Speech by Congressman Joe Moakley (D-MA) Opening Day Rules Package January 3, 200

THANK YOU AND HAPPY NEW YEAR, M SPEAKER.

M SPEAKER, LAST FALL'S ELECTION WAS A RECORD BREAKER, VOTES FOR EVERYTHING FROM PRESIDENT DOWN TO STATE LEGISLATORS WERE CLOSER THAN EVER BEFORE. IF THE VOTERS TOLD US ANYTHING ON NOVEMBER 7TH, IT WAS TO WORK TOGETHER. THE ONLY MANDATE THIS CONGRESS AND THE WHITE HOUSE HAVE IS TO PUT ASIDE OUR DIFFERENCES AND GET THINGS DONE.

BUT, M SPEAKER, THAT MANDATE OF COOPERATION IS NOT REFLECTED IN THIS REPUBLICAN RULES PACKAGE.

THIS RULES PACKAGE SKEWS COMMITTEE RATIOS SO MUCH IN FAVOR OF THE REPUBLICANS YOU WOULD THINK THEY HAD WON BY A LANDSLIDE WHILE IN FACT, M SPEAKER, THEIR MAJORITY IN THE HOUSE IS LESS THAN 2%.

MANY AMERICANS BELIEVE THAT IF THE REPUBLICANS IN CONGRESS HAVE BARELY MORE THAN 50% OF THE SEATS, THE REPUBLICANS SHOULD GET NO MORE THAN 51% OF THE COMMITTEE SLOTS AND RESOURCES. ONE LOOK AT THIS RULES PACKAGE SHOWS THAT IS NOT THE CASE.

M SPEAKER, I ASK UNANIMOUS CONSENT TO INSERT 2 CHARTS IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD DETAILING THE SKEWED COMMITTEE RATIOS.

LAST CONGRESS, WHEN THEY WERE ENTITLED TO 51% OF THE SEATS, MY REPUBLICAN COLLEAGUES TOOK 59% OF THE SEATS ON WAYS AND MEANS,

THEY TOOK 57% OF THE SEATS ON JUDICIARY,
AND THEY TOOK ALMOST 56% OF THE SEATS ON THE BUDGET
COMMITTEE.

M SPEAKER, IN ADDITION TO BEING UNFAIR, THOSE
COMMITTEE RATIOS DENIED MILLIONS OF AMERICANS THEIR
RIGHT TO REPRESENTATION ON CONGRESSIONAL
COMMITTEES. AND, MY REPUBLICAN COLLEAGUES ARE ABOUT
TO DO IT AGAIN THIS CONGRESS, WHEN THEIR MAJORITY IS
EVEN SLIMMER.

LET ME PUT IT THIS WAY, MR. SPEAKER: IF THE RATIOS ON THE COMMITTEES WERE TO REFLECT THE RATIO IN THE HOUSE THIS CONGRESS, 58 MORE DEMOCRATIC DISTRICTS WOULD HAVE THEIR REPRESENTATIVES SEATED AT THE COMMITTEE TABLES.

EVEN MY DEAR FRIEND, MY CHAIRMAN, MR. DREIER, SIGNED A JOINT COMMITTEE REPORT SAYING THAT "COMMITTEE SEATS SHOULD BE ALLOCATED TO REFLECT THE OVERALL RATIO" IN THE HOUSE.

UP UNTIL 6 YEARS AGO, MY REPUBLICAN COLLEAGUES
REGULARLY INCLUDED REQUIREMENTS FOR FAIR COMMITTEE
RATIOS IN THEIR RULES PACKAGES. THAT IS, M SPEAKER,
UNTIL THEY WERE IN THE MAJORITY.

AND, M SPEAKER, WHILE MILLIONS OF AMERICANS WILL LOSE THEIR VOICE IN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES, MILLIONS MORE LOST THEIR VOICES DURING THIS ELECTION.

PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANT THAN ANYTHING ELSE WE DO IN WASHINGTON WILL BE RESTORING AMERICANS' CONFIDENCE IN THE ELECTION PROCESS. BUT, M SPEAKER, THAT TOO IS MISSING FROM THIS REPUBLICAN RULES PACKAGE.

