regulate the operation of the 481 pipeline, especially if a company doesn't comply with the 482 terms of the Natural Gas Act, Section 3 approval. Nothing in 483 the legislation limits the President's power to stop natural 484 gas exports under the Energy Policy and Conservation Act, and 485 nothing in H.R. 3301 limits EIA's ability to collect data on 486 exports from pipeline operators under 15 U.S. Code 772(b). 487 So Section 4 of this Bill, of 3301, is a small step

488 towards bring our nation's energy policy in line with the 489 world that we live in today, and I would ask that our Members 490 oppose the amendment.

491 Other Members wishing to speak on the amendment?492 The chair would recognize the gentleman from California,

493 Mr. Waxman.

494 Mr. {Waxman.} Mr. Chairman, I urge support for the 495 McNerney amendment.

If you look at what happened last week, the committee marked up a Bill to allow for unlimited LNG exports without any determination that they would be in the public interest. And Members raised a lot of concerns about the impacts of unlimited LNG exports on natural--on domestic natural gas prices, about the effects of higher prices on American consumers and manufacturers.

503 The Bill reported out had major problems, but the 504 proponents of that Bill backed away from automatically 505 approving unlimited LNG exports.

506 This Bill, H.R. 3301, brings us right back to where we 507 Section 4 of this Bill would allow for unlimited started. 508 LNG exports to any destination in the world, without any 509 public interest determination or analysis of the potential 510 impacts. As long as the LNG exports first go to Canada or 511 Mexico, no approval is required. An LNG tanker ship could leave Louisiana or Texas, pause in Mexico, and then head off 512 513 to Asia, completely bypassing existing legal requirements.

514 This provision is also unnecessary because Canada and 515 Mexico have no problems obtaining U.S. natural gas for their 516 own use. We have a free trade agreement with them, and

517 approval of exports to Canada and Mexico is quick and automatic, but the Department of Energy is able to watch 518 519 those exports to make sure they are not diverted to other 520 countries. This provision eliminates DOE's ability to watch 521 out for American consumers and manufacturers. 522 We should strike Section 4 of the Bill. That is what 523 McNerney--Mr. McNerney's amendment does. I think it is a 524 good amendment, it is consistent with the committee's actions 525 last week, and I would encourage all Members to support it. 526 The {Chairman.} Gentleman yields back. 527 Other Members wishing to speak on the amendment? 528 Seeing none, the vote occurs on the amendment offered by

529 the gentleman from California, Mr. McNerney.

530 All those in favor will say aye.

531 Those opposed, say no.

532 Opinion of the chair the noes have it.

533 The noes have it. The amendment is not agreed to.

534 Other amendments to the Bill?

535 Gentleman from the--no, not yet.

536 Other amendments to the Bill?

537 Chair would recognize the gentleman--does the gentleman

538 from Vermont have an amendment at the desk?

539 Mr. {Welch.} I do, Mr. Chairman.

540 The {Chairman.} The clerk will read the title.

541 The {Clerk.} Amendment to the Upton-Green amendment to 542 H.R. 3301, offered by Mr. Welch of Vermont.

- 543 [The amendment of Mr. Welch follows:]

545 The {Chairman.} And without objection, the amendment is 546 considered as read, and the gentleman from Vermont is 547 recognized for 5 minutes in support of his amendment. 548 Mr. {Welch.} Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. 549 H.R. 3301 has a number of problems. One very serious 550 concern to me is that under this Bill, there will be literally no federal review at all for projects that make 551 552 major changes to existing cross-border pipelines. 553 The Bill, as you know, provides a blanket exemption from 554 federal review for every pipeline modification, no matter how 555 large, how significant, or how controversial. The 556 modifications can be huge, multibillion dollar projects with 557 significant safety, environmental and economic impacts in 558 communities along the pipeline. And we can certainly, in 559 this committee, in this Congress, have a big debate about 560 whether a project should or should not go forward, but should 561 we have legislation that denies the citizens in our 562 communities the opportunity to weigh-in and participate in 563 the permit process, when the project is going to have 564 significant implications for their communities. 565 You know, under current law, many of these projects that 566 will sail through generally need a revised presidential

567 permit, and potentially an environmental review, under the

568 National Environmental Policy Act. And this does ensure that 569 project impacts are understood, allows public participation, 570 allows the Federal Government to set permit conditions, 571 including safety measures that are necessary to protect 572 landowners.

573 Under the Bill, H.R. 3301, all of these safequards would 574 be extinguished. The Bill exempts all pipeline modifications 575 from the requirement to obtain a presidential permit. This 576 should alarm, and does alarm, communities that are traversed 577 by cross-border pipelines, and it is a very significant 578 concern for citizens in my home state of Vermont. Vermont is 579 home to a stretch of the Portland-Montreal Pipeline, and that 580 was built to transport light sweet crude oil from Maine, 581 across New Hampshire and Vermont, to Montreal, Canada. And 582 there are growing indications now that some intend to reverse 583 the flow of this pipeline to transport 600,000 barrels a day 584 of Canadian Tar Sands crude in the other direction, from 585 Canada, across Vermont to the coast of Maine. Now, that 586 raises a lot of concerns to people in my community, as well 587 as other states. For one, a spill of that heavy Tar Sands 588 oil would cause incredible damage, much worse than anything 589 that could occur with a spill of light sweet crude.

590 Vermonters are further concerned that reversing the 591 pipeline will accelerate the development of the Canadian Tar

592 Sands, and again, we can have a debate about that. We can 593 have--we do have different points of view on that, but should 594 anybody be denied the opportunity of public participation in that debate. 595 Forty-two of the towns and municipalities in my 596 state of Vermont have passed resolutions opposing this 597 project. Let us let them have a hearing in the existing 598 permit process. But H.R. 3301 would require no federal 599 review at all. It is a blanket exemption, and it is as 600 though by exempting from consideration any issues related to 601 environment or health or safety, there aren't issues of 602 environment or health and safety, and it would be a great 603 world if that is all it took. We passed a law saying there 604 shall be no spills, but it doesn't work that way.

The Bill sponsors say that it makes no sense to require presidential permit review for changes in pipeline ownership. I agree with that. My amendment would still exempt all such minor modifications to existing projects, but major modifications such as increasing a pipeline's volume, expanding its physical infrastructure, or reversing its flow,

611 can and do pose significant risk.

Under my amendment, major modifications would continue to be subject to federal review, information on project impacts would be developed, and the public would not be shut out. This won't fix all the problems of the Bill, but it is

616 a significant improvement, and I urge all Members to support 617 my amendment.

618 I yield back.

619 The {Chairman.} The gentleman yields back.

620 Chair would recognize himself for 5 minutes.

621 I would just say to the gentleman from Vermont, I 622 appreciate your amendment. We didn't see it until last 623 It was not considered in the subcommittee markup or night. 624 hearing that we had before. I would ask--I understand your 625 concerns, and I am willing to work with the gentleman. This 626 amendment we can't accept the way that it is, particularly as 627 it relates to the definition of what is a minor modification. 628 And I would perhaps ask the gentleman if he might withdraw 629 the amendment, and we will, in earnest, try to work with the 630 gentlemen with the--between the time that this Bill gets 631 scheduled for the floor, it is not going to be up for 632 probably at least a month, and give us a little time to 633 perhaps--to work on a proposal that we both can accept. But 634 in current form, we can't accept it in. Gentleman is entitled to do whatever he wants, but I just make that offer. 635 636 If the gentleman might withdraw it and we will work in good 637 faith.

638 Mr. {Welch.} You know what, Mr. Chairman, if you say639 you will work in good faith--

- 640 The {Chairman.} Absolutely.
- 641 Mr. {Welch.} --I believe you will work in good faith.
- 642 The {Chairman.} Yeah.
- 643 Mr. {Welch.} So I am willing to take that--
- 644 Mr. {Shimkus.} And--
- 645 Mr. {Welch.} --proposal.
- 646 Mr. {Shimkus.} --will the Chairman yield?
- 647 Mr. {Welch.} Yes.
- 648 The {Chairman.} Yeah, I will be glad--who is--
- 649 Mr. {Shimkus.} Just for a second.
- 650 The {Chairman.} The chair yields to the gentleman from651 Illinois.
- Mr. {Shimkus.} I just want to clear that. There is a problem with the vague language of minor modifications, and I am learning that we need to be very, very careful with vague language. What--you know, there is this debate about the imperial presidency, whether it is Obama or Bush, how powerful can the Executive Branch get, and they get powerful because we are vague.

So I would encourage the Chairman to work with you to boil down that portion of the language. There is great concern that it is too vague for us to understand what that means.

663 The {Chairman.} It is my--I will yield to the

664 gentlelady from California.

665 Ms. {Eshoo.} Mr. Chairman, thank you for your 666 willingness to work with Mr. Welch.

667 I support his amendment.

There are two really very basic things in the public for square, and that is public health and public safety. And there is a lot of talk about regulations and what they do, and whether we should have them, and that--but around public health and public safety, no matter what place you go in this country, people will stand next to that. And contained in this amendment, Mr. Chairman, are really those 2 bookends.

675 And so I am encouraged that you will work with Mr. 676 Welch, because I think that is really what the amendment is 677 about. And I don't think that is vague, I think that that is really--I had some really terrific talking points on this, 678 679 but since you are take--going to--you are willing to work 680 with him, I won't go through all of this. But public health 681 and public safety, we are the ones that need to step up and assure the American people in each one of our districts that 682 683 we have addressed that.

684 So thank you for yielding time to me on it.

685 The {Chairman.} And my--I yield back the balance of my 686 time.

687 The gentleman from California is recognized.

Mr. {Waxman.} Yeah, thanks. I didn't need the full 5 minutes. It looks like the amendment is going to be withdrawn and we will work on it. I just want to emphasize why it is important to work out this amendment, because if we exempt all modifications from federal review, I think some of these modifications amount to a whole new project, and they need to be examined.

695 I would just want to underscore that when we have these 696 promises to work with us in committee, that there actually be 697 a negotiation. The Chairman expressed concern that hadn't ---698 they hadn't seen the amendment--Mr. Welch's amendment before 699 last night. Well, we never saw all the things that are 700 before us today, except for an hour or 2 before the markup, 701 so let us try to establish a complete communications and 702 negotiation. I think we can do a lot of good that way, and I 703 think it is important to work at this amendment because it is 704 an important amendment to have in the Bill.

705 Yield back.

706 The {Chairman.} Gentleman yields back.

707 Other Members wishing to speak on the amendment? 708 Does the gentleman wish to withdraw, or you want to 709 proceed?

710 Mr. {Welch.} In view of your assurances--711 The {Chairman.} Yeah.

712 Mr. {Welch.} --that you will--

713 The {Chairman.} Yeah, we will.

714 Mr. {Welch.} --work in good faith with us, I will 715 withdraw, but I do want to say, the more we can work together 716 on some of these tough issues the better in getting things --717 amendments to you sooner, the Bill to us sooner. I think 718 that helps us, Mr. Chairman. So thanks for your willingness 719 to work with us on that, and I look forward to seeing if we 720 can make some progress. 721 The {Chairman.} Yeah. 722 Mr. {Welch.} And I will withdraw my amendment. 723 The {Chairman.} With--by unanimous consent, the 724 amendment is withdrawn. Are there further amendments to the Bill? 725 726 Gentleman from California is recognized. 727 Mr. {Waxman.} I have an amendment at the desk--728 The {Chairman.} Clerk will report the title. Mr. {Waxman.} --number 3. 729 730 The {Clerk.} Amendment to the Upton-Green amendment to 731 H.R. 3301, offered by Mr. Waxman of California. 732 [The amendment of Mr. Waxman follows:]

The {Chairman.} And the amendment will be considered asread, and the staff will distribute the amendment.

And the gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes in supportof his amendment.

738 Mr. {Waxman.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

739 We have been told that this Bill is not about approving 740 Keystone XL Tar Sands Pipeline. Unfortunately, this Bill 741 meddles once again in the Administration's decision-making 742 process on Keystone XL. In fact, if the State Department 743 rejects Keystone XL, this Bill would allow the project to 744 reapply to a new decision-maker under a new process designed 745 to rubberstamp permits. H.R. 3301 establishes a new 746 permitting process that aims to assure rapid approval of 747 every cross-border pipeline or transmission project.

748 The adopted Upton-Green amendment doesn't change the 749 fact that this Bill would make it very difficult for federal 750 agencies to do anything other than approve the proposed 751 projects. The Bill still has a rebuttable presumption of 752 It narrows the environmental analyses under NEPA approval. 753 to just the cross-border portion of the proposed project, 754 even though these energy projects could have widespread 755 impacts. The Bill excludes from this new permitted process 756 any project with permit approval pending on the date of

757 enactment, but that exclusion operates only for a limited 758 time. The exclusion ends as soon as a pending project has 759 been denied, or for any still-pending project, the exclusion 760 ends as of July 1, 2016.

761 Currently-pending projects would become subject to the 762 new permitting process as soon as the exclusion ends. If a 763 decision has not been made on Keystone XL by July 1, 2016, 764 the pipeline would then proceed under the new process, and it 765 likely would be approved by November 1, 2016. And if 766 President Obama finds that Keystone XL Pipeline is not in the 767 public interest, and denies the permit under the Bill, the 768 project could be brought back to life, spring right back to 769 life. TransCanada could reapply, this time to the Commerce 770 Department. Under the new criteria, the project might be 771 approved by November 1, 2015, just a year and a half from 772 That is why I called this the Zombie Pipeline Act. I now. 773 find it particularly troubling that this Bill would force the 774 Administration to allow a second bite at the apple for a 775 pipeline that the Administration had already found contrary 776 to the public interest.

777 Keystone XL is a massive, multibillion dollar project 778 that will seize land from thousands of American landowners, 779 and transport a hazardous substance across the United States 780 for the benefit of a foreign country. The project will

facilitate more rapid expansion of the Tar Sands, the dirtiest source of crude available with respect to carbon pollution. This project will be in place for 50 to 100 years, and its effects could last even longer. Yet, even if the President finds that permitting the Keystone XL Pipeline is not in the best interests of the American people, H.R. 3301 won't take no for an answer.

788 My amendment fixes only one of the many problems with 789 this Bill, and even if it is adopted, I will still oppose the 790 Bill, absent other changes. But this amendment asks the 791 Bill's sponsors to put their money where their mouth is. Ιf 792 you want to leave Keystone XL alone, you need to provide a 793 real exemption for pending projects. And that is all my 794 amendment would do. It doesn't affect any other aspect of 795 the Bill.

Whether you support or oppose Keystone XL, this amendment would simply leave the decision to the current process. And if H.R. 3301 is really about driving approval of every proposed pipeline, including Keystone XL, then you should oppose my amendment, but if you vote no, please don't try to tell us this Bill isn't about Keystone XL.

802 So I urge support for this amendment.

803 The {Chairman.} The gentleman yields back.

804 And chair will recognize himself in opposition to the

805 amendment.

806 And I would note that there are more than a dozen 807 applications that are currently pending, not only for new oil 808 pipeline presidential permits, but also for natural gas 809 pipelines and transmission lines. So the unintended 810 consequence of this amendment would mean that projects that 811 could bring more electricity to states like New York and New 812 Hampshire, and other states, would forever be barred from 813 being approved.

814 According to CRS, there are currently two applications 815 pending for natural gas pipelines, four applications pending 816 for new transmission lines, and one application pending for a 817 new oil pipeline. There are many more applications pending 818 for new presidential permits for existing projects across 819 both borders that would be impacted by the amendment, and 820 that is why I would urge my colleagues to vote no on this 821 amendment.

822 Other members wishing to speak on--chair would recognize 823 the gentleman from New York for 5 minutes.

824 Mr. {Tonko.} Thank you, Mr. Chair.

I support Mr. Waxman's amendment.

This amendment simply makes H.R. 3301 do no more or no less than what its supporters say they want it to; to establish a new process for permitting cross-border pipelines

829 and transmission lines.

830 That new process should apply prospectively. If, 831 instead, the Bill gets bogged down in picking winners and 832 losers in current controversies, we won't be able to have a 833 real conversation about what the new permit process should 834 look like. Consideration of this Bill, as with many--so many 835 of this committee's hearings, markups and floor time over the 836 past few years, will continue to be all about the Keystone XL 837 Tar Sands Pipeline.

There are Democratic members on both sides of the Keystone XL Pipeline issue, but most of us agree that whether we support or oppose that pipeline, the decision should be made based on sound analysis, and certainly on the best interests of this Nation.

That is why most of us opposed the previous Bills in this committee, to set an arbitrary deadline for a decision, or to simply approve the pipeline.

H.R. 3301 limits the Administration's existing authority over the Keystone XL Pipeline. It purports to exempt the pending projects, such as Keystone XL, from the new permit process established under the Bill, but Keystone XL is only exempt if the President approves the project, and does so before July 1 of 2016. After that date, H.R. 3301 provides that Keystone XL would be subject to the new permitting

853 process, and if the President rejects Keystone XL,

TransCanada could apply--or, excuse me, reapply, and would be subject to the new permitting process even sooner, as of July of 2015.

My colleagues across the aisle say they don't intend this Bill to be about Keystone XL, and I take them at their word. They say they just want Congress to set up a process for approval of cross-border energy projects. Unfortunately, the text of this Bill doesn't match their intent. So let us vote for Mr. Waxman's amendment, and take Keystone XL out of this discussion.

And I urge my colleagues to vote yes on this amendment.And I yield back, Mr. Chair.

866 The {Chairman.} Gentleman yields back.

867 Other Members wishing to speak on the amendment?

868 Seeing none, the vote occurs on the amendment offered by 869 Mr. Waxman.

All those in favor will say aye.

871 Those opposed say no.

872 Opinion of the chair roll call is requested. The clerk 873 will call the roll.

874 The {Clerk.} Mr. Hall.

875 Mr. {Hall.} No.

876 The {Clerk.} Mr. Hall votes no.

8	877	Mr.	Barton.
8	878	Mr.	{Barton.} No.
8	879	The	{Clerk.} Mr. Barton votes no.
8	880	Mr.	Whitfield.
8	881	[No	response.]
8	882	The	{Clerk.} Mr. Shimkus.
8	883	Mr.	{Shimkus.} No.
8	884	The	{Clerk.} Mr. Shimkus votes no.
8	885	Mr.	Pitts.
8	886	Mr.	{Pitts.} No.
8	887	The	{Clerk.} Mr. Pitts votes no.
8	888	Mr.	Walden.
8	889	Mr.	{Walden.} No.
8	890	The	{Clerk.} Mr. Walden votes no.
8	891	Mr.	Terry.
8	892	Mr.	{Terry.} No.
8	893	The	{Clerk.} Mr. Terry votes no.
8	894	Mr.	Rogers.
8	895	[No	response.]
8	896	The	{Clerk.} Mr. Murphy.
8	897	[No	response.]
8	898	The	{Clerk.} Mr. Burgess.
8	899	[No	response.]
Ģ	900	The	{Clerk.} Mrs. Blackburn.

902	The {Clerk.} Mr. Gingrey.
903	Dr. {Gingrey.} No.
904	The {Clerk.} Mr. Gingrey votes no.
905	Mr. Scalise.
906	Mr. {Scalise.} No.
907	The {Clerk.} Mr. Scalise votes no.
908	Mr. Latta.
909	Mr. {Latta.} No.
910	The {Clerk.} Mr. Latta votes no.
911	Mrs. McMorris Rodgers.
912	Mrs. {McMorris Rodgers.} No.
913	The {Clerk.} Mrs. McMorris Rodgers votes no.
914	Mr. Harper.

901 [No response.]

- 915 Mr. {Harper.} No.
- 916 The {Clerk.} Mr. Harper votes no.
- 917 Mr. Lance.
- 918 Mr. {Lance.} No.
- 919 The {Clerk.} Mr. Lance votes no.
- 920 Mr. Cassidy.
- 921 [No response.]
- 922 The {Clerk.} Mr. Guthrie.
- 923 Mr. {Guthrie.} No.
- 924 The {Clerk.} Mr. Guthrie votes no.

925 Mr.	Olson.	Mr.	McKinley.
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- 926 Mr. {McKinley.} No.
- 927 The {Clerk.} Mr. McKinley votes no.
- 928 Mr. Gardner.
- 929 Mr. {Gardner.} No.
- 930 The {Clerk.} Mr. Gardner votes no.
- 931 Mr. Pompeo.
- 932 [No response.]
- 933 The {Clerk.} Mr. Kinzinger.
- 934 Mr. {Kinzinger.} No.
- 935 The {Clerk.} Mr. Kinzinger votes no.
- 936 Mr. Griffith.
- 937 Mr. {Griffith.} No.
- 938 The {Clerk.} Mr. Griffith votes no.
- 939 Mr. Bilirakis.
- 940 Mr. {Bilirakis.} No.
- 941 The {Clerk.} Mr. Bilirakis votes no.
- 942 Mr. Johnson.
- 943 Mr. {Johnson.} No.
- 944 The {Clerk.} Mr. Johnson votes no.
- 945 Mr. Long.
- 946 Mr. {Long.} No.
- 947 The {Clerk.} Mr. Long votes no.
- 948 Mrs. Ellmers.

949	Mrs.	{Ellmers.}	No.
		(J	

950 The {Clerk.} Mrs. Ellmers votes no.

951 Mr. Waxman.

952 Mr. {Waxman.} Aye.

953 The {Clerk.} Mr. Waxman votes aye.

954 Mr. Dingell.

955 Mr. {Dingell.} Aye.

956 The {Clerk.} Mr. Dingell votes aye.

957 Mr. Pallone.

958 Mr. {Pallone.} Aye.

959 The {Clerk.} Mr. Pallone votes aye.

960 Mr. Rush.

961 [No response.]

962 The {Clerk.} Ms. Eshoo.

- 963 Ms. {Eshoo.} Aye.
- 964 The {Clerk.} Ms. Eshoo votes aye.
- 965 Mr. Engel.
- 966 [No response.]
- 967 The {Clerk.} Mr. Green.
- 968 Mr. {Green.} No.
- 969 The {Clerk.} Mr. Green votes no.
- 970 Ms. DeGette.

971 Ms. {DeGette.} Aye.

972 The {Clerk.} Ms. DeGette votes aye.

973	Mrs. Capps.
974	Mrs. {Capps.} Aye.
975	The {Clerk.} Mrs. Capps votes aye.
976	Mr. Doyle.
977	Mr. {Doyle.} Aye.
978	The {Clerk.} Mr. Doyle votes aye.
979	Ms. Schakowsky.
980	[No response.]
981	The {Clerk.} Mr. Matheson.
982	[No response.]
983	The {Clerk.} Mr. Butterfield.
984	[No response.]
985	The {Clerk.} Mr. Barrow.
986	Mr. {Barrow.} No.
987	The {Clerk.} Mr. Barrow votes no.
988	Ms. Matsui.
989	Ms. {Matsui.} Aye.
990	The {Clerk.} Ms. Matsui votes aye.
991	Ms. Christensen.
992	[No response.]
993	The {Clerk.} Ms. Castor.
994	Ms. {Castor.} Aye.
995	The {Clerk.} Ms. Castor votes aye.
996	Mr. Sarbanes.

997	Mr.	{Sarbanes.}	Aye.
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998 The {Clerk.} Mr. Sarbanes votes aye.

999 Mr. McNerney.

1000 Mr. {McNerney.} Aye.

1001 The {Clerk.} Mr. McNerney votes aye.

1002 Mr. Braley.

1003 Mr. {Braley.} Aye.

1004 The {Clerk.} Mr. Braley votes aye.

1005 Mr. Welch.

1006 Mr. {Welch.} Aye.

1007 The {Clerk.} Mr. Welch votes aye.

1008 Mr. Lujan.

1009 Mr. {Lujan.} Aye.

1010 The {Clerk.} Mr. Lujan votes aye.

1011 Mr. Tonko.

1012 Mr. {Tonko.} Aye.

1013 The {Clerk.} Mr. Tonko votes aye.

1014 Mr. Yarmuth.

1015 Mr. {Yarmuth.} Aye.

1016 The {Clerk.} Mr. Yarmuth votes aye.

1017 Chairman Upton.

1018 The {Chairman.} Votes no.

1019 The {Clerk.} Chairman Upton votes no.

1020 The {Chairman.} Other Members wishing to cast a vote?

1022	Mr.	{Murphy.}	No.

1023 The {Clerk.} Dr. Murphy votes no.

1024 The {Chairman.} Mr. Pompeo?

1025 Mr. {Pompeo.} No.

1026 The {Clerk.} Mr. Pompeo votes no.

1027 The {Chairman.} Mr. Olson?

1028 Mr. {Olson.} No.

1029 The {Clerk.} Mr. Olson votes no.

1030 The {Chairman.} Other Members wishing to cast a vote?

1031 Seeing none, the clerk will report the tally.

1032 Mr. {Dingell.} Mr. Chairman.

1033 The {Chairman.} The gentleman will hold just for one

1034 second.

1035 Mr. {Dingell.} Okay.

1036 The {Chairman.} The gentleman recorded, right?

1037 Mr. {Dingell.} I have an amendment--

1038 The {Chairman.} Yeah--

1039 Mr. {Dingell.} --that I would like to offer.

1040 The {Chairman.} --just wait until we do this vote and 1041 then we--I will recognize you.

1042 The {Clerk.} Mr. Chairman, on that vote, there were 16 1043 ayes and 27 nays.

1044 The {Chairman.} Sixteen ayes, 27 nays.

1045	The amendment is not agreed to.
1046	Are there further amendments to the Bill?
1047	The chair would recognize the gentleman from the great
1048	state of Michigan.
1049	Mr. {Dingell.} I thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I begin
1050	by
1051	The {Chairman.} Will the gentleman
1052	Mr. {Dingell.}commending you for the fairness which
1053	you have engaged here today.
1054	I have an amendment which I offer at this particular
1055	time.
1056	The {Chairman.} The clerk will report the title of the
1057	amendment.
1058	The {Clerk.} Amendment to
1059	Mr. {Dingell.} And I
1060	The {Clerk.}the Upton-Green
1061	Mr. {Dingell.}ask unanimous consent that the reading
1062	of the amendment be dismissed.
1063	[The amendment of Mr. Dingell follows:]

1065 The {Chairman.} Without objection, the reading of the 1066 amendment is completed. The staff will distribute the 1067 amendment, and the gentleman from the great state of Michigan 1068 is recognized for 5 minutes in support of his amendment. 1069 Mr. {Dingell.} While the amendment is being passed out, 1070 Mr. Chairman, I will begin by thanking both you and Mr. Green 1071 for your introduction of legislation. I believe you have 1072 made a very serious and sincere effort to address the 1073 uncertainties surrounding the process. And while I 1074 appreciate your efforts to find a middle ground, I continue 1075 to have concerns about this Bill. 1076 As the House author of NEPA years ago, I can tell you

1077 that it was created to provide transparency, so that people 1078 would know what the impact of a project would be on their 1079 communities and upon their lives. However, H.R. 3301 will 1080 circumvent that transparency, making our lands vulnerable to 1081 spills, leaks, and other pipeline hazards.

You and I have recently had an experience, Mr. Chairman, with what happens when there is carelessness in the operation of a pipeline, or when there is a spill or some kind of unfortunate event associated with the operation of the pipeline.

1087 I want--this amendment is offered so that we can make

1088 certain that proper diligence is given to protect the 1089 public's interest. And I have observed that the long-term 1090 lasting effect of a spill from a pipeline is a very serious 1091 matter, particularly in our area, the Great Lakes, but also 1092 in other areas, and that an explosion of a pipeline can be an 1093 event of great seriousness to all concerned.

1094 Now, we are here trying at this amendment to see to it 1095 that NEPA review is conducted for the entire length of all 1096 cross-border projects. We can guarantee all proposals will 1097 get the full scope of review necessary to preserve and 1098 protect our previous natural resources, particularly we who 1099 live in the Great Lakes. Unfortunately, H.R. 3301 falls 1100 short of this, and I would note that the Bill would limit 1101 NEPA review to cross-border segments of an oil pipeline. I 1102 am not altogether clear what that is, whether it is a couple 1103 of millimeters or a couple of inches, or maybe a few feet, 1104 but it is a serious matter and does require very clear 1105 understanding of what it is we are doing to ourselves, and 1106 the risks and dangers that are attendant upon this matter. 1107 If H.R. 3301 were to become law, a federal NEPA review 1108 would not be triggered for the entire length of a cross-1109 border oil pipeline. There is also a NEPA exemption for 1110 modifications made to cross-border segments. In other words, if a company wanted to build a small cross-border segment, 1111

1112 and triple that in size a year later, those modifications 1113 would be exempted from undergoing a federal NEPA review. 1114 Furthermore, the definition of a cross-border segment is left geographically vague and no one, I think here, can tell us 1115 1116 what that means. Would NEPA review of a cross-border segment 1117 cover inches, yards, miles? I fear that this lack of 1118 congressional guidance, coupled with the NEPA exemptions to 1119 modifications, and the unclarity or the lack of clarity here, 1120 has an extremely dangerous potential for those of us who are 1121 concerned about pipeline safety and about protection of 1122 treasures like the Great Lakes, which constitute some 20 1123 percent of the water--the worlds' freshwater supply, and, of 1124 course, all the tremendous hunting and fishing areas that 1125 belong there.