NOWHERE IS THERE A MENTION OF WHAT HAPPENED DURING THIS PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

NOWHERE IS THERE A CALL ON CONGRESS TO FIX OUR FLAWED ELECTION PROCESS. NOWHERE IS THERE A RECOGNITION OF THE URGENT NEED TO RESTORE PEOPLE'S CONFIDENCE IN AMERICAN ELECTIONS.

M SPEAKER, IN JUST 3 DAYS, A JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS WILL COUNT THE VOTES OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS AND DECLARE THE WINNER OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

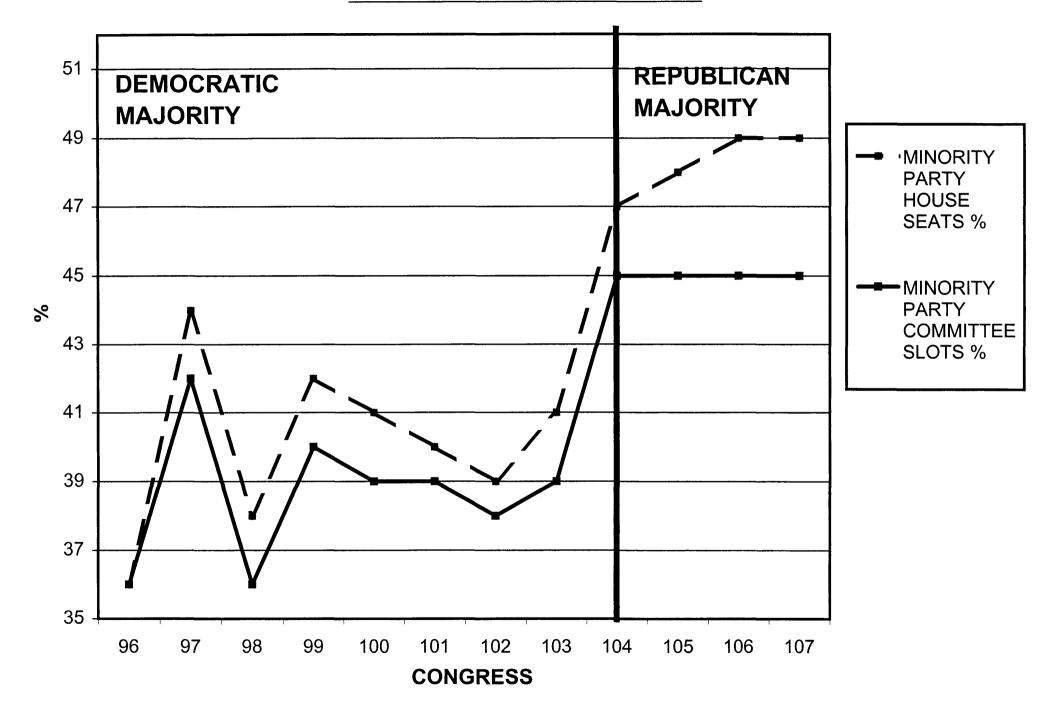
MILLIONS OF AMERICANS ARE QUESTIONING OUR ELECTIONS AND DEMANDING ACTION AND, M SPEAKER, THIS RULES PACKAGE FAILS TO TAKE ANY ACTION ON THEIR BEHALF.

THAT IS WHY, M SPEAKER, I AM URGING MY COLLEAGUES TO SUPPORT THE DEMOCRATIC RULES PACKAGE. OUR RULES PACKAGE INCLUDES THE REPUBLICAN PROPOSALS FOR COMMITTEE RATIOS FROM THE 102ND AND 103RD CONGRESSES.

OUR RULES PACKAGE ALSO TAKES STEPS TO REFORM OUR ELECTION PROCESS. IT GIVES THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE UNTIL MARCH 1 TO RECOMMEND WAYS TO ENSURE THAT ALL ELIGIBLE AMERICANS WHO VOTE SHALL HAVE THEIR VOTES COUNTED -- ESPECIALLY OUR MILITARY PERSONNEL WHO VOTE BY ABSENTEE BALLOTS.