1126 Not too long ago, we had a serious problem, as you will 1127 recall, with an oil pipeline leaking approximately 1 million 1128 gallons down 35 miles of the Kalamazoo River. My concern is, 1129 if this pipeline had been crossing into the Detroit River or 1130 the Saint Clair River, what would have happened. If a 1131 pipeline were to leak oil into one of these rivers, it would flow down the Saint Clair River, down 28 miles into Detroit 1132 1133 River, past my district and into Lake Erie. Along the way, 1134 it would affect state and federal lands in Michigan and Ohio, 1135 Canada and the rest of the Great Lakes basin. It would also

1136 have a significant adverse potential on fish, wildlife, the 1137 health of our people, and, of course, also the risk to people 1138 who would be dependent on that for water and water supplies. 1139 Oil, electric and natural gas projects create a lot of good 1140 American jobs, and I want to see to it that when we do these 1141 things, we do them carefully so that we are not setting 1142 ourselves up with some of kind of awful consequences because 1143 we didn't do this thing carefully enough in the beginning.

1144 I urge my colleagues to support the amendment.

1145 And I yield back the balance of my--

1146 The {Chairman.} Gentleman--

1147 Mr. {Dingell.} --time.

1148 The {Chairman.} Gentleman yields back.

1149 And I, as--recognize myself for 5 minutes in opposition 1150 to the amendment.

I just want to say appreciate the gentleman's kind words, and yes, we did work very closely together the two of us, and really every member of this committee, when we enacted--saw the enactment signed by President Obama on the Pipeline Safety Bill in the last sessions of Congress, which remains in effect today and will be reauthorized, I believe, next year.

1158 So--but what I am concerned about with this amendment is 1159 that you are asking for a federal citing authority for oil

1160 pipelines which does not currently exist. It would also 1161 trigger federal imminent domain authority. This Bill, H.R. 3301's, establishment of a certificate of crossing for the 1162 1163 cross-border segment of a project and corresponding federal 1164 view is aligned with FERC and DOE precedent for approving 1165 cross-border natural gas pipelines and certain electricity--1166 electric transmission facilities, but when a natural gas 1167 pipeline operator applies for a cross-border natural gas 1168 pipeline approval under Section 3 of the Natural Gas Act, it 1169 triggers a NEPA review on the border facilities, and although 1170 FERC is given discretion on the precise boundaries, it is 1171 understood that this is a border facility and the NEPA focus 1172 is on that area. If a company also applies for a Section 7 1173 interstate pipeline permit, then the NEPA extends to cover 1174 that too.

1175 So I don't think this amendment is necessary at all, and 1176 I would urge my colleagues to respectfully oppose it.

1177 And would yield back the balance of my time.

1178Recognize the gentleman from California, Mr. Waxman.1179Mr. {Waxman.}1180disagree with you and I do support the Dingell amendment.

1181 The underlying Bill, H.R. 3301, makes an end-run around 1182 NEPA. The Upton-Green amendment purports to fix the Bill's 1183 NEPA problems but, unfortunately, these changes are only

1184 cosmetic.

1185 The amendment simply finds a new way to eliminate any 1186 meaningful review of the environmental impacts of large 1187 trans-boundary infrastructure projects. So under the Upton-1188 Green amendment, which has now been adopted and that is part 1189 of the Bill, we redefine and significantly narrow the scope 1190 of NEPA's environmental review. While NEPA review is 1191 supposed to look at the impacts of an entire project, the 1192 Upton-Green amendment restricts NEPA review to only that 1193 small portion of a project that physically crosses the 1194 border. That just doesn't make any sense. These massive 1195 projects are more than just a border crossing. When we 1196 approve a trans-boundary pipeline or transmission line, we 1197 are approving multibillion dollar infrastructure that may 1198 stretch hundreds of miles and will last for decades. These 1199 projects pass through private property, and sensitive lands, 1200 and over aquifers. They transport hazardous substances that, 1201 if spilled or ignited, can cause serious damage.

Before making decisions about whether to approve such projects, we need to carefully consider their potential impacts on the environment and on communities along the route, and we should be looking at the effects of the project as a whole. That is not what the Upton-Green amendment provides, and I think the Dingell amendment corrects this

1208 problem. It doesn't cure all the issues with the legislation 1209 itself, but I think it is an important amendment and I would 1210 urge its support.

1211 The {Chairman.} Gentleman yields back.

1212 Other gentleman--chair would recognize the gentleman 1213 from Illinois, Mr. Shimkus.

1214 Mr. {Shimkus.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

1215 I respectfully disagree. I think the Upton and Green 1216 amendment does exactly what it says it is going to do and, 1217 you know, because some opponents have tried to claim the Bill exempts cross-border energy infrastructure from all 1218 1219 environmental laws, and permitting requirements, including 1220 NEPA. That is just not true. However, the amendment to the 1221 Bill preserves NEPA. That is exactly what Upton-Green did. 1222 Specifically, it provides a certificate of crossing cannot be 1223 issued until final NEPA action has been taken. Moreover, the 1224 Bill, as revised, does not limit the time. I wish it did. 1225 My preference would be that there be a limited time, and that 1226 we would move expeditiously, but this Bill, and Upton-Green 1227 has no shot clock on the cross-border segment. Nothing in 1228 this Bill would limit the application of NEPA to the rest of 1229 the project. So, for example, if a project requires a right-1230 of-way across federal lands, NEPA would likely apply to the 1231 right-of-way approval.

1233 that needs to be placed.

1234 And I yield back.

1235 The {Chairman.} Gentleman yields back.

1236 Other Members--chair would recognize the gentleman from 1237 Texas, Mr. Green. Mr. Doyle.

1238 {Voice.} From Pennsylvania.

1239 {Voice.} The gentleman from--

1240 The {Chairman.} Mr. Doyle from Pennsylvania is

1241 recognized for 5 minutes.

1242 {Voice.} Okay, I need--

1243 Mr. {Doyle.} Don't confuse me with being from Texas.

1244 Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would like to yield my time 1245 to Mr. Dingell.

1246 Mr. {Dingell.} I thank the gentleman for his kindness 1247 to me.

And I think both my good friend, the Chairman, and my 1248 1249 dear friend, Mr. Shimkus, have made the case. First of all, 1250 there is now not adequate protection with regard to oil 1251 pipelines. This would assure that there is no new protection 1252 for oil pipelines, and that oil pipelines continue to hold 1253 the inherent lack of safety which is there. And the result 1254 is, and I am just talking about the Great Lakes, my two 1255 colleagues over there both understand the Great Lakes because

1256 they come from the Great Lakes basin. The result of a major 1257 pipeline event causing the pipelines to leak enormous sums 1258 of--enormous amounts of oil, and remember, this going to be a 1259 huge pipeline, into the Great Lakes basin, could have an--1260 appalling consequences on fish, wildlife, and on water 1261 supply, on industry and recreation, and on the peoples' 1262 enjoyment up there. It also could impact, for example, 1263 things like drinking water and things of that kind.

1264 I hope that the members of this committee will 1265 understand how important it is that we do the things that we 1266 have to, to see to it that we protect these treasures. The 1267 Great Lakes are 20 percent of the world's freshwater, and to 1268 simply lightly go on and say, well, we don't protect them now 1269 so we are not going to protect them in the future is, I 1270 think, an extremely unwise and dangerous statement of 1271 philosophy or the effect that is going to impact our people. 1272 This is no small matter. We just had a small pipeline

1273 break up there in the district--rather, in the general area 1274 that is served by my dear friend, the chairman of the 1275 committee, and I, and it caused no end of fuss, and it is 1276 going to cause no end of problems in terms of getting that 1277 mess cleaned up. And the consequences to fish, wildlife, 1278 water, recreation, industry and public health are very 1279 serious. And understand also that this is not going--that

1280 the Bill is not going to provide the necessary assurance and 1281 protection that are necessary with regard to natural gas and 1282 other things. These are matters of the utmost importance, and I would just point out, any member of this committee that 1283 1284 is going to confront the fact that he has--he or she has not 1285 properly protected the great treasures that we have of water 1286 and fish and wildlife and recreation, and municipal and 1287 industrial water supplies, is going to have a very, very 1288 serious problem, both with his conscience and with his 1289 politics.

I would urge the adoption of the amendment. I would like to have it go further, but regrettably this is about as far as I can do it with the tremendous rules and the other problems.

Now I want to thank my good friend from Pennsylvania.
He has been so kind to me on so many occasions. Thank you.
Mr. {Doyle.} Thank you.

1297 Mr. {Dingell.} Mr. Chairman, I said what I said with 1298 regard to you and our colleague, Mr. Shimkus, with a great 1299 deal of affection and respect.

1300 The {Chairman.} I know--

1301 Mr. {Doyle.} I yield back, Mr. Chairman.

1302 The {Chairman.} I know that.

1303 Gentleman yields back.

1304		Other Members wishing to speak on the amendment?
1305		Seeing none, the vote occurs on the Dingell amendment.
1306		Those
1307		{Voice.} Mr. Chairman, I would ask for roll call.
1308		The {Chairman.} Roll call is requested. The clerk will
1309	call	the roll.
1310		The {Clerk.} Mr. Hall.
1311		Mr. {Hall.} No.
1312		The {Clerk.} Mr. Hall votes no.
1313		Mr. Barton.
1314		[No response.]
1315		The {Clerk.} Mr. Whitfield.
1316		[No response.]
1317		The {Clerk.} Mr. Shimkus.
1318		Mr. {Shimkus.} No.
1319		The {Clerk.} Mr. Shimkus votes no.
1320		Mr. Pitts.
1321		Mr. {Pitts.} No.
1322		The {Clerk.} Mr. Pitts votes no.
1323		Mr. Walden.
1324		Mr. {Walden.} No.
1325		The {Clerk.} Mr. Walden votes no.
1326		Mr. Terry.
1327		Mr. {Terry.} No.

1328 The {Clerk.} Mr. Terry votes no.

- 1329 Mr. Rogers.
- 1330 [No response.]
- 1331 The {Clerk.} Mr. Murphy.
- 1332 [No response.]
- 1333 The {Clerk.} Mr. Burgess.
- 1334 [No response.]
- 1335 The {Clerk.} Mrs. Blackburn.
- 1336 Mrs. {Blackburn.} No.
- 1337 The {Clerk.} Mrs. Blackburn votes no.
- 1338 Mr. Gingrey.
- 1339 Dr. {Gingrey.} No.
- 1340 The {Clerk.} Mr. Gingrey votes no.
- 1341 Mr. Scalise.
- 1342 Mr. {Scalise.} No.
- 1343 The {Clerk.} Mr. Scalise votes no.
- 1344 Mr. Latta.
- 1345 Mr. {Latta.} No.
- 1346 The {Clerk.} Mr. Latta votes no.
- 1347 Mrs. McMorris Rodgers.
- 1348 Mrs. {McMorris Rodgers.} No.
- 1349 The {Clerk.} Mrs. McMorris Rodgers votes no.
- 1350 Mr. Harper.
- 1351 Mr. {Harper.} No.

1352 The {Clerk.} Mr. Harper votes no. 1353 Mr. Lance. 1354 Mr. {Lance.} No. The {Clerk.} Mr. Lance votes no. 1355 1356 Mr. Cassidy. Dr. {Cassidy.} No. 1357 The {Clerk.} Mr. Cassidy votes no. 1358 1359 Mr. Guthrie. 1360 Mr. {Guthrie.} No. 1361 The {Clerk.} Mr. Guthrie votes no.

- 1362 Mr. Olson.
- 1363 [No response.]
- 1364 The {Clerk.} Mr. McKinley.
- 1365 Mr. {McKinley.} No.
- 1366 The {Clerk.} Mr. McKinley votes no.
- 1367 Mr. Gardner.
- 1368 Mr. {Gardner.} No.
- 1369 The {Clerk.} Mr. Gardner votes no.
- 1370 Mr. Pompeo.
- 1371 Mr. {Pompeo.} No.
- 1372 The {Clerk.} Mr. Pompeo votes no.
- 1373 Mr. Kinzinger.
- 1374 [No response.]
- 1375 The {Clerk.} Mr. Griffith.

1376	Mr.	{Griffith.}	No.
		()	

- 1377 The {Clerk.} Mr. Griffith votes no.
- 1378 Mr. Bilirakis.
- 1379 Mr. {Bilirakis.} No.
- 1380 The {Clerk.} Mr. Bilirakis votes no.
- 1381 Mr. Johnson.
- 1382 Mr. {Johnson.} No.
- 1383 The {Clerk.} Mr. Johnson votes no.
- 1384 Mr. Long.
- 1385 Mr. {Long.} No.
- 1386 The {Clerk.} Mr. Long votes no.
- 1387 Mrs. Ellmers.
- 1388 Mrs. {Ellmers.} No.
- 1389 The {Clerk.} Mrs. Ellmers votes no.
- 1390 Mr. Waxman.
- 1391 Mr. {Waxman.} Aye.
- 1392 The {Clerk.} Mr. Waxman votes aye.
- 1393 Mr. Dingell.
- 1394 Mr. {Dingell.} Mr. Dingell votes aye.
- 1395 The {Clerk.} Mr. Dingell votes aye.
- 1396 Mr. Pallone.
- 1397 Mr. {Pallone.} Aye.
- 1398 The {Clerk.} Mr. Pallone votes aye.
- 1399 Mr. Rush.

1400	[No response.]
1401	The {Clerk.} Ms. Eshoo.
1402	Ms. {Eshoo.} Aye.
1403	The {Clerk.} Ms. Eshoo votes aye.
1404	Mr. Engel.
1405	Mr. {Engel.} Aye.
1406	The {Clerk.} Mr. Engel votes aye.
1407	Mr. Green.
1408	Mr. {Green.} No.
1409	The {Clerk.} Mr. Green votes no.
1410	Ms. DeGette.
1411	Ms. {DeGette.} Aye.
1412	The {Clerk.} Ms. DeGette votes aye.
1413	Mrs. Capps.
1414	Mrs. {Capps.} Aye.
1415	The {Clerk.} Mrs. Capps votes aye.
1416	Mr. Doyle.
1417	Mr. {Doyle.} Yes.
1418	The {Clerk.} Mr. Doyle votes aye.
1419	Ms. Schakowsky.
1420	[No response.]
1421	The {Clerk.} Mr. Matheson.
1422	Mr. {Matheson.} Aye.
1423	The {Clerk.} Mr. Matheson votes aye.

rfield.

- 1425 [No response.]
- 1426 The {Clerk.} Mr. Barrow.
- 1427 Mr. {Barrow.} Aye.
- 1428 The {Clerk.} Mr. Barrow votes aye.
- 1429 Ms. Matsui.
- 1430 Ms. {Matsui.} Aye.
- 1431 The {Clerk.} Ms. Matsui votes aye.
- 1432 Ms. Christensen.
- 1433 [No response.]
- 1434 The {Clerk.} Ms. Castor.
- 1435 Ms. {Castor.} Aye.
- 1436 The {Clerk.} Ms. Castor votes aye.
- 1437 Mr. Sarbanes.
- 1438 Mr. {Sarbanes.} Aye.
- 1439 The {Clerk.} Mr. Sarbanes votes aye.
- 1440 Mr. McNerney.
- 1441 Mr. {McNerney.} Aye.
- 1442 The {Clerk.} Mr. McNerney votes aye.
- 1443 Mr. Braley.
- 1444 Mr. {Braley.} Aye.
- 1445 The {Clerk.} Mr. Braley votes aye.
- 1446 Mr. Welch.
- 1447 Mr. {Welch.} Aye.

1448 The {Clerk.} Mr. Welch votes aye.

- 1449 Mr. Lujan.
- 1450 Mr. {Lujan.} Aye.
- 1451 The {Clerk.} Mr. Lujan votes aye.
- 1452 Mr. Tonko.
- 1453 Mr. {Tonko.} Aye.
- 1454 The {Clerk.} Mr. Tonko votes aye.
- 1455 Mr. Yarmuth.
- 1456 Mr. {Yarmuth.} Aye.
- 1457 The {Clerk.} Mr. Yarmuth votes aye.
- 1458 Chairman Upton.
- 1459 The {Chairman.} Votes no.
- 1460 The {Clerk.} Chairman Upton votes no.
- 1461 The {Chairman.} Other Members wishing to cast a vote?
- 1462 Gentleman--Mr. Olson?
- 1463 Mr. {Olson.} No.
- 1464 The {Clerk.} Mr. Olson votes no.
- 1465 The {Chairman.} Ms. Schakowsky?
- 1466 Ms. {Schakowsky.} Yes.
- 1467 The {Clerk.} Ms. Schakowsky votes aye.
- 1468 The {Chairman.} Dr. Murphy?
- 1469 Mr. {Murphy.} No.
- 1470 The {Clerk.} Mr. Murphy votes no.
- 1471 The {Chairman.} Other Members seeking to cast a vote?

1472	Mr. Barton?
1473	Mr. {Barton.} Can I ask something?
1474	The {Chairman.} No. No, no, no, it is the Dingell
1475	amendment. Yeah.
1476	Mr. {Barton.} No.
1477	The {Clerk.} Mr. Barton votes no.
1478	The {Chairman.} I was answering his question.
1479	Other Members wishing to cast a vote on the Dingell
1480	amendment?
1481	Seeing none, the clerk will report the tally.
1482	Dr. Burgess, are you recorded?
1483	Mr. Butterfield?
1484	Mr. {Butterfield.} Butterfield votes aye.
1485	The {Clerk.} Mr. Butterfield votes aye.
1486	The {Chairman.} Other MembersMr. Kinzinger?
1487	Mr. {Kinzinger.} No.
1488	The {Clerk.} Mr. Kinzinger votes no.
1489	The {Chairman.} Dr. Burgess?
1490	Dr. {Burgess.} No.
1491	The {Clerk.} Dr. Burgess votes no. Okay.
1492	The {Chairman.} Other Members?
1493	Seeing none, the clerk will report the tally.
1494	The {Clerk.} Mr. Chairman, on that vote, there were
1495	ayes and 29 nays.

66

1496 The {Chairman.} Twenty-one ayes, 29 nays. 1497 The amendment offered by the gentleman from Michigan is 1498 not agreed to. 1499 Are there further amendments to the Bill? 1500 Seeing none, the question now occurs on favorably 1501 reporting H.R. 3301 as amended to the House. 1502 All those in favor shall signify by saying aye. 1503 All those opposed, say no. 1504 Ayes appear to have it. The--roll call is requested. 1505 The clerk will call the roll. Final passage. 1506 The {Clerk.} Mr. Hall. 1507 Mr. {Hall.} Aye. 1508 The {Clerk.} Mr. Hall votes aye. 1509 Mr. Barton. 1510 Mr. {Barton.} Aye. 1511 The {Clerk.} Mr. Barton votes aye. 1512 Mr. Whitfield. 1513 [No response.] The {Clerk.} Mr. Shimkus. 1514 1515 Mr. {Shimkus.} Aye. 1516 The {Clerk.} Mr. Shimkus votes aye. 1517 Mr. Pitts. Mr. {Pitts.} Aye. 1518

1519 The {Clerk.} Mr. Pitts votes aye.

1520	Mr.	Walden.
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1521	Mr.	{Walden.]	} Aye.
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- 1522 The {Clerk.} Mr. Walden votes aye.
- 1523 Mr. Terry.
- 1524 Mr. {Terry.} Aye.
- 1525 The {Clerk.} Mr. Terry votes aye.
- 1526 Mr. Rogers.
- 1527 [No response.]
- 1528 The {Clerk.} Mr. Murphy.
- 1529 Mr. {Murphy.} Aye.
- 1530 The {Clerk.} Mr. Murphy votes aye.
- 1531 Mr. Burgess.
- 1532 Dr. {Burgess.} Aye.
- 1533 The {Clerk.} Mr. Burgess votes aye.
- 1534 Mrs. Blackburn.
- 1535 Mrs. {Blackburn.} Aye.
- 1536 The {Clerk.} Mrs. Blackburn votes aye.
- 1537 Mr. Gingrey.
- 1538 Dr. {Gingrey.} Aye.
- 1539 The {Clerk.} Mr. Gingrey votes aye.
- 1540 Mr. Scalise.
- 1541 Mr. {Scalise.} Aye.
- 1542 The {Clerk.} Mr. Scalise votes aye.
- 1543 Mr. Latta.

1545	The {Clerk.} Mr. Latta votes aye.
1546	Mrs. McMorris Rodgers.
1547	Mrs. {McMorris Rodgers.} Aye.
1548	The {Clerk.} Mrs. McMorris Rodgers votes aye.
1549	Mr. Harper.
1550	Mr. {Harper.} Aye.
1551	The {Clerk.} Mr. Harper votes aye.
1552	Mr. Lance.
1553	Mr. {Lance.} Aye.
1554	The {Clerk.} Mr. Lance votes aye.
1555	Mr. Cassidy.
1556	Dr. {Cassidy.} Aye.
1557	The {Clerk.} Mr. Cassidy votes aye.
1558	Mr. Guthrie.
1559	Mr. {Guthrie.} Aye.
1560	The {Clerk.} Mr. Guthrie votes aye.
1561	Mr. Olson.
1562	Mr. {Olson.} Aye.
1563	The {Clerk.} Mr. Olson votes aye.
1564	Mr. McKinley.
1565	Mr. {McKinley.} Aye.
1566	The {Clerk.} Mr. McKinley votes aye.
1567	Mr. Gardner.

1544 Mr. {Latta.} Aye.

- 1568 Mr. {Gardner.} Aye.
- 1569 The {Clerk.} Mr. Gardner votes aye.
- 1570 Mr. Pompeo.
- 1571 Mr. {Pompeo.} Aye.
- 1572 The {Clerk.} Mr. Pompeo votes aye.
- 1573 Mr. Kinzinger.
- 1574 Mr. {Kinzinger.} Aye.
- 1575 The {Clerk.} Mr. Kinzinger votes aye.
- 1576 Mr. Griffith.
- 1577 Mr. {Griffith.} Aye.
- 1578 The {Clerk.} Mr. Griffith votes aye.
- 1579 Mr. Bilirakis.
- 1580 Mr. {Bilirakis.} Aye.
- 1581 The {Clerk.} Mr. Bilirakis votes aye.
- 1582 Mr. Johnson.
- 1583 Mr. {Johnson.} Aye.
- 1584 The {Clerk.} Mr. Johnson votes aye.
- 1585 Mr. Long.
- 1586 Mr. {Long.} Aye.
- 1587 The {Clerk.} Mr. Long votes aye.
- 1588 Mrs. Ellmers.
- 1589 Mrs. {Ellmers.} Aye.
- 1590 The {Clerk.} Mrs. Ellmers votes aye.
- 1591 Mr. Waxman.

1592 Mr.	{Waxman.}	No.
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1593 The {Clerk.} Mr. Waxman votes no.

Mr. Dingell.

- 1595 Mr. {Dingell.} No.
- 1596 The {Clerk.} Mr. Dingell votes no.

1597 Mr. Pallone.

- 1598 Mr. {Pallone.} No.
- 1599 The {Clerk.} Mr. Pallone votes no.
- 1600 Mr. Rush.
- 1601 [No response.]
- 1602 The {Clerk.} Ms. Eshoo.
- 1603 Ms. {Eshoo.} No.
- 1604 The {Clerk.} Ms. Eshoo votes no.
- 1605 Mr. Engel.
- 1606 Mr. {Engel.} No.
- 1607 The {Clerk.} Mr. Engel votes no.
- 1608 Mr. Green.
- 1609 Mr. {Green.} Yes.
- 1610 The {Clerk.} Mr. Green votes aye.
- 1611 Ms. DeGette.
- 1612 Ms. {DeGette.} No.
- 1613 The {Clerk.} Ms. DeGette votes no.
- 1614 Mrs. Capps.
- 1615 Mrs. {Capps.} No.

1616 The {Clerk.} Mrs. Capps votes no.

- 1617 Mr. Doyle.
- 1618 Mr. {Doyle.} No.
- 1619 The {Clerk.} Mr. Doyle votes no.
- 1620 Ms. Schakowsky.
- 1621 Ms. {Schakowsky.} No.
- 1622 The {Clerk.} Ms. Schakowsky votes no.
- 1623 Mr. Matheson.
- 1624 Mr. {Matheson.} Aye.
- 1625 The {Clerk.} Mr. Matheson votes aye.
- 1626 Mr. Butterfield.
- 1627 Mr. {Butterfield.} No.
- 1628 The {Clerk.} Mr. Butterfield votes no.
- Mr. Barrow.
- 1630 Mr. {Barrow.} Votes aye.
- 1631 The {Clerk.} Mr. Barrow votes aye.
- 1632 Ms. Matsui.
- 1633 Ms. {Matsui.} No.
- 1634 The {Clerk.} Ms. Matsui votes no.
- 1635 Mr.--Ms. Christensen.
- 1636 [No response.]
- 1637 The {Clerk.} Ms. Castor.
- 1638 Ms. {Castor.} No.
- 1639 The {Clerk.} Ms. Castor votes no.

1640	Mr. Sarbanes.
1641	Mr. {Sarbanes.} No.
1642	The {Clerk.} Mr. Sarbanes votes no.
1643	Mr. McNerney.
1644	Mr. {McNerney.} No.
1645	The {Clerk.} Mr. McNerney votes no.
1646	Mr. Braley.
1647	Mr. {Braley.} No.
1648	The {Clerk.} Mr. Braley votes no.
1649	Mr. Welch.
1650	Mr. {Welch.} No.
1651	The {Clerk.} Mr. Welch votes no.
1652	Mr. Lujan.
1653	Mr. {Lujan.} No.
1654	The {Clerk.} Mr. Lujan votes no.
1655	Mr. Tonko.
1656	Mr. {Tonko.} No.
1657	The {Clerk.} Mr. Tonko votes no.
1658	Mr. Yarmuth.
1659	Mr. {Yarmuth.} No.
1660	The {Clerk.} Mr. Yarmuth votes no.
1661	Chairman Upton.
1662	The {Chairman.} Votes aye.
1663	The {Clerk.} Chairman Upton votes aye.

1664 The {Chairman.} Are there other Members wishing to cast 1665 a vote on this Bill as amended?

1666 Seeing none, the clerk will report the tally.

1667 The {Clerk.} Mr. Chairman, on that vote there were 31 1668 ayes and 19 nays.

1669 The {Chairman.} Thirty-one ayes and 19 nays.

1670 The Bill as amended is approved.

1671 H.R. 4342

1672 The {Chairman.} And the chair would now call up H.R. 1673 4342, and ask the clerk to report.

1674 The {Clerk.} H.R. 4342, to prohibit the National 1675 Telecommunications and Information Administration from 1676 relinquishing responsibility over the internet domain name 1677 system until the Comptroller General of the United States 1678 submits to Congress a report on the role of the NTIA with 1679 respect to such system.

1680 [H.R. 4342 follows:]

1682 The {Chairman.} And without objection, the first 1683 reading of the Bill is dispensed with, and the Bill will be 1684 open for amendment at any point. So ordered. 1685 Are there any bipartisan amendments to the Bill? Are 1686 there any amendments to the Bill? 1687 Seeing--we are--chair would recognize the gentlelady 1688 from California to offer an amendment to--1689 Ms. {Eshoo.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 1690 I have an amendment at the desk. The {Chairman.} The clerk will report the title of the 1691 1692 amendment. 1693 The {Clerk.} Amendment in the nature of a substitute to 1694 H.R. 4342, offered by Ms. Eshoo. 1695 [The amendment of Ms. Eshoo follows:]

1697 The {Chairman.} And the amendment will be considered as read. The staff will distribute the amendment, and the 1698 1699 gentlelady is recognized for 5 minutes in support of her 1700 amendment. 1701 Ms. {Eshoo.} Thank you again, Mr. Chairman. 1702 The {Chairman.} Just before the--1703 Ms. {Eshoo.} I don't know if the committee is in order, 1704 Mr. Chairman. 1705 The {Chairman.} The gentlelady is correct. If--hush. 1706 The gentlelady is recognized. 1707 Ms. {Eshoo.} Thank you. 1708 Leading up to the WCIT conference in Dubai in 2012, both 1709 chambers of Congress unanimously supported a resolution, 1710 stating that the United States should continue to preserve 1711 and advance the multi-stakeholder governance model under 1712 which the Internet has thrived. Our diplomats told us that 1713 this resolution had an extraordinarily positive impact 1714 because it demonstrated to other countries that the entire 1715 U.S. Government and Congress were unified in support of this 1716 approach. 1717 As further evidence of our unanimity, the House

1718 reaffirmed this position last year by voting 413 to 0 in 1719 support of H.R. 1580.

Now, perhaps some Members didn't read what they voted for. The heart of my amendment is verbatim to the operative language in H.R. 1580, and I want to quote it. ``It is the policy of the United States to preserve and advance the successful multi-stakeholder model that governs the Internet.''

While I have modified some of the findings to make it germane to the underlying Bill, and added one finding to make it relevant to this discussion, the core message remains the same. A vote for my amendment is a reaffirmation of the vote that every Member of this subcommittee of the--of our subcommittee took last year, supporting the multi-stakeholder model.

And I urge my colleagues to support this amendment to allow NTIA to continue what has been U.S. policy. I don't think--Mr. Chairman, this is so distracting.

1736 The {Chairman.} Wait.

1737 Ms. {Eshoo.} It really is.

1738 The {Chairman.} The gentlelady is correct.

1739 Ms. {Eshoo.} Geez. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I raise that because, really, if people don't want to pay attention to what each Member is saying, and you haven't read the amendment, then what--how do we make a determination of what the heck we are voting on? So I appreciate it.

So while I have modified some of the findings to make it germane to the underlying Bill, and added one finding to make it relevant to this discussion, the core message remains the same. A vote for this amendment is a reaffirmation of the vote that every Member took last year, supporting the multistakeholder model.

1750 So I urge my colleagues, Republicans and Democrats, to 1751 support the amendment, and allow NTIA to continue what has 1752 been U.S. policy since 1998. Transitioning the governmental 1753 role in the domain name system administration to the private 1754 sector, multi-stakeholder global community. And I would also 1755 ask that those Members that disagree, if you could explain, 1756 having voted for it, and what has changed your mind because 1757 we had a vote in the House of 413 to 0. I think it would 1758 really be helpful to the debate and the discussion here.