M SPEAKER, EVEN THOUGH THE NEXT SET OF FEDERAL ELECTIONS IS 2 YEARS OFF, WE NEED TO GET STARTED RIGHT AWAY MAKING SURE EVERYONE'S VOTE IS COUNTED AND COUNTED FAIRLY. FAIR ELECTIONS ARE THE FOUNDATION ON WHICH OUR DEMOCRACY IS BUILT AND THERE IS NOTHING

THE GROWING DISPARITY IN COMMITTEE SLOTS UNDER REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP



have votes on matters of important questions.

You have also done some other You have continued to conthings. strain the minority in its ability to write reports critical of what they conceive to be wrongdoing or failures in legislation by saying to it that only 2 days will exist for the minority to come forward with complaints with the content of legislation. Is this the kind of good will? Is this the kind of cooperation, conciliation, and is it the kind of action that we are hearing when we are talking about having compromise and cooperation and bipartisanship? I think not. If we are to work together, and I would remind my colleagues on the majority side, there are only a few seats' difference between the Members on this side and on the other side. If you want to have a President who was elected by the narrowest margin in history and whose tenure as a legitimate President is, in fact, open to question because of the curious manipulations of the Supreme Court and because of the way in which the election in Florida was conducted and counted and handled to succeed and to be able to talk about bipartisanship and cooperation, this is not the way that you begin the affairs of this Congress.

I did not intend to make an angry speech, and I would like my colleagues to know this is not an angry speech. This is a speech of sorrow and sadness because the majority is throwing away the good will that they are going to need to have a bipartisan Congress run with cooperation, conciliation, and compromise which the American peo-

ple both need and want.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I yield $2\frac{1}{2}$ minutes to the gentleman from Dela-

ware (Mr. CASTLE).

Mr. CASTLE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask some questions, perhaps in the form of a colloquy, of the chairman of the Committee on Rules about the changes which we are facing between committees. I am a member of the Banking Committee and the details elude me. First about the insurance question. In establishing the question on financial services, this resolution adds a term, and I quote, "insurance generally" to the jurisdiction of that committee. However, no such jurisdiction existed in rule X in the 106th Congress.

Can you describe for me what the term "insurance generally" is intended

to convey?

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Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CASTLE. I yield to the gen-

cleman from California.

Mr. DREIER. Let me say, and I thank the gentleman for his question, natters relating to insurance generally are intended to include matters, for exthat are financial in nature or incidental to a financial activity; the national treatment of insurance companies, auto insurance, life insurance and property and casualty insurance.

However, as I mentioned previously in my statement, existing health insurance jurisdiction is not transferred as a result of this change. Furthermore, the existing jurisdiction of other committees with respect to matters relating to crop insurance, worker's compensation, insurance antitrust matters, veterans life and health insurance and national social security are not affected by this change.

Mr. CASTLE. Mr. Speaker, let me ask next about some securities issues. Regarding securities and exchanges, does the transfer of this jurisdiction to the Committee on Financial Services include underwriting, dealing, and

market making?
Mr. DREIER. Yes, that is correct.
Mr. CASTLE. Another question. Does it include accounting standards applicable to capital raising under applicable securities laws and the Securities Act of 1933?

Mr. DREIER. Once again, the gentleman is correct.

Mr. CASTLE. Does it include exchanges, investment companies, and investment advisors?

Mr. DREIER. Yes, that is correct. Mr. CASTLE. Does it include jurisdiction over the Public Utilities Holding Company Act?

Mr. DREIER. As I mentioned previously in my statement, this change is not intended to convey to the Committee on Financial Services jurisdiction over matters relating to regula-tion and SEC oversight of multistate public utility holding companies and their subsidiaries which remain essentially matters of energy policy.

Mr. CASTLE. I thank the gentleman very much for clarification on these issues.