1759 So thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I yield back the balance 1760 of--

1761 Mr. {Engel.} Would you yield to me?

1762 Ms. {Eshoo.} I would be glad to yield to Mr. Engel.

1763 Mr. {Engel.} Well, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding1764 to me, and I rise in support of her amendment.

Today's economy is becoming more intertwined and more globalized on a daily basis, thanks largely to the Internet. More specifically, it is thanks to the unhindered flow of

1768 knowledge that the Internet allows. So, Mr. Chairman, I 1769 believe it is essential that we do not pose a hindrance to 1770 that flow of information. To suddenly halt the move toward a 1771 multi-stakeholder model of Internet governance would be to 1772 implement a sudden hurdle to the progress the Internet has 1773 long afforded us. So as such, I support Ms. Eshoo's 1774 amendment because to maintain the multi-stakeholder model is 1775 to maintain the benefits that the Internet offers. 1776 I yield. 1777 Ms. {Eshoo.} I just want to put something--Mr. {Engel.} I yield back to Ms. Eshoo. 1778 1779 Ms. {Eshoo.} Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to 1780 submit for the record a letter that is addressed to both you 1781 and Ranking Member Waxman from CCSIA, the Computer and 1782 Communications Industry Association, representing the wide 1783 range of technology companies that are dependent on a well-1784 functioning Internet, free of government control or 1785 censorship. So I ask unanimous consent to place this in the 1786 record. 1787 And I yield back the balance of my time. 1788 The {Chairman.} Without objection, it will be included 1789 as part of the record. 1790 [The information follows:]

1792 The {Chairman.} Chair would recognize the gentleman1793 from Illinois, Mr. Shimkus.

1794 Mr. {Shimkus.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

1795 And I, you know, I appreciate my colleagues. I work 1796 very closely with Anna on numerous things, also Eliot in the 1797 committee, but also in international affairs, so I don't, you 1798 know, take this debate lightly, and I think we just need to 1799 continue to talk because the question is posed what has 1800 changed. I would argue Russia's invasion of Crimea. I would 1801 argue Turkey's control of the Twitter feeds. I would argue 1802 that the world is significantly different today than it was 1803 when the WCIT conference met. And as--through--as we move 1804 this process through, I have been kind of unabashed, and I 1805 know there are differing views.

1806 So what we tried to do was--even the head of ICANN said we need to go slow, we need to do due diligence, we need to 1807 1808 have transparency. This is just an audit. This is just a 1809 review. This is just an attempt for us to get some 1810 definitional language. When you talk to industry, which I 1811 have great respect for, they will say this is an industry-1812 led, multi-stakeholder model. When you hear Vladimir Putin, 1813 what does he say? He says this will be an international 1814 country-led, multi-stakeholder model.

1815 So the question I pose is, what is it? And the answer 1816 is, we can't get a definition. We don't know. So that is 1817 why I have colleagues on our side that would like to be even 1818 more stringent on this process, and outright prohibition. We 1819 are trying to believe what the process in which we thought we 1820 were heading, again, in a different era, in a different world 1821 environment, so that is why we said trust but verify. Let us 1822 have nonpartisan GAO do an analysis. Doesn't stake out what 1823 that position will be, doesn't determine what our response 1824 will be. There is time, it is due diligence. And I guess we 1825 will get a chance to talk about this numerous times 1826 throughout this amendment process, but I know my friends on 1827 the other side, you know, have seen me try to legislate for 1828 many, many years. I mean this is not--I am not trying to be, 1829 you know, to blow up the process, I am just trying to say it 1830 doesn't hurt to look and ease fears when the world has 1831 significantly changed.

1832 I would be happy to yield.

1833 Ms. {Eshoo.} I thank the gentleman. And in no way do I 1834 question your motives. You are a good friend and a good 1835 colleague.

Let me just comment on the changes, the menacing changes that we see in different parts of the world, and actions taken by governments that we don't agree with.

What is key in this is that this--the progress toward this transition to a multi-stakeholder model is supported by Democratic governments, and so this strengthens the hand of those that we want to hold hands with. It is not the other way around. And I think that that is a very, very important consideration for colleagues to make.

1845 So I thank the gentleman for what he has said. 1846 Obviously, we don't agree, but there are other parts of this 1847 that we have worked out, but I just--well, let me just leave 1848 it there. And I thank you for--

1849 Ms. {Shimkus.} No, and I appreciate it.

1850 Ms. {Eshoo.} --the time--

1851 Mr. {Shimkus.} I reclaim my time, and I appreciate 1852 those kind words, and I would point out, yesterday, in 1853 talking to a group I had, the Freedom House, charts of 1854 Internet freedom by country, and I would just pose the fact 1855 that most countries are listed as less free or not free than 1856 free. So if you move to a multi-stakeholder model, and you 1857 have more countries involved that are either less free or not free, I think there is a risk there. I don't think it is 1858 1859 asking too much to give us some more confidence.

1860 And with that, my--I will yield back my time. Thank1861 you, Mr. Chairman.

1862 The {Chairman.} The gentleman yields back.

1863 Chair would recognize the gentleman from California for 1864 5 minutes.

1865 Mr. {Waxman.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I support the Eshoo amendment. I think it is an excellent substitute because it reaffirms our support for the multi-stakeholder model, and that, by the way, is not a partisan position. This has been the position, it is a linchpin of U.S. policy through the Clinton, Bush and Obama Administrations, and it is the entire rationale for having ICANN in the first place.

I would like to ask unanimous consent that we put into the record a memorandum prepared by our staff regarding the Republican statements of support of the multi-stakeholder model.

1877 The {Chairman.} Without objection.

1878 [The information follows:]

1880	Mr. {Shimkus.} Reserve the right to object, only if
1881	there ismy statement is included in there. So I hope there
1882	is a statement from me saying that I supported that when it
1883	came to the floor. Just joking
1884	Mr. {Waxman.} Well, the document
1885	Mr. {Shimkus.}I obviously
1886	Mr. {Waxman.}speaks for itself.
1887	Mr. {Shimkus.}without objection.
1888	Mr. {Waxman.} Thank you.
1889	The NTIA's recent transition announcement is part of a
1890	16-year-long effort to move management of the domain name
1891	system away from governments and into the private sector.
1892	This objective has been bipartisan. The diplomats who have
1893	fought hard to preserve Internet freedom from governmental
1894	control in global forums tell us that having this transition
1895	is a critical continuation of our efforts to build upon the
1896	success of the multi-stakeholder model of Internet
1897	governance, and we should stand united in support of this
1898	transition, and reaffirm our commitment to this model within
1899	this new context. And Ms. Eshoo's amendment offers an
1900	opportunity to do precisely that.
1901	We have heard the specter of Russia or China taking over

1902 the Internet. The threats against Internet openness are

1903 real, but claiming this Bill does anything to address them is 1904 plain false. Under what possible scenario would a supposed 1905 Chinese Internet takeover be stopped by a Bill that seeks to 1906 delay the end of the IANA contract. How exactly would GAO's 1907 examination help convince Russia to give up its attempts to 1908 wrestle away control from ICANN?

1909 Those of my colleagues who support this Bill either show 1910 a lack of understanding of what the NTIA contract actually 1911 does, or a lack of confidence in the multi-stakeholder model 1912 and its ability to resist governmental control. Both serve 1913 to weaken our role on the global stage, not to strengthen it. 1914 The best defense we can have against a governmental 1915 takeover of the domain name system is to empower our allies 1916 in the multi-stakeholder process, and now is the time to 1917 continue our unwavering support of that model.

1918 I highly doubt the human rights and civil society 1919 groups, multinational corporations, academics and engineers, 1920 as well as freedom-loving nations who participate in ICANN's 1921 deliberative process will reverse course and throw themselves 1922 into the hands of any intergovernmental entity, not to 1923 mention Iran or Venezuela. So I--that is why I strongly urge 1924 my colleagues to support the Eshoo amendment, reaffirming our 1925 commitment to the multi-stakeholder model through an official 1926 policy statement of the United States.

1927 And yield back the balance of my time.

1928 The {Chairman.} Gentleman yields back.

1929 Chair would recognize the gentleman from Oregon, Mr.1930 Walden.

1931 Mr. {Walden.} I thank the chairman very much, and I 1932 appreciate the debate we are having, although I have to 1933 confess I don't fully understand the opposition to this 1934 legislation.

1935 What we are dealing with here is something that is 1936 extraordinarily important to the future of freedom of the 1937 Internet. I have got the contract before me that the United 1938 States Government has in force and effect with ICANN. I have 1939 read through it multiple times, and it says things such as 1940 the contractor must perform the required services for this 1941 contract as a prime contract, not as an agent or 1942 subcontractor. The contractor shall not enter into any 1943 subcontracts, et cetera, et cetera. Has to be a wholly-owned 1944 and operated firm, or fully accredited United States 1945 university or collage operating in one of the 50 states of 1946 the United States, or District of Columbia, incorporated 1947 within one of the 50 states, or the District of Columbia, organized under the laws of the United States. 1948 This is all 1949 existing contract with ICANN.

1950 Further, if you go to Section 1 of the contract clauses,

1951 are all the--by reference, clauses of, pardon me, existing 1952 law regarding restrictions on subcontractor sales to the 1953 government, anti-kickback procedures, limitations on payments 1954 to influence certain federal transactions. I mean there is a whole list of these. This is the way the system works today. 1955 1956 This is the way the system works today. And all we are 1957 saying here is, before ICANN and whoever comes together and 1958 releases ICANN, or whoever the future contractor is, from all 1959 of these things that have been in place, and are in place 1960 today, why wouldn't we get an independent look from the GAO 1961 about what that proposal, which none of here today knows what 1962 it is, why don't we get GAO to take a look before any actions 1963 are taken by the United States Government, inform the 1964 Congress and the American people from their view, and I think 1965 we all have pretty good faith and trust in the GAO's independence and integrity and ability, have them take a look 1966 1967 at whatever the proposal is that comes forward, and give us 1968 the benefit of their view before the government and whatever 1969 Administration happens to be in power at the time, takes 1970 That is all we are saying here. action.

1971 Ms. {Eshoo.} Would the gentleman yield?

1972 Mr. {Walden.} Not yet. I--

1973 Ms. {Eshoo.} Um-hum.

1974 Mr. {Walden.} --would be happy to in a moment. But

1975 that is all we are saying here is if you come up with a 1976 proposal before the Federal Government of the United States 1977 says we are all for it, you are done, go on, let us just find 1978 out what it means, give us a pause, they--we give them 1979 appropriate time to do their study, and then we move forward, 1980 but meanwhile, when you read the contract, and I would 1981 encourage my colleagues to do it, there are a lot of really 1982 responsible provisions in the contract that have worked well 1983 for ICANN, and before we set it free, I think we have an 1984 obligation to know as much as we can about whatever proposal 1985 this is that we don't know today, because it has not been 1986 negotiated yet. We don't know. Nobody on this panel knows. 1987 And what we are saying is can we just stop a minute and get 1988 GAO to take a look before an action is taken by the Federal 1989 Government. Most likely, it won't be the Obama 1990 Administration, for my friends on the right. For my friends 1991 on the left, I want you to think through what if it is a 1992 Republican Administration, how you might react to that. All 1993 we are saying is let us get a GAO report after we get a 1994 proposal back, because once you let go of this, it is the 1995 equivalent of going to the ridge top in a high wind, cutting 1996 a pillow open, the feathers blow away, you will never put 1997 them back in the pillow. I asked that during our hearings. 1998 I have asked that--what is our recourse once we let this go.

1999 Nobody knows because we don't know the government structure 2000 and the proposal yet.

2001 I just think it is highly irresponsible and, in effect, 2002 just to say we are done, have at it, whatever you come up 2003 with is fine, we don't want any time to consider it, 2004 government, whoever is in charge, go forth, we are fine, I 2005 know we trust you and everything will be well. I don't buy 2006 that. I don't buy that. And so I think we have a very 2007 thoughtful, responsible piece of legislation here, authored 2008 by my friend and colleague from Illinois, that just says GAO, 2009 once we get a proposal, take the look, give us your 2010 independent view of it, that is it. It is all done. I think 2011 that is pretty reasonable and thoughtful and responsible. 2012 So with that, I would yield to my friend from 2013 California, Ms. Eshoo. 2014 Ms. {Eshoo.} I think I am not going to take this limited amount of time, but I appreciate it. I think someone 2015 2016 else is going to yield their time to me. 2017 Mr. {Walden.} Then I--2018 Ms. {Eshoo.} Thank you.

2019 Mr. {Walden.} --reclaim my time and--in opposition to 2020 the amendment. And I thank the gentlelady.

2021 The {Chairman.} The gentleman yields back.

2022 The chair recognizes the gentleman from New Jersey, Mr.

2023 Pallone.

2024 Mr. {Pallone.} And I yield to Ms. Eshoo.

2025 Ms. {Eshoo.} I thank the gentleman.

For the Members that are not on the subcommittee, we have had this debate there, and so now you are hearing it in the full committee.

2029 The gentleman from Oregon has made a passionate and, he 2030 believes, obviously, a rational presentation on why he 2031 opposes this amendment.

2032 Now, there are a couple of things that I want to point 2033 out about this. It mentioned the GAO report about 5 or 7 2034 times at least, and it is presented as something that is very 2035 tidy, without any menace to it whatsoever, but it is not. Ιt 2036 is not, because what is tied to the language in the GAO 2037 report is to simply tie up the hands of NTIA, of the Agency, 2038 so that nothing can happen. So it is not just the GAO 2039 looking at something and giving a report back to us. And so 2040 that throws sand in the gears in terms of what you all voted 2041 for, 413 to 0, a bipartisan effort.

This is not something new, my colleagues. This has been the exact policy, as Mr. Waxman said, of 3 Administrations; Clinton, Bush, Obama. The Congress has weighed in on it. I don't know where these suspicions have come from, that there is some black helicopter, something or other in this. It is

2047 very disturbing to me that as we come to the time where the 2048 process is supposed to move forward, that regardless of what 2049 you have said, and there are all of these quotes including 2050 Mr. Walden, Lee Terry, Mr. Walden, Mr. Scalise, Marsha 2051 Blackburn, all praising the very process that we are 2052 referring to today. I don't know what has entered your minds 2053 that has--have you make a U-turn, but the GAO report is not, 2054 with all due respect to what Mr. Walden--the way it has been 2055 described. This process is not opening--tearing open a 2056 pillow and letting feathers go to the wind, and that we allow 2057 dark governments that are non-Democratic to take over the 2058 Internet. Who amongst us would be for that? That is a 2059 terrible charge against any Member of Congress. That is not 2060 who and what we are. We are proud Americans. We are 2061 patriots, and we have a responsibility to our national 2062 security.