Mr. DREIER, Mr. Speaker, I reserve

the balance of my time.
Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), the co-chair of the Democratic Steering Committee and the ranking member on the Committee on House Administration.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, as all of us know, this House is now divided by its narrowest margin since the 83rd Congress when Republicans held 221 seats and Democrats 213. Today, our Republican friends hold a bare five-seat majority, 221 to 212. Thus, if we are to accomplish anything, bipartisanship, as President-elect Bush talked ad nau-seam about in the campaign, is a sine qua non. It cannot be mere rhetorical

window dressing.
Unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, I regret to say the first day of the 107th Congress we have missed an opportunity to demonstrate our commitment to biparand the committee slots available to its Members elected by the American public, Republicans and Democrats, to represent them. Simply put, there are not enough committee slots available to the minority party, which now controls 49 percent of this body. Nevertheless, the allocation of committee slots has remained unchanged, 55 percent for the majority, 45 percent for the minor-

Now let me call attention to this chart. It is probably a little difficult to understand, but what it tracks is minority representation, not majority; whether Democrats were in the majority or Republicans were in the majority. One will note, up to the 104th Congress, when Democrats were in control, the percentage of committee slots allocated and the percentages in the House tracked one another. One will note that when the minority got more slots in the House, they went up. When they got less, they went down.

The point is, it was fair. It was representative and it gave to minority members the opportunity to do what they said they wanted to do, represent

Americans.

Now I would call the attention of my colleagues, and I would hope former governor of Delaware, who is one of the fairest members in this House, would look at this stark contrast; and I would say here is the 104th Congress, the 105th, the 106th, the 107th. One will note that the minority line has been flat lined, notwithstanding the fact that we have picked up in each of the last four elections additional seats and made the difference between the majority and minority parties smaller; but the line has not changed.

The majority line has gone up in terms of their percentage, and the variance. That is not fair. It is also, I would say to the chairman of the Committee on Rules, the gentleman from California (Mr. DREIER), contrary to his representations when he was in the minority. In my calculations, we would need an additional 64 seats in order for us to be allocated the number of seats that we are entitled to as a result of our percentage in the minority.

What is being done is contrary to the rhetoric. It will not further bipartisanship, and I would ask that that be corrected as we move ahead in the next few days.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Thibodaux, Louisiana (Mr. TAUZIN).

Mr. TAUZIN. Mr. Speaker, let me first acknowledge, as did the ranking minority member of the Committee on Commerce, our extraordinary disappointment in the jurisdictional transfer from the Committee on Commerce to this new Committee on Financial Services. It is important, as the chairman has said, to know, how-

RATIOS Last Congress

Republicans Democrats	223 212	51.3%	
Agriculture	27-24	53%	(+1.7% instead of .9%)
Appropriations	34-27	55.7%	(+4.4% instead of +2.2%)
Armed Services	32-28	53.3%	(+2% instead of 1.2%)
Banking	32-28	53.3%	(+2% instead of 1.3%)
Budget	24-19	55.8%	(+4.3% instead of 1%)
Commerce	29-24	54.7%	(+3.4% instead of 1.9%)
Education	27-22	55.1%	(+3.8% instead of 5.5%)
Government Reform	24-20	54.5%	(+3.2% instead of +3.3%)
House Administration	6-3	66.7%	(+15.4% instead of 3.6%)
International Relations	26-23	53.1%	(+1.8% instead of .5%)
Judiciary	21-16	56.8%	(+5.5% instead of .5%)
Resources	28-24	53.8%	(+2.5 instead of 5.5%)
Rules	9-4	69.1%	(+17.9% instead of 9.5%)
Science	25-22	53.2%	(+1.9% instead of .5%)
Small Business	19-17	52.8%	(+1.5% instead of .5%)
Transportation	41-34	54.7%	(+2.4% instead of 3%)
Veterans	17-14	54.8%	(+3.6% instead of .5%)
Ways and Means	23-16	59%	(+7.7% instead of 3.5%)

18 Committees

- 14 where 1999 Republicans took a greater share than 1993 Democrats. 4 where 1993Democrats took a greater share from 1999 Republicans.
- 15 of 18 committees in 1999 exceed 2% over House %.
- 8 of 18 committees in 1993 exceed 2% over House %.