2063 So--

2064 Mr. {Waxman.} The gentlelady yield?

2065 Ms. {Eshoo.} I would be glad to.

2066 So I--let me just close by saying, what Mr. Walden said 2067 sounds like it is not menacing, but what is buried in the 2068 words of this legislation are really being misrepresented I 2069 believe, because it is not what it is about.

2070 I will yield to Mr. Waxman.

2071 {Voice.} With--

2072 Mr. {Waxman.} Thank you very much for yielding.

2073 Mr. Walden said we could trust GAO, but this underlying 2074 Bill, without the Eshoo amendment, says we don't trust 2075 everybody that has been working on the--on this process, and 2076 we don't trust the--our own NTIA, and we don't trust--

2077 Ms. {Eshoo.} It was '98.

2078 Mr. {Waxman.} --Congress to come back and review it 2079 before it goes into effect. We haven't delegated everything 2080 to others, we still have an opportunity if it--

2081 Mr. {Walden.} Well--

2082 Mr. {Waxman.} --if it is unacceptable to take action to 2083 prevent something from happening, but it sends a signal that 2084 we don't trust anybody but GAO. And I--that is not just a 2085 holding pattern, it sends the wrong message and undermines 2086 the very idea of a multi-stakeholder process.

2087 Thank you for yielding.

2088 The {Chairman.} Gentlelady yields back.

2089 Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. 2090 Pitts.

2091 Mr. {Pitts.} I yield to Mr. Walden.

2092 Mr. {Walden.} I thank the gentleman for yielding.

2093 And I am sort of stunned by the attacks coming toward me 2094 because the plain language of the Bill says something 2095 different.

It says this in line three, retention and 2096 2097 responsibilities: until the Comptroller General of the United States submits the report required by Subsection B, 2098 2099 the Assistant Secretary of Communication--Commerce for 2100 Communication and Information may not relinquish or agree to 2101 any proposed--proposal relating to the relinquishment of the 2102 responsibility of NTIA over Internet domain name system 2103 functions. Okay, so it says you can't do anything once you 2104 get the proposal until we hear from the GAO.

In line 15, it says GAO has 1 year. No more than 1 2106 year. Not later than 1 year after the date on which NTIA 2107 receives a proposal relating to the relinquishment of the 2108 responsibility of NTIA over Internet domain name system 2109 functions, that was developed in the process, et cetera, et 2110 cetera, they have to go through and do this analysis for us, 2111 and for the American people.

2112 Now, let us talk about how odorous this is. A 2113 discussion and analysis of the advantages and disadvantages 2114 of the relinquishment of the responsibility of NTIA over 2115 Internet domain name system functions, including 2116 responsibility with respect to the authoritative root zone 2117 file, Internet assigned numbers authority functions, and 2118 related root zone management functions. Okay, what does the

2119 new proposal do to that? I guess nobody wants to know. B, 2120 any principles or criteria that the NTIA sets for proposals 2121 for such relinquishment. C, each proposal received by NTIA 2122 for such relinquishment. D, the processes used by NTIA and 2123 the federal agencies for evaluating such proposals. E, any 2124 national security concerns raised by such relinquishment, and 2125 two, a definition of the term multi-stakeholder model as used 2126 by the NTIA with respect to Internet policy making governance 2127 and of definitions, and any other terms necessary to 2128 understand the matter covered by the report. That is the entire scope of the questions to GAO. 2129

2130 In short, it says before NTIA does whatever they want to do, and by the way, if they got a report--if they got a 2131 2132 proposal in, tell me where in statute today it says Congress 2133 gets the first bite at the apple. It is not there. What 2134 this Administration is proposing says, in effect, we can 2135 decide and we can cut it free, regardless of what Congress 2136 may or may not think, and without the benefit of an 2137 independent look from the Government Accountability Office. 2138 And by the way, within the contract that already controls 2139 operations of ICANN is the GAO. They have the right to audit 2140 today.

2141 This is just absurd that somehow we are against the 2142 multi-stakeholder process. Somehow we have no confidence in

2143 that because we want the GAO to evaluate some new proposal 2144 that upends the entire history of management of the--this 2145 process.

2146 Mr. {Waxman.} Gentleman yield to me?

2147 Mr. {Walden.} And so I take offense to some of the 2148 charges coming our way, frankly, because all we are saying is 2149 let us get a GAO report, can't take more than a year, tell us 2150 the facts, give us your opinion. It doesn't delegate 2151 authority to the GAO, it doesn't do anything other than say 2152 halt to the Federal Government, let us find out the 2153 implications of this new proposal. That, by the way, would 2154 give Congress an opportunity to weigh in when we get the 2155 report.

2156 And I would be happy to yield for the gentleman from 2157 California.

2158 Mr. {Waxman.} Well, my question to you is what do we 2159 need the Bill for? There is going to be--

2160 Mr. {Walden.} Well, simply, reclaiming my time--

2161 Mr. {Waxman.} --we could all get a GAO report. There 2162 is going to be an opportunity for hearings and evaluation, 2163 why do we need to stop the process--

2164 Mr. {Walden.} Well, reclaiming my time--

2165 Mr. {Waxman.} --and--

2166 Mr. {Walden.} --I will answer the question. Because

there is nothing in statute today that gives Congress that opportunity. The government could act absent Congress just like that and say we are all for this new idea of how to run this, and we are out of time and they already enter into a new agreement and cut it free. Where is it in statute that prevents the government from acting before we have a chance to evaluate?

2174 Shouldn't the Congress, shouldn't this great committee, 2175 have the opportunity before unelected agency operates to have 2176 our shot at it, to get independent information? I mean we 2177 are talking years out there probably before they come to us 2178 with a proposal, and I think it just makes sense. I--if it 2179 were my business, I would say I want to know the implications 2180 of this in a timely manner before I cut this loose. 2181 Remember, we created, through ARPA, the Internet. The United 2182 States Government and our great institutions of higher 2183 learning created this. We have embraced the multi-2184 stakeholder process, we--and I am willing to do that. I have 2185 supported these resolutions, but all we are saying here is can we at least know what happens when you cut this loose. 2186 2187 And again, I would suggest, go read the contract, there are 2188 lots of good things in there that have worked well, that have 2189 given us the free and open Internet we have today. We are 2190 taking blind trust to say go figure it out, bureaucrats, do

whatever you want, see you later. We are just saying let us

2192 get an independent report. 2193 The {Chairman.} Gentleman's time has expired. Other Members wishing to speak on the amendment? 2194 2195 Seeing none, the vote occurs on the amendment offered by 2196 the gentlelady from California. 2197 All those in favor will say aye. 2198 {Voice.} I request roll call vote. 2199 The {Chairman.} Roll call vote is requested. The clerk 2200 will call the roll. 2201 The {Clerk.} Mr. Hall. 2202 Mr. {Hall.} No. 2203 The {Clerk.} Mr. Hall votes no. 2204 Mr. Barton. 2205 [No response.] 2206 The {Clerk.} Mr. Whitfield. 2207 [No response.] The {Clerk.} Mr. Shimkus. 2208 2209 [No response.] 2210 The {Clerk.} Mr. Pitts.

2211 Mr. {Pitts.} No.

2212 The {Clerk.} Mr. Pitts votes no.

2213 Mr. Walden.

2191

2214 Mr. {Walden.} No.

2215 The {Clerk.} Mr. Walden votes no. 2216 Mr. Terry. 2217 Mr. {Terry.} No. 2218 The {Clerk.} Mr. Terry votes no. 2219 Mr. Rogers. 2220 [No response.] 2221 The {Clerk.} Mr. Murphy. 2222 Mr. {Murphy.} No. 2223 The {Clerk.} Mr. Murphy votes no. 2224 Mr. Burgess. 2225 Dr. {Burgess.} No. 2226 The {Clerk.} Mr. Burgess votes no. 2227 Mrs. Blackburn. 2228 Mrs. {Blackburn.} No. 2229 The {Clerk.} Mrs. Blackburn votes no.

2230 Mr. Gingrey.

2231 Dr. {Gingrey.} No.

2232 The {Clerk.} Mr. Gingrey votes no.

2233 Mr. Scalise.

2234 [No response.]

2235 The {Clerk.} Mr. Latta.

2236 Mr. {Latta.} No.

2237 The {Clerk.} Mr. Latta votes no.

2238 Mrs. McMorris Rodgers.

- 2239 Mrs. {McMorris Rodgers.} No.
- 2240 The {Clerk.} Mrs. McMorris Rodgers votes no.
- 2241 Mr. Harper.
- 2242 Mr. {Harper.} No.
- 2243 The {Clerk.} Mr. Harper votes no.
- 2244 Mr. Lance.
- 2245 Mr. {Lance.} No.
- 2246 The {Clerk.} Mr. Lance votes no.
- 2247 Mr. Cassidy.
- 2248 Dr. {Cassidy.} No.
- 2249 The {Clerk.} Mr. Cassidy votes no.
- 2250 Mr. Guthrie.
- 2251 Mr. {Guthrie.} No.
- 2252 The {Clerk.} Mr. Guthrie votes no.
- 2253 Mr. Olson.
- 2254 Mr. {Olson.} No.
- 2255 The {Clerk.} Mr. Olson votes no.
- 2256 Mr. McKinley.
- 2257 Mr. {McKinley.} No.
- 2258 The {Clerk.} Mr. McKinley votes no.
- 2259 Mr. Gardner.
- 2260 Mr. {Gardner.} No.
- 2261 The {Clerk.} Mr. Gardner votes no.
- 2262 Mr. Pompeo.

2264 The {Clerk.} Mr. Pompeo votes no.

- 2265 Mr. Kinzinger.
- 2266 Mr. {Kinzinger.} No.
- 2267 The {Clerk.} Mr. Kinzinger votes no.
- 2268 Mr. Griffith.
- 2269 Mr. {Griffith.} No.
- 2270 The {Clerk.} Mr. Griffith votes no.
- 2271 Mr. Bilirakis.
- 2272 Mr. {Bilirakis.} No.
- 2273 The {Clerk.} Mr. Bilirakis votes no.
- 2274 Mr. Johnson.
- 2275 Mr. {Johnson.} No.
- 2276 The {Clerk.} Mr. Johnson votes no.
- 2277 Mr. Long.
- 2278 Mr. {Long.} No.
- 2279 The {Clerk.} Mr. Long votes no.
- 2280 Mrs. Ellmers.
- 2281 Mrs. {Ellmers.} No.
- 2282 The {Clerk.} Mrs. Ellmers votes no.
- 2283 Mr. Waxman.
- 2284 Mr. {Waxman.} Aye.
- 2285 The {Clerk.} Mr. Waxman votes aye.
- 2286 Mr. Dingell.

2287	Mr. {Dingell.} Dingell votes aye.
2288	The {Clerk.} Mr. Dingell votes aye.
2289	Mr. Pallone.
2290	Mr. {Pallone.} Aye.
2291	The {Clerk.} Mr. Pallone votes aye.
2292	Mr. Rush.
2293	[No response.]
2294	The {Clerk.} Ms. Eshoo.
2295	Ms. {Eshoo.} Aye.
2296	The {Clerk.} Ms. Eshoo votes aye.
2297	Mr. Engel.
2298	Mr. {Engel.} Aye.
2299	The {Clerk.} Mr. Engel votes aye.
2300	Mr. Green. Mr. Green.
2301	Mr. {Green.} Aye.
2302	The {Clerk.} Mr. Green votes aye.
2303	Ms. DeGette.
2304	Ms. {DeGette.} Aye.
2305	The {Clerk.} Ms. DeGette votes aye.
2306	Mrs. Capps.
2307	Mrs. {Capps.} Aye.
2308	The {Clerk.} Mrs. Capps votes aye.
2309	Mr. Doyle.
2310	Mr. {Doyle.} Aye.

2311 The {Clerk.} Mr. Doyle votes aye. 2312 Ms. Schakowsky. 2313 Ms. {Schakowsky.} Aye. 2314 The {Clerk.} Ms. Schakowsky votes aye. 2315 Mr. Matheson. 2316 Mr. {Matheson.} Aye. 2317 The {Clerk.} Mr. Matheson votes aye. 2318 Mr. Butterfield. 2319 Mr. {Butterfield.} Aye. 2320 The {Clerk.} Mr. Butterfield votes aye. 2321 Mr. Barrow. 2322 Mr. {Barrow.} No. 2323 The {Clerk.} Mr. Barrow votes no. 2324 Ms. Matsui. 2325 Ms. {Matsui.} Aye. 2326 The {Clerk.} Ms. Matsui votes aye. 2327 Ms. Christensen. 2328 [No response.] The {Clerk.} Ms. Castor. 2329 2330 Ms. {Castor.} Aye. 2331 The {Clerk.} Ms. Castor votes aye. Mr. Sarbanes. 2332

2333 Mr. {Sarbanes.} Aye.

2334 The {Clerk.} Mr. Sarbanes votes aye.

2335	Mr. McNerney.
2336	Mr. {McNerney.} Aye.
2337	The {Clerk.} Mr. McNerney votes aye.
2338	Mr. Braley.
2339	Mr. {Braley.} Aye.
2340	The {Clerk.} Mr. Braley votes aye.
2341	Mr. Welch.
2342	Mr. {Welch.} Aye.
2343	The {Clerk.} Mr. Welch votes aye.
2344	Mr. Lujan.
2345	Mr. {Lujan.} Aye.
2346	The {Clerk.} Mr. Lujan votes aye.
2347	Mr. Tonko.
2348	Mr. {Tonko.} Aye.
2349	The {Clerk.} Mr. Tonko votes aye.
2350	Mr. Yarmuth.
2351	Mr. {Yarmuth.} Aye.
2352	The {Clerk.} Mr. Yarmuth votes aye.
2353	Chairman Upton.
2354	The {Chairman.} Votes no.
2355	The {Clerk.} Chairman Upton votes no.
2356	The {Chairman.} Other Members wishing to vote?
2357	Mr. Shimkus?
2358	Mr. {Shimkus.} Votes no.

- 2359 The {Clerk.} Mr. Shimkus votes no.
- 2360 The {Chairman.} Mr. Scalise?
- 2361 Mr. {Scalise.} No.
- 2362 The {Clerk.} Mr. Scalise votes no.
- 2363 The {Chairman.} Other Members wishing to cast a vote?
- 2364 Seeing none--Mr. Griffith, have you--are you recorded?
- 2365 Seeing none, the clerk will report the tally.
- 2366 The {Clerk.} Mr. Chairman, on that vote there were 21 2367 ayes and 28 nays.
- 2368 The {Chairman.} Twenty-one ayes, 28 nays. The 2369 amendment is not agreed to.
- 2370 Are there further amendments to the Bill?
- 2371 Gentleman from Pennsylvania.
- 2372 Mr. {Doyle.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have an 2373 amendment at the desk.
- 2374 The {Chairman.} Clerk will report the title.
- 2375 The {Clerk.} Amendment to H.R. 4342, offered by Mr.
- 2376 Doyle.
- 2377 [The amendment of Mr. Doyle follows:]

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

2383 Mr. {Doyle.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

2384 Mr. Chairman, my amendment would instruct the 2385 Comptroller General to examine the history of the U.S. 2386 Government efforts to promote the multi-stakeholder model, 2387 and privatize the administration of the domain name system, 2388 as well as examining the transition proposal for the IANA 2389 contract.

This is the same amendment that I offered during subcommittee markup on this Bill. I want to say I am open to working with my colleagues on the other side of the aisle on a GAO study examining these issues, but I strongly oppose provisions in this Bill that would tie NTIA's hands and unnecessarily delay this process.

Now, we have heard supporters of the DOTCOM Act claim that this is just about Congress requesting a GAO report, and that Democrats are opposing transparency in the way NTIA transitions management of the domain name system. I appreciate my colleagues' concern that authoritarian regimes may try to highjack any form or process related to Internet

2402 governance, but it is precisely because of these concerns 2403 that we must recommit to the multi-stakeholder model. All of 2404 us want to see the successful bottom-up approach to Internet 2405 governance continue.

2406 Last month at the NETmundial Meeting in Brazil, 2407 stakeholders from around the world representing governments, 2408 companies, academics, institutions, civil society and users, 2409 discussed the future of Internet governance. This diverse 2410 group came together and adopted a statement in support of the 2411 multi-stakeholder approach. Delaying this transition allows 2412 anti-Democratic nations to continue to use the IANA contract 2413 as a red herring to falsely claim the U.S. Government 2414 controls the Internet, and argue for a greater role for 2415 government entities like the United Nations.

2416 We are playing right into the bad guys' hands by trying 2417 to pass this Bill today. NTIA's transition process will make it clear once and for all that this is not the case, however, 2418 2419 I understand my colleagues across the aisle have concerns 2420 about this process, so my amendment preserves a role for GAO 2421 to analyze a transition plan put forward by the global 2422 community. What it does not do, however, is allow the GAO 2423 report be used as a restriction on NTIA's authority, or an 2424 artificial excuse for delay.

2425 We have heard concerns from supporters of the multi-

2426 stakeholder model that the DOTCOM Act is at odds with the 2427 longstanding American commitment to a global Internet free 2428 from government control. The underlying Bill reflects a 2429 fundamental misunderstanding of the U.S. Government's role in 2430 Internet management. The technical functions of the Internet domain name system have never been controlled by the U.S. 2431 2432 Government. Let me say that again. The technical functions 2433 of the Internet domain name system have never been controlled 2434 by the U.S. Government. The Bill refers to the 2435 relinquishment of the responsibility of the National 2436 Telecommunications and Information Administration over 2437 Internet domain name system functions. The NTIA has no legal 2438 or statutory responsibility for the management of the 2439 Internet domain name system. The Internet is governed by the 2440 technology that allows it to operate, and the companies, 2441 institutions, governments and users that connect, deliver and 2442 create content Online. The United States has never been able 2443 to dictate to other countries how they operate the Internet 2444 within their own borders. Any argument that the United 2445 States controls all of his is misquided.

This is a commonsense amendment that would produce a GAO study that would inform the Congress and enhance the multistakeholder governance model for the global Internet that we have all supported for many years.

2450 I would urge my colleagues to support this amendment.

2451 And I yield back.

2452 Mr. {Walden.} Gentleman--

2453 The {Chairman.} Gentleman yields back.

2454 The chair would recognize the gentleman from Oregon.

2455 Mr. {Walden.} I thank the gentleman, and I appreciate 2456 his comments.

2457 I want to say a couple of things. One, this reminds me 2458 of a former speaker who said we had to pass something so we 2459 could find out what was in it. This is a lot like that. 2460 NTIA, you can go ahead and adopt this, and then we will allow 2461 a GAO report to figure out what the implications are. And I 2462 think that is kind of the wrong approach, obviously. So it 2463 sort of eviscerates the purpose of the Bill, which is before 2464 NTIA acts, that we get the GAO to just look and tell us, 2465 within a year's time, by statute, what are the implications of whatever proposal comes forward. 2466

Now, as to the U.S. role in all of this, in a presentation with ICANN, and an introduction to IANA dated September 29 of 2008, this is their own documents now I am reading from, it says with--U.S. Government and IANA, today the IANA is administered under the terms of a contract between ICANN and the U.S. Government. IANA is not a legal entity in itself, rather, a set of functions performed by the 2474 IANA department within ICANN. The contract stipulates the scope of the IANA services, as well as defines reporting 2475 2476 requirements for ICANN on how it administers the IANA 2477 functions. ICANN is required to report on a monthly basis to 2478 the U.S. Government on how it is administering requests 2479 relating to all the contract-related facets of IANA. This is 2480 from ICANN, ``With respect to the operation of the DNS root 2481 zone, the U.S. Government has a more direct role in 2482 authorizing all changes before they are implemented. In 2483 practice, this means that once IANA has completed processing 2484 of a change request to the root zone, it is sent to the U.S. 2485 Government to review. After this review and their 2486 authorization is received, it is them implemented in the DNS 2487 root zone.'' So I have referenced the contract before. I am 2488 now reading from ICANN's own presentation notes about how the 2489 process works, and the interaction with the Federal

2490 Government of the United States.

Now, we may well move to this multi-stakeholder process. The point is before we release this piece that has worked so well for so long, let us figure out what the new proposal looks like, because nobody on either side of the aisle can tell us are there any requirements where the future ICANN will be domiciled. Under which country's laws will it be governed. Will the provisions that have made it work today

2498 be there to make it work tomorrow? We don't know because 2499 there is no proposal before us. All we are saying is 2500 Republicans on this side of the aisle, and with some of our 2501 help from our friends on the other side, is can't we just say 2502 once you get a proposal, NTIA, pause, GAO, give us your 2503 evaluation of this independent, high-integrity organization, 2504 already involved by contract in ICANN, tell us what this 2505 means. It doesn't say you can't go forward after that, but 2506 it would give Congress a chance to digest, and the American 2507 people a chance to digest, the world community a chance to 2508 digest whatever this new proposal is, because once this 2509 contract is gone, I don't see the provision of how you ever 2510 get it back. So we had better get it right and know every 2511 possible bit of information we can find before a few folks 2512 downtown here make a decision and it is gone. 2513 So I yield back the balance of my time. 2514 The {Chairman.} Gentleman yields back.

2515 The chair would recognize the gentlelady from 2516 California.

2517 Ms. {Eshoo.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to thank Mr. Doyle for his amendment. I think it spot on because it does instruct the GAO to examine the history of our government's efforts to promote the multistakeholder model, and transition the administration of the

2522 domain name system to the private sector.

Boy, there is like a lot of noise in the room. I just-it really kind of takes my breath away. There are facts that we all need to appreciate. We have had U.S. policy from 1998 to this very moment, to transition the government's role. I don't know why the Republicans don't embrace this because it is all about transitioning the role to the private sector, and that's what this speaks to.

2530 For those in need of a history lesson, the Doyle 2531 amendment provides a thorough examination into the U.S. 2532 Government's role in Internet governance, and it would do so 2533 without undermining the legitimacy of the multi-stakeholder 2534 process, and this should be more than sufficient to alleviate 2535 all of these fears of a Chinese Government takeover or 2536 whatever. I don't know where this stuff has come from, but, 2537 boy, is it out there, and I don't think it really adds 2538 anything to this, and it is a total U-turn on how people --2539 Members have voted. So very importantly for everyone to 2540 appreciate, I think, is that Mr. Doyle's amendment 2541 demonstrates that our side of the aisle does not oppose--we 2542 are not opposed to greater transparency, and a review of the 2543 history that got us to this point. And that is why I thank 2544 him for the amendment. I think it is a solid one, and I 2545 would urge my colleagues to support it.

And with that, I yield back.

2547 The {Chairman.} Gentlelady yields back.

2548 Other Members wishing to speak on the amendment?

2549 Mr. {Lujan.} Mr. Chairman.

2550 The {Chairman.} Gentleman from New Mexico.

2551 Mr. {Lujan.} I move to strike the last word.

I echo the concerns that both Ms. Eshoo and Mr. Doyle have both raised today. Congress beating its chest and claiming a unilateral right to supervised global Internet infrastructure could further mobilize support among the world's governments for a more nationalistic approach to Internet management. In fact, a number of the Bill supporters have voiced this very concern.

2559 I am glad that we are hearing that some of my colleagues 2560 are asking that their statements be entered into the record, 2561 and be included as part of this debate. I would like to read a few of those quotes. One, ``We need a--we need to send a 2562 2563 strong message to the world that the Internet has thrived 2564 under a decentralized, bottom-up, multi-stakeholder 2565 governance model.'' ``And part of their--'', referring to 2566 the Internet technology companies', ``--success, the fact 2567 that they are growing so big in a tough economy is because we 2568 have got this multi-stakeholder governance, that you are not 2569 having to worry about government interference from county to

2570 country.'' `The Internet will only continue to thrive if 2571 governments refrain from regulating it, and if it can remain 2572 under a multi-stakeholder--

2573 Ms. {Eshoo.} Excuse me, Mr. Chairman--

2574 Mr. {Lujan.} --governance model.''

2575 Ms. {Eshoo.} --the committee is not in order.

2576 Mr. {Lujan.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Do you want me to repeat those quotes, Mr. Chairman, or should I just go on?

2579 The {Chairman.} We got them.

2580 Mr. {Lujan.} Got--I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

2581 The announcement by NTIA last month was precisely the 2582 kind of measure that will help alleviate this risk, yet the 2583 Bill we are considering today seeks to undermine that effort, 2584 and is contrary to the longstanding support of this 2585 committee, by both parties, 413 to 0 for the global multistakeholder model. In so doing, we play into our opponents' 2586 2587 narrative that the United States prefers a unilateral role 2588 exercising control over the Internet and practice, and our 2589 support for the multi-stakeholder model is nothing more than 2590 lip service. I think the country is tired of that.

Adding to my confusion on this legislation are my colleagues' attempts to equate the FCC's net neutrality rules with government censorship in the same breath that they cite 2594 governmental efforts to censor Online content as part of 2595 their motivation for advancing this bill.

Net neutrality actually protects free speech, and our 2596 democratic discourse Online. In fact, an instance of a 2597 wireless carrier blocking political speech over text messages 2598 2599 is one of the instances that demonstrated the need for these 2600 rules in the first place. Our domestic and international 2601 policy goals should be exactly the same, promoting a free and 2602 open Internet that is accessible to all. We have voted three 2603 times over the past 2 years in support of a multi-stakeholder 2604 model, but as soon as the Administration takes a step 2605 forward--stake--takes a step toward fulfilling that vision, 2606 my Republican colleagues are suddenly opposed.

2607 Instead of working together to promote a free Internet, 2608 the House majority has only rehashed tired partisan talking 2609 points against President Obama, and promoted yet another conspiracy theory in a week that has already seen many. 2610 2611 These amendments are modeled after the policy statement 2612 that the House has already passed unanimously, 413 to 0 in 2613 support of a multi-stakeholder approach to Internet 2614 governance. It is important and more effective than the 2615 DOTCOM Act in expressing our unambiguous opposition to 2616 efforts by countries like Russia and Iran to control and 2617 censor the Internet. I hope we can find a way to get through

this, Mr. Chairman, and, you know, we know what the numbers are today. My--one of the early lessons my father taught me in life was how to count, and clearly, we can see what numbers will yield today, but in an effort to get to where we hopefully can be, in an effort where the Congress has agreed on this, I hope there is still some room for us to work together.

2625 Mr. {Walden.} Will the gentleman yield?

2626 Mr. {Lujan.} I would. I would. Yield to my chairman. 2627 Mr. {Walden.} You know, I--we have no problem with this 2628 addition in terms of what the GAO could look at. We could 2629 probably accept this as a secondary amendment to a new 2630 section, and add it to the finding, you know, add it to the 2631 request of the GAO. If the issue is about getting more 2632 information on ICANN, NTIA and all that, I think that could be acceptable as a secondary amendment, create a new Section 2633 2634 3, we could--we have got counsel at the table that could tell 2635 us how to do that.

2636 Mr. {Lujan.} Well, Mr. Chairman--

2637 Mr. {Walden.} Would that be acceptable to the 2638 gentleman?

2639 Mr. {Lujan.} --not being the author of the amendment, I 2640 would have to refer back to my ranking member and the author 2641 of the amendment, but I appreciate the words of my chairman

2642 on the subcommittee.

And with that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

2645 The {Chairman.} Gentleman yields back.

2646 Other Members wishing to speak on the amendment?2647 Gentlelady from Tennessee.

2648 Mrs. {Blackburn.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

2649 I know that we have many Members that are wanting to 2650 move away from the hearing and get onto other events, but I 2651 think that as we listen to the debate, one of the things that 2652 is worth putting in bold print is the fact that we are moving 2653 forward in a structure that is basically trust but verify, 2654 and it is an important step for this committee to take as we 2655 talk with our constituents, as we talk with innovators who 2656 are utilizing the Internet, as we talk with companies and 2657 deal with the issues of privacy and data security, one of the 2658 things that concerns them is what the posture of ICANN would 2659 be a decade from now, 2 decades from now, and where that 2660 would be housed, what country, and as Mr. Walden said, under 2661 whose rules would this operate. We are a nation that 2662 treasures and values free speech, and the Internet has been 2663 well served by that grounding, and because of that, it is 2664 vitally important that we carefully approach this, that we have a full review, and that come back to us. Mr. Shimkus 2665

2666 has done great work on this, as has Mr. Rokita. I have been pleased to work with them. And, of course, Chairman Walden 2667 2668 continues to be vigilant, and we would be wise to slow down, 2669 take a thorough review, and realize that once it is gone, it 2670 is gone. 2671 With that, Mr. Walden, did you want additional time? 2672 Mr. {Walden.} I am good. Mrs. {Blackburn.} You are good? 2673 2674 I yield back. 2675 The {Chairman.} Gentlelady yields back. 2676 Are there further Members that are wishing to speak on 2677 the amendment? If not, the vote occurs on the amendment. 2678 All those in favor will say aye. 2679 Those opposed, say no. 2680 Opinion of the chair the noes have it. 2681 {Voice.} Roll call please. The {Chairman.} Roll call vote is requested. Clerk 2682 will call the roll. 2683 2684 The {Clerk.} Mr. Hall. 2685 Mr. {Hall.} No. The {Clerk.} Mr. Hall votes no. 2686 2687 Mr. Barton. 2688 Mr. {Barton.} No. 2689 The {Clerk.} Mr. Barton votes no.