RATIOS 1993-994

Democrats Republicans	259 176	59.5%
Agriculture	29-19	60.4% (+.9%)
Appropriations	37-23	61.7% (+2.2%)
Armed Services	34-22	60.7% (1.2%)
Banking	31-20	60.8% (+1.3%)
Budget	26-17	60.5% (+ 1.0%)
Education	28-15	65% (+5.5%)
Energy and Commerce	27-17	61.4% (+1.9%)
Foreign Affairs	27-18	60% (+.5%)
Government Operations	27-16	62.8% (+3.3%)
House Administration	12-7	63.1% (+3.6%)
Judiciary	21-14	60% (+.5%)
Natural Resources	28-15	65% (+5.5%)
Rules	9-4	69% (+9.5%)
Science	33-22	60% (+.5%)
Small Business	27-18	60% (+.5%)
Transportation	40-24	62.5% (+3%)
Veterans	21-14	60% (+.5%)
Ways and Means	24-14	63% (+3.5%)
Under 2% overage Over 2% overage	10 8	

If Republicans, with a 51.3% majority in the House, maintain the same committees at the same size they were in the 106th Congress but used a committee ratio reflecting the ratio in the House (and keep all Republicans currently on each committee), the following numbers of additional Democrats would have committee seats:

COMMITTEE	NEW RATIO	ADDED DEMOCRATIC SEATS
Agriculture	27-26	+2 Democrats
Appropriations	34-33	+6 Democrats
Armed Services	32-31	+3 Democrats
Banking	32-31	+3 Democrats
Budget	24-23	+4 Democrats
Commerce	29-28	+4 Democrats
Education	27-26	+4 Democrats
Government Reform	24-23	+4 Democrats
House Administration	6-5	+2 Democrats
International Relations	26-25	+2 Democrats
Judiciary	21-20	+4 Democrats
Resources	28-27	+3 Democrats
Science	25-24	+2 Democrats
Small Business	19-18	+1 Democrat
Transportation	41-40	+6 Democrats
Veterans	17-16	+2 Democrats
Ways and Means	23-22	+6 Democrats

House Committee Party Ratios

		Distribution of seats					"" Committee majority	
106th Corigress		•		Members Percentage		ige		compared to
	Total	Seat Edge	Majority (R)	Minority (D)	Majority (R)	Minority (D)	Independent	% House majority
Total House Members	435	12	223	211	51.26	48.51		
Total Committee Seats	835	83	458	375	54.85	44.91	2	3.59
Committee								
Agriculture	51	3	27	24	52.94	47.06		1,68
Appropriations	61	7	34	27	55.74	44.26		4.47
Armed Services	60		32	28	53.33	46.67		2,07
Banking & Financial Services	60		32	27	53.33	45.00	1	2.07
Budget .	43		24	19	55.81	44.19		4.55
Соппчется	53	5	29	24	54.72	45.26		3.45
Education & the Workforce	49	5	27	22	55.10	44.90		3.84
Government Reform	44	5	24	19	64.55	43.18	1	3.28
House Adm Inistration	9		6	3	66.67	33.33		15.40
International Relations	49	3	26	23	53.06	46.94		1.80
Judiciary	37	5	21	16	56.76	49,24		5.49
Resources	52		28	24	53.85	46,15		2.58
Rules	13		9	4	69.23	30.77		17.97
Science	47	3		22	53.19	46.81		1.93
Small Business	36	2	19	17	52.78	47,22		1.51
Standards of Official Conduct	10	0	5	5	50.00	50.00		-1.26
Transportation & Infrastructure	75		41	34	54.67	45.33		3.40
Velerans' Affairs	31	3		14	54.B4	45,16		3.57
Ways & Means	39		23	16	58.97	41.03		7.71
Permanent Select on Intelligence	16	2	9	7	56.25	43.76		4.99

Difference in

Source for data are Congressional Yellow Book, and Vital Statistics on Congress, 1999-2000.

Delagates and Resident Commissioner are included in the committee ratios.

For consistency, vacancles are counted in overeit total and party totals.

Percentages were calculated by corrputer, and reflect rounding.

in some instances, published source may indicate unfilled vacency.

Ratios do not reflect post-election resignations.