2690	Mr.	Whitfield.

- 2691 [No response.]
- 2692 The {Clerk.} Mr. Shimkus.
- 2693 Mr. {Shimkus.} No.
- 2694 The {Clerk.} Mr. Shimkus votes no.
- 2695 Mr. Pitts.
- 2696 Mr. {Pitts.} No.
- 2697 The {Clerk.} Mr. Pitts votes no.
- 2698 Mr. Walden.
- 2699 Mr. {Walden.} No.
- 2700 The {Clerk.} Mr. Walden votes no.
- 2701 Mr. Terry.
- 2702 Mr. {Terry.} No.
- 2703 The {Clerk.} Mr. Terry votes no.
- 2704 Mr. Rogers.
- 2705 Mr. {Rogers.} No.
- 2706 The {Clerk.} Mr. Rogers votes no.
- 2707 Mr. Murphy.
- 2708 Mr. {Murphy.} No.
- 2709 The {Clerk.} Mr. Murphy votes no.
- 2710 Mr. Burgess.
- 2711 Dr. {Burgess.} No.
- 2712 The {Clerk.} Mr. Burgess votes no.
- 2713 Mrs. Blackburn.

- 2714 Mrs. {Blackburn.} No.
- 2715 The {Clerk.} Mrs. Blackburn votes no.
- 2716 Mr. Gingrey.
- 2717 Dr. {Gingrey.} No.
- 2718 The {Clerk.} Mr. Gingrey votes no.
- 2719 Mr. Scalise.
- 2720 Mr. {Scalise.} No.
- 2721 The {Clerk.} Mr. Scalise votes no.
- 2722 Mr. Latta.
- 2723 Mr. {Latta.} No.
- 2724 The {Clerk.} Mr. Latta votes no.
- 2725 Mrs. McMorris Rodgers. Mrs. McMorris Rodgers.
- 2726 Mrs. {McMorris Rodgers.} No.
- 2727 The {Clerk.} Mr.--Mrs. McMorris Rodgers votes no.
- 2728 Mr. Harper.
- 2729 Mr. {Harper.} No.
- 2730 The {Clerk.} Mr. Lance--I am sorry, Mr. Harper votes
- 2731 no.
- 2732 Mr. Lance.
- 2733 Mr. {Lance.} No.
- 2734 The {Clerk.} Mr. Lance votes no.
- 2735 Mr. Cassidy.
- 2736 [No response.]
- 2737 The {Clerk.} Mr. Guthrie.

2738	Mr.	{Guthrie.}	No.
		l J	

2739 The {Clerk.} Mr. Guthrie votes no.

2740 Mr. Olson.

- 2741 Mr. {Olson.} No.
- 2742 The {Clerk.} Mr. Olson votes no.
- 2743 Mr. McKinley.
- 2744 Mr. {McKinley.} No.
- 2745 The {Clerk.} Mr. McKinley votes no.
- 2746 Mr. Gardner.
- 2747 Mr. {Gardner.} No.
- 2748 The {Clerk.} Mr. Gardner votes no.
- 2749 Mr. Pompeo.
- 2750 Mr. {Pompeo.} No.
- 2751 The {Clerk.} Mr. Pompeo votes no.
- 2752 Mr. Kinzinger.
- 2753 Mr. {Kinzinger.} No.
- 2754 The {Clerk.} Mr. Kinzinger votes no.
- 2755 Mr. Griffith.
- 2756 Mr. {Griffith.} No.
- 2757 The {Clerk.} Mr. Griffith votes no.
- 2758 Mr. Bilirakis.
- 2759 Mr. {Bilirakis.} No.
- 2760 The {Clerk.} Mr. Bilirakis votes no.
- 2761 Mr. Johnson.

on.}	No.
2	n.}

- 2763 The {Clerk.} Mr. Johnson votes no.
- 2764 Mr. Long.
- 2765 [No response.]
- 2766 The {Clerk.} Mrs. Ellmers.
- 2767 Mrs. {Ellmers.} No.
- 2768 The {Clerk.} Mrs. Ellmers votes no.
- 2769 Mr. Waxman.
- 2770 Mr. {Waxman.} Aye.
- 2771 The {Clerk.} Mr. Waxman votes aye.
- 2772 Mr. Dingell.
- 2773 Mr. {Dingell.} Votes aye.
- 2774 The {Clerk.} Mr. Dingell votes aye.
- 2775 Mr. Pallone.
- 2776 Mr. {Pallone.} Aye.
- 2777 The {Clerk.} Mr. Pallone votes aye.
- 2778 Mr. Rush.
- 2779 [No response.]
- 2780 The {Clerk.} Ms. Eshoo.
- 2781 Ms. {Eshoo.} Aye.
- 2782 The {Clerk.} Ms. Eshoo votes aye.
- 2783 Mr. Engel.
- [No response.]
- 2785 The {Clerk.} Mr. Green.

2786	Mr.	{Green.}	Aye.
_ , ee		[0=00)	

2787 The {Clerk.} Mr. Green votes aye.

2788 Ms. DeGette.

2789 Ms. {DeGette.} Aye.

2790 The {Clerk.} Ms. DeGette votes aye.

2791 Mrs. Capps.

2792 Mrs. {Capps.} Aye.

2793 The {Clerk.} Mrs. Capps votes aye.

2794 Mr. Doyle.

2795 Mr. {Doyle.} Yes.

2796 The {Clerk.} Mr. Doyle votes aye.

2797 Ms. Schakowsky.

2798 Ms. {Schakowsky.} Aye.

2799 The {Clerk.} Ms. Schakowsky votes aye.

2800 Mr. Matheson.

2801 Mr. {Matheson.} Aye.

2802 The {Clerk.} Mr. Matheson votes aye.

2803 Mr. Butterfield.

2804 Mr. {Butterfield.} Aye.

2805 The {Clerk.} Mr. Butterfield votes aye.

2806 Mr. Barrow.

2807 Mr. {Barrow.} No.

2808 The {Clerk.} Mr. Barrow votes no.

2809 Ms. Matsui.

- 2810 Ms. {Matsui.} Aye.
- 2811 The {Clerk.} Ms. Matsui votes aye.
- 2812 Ms. Christensen.
- 2813 [No response.]
- 2814 The {Clerk.} Ms. Castor.
- 2815 Ms. {Castor.} Aye.
- 2816 The {Clerk.} Ms. Castor votes aye.
- 2817 Mr. Sarbanes.
- 2818 Mr. {Sarbanes.} Aye.
- 2819 The {Clerk.} Mr. Sarbanes votes aye.
- 2820 Mr. McNerney.
- 2821 Mr. {McNerney.} Aye.
- 2822 The {Clerk.} Mr. McNerney votes aye.
- 2823 Mr. Braley.
- 2824 Mr. {Braley.} Aye.
- 2825 The {Clerk.} Mr. Welch-aye. Mr. Braley votes aye.
- 2826 Mr. Welch.
- 2827 Mr. {Welch.} Aye.
- 2828 The {Clerk.} Mr. Welch votes aye.
- 2829 Mr. Lujan.
- 2830 Mr. {Lujan.} Aye.
- 2831 The {Clerk.} Mr. Lujan votes aye.
- 2832 Mr. Tonko.
- 2833 Mr. {Tonko.} Aye.

2834 The {Clerk.} Mr. Tonko votes aye.

- 2835 Mr. Yarmuth.
- 2836 Mr. {Yarmuth.} Aye.
- 2837 The {Clerk.} Mr. Yarmuth votes aye.
- 2838 Chairman Upton.
- 2839 The {Chairman.} Votes no.
- 2840 The {Clerk.} Chairman Upton votes no.
- 2841 The {Chairman.} Other Members wishing to cast a vote?
- 2842 Mr. Long?
- 2843 Mr. {Long.} No.
- 2844 The {Clerk.} Mr. Long votes no.
- 2845 The {Chairman.} Dr. Cassidy?
- 2846 Dr. {Cassidy.} No.
- 2847 The {Clerk.} Mr. Cassidy votes no.
- 2848 The {Chairman.} Is Ms. Kathy McMorris--Ms. McMorris
- 2849 Rodgers, she has voted?
- 2850 Other Members wishing to cast a vote?
- 2851 Seeing none, the clerk will report the tally.

2852 The {Clerk.} Mr. Chairman, on that vote, there were 20 2853 ayes and 30 nays.

- 2854 The {Chairman.} Twenty ayes, 30 nays. The amendment is 2855 not agreed to.
- 2856 Are there further amendments to the Bill?
- 2857 Seeing none, the question now occurs on favorably

- 2859 All those in favor will say aye.
- 2860 All those opposed, say no.
- 2861 Ayes appear to have it. The ayes have it and the Bill
- 2862 is favorably reported.

2863 H.R. 4572

2864 The {Chairman.} The chair now calls up H.R. 4572, and 2865 asks the clerk to report.

The {Clerk.} H.R. 4572, to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to extend expiring provisions relating to the retransmission of signals of television broadcast stations and for other purposes.

2870 [H.R. 4572 follows:]

The {Chairman.} Without objection, the first reading of the Bill is dispensed with, and the Bill will be open for amendment at any point. So ordered.

2875 Chair now recognizes Mr. Gardner for the purpose of 2876 offering an amendment.

2877 Mr. {Gardner.} Thank you, Chairman Upton, Chairman 2878 Walden, and thank you, Mr. Lujan. I appreciate the 2879 opportunity to offer the Gardner amendment--

2880 The {Chairman.} Clerk--

2881 Mr. {Gardner.} --which I do so at this time.

2882 The {Chairman.} Clerk will report the title of the 2883 amendment.

2884 Mr. {Gardner.} Gardner-Lujan amendment, excuse me. 2885 The {Clerk.} Amendment to H.R. 4572, offered by Mr. 2886 Gardner of Colorado, and Mr. Ben Ray Lujan of New Mexico. 2887 [The amendment of Mr. Gardner and Mr. Lujan follows:]

2889 The {Chairman.} The amendment will be considered as 2890 read. The staff will distribute the amendment.

2891 And the gentleman from Colorado will be recognized for 5 2892 minutes in support of his amendment.

2893 Mr. {Gardner.} I thank you, Mr. Chairman, and again, I 2894 thank the chairman and Chairman Walden and Mr. Lujan for 2895 working together on this amendment today.

I commend everyone in this room and all of the industry from work--for working hard to get a product today that works for everyone, and gets us on a path to fixing a concern that I have worked on in the state legislature and continue to 2000 now.

As many of you know, there are two counties in southwest 2902 Colorado that only receive Albuquerque local stations because 2903 of Nielsen's DMA lines. As you can imagine, these customers 2904 value local programming that comes from their--

2905 The {Chairman.} Will the gentleman suspend? I think 2906 they have circulated a Lujan-Gardner amendment.

2907 Mr. {Gardner.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I was 2908 wondering what the change had been.

2909 The {Chairman.} So we will reset the clock. For what 2910 purpose does the gentleman from New Mexico seek recognition? 2911 Mr. {Lujan.} Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment at the 2912 desk.

2913 The {Chairman.} The clerk will read the title of the 2914 amendment again.

2915 The {Clerk.} Amendment to H.R. 4572, offered by Mr. Ben 2916 Ray Lujan of New Mexico and Mr. Gardner of Colorado.

2917 The {Chairman.} And without objection, the gentleman 2918 from New Mexico is recognized for 5 minutes.

2919 Mr. {Lujan.} Mr. Chairman, thank you very much.

2920 Over the past decade, American consumers have enjoyed an 2921 explosion of new options for viewing video content,

2922 traditional services such as over-the-air broadcast cable and 2923 satellite companies have been joined by new alternatives such 2924 over-the-top content, Internet protocol television and other 2925 services, depending upon broadband providers.

2926 Despite these new technological innovations, television 2927 viewers remain limited to broadcasts that are intended for 2928 their designated market areas or DMA's. The FCC has 2929 delegated the role of defining these DMA's to the Nielsen 2930 Company, a privately held, for profit marketing research 2931 company that claims to have never sought this power. Nielsen 2932 has divided up the country into separate DMA's based upon the 2933 reach of stations, antiquated broadcast antennas. These 2934 antennas which were considered cutting-edge technology back 2935 in the 1950's, which are now relied on by a much smaller

2936 population, inexplicably continue to determine the broadcast 2937 stations available at any given location in the country.

My amendment would allow the FCC to embrace the future of broadcasting, and to explore the possibilities of cuttingedge technologies. With a broadband connection, viewers can watch and almost infinite amount of on-demand video Online with a smartphone, tablet or other mobile device. They can watch this content from a Wi-Fi hotspot or virtually anywhere with wireless service.

2945 Through the Internet, consumers can listen to radio 2946 signals from around the globe, but Nielsen's maps of almost 2947 obsolete antenna networks continue to block consumers from 2948 accessing programming from outside of their DMA's.

2949 It is time to begin preparing for new ways to define 2950 broadcasting markets that are based upon the newest 2951 technologies. My amendment builds upon a study of DMA's 2952 commissioned by the last STELA Bill in 2010 which required 2953 the FCC to update its earlier efforts, and to explore how new 2954 broadcasting markets could be created if they were based upon 2955 the potential of current and future technologies, instead of 2956 limitations of aging broadcast antennas.

I offered my amendment and withdrew it at markup in the subcommittee in order to get additional insight and support from the broadcast, satellite and cable industries, and I

2960 understand I now have a cosponsor on the amendment as well.
2961 I urge my colleagues to support this amendment, and
2962 embrace a more vibrant future for the video marketplace.
2963 And with that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of

2964 my time.

2965 The {Chairman.} Gentleman yields back his time.

2966 And are there other Members wishing to speak on the 2967 amendment?

2968 Gentleman from Colorado.

2969 Mr. {Gardner.} Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I thank my colleague, Mr. Lujan, from New Mexico for his work on this amendment, and something that we have been working on in Colorado for some time, in the state

2973 legislatures here, and here as well.

Two southwest Colorado counties only receive Albuquerque's local stations because of Nielsen's DMA lines. As you can imagine, these customers value local programming that comes from their home state, both local news and their local sports teams. They want to watch Colorado programming, which I think everyone in this room can understand.

As Mr. Lujan stated, our amendment does two simple things; asks for a report with an analysis of which consumers are watching broadcast programming outside their local markets, and two, it asks for information on whether there

are technologically and economically feasible alternatives to 2985 the use of DMA's in order to provide consumers with more 2986 programming options.

By requiring the commission to produce this report, we will be providing necessary information to industry, government and consumers about how vast the problem actually is, and how best we can fix it. And I look forward to working with Mr. Lujan and others on this issue as we move forward.

2993 And I yield back my time.

2994 The {Chairman.} Gentleman yields back.

2995 Other Members wishing to speak on the amendment?

2996 Seeing none, the vote occurs on the amendment offered by

2997 the gentleman from New Mexico.

All those in favor will say aye.

All those opposed say no.

3000 Opinion of the chair the ayes have it.

3001 The ayes have it and the amendment is agreed to.

3002 Are there further amendments to the Bill?

3003 Seeing none, the question now occurs on favorably

3004 reporting H.R. 4572 as amended to the House.

3005 All those in favor will say aye.

3006 All those opposed, say no.

3007 Opinion of the chair the ayes have it.

3008 The ayes have it and the Bill is favorably reported. 3009 Without objection, staff is authorized to make technical 3010 and conforming changes to the legislation reported by the 3011 committee today. 3012 So ordered. And without objection, the committee stands 3013 adjourned. Thank you.

3014 [Whereupon, at 12:18 p.m., the Committee was adjourned.]